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## CHAPTER I.

Discovery of Harbor by Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo.-The Indians.-  
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The far-famed harbor of San Diego was first discovered by Juan Rodriguez Cab-  
rillo, a Portuguese navigator in the service of Spain, only fifty years after Christopher  
Columbus had planted the Cross on the Island of San Salvador. Cabrillo with the two  
ships San Salvador and Victoria entered the bay on Thursday evening, September 28,  
1542. It was the eve of the feast of St. Michael, the Archangel, wherefore the com-  
mander christened the port San Miguel.

"Having cast anchor in it!" the Diary of the voyage relates, "the men went ashore  
where there were people (Indians). Three of these waited, but all the rest fled. To these  
three they gave some presents, and they said by signs that in the interior men like the  
Spaniards had passed! They gave signs of great fear. On the night of this day, they (the  
sailors) went ashore from the ships to fish with a net; and it appears that here there  
were some Indians, and that they began to shoot at them with arrows and wounded  
three men.

"Next day, in the morning, they went with the boat farther into the port, which is  
large, and brought two boys, who understood nothing by signs. They gave shirts to both  
and sent them away immediately.

"Next day, in the morning, three adult Indians came to

the ships and said by signs that in the interior men like us were traveling about, bearded, clothed, and armed like those of the ships. They made signs that they carried crossbows and swords; and they made gestures with the right arm as if they were throwing lances, and ran around as if they were on horseback. They made signs that they were killing many native Indians, and that for this reason they were afraid. These people are comely and large. They go about covered with skins of animals.

"While they were in this port a heavy storm occurred; but since the port is good, they did not feel it at all. It was a violent storm from the west-southwest and south-southwest. This is the first storm which they have experienced. They remained in this port until the following Thursday. The people here called the Christians Guacamal. On the following Tuesday, October 3, they departed from this Port of San Miguel."

Once more the San Salvador ran into the harbor of San Diego, this time in charge of Pilot Bartolome Ferrelo, since its heroic commander Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo had died on the Island of San Miguel in the Channel of Santa Barbara. Accordingly, the Diary relates: "On Sunday, the 11th of the said month of March, they reached the Port of San Miguel (San Diego) but did not find the consort

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there, or any news of her. Here they waited six days; and here they secured two boys to take to New Spain (Mexico ) as interpreters, and left certain signals, in case the other ship should come here. On Saturday, the seventeenth of the said month, they left the said port of San Miguel." (2)

Of the ships in which Cabrillo ventured into these unknown waters, Professor George Davidson, as quoted by Professor Herbert E. Bolton, writes: "These vessels were smaller than any of our coasting schooners. They were poorly built and very badly outfitted. Their anchors and ironwork were carried by men from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific; they were manned by conscripts and natives; were badly provisioned, and the crews subject to that deadly scourge of the sea, scurvy." (3)

"Regarding Cabrillo's voyage as a feat of navigation under distressing difficulties," says Bolton, "the following quotation from Navarrete is apt: 'Those who know the coast which Cabrillo discovered and explored, the kind of vessels in which he undertook the expedition, the rigorous season during which he pursued his voyage in those intemperate climes, and the state of the science of navigation at that period, cannot help admiring a courage and intrepidity which, though common among sea-faring Spaniards of that time, cannot be appreciated in our day, when the navigator is fairly dazzled by the assistance furnished him through the wonderful progress of the arts and sciences rendering his operations easier and supplying him with advantages which, as they were lacking to the early discoverers. make their courage and perseverance as portentous as their discoveries. Perhaps it is failure to realize these considerations, added to ignorance of our history, which has led some foreign writers to belittle the merit of Cabrillo.'" (4)

After Cabrillo's eventful expedition, the port of San Diego

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remained unknown to the world until Sunday, November 10, 1602, the eve of St. Martin's Day, when about seven o'clock in the evening the three ships San Diego, Santo Tomas, and Tres Reyes, in command of Sebastian Vizcaino, dropped their anchors in its

placid waters. The commander in his Diary, declares that the port is "the best to be found in the whole South Sea; for, besides being protected on all sides and having good anchorage, it is in latitude 33 1/2 degrees. (5) It has very good water, many fish of all kinds, of which we caught many with seine and hooks. On land, there is much game. such as rabbits, hares, deer, very large quail, royal ducks, thrushes, and many other birds."

"On the morning after the day of the glorious St. Martin," (6) Torquemada writes, "the general ordered some men to go and examine a mountain which protects this harbor from the northwest wind; these men were Ensign Gaspar de Alarcon, Captain Alonso Peguero, Fr. Antonio de la Ascension, and eight archers. They found much live oak timber and other trees, such as the rock-rose and others resembling rosemary, besides some very odoriferous and wholesome plants. From the top of the mountain the port appeared to be very fine, spacious, and convenient, because it was sheltered against all storms. The mountain, which protects the port on the northwest side, may be three leagues in length and half a league in width. On the other side to the northwest of the mountain is another good port.

"When they had returned with this report, the general commanded that a suitable tent be pitched on the land to serve as a church, where the religious might celebrate holy Mass; that the ships be cleaned and tarred; that some men procure firewood and others stand guard. This was done on a sandbank. or island of sand, (7) where they dug

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wells. When the sea was high, the pools contained sweet and good water; but when the tide went out the water was brackish. One day, a sentinel gave notice that many Indians were coming along the beach, all armed with bows and arrows, but naked and besmeared with black and white paint. The general requested Fr. Antonio to go and receive them in a peaceful manner. Ensign Juan Francisco and six archers went with him. When they had come up to the Indians and had made signs of peace with a strip of white cloth and by throwing up earth with their hands, the first thing the Indians did was to turn the bows and arrows over to the soldiers. Fr. Antonio embraced the savages and gave them some strings of beads, which they put on their necks for display. Thereupon they went to the place where the general was; but when they saw the multitude of Spaniards, they did not dare approach, and so withdrew to a hill, whence they sent two wrinkled old women. When these arrived at the tent, the general, the religious, and some of the soldiers gave them strings of glass beads and some biscuits and with these sent them to tell what treatment they had received at the hands of the people who had recently arrived in their country. The women related their impressions, whereupon all immediately came to see the Spaniards. Most of them came painted black and white, and wearing many feathers on their heads. Vizcaino and the others received them with much pleasure and, besides many other things, gave them fish which had been caught in their presence with a net. The color of the paint was a bluish black and very glossy. When the Indians were asked by means of signs what it was, they showed some pieces of metallic stone, from which they made it; and they said by means of signs that from these stones a people in the interior, who wore beards and were clothed like the Spaniards, extracted it and made fine ribbons, that were like the laces the soldiers had on their leather jackets and like the kind the general wore on his hose of violet velvet; and that those men wore just such fine uniforms as our Spaniards. Quite transported with

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the good treatment accorded them on this occasion, the Indians came every third day for biscuits and fish, bringing in return skins of martens, wild cats, and other animals, together with the traps in which they caught them. There are in this harbor many white fish, sea fish, oysters, clams, lobsters, crabs, and sardines, and along some of the creeks were seen many wild geese, ducks, quails, hares, and rabbits. The general and Fr. Antonio de la Ascension with some soldiers went over the land to examine it, and all were pleased with the beautiful sky and climate."

"Friday, the fifteenth of the month," Vizcaino's diary relates, "the general went aboard the frigate, taking with him his son, Fr. Antonio, the chief pilot, and fifteen arquebusiers, in order to go and take the soundings of a large bay which entered the land. That night, rowing with the flood tide, he got under way and at dawn was six leagues within the bay, which he found to be the best, large enough for all kinds of vessels, more secure than at the anchorage, and better for careening the ships; for they could be high and dry during the flood tide and could be taken down at the ebb tide, even if they were of a thousand tons. In this bay the general with his men went ashore. After they had gone more than three leagues along it, a number of Indians appeared with bows and arrows, and although signs of peace were made to them, they did not venture to approach, excepting a very old woman who appeared to be more than one hundred and fifty years old and who approached weeping. The general cajoled her and gave her some beads and something to eat. Seeing this kind of treatment, the Indians came peaceably and took us to their rancherias where they were gathering their crops and where they had made their paresos of seeds like flax. They had pots in which they cooked their food, and the women were dressed in skins of animals. The general would not allow any soldier to enter their rancherias; and, it being already late, he returned to the frigate, many Indians accompanying him to the beach. Saturday night,

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he (Vizcaino) reached the flagship, which was ready, wood, water, and fish having been brought aboard." (8)

"All having been carried out that the general had commanded," Torquemada continues, "orders were given to move out from there and to resume the voyage. Accordingly, the departure from the port took place on Wednesday, November 20; but before sailing, all made their confession and received Holy Communion, because already many soldiers were ill, and some of the best men had died. The voyage was therefore continued, the Capitana or flagship San Diego and the Almirante or Santo Tomas leaving together, and the frigate or Tres Reyes following later." Vizcaino concludes his report with the remark that the port was given the name San Diego. (9)

Again the magnificent harbor of San Diego was left unnoticed by the Spaniards, this time for 167 years. Fearing that the Russians would take advantage of her past exploits, (10) Spain, in 1769, at last decided to secure by right of discovery the bay along with the entire northwest coast. Accordingly, in that year, Inspector-General Don Jose de Galvez despatched from Lower California two expeditions by sea and two by land, instructing them to meet and unite at the harbor of San Diego. The first expedition arriving by sea in the San Antonio, commanded by Captain Juan and accompanied by the two Franciscans Fr. Juan Vizcaino and Fr. Francisco Gomez, reached the port on Tuesday, April 11, 1769, fifty-four days after leaving Bay San Barnabe, Lower California. Casting

anchor near Point Guijarros, now Ballast Point, the vessel waited for the arrival of the San Carlos and of the two land expeditions.

The San Carlos, formerly the Golden Fleece, in command of Captain Vicente Vila, and having the Franciscan Fr.

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Fernando Parron on board as chaplain, had set sail at La Paz on January 10, much earlier, therefore, than her sister ship. But misfortune accompanied her throughout the voyage, as the following extracts from the diary of her commander demonstrate.

"On Saturday, April 29, . . . five o'clock in the afternoon," Vila relates, while entering the mouth of San Diego Bay, "I discovered the packet San Antonio anchored at Point Guijarros. (11) We broke out our colors. She broke out hers and fired one gun to call in her launch which was ashore. I continued to tack . . . and anchored in six fathoms of water. At eight o'clock in the evening, the launch of the San Antonio came with her second in command and pilot, Don Miguel del Pino, who gave us an account of her voyage. She arrived at this port on April 11, half her crew down with scurvy, of which two men had died. For work they had only the seven men who came in the launch, and of these a few already felt symptoms of the same disease. Captain Juan Perez also was in poor health. Only the two Missionary Fathers were well.

"At four o'clock in the morning of Sunday, April 30, I made sail and after several tacks I anchored in six fathoms of water, at about eight o'clock when Holy Mass was celebrated.

"At five o'clock in the morning of Monday, May 1, I succeeded in anchoring under the shelter of Point Guijarros, alongside the San Antonio. At seven o'clock, the San Antonio saluted with six guns; we heard holy Mass on board and afterwards answered her with five guns. At ten o'clock, Don Juan Perez came aboard with the Missionary Fathers, Fr. Juan Vizcaino and Fr. Francisco Gomez.

"At half past ten on the same morning, the launch of the San Antonio went off with Don Pedro Fages, Don Miguel Costanso, Don Jorge Estorace, my mate, the same Missionary Fathers, and those men who were strong enough

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to go, in order to explore the country and to search for a good watering-place, because the water which the crew of the San Antonio had collected in pools was not, owing to its brackishness, fit to drink. Meanwhile, Don Juan Perez gave an account of the condition of his crew. Few of his men were in proper condition to continue the voyage to Monterey, as directed by Galvez, and as he had intended to do on the last day of April, in case of the non-arrival of the San Carlos."

Captain Vila then described the situation on his own ship, the San Carlos. The packet had only two seamen in good health; the rest were ill, with more than half of the soldiers in a similar condition, without medicines and fresh food to help them, as everything had been consumed on the voyage; in addition, the surgeon, Don Pedro Prat, was unable to help them, owing to the fact that he himself was seriously ill.

"At nine o'clock in the evening, the launch ( we had sent to shore that morning) returned. The officers and the Missionary Fathers reported that they had walked about three leagues along the shore and at that distance had come to an Indian rancheria on the banks of a river with excellent water; that the Indians inhabiting the village to the

number of thirty-five or forty families scattered along the stream in small rude huts, were very friendly and gentle; and that the country was pleasant and green, abounding in various odoriferous plants, wild grapes, and game.

"At five o'clock, Tuesday morning, I weighed anchor; and with the launch of the San Antonio out ahead, I took advantage of the rising tide and proceeded farther into the harbor. At half past seven, I anchored in seven fathoms of water. . . At five o'clock in the afternoon Wednesday 3, several soldiers with Fr. Fernando Parron, Don Pedro Fages, and Don Jorge Estorace went off in the launch to bury the dead seamen on the shore. (12)

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"At ten o'clock Friday morning, May 5, I anchored astern the San Antonio, at a distance of a full cable's length, in two fathoms of water. After twelve o'clock, I sent the launch with orders for her men to return under arms at two o'clock in the afternoon, in order to reconnoiter the mouth of the river, along with Lieutenant Pedro Fages, and to arrange a few huts for the sick. At three o'clock in the afternoon, Don Pedro Fages with four of the less ailing sailors and several armed soldiers embarked in the launch. The launch of the San Antonio with her captain and several soldiers went to reconnoiter toward the southeast, in which direction the port extended. At sunset. the launches returned. Don Pedro Fages had found on examination that at high tide the launch could enter the mouth of the river quite easily in order to fill the casks.

"At six o'clock, Saturday morning, a Philippine sailor named Agustin Fernandez de Medina, died. At eight o'clock, the launch of the San Antonio put off with Don Pedro Fages, Don Miguel Costanso, Fr. Juan Vizcaino, and the soldiers who were best able, in order to begin the construction of the barracks. At sunset, the launch returned with the Missionary Father and the officers. They had decided to build the barracks for the sick on a hillock close by the beach and a cannon shot from the packets. Between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, Sunday, May 7, Indians came alongside on their rafts and, in exchange for a few trinkets, gave us several skins of seaotters and of other animals caught in traps. At half past ten, the same morning, the launch went ashore with the officers and the Missionary Father to take charge of the building of the barracks; and they returned at sunset. On Monday morning, at eight o'clock, the launch went ashore. In it were embarked from the packet boat two cannon

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with their carriages and everything needed to handle them, a supply of muskets, bullets, eight days' supply of corn, pulse, jerked beef for the soldiers in the garrison, and hard-tack to be used in soups for the sick."

After the lodgings had been completed, at eight o'clock in the morning, the sick were taken to the shore. "I remained on board," Vila continues, "with the quartermaster, who was extremely ill, a Galician sailor, and a little cabin boy, who also had touches of the disease. I was unable to walk, and Fr. Fernando Parron also was ill. At eight o'clock; Tuesday morning, May 9, I sent the launch ashore to construct another barracks for the ten sick men from the San Antonio. On the same day, four soldiers fell sick, and Don Miguel Costanso told me that only eight men fit for work were left on the shore. At two o'clock in the afternoon, Manuel Sanchez, a cabin boy, died; and Mateo Francisco, a Philippine sailor, died on Wednesday morning at eight o'clock." (13) Here the account

of heroic Captain Vila terminates. The outlook for the two crews was gloomy, indeed; but relief was near.

Only four days later, Sunday afternoon, May 14, the first land expedition under Captain Fernando Rivera y Moncada arrived at the sorely tried camp near the Rio San Diego. With him came as chaplain the Franciscan Fr. Juan Crespi.

Fr. Juan Crespi was the first of the missionaries who dated a letter at San Diego. It was addressed to the Fr. Guardian of San Fernando College, Mexico. For that reason, and because the contents relieve us of the necessity of explaining the situation at the port and other details regarding the first land expedition, the letter is reproduced here entire.

Viva Jhs. Ma. y Joseph! (14)

My ever most esteemed Fr. Guardian-I shall rejoice very much if on receipt of this letter your Paternity enjoys robust health. Thanks

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be to God, I enjoy that benefit, and very willingly I offer it at your feet for the execution of your greater pleasure.

On February 26, of the current year, by order of the Fr. Presidente, (15) I set out from Mission Purisima Concepcion where I was in charge, taking the road to the north for the glorious conversion of the numerous pagans who occupy this hemisphere at the ports of San Diego and Monterey. On March 22, I reached the place called Velicata situated eighteen leagues from the most northern mission of Santa Maria, having marched one hundred and eighty-two leagues from Purisima, where I started out by land, to said place of Velicata At this place, I accompanied Don Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, captain of this province and commander of this land expedition, who had been awaiting me, in order to penetrate at once into the heart of heathenism in search of the Port of San Diego.

On March 24, we set out from Velicata, the said commander with twenty-five leather-jacket soldiers, three muleteers, and about fifty-two (Christian Indians from the missions. A train of about one hundred and eighty mules and horses brought along the necessary supplies. I followed the expedition for the sole purpose of administering to the spiritual wants of the men.

On May 14, Pentecost Sunday, we reached this excellent port of San Diego, all in good health, thanks be to God, and nothing of note having occurred on the way. From Velicata to this port of San Diego we traveled fifty-two days, almost the entire way leading through regions that are as rough and barren as any this peninsula of California offers. The resistance from Mission Santa Maria, whence we started for this port, according to the calculations I made in my Journal, which I kept by order of the Fr. Presidente, is one hundred and twenty-eight leagues and a half; consequently. from Velicata to this port is only one hundred and ten leagues and a half.

Having arrived at this port on the afore-mentioned day, we learned that the two packetboats of His Majesty, the San Carlos and the Principe (San Antonio) lay at anchor; that the Principe had arrived in the month of April her voyage from Cape San Lucas having lasted about one and one-half month; and that the San Carlos had dropped anchor on April 29, having made the voyage in three months and eighteen days. We found on land a general hospital erected for the men of both vessels and for twenty-five

volunteer soldiers from the San Carlos. Until now, twenty-three sailors and soldiers have died.

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Nearly all the survivors of the sea expeditions are suffering very much from scurvy. Very few can keep on their feet. Only by a miracle will most of them be able to escape with their lives. In this distress the commanders of the expeditions have determined that the Principe shall depart as soon as possible for San Blas in order to report to the viceroy and to Inspector-General Galvez what has happened.

Here I met our companions, the Fathers Vizcaino, Parron, and Gomez, who had come with the said ships. They are well. As they will inform Your Paternity about everything more at length, I shall not molest you further on this point. We are hourly awaiting the arrival by land of the Fr. Presidente and of the governor of this province. (16) 'We have as yet no news from them. May God hasten their safe arrival.

The gentiles all over the country are numerous and much more so farther inland. The territory is more sterile than any we have seen, and there is a lack of food for the poor wretched pagans. Even the daily bread of the wretched people in this country is the maguey plant but this is wanting in the greater part of the sierra, so far as we have observed with our own eyes. For this reason most of the savages of both coasts endeavor to subsist on what the sea yields.

We have seen many rancherias on our way. The male savages go altogether naked with no more clothing than nature provided. The women go decently covered, in front with fibres strung together on a girdle, in the back with a deer or seal skin. They cover also their breasts and other parts of the body with a kind of mantle made of rabbit skins, which they tie together very well. Men and women are very much painted. The men have the cartilage of the nose pierced and filled with a piece of shell. They are well armed with bows and arrows. All the Indians of this land are very lively and great traders. They are docile, although on the road hither, a rancheria of savages followed us for three days intending to attack us with arrows. They did shoot three arrows at us, but not within a distance to hit any one. The soldiers then fired two shots without wounding any one, whereupon the savages retreated and let us pass on in peace.

This port of San Diego, as two pilots have ascertained, is not in latitude thirty-three degrees and thirty-four minutes as the ancient reports have, but in thirty-two degrees and forty-two minutes. (18)

When we reached the port we found about one league distant, a good river running with sufficient water; but in a few days it ran dry.

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Yesterday, May 21, Fr. Vizcaino and I went out to examine it, accompanied by the lieutenant of the troops, Don Pedro Fages, and the engineer, Don Miguel Costanso, and seven or eight soldiers. We followed the course of the river which runs through a canada of much level land, in places extending from a quarter to half a league. The soil seems to be good for raising corn and wheat. In some parts there seem to be marshes or humid soil. All along the river bed there are poplar, willow, and alder trees. We found it dry in many places. In some spots there were pools with water, and in other places there was only a streamlet. We walked about three leagues up the river bed and the valley; but conditions were the same, until we reached the sierra, when the bed narrowed;



but there was no running water. We do not know whether any irrigation could be done from it. However, if there be sufficient rain, as in other parts, good crops of cereals could be produced, as there is much land and good pasture. Building stones we have not seen anywhere. (19)

According to the disposition of Fr. Presidente Fernando Parron, (20) it seems a stay will be made here; but I, according to instructions of Fr. Presidente Serra, shall take passage in the bark to Monterey, in order to join, when it shall please God, the said Fr. Presidente there. May it please His Divine Majesty to hasten this event, so that in said port the Standard of the Most Holy Cross may be planted and stay forever, and that the numerous savages, who are there and are seen here, may be converted to the holy Faith.

I do not know whether Your Paternity has received the two letters which I wrote from Purisima, I think, in May and November of the past year 1768. In them I begged you to grant me the consolation and favor, when more missionaries come to our aid from Spain, of letting my companion, Fr. Cruzado, come to my assistance. I left him in Tilaco. (21) He has a burning desire in that way, as he explained to me before we parted. He was not permitted to come along at the time because only one Father from each mission could set out. We are well-known companions since a long time, and here there is much that he could do. Although I shall pass on to join the Fr. Presidente at Monterey, yet it is understood, it seems, that in a short time the three missions to be founded will be six. So there

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will always be room for said Fr. Cruzado, of course, if your means and holy obedience send him.

Although I still have a habit that is in good condition, the old one was entirely ruined on the long journey over a road that runs through sierras all the way. So if you can, please send, when opportunity offers, a habit with cowl, and one tunic and cord; for there is nothing here from which to make them. I am also in need of some handkerchiefs. So, if possible, send four or six of the Puebla manufacture, since we are so far away; for I have only two which I saved from the sierra, and they are somewhat used up. Since I came here, I was unable to secure any. Likewise I ask you for a strong cross for the rosary on the girdle, because the one I have is broken. It will be a favor I shall appreciate very much and God will repay you. Pardon me for being so troublesome. I pray that God may guard you and preserve your important life many years in His divine love and grace. Port of San Diego' June 22, 1769. I kiss the hand of Your Paternity and remain your least but most devoted subject who in Christ venerates you. Fr. Juan Crespi.

P. S. I beg you to give the enclosed to Fr. Cruzado. I recommend myself with all the veins of my heart to the entire holy Community, begging them to have me present in their holy Sacrifices and prayers. (22)

The second land expedition now approached its destination. Don Gaspar de Portola, governor of Lower California and military commander of the expedition, with a few attendants rode ahead and reached the Bay of San Diego on Thursday, June 29, 1769. Fr. Junipero Serra, the Presidente or Superior of the missions to be established in Upper California, came up with the main body on Saturday, July 1, forty-six days after leaving the last Lower California Mission, San Fernando. The reader can well imagine the demonstrations of joy, the salute from the ships, and the expressions of thanksgiving on

this occasion, wherefore the description is here omitted. Next day, July 2, being Sunday and the feast of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, a solemn High Mass of thanksgiving was offered up to Almighty God in honor of St. Joseph,

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the patron of the expedition. About one hundred and nineteen persons, many of them still very ill, survivors of the two hundred and nineteen who had set out from Lower California by land and sea, celebrated the reunion. Next day, Fr. Junipero Serra wrote his first letter from Upper California. It is interesting enough to be reproduced. It reads as follows:

Blessed be Jesus, Mary, and Joseph.

Rev. Father Lector (23) and Presidente (24) Francisco Palou,-My dear Brother and Senor:-I shall rejoice if Your Reverence be in good health and laboring with much consolation and success in firmly establishing your new mission field of Loreto and of the others; and if, as soon as possible, the reinforcement of new missionaries comes, so that everything may be established in good order for the consolation of all. Thanks be to God, I arrived here day before yesterday, the first of the month, at this truly beautiful and justly famed Port of San Diego. I here came up with all who had preceded me by land as well as by sea, except those who had died. Here are our companions, the Fathers Crespi, Vizcaino, Parron, Gomez, and myself, all well, thanks be to God. Here are the two ships; the San Carlos is without sailors, for all have died of scurvy, save one and a cook; the San Antonio, otherwise El Principe, whose captain is Don Juan Perez, a countryman from Rivera de Palma, arrived here twenty days before the other, although she had set sail a month and a half later. Just as she was about to sail for Monterey, the San Carlos arrived. While the crew of the San Antonio endeavored to succor those of the San Carlos, they themselves were infected, so that eight of them died. In the end, it was resolved that the San Antonio should return from here to San Blas and bring up sailors for herself and for the San Carlos, and that thereupon both should sail. We shall see in what condition the San Jose arrives. If she comes in good condition, she, the last ship, will be the first to depart.

Two things have caused the disaster on the San Carlos. The first were the defective barrels from which it was unexpectedly discovered water had escaped, so that of four barrels not enough was left to fill one. Hence they were obliged to hasten to land to take water; but what they obtained was of poor quality, and from drinking it the crew began to take sick. (25) The second cause was the misappre-

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hension under which all labored, His Excellency as well as the rest, that this port lay between latitude thirty-three and thirty-four degrees; for some authors claim the one and some the other. Galvez had given strict orders to Captain Vila as also to the other captain to sail out into the ocean and proceed as far as latitude thirty-four degrees and then to cruise in search of said port; but since this port is actually not in a higher latitude than thirty-three degrees and thirty-four minutes, according to the observations made by the officials here, the ships passed far beyond this port, so that when they looked for it, they failed to find it; and this caused the voyage to be prolonged. Furthermore, as the crew already ill reached a colder climate and continued using the unwholesome water, they

were all so much prostrated that, if they had not made for the port soon, all would have perished; for they were already unable to let down the launch to obtain water or to do any other work. Fr. Fernando labored faithfully with the sick, and although he became feeble, nothing particular happened to him, and now he is already in good health. I shall not let him embark again, and he is glad to stay here.

On this occasion I am writing at some length to the Inspector-General, to the College, and to our Father Commissary-General. Hence I am somewhat tired. If it had not been that Captain Perez, seeing me so occupied, diverted himself otherwise, I believe he would have sailed away and I should have been unable to write at all. With regard to the journey of Fr. Juan Crespi in company with the captain, he tells me that he is writing a letter to Your Reverence and sending it by this same bark, so that I have nothing to say. So far as I am concerned, the journey has been truly a happy one, without any noteworthy break in my health. I started out from the frontier mission with my foot and leg in the worst condition; but God operated (26) so that each day I was more relieved, and made the journey as if I had no such malady. At present the foot is altogether as sound as the other; but from the ankle to half way up, the leg is like the foot was before, one sore; but there is no swelling nor more pain than an occasional itching; in fact, it is not worth mentioning

I have suffered neither hunger nor want; nor have the Indian neophytes who came with us suffered; and so all have arrived sound and strong. I have kept a diary. On the first occasion, I shall transmit to Your Reverence a part of it. The missions in the regions which we have seen will all thrive very well, because there is good land and sufficient water. On the road hither and for great distances back, there are no rocks or thorns; but there are hills, indeed. very high and continuous, though composed only of earth. Some roads are

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good, others are bad; more, however, are of the latter kind, though it is no matter of importance. About half way or earlier from where we started, we began to encounter many arroyos and ravines overgrown with poplar trees. There are pretty and large wild vines; in some places they are loaded down with grapes. In various arroyos along the road and in the place where we are now, besides wild grapevines, there are various roses of Castile. In fine, it is a good country, very much different from the land of Old California.

From May 21, when we left San Juan de Dios, as I wrote Your Reverence, until July 1, when we arrived here, save eight days during which we rested the animals, one day here and another day there, we have journeyed every day. However, the longest march was six hours; of such days there have been but two. On the other days the march lasted four or four and a half hours, from two to three, and even only one and a half hour, as on each day the diary states, and that, too, at the pace of the packmules. From this it may be inferred that, when one is well equipped and the roads are more direct, many leagues of the superfluous circuits could be cut off. The road is not very long. I believe that after this trouble is taken? it would be a matter of about twelve days for the Fathers; and the soldiers right now declare that lightly burdened they would go to the frontier Mission of San Fernando de Velicata in much less time.

The natives are exceedingly numerous, and all of this coast of the South Sea along which we came from the Ensenada at Todos Santos, so called on the maps and charts, live well on various seeds and on fish which they catch from rafts made of tules and formed like canoes, with which they venture far out on the sea. The Indians are

very friendly. All the males, men as well as boys, go naked The women and girls are decently covered as far as the breast. In that manner they would approach us on the road as well as in the camps. They would treat us with such confidence and ease as though they had known us all their life. When we wished to give them something to eat, they would say they did not want that, but clothing. Only for things of this kind would they barter their fish with the soldiers and muleteers. All along the road were seen rabbits, hares, and sometimes a deer, and very many antelopes.

The expedition by land, the governor tells me, he will continue together with the captain (Rivera) three or four days from now. He will leave us here, he says, with eight leather-jacket soldiers as guards and some siek Catalonian soldiers who may serve in the same capacity when they have recovered. The mission has not been founded, but I shall take steps in that direction as soon as they depart. My friend, I had written so far, when my countryman, the captain, came and told me that he could wait no longer without loss, and so I conclude with saying that the Fathers here earnestly recommend

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themselves to Your Reverence ; that we are well and contented; that I recommend myself to Father Martinez and the other companions to whom I intended to write, but cannot; I shall do so at the first opportunity. Because the captain tells me he is going to sail for the South, I am sending this letter to Fr. Ramos, that he may read it and forward it to your Reverence, whose life and health God may keep many years. From this port and proposed new Mission of San Diego in northern California. July 3, 1769. B. L. M. de V. R., your most affectionate brother and servant. Fr. Junipero Serra. (27)

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## CHAPTER II.

The San Antonio Returns to San Blas.-Portola Sets Out for Monterey Bay.-Founding of Mission San Diego.-Greed of Indians.-Their Aversion for Spanish Food.-Savages Attack the Mission.-Bravery of the Blacksmith.-Savages Receive Their First Lesson.-Casualties Among the Spaniards.-Charming Incident.-Friendly Youth.- Frustrated Baptism.-Dr. Prat's Devotion to the Sick.-Portola Returns from the North.-He Determines to Abandon San Diego.- Fr. Serra's Resolution.-Captain Vila Agrees with Fr. Presidente.- Fr. Serra Notifies Fr. Palou.--He Proposes a Novena.-His Anxiety.-The Feast of St. Joseph.--The Ship! the Ship!-California Saved The San Antonio Arrives.-Fr. Serra to Fr. Palou.-Expeditions to Monterey Bay.-Found at Last.-Heroic Captain Vila Sails and Dies.-Arrival of Ten Franciscans.-Rivera Brings Up the Cattle.-Soldiers Desert.-Fr. Paterna Induces Them to Return.

In view of the fact that so many soldiers and sailors had already succumbed to scurvy, and that the many who were still suffering from this dread disease had poor prospects of a speedy recovery, Portola and Vila decided that the San Antonio, manned with such of the crew as were able to serve, should sail for San Blas, report the situation

to Don Jose de Galvez, and return with new seamen for both vessels. Accordingly, on July 9, Captain Juan Perez set sail with a small crew of convalescent sailors. Only twenty-one days later, he reached the Port of San Blas, Tepic Territory. Nine of his crew, however, had died at sea.

At the same time, the San Carlos, lying idle at San Diego with only Captain Vila, five sailors, two cabin-boys, and two soldiers on board, it was decided that Portola proceed by land in search of Monterey Bay. Accompanied by Fathers Juan Crespi and Francisco Gomez, this land expedition started out on Friday, July 14, 1769, after a Solemn High Mass had been offered up to Almighty God in honor of St. Joseph for the success of the undertaking. (1) For the pro-

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tection of the camp, which in reality was now a great hospital or pesthouse, the first in California, Portola left behind only eight soldiers or rather six, since two had remained aboard the San Carlos; to these were added one corporal, one blacksmith, one carpenter, a servant, eight Christian Indians from Lower California, and the ever-faithful Doctor Pedro Prat. (2)

While Portola was pursuing his northward course, Fr. Junipero Serra at San Diego called to mind the chief object of his coming to California—the conversion of the savages to Christianity. So far, holy Mass had been celebrated in a brushwood shelter and that only for the Spaniards. The zealous friar now resolved to establish for the natives a center of missionary activity, after the manner of those he had served in the Sierra Gorda, Mexico, in other words, an Indian mission. For this he chose a location adjoining the Spanish camp. Regarding this enterprise of Fr. Serra, Portola, on April 17, 1770, nearly three months after returning from his unsuccessful expedition to Monterey Bay, reported to Viceroy De Croix in these terms: "The mission has been moved to the satisfaction of the Fr. Presidente, and it is guarded by nine soldiers, including the sergeant, but not counting three or four other individuals." (3)

Sunday, July 16, the day selected for the founding of the first mission in California, was a most appropriate one, Fr. Palou observes; for on that day, in the year 1212, the Spaniards under the banner of the Holy Cross gained a glorious victory over the Mahomedans. This event was annually celebrated by a special feast termed the Triumph of the Holy Cross. Furthermore, it was the day of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, through whose intercession Fr. Serra hoped to wean the savages from their beastly practices and induce them to accept the ennobling Faith of Christ.

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On the morning of July 16, therefore, the zealous Fr. Presidente, assisted by Fathers Vizcaino and Parron, raised the Cross where the chapel was to stand; whereupon, he blessed the sacred emblem of salvation as also the location for the future mission, both within sight of the harbor. (4) The few men able to be on their feet, when not attending the scurvy-stricken soldiers and sailors, lent their assistance in constructing a few poor huts of stakes which they roofed with tules. (5) These rude structures together with the hospital camp they surrounded with a stockade.

One of the buildings somewhat larger than the rest was selected for divine worship until a better chapel could be built. On the day of its dedication, Fr. Serra himself sang the High Mass and preached an appropriate sermon. Such was the formal begin-

ning of Mission San Diego de Alcalá near what is now Old Town, San Diego; and its first missionaries were Fr. Junipero Serra and Fr. Fernando Parron, the latter having come from Lower California on the ill-fated San Carlos.

Without delay, Fr. Serra endeavored to attract the savages who now and then would show themselves; but, since the Fathers could not understand their language, the Indians would accept the gifts offered them and then try to steal whatever came within their reach. They would molest even the sufferers alike. Without the least fear, they would ridicule the soldiers; and when a gun was fired, they would jeeringly mimic the report, for they had yet to learn the disastrous effect of firearms. From day to day they grew more insolent, so that often the Spaniards were tempted to teach them a wholesome lesson; but prudence demanded forbearance.

Though the savages would seize any article that could

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be carried off, they coveted especially all kinds of cloth. It was not that they wished to dress decently; for, as Fr. Crespi goodnaturedly remarks, were all the clothing in the warehouses of Mexico delivered to them with instructions to cover themselves, they would wear them on that occasion, indeed, but afterwards would let them disappear forever. So eager were the San Diego natives for drygoods that one night they approached the ship, by means of their tule rafts, and, only for the vigilance of the sailors, would have succeeded in cutting a piece of cloth from one of the sails. On another occasion, they were caught in the act of cutting one of the ropes. This audacity caused the commander to station two soldiers on board the San Carlos. In short, reversing his earlier opinion of the natives, Fr. Crespi now declared that "their voracity for stealing is without parallel." (6)

In view of what has been said, it may seem strange that the Indians would accept no eatables from the Spaniards. If, for instance, a piece of sugar was put into the mouth of a child, the little one would spit it out as if it were poison. This aversion, the Spaniards afterwards learned, was owing to the fact that the Indians attributed the sickness of so many sailors and soldiers among the newcomers to what they were accustomed to eat. Without doubt, Fr. Palou remarks, this was due to the special interposition of Divine Providence; for had the Indians been as fond of the eatables of the Spaniards as they were of their drygoods, the men would have died of starvation.

Among the regular Indian visitors, was a boy who seemed to take a fancy to the mission and who refrained from stealing anything. With him the Fathers and soldiers hoped to make a beginning toward the conversion of his people. Hence they petted and entertained him as well as possible, so that by staying around the settlement he might learn the Spanish language and later act as interpreter.

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In time they succeeded; for in a few years the youth became the official interpreter. All the other natives, however, continued to manifest ill-will; and it soon became evident that at the first opportunity they would openly assail the strangers.

The first attempt in this direction occurred less than a month after the opening of the mission. Armed with clubs, bows, and arrows, the savages attacked it, determined to massacre the Spaniards and to enjoy the booty. But they met with unexpected resistance from the soldiers, who, however, as yet refrained from using their firearms. The

savage party withdrew, but only to increase their forces and to await a more favorable time for carrying out their bloody design. Two days later, an opportunity offered itself.

"On the fifteenth of the same month of August," Fr. Palou relates, "on which day is celebrated the great feast of the glorious Assumption of our Queen and Lady into heaven, two soldiers as usual accompanied Fr. Parron to the San Carlos, aboard which he was to celebrate holy Mass, leaving only four guards at the mission. The Fr. Presidente and Fr. Vizcaino had finished celebrating the holy Sacrifice, during which some of the men received Holy Communion. The four soldiers, it seems, had gone to the river to water the horses. No sooner did the savages notice that the place was without guards, than a great number of them, all armed with bows and quivers filled with arrows, fell upon the mission and began to rob everything they could carry away. They pulled away the very sheets from under the sick. Fortunately, the corporal, who had gone with the horses, saw the savages move toward the mission. Guessing their intention, he exclaimed, 'To arms!', and then hastened back with his three companions. Slipping on their leather jackets, which were impervious to arrows, they grasped the shield in one hand and with the other seized their muskets. When the Indians saw this, they ceased robbing and withdrew, meanwhile discharging their arrows. The time had come to teach them a lesson; wherefore, the soldiers fired their muskets at them. A regular battle ensued, in which the

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Indians to their cost for the first time learned the effects of a gunshot. The four soldiers received material aid from the carpenter and the blacksmith, who used their weapons with much valor. The blacksmith especially excelled in courage. Though he had no leather jacket to protect himself, he ran among the huts and shacks, discharging his musket at the savages and yelling at the top of his voice, 'Long live the Faith of Jesus Christ! Death to the hostile dogs!'

"Meanwhile, in their poor hut, Fr. Presidente and his companion recommended all to God, praying that no deaths might occur either among the soldiers or among the savages, lest any of the latter die without Baptism. After a while, Fr. Vizcaino, desirous to see whether the Indians had retired, slightly raised the maguey mat which served as a door to the hut. No sooner had he done so than his hand was wounded by an arrow. He dropped the curtain, and then recommended himself to God, as did also the servant of God, Fr. Junipero Serra. Although the wound afterwards healed, one finger always remained crippled.

"Some time later, while the battle and the wild shouts of the Indians continued, Joseph Maria, the servant of the Fathers, rushed into the room. Falling at the feet of the venerable Fr. Serra, he cried out, 'Father, absolve me; the Indians have killed me!' He made a brief confession and the Father gave him absolution; immediately after, the wounded man expired. An arrow had pierced his throat. The Fathers kept his death a secret, so that the savages knew nothing about it. Of the aggressors, however, several fell dead. Seeing the power of the firearms and observing the bravery of the Christians, the savages retired, taking along their wounded. They carried away also their dead, so that the Spaniards might not know that any of the Indians had been killed. Among the Christians, besides Fr. Vizcaino, one soldier, one Lower California Indian, and the brave blacksmith were wounded, though not dangerously. Under the care of Doctor Prat, all soon re-

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covered. The death of the servant remained a secret, and his burial took place privately. In keeping with their custom, the savages burned the bodies of their dead. Some of their number must have been killed, though the Indians tried to conceal the fact; for the wailing of the women in the rancherias could be heard at the mission a long time after.

"The Indians soon began to reappear, but without arms and much changed in conduct. They brought their wounded to the doctor who treated them with much sympathy, until all had recovered. The kindness experienced at our hands and the sad lesson they had learned in their last undertaking, induced the savages to treat us with respect and to - conduct themselves in a manner far different from formerly. They would visit the mission, but always without weapons of any kind. Nevertheless, for safety, the Spaniards erected a stockade of poles around the buildings; nor would they permit an armed savage to approach the stockade within gunshot." (7)

In connection with this, Fr. Palou relates a charming incident of the Fathers' first missionary experiences. In the mission, they had a beautiful picture representing the Blessed Virgin Mary with the Child Jesus in her arms. When the Indians heard of it, they would come and ask the Fathers to let them see the picture. Unable to get up close to it on account of the stockade through which they were not allowed to pass, the Indian women would thrust their breasts through the poles, thus signifying their love for the divine Infant and their desire to nourish the beautiful Child. (8) This simplicity of the poor natives consoled and encouraged the missionaries in their efforts to make them spiritual-minded and God-fearing Christians. "Yet," Fr. Palou continues, "these Indians were not won over to Christianity, nor would they set foot inside the mission. Only the aforementioned youth frequently visited the mis-

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sion; but even he would for periods at a time absent himself. In the end, however, this boy of fifteen years came every day and ate whatever the missionaries gave him." (9)

Meanwhile, the presence of the youth had matured a great plan in the mind of Fr. Serra, whose zeal for immortal souls chafed under the inactivity to which the animosity of the natives condemned him and his companions. Entirely at a loss how to gain the confidence of the elder Indians, he hoped to find, with the aid of the boy, means and ways of baptizing some of the children. After that, he trusted, their parents would become more approachable and perhaps even ask for Baptism. How sadly his plan miscarried, we shall let his biographer, Fr. Palou, relate.

"When the young Indian had learned to understand a little Spanish, the venerable Father told him to try whether he could not, with the parents' consent, bring some little child, because he wanted to make it a Christian like the white men, by pouring a little water on its head; this would make it a child of God and of the Fathers, and a relative of the soldiers, who would present the child with clothing; so that it could go about dressed like the Spaniards. The boy, having at last understood what was wanted, communicated the message to the savages. After the lapse of a few days, he returned with a crowd of Indians, one of whom carried a male infant in his arms. By means of signs the Indian gave the Father to understand that he wanted the child baptized. Filled with holy joy, the venerable Father immediately gave the Indian some suitable clothes with which to dress the child. Then he invited the corporal to act as sponsor and requested the other soldiers to help solemnize the first Baptism which was to be administered in the chapel,



with the Indians present. When the Father had finished the preliminary ceremonies and was about to pour on the baptismal water, a savage snatched the child away and ran with it to the rancheria. The others followed laughing and jeering. while the Father stood amazed hold-

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ing the baptismal shell in his hand. When the soldiers proposed to avenge the profanation, Fr. Serra, remembering the ignorance and savage nature of the poor creatures, told the men to overlook the offense. So great, however, was the sorrow of our venerable Father at seeing the Baptism frustrated that for many days he went about with a countenance which plainly showed the pain and grief he felt. He attributed the failure to his sins; and whenever, even after the lapse of years, he told the story, his eyes would fill with tears." (10)

To prevent misunderstanding, it must be stated that in this matter Fr. Serra, no doubt, acted rashly. In keeping with the laws of the Catholic Church, the missionaries never, throughout the history of the missions, baptized either old or young, unless security was given that the recipient would thereafter voluntarily lead a Christian life. For this reason, in the case of adults, Baptism was often postponed till shortly before their death; and in the case of children, the parents had to promise that their baptized offspring should be raised as Christians. The sponsor, too, was each time advised of his relationship with the child, for whom he stood, as well as of the strict obligation he thereby assumed to see that his God-child was raised a Christian. In the case just related, the sponsor could not under the circumstances make such a promise; nor could Fr. Serra accept it as sufficient security. Sponsorship in the Catholic Church is no mere formality. Perhaps the good Father persuaded himself that eventually the Indians would become Christians; but he was making a venture withal, which can hardly serve to justify his method of procedure. It was well, therefore, that he failed, since thereby he as also the sponsor was relieved of a tremendous responsibility.

All this while, the scurvy-stricken sailors and soldiers were treated with the utmost devotion by good Doctor Prat. Although many were on the road to recovery, medicine and careful nursing failed in the case of eight Catalon-

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ian volunteers, four soldiers, one servant, and six Christian Indians from Lower California; these died before the return of Portola's expedition. After indescribable hardships, endured heroically by his men, the captain arrived safe at the starting point, on January 24, 1770. During all this time, the Fathers had not succeeded in making a single convert, unless we except the youth, who, however, was not yet baptized. Nor had any permanent dwellings been erected. Fr. Serra trusted that, when the captain returned with his men, some improvements would be made; but on learning that the San Antonio had not arrived with fresh supplies, the commander was in no mood to encourage missionary work at that time. To Fr. Serra's proposals he replied that the men were exhausted from the late journey; that, furthermore, he did not know whether the mission would be permanent, because he had determined, if by the feast of St. Joseph, March 19, the ship did not arrive with supplies, to begin the return march for Lower California on the following day; there were not sufficient provisions on hand to warrant waiting any longer, (11) he declared, and his men had not come to perish from hunger.

On hearing this, Fr. Presidente retired to his hut. Nothing more was done in the way of building; only an

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enclosure of, poles or sticks was erected to serve as a corral for the horses. Nevertheless, Fr. Serra had no mind to give up California. He had come to stay and stay he would, even if all others retired. Thus resolved, he proceeded to enlist the assistance of the heroic captain of the San Carlos. On learning from Fr. Serra what Portola had decided and the reasons that actuated him, Captain Vila declared he was not of the same opinion; on the contrary, he would wait for the relief ship which he was sure would come. Then he would proceed in search of Monterey Bay, because from what he had heard of the late expedition he was convinced that it had actually been at the port without recognizing it. Fr. Serra and Vila, therefore, agreed to stay, even if Portola insisted on abandoning the country. Accordingly, the Fr. Presidente decided to let two of the four Fathers accompany the party back to Lower California, while he and Fr. Juan Crespi would board the San Carlos and there await the arrival of her sister ship. (12)

In a long letter to Fr. Palou, dated February 10, 1770, Fr. Serra went over the situation at San Diego and then concluded: "Four Fathers, Fr. Juan Crespi, Fr. Fernando Parron, Fr. Francisco Gomez, (13) and I, are here, ready to found a second mission, if the ships arrive. Should we see that hope and supplies are vanishing, I shall remain here alone with Fr. Juan Crespi and hold out to the very last. May God give us His holy grace. Recommend us to God that so it may be. If Your Reverence should find that they are bringing up the cattle which remained at Velicata, (14) send us a small quantity of incense; for, though we brought the censers, the incense was forgotten. The Ordos might

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be sent, too, if they have arrived, likewise the new holy Oils, (15) in case they have come from Guadalajara. The Diaries will be rewritten as quickly as possible, mine as well as Fr. Juan's. I regret very much that they can not go now; but comforts here are meager, so that the mood for writing is at times unfavorable. We shall try, however, and send them off as soon as possible. I should like to tell Your Reverence many things, but encompassed by so many disturbances and obstacles, I can not explain nor write more." (16) The founder of the California Missions proved as resolute and courageous in pursuing an enterprise as he was zealous and God-fearing in undertaking it.

The middle of March was already drawing near. The supplies had so diminished that, according to Portola, the surplus would barely suffice to reach Velicata. The sole topic of conversation, Fr. Palou tells us, was now the retreat southward and the consequent abandonment of the mission and port; and every word, he adds, went like a shaft to the heart of Fr. Serra. In this distress, the Father proposed to Commander Portola that all make a novena or nine days' devotion in honor of St. Joseph. Portola agreed and the novena was begun; just enough time remained to have it close on the feast of St. Joseph, March 19.

In his holy prayers, during these days, Fr. Palou relates, the Fr. Presidente unceasingly laid the matter before God. He besought His Divine Majesty to cause the ship to arrive before the day assigned for the retreat of the expedition, in order that the opportunity of converting so many pagans might not be lost; for, if their conversion were

not accomplished at this time, it might become impossible, or it might again be delayed for ages, in which case thousands upon thousands would fail to share its benefits. The good Father remembered that one hundred and sixty-seven years had elapsed since the Spaniards reached this port. If now,

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after formal possession had been taken, the land should be abandoned, centuries might come and go before the country would again be visited.

At length the feast of St. Joseph dawned; but no ship was in sight. One may imagine the feelings of the venerable Fr. Presidente, who still had hope, though hope seemed in vain. In the morning of the feast, the Spaniards attended High Mass during which a sermon was preached, doubtless by Fr. Serra himself, though Fr. Palou forgot to say so. All preparations for the march to Lower California were made and there was general rejoicing in the camp and in the mission. By noon of the next day, Portola and his men would be on their way to the south. Only Fr. Serra and the few who shared his mind seemed depressed and disappointed. Had St. Joseph failed to hear their prayer? But no; his feast was not yet over; and with unyielding confidence the noble Father trusted that the ship would come. Nor did he trust in vain. That same day, before the setting of the sun, Fr. Palou tells us, Almighty God, through the intercession of the Most Holy Patriarch St. Joseph, was pleased to gratify the ardent desire of his servant, thus filling all with consolation. All day long, Fr. Serra had been watching the entry into the bay; at last, toward evening, he clearly and distinctly observed a ship passing the gate of the port. It was but a glimpse, so to speak, but it sufficed to cause Portola to postpone the departure of the troops. Words can not describe the rejoicings of the missionaries and especially the heartfelt gratitude of their Superior. Portola and his men were wholly changed. All now encouraged one another to persevere. Finally, after four days, the San Antonio came sailing into the harbor. Almighty God, in honor of the holy Patriarch St. Joseph, had wrought a miracle to prevent the abandonment of California. Such at least was the conviction of all at San Diego, especially when the captain of the San Antonio explained what had brought him to the harbor of San Diego. He had received instructions from Galvez to sail directly for Monterey where he would find the land expedition waiting for supplies.

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That was the reason why his ship, on March 19, had sailed past the port of San Diego instead of stopping there. So the vessel sailed on; but as Divine Providence directed, she lost one of her anchors, and Captain Perez was compelled to turn back to San Diego where he could provide himself with an anchor from the San Carlos, which, he knew, was still in the bay.

In gratitude for the timely aid a High Mass was celebrated. Furthermore, Fr. Serra directed that thereafter, on the nineteenth of every month, a High Mass or at least a Low Mass should be offered up to God in honor of St. Joseph. (17)

As the San Antonio had brought abundant supplies, Captain Vila and Commander Portola agreed that two expeditions should again set out in search of Monterey Bay, one by land and one by sea. Fr. Serra was to make the voyage by sea, while Fr. Crespi was selected for the land expedition, which Portola once more commanded. On

the eve of sailing, and on board the ship, Fr. Serra penned an interesting letter, from which we cull the following as especially interesting:

Rev. Fr. Lector and Presidente, Fr. Francisco Palou.

Dearly beloved Friend, Companion, and Senor:

The San Antonio, formerly called El Principe, having arrived at this port on the feast of St. Joseph, although she did not enter until four days later, the officials determined on a second trip to Monterey. Fr. Juan Crespi goes a second time by land, while I go by sea. Very late yesterday, Holy Saturday, while thinking the ship would not leave so soon (although I had already embarked everything I wanted to take along, except my bed), I received notice from our countryman Captain Juan Perez, that we should have to board the ship that same night. I went aboard, and now we are here at the entrance of the port. Ever since I celebrated holy Mass on board ship early this morning, the men have been at work setting the sails. Fathers Parron and Gomez remain at San Diego as missionaries. With them will stay a few soldiers who, we notice have not recovered as fully as the rest of us. Like the guards, I and Fr. Juan Crespi are going with the intention of separating, one for Monterey and the other for San Buenaventura, about eighty leagues distant, in order that neither through our fault nor that of the College the

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erection of that third mission of this New California may be frustrated. In truth, for me the greatest of all hardships will be the consequent solitude; but God in His infinite mercy Will make good the loss.... I am writing this letter with considerable difficulty, seated on the floor of this cabin. I have to do the same with the enclosed letter to His Excellency Don Jose de Galvez. It is very short, but it gives an account of myself. By this bark (San Antonio), I have not received even a note, much less a letter, from any one.

Verbally, we have received news of the death of our Holy Father Clement XIII, and of the election of the most excellent Cardinal Ganganelli, one of our religious. Dominus conservet eum, etc. This information has pleased me very much in this solitude.... I have likewise heard of the death of Fr. Moran, (18) for whom we are offering the holy Masses according to our agreement. The reason why no letters came, it is sad, is because this vessel was to sail directly for Monterey without touching here; wherefore, all letters intended for us at San Diego have been left behind in order that the packetboat San Jose might bring them up; but she has not yet arrived. (19) A year has already passed by, since I had any news from the College or from His Lordship Don Galvez. Soon it will be a year since I received a letter from Your Reverence. . . I shall appreciate it, if you would provide us, when there is an opportunity, with some beeswax for the holy Masses and with some incense.... I close this letter to-day, Monday after Easter Sunday, the day of the profession of our holy Father St. Francis, (20) because yesterday we did not leave the mouth of the bay after all, owing to a change in the wind.... South Sea, in front of the Port of San Diego, April 16, 1770.... Fr. Junipero Serra. (21)

Leaving Sergeant Jose Francisco de Ortega at San Diego together with eight soldiers, twelve Lower California neophytes, and Fathers Parron and Gomez, the San Antonio, with Fr. Serra. Miguel Costanso. and Doctor Pedro Prat on board, put to sea on April 16, while the land expedition comprising Commander Portola, Fr. Crespi, Lieutenant Pedro Fages, nineteen soldiers, five Lower California neophytes and two muleteers, set out on April 17. In the harbor lay the San Carlos, on board of which were Captain Vicente Vila,

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his pilot, and five sailors. In June, Captain Rivera came up from the peninsula with twenty soldiers, bringing from Velicata a drove of cattle and the supplies for which they had been despatched the preceding February.

The two expeditions eventually reached Monterey. After seeing the mission and presidio established, Portola, on July 9, took passage in the San Antonio and, without stopping at San Diego, hastened on to San Blas. On learning this, Captain Vila of the San Carlos, after waiting fifteen months to obtain a fresh crew, asked Captain Rivera for one soldier and two vaqueros who knew a little about navigation. with these and her five sailors on board, the San Carlos, in the beginning of August, 1770, at last sailed away for San Blas. A few days after reaching that port, the good captain took sick and died. He was a native of Andalucia, and a pilot of the first class in the Spanish navy. (22)

Owing to the destruction of the San Diego registers during an Indian assault, which will be told later, nothing is known regarding the activity of the two Fathers in charge of the mission at this period. However, "prior to April, 1770," as Bancroft remarks, "a full year from the first coming of the Spaniards, and perhaps to a still later period, for the register was subsequently destroyed, and the earliest date is not known, not a single neophyte was enrolled at the mission. In all the missionary annals of the northwest there is no other instance where paganism remained so long so stubborn." (23) It is therefore, impossible to say when the first converts yielded to the kindly ministrations of the Gospel messengers, although Fr. Palou writes that by March 12, 1771, "the mission already had some baptized neophytes." (24)

On this day, March 12, a noteworthy incident occurred. Ten Franciscans from Mexico landed at San Diego and

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received a hearty welcome from Fathers Parron and Gomez. These newcomers were Fr. Antonio Paterna, who acted as Superior of the missionary band until they reached their destination, and the Fathers Antonio Cruzado, Francisco Dumetz, Angel Somera, Miguel Pieras Buenaventura Sitjar, Domingo Juncosa, Jose Cavaller, Luis Jayme, and Pedro Benito Cambon. Fathers Somera and Cambon had already served in the missions of Lower California. After the supplies for camp and mission were brought on shore, the Fathers again embarked on the San Antonio in order to report for duty to Fr. Presidente Serra at Monterey. Fr. Gomez, who had received permission to retire on account of ill health, also took passage, because he feared the ship might not return to San Diego and he would have to wait a year for another opportunity. By direction of Fr. Paterna, Fr. Dumetz for the present took his place at San Diego. This appointment was made permanent by Fr. Serra who, moreover, asked Fr. Jayme to replace Fr. Parron, because the latter was likewise ill and hoped to recover his health in Lower California.

The San Antonio sailed from Monterey on July 7, 1771, having on board Pedro Fages, now Captain and Military Commander of Upper California. With him came Fathers Paterna and Cruzado, who were destined for Mission San Buenaventura, still to be founded; likewise, Fathers Somera and Cambon, who were to establish Mission San Gabriel; then, Fr. Gomez, who was returning to the College in Mexico; and Fr. Luis Jayme, who was appointed for Mission San Diego. After a week's sailing, on July 14,

this distinguished company landed at San Diego. Soon after, Captain Rivera withdrew overland to the peninsula, Fr. Parron probably accompanying him. (25)

Reporting to Viceroy De Croix on July 17, 1771, Fages wrote:

I find that this Mission (of San Diego) has made a good beginning as regards temporary buildings and cultivation. Also the cattle,

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which Captain Fernando Rivera left here when he departed, are in good condition. There are eighty-two cows, seven bulls, eight heifers of two years, and thirteen calves. I find also thirteen mules. There are only thirteen soldiers with the corporal, who, it seems to me, are necessary for the protection of the Mission.

A day later, July 18, Fages informed De Croix:

The drove of cattle from Lower California, besides sixty mules, guarded by twenty soldiers and five muleteers, have arrived. This will enable me to facilitate the founding of the Missions of San Gabriel and San Buenaventura. This I shall do at once, and distribute to each mission the requisite cattle and mules. Thus I shall leave them in a good state of defense. (26)

The San Antonio sailed for San Blas on July 21. Next day, nine soldiers and one muleteer deserted. Fr. Paterna was asked by Fages to reason with the men and to offer them a full pardon if they returned. The good Father overtook the deserters and persuaded them to go back. On the night of August 6, however, after Fathers Somera and Benito Cambon had set out for San Gabriel with ten soldiers and a mule train carrying the goods for the new mission, five soldiers and their corporal deserted from the camp. They returned on August 24, but only to steal some cattle from the mission. This enraged Fages and he resolved to follow them in person; but on discovering that the deserters had intrenched themselves and that they were determined to resist capture, the commander went back to San Diego and asked Fr. Dumetz to intervene; the missionary complied and succeeded in bringing back the deserters.

On October 3, Fr. Somera came down from the newly-established Mission of San Gabriel. He was accompanied by three guards, because experience had taught the Fathers not to venture alone on the road. The purpose of his visit was to obtain additional guards for his mission. Fages granted him two more, and with these, on October 9, Fr. Somera reached San Gabriel. (27)

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### CHAPTER III.

Privation of Missionaries.-The Dearth of Provisions at All Missions.- Transports Arrive. Governor Fages's Interference.-Fr. Serra Goes to Mexico.-Successful.-He Returns.-San Diego a Presidio.- Fr. Palou and Other Fathers Arrive.-His Letter.-First Neophyte Woman Arrives from Lower California.-She Teaches Dressmaking,-Fr. Palou Goes North.-The Alabado.-First Report.-The Mission.-The Indians.-The Presidio.-The Country.-Live Stock.-Fr. Serra's Report.-Removal of Mission Proposed.-Dispute.-Fr. Serra's Representacion.-Fr. Jaume's Letter,-

## Proposes Removal of Mission.-The New Mission.-Fr. Serra's Description.

It may be truly said, as Fr. Palou remarks, that from the beginning the two Fathers stationed at Mission San Diego had to "sustain themselves with the bread of affliction and the waters of distress." Worldly inducements would never have sufficed to keep them at their post. Only utter unselfishness, heroic self-denial, and firm religious convictions, supported by supernatural grace, enabled them to persevere. Early in 1772, the deplorable conditions threatened the very abandonment of the undertaking inasmuch as it was a sheer impossibility to continue the work much longer. In order to stave off this disaster, Fr. Dumetz, with Fr. Cambon of San Gabriel, hastened to Lower California for supplies. By the middle of March, letters arrived at Monterey notifying Fr. Serra and Don Pedro Fages that the situation at San Diego was growing intolerable as for a long time the two missionaries had been subsisting every day on half a pint of corn, twenty ounces of flour and a little milk. Such a state of affairs rendered the pagan Indians only more reluctant to accept the white man's Religion which, they argued, provided no better than their own for bodily needs. Fages immediately sent a train of pack-mules with 2,400 pounds of flour to San Diego and to San Gabriel, where also the dearth of provisions was

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felt. Fr. Serra directed Fr. Crespi to accompany the muleteers southward and to stay there until Fr. Dumetz should return from Lower California.

Writing to Fr. Palou, under date of May 21, 1772, Fr. Crespi says: "I passed by way of San Gabriel Mission and found that the Fathers had tightened the cord around their waist.... At San Diego, I found very few victuals. There were only seven fanegas of corn and about two hundred pounds of flour. The guards for a long time maintained themselves with half a pint of corn and only twenty ounces of flour a day; the Fathers likewise, with a little milk. They say that thus they have passed most of the year, without lard, without tallow, without even a candle of this kind, and even without wine for the holy Masses, so that holy Mass is celebrated only on Sundays and on days of obligation. God grant that Fr. Dumetz arrive promptly with help for these missions and that the ships bring up supplies; otherwise, we are lost."

Finally, during the month of August, the supply ships, San Carlos and San Antonio, arrived in the harbor and thus put an end to the period of semi-starvation; but now the northern missions of San Luis Obispo, San Antonio, and San Carlos, where the lack of food had necessitated a general bear hunt, were threatened. On account of contrary winds, the two captains of the newly arrived ships refused to take the provisions to Monterey. They proposed that the supplies be taken up by pack mules, a distance of nearly five hundred miles! This it was that brought both Captain Fages and Fr. Serra to San Diego, on September 16, 1772. The Fr. Presidente at length persuaded Captain Perez to brave the winds and not to impose superhuman burdens on the poor missionaries. Perez, therefore, put to sea and reached Monterey without the least mishap. Meanwhile, Fr. Dumetz returned with additional provisions and a flock of sheep, the first, it seems, that came to Upper California. With him arrived Fr. Tomas de la Pena to replace Fr. Cambon at San Gabriel, who retired on account of ill health; but Fr. Serra sent Fathers Crespi and Dumetz

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to San Carlos and had Fr. Pena remain with Fr. Luis Jayme at Mission San Diego. (2)

While at San Diego, Fr. Presidente reminded Don Pedro Fages that the viceroy desired the founding of three more missions, and that the time had come for executing the orders of Don Jose de Galvez, regarding Mission San Buenaventura, for which the Inspector-General himself had packed the requisite church goods more than three years before. To the Father's surprise, Fages, who ever since his promotion had conceived lofty ideas of his importance, curtly replied that such matters pertained to the commander of California and not to the missionaries. This was reversing things, generally; for, not the military commander, but Fr. Serra had been directed to found and to control the missionary establishments, while the soldiers were supposed to aid in the work as far as the missionaries should deem it expedient. In fact, the military commander had received instructions to that effect. At a council held by the four Fathers at the mission, it was decided that the Fr. Presidente proceed to Mexico and explain the situation to the viceroy; for Fages had on several occasions shown an inclination to interfere with the management of the missions. On October 20, 1772, Fr. Serra, taking along an Indian youth from Monterey, sailed away in the San Carlos and reached the College of San Fernando, Mexico, just in time to prevent the closing of the Port of San Blas. His errand was most successful, too, on the matters which he desired to lay before the viceroy. Asked to present his wishes in writing, Fr. Serra drew up his famous Representacion, in which under thirty-two heads he exposed the conditions in California. Almost everything he wished was granted. The chief point at issue, the independent management of the Indians at the missions, was likewise decided

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in his favor. It was declared that the missionaries had the right to control the mission Indians as a father controls his family. This decision alone amply rewarded the painful journey of the aged Fr. Presidente to Mexico. Highly favored by Viceroy Bucareli in other ways, Fr. Serra returned to San Diego on March, 13, 1774, accompanied by the same Indian youth, who had received the Sacrament of Confirmation at the hands of the Archbishop of Mexico. He was the first of the Californians to be so favored. Fr. Pablo Mugartegui also came along; but being in ill health, he remained at the mission. (3)

While in Mexico, Fr. Serra had offered some propositions to the viceroy, touching the military system of California. Accordingly, on July 23, 1773, the latter approved a new reglamento, which went into effect on January 1, 1774. Thereafter, the military department of Upper California was to consist of the presidios of Monterey and of San Diego. The commander of the garrison at Monterey, with the rank of captain and a salary of \$3000, was to have command over all the troops in Upper California. The military camp at San Diego, now promoted to the rank of a presidio, comprised a lieutenant with a salary of \$700 a year; one sergeant at \$450; two corporals at \$400 each; twenty-two soldiers at \$365 each; two carpenters to serve the presidio and the mission at \$300 each; two blacksmiths for the same purpose at \$300 each; and a storekeeper at \$1000 a year. In addition, five corporals at a salary of \$400 each and twenty-five soldiers at a salary of \$365 each guarded the five missions thus far established. Captain Fernando Rivera y Moncada, then in Lower California, was appointed to succeed Fages and to reside at Monterey. Sergeant Jose Francisco de Ortega, then also in Lower California,



was named commander of the new presidio at San Diego with the rank of lieutenant. Don Rafael Pedro Gil received the appointment of storekeeper. (4)

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In the meantime, after delivering the missions of Lower California to the Dominican Fathers, Fr. Francisco Palou, on August 30, 1773, arrived at San Diego together with Fathers Gregorio Amurrio, Fermin Francisco de Lasuen, Juan Prestamero, Vicente Fuster, and Jose Antonio Murguia. They were escorted by a guard in command of the new lieutenant, Francisco de Ortega. The newcomers were welcomed with demonstrations of the greatest joy, the soldiers discharging firearms and artillery, and the guards responding in kind. "The neophyte Indians," (3) Fr. Palou writes, "greeted us with their sweet canticles in praise of our God whom but a short time before they had not known."

In the absence of Fr. Serra, who was still at the capital of Mexico, Fr. Palou assumed the duties of presidente or superior of the missions. Fr. Pena, who had assisted Fr. Jayme temporarily, desired to be transferred; he was, therefore, replaced by Fr. Fuster. For the present, Fr. Amurrio remained at San Diego as supernumerary. While detained at this mission, where he was awaiting the train of pack mules, which he had asked Captain Fages to dispatch from Monterey to fetch the supplies and church goods at Velicata, Fr. Palou writes: "We searched for land better suited for cultivation. Not finding any that could be sufficiently irrigated' owing to the scarcity of running water, it was determined as the best way out of the difficulty, in order that the mission could subsist, to sow the wheat and trust to rain; and for that purpose a locality was selected in the same valley of the San Diego on the banks of the river, though out of danger from the floods. about two leagues from the mission; for it had been noted that- in said locality the rains begin earlier and last longer than at the mission. Furthermore, in case of lack of rains, water could be drawn with little labor from the river. Hence the Fathers immediately commenced to prepare the land there for sowing grain. The place was named Nuestra

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Senora del Pilar." It is identical with the site of the present mission ruin.

On the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, September 8, then a day of obligation, Fr. Palou sang the High Mass, and afterwards had the happiness of baptizing eight convert Indians. A few days later, Fr. Murguia baptized seven more. They all belonged to the Rancheria of Rincon, about half a league from the mission on the road to Monterey.

September 19, eighty-two pack mules, some of which belonged to the missions of San Carlos, San Antonio, and San Luis Obispo, arrived from Monterey, and, three days later, on September 22, they were sent down to Velicata in charge of Sergeant Ortega and guards. (6)

Before setting out for the north, Fr. Palou wrote in his journal: "Inasmuch as this mission already had some convert Indians doing work, I assigned to it only one of the six neophyte families that had come from Lower California, in order that the woman might teach these female Indians how to spin and weave the wool which was already being gained from the sheep that the mission possessed." (7) It will be remembered that discoverers generally described the Indian females as wearing very scanty dress, hardly more than an apron of fibres. In such a state they could not be permitted to enter the church or to approach the missionaries. Since no tailor or dressmaker was available,

the poor friars, being all to all, had to show the uncouth creatures how to make the simple skirt and waist that would admit them to decent society. No doubt, many a misfit resulted; but that did not trouble the dusky ladies. The main thing was to be modestly covered. With the advent of this neophyte woman, however, the first in Upper California, as far as is known, the Fathers had no longer to worry on this score.

On September 26, Fr. Palou with the rest of the Fathers

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and five Christian Indian families departed for the north. At the Rancheria de Rincon, the fifteen converts, whom Fathers Palou and Murguia had baptized at the mission, saluted them in a manner that brought tears to the eyes of the traveling religious. "Kneeling down in the road," Fr. Palou tells us, "these poor Indians, who till a few days before had been savages, knowing nothing about God, now as children of the Church of God were singing the Alabado! We rewarded them with a sack of pinole (ground corn) and some Rosarybeads." (8)

At an early date, annual reports on the state of the missions were demanded by the viceroy and earnestly solicited by the Fr. Guardian of the College of San Fernando. "In obedience to this command," writes Fr. Palou, "as soon as I reached the first mission, San Diego, I informed myself on the spiritual and temporal affairs, taking note of everything, so as later to draw up a true and complete report. This same care I exercised at all the missions, and when I arrived at San Carlos de Monterey, on November 14, 1773, I made from my notes the account which I dispatched by way of Lower California to the Guardian of my College, together with a letter dated December 10, which his Reverence was to deliver to his Excellency, the viceroy. Inasmuch as in the said report the state of each mission is described, I copy it here. It makes an adequate and complete picture." (9)

Such is the introduction to the most valuable first report made in California on the state of the missions. Regarding San Diego, Fr. Palou informs the viceroy:

This mission was founded on July 16, 1769. It is situated on a high elevation (loma or bluff) about two gunshots from the beach (playa), looking toward Point Guijarros and the mouth of the port

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named San Diego, which is in thirty-two degrees and forty-two minutes north latitude. The beach, as also the vicinity of the mission, is well peopled by savages, since within a district of ten leagues there are more than twenty large rancherias, and one other adjoining the mission.

In the beginning, the Indians of this port showed themselves very haughty and arrogant, even daring to assault the camp when they noticed it left with only a small number of soldiers, the majority of whom were ill at the time when the expedition (Portola's) started out in search of Monterey Port; but they retired having learnt a good lesson when three or four of their number remained dead from gunshots and many more were wounded, whereas only one servant of the camp and mission was killed, while two men were wounded, one of whom was a missionary at the mission; but their wounds are not dangerous. This frightened the Indians and for a long time they would not approach the camp and mission. However, by degrees, they came to join the mission, so that already eighty-three adults and children are baptized, seven of whom died recently,

while twelve couples were married and are now living in the village composed of dwellings that are made of poles and tules. With them live also the catechumens, who assist punctually every day at the catechism. The pagans of other rancherias also frequent the mission and are present at the doctrina or catechism, attracted by their fondness for hearing the neophytes sing. (10)

Within the stockade is the church or chapel, constructed of poles and roofed with tules, as also the habitation of the two missionaries, having the requisite rooms partly of adobe and partly of wood and roofed with tules.

Likewise, within the stockade, is a similar structure (jaca<sup>1</sup>) that serves as the barracks for the soldier guards and as a storehouse for the supplies. For defensive purposes, within the stockade, are two cannon of bronze. One looks toward the port, and the other toward the Indian rancheria. On one side of the stockade, in the wall, is an opening for the foundations of a church thirty yards (varas) long. For this some stones and four thousand adobes have already been prepared. The foremen of the work are the Fathers, and the workmen are the neophytes, who labor with pleasure. The work has now stopped for want of provisions; the neophytes saw themselves obliged to retire in search of wild fruits until the ship arrives.

As this mission lacks water for irrigating the extensive and fertile land which it possesses, the inmates must suffer want, unless the crops turn out well. The first two years have proved this. In the first year, the riser rose so high (though it has running water near the

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mission only in the rainy season), that it carried away all that had been sown. In the second year, planting was done farther back of the stream. During the greater part of that season, however, the water was scarce so that the plants perished. Only five fanegas (11) of wheat were secured, and these were used for sowing in the locality about two leagues from the mission, because from experience it was learned that in said place rain was more frequent. The country has been surveyed for a distance of ten leagues in every direction; but no running water for irrigation has been discovered. Only for the live stock is there in various places sufficient water and abundant pasture.

The savages subsist on the seeds of the zacate (wild grass) which they harvest in due season. From these they make sheaves as is the custom to do with wheat. They also live by fishing and by hunting hares and rabbits which are plentiful. The Missionary Fathers have sent to San Blas for a canoe and a net so that the new Christians might subsist on fish. If this succeeds, it will, no doubt, be a great relief.

Of the cattle which came for these new missions from Lower California by order of Inspector-General Jose de Galvez, this mission was allowed eighteen head, large and small. In the beginning of last October it had forty head. It then owned also seventy-four head of sheep, fifty-five goats, nineteen pigs, fifteen mares, four fillies, one colt, eight tame horses, one jackass, six donkeys, four riding mules, and eighteen pack mules with the necessary outfit.

The mission possesses twelve plowshares and other iron implements. There is also a sufficient supply of tools for carpenters and for masons, and a forge for the blacksmith, although there are no mechanics to teach these crafts. (12)

The report which Fr. Serra made for the viceroy in Mexico on May 21, 1773, agrees with the preceding account of Fr. Palou. "In spiritual matters," he adds, "this mission, being the first and oldest, is the most advanced, inasmuch as it has the greater

number of Christians. In this respect, I have to say that the entire rancheria, which made war on us on the feast of the Assumption of our Lady, in 1769. is already Christian, with the exception of a few old people who, owing to their greater dullness, were still in the catechumen class when I left the mission. They do not fail, however, to be present at the prayers. Likewise,

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of the other distant rancherias some are baptized. They have their habitations immediately outside the stockade of the mission." (13)

Fr. Serra, accompanied by Fr. Pablo Mugartegui, returned from Mexico and arrived at San Diego, Saturday, March 13, 1774, on board the Santiago. Both Fathers were heartily welcomed at presidio and mission. On April 6, the Fr. Presidente started for Monterey overland, leaving Fr. Mugartegui ill at the mission. On account of an obstinate stomach trouble, Fr. Prestamero embarked for Mexico on the San Antonio, which sailed August 4. In May, after delivering the office of military commander to Rivera at Monterey, Pedro Fages came down to San Diego by land and, on July 19, 1774, he took passage on the Santiago. (14) As the locality in which Mission San Diego had been originally founded with the military camp close by, had proved undesirable on account of the lack of water for irrigating, the plan to transfer it to a more suitable district was discussed at an early date. "The first proposition toward a change of site came early in 1773 from Fages, who favored a removal of the rancheria containing all the neophytes as well as many gentiles from the vicinity of the stockade. . . . The measure was recommended by a man whose approval was enough to condemn it in Serra's eyes. Consequently he opposed the change most strenuously in his report to the viceroy." 16 This statement of Bancroft is a gross misrepresentation. Neither did Fr. Serra, as will be seen presently, object to the removal of the entire mission, i. e. of the mission together with the missionaries, nor, as will also be seen, was Fages the first to propose the measure. What this official wanted was the removal of the Indians, but not of the mission; and it was this withdrawal

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of the convert Indians from the immediate supervision of the Fathers, quite another thing, that Fr. Serra boldly set his face against. But Bancroft will have his customary fling at Fr. Serra. Let us hear the Fr. Presidente himself.

"As I had not seen the mission since its first beginning," he declares in his Representation, "I greatly rejoiced at sight of such a number of Christians.... The officer (Pedro Fages), however, came to me with a deep frown, in order to criticize the Fathers for having baptized so many; for that was not to have been done until the missionaries had raised some crops. Doubtless, it vexed him that we had not asked him for provisions on their behalf. .So insignificant did the whole settlement of Christians appear to him, that the Fathers obtained not as much as a spoonful of pozole or atole (16) from the two well-loaded ships in the harbor. Hence, too, his claim that all the little huts of those Christians and of the catechumens would have to be removed from there, and that the neophytes would have to live farther away because, as he alleged, in their present shelters they might become formidable enemies and wage war on the presidio. I strongly opposed this arrangement, as I have already informed Your Excellency in my letter of March 13. Thereupon, the said official, concluded that the rancheria or mission

should not be removed, but that he would report my resistance. I earnestly supplicate your Excellency, if such a report has been made, to let me know of it and to hear my side before I depart. .

"For the present, I say only that no one who has seen the huts and their surroundings, heard the officer's reasons for wanting to remove the huts without laughing, except myself, because I did not feel like laughing when I saw efforts made to destroy for the sake of a mere whim what the Fathers had put up with so much labor, and what all contemplate with such pleasure.... How the friars

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have labored and are still laboring God knows and that suffices." (17)

It was, as we said before, Fr. Luis Jayme who in a letter formally proposed to Fr. Serra the removal of the entire mission, converts and missionaries, to another site. His reason was two-fold, the scarcity of water and the proximity of the military camp. It is clear, too, that he had already before discussed this plan with the Fr. Presidente. Because this letter addressed to Fr. Serra, who was then in Mexico, contains so much of interest, and because it is the first and only document extant of California's proto-martyr, it deserves to be reproduced entire.

Viva Jesus, Maria y Joseph!

Very Rev. Father Presidente Junipero Serra:-The Grace of the Holy Spirit be with Your Reverence and with me. Amen.

On the second of this month (of April), the mail reached here from Monterey and informed us of the safe arrival of the Principe (San Antonio) It seems that things have adjusted themselves well. The more Indians come here, the more humble they show themselves. The pagans give more signs of a desire to be baptized. A few days ago, all the boys from the Rancheria of Rincon came to learn the doctrine in order to have themselves baptized; but, as we could not give them atole every time they appeared, the quantity of corn being already very small, they stopped coming. If the supply ship delays a little longer there will be scarcely enough for the Christian Indians who are with us from Lower California. Hence we see that, if we can harvest a little wheat from what has been sown, we shall be able to baptize those who apply. We have sown about five fanegas of wheat. It rose well and prospered, until the month of January; after that, the water failed, so that almost everything withered. In the month of March, it rained on two occasions; consequently, a part of our sowing recovered and now stands fairly well; but hopes of harvesting anything are very small; for, if it does not rain much in this month and in May, nothing may be harvested, since this year there is a great lack of water.

Some days ago, savages informed us that on the other side of the sierras, which extend toward the northeast beyond this canada of San Diego, there is an abundance of pine timber, of live oak, and of a certain very tall timber which we could not classify from what was

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said; and that, besides much grass or hay, water must be plentiful there and flowing all the time. The other day the soldier who came from Monterey with the mail told me that he had been there and that he had seen much pine timber, an abundance of live oak, and many stretches of land not mixed with alkali or saltpetre. He had seen also a large

arroyo which ran with water all the year round. For a mission, he said, are many suitable places, as beautiful as he had ever seen; nothing was wanting, rather was there an abundance of everything necessary for a mission. Some places, he said, may be as much as six or seven leagues or even more in extent. The language of the savages in these places is the same as here, and they have communication with our Indians. Indeed, about fifteen days ago, Indians from there told our neophytes that they should accompany the missionaries and bring enough mules along, in order to load them with acorns, since they had enough to spare. We told them we would go there when warm weather sets in. In fact, we have determined to go and survey the place when it grows warmer. All this is said on the authority of the soldier who had seen the place and told us; we have not seen it, because we had no opportunity.

We were thinking whether this mission could not be moved, while the presidio remained here, and whether storehouses could not be erected here to receive the goods for the missions. One Father could stay here to administer the Sacraments and to receive the supplies. Should no presidio be planted here, some soldiers could stay, in order to guard the port and the ship when it arrives. In case the presidio remains here, however, it is not expedient that it be near the mission, on account of annoyances of which Your Reverence is aware.

We tell you this because it seems that as long as the mission is here, it will never have a firm basis. Nor should there be a mission here, on account of the scarcity of water; for we see that this year there are little hopes for wheat. Even if it rains, the harvest will be very small and very poor, owing to the dry season through which we have passed. Last year the flood carried away what was growing. If, by the month of May, it does not rain, nothing may be harvested; for already it is beginning to wither. In the previous year it began to rain in the middle of February, as the soldiers told me who were here; but February is too late for sowing wheat, and when the time comes for planting the corn, there is no rain.

In the year of the expedition, as the soldier relate, the arroyo had no water; nor did it rain. The arroyo has no running water save when it rains; for, if the rain delays fifteen or twenty days, it runs dry, as happened this year and in the past year. So, when both, the season and the river, fail, the crops must needs be very poor, and without harvests, I do not see how the mission can exist. Hence, Your Reverence will see what is most expedient and what can be proposed. Also to Fathers Uson and Figuer, who have come up from Lower

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California, it seems that if the mission stays here? the prospects will be poor; and it will be a constant source of affliction for the Fathers who are stationed here. We are daily awaiting the arrival of Fr. Presidente Palou and of the other Fathers who are to come here. We do not know whether or not they are on the way. We pray God to keep you in His holy love and grace. Mission San Diego, April 3, 1773. B. L. M. de V. R., your ever affectionate friend and humble subject. Fr. Luis Jayme. (Rubrica.) (18)

In the end, the viceroy authorized the transfer of the mission to another site. In his first report of the missions for the year 1774, Fr. Serra says: "It was determined to move the mission within the same canada of the port toward the northeast from the presidio, at a distance of a little less than two leagues. This place is much more suitable for a population, on account of the facility of obtaining the necessary water and on account of the vicinity of good land for cultivation. The place is called Nipaguay. The change was

effected in the month of August of the same year. We gladly take notice of the many new Christians who have followed the Fathers to the new place, doubtless recognizing its advantages. On the new site, they have constructed, by the month of December, 1774, the following buildings:

1. A church of poles and roofed with tules. It measures six by nineteen varas ( 17 by 53 feet).

2. One house, twenty varas long and four varas wide (56 by 12 feet), of adobes, but roofed with tules. It is divided into living rooms for the Fathers.

3. Another house, thirteen varas long and five varas wide (36 by 14 feet), of adobes, with a flat roof, to be used as a granary.

4. Another building of palisades and roofed with tules. It is five varas long and four varas wide (14 by 11 feet), to be occupied by muleteers and shepherds.

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5. A house of adobe with flat roof, five varas long and four varas wide (14 by 11 feet), to be used as a smithy.

6. A structure of poles and tules for the servants. It is six varas long and three varas wide (17 by 9 feet).

7. Thirteen habitations of the same character, to be used as living rooms by the Indians.

8. A corral of the same material for mares and horses in a place called Rancho de San Luis, at a distance of one league from the new mission.

Finally, new land has been prepared for sowing about seven fanegas of wheat."

In his report, Fr. Serra enumerates also the additions to the various departments of the missions as follows:

Church and Vestry -- "A lavatory of copper, two surplices, four cinctures, for the sacristy; one set of the Way of the Cross with pictures, for the church."

House and Field-After enumerating various house utensils and farm implements, Fr. Serra continues, "In addition to all this, the mission has received donations from His Excellency, which he designed to send in the shape of all kinds of provisions, that is to say, flour, corn, beans, hams, vegetables, beads, clothing for the Indians, etc., all of which are not entered in the memorias. (19) Nor are the articles named which our College sent to the missions and to this one in particular, which amount to much more than the stipends allowed the missionaries. 'In future,' the Fr. Guardian writes, 'we shall receive the list of goods in keeping with the amount of the stipend, and more than that should not be asked for.'"

Live stock-"There are fifty-four head of cattle, large and small; one hundred and four head of sheep; sixty-one goats; twenty-two riding and pack mules; nine tame horses; fifteen mares; eleven colts and fillies; two male and one female mule; and twenty-seven pigs, large and small.

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Agriculture-"In the past year, they sowed seven fanegas of wheat, but harvested only thirty, owing to the scarcity of water, irrigation not having been established as yet.

Families and individuals-"From the founding of the mission to December 31, 1774, there have been baptized one hundred and six persons, adults and children. Nineteen have died, and thus there remain at the mission ninety-seven persons. all living in the mission within sound of the bell. There have been celebrated nineteen marriages, that is to say, seventeen neophyte males with neophyte females, and two with

Indians from Lower California. Thus the mission consists of nineteen families with ninety-seven Indian souls, according to the reports of the missionaries." (20)

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#### CHAPTER IV.

Dark Days Approaching.-Fr. Palou's Account.-Conspiracy.-Mission Attacked and Fired.-The Battle.-Casualties.-Fr. Jayme Murdered.-Fr. Fuster's Heroism.-Bravery of the Soldiers.-A Vow. -Neglectful Sentinels.-Body of Fr. Jayme Discovered.-Burial at Presidio.-Fr. Serra and Captain Rivera Notified.-Fr. Serra Pleads with Viceroy for the Conspirators.-Captain J. B. Anza.-Account of the Disaster by Fr. Pedro Font, O. F. M.-Anza and Fr. Font Depart.-Indian Takes Refuge in Church.-Rivera Drags Indian from Church.-The Fathers Protest.-Rivera Declared Excommunicated.-Church Asylum.-Fr. Serra at San Diego.-Noble Captain Choquet.-Rebuilding of the Mission Begun.-Rivera's Duplicity.--Choquet Indignant.-Gloom.-Letter from Viceroy Bucareli.-Fr. Serra Happy.-Mission Restored.-Indian Revolters Released.

On its new site, the mission seems to have thrived uncommonly well, in fact, so well that, as the Fathers eventually concluded, it roused the anger of mankind's enemy, who presumed to have a mortgage, as it were, on the souls of the Indians. Only too early did the dark days of tribulation steal upon the happy patriarchal family. We shall let Fr. Palou relate his

"Account of the Cruel Martyrdom of the Venerable Fr. Luis Jayme, and of the Lamentable Tragedy at Mission San Diego.

"In the month of November, 1775, the missionaries stationed at Mission San Diego were Fr. Luis Jayme, formerly rector of philosophy in the Franciscan Province of Mayorca, and Fr. Vicente Fuster, a member of the Province of Aragon. Both observed with delight the spiritual fruit so abundantly gathered in that vineyard of the Lord. That same year, on October 3, the eve of our Seraphic Father St. Francis, they had baptized as many as sixty convert Indians who, with the many already baptized, formed a good-sized settlement, which lay in the valley of the same

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name, two leagues distant from the presidio. They had moved the mission to this place about one year before in order to cultivate corn and wheat for the maintenance of the new establishment, and in order to convert the gentiles. In this, their efforts had been unsuccessful on the original mission site adjoining the garrison.

"Undoubtedly, the jealous archenemy realized that in this territory paganism was doomed; that the missionaries by their whole-soured energy and apostolic zeal were weakening his stronghold and were little by little banishing heathenism from the vicinity of the port of San Diego. Accordingly, he planned an attack on this spiritual conquest, and God in His inscrutable judgments permitted Satan to revenge himself upon those who had snatched so many souls from his infernal clutches. Malice, of course, led Sa-



tan to incite a few new Christians, not as yet grounded in the Faith, to rise in rebellion for the purpose of putting an end to the mission and of taking the lives of the missionaries as well as of the soldiers who guarded and defended them. Shortly after the feast of our Seraphic Father St. Francis, on whose vigil, as I said, sixty Indians had received Baptism, two Indians, who had been Christians a long time, apostatized and fled from the mission. The Fathers knew neither the cause nor the motive. A few days after they had been missed, the sergeant of the presidio with a party of soldiers went in search of the deserters. He was unable to find them; but he learned that many Indians had gone to the sierra between San Diego and the Colorado River. The reason for this exodus he could not ascertain. What he did discover, however, was that the two apostates were going from rancheria to rancheria, exhorting the pagans to put an end to the mission and the presidio. In the councils they declared that they wanted to kill the soldiers because these defended the Fathers, and that they wanted to kill the missionaries because these intended to abolish paganism by converting all to Christianity. This is what one of the malefactors confessed to Comandante Fernando Rivera, from whose lips I heard it, and

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which was proved at the subsequent investigations. Some of the rancherias declined to co-operate, but the majority conspired and resolved that the assault should be made at night against the presidio and the mission simultaneously.

"The conspirators, numbering about eight hundred and well armed with arrows and war clubs, fell upon the mission at about one o'clock in the night of November 4, 1775. Another party proceeded to attack the presidio, since they had agreed to charge both places at the same time. The mission was not to be fired until it was thought that the other party had reached the presidio, and here the fire was to be started when it was seen at the mission. These diabolical schemes were so little suspected at either the presidio or the mission that all went to sleep, the Fathers as well as the soldiers. What was worse, the sentinels, too, gave themselves up to sleep, as can be inferred from all the letters that have come from San Diego. From these I compile the following account:

"At about one o'clock in the night," Fr. Palou continues, "that part of the savage mob arrived which was to attack the poor mission. Some of these Indians stationed themselves at the doors of the huts of the Christians in the village in order to prevent them from sounding the alarm or taking up arms, threatening with death whoever should leave his habitation. The others went to the vestry to rob the vestments and whatever they might discover of use to themselves. Finding the chests locked, they broke them open with stones and stole everything they wanted. From the sacristy they passed on to the soldiers' quarters, which stood somewhat apart. Here they found a fire burning; but all, even the sentinels, were sleeping so soundly that the racket caused by breaking open the wardrobes in the vestry had not been sufficient to rouse them. When the savages noticed this, one of their number took a brand from the fire and with it set fire to different parts outside. That awakened the two missionaries, who were sleeping in separate apartments, as also the soldiers of the guard. Of

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these there were only three besides the corporal, since one had gone to the new foundation of San Juan Capistrano, and another, having gone three days before to the pre-

sidio on account of ill health, had not been replaced. Besides those mentioned, there were in another quarter the blacksmith and two carpenters, one from the presidio, who was ill, and one who belonged to the mission. In another building were two youths, the son and the nephew of the presidio lieutenant. Against this small number of persons stood united a formidable army, but so cowardly as to choose the most unexpected hour of the night.

"When Fr. Vicente awoke and saw the buildings on fire, he hastened to the barracks where the soldiers had already begun to discharge their muskets. The two boys likewise took refuge under the protection of the soldiers. The blacksmith was about to leave his room when he was so badly wounded that he died soon after. The carpenter of the mission seized a gun which he had in readiness, shot one of the Indians, and escaped to the soldiers' quarters during the subsequent turmoil. The other carpenter, Ursulino by name, who was ill, received a mortal wound; he lived to the fifth day, however, during which time he was prepared for death; and we piously believe that he went to enjoy God, inasmuch as he gave such good proof of being well disposed; for, when pierced with the arrow that caused his death, he said only these words: 'Ha, Indian, you have killed me. God forgive you!' He persevered in these dispositions, forgiving him who had inflicted the wound. More than that; when he made his will, presuming there was no needy relative, he bequeathed all that was coming to him from the general store, and that was quite a considerable amount, to the Indians of Mission San Diego. An heroic act, worthy of a true disciple of Jesus Christ!

"Fr. Luis Jayme, who awoke at the same time as his

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companion, Father Vicente, did not seek the soldiers' quarters, but went to where a crowd of savages were standing. On coming near enough, he greeted them with his customary salutation, 'Love God, my children!-Amar a Dios, hijos!' In return, however, they seized him and dragged him outside the mission to the bed of the river. Here, having stripped him to the trunks, they began to shoot innumerable arrows into his body and to beat him with clubs until life was extinct. When discovered next day, there was not a sound spot on his body, save the consecrated hands. These God had preserved (as we must piously believe and infer from the Father's godly and exemplary conduct), in order that it might be known how zealously and nobly he had labored for the Indians who should repay him with such cruelty, and how he had toiled for the purpose of saving their souls and rescuing them from the gates of hell. Nor do we doubt that he shed his blood willingly, in order to irrigate that vineyard of the Lord which he had cultivated amid such hardships and which because of such copious irrigation, will yield fruit in season by converting the remainder of the pagans who as yet persist in their wild life. This we hope from the Lord through the intercession of the venerable deceased, whose soul I do not doubt is now enjoying God.

"While some of the savages were martyring the venerable deceased, the rest craved to do the same to the other Father in the soldiers' barracks, which like the other structures was already on fire. In order to massacre all, as they had resolved, the savages kept on discharging arrows and throwing clubs. One of the soldiers, who wore no leather jacket, was in fact struck by an arrow and disabled; but the other three did their best and succeeded in killing some of the savages and wounding others. The fire raging in every direction was already becoming intolerable. In order not to roast to death, the soldiers determined to move to a little adobe structure, three walls of which had the

height of a man, and which the cook had covered with boughs as a protection against the sun. This place

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they reached at imminent peril from a shower of arrows. Shooting through the cracks and openings in the walls, the soldiers wounded every savage that came within sight. No sooner, however, had the Indians noticed this than they threw firebrands on the branches that served as a roof. Fortunately, there were but few branches, so that little harm was done the persons who had taken refuge there. What molested them seriously were the darts, clubs, and fire-brands which the Indians threw into the side that was open. To deliver themselves from this danger, the soldiers resolved to fetch from the burning buildings some bundles and boxes with which to erect a kind of parapet. Although in this bold attempt another soldier was disabled by the arrows of the enemies, the men succeeded in constructing the low barricade behind which they were protected when discharging their muskets. Though shielded now on all sides against the arrows, the defenders were not secure against the firebrands, sticks, and the lumps of adobe, which the savages threw over the walls; still, these did little harm. In this situation, the heroic defenders continued until the powder began to give out. In one of the burning houses, the mission had a quantity of powder which it used to discharge the guns on great festival occasions. It was preserved in a box which, through the interposition of the Lord, had not yet been reached by the fire. They succeeded in getting it; and with it the men continued the defense until the dawn of day, when the enemies retired, taking along their dead and wounded."

In his Nota Previa to the Death Register of Mission San Diego, Fr. Fuster unhesitatingly attributes the preservation of the survivors under the desperate circumstances just related to the interposition of the heavenly Queen. "We were thus protected against the arrows," he writes, "although not against the fiery darts and stones that rained down on us and thus put us all in the greatest peril, on account of a bag of about fifty pounds of powder which we had

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there. (2) Seeing ourselves so endangered in this exposed place, we turned to the Most Pure Queen of the Angels; we vowed to fast on nine Saturdays, each promising to have a holy Mass celebrated, and I on my part promised a novena of holy Masses in her honor. In this way we maintained ourselves till daybreak; and all this while we experienced the evident aid of the Blessed Queen in this place. For although the enemies were only fourteen paces away from us, and our only protection were low adobe walls, not one of the arrows nor even of the stones as much as touched us."

"Meanwhile, Fr. Palou continues, "the second band of savages had proceeded to the garrison; but before reaching it, they stopped because those who were to assault the mission had in their haste set fire to its buildings when the others were yet at a distance from the presidio. From the road they saw the conflagration at the mission; but they dared not approach the garrison, since they presumed that the fire must have been seen there. Hence, they hastened back to join the other savages at the mission, in order to help them in case, as they expected, relief should come from the presidio soldiers. At the military post, however, they were as careless as the guards at the mission. They did not learn what had happened till the morning of November 5, when they were notified by

the Lower California Indian whom, on the withdrawal of the enemies' Fr. Vicente had despatched to them. Without doubt, the sentinel had been sleeping, since he neither had seen the great fire, although from the presidio the mission buildings are visible, nor had even heard the gunshots so often breaking the silence of the night, although at the mission one could hear the salute which was fired every morning at the presidio.

"After daybreak, on November 5, when the savages had disappeared, the Christians came forth from their ran-

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cheria. They went to Fr. Vicente who was with the wounded soldiers and with tears in their eyes related how the pagans had threatened them with death if they would leave their habitations. Then Fr. Vicente immediately sent an Indian to the presidio to report what had happened. Others were despatched in search of Fr. Luis. Fr. Vicente was much worried on his account, as he knew nothing about his companion; the whole building was already ablaze when he fled to the barracks. Not finding Fr. Luis with the soldiers, he again left the barracks at the peril of his life to look for him in his apartment. Failing to find him there, Fr. Vicente feared he had been burnt to death, but such was not the case; for Fr. Luis had gone up to the savages, who at once took his life in a cruel manner. Not knowing this, however, Fr. Vicente supposed that Fr. Luis might perhaps be in hiding and was not aware that the savages had departed. Hence he ordered a search. At the same time, he directed other Indians to extinguish the fire in the wheat room, so that at least some of the provisions that the mission had might be saved.

"The Indians searched for Fr. Luis and at length found him dead in the mission arroyo. The body was covered from head to foot with wounds and wore no more clothing than his innocent blood. They bore the corpse to Fr. Vicente, who was beside himself with grief at sight of his beloved companion Father. He wrote later that the face was so disfigured and bruised from the blows with war clubs that he could recognize the body of Fr. Luis only by the whiteness of the flesh appearing through the crust of blood, that was the only robe the corpse wore. There was not a sound spot on it, except the innocent hands. It is left to the reader to imagine the pain which the said Father must have felt, who saw his beloved companion missionary killed with such cruelty, and to picture the extraordinary lamentations of the neophytes bitterly bewailing their dead Father whom they loved so much. When pain and sorrow at last gave way to reflection, Fr. Vicente ordered some of the Indians to prepare stretchers on which

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to carry the dead and those of the wounded who could not travel on horseback, to the presidio, whilst waiting for relief from there. This was done; and when the soldiers appeared, they conveyed the dead and wounded to the garrison, Fr. Vicente following on foot. On arriving at the presidio, he buried the two dead, the venerable Fr. Luis Jayme and the blacksmith Jose Romero. Then they endeavored to restore to health the four soldiers and the carpenter Urselino. The former all recovered; but the carpenter who was more seriously injured died an exemplary death on the fifth day after the cruel tragedy. A few days later, Fr. Fermin Francisco de Lasuen and Fr. Gregorio Amurrio arrived. They had gone to found Mission San Juan Capistrano, but suspended action for the present. The three Fathers celebrated the obsequies for the dead Father, and then re-

ported all that had occurred to the Fr. Presidente in letters which the lieutenant despatched by a courier to Monterey.

"The despatches of Lieutenant Jose Francisco de Ortega reached Captain Fernando Rivera at Monterey, on December 13, 1775, toward nightfall. No sooner had he read the note than he rode out to Mission San Carlos to deliver the letters from the Fathers of San Diego, that recounted the deplorable occurrence so deeply felt by all. When Fr. Serra learned what had happened, he exclaimed, 'Thanks be to God, that land is already irrigated; now the conversion of the Dieguinos will succeed.' 3

"Captain Rivera resolved to go to San Diego immediately and that same night went back to Monterey. Fr. Serra desired to accompany him; but Rivera pleaded haste, so that Fr. Serra would not be able to follow him. At the Mission of San Carlos, the Office of the Dead was chanted and a Requiem Mass offered up. The six Fathers attended, though all believed that Fr. Luis having won the crown of martyrdom needed no prayers; but not being infallibly certain,

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they offered the suffrages. Moreover, each Father, according to the agreement, said twenty holy Masses for the soul of the deceased. Fr. Serra sent an account to the Fr. Guardian of San Fernando College, Mexico. To the viceroy also he wrote a full account, and prayed him to bear in mind that, instead of being frightened and disheartened, the friars in California felt encouraged by the example of their martyred brother, whom they envied the martyrdom. Fearing only that castigation might be inflicted on the Indians who had taken part in the murder and assault, Fr. Serra begged him to have mercy on them, since they were doubtless influenced by the enemy of souls, who, he hoped, would not be given the satisfaction of seeing the restoration of the mission and the founding of Mission San Juan Capistrano delayed. What was wanted at the missions was a stronger guard to prevent similar disasters. These letters were brought to Captain Rivera by Fr. Dumetz, who accompanied Rivera as far as Mission San Antonio." (4)

The captain reached San Diego on January 11, 1776, accompanied by Lieutenant-Colonel Juan Bautista Anza, commander of an expedition on its way from Sonora to San Francisco Bay, by Fr. Pedro Font, a Franciscan and chaplain of the troops and colonists, and by about thirty soldiers. (5) Fr. Font kept a very detailed diary; he was a close observer and not afraid to express his views clearly. From him we have some particulars that throw much light on the revolt and on Captain Rivera. "The presidio," he relates, "is located in a very bad place on a hill dominated by others. It is small and inadequate. At its foot, passes the river which for a great part of the year runs dry. Scarcely enough water is obtained from the pools in its sandy bed to suffice for drinking purposes."

Touching the conditions at the Mission, he writes:

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"Neither the presidio nor the mission has as yet any fields under cultivation wherefore few Indians live there. Most of them, though they be Christians, are permitted to live in their rancherias, as is done in Lower California; for this reason they have such close intercourse with the pagan Indians. They are, in fact, more pagan than Christian. The destruction and assault has, therefore, made them very poor. In truth, Mission San Diego

is the poorest which the Fathers have on the coast. Likewise, its Indians are the worst. They belong to the Quemaya tribe, and they are very similar to the Jecuiches as well for perverse intentions and wicked heart as for being in body vile, ugly, dirty, careless, smutty, and flatfaced. They are ungrateful to the Fathers, and so ill-mannered that to secure some fish the missionaries have to pay them with beads, or corn, etc.

"As already stated, the presidio and mission have neither sufficient soil nor water for raising grain. The missionary Fathers, after instructing the pagans, baptized a large number of them, I believe five hundred, and permitted them to live in their rancherias, only appointing one who knew how to lead in their prayers. All, however, were obliged to come to the mission by turns and hear holy Mass on Sundays and days of obligation, as is the custom in Lower California. Under these conditions, the Christians were such only in name, and more or less like the pagans, weak in Christianity, free to live as they pleased, and without sufficient instruction; but still the missionaries could do nothing more."

Fr. Font then relates the massacre and in forceful terms gives vent to his indignation regarding the sentinels who had been sleeping instead of standing guard. "The four soldiers," he writes, "be it that they had been wounded or that Captain Rivera had a special affection toward them, were not at all reproved. Neither was the sentinel at the presidio punished, who claimed that he had taken the light in the firmament, caused by the burning mission, to be the light of the moon; that, any way, it was his business to look after prisoners only, wherefore he did not bother where

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the light came from. The remarkable excuses of the negligent soldiery appeared to have satisfied Rivera. Instead, the commander blamed Lieutenant Francisco de Ortega, toward whom he nourished a special animosity, because the Fathers had recommended him to the government. Ortega, however, was entirely innocent for the simple reason that he had been absent at the time, having accompanied Fr. Lasuen to found Mission San Juan Capistrano. But he was friendly to the missionaries, and that was another motive for the commander's animosity. Rivera made much more ado about the soldiers than about the missionaries as may be seen from the way he seized the opportunity to vent his pent-up spleen on Fr. Serra. When he, as commander at Monterey, received the news of the uprising at San Diego Mission, he immediately went to Mission Carmelo to notify the Fr. Presidente and he did it in this brutal fashion. 'Fr. Presidente,' he said on entering Fr. Serra's room, 'I have just received a fatal notice from San Diego which obliges me to put myself on the road thither immediately, and it is that the Indians have revolted, burned the mission, and killed Fr. Luis. Only one thing pleases me very much, and it is that no soldier was killed, thanks be to God.'

"At the mission, everything had been reduced to ashes," Fr. Font continues, "so that the Fathers were entirely destitute, their books, manuscripts, etc., having all been destroyed in the fire. The censer, the chalice used at holy Mass, and pieces of coin used in the ceremonies of marriage, had been melted to a solid mass. The missionaries retired to the presidio, where they were huddled together bereft of every comfort.

"On January 14, 1776, Sunday," Fr. Font tells us that he celebrated holy Mass and that afterwards "High Mass was Sung by one of the Fathers, in honor of the Most Sweet Name of Jesus for the pacification of the Indian rebels. I sang in the choir," he adds, "and accompanied my singing with a poor spinet, which Fr. Angel Somera (of San Gabriel) left for this mission when he was at the presidio."

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"On Monday, January 15, the examination of the revolters was resumed. Besides the five chiefs imprisoned at the presidio, two were taken from the mission rancharia. These went to join the savages, who wanted to make a third attack on the presidio. The lieutenant ordered the two to be flogged; this was done with such severity that one of the unfortunates died, while the other was in a bad condition. Fr. Fermin Lasuen began to treat this latter culprit very kindly and patiently; but he met with little gratitude. The Indian remained sullen, and, on recovering somewhat, he disappeared. Later, the nine new prisoners were examined, having previously received fifty lashes. Nevertheless, it was not learned what they had done with the images of the Blessed Virgin and of St. Joseph. "Fr. Font further remarks that the Indians appeared to be infested from childhood with sores and tumors, since they were covered with scabs, a sign of impure blood, just as he had observed on the savages of the sierra.

Notwithstanding the scarcity of beeswax candles, the solemn blessing of candles, on February 2, took place. "In this connection I must remark," he writes, "that the church is a jacal of tule, which is very poorly constructed and had formerly been used as a warehouse." This fact the reader will please remember, because it has bearing on the conduct of Rivera.

On February 3, it was reported from San Gabriel that the people were suffering from lack of food. Accordingly, on Sunday, February 4, a train of pack mules was sent with provisions consisting of worm-eaten corn. Dona Catarina Ortiz, the wife of Don Manuel Monteagudo, at whose house Fr. Font was quartered, tried to persuade him to stay until he had recovered from his illness, and she also requested Anza to postpone the departure; but Fr. Font would not hear of it. Hence, on February 9, Anza set out, accompanied by Fr. Font and guards.

In the meantime, one of the neophytes, who had participated in the assault on the mission, repented and took refuge in the building used for divine service at San Diego. "When

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Fr. Vicente learned this," Fr. Palou writes, "he went in person to visit the captain and told him what had occurred, in order to see what could be done quietly. The captain replied that it was well; he would think it over. What he did, however, was to send an official note to said Father, telling him to deliver the Indian culprit named Carlos, who had taken refuge in the sanctuary to which privilege on account of his crime he had no right, and which did not render his person sacred, especially since the apartment where holy Mass was celebrated was not a church but only a warehouse. Therefore, the Indian should be turned over within so many hours; if this was not done, he (Rivera) would take him out by force and bring him to the guardhouse as a prisoner."

"Having considered the document, Fr. Vicente Fuster with the assistance of the two Fathers then at the mission (Fr. Lasuen and Fr. Amurrio), drew up a reply, saying they could not hand over the Indian without the express command of the ecclesiastical Superior to whom the matter pertained; and that if his honor, the captain, dared to take him out by force, he would stand excommunicated, of which this reply was to serve as a notification. At the same time, Fr. Fuster quoted the authorities they had consulted before making the answer. No sooner had Rivera received the letter, than he collected his troops and with them surrounded the chapel. Then he himself, girded with his sword, the

baton in one hand and a lighted candle in the other, entered the chapel. Seizing the poor neophyte, who had taken refuge in the sanctuary, Rivera dragged him from the chapel and took him to the guardhouse, where he ordered him to be put in the stocks.

"The Fathers from the door of their habitation witnessed and heard with amazement the tumult which they were powerless to stop. Fr. Vicente, as minister in charge, vigorously protested, however, against the force employed in his church. In a loud voice he exclaimed that the captain and all who had participated in taking the Indian from the church were excommunicated and would be regarded as

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such. The captain responded, 'Alright, Father, your Reverence may protest. There goes the protest,' he added, pointing to the prisoner whom they were taking away.

"Next day, Fr. Vicente sent another note, and after a certain interval, a third, warning the captain to return the culprit under pain of having the excommunication published. Far from complying, however, Rivera disdained even to read the notes. Two days later, on the feast of Our Lady of Sorrows (6) the Fathers made ready to sing a High Mass. But before beginning, the people being already assembled, Fr. Lasuen, who was to be the celebrant of the holy Mass, turned to the people and said, 'Senores, we are about to sing holy Mass in honor of Our Lady of Sorrows in this church. It has been said that I had declared this edifice not to be a church; I here maintain, however, that I never made such an assertion. I have always averred and I repeat it now, that this is the church of the presidio, and that all those who took part in removing the Indian now held a prisoner in the guardhouse, are excommunicated, and that, therefore, they may not assist at holy Mass. Hence, if any one of them should be in the church, he will leave; otherwise, I am not permitted to proceed with holy Mass.' At this, all who had cooperated went out, and the Fathers sang the holy Mass."

If the reader opens the Sacred Scriptures at the nineteenth chapter of the Book of Deuteronomy, verses 2, 3, 7, he will find specific ordinances explaining the attitude of the priests at San Diego. "I command thee that thou separate three cities at equal distances from one another . . . so that he who is forced to flee for manslaughter may have near at hand whither to escape . . ." The Catholic Church (and under Spanish rule this was the law of the dominion) extended this immunity for refugees to all her churches. Accordingly, any one accused of murder, whether guilty or not, who took refuge in such a sanctuary, was regarded as inviolable while in the shadow of the altar. Civil

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and military authorities could do nothing but formally demand that the accused be delivered up to justice. The priest in charge would give up the refugee only after the secular authorities had promised in writing that the accused should have a fair trial. An official, who entered the sanctuary of the church armed for the purpose of forcibly seizing the refugee and without giving the required bond, incurred excommunication. Rivera knew this law both of the Church and of Spain very well; but because Fr. Serra had unwittingly offended the officer's pride, Rivera determined to seize this opportunity to show his superiority over the Fathers. Indeed, he treated the promulgation of the excommunication with contempt; but soon to his cost he learned that he had overreached the mark. No one would associate with an excommunicated person; nor could one under excommunication attend public worship, or receive the Sacraments. Rivera's companions in the



crime against Church Asylum, doubtless, experienced the consequences more quickly, and possibly made him feel it. Too proud to acknowledge his fault, the captain approached Fr. Serra at Monterey and, over the heads of the San Diego Fathers, sought to obtain release from the necessity of giving satisfaction for the insult to the Church as well as for the scandal given to the amazed Indian converts. Fr. Serra, however, after hearing Rivera's quibble about the warehouse not being a church, and after reading the letters received from the Fathers of San Diego, decided that the captain would have to restore the Indian to the same church in charge of the Fathers and that in this event they themselves would lift the excommunication. Whether or not Rivera followed these instructions is not known. (7)

Meanwhile, the Fathers of San Diego reported to their Superior that after months no steps had been taken to restore the mission, or to proceed with the founding of San Juan

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Capistrano, and that the two Fathers destined for this mission, Fr. Lasuen and Fr. Amurrio, as also Fr. Fuster, were chafing under their inactivity. Disheartened and disgusted they petitioned Fr. Serra to permit them to retire to their mother College. Fr. Serra had long sought an opportunity to visit San Diego in person. At last he set sail in the San Antonio, which left Monterey on June 30, 1776. On July 11, he affectionately embraced his disconsolate subjects. Fr. Vicente de Santa Maria had come along.

After studying the situation, Fr. Serra immediately took steps for the restoration of the destroyed establishment. Approaching Captain Diego Choquet of the San Antonio, he asked him to lend his sailors for the work of rebuilding the mission, as long as the ship should tarry in the harbor, and provided Captain Rivera furnished a sufficient guard. To the delight of the Fr. Presidente, Choquet answered like a Christian, Fr. Palou remarks; not only should the sailors assist, the captain replied, but he himself would act as foreman and, if necessary, as ordinary laborer. (8)

In an official note, Fr. Serra informed Comandante Rivera that now after eight months' waiting, the savages being entirely pacified and the ringleaders imprisoned, as his Honor had reported to the viceroy, the Fathers intended to begin rebuilding the burnt mission with the aid of Captain Choquet and his men who had readily offered their services, and that nothing more was required than a sufficient guard which, he trusted, the commander would supply. Much as this was against his grain, Rivera dared not refuse the guards; and, therefore, he detailed a corporal and five soldiers to protect the Fathers and laborers while at work on the mission. It was decided that on August 22 the work should commence.

When the time arrived, Fr. Serra, two of the missionaries Captain Choquet accompanied by one of his pilots, the mate and twenty sailors, fifty Indian laborers, and the corporal

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with five soldiers, set out for the site of the ruined mission. The laborers went to work with a will. Some collected stones, others prepared the ground for the stone foundations, while the rest made adobes for the wall of the quadrangle behind which they could with security erect the church, habitations, and other buildings. For fifteen days, all toiled without any sign of trouble from savages. During this time, the men had

brought together a large quantity of stone and had made seven thousand adobe bricks. In two weeks, they hoped to have the walls of the quadrangle nearly completed. Fr. Serra nourished the hope of finishing the mission before the ship would have to leave; after that, he thought, it would be time for sowing wheat. But the arch-enemy had concocted another scheme to frustrate the plans of Fr. Presidente, and to carry it out he employed no less a person than Don Fernando Rivera himself.

A neophyte of Mission San Diego went one day to the presidio and told the comandante how he had heard from a pagan Indian that the rancherías of the savages intended to repeat their assault, and that they were making many arrows. Rivera at once sent out the sergeant of the presidio with a party of soldiers to ascertain the truth. On his return, he stated that not the least sign had been observed that might warrant belief in the rumor. Nevertheless, Don Fernando credited the story of the neophyte, and it frightened him to such a degree that, without saying a word to Fr. Serra, who that day happened to be at the presidio, he went out to the mission site with some soldiers. The men, in quite a cheerful mood, were resting that day, because it was Sunday and the feast of Our Lady's Nativity. On arriving there, Don Fernando called Captain Choquet aside and told him he was convinced the savages would make another attack on the mission. He had, therefore, determined to withdraw the soldiers and advised the captain to retire likewise with his men, since they owed as much to the royal service. "You will also do me the favor," he added, "to notify the Fathers; for I can not tell them, knowing what a pain it will cause them."

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Rivera was not sincere. He had in various ways proved that he cared naught how much he pained the friars; otherwise he would not have subjected Fathers Lasuen and Amurrio to almost a year of intolerable idleness, when he should have assisted them to proceed with the founding of Mission San Juan Capistrano. Nor was Choquet deceived.

Despite his clear and forceful arguments, the captain of the ship could not make Rivera change his mind. When he asked the comandante whether he had made any effort to ascertain the truth, the latter replied that he had not done so, but that, since he noticed the Indians were repeating the story, he took it to be true. "At another time when rumors like these circulated," the indignant Choquet rejoined, "before taking any steps, you ordered the sergeant to investigate and found them to be lies; for the rancherías were very quiet and the Indians very sorry and repentant for what had happened. Command that investigations be made now, and you will learn that, with all the armed troops here, there is no reason for alarm. It would seem more to the purpose, if you have any misgivings, to increase the guards, rather than have them retire, to the disgrace of the Spanish arms." Instead of convincing the comandante, these arguments angered him all the more. Leaving strict orders that his own troops should withdraw, he returned to the presidio.

"I see no reason for withdrawing and it is a downright shame," said the captain to the Fathers; "but I do not care to have a quarrel with this man, and, therefore, I have resolved to leave." The missionaries naturally felt the blow very keenly; but none more so than the venerable Fr. Presidente. As soon as he heard of the proposed retreat, he was almost beside himself. He could find no other words to express the pain of his heart than "Let the will of God be done, who alone can provide a remedy." The San Antonio now set sail for San Blas, where the captain reported Rivera's unworthy conduct to the viceroy.

The darkest hour of the night, it is said, is the hour before dawn. Such was the experience, at least, of Fr. Serra. About this time, an old Indian came up from Lower

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California and assured the Fathers that Corporal Guillermo Carrillo, whom Rivera had despatched south with letters for the viceroy, was at Mission San Fernando de Velicata, waiting for soldiers on their way to San Diego; and so it was. On the feast of St. Michael, September 29, twenty-five soldiers, whom Captain Pedro Fages had recruited at Guadalajara by order of the viceroy, arrived at the presidio. They brought letters for Fr. Serra from Viceroy Bucareli and from the Fr. Guardian of the College. Under date of April 3, 1776, Bucareli wrote:

On March 26 last, I wrote to Your Reverence, expressing my great sorrow at the terrible disaster which had befallen the Mission of San Diego, and telling you of the instructions which I at once gave in order to remedy, as far as possible, the damage which might result from not having reinforcements at hand for the garrison and mission. Now, however, in view of your letter and the very prudent reflections which Your Reverence makes, you being of the opinion that it will be more expedient to attract the rebellious neophytes than to punish them, I reply to Your Reverence that I have so directed, by commanding on this same date Commandant Don Fernando Rivera y Moncada to act accordingly, and to bear in mind that this is the most suitable means for pacifying and tranquilizing the souls as also, perhaps, for converting the neighboring pagans, if, namely, they experience kindness and good treatment when for their excesses they will doubtless be expecting castigation and the devastation of their rancherias.

Moreover, I instructed the said officer that the main thing now is the restoration of Mission San Diego and the refounding of San Juan Capistrano; the former on the same place before occupied, the latter on the site selected before the attack happened.... I communicate all this to Your Reverence for your satisfaction and consolation, hoping that under the impulse of the apostolic zeal which animates you for the welfare of those missions, Your Reverence will contribute to render my instructions effective, assured that I am disposed on my part to provide every assistance possible.

Had this letter of the noble viceroy arrived a few weeks earlier, Fr. Palou remarks, the good Fr. Presidente would have been spared all the distress that Rivera's spite work caused him. However, the haughty commander's triumph lasted only three weeks. Immediately after reading the glorious news, the happy Fr. Serra had the bells rung and on the following morning sang a High Mass of thanksgiving.

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Rivera assigned twelve soldiers as guards for the mission and set at liberty the Indian prisoners. Not wishing to be present at the opening of the mission, the restoration of which he had willfully delayed, Don Fernando accompanied by twelve soldiers started for the north on October 11, in order to execute the viceroy's command for the founding of the two missions of San Francisco and Santa Clara, which he likewise had delayed.

Meanwhile, Captain Choquet's report reached Viceroy Bucareli. The latter felt so mortified at Rivera's conduct that he ordered Don Felipe de Neve, governor of both Lower and Upper California, to take up his residence at Monterey and to work in harmony with the Fr. Presidente. To Fr. Serra, Bucareli, under date of December 25, 1776, penned a beautiful and consoling letter, similar to his preceding communication. (9)

With Fathers Lasuen and Fuster, and escorted by the twelve guards, Fr. Serra proceeded to the old mission site in order to begin the restoration of the buildings. Aided by the neophytes, who now were quite willing to work, such progress was made in a short time that the Fr. Presidente felt the work of completing the necessary structures could be entrusted to the resident missionaries. Stationing Fr. Lasuen and Fr. Figuer at the mission, he in company with Fathers Mugartegui and Amurrio hastened to found Mission San Juan Capistrano. The heroic Fr. Fuster was placed at Mission San Gabriel as supernumerary. By October 17, 1776, the buildings were ready for occupation. From that date the Fathers again felt at home; they were once more able to celebrate holy Mass in a real church, instead of having to utilize a part of a warehouse, as at the presidio.

Don Rivera had been ordered to release the prisoners; but he seems to have taken his time about it or to have liberated only a portion of them. At all events, according to Bancroft, the comandante says in a letter, dated February

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27, 1777, that thirteen prisoners implicated in the revolt were still at the presidio. In a letter of June 3, 1777, however, he writes that on receipt of the viceroy's orders of February 2, the troops were drawn up, and the prisoners called out. After being harangued on the enormity of their offense which merited death, the prisoners were warned that if they abused the present clemency they would have to expect the severest penalty; then they were dismissed with an exhortation by the priests. Both soldiers and accused united in a cheer while a salute from the two cannons celebrated the termination of a painful affair.

One of the prisoners failed to benefit by this kindness. He had committed suicide the year before, on August 15, the anniversary of the assault that occurred seven years before when he had attempted to kill Fr. Serra. Far from repenting, this prisoner stubbornly persisted in his pagan errors. Since he was one of the chief conspirators who ruined the mission in 1775, we may presume that he was an Indian medicine man; that would explain everything. Having been captured while perpetrating his last crime, he was placed with his fellow conspirators in the jail of the presidio. The zealous Fr. Serra, hoping to convert the unfortunate man, visited him and exhorted him to repent, assuring him that Almighty God would pardon his crimes; but, despite all sympathy and loving appeals, the obstinate pagan would not utter as much as a word. The other prisoners, indeed, were moved to tears by the ardent exhortation of Fr. Serra and begged him to intercede for them, because they wanted to become Christians, as in fact they later died; but the unfortunate thief conspirator, on the morning of the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, August 15, 1776, was found to have strangled himself to death. It caused not a little astonishment and comment that, without the knowledge of any one, the Indian could put a rope around his neck and hang himself in the very midst of his fellow prisoners. (10)

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## CHAPTER V.

Condition of Mission Registers.-Fr. Serra's Nota Previa.-Fr.  
Fuster's Note.-Fr. Fuster's First Annual Report.-Statistics.-

Report for 1777 by FF. Lasuen and Figuer.-Savages Plotting.-  
Battle.-Prisoners.-Fr. Serra's Letters.-Lack of Grain.-The Fr.  
Presidente Confirming at San Diego.-Scanty Grain for Planting.-  
The Fathers All to All.

In the conflagration, on November 4, 1775, not only the mission buildings but also the mission registers were destroyed. This was a heavy and, in part, an irreparable loss. These books, kept at all the missions, were bound in flexible leather covers. Besides those in which all Baptisms, Marriages, and Deaths were recorded, there was the so-called Padron, containing a list of the converts with notes regarding their antecedents and present conditions. Fortunately, these mission records had been begun only five years before the San Diego disaster. It was, therefore, possible to restore, to a great extent at least, the entries from the memory of the Fathers and of others belonging to the mission. This was done, Fr. Serra himself writing the title page to the three registers and prefacing the new entries with a NOTA PREVIA. In the Baptismal Register this Nota reads as follows:

The first book in which the entries of Baptisms, as they had been administered, were noted with due distinction and clearness; from the beginning of the founding of this Mission of San Diego, the entries had reached, on November 5, 1775, the number 470. (1) It was destroyed by fire along with the rest of the official church books, the sacred vestments and vessels, the buildings, furniture, and implements of said mission. Among them were also the padron and

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other papers with the aid of which, in a general way at least, the lost books might have been restored.

"The said mission was first established near where at present the military camp or presidio, likewise called San Diego, is located, facing the famous port of the same name, but which in the language of the natives is called Cosoy. On account of greater facilities in planting, stock raising, etc., it was moved about two leagues toward the north-northeast to a spot called, in the language of the Indians, Nipaguay. Here it was that the devouring conflagration occurred, the transfer having been effected in the month of August, 1774.

"The authors of that lamentable destruction were savages and perverted neophytes, who united more than seventy rancherias into a formidable array and invaded the mission with an armed force. They pillaged part of it, burnt the greater portion, wounded a few resisting guards, killed the blacksmith from Tepic, Jose Manuel Arroyo, and the carpenter from Guadalajara, Jose Urselino, and with untold cruelty the principal and senior missionary, Reverend Fr. Lector Luis Jaume, who was a member of the Province of Majorca, as is noted in the Death Register. Not without the special providence of the Most High, his companion missionary, Fr. Vicente Fuster, escaped death. He is the only one who can give a more complete account of those baptized and thus possibly restore this register down to the day of the fire."

Fr. Serra covers several pages with notes, which are immaterial here. He concludes his Nota Previa as follows:

"Finally, for better information, I shall note down the various missionaries this mission had from its foundation to the day of the fire. They succeeded one another as follows: The first two, mentioned on the title page, persevered in our mission until the

middle of April of the following year, i.e., 1770. In these nine months, we labored merely to secure the good-will of the savages and to make clear to them, as far as possible, the object of our coming to this country. Passing over in silence the peril our lives

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were in during the assault made on us and other little troubles, I will say only that in this period we administered not one Baptism. On Easter Sunday, April 15, I set sail from this port in search of Monterey, in order to found a mission there. In my place I left Rev. Fr. Francisco Gomez, Fr. Juan Vizcaino having gone to Mexico by way of Lower California. The two Fathers Fernando Parron and Francisco Gomez remained an entire year, during which they administered the first Baptisms, thus making a happy beginning of Christianity in this country, as will be seen later. After little more than a year, both Fathers departed on account of ill health, Fr. Parron for Lower California and the other by sea for Mexico. In their places I appointed Fathers Francisco Dumetz and Luis Jaume, both of the Province of Majorca. They had shortly before arrived in this country by sea with eight other Religious, all from our aforementioned College of San Fernando de Mexico. The second named of these Fathers persevered in his ministry until he died and sealed it with his blood, as already stated. Fr. Dumetz remained one year, at the expiration of which I called him to Monterey. In his place as assistant came Fr. Juan Crespi, till then my companion in the Mission of San Carlos de Monterey. At the end of August, 1772, I found myself obliged to go by land from the Monterey mission to this one at San Diego. On the way, I founded, September 1, the Mission of San Luis Obispo and reached this Mission of San Diego about the middle of September. Sending Fr. Juan Crespi back to Monterey in order that in company with Fr. Dumetz he might serve that mission, I assigned, as missionary to this one and as companion to Fr. Luis Jaume, the Reverend Fr. Thomas de la Pena, who had recently arrived from one of the missions of Lower California. Then, about the middle of October of the same year, I embarked for Mexico in order to solicit the regulations expedient for the permanence and extension of these new missions. Fr. De la Pena continued a whole year in the ministry. In the month of September, 1773, he was replaced by Fr. Vicente Fuster, who with other Religious

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had arrived shortly after the missions of Lower California had been ceded to the Dominican Fathers. The change was made by the Rev. Fr. Lector Francisco Palou, Ex-Presidente of those Lower California Missions and actual Vice-Presidente of the ones in Upper California. When, in March 1774, I returned from Mexico, I approved this assignment of missionaries. Fr. Fuster persevered and he is here to this day. In testimony of which I subscribe at this Mission and Presidio of San Diego, September 16, 1776.-Fr. Junipero Serra."

In his prefatory note to the Death Register, Fr. Serra says: "Many of the crews of the ships (San Carlos and San Antonio) arrived (in 1769) stricken with scurvy. In a short time some of them were at death's door, among them half of the detachment of twenty-five volunteers from Catalonia. The consequence was that, a few months after the founding of the mission, it became necessary to adjust the count of more than sixty dead. All died after receiving the Sacraments of Penance, Holy Eucharist, and Extreme Unction, with the exception of one youth who failed to receive Holy Viaticum. Fr. Parron, though ill himself, labored above all others with inflexible intrepidity, administering the

Sacraments to the sick. He was of the Province of San Miguel de Estremadura. May God reward him.

"The names and entries of the dead were written in the book that was burnt. For those who had passed away before my arrival, Fr. Parron let me have a well kept memorandum in which were noted the dead whom he had attended. Although I remember some of the names, the number of those regarding whom I do not remember the details is much larger. Therefore, I omit reproducing them, contenting myself with asking God our Lord that the names of all may be written in heaven and that through his mercy their souls may rest in peace. Amen.

"Furthermore, of the first land expedition, there died at different places on the road five Indians, who had come from various missions o- Lower California. To these Fr. Juan Crespi administered the Sacraments of Penance and

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Extreme Unction, and gave burial in the respective localities. Their names also were entered by me in the aforementioned book. May God our Lord have their names in the Book of Life. Amen.

"Finally, no one of the second land expedition died on the road. But after they had arrived, four passed away. One was the youth Jose Maria Vegerano, a Spaniard, twenty years of age, who had come as muleteer in my service. He was unmarried and a native of Pueblo de la Magdalena, in the diocese of Guadalajara. He died on August 15, from an arrow wound received during the Indian assault which occurred on that day. I buried him that same day at nightfall.

"In the month of February, 1770, I buried, according to the rites of the Church, Juan Evangelista Benno, an Indian youth about eighteen years of age. He was the son of Carlos Tapia of the Mission of Our Lady of Guadalupe, in Lower California, whence, with the blessing of his parents, he set out with me as my servant. He died after receiving the Sacraments of Penance, Holy Eucharist, and Extreme Unction. I buried him clothed in our habit. The corpse was present at the Requiem High Mass which was celebrated with as much solemnity as possible.

"At the same time, a few days intervening, two Indian neophytes departed this life. They were recent converts of the newly founded mission in Lower California, that is to say of Mission Santa Maria. One of them, single and about twenty years of age, was called Bartolome; the other, apparently his cousin and Mateo by name, was somewhat older and married. I heard their confessions as well as I could; it was attended with some difficulty, however, owing to their meager knowledge and to the lack of interpreters. It seems to me that Extreme Unction was administered to them. That all this may be in evidence and that this book be continued, beginning anew from the first neophytes that died and received burial, I so certify and subscribe, on October 25, 1776.-Fr. Junipero Serra."

Immediately after the signature of Fr. Serra, follows this

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note by Fr. Fuster: "I am not able to account for nor do the Indians remember all the neophytes who died at this mission. I can note in this book only those who died during the time I exercised the ministry at this Mission of San Diego. It is not easy to make the

entries chronologically, because I do not remember in which year each one died; nor can I indicate whether or not they received the Sacraments, though I suppose the majority did. Since this book takes the place of the one that was burnt, and since Fr. Luis Jaume shed his blood in return for the benefits he bestowed upon and the instruction he gave to these neophytes by word and example, I shall begin with the death entry of said Father." After relating what happened on November 5, 1775, Fr. Fuster makes the entries in the regular order, beginning with Fr. Jaume; then follows the name of Jose Ursulino, the blacksmith, and so on.

In the new Baptismal Register, Fr. Serra enumerates the Baptisms administered by Fathers Parron and Gomez, sixteen in number. Fr. Fuster then enters those administered by Fathers Dumetz and Jaume, from the middle of 1771 to about the middle of 1773; these run from number 17 to 53 and are all, he says, that he could discover. Then he finds that numbers 54 to 89 were entered from September 1773 to August 1774. All these Baptisms had been administered at the first mission site, Cosoy.

"In August, 1774," Fr. Fuster notes, "Mission San Diego was moved from its old location, where now the presidio of the same name stands and which place the natives called Cosoy, to this new site which by the same natives is called Nipaguay. From that time until the revolt, the following Baptisms were administered, beginning with the day of our holy Father San Diego, on whose feast the church was dedicated. On that day, I baptized numbers 90 to 93." Then Fr. Fuster enters all who were baptized thereafter to the day of the savage attack, November 5, 1775, and to seven weeks later, i. e. December 31. These run up to number 431, (2)

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all that he could discover. After the destruction of the mission on November 5, the Fathers lived at the presidio. Here comparatively few Baptisms were administered, in fact, until December, 1776, only twenty-two. The first Baptism in the restored mission church at Nipaguay, or Our Lady of Pilar, (3) took place on December 8, 1776. It is number 454 in the list."

On March 20, 1777, Fr. Vicente Fuster compiled the first Annual Report for Mission San Diego. After briefly recounting the destruction of the mission, in which everything pertaining to it was lost, including documents and books he enumerates under various heads what the mission now possessed, most of which had come by ship since the disaster.

Church.-"This is a chapel where holy Mass is celebrated. The individuals attend it, remaining outside, however, because the church could not for want of supplies be completed." Chapel and sacristy contained the following articles: a white, ordinary chasuble and an old red one of damask; another old one "which serves for all colors"; an ordinary alb, amice, cincture, a set of altar-cloths, a silver chalice and paten; and a Roman missal. These articles were at the presidio. At the mission itself, were one silver chalice with paten, a fine alb, and a dalmatic which was remodeled into a chasuble. The memorias from Mexico added two consecrated altar stones, two fine albs, two corporals, twelve purificators, twelve finger towels, two cinctures, two sets of, altar-cloths, a carpet, surplices, forty pieces of pano encarnado, and one mirror.

House.-The habitations of the Fathers consist of two apartments, both of adobe and with thatched roof, one of which measures six by five varas, the other five by four and a half. Another little apartment of the same size serves as refectory. The furniture comprises two tables, two chairs, one bench of alamillo wood, and one cedar table for



the refectory; then the necessary clothing for the Fathers, one volume, Life of San Diego, and two volumes of the . writings of Venerable Luis de Granada. There are also three

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cedar chests and one pine chest which contain the clothing to be distributed to the Indians. Both rooms have doors with locks.

Storeroom or Granary - At present, the mission possesses no other supplies than about six fanegas of beans, which were donated, and the rations for the Fathers, which are served to them every week from the presidio warehouse. With these supplies are maintained four families of Lower California Indians, who stay at the mission, and about eighteen Indian boys, who are regularly at hand, besides a few sick Indians. Furthermore, the Fathers have on hand for their own use about two fanegas of flour. Mission San Gabriel contributed four fanegas of corn, nine fanegas of wheat, and one fanega of beans. The granary measures five by fourteen varas. The walls are of adobe, the roof is thatched, and the door has a lock.

Kitchen or Pozolero.-The kitchen for the Indians has one very large iron kettle for the pozole and three small copper kettles. The Fathers' kitchen has three small copper pots, several plates of pewter, and three others of Guadalajara chinaware, six cups, six saucers of the same material, one and a half dozen common plates and six metates. This kitchen is built of adobe and is four varas square.

Harness Room or Jato. This building measures four by five varas. It contains thirteen harnesses, five cowboy saddles, sixteen Libranzas de Pita, and five tanned hides.

Farm.-During the month of November last, 1776, there were sown eight fanegas and eight almudes of wheat and one fanega of barley. The land was plowed with the aid of four yoke of oxen belonging to the mission. It has also four ploughs and four additional ploughshares, sixteen old pickaxes, twelve weed hooks, and five iron crowbars.

Live Stock.-The live stock comprises 102 head of cattle, including the four yoke of oxen already mentioned and the calves of this year. Then there are 304 sheep and goats; ten hogs, four of which have young; eight tame horses, six of which are old; five unbroken colts; seventeen mares, one stud, and one tame burro; another drove of mares

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with another stud; twelve foals and four young mules; eighteen head of mules, some of which are not serviceable.

Dormitory.-In addition to the habitations mentioned in the beginning, there is a house of adobe with thatched roof, seven by four and a half varas. This is used as a dormitory for boys and young men.

Baptisms, Marriages, Deaths.-From the founding of the mission to the end of December, 1776, there were blessed 114 marriages. 303 adults and 137 children of both sexes, in all, 440 baptized Indians are living at the mission, except seven who did not care to show up since the fire. All these have been entered in the Padron corresponding to the number in the Baptismal Register. So far as I could verify them, there were 461 Baptisms since the founding. Although, in the preceding report, I have said there were 470 Baptisms, (3) I was unable, despite investigation, to discover more. I presume that

in the course of the year they have died, though I can not assert this for want of original records.

"During my time, twenty-three Indians died. How many , passed away before my time, I do not know, since the original records are wanting. - Fr. Vicente Fuster." (4)

The next Annual Report was drawn up and signed by Fr. Fermin Francisco de Lasuen and countersigned by Fr. Juan Figuer, on December 31, 1777. It is very long and explicit. Omitting what will appear in the tabular reports from year to year, we shall briefly note only the most important facts and changes. These will suffice to show how scrupulously exact the Fathers were in everything that pertained to their charge.

During the year, eighty-five Indian adults ( including all over nine years of age) and thirty-one Indian children received Baptism. Sixteen other persons ( eight adults and

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eight children ) were discovered who had been overlooked in compiling the new register. These with the 459 already entered brought the number of those baptized since 1770 up to 591.

The Padron or Roll, says the Report, brings the names of 413 adults and 138 children who, at alternate periods, attend instructions and divine services. In addition, there are two adult catechumens and one child. This indicates that forty are missing who may have feared to return, as some Indians were still imprisoned at the presidio.

Since November, there was great mortality among the sheep. Nevertheless, the mission owns 244 sheep and 156 goats, besides 138 head of cattle.

During the year, all the buildings were repaired and a new church of adobe with thatched roof was erected. It measured five by twenty varas, that is to say, eighty feet in length and fourteen feet in width, inside measurement probably. It had one door with lock and two small windows. Then, a corridor was built along the front of the Fathers' habitation and the store room; also a shelter of adobe with thatched roof was erected for the lambs and kids.

"In the Valley of San Luis," Fr. Lasuen reports, "willow, poplar, and alder timber has been cut for a new church edifice, which is to be more spacious and better built than the present structure. Provided the harvest corresponds to what was planted, the building of the church will begin in the coming year (1778)."

Church and sacristy were enriched with various articles. New silver oil stocks in a suitable case and a Roman ritual came with the memorial from Mexico, while the Fr. Presidente sent a new silver ciborium. From Mission San Carlos came a red chasuble in fair condition, another chasuble very much used, and an old black chasuble, a missal, and a set of silver cruets.

From Mexico, the following additions to the library were welcomed: Flos Sanctorum, three volumes, by Ribandeneira; Itinerario de Parrochos, in folio, by Montenegro; Manogita de Tellado. Mission San Carlos donated a Biblia Sacra,

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Mistica Ciudad dc Dios, four volumes, together with its Prologo Galeato and Notes; a Life of Ven. Mother de Agreda, one volume; Speculum Parrochorum by Abreu; Moral

Theology, two volumes, by Tamburino; Doctrinas Practicas de Calataiud, three volumes, by Montenegro; and Florilegio Medicinal.

House and kitchen of the Fathers received four pine chests with locks; one ink-stand and one saltcellar of metal; a bottle case, containing eighteen bottles, six knives, a comb, scissors, and mirror; four copper pots, eight copper pans, assorted; two table cloths, six napkins, six copper covers or lids; and eighteen pewter plates.

"In the granary," Fr. Lasuen writes, "are two fanegas of corn, which is part of our rations from the government, and about two fanegas of beans. To these must be added forty-four fanegas of corn and seven fanegas of wheat, which were lately donated by Mission San Gabriel. With the fourteen fanegas of corn, which we found here in July, the five fanegas received in exchange for a bull, and our own weekly rations which the king grants from the warehouse at the presidio, together with the eight fanegas of beans, which were given us for celebrating a holy Mass, we have maintained the five Lower California neophytes, the shepherds, the interpreters, the sick, the little boys of the mission rancheria, and a few orphans, in all, thirty persons, besides a few little girls and laborers. At present, with the help that came from San Gabriel, the whole population of the rancheria is fed.

"For the field and shops, the memorial from Mexico brought twenty-four pack saddles, twenty-four leather bags, twelve pickaxes, six steel axes, and four machetes or chopping knives. From Mission San Carlos twelve additional pickaxes, twelve hoes, and four machetes were supplied.

"Nothing whatever was harvested during the year; but now there have been sown about twelve fanegas of wheat and seven pecks of barley; besides, more land has been cleared for sowing another fanega of wheat.

"From the presidio store there is still due to the mission

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the property bequeathed to it by the deceased Ursulino, and various checks. What a few individuals owe this mission, for articles received and for holy Mass celebrated for them, amounts to about 190 (whether pesos or reales, the report does not specify; a real is equivalent to twelve and one-half cents). The storekeeper, Don Raphael de Pedro y Gil, as subsyndic, has in his keeping 211 en reales de Misa, which have been entrusted to him; but the holy Masses have already been celebrated.

"On the other hand, this mission is under obligation to Mission San Carlos for what has already been mentioned under various heads. Mission San Luis Obispo has donated nine almudes of garbanzos. Mission San Juan Capistrano furnished some altar cards. Mission San Gabriel donated twenty-four fanegas of wheat, twelve for planting and twelve for our own consumption, also forty-four fanegas of corn for the Indians, three fanegas of beans and a large quantity of onions, garlic, tomatoes, and chile for ourselves, one-fifth fanega of barley for sowing, and sixteen dozens of rosary beads for the Indians.

"In return, this Mission of San Diego furnished Mission San Gabriel with forty-one pounds of iron and twenty-three pounds of steel with the necessary carbon and one laborer to work it into whatever should be wanted. To Mission San Juan Capistrano the mission sent ten head of sheep and eleven goats, besides twenty pounds of iron and sixteen pounds of steel with sufficient carbon. A laborer went along to do the work that should be required.

"The Memorias which this year came by ship from Mexico amounted to 83,715 reales. Of this, 340 were used for the Fathers as also for medicine, altar wine, and wax candles. The rest was applied for the benefit of the Indians and the mission. The freight charges amounted to 11,911 reales which together with the cost of the goods total 95,616 reales.

"To the syndic in Mexico the mission will be in debt to the amount of 383 pesos. Although we have heard that this will be canceled by our syndic or paid by benefactors,

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we have not seen any document to that effect.-Mission San Diego, December 31, 1777, - Fr. Fermin Francisco de Lasuen. - Fr. Juan Figuer."

Unfortunately, the reports for the years 1778 and 1779 are missing; otherwise we should doubtless know more about the restlessness of the savages living between San Diego and San Juan Capistrano. Bancroft's version is as follows:

"In March, 1778, it was reported that the people of Pamo, one of the San Diego rancherias, were making arrows to be used against the Spaniards, counting on the aid of three neighboring bands and of one across the sierra, and having already murdered a San Juan Indian. Ortega, comandante of San Diego, sent a message of warning and Chief Aaran sent back a challenge to the soldiers to come and be slain. Sergeant Guillermo Carrillo's services were again called into requisition and he was sent with eight soldiers to chastise this insolence, capture the chiefs, and to give thirty or forty lashes to such warriors as might seem to need them. In carrying out his orders the sergeant surprised the foe at Pamo, killed two of the number, and burned a few who refused to come out of the hut in which they had taken refuge. The rest surrendered and took their flogging, while the four chieftains were bound and carried to San Diego. Captured in this battle were eighty bows, fifteen hundred arrows, and a large number of clubs. The four chiefs, Aachil, Aalcuirin, Aaran, and Taguagui, were tried on April 6, convicted of having plotted to kill Christians, in spite of the mercy shown them in the king's name for past offenses, and condemned to death by Ortega, though that officer had no right to inflict the death penalty, even on an Indian, without the governor's approval. The sentence was: 'Deeming it useful to the service of God, the king, and the public weal, I sentence them to a violent death by two musket shots on the 11th at 9 A.M., the troops to be present at the execution under arms, also all the Christian rancherias subject to the San Diego Mission, that they may be warned to act righteously.' Fathers Lasuen and Figuer were sum-

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moned to prepare the condemned for their end. 'You will cooperate', writes Ortega to the Padres, 'for the good of their souls in the understanding that if they do not accept the salutary waters of holy baptism they die on Saturday morning; and if they do-they die all the same!' This was the first public execution in California." (5)

Probably, the execution was postponed, as the Fathers may have persuaded Ortega that a few days was not sufficient time to prepare savages for Baptism and for death, and that in consequence the culprits ought to be reprieved. Ortega may have remembered, too, that the governor's approval was necessary.- A month's time, at least, was required to procure it. In that case, we can understand a letter dated by Fr. Serra at San Carlos, April 22, and directed to Fr. Lasuen. It reads as follows:

Dearest Father in Christ. Immediately on the receipt of your letters and before speaking to the governor, I reply briefly to the first (because the mail must leave here very soon), that I feel great compassion for the poor condemned culprits, although I doubt very much that the sentence will be executed. But, should it have to be inflicted, it seems to me that Your Reverence on the evening before might solemnly administer Baptism to them in prison, so that there leek nothing of whatever our most solicitous Mother, the Church, has provided, and that the remaining time till the execution be employed in having them make acts of Faith, etc., and pious ejaculations, and in exhorting them to bear their lot patiently, besides making other preparations for a happy death. That will be somewhat wearisome, no doubt, but very godly and meritorious. Above all, a crucifix and blessed rosaries should be given them. If for the accipe vestem candidam, (6) the sponsor of each one, or some other benefactor, would provide them with a tunic of white cotton cloth (una tunica salar de manta), so that they might die and be buried therein, it would be in my opinion an act very acceptable to God. If I have an opportunity f shall supplicate the governor that it be done at the cost of the king, our Lord. On this occasion, I again shall urge that the guards of your mission be reinforced. If my words prove ineffective, I have at least done what w as in my power. It is not a little consoling to

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know that if Your Reverences have to die at the hands of those savages, it will be because you are Christians. I should accept such a death with a cheerful heart, with grace, and as a favor from God. Still, because we need you alive and robust, it is but right to see that you are well protected and in a condition to increase the number of Christians, much as this may displease those of Pamo. (7)

Two months later, on June 10, Fr. Serra takes occasion to say in a letter to Fr. Lasuen, "I am very glad the governor has exercised mercy toward the four who had been condemned to death; but much more am I glad on account of the mercy which God our Lord has shown the one who died a Christian, and on the others who are in the same disposition of mind. May His Divine Majesty grant them perseverance unto the end." Still later, on September 28, 1779, Fr. Serra writes to Fr. Lausen: "It has pleased me very much that those once sentenced to death, not only continue to manifest a better spirit, but have even turned apostles by converting others to the bosom of our holy Mother Church. Thus I may be able to arrange for the poor fellow who is here by sending him to his native climate in the hope that he may imitate his companions." (8) It would seem that the sentence of death was commuted. At any rate, there are no particulars as to an execution.

The year 1778 gave cause for anxiety on account of the scanty crops. In the letter of April 22, already quoted, Fr. Serra replies to Fr. Lasuen's report in these terms: "The news that the wheat and other grain is falling behind for want of rain, grieved me very much. Tomorrow, with the help of God, will begin my especial supplications." Later, on June 10, he writes, "It has consoled me very much to learn that in their charity the Fathers at San Gabriel have remitted to your mission all it owed them. I shall thank them at once."

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However, Fr. Serra desired to visit the sorely tried missionaries in person. An opportunity came during the summer. The San Carlos had arrived at Monterey with letters

from the College, informing the Fr. Presidente that, at the request of the College, the Holy See had empowered him to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation. After exercising this faculty for the first time at San Carlos, Fr. Serra desired to begin the Confirmation tour at San Diego. Here he arrived on board the San Carlos, on September 15, to the great delight of the Fathers in charge. On September 21, the feast of St. Matthew, "after singing the High Mass and preaching a doctrinal sermon to the people," as he himself writes, Fr. Serra, assisted by Fathers Lasuen and Figuer, confirmed seventy-four persons at the mission. On ten additional days, between September 25 and October 18, he confirmed 536 persons. In all, therefore, 610 Indians, including the few whites of the presidio, received the Sacrament of Confirmation. This number embraced nearly all that had been entered into the Baptism Register, which at the end of 1778 showed 679 names, minus the dead. The name of every one with that of the sponsor was entered in the Register of Confirmations, the title page of which Fr. Serra himself wrote on October 10, to correspond with the title page of the other Registers. The two assisting Fathers certified to the Confirmations by signing their names to the list of each day. (9)

The harvests of 1778 and of 1779 appear to have yielded very little grain. At all events, in a letter, dated August 16, 1779, Fr. Serra writes to Fr. Lasuen: "By ship I am forwarding to Your Reverence two fanegas of small corn for planting. It is of our last year's crop; but it has not been shelled. In that state you can safely plant it when the time comes, but only three grains to a hole, because you have to use it sparingly. I send also three fanegas of lentils.

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One is for your mission, the others are for Mission San Juan and Mission San Gabriel, respectively." (10)

How these men of superior learning and unworldly aims must often have sighed to be freed from the necessity of having to plan and figure about soil, irrigation, sowing grain and harvesting it, raising vegetables and fruits, about cattle, sheep, horses, mules, about feeding and clothing the converts, they who had been trained to contemplate the supernatural and instructed as to how to apply to themselves and to communicate to others the lofty truths of the Gospel! Indeed, all those bodily and worldly cares must have been as loathsome to the gray-robed friars as manual labor was to the savages in their charge. However, both submitted to the inevitable in order to accomplish what both had in view, the Fathers clearly and therefore ardently, the converts dimly and therefore less ardently-the salvation of their immortal souls. At any rate, nothing else could have induced the missionaries to engage in such drudgery, nor could the Indians on any other plea have been persuaded to yield their liberty, to quit their wild life forever and to accept the restraints of Christianity and civilization.

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## CHAPTER VI.

Discouraging Situation-Fr. Guardian's Consoling Letter.-Pr. Serra to Fr. Lasuen.-Fr. Lasuen's Lament.-Neve's Stupid Demand.- Its Disastrous Result.-Fr. Lasuen 's Instructions on the Subject.- FF. Lasuen and Figuer Report on the Mission.-New Church.-

Cemetery.-Church Goods.-Report of 1783.-Building Activities.--  
Agriculture.-Financial Contributions.--Fr. Serra's Newsy Letter.  
--Fr. Lasuen to Fr. Serra on Condition of the Mission.-Lt. Ortega  
Transferred to Santa Barbara.-San Diego Presidio.-Fr. Serra's  
Last Visit.-He Administers Confirmation.-He Bids Farewell.-  
Gov. Fages's Report.-Erroneous Statement.

Conditions at Mission San Diego during the years 1778 and 1779 and the prospects for the future appeared so gloomy to Fathers Lasuen and Figuer that both applied for permission to retire to their College in Mexico. Several causes contributed to their discouragement. Provisions were not sufficient for the growing convert population; then the turbulence of the savage Indians made the Fathers fear for their wards and their mission; and finally, what was worst of all, Governor Neve's animosity and continual interference in mission affairs distressed them. Fr. Figuer's repeated complaints and petitions at last drew from Fr. Serra a beautiful letter, (1) on the receipt of which Fr. Figuer no longer had the heart to insist on retiring. He bravely remained on his post until death relieved him.

Fr. Lasuen, on the other hand, had applied directly to the College. But, like his fellow missionary, he abandoned every desire to return to Mexico, when he received the following fatherly reply from the Fr. Guardian:

In my soul I feel the affliction and hardships of Your Reverence, Fr. Rafael Verger wrote under date of January 14, 1780; but, my friend, it must be a consolation after all to know that you are toiling for the glory of the Lord and for the welfare of souls, expecting the while from His Divine Majesty that help and that reward for your

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labors which creatures deny us. Even though what we desire does not come to pass, God Himself will provide, that same Lord who in His inscrutable judgments permits the enemy to impede the realization of the good wishes with which He inspires us. Great undertakings have ever encountered great obstacles. What we have in those missions is of ample magnitude, and, therefore, there is no reason to be disheartened. Let us do what we can, my friend, and leave the rest to God. Your Reverence is very necessary in the service; even though your modesty will smile, I needs must tell you. Your Reverence has more experience, more deliberation in thought, etc., and so you will sacrifice yourself to the Lord. Here we do and shall do what we can, as well for the consolation of Your Reverence as for the advancement of those missions.... The four volumes *Leyes de Indias* leave here for you. The cost is nineteen dollars. The *Curia Filipica* has not yet been found, but it has been promised. I do not know what the price is; but Your Reverence need not worry about the price. I shall pay the whole amount for your mission. I will not burden you with Mass intentions, because keeping account of the Masses and their application at such a distance and when there is mail only once a year, does not appeal to me. Besides the cost of mailing would be six dollars. (2)

Fr. Lasuen had written on August 27, 1779, at a time "when things looked desperate. Had he waited a month longer, he might not have addressed himself to Fr. Verger, at all. For Fr. Serra's letter, dated September 28, 1779, written in his usual happy strain, contrived to bring sunshine into the gloom.

With the greatest delight, he wrote, I have received the news from Your Reverence Especially pleased am I with what you say about the happy delivery of Anna, ster-

ile so many years; (3) I mean your fine mission with its many encouraging and copious fruits and blessings. Even more delighted am I with the fair prospects Your Reverence outlines to me, as also with your perseverance on observing that land was found suitable for wheat and other grain. Thanks be to God. already we are beginning to see, and within me I hear a voice saying with reference to it, *majora videbis*. (4) Therefore, in our labors let us confide in God, who is a father; He knows what we need and that should suffice. Your Reverence, behold the little field of our Father

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St. Francis. Nothing better could be offered to the Saints, who are now resting happily. (5)

Another cause for dejection was the meager fruit derived from their arduous missionary labors. This was due, Fr. Lasuen lamented, to the methods which had to be adopted at this particular mission of San Diego. Describing the situation twenty-three years later, he writes:

At that mission (San Diego) they keep just enough Indians to justify the place being called a mission and to make it a refuge to which those who stay at their rancherias can have recourse in their needs What good has been achieved and what progress made? O my venerable Fr. Guardian! What anxiety! What despondency! What sleepless nights! What anguish! What daily and nightly toiling on the part of the missionaries! What licentiousness! What a change in the neophytes from Christian civility to heathen barbarity! . . . There is no doubt that in all the pagan rancherias heathen practices prevail. Who will remove the obstacles which the Christians encounter when they continue to live with their tribesmen at the very scenes of those heathen customs? And who will prevent them from joining their tribesmen or even from witnessing the orgies? Accustomed to their abominable feasts, and finding their recollections revived every hour, what place will they give to the catechism and to the obligations contracted in the Baptism they have received? They possess no energy to apply themselves to what is conducive to a rational, social, and civilized life. On the vigilance and incessant care of the missionaries it then depends whether or not the Indians observe what they have learned.

Let it be sincerely borne in mind, however, that if at San Diego, as in Lower California, that method is employed, it is through dire necessity, for those sterile lands by no means produce the provisions necessary to support all the neophytes together. This impossibility compels the missionaries to permit the Christians to live scattered in their rancherias, obliged to visit the mission only from time to time. To let them live in this way is thought to be a smaller evil than to let them remain pagans. It is a necessary evil, but the result is disastrous. (6)

A most serious cause for dissatisfaction was the demand of Governor Neve that the Indians of all the missions should annually elect an *alcalde* and two *regidores*, a sort of magistrate and councilors, and thus become accustomed to self-

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government. These officials were to have a certain degree of authority and to be exempt from corporal punishment. When it is remembered that at San Diego the first Christian convert had emerged from the most degrading barbarism only eight years before, and that most of them had become Christians of a certain kind only within the last four



years, one can not but be amazed at Neve's demand. As a piece of boys' play it might have passed, and the Fathers would have enjoyed the antics of their childish wards; but to insist on it as Neve did was sheer folly. As yet, the neophytes were no more capable of governing themselves much less a whole community, than would be a band of overgrown, unruly schoolboys. Nor was there hope that for some years to come they could be allowed to manage their own affairs like the civilized whites. Indeed, at San Diego, Neve's plan would plainly have resulted in disaster, because the Indians lived at the mission only two Weeks of each month. The premature experiment was introduced in a moderate form; but nowhere did it accrue to the benefit of the neophytes. Describing the consequences at the various missions, Fr. Serra writes: "Of San Diego I say nothing. There is much about which they (the missionaries) lamented with reference to the alcaldes; but it is fortunate that the presidio is close by. May God help them." (7) It was the disorders brought on by this regulation of the hostile Neve which especially had induced Fr. Lasuen to seek permission to retire from California. When later he himself became Superior of the missions, he, under date of November 2, 1796, instructed the missionaries to this effect: "Let the elections be held at a convenient hour, because his Honor so directs, but only in as far as it is possible at the missions for Which there is no law determining it. In these missions we are preparing the neophytes for the fulfillment of the laws; as to their being governed by such laws however, that must be postponed to the time when they cease to be missions

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and have been declared pueblos or doctrinas by the king. (8) And then we must leave. Meanwhile, the said elections may be held in a preparatory and instructive way, but by no means after the formality of the law quoted, because such law does not apply to the missions." (9) Hence at San Diego the nominations were thereafter given to those who had proved themselves capable of holding the respective office, but wholly under the control of the missionaries. They were instructed as to their duties and in this way prepared for the time when the mission should become a pueblo or parish.

For the year ending December 31, 1780, Fathers Lasuen and Figuer sign a lengthy and minute report to the Fr. Presidente. Holy Mass and Christian instruction was at that time regularly attended by 521 adult neophytes, that is, Indians over nine years of age. In addition, the Padron showed the names of 150 Indian children under nine years of age. Accordingly, at the end of 1780, 671 Indians belonged to Mission San Diego. Live stock had increased considerably, as may be seen from the Tabular Reports.

Considerable building was done during the year 1780. The most important structure to rise on the arid hillside was a more spacious and substantial church. Inside, it measured thirty varas or about eighty-four feet in length and five and a half varas or about fifteen feet in width and in height. The adobe walls were three feet thick. The beams were of pine and the rafters of poplar. Poles of alder or rough boarding covered the rafters, and over all were placed tules. To insure the roof against another fire, the tules were covered with a mass of earth. An addition

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of eleven feet, inside measurement, having the same width and height as the church was used as sacristy. It had one window, while the church received sufficient light through four windows which, like the sacristy window, were protected on the outside by

a grating of cedar wood. Within, each window had its shutters of planed boards. The doors in front of the church and on the side toward the courtyard were supplied with locks.

Along the entire length of the church and sacristy, on the north or Gospel side, lay the cemetery, which was ten varas or about thirty feet wide. The corridor that extended along the church and sacristy on the south or Epistle side in the courtyard was two and a quarter varas or about seven feet wide. Instead of stone pillars, posts of oak served as supports of the roof.

The whole work, especially the interior of the church, was neatly and elegantly done, as well as the knowledge of the local artisans and the means of the mission allowed. "Thanks be to God!" Fathers Lasuen and Figuer conclude their report with evident satisfaction and relief.

The church goods were augmented by the acquisition of four linen surplices for the altar boys, a number of corporals, a rich amice, a black stole for burials, and two sets of altar cards. "In the past year," the report relates, "we have sent to Tepic a classical but very old alb of the finest workmanship. It had undergone sacrilegious and vile handling from the rebel Indians in the year 1775. We sent it in order that from its material surplices be made and that its lace may serve to hide the faulty spots. This has been done, and it was returned to our complete satisfaction. Thanks be to God!"

Various new kitchen utensils were obtained as also implements for the field and for the workshops. The library was enriched with a copy of the Roman Martyrology and with a Mexican dictionary. (10)

Under the head of Granary or Storeroom and Distribu-

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tion of Provisions, the Report for 1780 says: "At the close of 1779, the granary contained 240 fanegas or 400 bushels of wheat, 45 fanegas or 76 bushels of corn, and 7 1/2 fanegas or 12 bushels of beans. Since then has been added what the harvest yielded and what was donated by other missions, as is mentioned in its place. With this the mission maintained all the Indians of both sexes of this rancheria, comprising 147 adults (not including the old men who regularly find occupation on the seashore and who go hunting when nothing is to be had there), the male and female children who can eat, (11) some from outside rancherias who have their turn to stay here for a week or more, according to their duties or their pleasure, the adults who are to be baptized during the period of their instruction, and all the sick and invalids who assemble here. All these were fed on 176 fanegas or 292 bushels of wheat, 43 fanegas or 85 bushels of barley, not including what has been planted of both kinds of grain, 91 fanegas or 152 bushels of corn, and about 10 fanegas or 17 bushels of beans. (12)

"Our own rations which were allowed us by the Reglamento Provisional (13) have been suspended by the governor ( Neve ) these last two years. He gave no other reason beyond the assumption that he had reported the matter to the higher authorities. Last month, on the occasion of his arrival here at the presidio of San Diego. I assured him that I was informed by letter of the Rev. Fr. Guardian, that His Excellency, the Viceroy of New Spain (Mexico) wished this subsidy to be extended to us. Nevertheless, the governor has not relieved us of the penance. (14) There remain at present about 200 fanegas or 333 bushels of wheat, 8 or 9 fanegas or about 12 bushels of small corn, 46 fanegas

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or 75 bushels of yellow corn from San Gabriel, and about 2 fanegas or 3 bushels of beans.

"Land was cleared for the sowing of six more fanegas of wheat. But a few days ago we had a heavy rainfall which filled the river bed and the lowlands where the wheat and barley had been planted. The ditch made last year was not deep enough to carry off the water. Consequently, a large part of the sowing has been destroyed. The Indians are now working hard to remedy the trouble for the present and to prevent similar disasters in the future." The Report also minutely enumerates what had been sown and harvested; this will all appear in the Tabular Report. (15)

No local reports were drawn up for the years 1781 and 1782. But in the following year, on May 10, Fr. Lasuen furnished Fr. Serra, at his request, a very lengthy and complete account of what had been achieved during the two preceding years. From this report we cull the following facts:

A granary had been built; it was twenty-five varas or seventy-one feet long and five and a half varas or about fifteen feet wide. Besides, the following structures had been erected;

a ravelin or high entresol, with two doors through which to ascend to its terrace;

a room eight varas or twenty-two feet long to be used to store away clothing and furniture;

a room six varas or seventeen feet long to be used as shelter and infirmary for the women; for their convenience and accommodation, it had its own courtyard or patio five yards in length and width;

a structure called the pozolera, five yards square, where the pozole or gruel was cooked; it served as a meeting place for the young men and boys, and sometimes one or the other infirm was sheltered here;

a small corral for the oven and firewood;

two rooms, each five yards and more in length, in which

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the missionaries live; it had a little corridor as shelter against the weather. The height of these various buildings was four varas or about eleven feet, except the ravelin which was five and a half varas or about fifteen feet high and a little more than five varas or fourteen feet wide. Other structures put up during the years 1781 and 1782 were

a room used as a refectory, about eleven feet long;

a room eight varas or twenty-two feet long, used as a common pantry;

two guest rooms, one eleven feet, the other seventeen feet in length;

a harness and saddle room, fourteen feet long. These rooms had the same width as the others, but they were hardly three varas or eight feet high. All were of adobe and the roof was covered with earth. They had doors with locks, except the pozolera where the gruel was prepared. A kitchen, a hennery, and a toilet were likewise erected at this time.

All these structures as also the soldiers' quarters occupied the three wings of a quadrangle. Each wing measured fifty-five varas or about 155 feet in length. The fourth side of this quadrangle was closed by a wall of adobe three varas or about eleven feet high, which at one end terminated in a ravelin a little more than a story high, by means of which and of the other ravelin, the four angles could easily be defended.

Outside this quadrangle was a tank, which had been built shortly before for tanning hides; then two corrals of adobe large enough to admit the sheep; and finally another adobe structure for the six or eight milch cows which the mission maintained. Most of the cattle as also the mares were in the valley of San Luis, two leagues distant.

"Down to late years," Fr. Lasuen reports, "building at the mission was done With some diffidence as to whether it would remain at this place. On account of its continual want and of the tragedy already related, progress and pros-

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pects did not correspond with the incessant labors expended. But observing that Christianity had notably increased, that it was necessary to preserve it, and that no suitable locality had been found where the converts might be collected, the missionaries have applied what human means were available in their endeavor to make it permanent and durable, a very difficult undertaking, inasmuch as little is wanting to declare that end unattainable without the aid of other means. Hence indescribable efforts have been made, though so far with meager success, to plant great stretches of land, to clear and to enclose it, to run irrigation ditches, and to perform the other fatiguing labor necessarily connected with such an undertaking."

Fr. Lasuen reports also that at his writing the Mission Records accounted for 966 baptisms, 232 marriages, and 216 deaths. (16)

How scrupulously the missionaries watched over these worldly matters, doubly disagreeable to their spiritual training and aspirations, may be seen from the exactness with which the Report enumerates the amounts due to the Mission. First are mentioned sixteen fanegas of wheat furnished to the troops, likewise two bulls, and two mules stolen by two deserting soldiers, and one horse and one mule, both of especial value. Then, in cash there are due to the Mission from the presidio and from individuals connected therewith \$1,303.37. In addition, from the Monterey presidio store are due \$184.88, which amount was bequeathed to the Mission for the Indians by the late Jose Urselino, and also \$866, which, apparently his salary, Alejo Antonio Gonzales, who died March 19, 1780, had likewise willed to the Mission. (17)

"The goods (Memorias) sent from Mexico were valued

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at \$591 and 5 reales (66 1/2 cents). Of this sum, \$735 is for articles ordered for the personal use of the Fathers, which include medicine, altar wine, and wax for the altar candles. The rest, consisting of dress goods and other articles Was distributed to the Indians. The freight charges amounted to \$69 which together with the cost of the goods totals \$590.05. Besides this, the Mission is charged \$711.06, due for goods sent last year, and \$53.05 for things sent from Tepic. The entire debt, therefore, is \$856. To liquidate this we assigned our annual allowance Of \$800 (18) and the \$9 on hand for alms. This leaves a debt on the Mission of \$47 to be paid in Mexico.

"Mission San Diego has been aided by other establishments as follows: Mission San Juan Capistrano donated Seven almudes of beans and six almudes of peas. Mission San Gabriel sent eighty-two fanegas of corn, three fanegas and four almudes of beans, and a crate of melocotones. When occasion offered, both missions have sent us onions, ajos, chile, tomatoes, watermelons, and sugar melons. Mission San Antonio

sent us two fanegas of corn (chico del Rio Colorado) for planting. Mission San Carlos forwarded by ship twenty fanegas of barley. The Rev. Fr. Presidente and the other Fathers assisted us by celebrating two hundred holy Masses and allowing us the stipends.

"On the other hand, this Mission of San Diego gave to Mission San Juan Capistrano four half-tamed colts, two sacks filled with wool, dos tascones, y un guijo grande de fierro con su platillo; and it has supplied two arrobas of iron with the necessary carbon to reduce the points of the plow. It has loaned also expert Indians to assist the blacksmith at this work and at other little jobs. To Mission San Gabriel this mission gave two loads of salt, and untercio of brown sugar; also twenty pounds of iron with the necessary carbon to work it into plow-points, and two trained Indians for the service of the blacksmith during the time of this work."

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The Fathers conclude their long but highly important Informe with this Nota: "This year we have seen that it is necessary to take the cattle away from the Mission in order to raise grain and fruit there. Hence the cattle had to be removed to the Valley of San Luis, where the horses were kept. In the same place ( it has been reported ), a soldier of the presidio, without herdsmen and without corral, against the rights of the Indians and consequently against the will of the missionaries, keeps a herd of mares. If that is right, then anyone else may do the same, and in the end they will rob the Mission of the only locality that could serve as a rancho. But, if it is not right, then we supplicate that orders be given for the removal of the horses."

A delightful letter addressed by Fr. Serra to Fr. Lasuen on December 8, 1781, contains some items of interest about San Diego which are not found elsewhere.

My dear friend, Fr. Serra writes, blessed be the Most Holy Sacrament and the Most Pure Conception of our Mother and Lady, Mary Most Holy, (19) on whose day, or rather on whose night, I take up the pen which may run I do not know how long. Not long since I received the letter of Your Reverence, dated August 14. The news is all good. Thanks be to God, who, I pray, may reward Your Reverence for the consolation you afforded me through it.

The exercise of the faculty to confirm having been restored here recently, (20) I went anew to administer Confirmation in the Missions of San Antonio, San Francisco, and Santa Clara. Since then I wore my shoes, on account of an adventure I had with the mule while returning to this Mission of San Carlos; but they say that all my ribs are in place, and to-day the pain is already very much alleviated. Blessed be God for everything!

I am much pleased with the celebration that attended the dedication of your holy temple. I congratulate Your Reverence. Thus far, San Antonio excelled, especially for its roof of tiles. It is in every way a beautiful church. It corresponds altogether with that of your Mission, if the latter, according to your description and what Lieu-

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tenant Diego Gonzales reported, does not surpass it in neatness, beauty, and symmetry. I did not need the lieutenant's description of your holy temple, after I had seen Your Reverence's letter; but I adduce it in proof that I omit no occasion to speak of San Diego. Nor did it grieve me to hear the said gentleman speak so well of the Mission and of its Fathers, who see their Mission growing large. God repay also Fr. Pablo Mugartegui for the lustre he added to the joyful function. (21)

It is also very pleasant news, and like an aftermath of the foregoing, that seven fanegas of barley and about eight hundred fanegas of wheat have been harvested, besides the great heaps of beans and other pulse products. Here occurs to me the passage in Holy Scripture, "Their storehouse full, flowing out of this and that . . . Their oxen fat . . . after the similitude of a temple." (22) Do not let Fr. Pablo Mugartegui escape, but let it likewise go to my account. I hope that also the corn prospered and that the grapevines are living and thriving; for this lack of altar wine is already becoming unbearable. Soon we shall be without chocolate and without-snuff, which is painful. It cuts to the quick to see the Indians so poorly clad without prospects of even a breech-cloth and the soldiers so run down, despite the fact that his Honor (Neve) knows this and that the warehouse has an abundance of clothing. But worse than all this is the outlook that we shall be without holy Mass; for it is known that it will be long before a ship arrives....

I have information that our brother Ortega goes to the Channel and that his son is corporal.... I should like to know the destination of our beloved Don Raphael. (23) Recommend me to said Don Raphael and to the Senora, Dona Josepha....

Now it remains for me to inform Your Reverence of a matter so annoying as asking you, a poor man, for money: because it is true that the king, our lord requests each Indian to pay him one dollar as a donation for war expenses. The Comandante-General says that in the missions they should pay it to the Fathers from the temporalities which the Indians have in common. . . . The Comandante-General is already notified that your Mission is poor.... You can plead your ease by representing the poverty in a letter which should contain nothing else. It should not be a long letter; but it should be well drawn up for presentation wherever I may judge it expedient. God assist you.

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I am in fairly good health. Poor Fr. Juan Crespi is in bad health. Fr. Dumetz is fat. Fr. Matias is well. I commend myself earnestly to my beloved Fr. Juan Figuer and to the other Fathers as also to Your Reverence. . . This may suffice. God keep Your Reverence many years in health and in His holy grace. Mission San Carlos de Monterey, December 8, 1781. Your etc., Fr. Junipero Serra. (24)

On receipt of this letter, Fr. Lasuen set to work compiling the document which for its importance is reproduced almost entire. It reads as follows:

Very Rev. and much esteemed Fr. Presidente Junipero Serra:- After following the instructions regarding the Donativo demanded of these Indians of San Diego in the manner directed by Your Reverence, I now forward the report which on this particular subject you intimated should be sent to you and should state the actual condition of the Mission with all its poverty and drawbacks. At sight of it, Your Reverence will determine what seems best and your judgment shall be our rule of action.

With regard to the case in question, the Comandante-General expressly assigns three causes which would exempt the missions from contributing to the Donativo or War Tax; viz., sterility of soil, epidemics among the neophytes, and hostility of the Indians. Thanks be to God, at present we are not suffering from an epidemic. But, as past years demonstrate, the hostility of the Indians is a constant cause for alarm; while the sterility of the land is palpable and manifest to every one. This was made clear to the Comandante-General by Lieutenant Jose Francisco de Ortega in the year 1777. At that time he described this region as most sterile, barren, and unfruitful, lacking humidity as well as irrigation facilities, so that planting grain was always a risk, owing to the uncertain rains. Hence it would be more in place if the king were to assign to this mission a subsidy of 100 or 200 fanegas of corn, which His Majesty's ships, when transporting

supplies to the presidio, ought also to bring here Your Reverence will remember that you yourself once proposed precisely what I am now soliciting with such earnestness. You will remember also how on my arrival here, when I told you that I had my misgivings as to whether what you proposed would be carried out, you replied with vigorous and strong determination, " If they do not concede this to me, we will abandon this port. " (25)

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It is our opinion, esteemed Father, that in the whole world there is not a hospital that suffers greater want and possesses smaller and more uncertain funds than our village here; and that the greatest service rendered to the king in this country is the holding of the Port of San Diego by means of this apology for a mission The site is avowedly unfit and useless for a mission establishment, if it is to be deprived of all government aid and hampered by the additional burden of having to minister to the presidio, so that on the plea of parsimony the royal treasury may save the expense of a chaplain's salary.

The pagans are numerous, while the Christian flock is small. Of these, the majority live scattered in the mountains and along the beach after the manner of savages. Only a small proportion are gathered here and live like Christians. The majority as a rule are troublesome, the rest live only for their own benefit. Most of them wear no other clothing than a breechcloth, which scantily hides their nakedness; only a small portion wear overalls of coarse cloth. And for neither party are the rations sufficient to satisfy the habit of voracious eating in which they have been raised; not one is willing to put the least restraint on his appetite. And when no recourse is taken to fishing and hunting, they live on rats, mice, snakes, vipers and similar reptiles and insects; or on acorns and other loathsome and unpalatable seeds, which only the power of water and fire can render fit to be eaten. (26)

I conclude, Reverend dear Father, by saying with the sincerity of a religious that I should have much more to say and that I feel strongly inclined to say it with the hard will of a Spaniard. But since under distressing circumstances as these it is best to conform to the will of the sovereign and his representatives, let us hope that this essential condition, namely, their will, be clearly defined; and that whatever may be ordained in our behalf in view of this true information, may be executed very soon. Mission San Diego, January 9, 1782.-Fr. Fermin Francisco de Lasuen. (27)

According to a communication of Governor Fages, dated September 20, 1783, Fr. Serra petitioned for exemption from the war tax in behalf of both San Diego and San Juan Capistrano. And, in December, 1783 Fages wrote to Fr. Serra, saying that the Comandante-General had among other things written to him as follows: "The Mission of Loreto has not contributed anything whatever to the Dona-

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tivo, because of its poverty. Those of San Diego and San Juan Capistrano ask for exemption on the same plea, on which point I refrained from taking steps until they should direct their petition through you." (28)

Fr. Serra was well informed when he stated that Lieutenant Jose Francisco de Ortega would be transferred to Santa Barbara Channel. He became commander of the new presidio, which was established at what is now Santa Barbara, on April 21, 1782. On that occasion, Fr. Serra himself raised and blessed the Cross which marked the site of the presidio chapel. Ortega was succeeded at San Diego by Lieutenant Jose de Zu-

niga. Don Pedro Fages, who early in 1782 made the first recorded trip from the Rio Colorado to San Diego, in September of that year, succeeded Felipe de Neve as governor.

"The presidial force, by regulation at least," Bancroft writes, "consisted of five corporals and forty-six soldiers, a sergeant, and a lieutenant. Six men were constantly on duty at each of the three missions of the district, San Diego, San Juan Capistrano, and San Gabriel, while four served at the town of Los Angeles, thus leaving a sergeant, two corporals, and about twenty-five men to garrison the military post, to care for the horses and small herd of cattle, and to carry the mail, which latter duty in the time of peace was the hardest connected with the presidio. The post constantly employed a carpenter and a blacksmith, besides a few servants, mostly natives.

"Respecting the presidio buildings," the same author continues, "the records are silent, but I suppose that the palisades were at least replaced by an adobe wall enclosing the necessary buildings, public and private. Here on the hill lived about one hundred and twenty-five persons, men, women, and children. Each year in summer or early in autumn one of the transport vessels entered the harbor and landed a year's supplies at the embarcadero several miles down the bay, to be brought up by the presidio mules.

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Every week or two, small parties of soldier couriers arrived from Loreto in the south, or Monterey in the north, with ponderous despatches for officials here and to the north, and with items of news for all. Each day of festival a friar came over from the mission to say Mass and otherwise care for the spiritual interests of soldiers and their families; and thus the time dragged on from day to day and year to year, with hardly a ripple on the sea of monotony." (29)

In September, 1783, Fr. Presidente Serra once more visited San Diego for the purpose of administering the Sacrament of Confirmation. He felt that his end was near and that this was the last time he should see his beloved San Diego. In his personal Journal of Confirmations, the venerable Father notes what occurred on this visit.

"On September 14, 1783," he writes, "on the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, the third Sunday of the month and, therefore, the feast of the Sorrow of the Most Holy Mary, on which day, thanks be to God, I completed fifty-three years in the religious habit, in the mission church of San Diego de Nipaguay, a few days after I arrived by sea at this port, after my High Mass, etc., the missionaries being Fr. Fermin Francisco de Lasuen and Fr. Juan Figuer, I confirmed one hundred and twenty-four persons; on Sunday, 21, thirty-one; on Friday, 26, five; on Sunday, 28, fourteen; on St. Michael's Day, September 29, in the church of the royal presidio of San Diego, Fr. Lasuen assisting, four neophytes from the mission and thirty-four of the settlers and troops; on September 30, at the mission, five; on October 5, Rosary Sunday, fifteen; on October 6, one; in all, therefore, two hundred and thirty-three persons."

Then, bidding the two Fathers a last affectionate farewell, Fr. Serra, on October 7, left the mission he had founded fourteen years before and proceeded to the next

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mission, San Juan Capistrano. Here and subsequently at all the other mission establishments, he administered Confirmation and consoled his brethren, until he reached his beloved Mission San Carlos, near Monterey, where, on August 28, 1784, he passed to



his eternal reward. (30) Fr. Francisco Palou, being vice-presidente, acted as Superior of the missions until September, 1785, when the documents arrived appointing Fr. Lasuen Presidente of the California Missions. This necessitated his transfer to Mission San Carlos. Fr. Figuer died December 19, 1784. From then until the arrival of Fr. Antonio Garcia Riobo in the following September, Fr. Lasuen was alone at San Diego. His last entry in the Baptismal Register is number 1,169, made on December 5, 1785. It seems he journeyed to San Carlos Mission by land, visiting the other missions on the way. On January 3, 1786, he administered Baptism at Mission San Antonio. (31) He was replaced at Mission San Diego by Fr. Juan Mariner, who baptized for the first time on December 5, 1785. Fr. Riobo remained till November, 1786, when Fr. Hilario Torrent succeeded him. Thereafter, for a good many years, Fathers Mariner and Torrent labored together at San Diego with much success. Reporting on the situation at San Diego in 1787, Governor Pedro Fages in accord with Fr. Lasuen's statements earlier in this chapter, wrote as follows: "The Mission of San Diego which for a time in the beginning, was located on the same plat with the presidio of that name, maintained itself there for five years. But experience showed that the great labors there met with little success, because the sandy soil lacked every facility for irrigation. The place was found to be suitable for a garrison, however, the maintenance and permanence of which were secured through the magnanimous support of the great king of Spain.

"For this reason and to have better fields for agriculture, they moved the mission two leagues toward the northeast,

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taking care, however, to place it as little away from the presidio as possible, partly that it might be more secure, and partly that the presidio might have the spiritual administration of the missionaries near enough at hand. Although there is no water source serviceable for irrigation within ten or twelve leagues, and this locality equally lacks that essential requisite, it was ventured to found this mission there, despite the fact that only by dint of extraordinary efforts it can subsist, increase, and be governed after the manner of a mission.

"A year and a half after transplanting the mission to this place, it was entirely destroyed by the neophytes and the pagans, one missionary and two mechanics being killed. For this reason the Fathers returned to the presidio and stayed there for the space of an entire year, whereupon the mission was rebuilt on its ruins and has thus been continued. The pagans of the district are most numerous. In the beginning they resisted conversion as they did nowhere else. But afterwards they subjected themselves with such rapidity that this was the first of the missions to count one thousand baptized converts.

"Owing to the scarcity of provisions, which generally follows in the wake of a new mission, as also to the distance from every base of supplies, it became necessary to allow the new Christians to continue to live in their rancherias as they did before their conversion, and to subsist upon the wild product of the land and on what was graciously given them at the mission. This method was always observed until the year 1779. The result was that of four hundred or more neophytes scarcely twenty could receive regular rations; nor could they be maintained together during the regular Christian instruction. In the meantime, there was a continuous struggle to make the land productive. The missionaries, having to deny their neophytes the provisions whilst the Indians were increasing the acreage stormed Heaven with ceaseless petitions for rains, whenever their fields

needed them. until they succeeded. Thus it is that since 1779 some good harvests have been gathered,

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Christians have increased, and the Fathers have succeeded in collecting at the mission about one-half of their converts. Here they are kept, receiving three regular meals a day as at the other missions, attending Christian instruction every day, and accustoming themselves to labor.

"The same cannot be said of the other half of converts, because the harvests do not suffice to maintain them.... Those of the mission remain at their native rancherias, but they are obliged from fifteen to seventeen days to attend holy Mass, to recite the prayers in common, to receive instructions in their Christian duties, and to accept correction or reproof for transgressions. However, the missionaries regularly experience great neglect with regard to attendance at holy Mass and at the divine services. Still, they punish only those who relapse and who are willfully negligent. "Indeed, this tribe, which among those discovered is the most numerous, is also the most restless, stubborn, haughty, warlike, and hostile toward us, absolutely opposed to all rational subjection and full of the spirit of independence. The truth is that by the indefatigable tolerance and prudence of the missionaries together with their constant gentleness and other apostolic traits (32) and supported by corresponding and opportune solicitude of the government, the Indians have been kept quiet, peaceful, and subdued for seven or eight years. Nevertheless, it must not be overlooked that a considerable armed force must needs be at hand in sufficient numbers to repress their natural and crusty pride. Along the road to Monterey, the language of this tribe is spoken, till about midway between this and the next mission, San Juan Capistrano."(33)

Being himself the government of California, one can hardly blame Fages for desiring to appear as furthering the great and toilsome efforts of the missionaries and for

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wanting the Mexican Government to stand out as solicitous for the missions as such. Nevertheless, though the Mexican Government manifested some solicitude by making numerous regulations, it practically allowed the missionaries to be thrown upon their own resources. As for Fages, he later did much to render the life of the Fathers miserable, instead of giving them all possible assistance. In proof of this, we must refer the reader to the second volume of the General History. All the help that the missionaries received was a guard, and that was the only expense the Mexican Government incurred in behalf of the missions. Nor was that anything to boast of; for by keeping the Indians quiet, and later on by supporting through them the whole governmental fabric of California, the Franciscans were securing the territory for the crown of Spain and for Mexico. Surely, to prevent the missionaries from being murdered by the Indians was under such circumstances in the interest of the higher Government, and it can scarcely be called assisting the missions for the sake of the missions. Generally, as the years rolled on, the soldiers by their had example actually handicapped the missionaries. Indeed, a year before Fages made his report, the Mexican Government charged the governor to "preserve the Indians in their simplicity, subordination, and discipline"; to have especially his troops themselves show discipline, "inasmuch as the soldiers serve only in the present system for the purpose of infusing respect, of giving good example to the Indians, and

of chastising with prudence the excesses they might commit." (34) The execution of such instructions would have been sufficient to lighten the work of the Fathers; but, as the reader will learn from the General History, on the part of the soldiers commands and their execution were two different things.

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## CHAPTER VII.

Unworldly Missionaries.--Mission Hospitality.-First Converts. --  
Obstacles to Conversion.-Baptismal Entries.-Methods  
Employed.-The Doctrina Christiana.-Divine Services.-The Our  
Father in Indian.- Sick Calls.-Specimen Baptismal Entry.-  
Sponsors.-Marriage Entries.-Some Mission Stations.-Some  
Marriages at the Presidio.- Fr. Serra's First Confirmation Visit.-  
Burial of Fr. Juan Figuer.

It is unfortunate for the thorough understanding of Franciscan missionary activity in California that the Fathers neglected to transmit to posterity a detailed account of what they personally experienced while exercising the ministry among the natives. Such recitals of the difficulties they encountered, of the sufferings they endured, of the occasional joys and the more frequent sorrows they experienced, of incidents connected with the conversions they effected--all this would have aroused sympathy and veneration and would have thrown a strong light on various phases of the mission life which those sandaled messengers of the Gospel so zealously embraced. But these men of God, clad in the grey habit of their Order, meant and proved to be true heralds of Christ and His holy Law; and for this very reason they thought of nothing less than to put down in writing what to-day would be so interesting and edifying. They had tidings of great import to communicate, and that to a people who had first to be educated before they could be made to prize it. In this task they were wholly absorbed to the exclusion of all extraneous interests. Hence it is that, after compiling the Annual Reports and refuting occasional hostile charges, the Fathers did not perceive Why they should devote their time, even if there had been a surplus of it, to a matter that they regarded as of no consequence to the spiritual and temporal advancement of their wards. For these they lived and labored, sacrificed themselves and all that was near and dear to them. They refrained even from writing descriptive letters to relatives and friends, a matter so human in itself and often so ample a source of joy and consolation.

Ordinarily, therefore, it is next to impossible fully to realize the obstacles which the Franciscan missionaries in California had to face at every turn. Nor is it likely that posterity will ever accord them that well-earned sympathy and praise which they would receive had they been less wrapped up in their charges. Still, much may be discovered and much more inferred from the Registers of Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials, which happily have escaped the ravages of time. These manuscript folios in flexible leather covers, uniform at all the missions, contain a mass of facts in skeleton. A detailed account of the facts and data would fill many chapters of highly instructive information concerning persons, places, and events that have become notable in the history of California. We shall utilize this important fountain in order to elucidate or supplement our narrative down to the year 1800.

As already mentioned, in erecting the various buildings provisions were made for guest rooms. This is a feature common to all the mission establishments, from San Diego to the northernmost, in Sonoma County, San Francisco Solano, about seven hundred miles distant. As Robinson and other visitors aver, a traveler could knock at the doors of Mission San Diego and be sure of a hearty welcome without being subjected to any but the most conventional questions. The best meals an Indian youth could prepare were set before him; he was offered a fresh clean bed; and the next morning or, if it pleased him, the following week, he could set out for the next mission on a fresh horse from the mission corrals, accompanied by an Indian boy, who was to bring back the horse, since another would be at the traveler's service at the next mission. There were no charges, nor was anything accepted as compensation. Such was Franciscan hospitality during mission times down to the unhappy days of confiscation. All travelers delight in repeating what kindly treatment was accorded them by

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the "Old Padres," who would bid the weary wanderer a cordial welcome, and on his leaving as hearty a farewell with the request to come again. Then the whole-soured and unassuming friar would return to his charges, happy in the thought of having given food and shelter to a fellow being, and thereby fulfilled the command of the Apostle, "Let the charity of the brotherhood abide in you; and hospitality do not forget; for by this some, not being aware of it, have entertained angels" (1)

It will be remembered how in his zeal for souls Fr. Serra thought that by persuading but one of the savages to bring a child for Baptism, he could break down the barrier of hostility and indifference which kept them aloof from the missionaries. How sadly the good Father failed has already been related. About one year later, however, the persistent affection displayed by Fathers Paterna and Gomez at last conquered some of the savages. The exact date of their Baptism could not be recalled when in 1776 the destroyed Mission Registers were reconstructed; but the respective persons and their parents were still living and thus the first entry which had been made by Fr. Serra himself with fifteen others could be reproduced. It reads as follows: "At this Mission of San Diego of Alcala in Upper California, the first to be baptized by said Fathers was a boy three years of age, with the consent of his parents, who at present are Christians, named Carlos and Praxedis, of this Rancheria of San Diego. The name imposed was Francisco Antonio. His sponsor was Juan Corrion, an Indian of Mission Santa Gertrudis, Lower California, who was instructed as to his relationship and obligations."

Doubtless, that April day, 1770, brought to Fathers Paterna and Gomez the first genuine happiness enjoyed at San Diego, when they could present to the Creator the first Christian of the Mission. Their joy may be likened to the happiness of the mother who forgot all her anguish

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for the joy that a man was born into the world. (2) From then on, similar pleasures multiplied, but only at the cost of similar prayers, mortifications, and self-denials; for the savage is fickle everywhere. What patience, prudence, and firmness must be exercised to attract, persuade, and retain him! Furthermore, if seven years of age or older, the Indian must be instructed and induced to forswear the gratification of unlawful carnal appetites, to abandon wicked connections, and to devote himself to the manual labor necessary

for the support of himself and family. At first, it was the ever ready pozole and atole that would attract him; but this craving for material gifts, all that he could grasp for the present, had to be transformed into an intelligent desire for supernatural advantages not visible to the corporal eyes. When at last he yielded, he had to be willing to surrender his savage liberty, to enlist in the Christian army, and to fulfill the duties of Christian and civilized life like white people, and all this not for a time, or while food was plenty, but for ever. Who can comprehend the patience required to advance such a superlatively dull, carnal, and indolent people to that stage of intelligence and determination? Only men, like these friars, who had relinquished every claim to worldly compensation and recognition, could have persevered; and only such as they could have transformed those lowest human beings by the thousands into peaceful, industrious, and faithful Christians, and that in the face of opposition, bad example, and persecution on the part of those who were expected to assist them at least negatively in their noble work.

Generally, Baptism was administered to one individual at a time. Infants, for instance, were taken to the sacred font on the very day of their birth or on the day following. It was the rule to bestow on the child the name of the saint whose feast was celebrated on that day. Hence, if any one had forgotten the day of his birth, he had but to see

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on what date the feast of his patron saint occurred; for that would also be his birthday. The entries regularly state the age, date, and serial number, whether single or married, and add the names of the parents, of the native rancheria, and of the sponsors; they close with the signature of the officiating priest.

Very frequently, large numbers of converts would apply for Baptism at the same time. This was especially the case in 1777, the year after the restoration of the mission. Fr. Serra had prophesied correctly when he remarked that now, the soil having been irrigated by the blood of a martyr, Fr. Luis Jaume, converts would be numerous. Thus, for instance, on November 24, 1777, Fathers Lasuen and Figuer entered numbers 559-581, thirty-two names. This would indicate that a whole class of catechumens had finished their period of rudimentary instruction and probation, and had been judged sufficiently informed on the obligations they contracted by becoming Christians. Such an occasion was made as solemn as possible and the lengthy ceremonies prescribed in the Ritual for the Baptism of Adults were strictly observed, creating a scene never to be forgotten.

In the case of adults, one of the Fathers baptized the men, while the other administered the Sacrament to the women, of course, always in church. Very probably, the men and women had also been instructed separately, except on Sundays when all assembled in the church for the Doctrina. Just before the assault on the mission, which took place in November, 1775, a great many neophytes had been admitted to the bosom of the Church, which fact, Fr. Palou claims, aroused the powers of darkness and brought about the destruction of the mission. "On the first, second, third and fourth of October, 1775," Fr. Fuster writes, "when Fr. Luis Jaume and I were stationed at San Diego Mission and the Fathers Fermin Francisco de Lasuen and Gregorio Amurrio (3) temporarily tarried here, prior to their going to

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found Mission San Juan Capistrano, we four Fathers on the said four days baptized the converts from the rancherias of San Luis Obispo or Coapan, San Miguel or Janat, San Jacome de la Marca or Jamocha, San Juan Capistrano or Matamo, and San Jorje or Neti. It was accomplished in this way; one Father baptized the male children, another the female children; the third administered the Sacrament to the adult men and the fourth to the adult women. I endeavored to ascertain who was baptized by any particular Father, but neither the Indians remembered nor do I remember whom I baptized or whether they were adults or children; neither do the sponsors remember. However, I believe that those baptized from October 1 to 4 by the said Fathers are those I herewith enter in the register, numbers 331-422." Fr. Fuster then puts down the names of the ninety-one whom he could discover, omitting what could not be stated with certainty..

In this case where so many were baptized on the same day, the name can point neither to the day of birth nor to that of Baptism. In order to secure for each the name of a saint, the calendar was referred to without regard to the day on which the feast of the saint was celebrated.

Instructing these converts, especially the adults, in the rudiments of religion was a most laborious task, the more so as the missionaries had to see that their pupils never suffered from hunger. Indeed, it was through the stomach that the Indians were gained for Religion. Only after the Indians had received gifts from the missionaries and felt satisfied that Christianity would provide food and clothing much better than paganism, could the Fathers hope gradually to ennoble and supernaturalize and firmly ground the Indians' halfhearted desire for Baptism. Therefore, they found themselves obliged to feed, clothe, employ, and even divert their overgrown dusky children. To facilitate matters, one of the two missionaries would shoulder the disagreeable task of managing the material side of mission activity, so that the other could devote himself more especially to the spiritual side. There was no iron-clad rule,

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however; the work was fraternally divided and in cases of emergency, the one Father would assist the other.

Concerning the subject-matter which the Indians had to learn and repeat again and again until they knew it by heart, the mission regulation demanded that the convert know how to make the Sign of the Cross and to recite the Our Father, Hail Mary, and Apostles' Creed; an Act of Contrition and the Acts of Faith, Hope and Charity; the Confiteor for Confession, the Ten Commandments of God, the Precepts of the Church, the Seven Sacraments, the Six Necessary Points of Faith, and the Four Last Things. This constituted what throughout Mission History is known as the Doctrina Christiana, truly much more than ninety-five per cent. of our modern white pagans can recite, although they call themselves Christians. The Alabado, used on all occasion, would close the instruction.

This Doctrina was recited every morning during or after holy Mass and again in the evening before retiring. Without burdening the mind or rendering the task disagreeable, even the dullest Indian would in this way gradually learn to recite the entire groundwork of the Christian Religion, would know what he must believe and what he must do in order to secure his eternal salvation.

This Doctrina was taught and learned in Spanish, a language which in the beginning the Indian did not understand; wherefore they neither understood the doctrines. In the first years, however, that made no difference. The Indians learned Spanish and the

Fathers by degrees learned the language of their respective charges. In our schools, the children learn many things they do not understand. Until their mind is able to grasp what now appears to be mysteries, they take their teacher's word for whatever is unintelligible. Now, these Indians were but overgrown children, and as to intellect most of them remained children. The chief thing was to have a uniform groundwork on which to build the superstructure of intelligent knowledge and ready observance. In schools, the alphabet and figures serve a similar purpose. On Sunday afternoons and at

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processions, etc., the Rosary would be recited in common and the Litany of the Blessed Virgin would be sung or recited. But neither of the two taxed the brain, since the former consisted of only the Apostles' Creed and a specified number of Paters and Aves. After the grown people had departed and in the afternoon, the children would have their time for instruction in the Doctrinal

Every Sunday and Holyday of obligation, during the principal holy Mass, the sermon or instruction turned on some point of the Doctrinal This was explained point by point until it was well understood, a thing that with some, especially with the older Indians, hardly ever came to pass. It was not in them, as we say, very many remaining children even at eighty and more. Nor was it absolutely necessary, as long as they understood the rudiments which was all that many could grasp. Even in civil matters there are numbers of Indians who in spite of long years of intercourse with whites are still and always will remain children. First the Fathers would speak on the respective point of the Doctrina in Spanish, and an interpreter would repeat in Indian what he had said. That sufficed as far as the rudiments of Faith and the necessary duties were concerned. Later, the missionaries would explain the matter in Indian. Some of the Fathers became very proficient in the native idioms. On the other hand, the Indians learned Spanish; in fact, the children and the men, but only exceptionally the women, spoke Castilian very well. At any rate, there was no more doubt about understanding what was taught. The Our Father and Hail Mary was translated into the language of the natives at all the missions, as Mofras proves. (4) We have tried, in vain however, to verify Mofras's version.

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A great deal of singing was done at the missions. In time, the men formed choirs and on all the feasts of the year they sang, of course in Latin, the parts of the Mass and the Vespers. Many of the hymns, however, were Spanish. Naturally, all this demanded that the Indian learn to read and write. A number of boys served the priests at the altar. For this the brightest were chosen, and as a matter of course they learned to read Latin and Spanish. The Alabado figured on all occasions.

Catechetical instructions grew very trying in cases where the Fathers had to travel great distances from the mission to give them. This was especially so when both Fathers were needed at home. If the missionary could not return before night, he as well as the accompanying soldier encountered the military regulation that forbade the guard to be away from headquarters, during the night. Strong reasons would have to be brought to bear on the reluctant commander whenever the missionary had to attend to these outside duties. As far as he was concerned, the Father would have dispensed with a guard and faced any danger single-handed for the sake of a soul; but the royal regulations also affected the priest. Hence, the salvation of a soul depended to a great extent on the good wishes of the military authorities, without whose leave no soldier was

permitted to stay away from his quarters over night or for more than one day. The reader will observe, therefore, that the missionaries were not at liberty to do as they pleased. Later, in order that the Father might not be hampered in the exercise of his office, these military regulations were somewhat relaxed, so as to allow the soldier to be absent with the priest according to the latter's discretion.

The occasions which called the missionaries away from San Diego were quite frequent during the thirty years that elapsed before Mission San Luis Rey was established. Two incidents of this kind will suffice to show what sacrifices were demanded of the Fathers.

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"On Christmas night," Fr. Lasuen writes, "in the year of our Lord the Son of God, 1783, at the rancheria called Guechi by its inhabitants but by us San Juan Capistrano El Viejo, after about two hours of instruction in the catechism, 'and when the night was in the midst of her course' 5, a little earlier or later, I baptized privately on account of danger of death Paschal, the capitano of said rancheria, aged sixty or seventy years. I gave him the name Juan Maria Capistrano of the Infant God. I had been called from this Mission of San Diego at the request of the sick man by one of his sons. The latter begged hard and he employed expressions little expected in a barbarian, inasmuch as they were worthy of a man who comprehended and who ardently and urgently desired his greater and only true good." 6

This was a Christmas gift bestowed by the Lord than which a missionary could desire no greater. Fr. Lasuen, who was the senior missionary at San Diego and who relates the incident, must surely have rejoiced and felt himself richly repaid for the long journey of forty-five miles that called him away from his children on Christmas day. Yet the good Father smothered his feelings and merely stated the bare facts in the Baptismal Book under date of December 28, 1783.

Six months later, his companion, Fr. Figuer had a similar experience at the same place. "On July 26, 1784," he writes, "I received notice that at the rancheria of Guechi, which we call San Juan Capistrano El Viejo, a sick pagan woman desired to be baptized. On arriving there I found a multitude of sick people. Hence I tarried some days, exhorting them all to become Christians. After giving as much instruction as the time allowed, I proceeded to baptize those whom I considered very ill and who were at the point of death or in grave and manifest danger of death. They

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were the thirteen numbers 1025-1037." What Fr. Figuer experienced in his heart at this unexpected reward for his laborious trip and patient efforts, was not recorded. He merely adds the day of entry, August 30, 1784, and his necessary signature. The rancheria visited by him was destined to become the most populous mission of California, namely San Luis Rey, which was established June 13, 1798.

Truly, as a non-Catholic writer in the defunct Land of Sunshine puts it, "those were toilsome journeys which the missionaries took through desolate wastes and tangled wilds. It was no easy task to teach and civilize a nation of untamed savages; but sincerity of purpose gave success to their labors, and the seed which they planted still bears a visible harvest.

"The Indian is instinctively religious, and possesses a lively sense of the power of the unseen. . . The Spanish friars acted upon it. It was as souls that the Indians ap-



pealed to them, souls to be saved, and for which they must give an account. It is as souls, pathetic, humble, groping after the light, that they appeal to him who has witnessed and shared in their worship upon the soil where the first missionaries reared the cross." (7)

When the time was limited, the Fathers made the long journeys on horseback; but otherwise they went on foot. Their way led over rugged trails, up and down mountains. Frequently it was to administer Baptism and other Sacraments to dying children and adults; for under the circumstances the missionaries were constrained to postpone Baptism as long as there was danger of backsliding, which was always to be feared since the Indians lived at such distances from the supervision of the Fathers and among medicine men and unlawful relations who were ever at hand to smother good aspirations. Many may have been willing to join Mission San Diego in order to be away from the irresistible allurements and to receive the coveted Baptism; but

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unfortunately the mission could feed only one-half of its own convert population. Doubtless, the hearts of the zealous missionaries ached for such willing candidates; but not until the above-mentioned date could the remedy be applied. Meanwhile, that no souls be lost, the Fathers submitted to the hardships of making the rounds of the rancherias as far as the prospects of reaping a spiritual harvest summoned them.

The military post six miles below added considerably to the trials of the already overburdened missionaries. It should have had a chaplain of its own, a secular priest, since the Franciscans had come for the sole purpose of giving religious instruction and administering the Sacraments to the aborigines. But half a century passed by before that proposition, so frequently urged by the Fathers, was carried out. Meanwhile, the missionaries attended the presidio every Sunday, celebrating holy Mass, preaching the Word of God, and visiting the sick and the prisoners. At times a call would come from there of a nature disclosed by the following entry in the hand of Fr. Fuster:

"On April 16, 1777, I was notified by a letter from Lieutenant Joseph Francisco de Ortega, comandante of the presidio at San Diego, that one of the pagan prisoners, who called himself Naleipoco from the Otoy Rancheria, was very sick and wanted to be baptized. On receipt of this notice, I started out for the presidio and found the Indian already somewhat instructed. I then instructed him in what was still lacking of the Christian doctrine, and as the opportunity was given for baptizing him solemnly, I did so according to the regulations of Mother Church in the very jail of the presidio, and gave him the name Fernando Salvador de los Reyes. His godfather was Don Francisco Aguilar, sergeant in the leather-jacket company of the royal presidio of Loreto, whom I reminded of the spiritual parentage and obligations which he had contracted. In witness thereof I sign at this Mission of San Diego, on the eighteenth of said month and year.-Fr. Vicente Fuster."

Names of white persons who later figured prominently in

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California history appear quite early in the Mission Registers. "Among the entries in the book that was destroyed when the mission was fired," Fr. Fuster writes, "I am sure of one which stated that Fr. Dumetz baptized solemnly in the church of the mission during the month of February, 1775, an infant of a few days, the son of Don Francisco de Or-

tega, Lieutenant of the presidio, and Maria Antonia Carrillo, his wife. The child was given the name Jose Francisco Maria. The sponsors were Don Rafael de Pedro y Gil, the Presidio storekeeper, and his wife Josepha Chavira y Lerma. In witness etc., January 10, 1777." In the following year, on October 23, 1776, at the mission, Fr. Serra baptized Juan Capistrano, another son of Lieutenant Ortega. His name appears at number 463 in the Register.

In the presidio chapel, on the other hand, Fr. Lasuen baptized on October 11, 1781, Francisca Antonia Maria, born on the preceding day, daughter of Francisco Xavier Sepulveda and his wife Maria Candelaria de Redondo, both from the Villa de Sinaloa, and recently arrived at the presidio. Don Rafael de Pedro y Gil and his wife were the sponsors.

On August 26, 1785, Fr. Lasuen baptized Maria Phelipa de Jesus, daughter of Corporal Joseph Macario Castro and his wife Potenciana Ramirez, both of the Villa de Sinaloa.

Fr. Hilario Torrent, on March 23, 1793, at the mission, baptized Maria de los Dolores y de Gracia, two days old, daughter of Juan Joseph Alvarado, soldier of the presidio, and his wife Antonia Valenzuela. The sponsors were Joseph Monroy, soldier of the presidio, and his wife Rita Villabos.

Proud as those Spanish officers in the early days may have been, and proud as Don Fernando Rivera y Moncada, when military commander, showed himself, they did not deem it beneath their dignity to stand sponsor at the Baptism of the lowly Indians. Indeed, Don Fernando frequently exercised that office. Among the very first converts, some were his spiritual children. For instance, the second and

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third entered in the Baptismal Register by Fr. Gomez, Manuela and Angela, daughters of pagan parents at the time, could claim Don Fernando as their godfather. Later on their parents became Christians and were known as Rafael and Maria de los Dolores. Also for the first Indian convert, a youth of eighteen and the eighth entry on the list, Don Fernando stood sponsor. Fr. Gomez gave him the name Diego, because he had gone by that name from the beginning. He was surnamed Rivera in honor of the military commander. His father was a widower and a pagan at the time. But later he became a Christian and went by the name of Miguel. Diego did great service as interpreter, Fr. Fuster writes; but he allowed himself to be inveigled in the revolt and he was therefore imprisoned as an accomplice.

Additional information regarding the activity of the missionaries in the first decade of the mission can be had from the restored Marriage Register. The title page, reproduced in facsimile, shows that the register was opened by Fr. Junipero Serra. Immediately after follows this important note: "The first book which contained the entries for marriages celebrated at this Mission of San Diego, was destroyed by the fire on November 5, 1775, like the rest of the books. As this has been noted more in detail in the Registers of Baptisms and Deaths, it is not necessary to repeat it here. For this reason the marriages celebrated from the beginning to said date are entered merely after the manner of the Padron, i.e. by giving only the names as they are remembered by the missionary, Fr. Vicente Fuster. That the style of entry may not appear strange, I attach this note, on October 25, 1776.-Fr. Junipero Serra."

Then follows a note by Fr. Vicente Fuster. "Whatever the Sacred Council of Trent and the Holy See command for the worthy administration of the Sacrament of matri-

mony, has been exactly observed by the missionary Fathers of this Mission of San Diego, by my predecessors as well as by those who were in charge during my time. Therefore, concerning the names in the marriage entries that follow,

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it must be taken as a matter of course that every prescribed formality had been observed, such as the betrothal, the proclamation of the banns, and the marriage ceremony. . . Mission San Diego, January 14, 1777.-Fr. Vicente Fuster."

Having entered thirty-two couples in this summary way, Fr. Fuster remarks, "Those enumerated thus far are the marriages which have been contracted at the mission, most of the couples having come from the Rancheria of Cosoy which stood on the same spot today occupied by the royal presidio of San Diego. In witness whereof etc.-Fr. Fuster, January 18, 1777."

Then followed the names of couples grouped under the rancheria where they had their domicile. This clear arrangement is of the utmost importance as it shows the territorial extent of the missionary activity of the Fathers of this mission, even as early as January, 1777.

- I. Rancho de San Diego or Cosoy, already noted.
- II. Rancho de Nuestro Padre San Francisco.

Under this head, Fr. Fuster enumerates entries 33-43, which he duly signs and dates, January 18, 1777.

III. Rancheria de Nuestra Senora de la Soledad. Here Fr. Fuster enters numbers 44-66, which he certifies, dates, and signs on January 19, 1777.

IV. Rancheria de San Antonio, alias Las Choyas. The marriages numbered 67-75 were dated and signed on January 19, 1777.

V. Rancho de la SSma Cruz en el Valle de San Luis, alias Coapan. Fr. Fuster counts up numbers 76-92, dating and signing them on January 20, 1777.

VI. Rancheria de la Purisima Concepcion, alias Apusquelc. Under this head are placed numbers 93-99. They are dated and signed on January 20, 1777.

VII. Rancheria de San Miguel, alias Janat. Only four appear under this head, numbers 100-103, dated and signed on January 20, 1777.

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VIII. Rancheria de San Jacome de la Marca, Jamocha. Only numbers 104-106 were entered. They were and signed on January 21, 1777.

IX. Rancheria de San Juan Capistrano, alias Matamo. Here are adduced numbers 107-112, dated and signed on January 21, 1777.

X. Rancheria de San Jorje, alias Neti. From this place the Register enters numbers 113-114. They were dated and signed at Mission San Diego, January 21, 1777.

In the presidio chapel, only three marriages of whites took place before 1800. Since the respective parties play a prominent role in the later history of the missions, the reader will be curious to know the particulars. The first marriage, after the banns had been duly published, was that of I}on Joseph Maria Gongora, single, sergeant from Monterey, Mexico, with Rosalia Maximiniana Verdugo, single, daughter of Juan Verdugo and Maria Ignacia de la Concepcion Carrillo, by proxy, Don Mariano de la Luz Verdugo, representing Gongora, who was at Monterey, May 16, 1/16, Fr. Vicente Fuster officiat-

ing. The witnesses were Don Jose Francisco de Ortega and Antonia Victoria Carrillo, his wife.

The second, numbered 320 in the Register, occurred on May 10, 1789, in the presidio chapel. The groom was Joseph Maria Pico, soldier, and the bride Maria Eustaquia Gutierrez. These were the parents of the last governor of California under the Mexican flag. As prescribed, the banns were published on three successive Sundays. The ceremony was witnessed by Phelipe Romero, blacksmith of the presidio, and Juan Maria Verdugo, soldier of the same presidio. Fr. Hilario Torrent officiated.

The third marriage was solemnized also in the presidio chapel by Fr. Hilario Torrent, on May 13, 1792. It appears at number 356 in the Register. The groom was Juan Joseph Alvarado, soldier, single, legitimate son of Bernardino Alvarado and Maria Teresa Castro, native of the pre-

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sidio of Loreto. The bride was Antonia Valenzuela, legitimate daughter of Juan Segundo Valenzuela, soldier at San Diego, and Agustina Alcantar, native of the Real de los Alamos. The banns were published on three successive festive days, both at the Mission of San Diego and at Mission San Miguel del Encino, Lower California. Ramon Buelna and Claudio Lopez, soldiers, were the witnesses.

The arrival of the good Fr. Presidente was always a notable event at San Diego, especially after he had received the faculties to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation. His first visit for the purpose of administering this Sacrament to the newly baptized Christians occurred in the fall of 1778. Here is how Fr. Junipero Serra himself relates the visit in his personal Journal of Confirmations.

"On September 21, 1778, the feast of the Apostle and Evangelist St. Matthew, in the church of the Mission of San Diego de Nipaguay, in the presence not only of the neophytes of said mission but also of the chief officials and the majority of the families of the presidio, with all the solemnity possible, after High Mass on said day, having observed all the regulations and rubrics as at San Carlos, that is to say, having preached a doctrinal and panegyric sermon on the Sacrament I was about to administer and on the qualities of the minister of the Sacrament, having publicly read in the vernacular the Pontifical Indult, etc., being assisted by the two missionaries of the said mission, Fathers Fermin Francisco de Lasuen and Juan Figuer, and retaining the same vestments in which I had sung the Mass, I confirmed first Diego Rivera, the first neophyte, and two of the first Christians of said mission, and then continued with the rest to the last one prepared for that first day. They were seventy-four in number. Having imparted to all the Benediction after the usual Antiphone and prayers which the Roman Pontifical prescribes, I reminded the godfathers and godmothers of the spiritual relationship and obligations which they had contracted. With this the celebration closed.

"I remained a whole month at said mission, and in that

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time when a sufficient number of the scattered Christians had been collected, I prepared and disposed the adults by means of the Sacrament of Penance, and the others by acts of contrition for their faults, and explained to all the nature of the holy Sacrament which they were about to receive on a specified day. Then, after my Mass, which on those days was always a High Mass, preceded by the ringing of the bells, I administered the

holy Sacrament. Under such circumstances there were in all twelve days on which I confirmed and the number of those who were confirmed on those days, children and adults, was six hundred and ten, among whom were some children of Spaniards and of other non-Indian classes. Of all the neophytes entered in the Padrones, the Fathers assured me that only twelve were missing, but that they could not be found. A new blank book was set apart for noting the said Confirmations and others in the future, which I myself entered. In the said entries are the names of the confirmed as well as of the god-fathers and godmothers. On October 18, which was the nineteenth Sunday after Pentecost, the last Confirmations were administered, and on that day I bade farewell and left the mission. I staid over night at the presidio, where on the following morning after holy Mass I took the road for the next mission.-Fr. Junipero Serra."

As already related in the preceding chapter, the Fr. Presidente visited Mission San Diego for the last time in 1783. His purpose was to administer Confirmation to those who had been baptized since his foregoing visit and to bid a last farewell to his beloved brethren. For he felt that his end was approaching and that he would never see them again in this life.

We close this chapter with the notice of the death of Fr. Juan Figuer, the companion and fellow sufferer of Fr. Lasuen. He passed to his eternal reward in December, 1784 The entry in the Death Register reads:

"No. 263. Rev. Preacher Apostolic, Fr. Juan Figuer.

"On December 19, 1784, I gave ecclesiastical burial in the church of this Mission of San Diego to the body of the

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Rev. Fr. Juan Figuer, Preacher Apostolic of the College of the Propagation of the Faith of San Fernando de Mexico missionary of this Mission, member of the Holy Province of Aragon, and native of Anento in said kingdom. He very devoutly received the holy Sacraments of Penance, Eucharist, and Extreme Unction. In witness whereof I have signed on said day, month, and year.-Fr. Fermin Francisco de Lasuen."

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## CHAPTER VIII.

Reports Demanded.--Cemeteries.-Mechanical Arts.-Statistics.-  
School at Presidio.-Banner Year at Mission.-Building Activities.-  
Grapevines.-Elections.-Dissatisfied Indians.-Troubles of Fr.  
Panella and Fr. Mariner.-Buildings.-Dominicans.-Death of Fr.  
Juan Mariner.-Grapevines.-Earthquake.-Furious Indian.-His  
Punishment.-Transfer of Bodies of Deceased Missionaries.-  
Death of Fr. Nicolas Lazaro.-Mission Aqueduct.-Smythe's View.-  
New Church Begun.-Dedication.-Specimen of Sectarian  
Gullibility.-Death of Fr. Pedro Panto.-Poisoned by Cook.-Fr.  
Tapis on the Subject.- Arrillaga on the Friars.-The Aqueduct.-  
Infirmary.--Church Goods. -Santa Isabel.-Difficulties.-Chapel  
Erected.-Dedication.-Numerous Baptisms.-Present Condition.

From Monterey, under date of November 28, 1791, Fr. Presidente Lasuen issued a circular notifying the Fathers that annually, beginning with January 1, 1792, a report in duplicate form should be drawn up at each mission and sent to him, because the Most Reverend Commissary-General and the College at Mexico demanded a general report compiled from the local accounts. At the same time, to facilitate matters, Fr. Lasuen set up a formula which the Fathers had but to fill out. Accordingly, exact figures and statements were thereafter made under these heads: Baptisms, Marriages, Deaths, Indians at the Mission, Cattle, Sheep, Goats, Pigs, Horses, Mules, Plantings, Harvests, Buildings, Furniture in Church and House, Implements, Shops: Though annual reports had been made before, from now on the returns of the missionaries were more systematic and minute, as we shall see in the course of the narrative.

In addition, a royal decree of 1787, demanded Biennial Reports from each mission. These were to state the number of missionaries, the stipends received from the Pious Fund, the number of male and female Indians, the number of boys and girls under nine years of age, and the difference in numbers between that and the immediately preceding Bien-

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cial Report. For reasons unknown this order failed to reach California until 1795. Still later, in October, 1806, the Superior of San Fernando College requested reports on the number of annual Communion and Confessions. The information on these subjects will be found in tabular form at the end of the narrative.

In his first General Biennial Report, dated San Carlos Mission, March 11, 1795, Fr. Lasuen says that from San Diego to San Francisco as many as seventeen or eighteen Indian languages or idioms were spoken, and that there were not two missions where one and the same Indian language was used.

The local annual reports of Mission San Diego for the years 1784-1792 seem to have perished, since none of them can be found. But beginning with the year 1793, the annual statements on the condition of the establishment are nearly complete. Before culling from this source, it may as well be related right here what Fr. Presidente Lasuen under date of December 20, 1792, writes to Governor Arrillaga, at the latter's request, on the subject of mission cemeteries. "I herewith comply with the order of your Honor of October 28, last, by informing you that at all Missions of this New California, with the exception of one or two, there are cemeteries, but not outside the village (not away from the population). They consist of a plot of ground surrounded by a fence of palisades or of adobe, in the center of which there stands a cross. The settlers usually take the dead for burial to the nearest mission cemetery. Those of the presidio sometimes do likewise, but on other occasions they bury the dead in the presidio churches. The cemetery of the presidio of San Diego is situated on one side of the church, which is not the case at other presidios. The cemetery of the Mission of San Diego occupies the land

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to a width of ten varas ( or twenty-nine feet ) along the whole length of the church and vestry on the north side." (2)

No report was demanded by the government on the product of the various mechanical workshops, which is to be regretted, because information about mechanical arts, a most important feature of life at the missions, would now be of the greatest value.

That such arts were taught is clear from this interesting item mentioned by Fr. Lasuen. "A few days ago," he informs Governor Arrillaga on December 21, 1792, "arrived here at San Carlos from San Diego at my request Antonio Domingo Henriquez. He brought along his Indian wife from San Diego. At all the missions of the South as far as San Luis Obispo, he has made spinning-wheels, warping-frames, combs, looms, and all the utensils of the art save carding instruments. He has taught carding, spinning, and also the weaving of various woolen cloths, also of the Sayal Franciscano (coarse woolen cloth) of which they have already made clothing for some missionaries." (3)

In 1793, a granary, 96 by 24 feet, was built of adobe and roofed with tiles.

At the close of the year 1794, Fathers Mariner and Torrent write: "Three buildings have been enlarged; a portion of the walls that guard the mission has been erected; a vineyard and a grove have been surrounded with a wall of adobe forming a circuit, of five hundred varas (more than fourteen hundred feet); and the fields have been prepared for planting." The Indians must have labored with a will when it is considered that the whole mission population consisted of 862 souls, of whom only one-half or even less lived near by; and of these a large portion of the men had to till the land, care for the live stock, or were occupied at weaving, shoemaking, tailoring, and other mechanical arts.

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In 1795, the Fathers to their great joy discovered a spring which produced so much water that they decided to use it for irrigating the land. Unfortunately, the report does not indicate its location. During that same year, an expedition set out to look for mission sites. (4) In 1796, a wall running along the arroyo was plastered and two of the buildings were enlarged. From the Biennial Reports of this year, 1796, we learn that the two missionaries of San Diego received each a stipend in the shape of various goods and articles amounting to \$400, and that the other Father who was staying at the mission as supernumerary received no stipend. The Indian populations comprised 412 males and 496 females, in all 908 souls.

In 1795, Governor Borica writes: "At the presidio of San Diego, Sergeant Don Manuel de Vargas, retired from military service, is in charge of the school. His salary is \$100, which is provided by the troops and others." The school had been opened that year. On September 29, he had an attendance of twenty-two pupils. (5) Likewise, in 1795, the missions of this district were requested to send each four or five Indians to the presidio to learn stonecutting and brick-laying. (6)

The year 1797 was a banner year. As many as 565 Indians were baptized, so that, after subtracting deaths, the population rose from 908 to 1,405. For the Fathers, this meant immense work in a spiritual way, not to speak of the worry so many additional mouths to be fed and bodies to be clothed involved. However, as the Fathers were out for souls, their happiness far surpassed their hardships. Thus, in 1797, San Diego outstripped both San Gabriel and San Antonio and became the most populous mission in California.

Since more water was needed for mission purposes the

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Fathers built a ditch 1,300 varas or yards long that brought water to the establishment. The wall along the arroyo was lengthened with masonry to a distance of eighty varas.

For the sick, four houses were constructed fifty-two varas long and five varas wide, and covered with tiles.

The Biennial Report for 1797-1798 gives the important information that grapes were raised and some wine was pressed. Fathers Juan Mariner and Jose Panella were stationed there at the time, but Fr. Jose Barona assisted as supernumerary. Fr. Hilario Torrent, on November 8, 1798, had sailed for Mexico, where he died before May 14, 1799.

At the beginning of 1799, the usual elections of alcaldes and regidores were held. On January 20, Fathers Mariner and Panella reported that the Indians Jayme Samop and Antonio Pellau had been elected alcaldes, and Bernardino de Sena with Angel Natamias regidores.

During 1798, some of the Indians were disposed to be troublesome. They manifested dissatisfaction particularly with Fr. Jose Panella, a new missionary. After investigating the case, Fr. Lasuen, under date of September 30, 1798, wrote from San Carlos to Governor Borica that the complaints against Fr. Panella's asperity had little foundation, but that nevertheless appropriate steps would be taken to eliminate any cause for dissatisfaction as he would not permit any of his subjects to do injustice to the natives. Thereupon, Governor Borica replied on the next day, "In consequence of your communication of yesterday, I have instructed the commander of San Diego to keep in mind the last chapter of the Instructions which treat of how to listen to complaints of Indians of the mission without favoring them entirely, but to assure them that they shall have what they need, and to blame and reprove them in what they deserve." (7)

Fr. Panella himself explained to Governor Borica under date of November 21, that the complainants were dissatisfied

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because he would not let them have their way at certain feasts. (8)

Governor Borica, however, directed Comandante Manuel Rodriguez of San Diego to institute a secret investigation. This was done, and Rodriguez reported as follows:

In view of the confidential note of Your Honor, in which you advise me of the complaint made by the Indian of this mission who is called Andres and who turned to Your Honor to accuse Fr. Juan Mariner, the missionary, I have to say that I have been informed by three individuals. All witnesses expressed themselves to the effect that two Indians of the rancheria died in consequence of having been taken out of the Mission oalaboza very ill; and they added that the diarrhea from which the Indians died infected the majority of the neophytes; that they contracted the illness in jail, (9) into which they had been placed by the said missionary because of robberies; that no one was made to work when ill, unless his illness was not known; that it is true, however, that the punishment of twenty or twenty-five lashes is usually added to that of confinement, but only in the ease of real robberies or of very grave suspicion thereof; that no ease has occurred where pozole and atole was wanting for all, although it has not been administered to such prisoners in such abundance as they generally demanded; and that it is likewise true that they are made to go out to work at daybreak from which they return for meal which lasts an hour, and then resume work until sunset. (10) This is all I can say to Your Honor in the brief report which you demand by your order of November 25, 1798. God keep you many years.- San Diego, December 19, 1798. Manuel Rodriguez. (11)



The truth is that the mission regulations directed that neophytes, except the infirm and incapacitated, rise at daybreak for morning prayers, holy Mass and the Doctrina, whereupon they take breakfast. Work was then begun about 8 o'clock and lasted till noon or Angelus at 12. They returned to work at 2 o'clock and continued till about 5, when there would be the Doctrina and supper.- Thereafter,

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amusements could be indulged in, which for the girls ceased at 8 o'clock, while the youths might continue till 9 o'clock if they wished. The fact is, therefore, that the Indians labored only six or seven hours a day.

Some of the Indians appeared disposed for a frolic at times, as we gather from Bancroft. (12) Three neophytes, for instance, at one time in 1794 were found stowed away in the Concepcion eight days out from the port. They claimed to have done this for sport, and they were sent back from San Blas. Again, in 1798, a runaway neophyte was sent back from Tepic.

During the last year of the century, 1799, much building was done. A large room for the mission guards was erected, measuring fifteen and one-half by twenty-five and one-half feet. The material was presumably adobe, though that circumstance is not mentioned. A room for the corporal of the guard was added. It measured sixteen feet in length and presumably had the width of the preceding room. One new structure, the dimensions of which are not stated, was erected to shelter the iron implements and utensils. Another structure measured fifty-six feet in length; its width is not given, though it probably corresponded to the main wings, that were fifteen and one half feet wide. Finally, a remarkable building was erected which is described as follows: "Another structure was built, twenty-three and one-half Spanish yards (67 feet) long and thirteen and one-half yards (38 feet) wide. It had a pillar in the center, measuring ten varas (28 feet) in height and being one vara and a quarter (4 feet) square, of masonry, from which the beams ran down on the adobe walls. It was covered with tiles." The purpose of this building is not stated, but it is seen in the cut.

Friendly visits from Dominican Fathers of Lower California were frequent in the last decade of the century. Generally they would be asked to officiate at a Baptism or

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a burial at both the mission and the presidio. The entry in that case always has the remark "de licentia-by permission." The first Dominican who appears in the Register of Baptisms is Fr. Caietano Pallas, who baptized on April 5, 1791. Other Dominicans officiating were Fr. Josef Lorient, in September, 1791, June, 1792, and July, 1798; Fr. Mariano Apolinario, in October, 1794, and October, 1795; Fr. Miguel Lopez, in May and June, 1795; Fr. Josef Conause, of Santo Tomas, in July, 1798; Fr. Ramon Lopez of San Vicente Ferrer, in November, 1798; and Fr. Eudaldo Surroca, of Santo Tomas, in November, 1801.

Mission San Diego suffered a great loss in the death of her senior missionary, Fr. Juan Mariner. He had officiated at a burial ( number 1,048) for the last time on December 23, 1799, and had entered his last baptisms (numbers 2,710,2,711) on January 20, 1800. The entry of his funeral in the Death Register is laconical enough. It reads as follows: "No. 1,059. On January 30, 1800, at this Mission of San Diego, I gave ecclesiastical burial to the body of the Rev. Fr. Juan Mariner, Missionary Apostolic, and missionary

of said Mission, who died on the preceding day at half past seven o'clock in the night. In testimony whereof I sign, Fr. Jose Faura."

Fr. Mariner had been stationed at the mission since December, 1785. What little is known about him will be found in the biographical sketches. Fathers Panella and Barona had been the assistants of the deceased. Why Fr. Faura, who till then had been stationed at San Luis Rey, performed the burial ceremonies is not clear. Thereafter he did not officiate at any other ceremony at San Diego, although on a visit in February and October, 1799, he administered Baptism. He was next transferred to San Juan Capistrano.

In his Biennial Report of February 25, 1801, Fr. Lasuen states that "the Missions of San Diego, San Juan Capistrano, San Gabriel, San Buenaventura, Santa Barbara, and

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San Luis Obispo raise grapes and press some wine. (13) In most missions, despite our endeavors, we have no success, since we missionaries, being all Europeans, do not know the climatic or other situations. In some missions grape culture and wine pressing succeed, in others the result is distressing; whether by reason of the soil or the climate, they are failures. . ." On February 21, 1803, he notes that "in some missions they have begun to harvest olives; and at San Diego they have already made some very good olive oil." (14)

In the latter part of the last year of the century, this southern district experienced a somewhat severe earthquake. From Loreto, Lower California, under date of January 16, 1801, Governor Arrillaga reported to the viceroy that on the eleventh of the preceding month the lieutenant-commander of San Diego presidio had informed him that on November 22, 1800, at 1:30 p.m., an earthquake had occurred which lasted six minutes. Several dwellings occupied by the soldiers, the warehouse for clothing, and the house of the lieutenant of volunteers suffered damage. The earthquake extended as far as the Mission of San Juan Capistrano, twenty-five leagues to the north, and there threw down the wall of the transept of the church which they were building. (15)

It was still dangerous for even the devoted missionaries to incur the displeasure of the Indians in their present half-enlightened state; and that might happen through no fault of the Fathers. A mere refusal to gratify the whim of a native or a slight scolding would suffice to excite him to seek revenge. One of these, named Hilario, had gone so far as to throw a stone at one of the missionaries. This was a

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serious matter. The corporal of the guard doubtless reported the case to Captain Manuel Rodriguez, commander of the presidio. He appears to have thought the case of sufficient importance to go before the governor; for Governor Arrillaga writing to Rodriguez from Loreto, Lower California, under date of February 16, 1805, says, "The act of the Indian Hilario, which you refer to me under date of January 10, deserves severe chastisement. To have the audacity of throwing a stone at his missionary, is something of which there are few examples. In order, therefore, that the others may take a lesson it is necessary that he be kept in prison, where on nine successive feast days, always after High Mass, he shall be given twenty-five lashes. On the other nine Sundays he shall be given thirty-five or forty stripes; moreover, it is necessary that you have

six other Indians, every Sunday different ones, come from the mission to be present at the punishment. After what I order now has been carried out, I shall determine what destination will have to be assigned to him. Furthermore, I direct that you in this punishment show no clemency." (16) Clearly, Governor Arrillaga held the missionaries in veneration and wanted them treated with due respect.

On May 4, 1802, Fr. Panella in his Biennial Report to Fr. Lasuen writes: "My companion does not sign because he is in the vineyard, and the mail carrier allows no time to wait for him." This was Fr. Barona. Evidently the Franciscans looked closely to their temporal affairs, although they very much preferred to attend to their chief work, the spiritual affairs of the dusky children. However, as a means to the end for which they had come, the Fathers would not shirk the disagreeable task of leading in work on the farm or of looking after the live stock.

In the same year, as has already been pointed out, Fr. Lasuen in his defense of the missionaries, deploras the Situation at Mission San Diego where circumstances permitted only one-half of the Indians to live at the mission.

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For the next several years, nothing specific is reported in the way of building; but in 1804, an unusual ceremony took place at the mission. In the Death Register it is headed

Traslacion de los Cadaveres de los Padres Luis Jaume, Juan Figuer, y Juan Mariner.

The entry reads: "On April 26, 1804, with the assistance of the Commander of the neighboring presidio of San Diego, Don Manuel Rodriguez and his troops formed in a line, we the undersigned missionaries of this mission of the same name transferred the bodies of the three deceased ex-ministers, and after a Vigil and High Mass for their repose placed them in one and the same tomb, situated beneath the small arch which is between the two altars of the new church, but each one in its own coffin. The larger contains the body, still entire and clothed, of the Rev. Fr. Juan Mariner, who died on January 29, 1800; the middle sized, with the skeleton of Rev. Fr. Juan Figuer, who passed away on December 18, 1784; the smaller coffin, held the remains of the Rev. Fr. Luis Jaume, who with utmost inhumanity and fierceness was assaulted, beaten and killed by his own sons whom he had regenerated in Christ. In order that for all time to come they may be recognized clearly, we had three stones placed over said tomb. The stone nearest to the Virgin, our Lady of Pilar, marks the remains of Fr. Jaume; the one next to it, near the statue of San Diego, points out the body of Fr. Mariner. The stone which stands most distant and faces the south, indicates the remains of Fr. Figuer. Whose souls through the mercy of God may rest in peace. Amen. This is the very truth, which we sign on the twenty-seventh of the same month and year.-Fr. Mariano Payeras." No other signatures follow.

Less than three years later, the remains of another Father were laid to rest in the same church, as the following entry number 1,727, in the Death Register shows: "On August 19, 1807, Fr. Jose Barona gave ecclesiastical burial in the church of this Mission of San Diego under (the statue of),

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San Jose to the body of the Rev. Fr. Nicolas Lazaro, supernumerary missionary at said mission. He was a member of the holy Province of Burgos, and had been missionary of San Fernando Rey. He had received the holy Sacraments as directed by holy Mother Church. In testimony whereof I sign, Fr. Jose Sanchez."

Fr. Lazaro had been at the mission but a short time, to recuperate from ill health. He entered his first Baptism on June 25, and baptized only once more, nine days before his death, that is, on August 9, 1807.

The first year of the nineteenth century, Bancroft relates, (17) proved a severe one for the mission from a material point of view. The rains were late, and there was much want of grain during the year, as also in 1803. (18) "It may be that these droughts impelled the Fathers to construct an extensive system of irrigation works, and that the works, whose remains are still to be seen, were probably completed during the next few years. About three miles above the mission the river was dammed by a solid stone wall, thirteen feet in thickness and coated with cement that became as hard as rock. In the center was a gate-way twelve feet high and lined with brick. The dam was standing as late as 1874, though the water had washed out a channel at one end, and the sand left but a few feet of the height of the structure visible. From this dam an aqueduct constructed of tiles, resting on cobblestones in cement, and carrying a stream one foot deep and two feet wide to the mission lands was built through a precipitous gorge, impassable on horseback. The aqueduct often crossed gulches from fifteen to twenty feet wide and deep, and was so strong that in places it supported itself after the foundations were removed."

"There is nothing more remarkable about these priestly

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builders," says William E. Smythe in his History of San Diego, (19) "than the versatility of their talent and the manner in which they met all demands. Thus they were able to supply the engineering capacity to solve the problem of a permanent water supply. They went ten miles up the valley, found bedrock, and proceeded to build a dam of solid masonry across the river bed, two hundred and twenty-

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four feet long and twelve feet thick. The remains of this work are still in existence and exhibit a wall fourteen feet high, as seen from the lower side. The water was conducted by means of well-built ditches and a short tunnel, and supplied the mission at all seasons of the year. It is this achievement which gives the Mission Fathers a high place in the history of irrigation, and the remains of that ancient dam should be regarded as a hallowed shrine in a land where water is god of the harvest. . . It seems very remarkable that men so deeply immersed in spiritual concerns should also have been practical men of affairs and capable executives. Had they not been very competent in both respects they would have failed in their difficult undertaking. This very unusual combination of qualities seems to have been common to nearly all the priests, and it is little wonder that they obtained the confidence of the Indians to a very large degree and became their trusted advisers in all their trouble."

Important building was done about this time; but the Fathers are sparing in their description of it. "The house of the Fathers was finished, and it is very becoming," is all

that is to be found in the official report made on December 31, 1806, by Fathers Barona and Sanchez. Neither the time when it was begun nor the dimensions are given; and we are made to suppose that the walls were of adobe and the roof of tiles. In addition, they remark that some work was done at the old buildings. So much might have been told in connection with these undertakings; but the Fathers did not realize of what a pleasure they were depriving posterity. (20)

The erection of a house of God is surely a highly important affair. Still, all we read about it from the hand of Fr. Sanchez, who, as if by the way, mentions it in a letter

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to Governor Arrillaga, dated September 29, 1808, is the following: "On the present day of September 29, 1808, the beginning was made with a church at this mission." We are thankful that the date at least is given exactly. In the official annual report to Fr. Presidente, Fathers Barona and Sanchez only say, "Se sigue la Iglesia comenzada- The church begun continues building."

At the close of 1810, Fathers Panto and Sanchez write that the new church building and the sacristy and ten other houses had been roofed, and that other buildings were under construction or repairs. In the report for 1811, however, they give information that the roof of the church, which was to have been flat, had to be taken down, and likewise almost the whole front, on account of serious cracks.

Notwithstanding the great earthquake of December 8, 1812, Fathers Martin and Sanchez say in their report of December 31, 1812, "Thanks be to God, we are completing the church building, and we expect to bless it in the coming year, 1813." They were fortunate above their brethren at San Juan Capistrano where the terrible earthquake resulted most disastrously.

At last the long looked for day arrived, which was to witness the solemn dedication of the church, of which but the ruins are seen at the present time. In the Baptismal Register, after the entry of a Baptism, number 4,070, on November 7, 1813, by Fr. Vicente de Sarria, the Comisario Prefecto of the California Missions, who held the visitation then, the event is recorded in the following

NOTA

"On November 12, 1813, the day of the glorious San Diego, this his holy church was blessed with all the appropriate formalities and solemnities. The Rev. Fr. Jose Barona officiated at said function, he being the missionary of the mission of San Juan Capistrano. He blessed the edifice and celebrated the High Mass on said day. The first sermon for the solemnity was preached by the Rev. Fr Geronimo Boscana, missionary of Mission San Luis Rey de

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Francia; and the second sermon, on the occasion of the translation of the bodies of the Rev. Missionaries who had served as missionaries and died here, was preached by the Rev. Fr. Thomas Ahumada, Dominican Father and missionary of Mission San Miguel, Lower California. Don Francisco Maria Ruiz, lieutenant of cavalry and commander of the presidio of San Diego, served as sponsor at the dedication, the resident missionaries of said mission being: Fathers Jose Sanchez and Fernando Martin." This entry was made by Fr. Boscana.

In this connection a curious specimen of sectarian gullibility should not be overlooked. It is retailed by Smythe as follows:

There is a tradition of unusual interest concerning the building of the San Diego Mission, which is related as follows in the San Diego Weekly Union of September 24, 1878:

From an old woman now living near San Luis Rey, named Josefa Peters, and whom we believe to be at least 124 years of age, Mr. W. B. Coutts learned that the timber for the mission came from Smith's Mountain, at least sixty miles inland from this city. The old lady says that after the timbers had all been nicely hewed and prepared, and blessed by the priests on the mountain, on a certain day a vast number of the stoutest Indians were collected and stationed in relays of about a mile apart, all the way from the summit of the mountain to the foundations of the mission buildings in the valley near this city. At a given signal the timbers were sprinkled by the assembled priests on the mountain, and were then hoisted on the shoulders of the Indians, and were thus carried to the first relays and changed to their shoulders, and so on, all the way to San Diego, without touching the ground; as it was considered sacrilege to have one of them touch the ground from the time of starting until it arrived at its final destination in the Church. As there are an immense number of these timbers, it shows the zeal and devotion of the Indians at that date, and their obedience to the Reverend Fathers. (21)

This ridiculous dream of an old Indian woman would scarcely need comment or denial. It is too stupid to be considered seriously, notwithstanding that W. B. Coutts stands sponsor for it. Indians are imaginative, and for that reason those who know them will endeavor to secure

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corroboration from at least half a dozen sober ones on any subject of their own invention. But to rely on stories of Indian women in their second childhood is the limit of folly. If Smythe had known a little something of Catholic practices, he would not have included calumnies, let alone old wives' tales. We would advise all who want to speak or write about Catholic customs and practices, to have the ordinary decency to inquire of some one who is in a position to know them. Often they need go no farther than the nearest desk. At all events, Catholic customs and regulations are always in keeping with reason and common sense.

The timbers for the church were certainly brought from a distance, because there was and is no suitable building material near the mission. They were not hewn and blessed in the woods, but down at the mission. Nor were they brought down on the shoulders of unhappy Indians for a distance of sixty miles, not even of sixty yards, but they were hauled to the mission by oxen. Nor was it considered a sacrilege for a piece of blessed timber to touch the ground. It was not blessed at all until it occupied its place in the building, and then the blessing of the whole edifice took place. A priest who would have subjected the Indians to such folly as is related by Smythe, would have been sent back to Mexico as a lunatic. Not even in his lunacy would he have conceived of such a silly plan. How gullible some people are, even so-called historians!

Fr. Pedro Panto who had seen the sacred edifice rise, did not live to witness its solemn dedication; for he died in the preceding year. The entry made by Fr. Geronimo Boscana reads as follows: "Number 2,143. On July 2, 1812, with the assistance of Fr. Thomas Ahumada, Dominican, I gave ecclesiastical burial in the church of this Mission of San Diego to the body of the Rev. Pedro Panto, deceased missionary of said Mis-

sion, member of the holy Province of San Miguel, and a native of Valverde del Fresno. Before his death he received the Sacraments of Penance and Extreme Unction. He could not receive the holy Viaticum. He passed away on June 30, at 7 p.m. He died, according to opinions,

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from poisoning at the hands of the cook. In testimony thereof I sign, Fr. Geronimo Boscana."

Fr. Panto had made his last entry, number 2,140, in the Death Register, on June 26, 1812. In the Baptismal Register his name appears for the last time on June 21, 1812, number 3,946, only nine days before his death.

The poisoning had occurred seven months before and an attack of violent vomiting appears to have brought on a lingering disease from which the good Father finally died. At the time, the act being a capital crime, the military officials took cognizance of the case. Suspicion at once fell on Indian Nazario, the Father's cook, who on examination acknowledged his guilt. It would seem that Fr. Panto, who like Fr. Jaume wanted no revenge but conversion, declined to prosecute or even to testify against the culprit, whereupon Domingo Carrillo, whom the acting comandante of the presidio, Don Ignacio Martinez, had appointed prosecutor, addressed himself to Fr. Estevan Tapis, the Fr. Presidente of the missions. In reply the Fr. Presidente wrote as follows:

"By official note of the 21 instant, you ask me to concede my permission to the Rev. Fr. Pedro Panto, so that he may give his declaration in the investigation which Alferes Don Ignacio Martinez of the presidio of San Diego has committed to you regarding the arrangement for trial of the Indian neophyte called Nazario, the cook of the Rev. Missionary Fathers, for having put poison or poisonous herbs into the soup of said Fr. Panto in the evening of Saturday, the 16 instant.

"While I protest that I do not desire in any manner whatever that from my permission or from the declaration of the Rev. Fr. Pedro Panto any capital punishment befall any person, I in virtue of this allow the said Religious after making the same protest, to give the necessary declaration in order that precautionary steps be taken to prevent, as far as possible, similar attempts against his person or

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against others in the future. Mission Purisima Concepcion, November 27, 1811, Fr. Estevan Tapis.-Domingo Carillo." (22)

It will be observed that Fr. Tapis, who knew the value of Indian complaints or statements, took the matter very coolly. In this spirit, too, the charges of the neophyte must be judged. Only a few years previously, Governor Arrillaga, reporting to Mexico as to the charges of cruelty on the part of the missionaries, wrote, "The Friars on the whole are sensible and honest men, and the natives are as a rule well treated. Slight defects and excesses are sufficiently guarded against by Franciscan and ecclesiastical regulations which render secular interference on account of a few isolated complaints inadvisable." (23)

The Indian confessed that he had poisoned the soup out of revenge, because from the Father he had received in succession fifty, twenty-five, twenty-four, and twenty-five lashes in the twenty-four hours preceding the attempted crime, as Bancroft (24) has it, which of course is too absurd to need disapproval. Elsewhere in the report he claimed he had received two hundred lashes.

Nevertheless, Sergeant Jose Maria Pico, who acted as defender, held the remarkable opinion that Nazario's crime was justifiable on account of Fr. Panto's cruelty, which was not proved. Inasmuch as the poisonous dose had not been fatal, but rather because with those Indians another standard had to be employed, as the Fathers themselves always excused them as people but half-witted, Domingo Carrillo insisted that a penalty of eight months' labor in the presidio should be imposed as a warning to others. It is not known whether the sentence was carried out, but doubtless it was. This same Jose Maria Pico with several soldiers was arrested for plotting a revolt for the seizure of the military post. Three of the soldiers died in prison. Such is the assertion

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of Pio Pico in his Historia. (25) Only two years before Estudillo wrote that the missionaries treated the neophytes like their own children, correcting them with words and for serious offenses with from twelve to twenty-five lashes applied but once for any misdeed, a regulation no missionary would dare to disregard, even if the Fathers had been the characters their enemies desire to paint them.

After completing the church and vestry, Fathers Sanchez and Martin went to work at another much greater and more difficult undertaking. As briefly as ever they introduce the herculean task with these words: "We are working at an aqueduct, which is to bring water to the mission. We hope it may succeed with the help of God, for the worst difficulties have already been overcome." This statement was made in the annual report of December 31, 1813. In the next Informe of December 31, 1814, the Fathers say, "Work on the aqueduct is progressing; already as many as 6,600 varas have been completed." That would be equivalent to three and a half miles. Let the reader remember what Smythe says of it which agrees with our own observations made as late as 1904.

The year 1815 saw another infirmary go up! which is proof that the Fathers were solicitous for every need of their flock. Also work on the aqueduct was continued during this and the next year. In 1816, the infirmary was completed. That same year Fr. Fernando Martin drew up an inventory of the articles contained in the church and sacristy. At the close, immediately preceding his Signature, is a note, saying, "Under the niche of our Father Saint Francis is deposited the offering which Don Josef Fons, Captain of the company of Catalonian volunteers made." (26) The document is dated July 19, 1816.

Nothing more is noted regarding the Zanja or aqueduct

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after 1816. The only statement regarding building affairs occurs in the report of 1820. In this year new granaries were erected on the ruins of the old ones. Similarly, the Fathers had to confine themselves to keeping things in repair from year to year.

With the year 1820 the Fathers became particular about reporting what was procured for the interior of the church. For instance, on December 31, ten new rochets, cassocks for the altar boys, and some corporals were added to the supply in the sacristy. Subsequent additions were

In 1823, five new albs, three corporals, three amices, two surplices, seven purificators, seven finger towels;



In 1824, five new albs, two corporals, four amices, two purificators, four finger towels, one cincture;

In 1825, six new albs, two manteles, two amices, one cincture, one carpet;

In 1826, one new red chasuble, three albs, four amices, seven towels, one white terno;

In 1827, one black cope, one white antependium, a piece of shoulder cloth-pano de ombros;

In 1830, one red cope, four manteles;

In 1831, twelve new altar cloths.

No further mention of church articles is made. Implements also were procured from year to year to replace worn out material. Exact reports were made on the spiritual affairs, and on the live stock and the yield of the fields. all of which will be found in tabulated form later.

There is little else to be noted during the decade, save one important undertaking. While continuing their daily mission routine, the zealous Fathers at the same time endeavored to include in their great family the Indians of the sierra district. Numerous applications came from these for admission into the fold. These Indians were instructed as well as possible, put on probation, and then baptized. But the missionaries did not insist that they live at the mission because the establishment could not support them and because the converts seemed to belong to a less low

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class of savages. At a very early date converts were gained from a district called Santa Isabel. In order to facilitate conversions in that region, the Fathers desired to establish an asistencia or sub-mission there. But this could not be done without the governor's permit ; for, under the unfortunate system in vogue in the Spanish dominions, the ministers of Religion had more to consult than the needs of the people. When it came to forming a little parish or a new mission, or when a house of worship was to be erected, even if it was to cost the government nothing, as was the case in California the secular authorities had to be petitioned, and these very frequently looked to other motives than the needs of the people. A long time might elapse before the permit would be granted. Such was the case with regard to the petition which the Fathers of San Diego, encouraged by the Father Prefecto during his visit in August, 1816, addressed to Governor Sola, on October 12, and December 19, 1816. At the next visit of the Fr. Prefecto, two years later. on July 23 1818, no progress had as yet been made toward accomplishing the plan so much desired by the missionaries and the Indians as well. Once more, on October 13, 1818 Fr. Sanchez petitioned the governor for the permit to erect a chapel for the 230 Indians at Santa Isabel. (27) But in vain. Then Fr. Sarria in person but with no better success approached Sola on the subject, as we find in the following communication to Fr. Payeras:

In the place called Santa Isabel, toward the sierra, they count a goodly number of baptized souls, about two hundred, and there are prospects of more conversions. It is a place visited every fifteen days by the Fathers, who have for more than a year been desirous of erecting a chapel there. For the present I have determined nothing on account of some impediments which remain to be looked after; but having in the last year seen that neither all nor many of the Indians could come to the mission, I told the Fathers to go there occasionally and to celebrate holy Mass on a portable altar even though in

consequence the presidio might lose holy Mass on a feast day. This they have done sometimes, and, as I understand, with much

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fruit. I also asked the governor for a permit for the formal erection of a chapel, but he manifested some repugnance to the petition. Then he told me he would ask for information from the commander of the San Diego presidio. Thus far the matter has proceeded, and I was expecting him to speak to me about it. San Carlos, February 2, 1819. (28)

Meanwhile the two Fathers at the mission resolved to take the matter into their own hands, as we see from the Baptismal Record." On September 20, 1818," Fr. Fernando Martin writes, "in the Rancho Elcuanam, where a beginning is being made for a new foundation (mission), the site having been blessed which will have to serve for a chapel in the future, after celebrating the holy Sacrifice of Mass, I baptized solemnly, using water which I took from the Baptismal font of this church of San Diego and administering also the holy Oils, the following children and adults, after they had been instructed as well as possible during a period of fourteen days." The newly baptized appear under numbers 4,274 - 4,392. Some of them were from San Felipe or Teguilá.

On the twenty-third of the same month, Fr. Sanchez, at the same place where Fr. Martin had baptized three days before, administered Baptism to thirty-two male and female adults. This seems to show that the Fathers had decided to put up at least a temporary chapel until the governor should authorize a permanent building. Before these dates, save in case of necessity or in articulo mortis of a petitioner, the Fathers had baptized a great many from Santa Isabel and from San Felipe, but always at the mission. Sunday, September 20, 1818, may therefore be celebrated as the day on which Fr. Fernando Martin founded the Santa Isabel chapel and asistencia. Fr. Sanchez, who had remained at the mission for the Sunday, came up for the twenty-third which was a Wednesday, to complete the festivities. Thenceforth Baptisms from that place were always entered in these terms. "In the Chapel of the place called Santa Isabel by us and

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Elcuanam by the natives, with water which I took from the Font of this church of San Diego, etc.," as Fr. Sanchez, for instance, writes on September 7, 1819, and again on January 25, 1820.

A permanent chapel was eventually erected, but the date is not known. In 1822, it was reported that the asistencia of Santa Isabel comprised a chapel, a granary, several houses, a cemetery, and an Indian population of 450 neophytes.

A writer in the Land of Sunshine notes the fate of Santa Isabel thus: "Far in the 'back country,' sixty miles or so from San Diego, in a region untrodden by the tourist, are the ruins of the Mission of Santa Ysabel. (29) Leveled by time and washed by winter rains, the adobe walls of the church have sunk into indistinguishable heaps of earth which vaguely define the outlines of the ancient edifice.

"The bells remain, hung no longer in a belfry but on a rude framework of logs. A tall cross made of two saplings nailed in shape marks the consecrated spot. Beyond it rise the walls of the brush building, ramada, woven of green wattled boughs, which does duty for a church on Sundays and on the rare occasions of a visit from the priest who makes a yearly pilgrimage to these outlying portions of his parish. On Sunday, the gen-

eral of the tribe acts as lay reader and recites the services. Then and on Saturday nights, the bells are rung. One bears the date 1723, the other 1767. A bullet hole in the side of one of them commemorates equally the accuracy of the aim and the sacrilegious motive of some forgotten soldier.

"Opposite the church is the cemetery, a small enclosure carefully guarded from intrusion by a tall picket fence. A bare wooden cross rises in the center, and at the head of each little mound formed of the dry sun-baked earth, a small cross is placed, emblem of a hope beyond this world of unrighted wrongs." (30)

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## CHAPTER IX.

Vancouver Arrives.-His Observations.-Fr. Lasuen.-The Soldiers.- Labor not Dishonorable.-The Presidio.-Fort at Point Guizarros.- Death of Lt. Grajera.-Presidio Force.-Population.-Officials.- Dispensation from Abstinence--Interrogatorio y Respuesta.-Character and Habits of the Indians.-Murders.-Punishments.-Horse-stealing.-Its Punishments.-Methods True and False for Securing Converts.-Smythe's Foolish Charge.-Unjust Demands on the Missions.-More Absurdities from Smythe.-The Franciscans.-More Demands on the Mission.-Crops.-Population.-Contributions Apportioned.

Down at the presidio and town of San Diego, Lieutenant Jose de Zuniga had meanwhile; in May, 1792, been promoted to the rank of captain of infantry and placed in charge of the Presidio of Tucson, Sonora, now Arizona. In October, 1793, Lieutenant Antonio Grajera succeeded him. It was at this time that the English navigator Captain George Vancouver with the British sloop of war Discovery appeared in the harbor and created a stir in the sleepy settlement.

"About two in the afternoon of Wednesday, November 27, 1793," he writes, "we anchored in ten fathoms of water, fine sandy bottom, at the usual place of anchorage in the harbor. . . . Punta de Guiranos ( Guizaros, a low spit of land, projecting from the high steep cliffs within the former, and which, properly speaking, constitutes the west point of the entrance into the port. . . . The presidio of San Diego bore N. 21 E., distant three miles and a half and the nearest shore northwest, within a quarter of a mile of our anchorage." After visiting the officials at the presidio and after taking wood and fresh water on board, Vancouver prepared to depart on Saturday, December 7; but "the wind coming from the south," he relates, "prevented our sailing the next day as I intended, but I did not regret the detention, as it afforded me the pleasure of a visit

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from our very highly esteemed and venerable friend, the Fr. Presidente of the missionaries of the Franciscan Order in this country, who was then on a visitation to the several missions between San Francisco and this port, where he had arrived the preceding evening from San Juan Capistrano. He expressed much concern that our departure was so near at hand, since the great fertility of San Juan Capistrano's would have enabled him to add abundantly to our stock of refreshments. I had great difficulty to prevail on

the Father President to desist from sending to San Juan's for the supplies he had proposed, as in all probability we should have sailed before they could have arrived.

"The enjoyment of the society of this worthy character was of short duration; it however afforded me the satisfaction of personally acknowledging the obligation we were under for the friendly services that had been conferred upon us by the missionaries under his immediate direction and government; being perfectly assured that however well disposed the several individuals might have been to have shown the kind attention we had received, the cordial interest with which the Father President had, on all occasions, so warmly espoused our interests, must have been of no small importance to our comfort. This consideration, in addition to the esteem I had conceived for his character, induced me to solicit his acceptance of a handsome barreled organ, which, notwithstanding the vicissitudes of climate, was still in complete order and repair. This was received with great pleasure, and abundant thanks, and was to be appropriated to the use and ornament of the new church at the presidency of the mission of San Carlos.

"The Mission (of San Diego) is not conspicuous from the situation," Vancouver remarks, on the occasion of his visit in December, 1794, "nor does it command an extensive prospect." (1)

There is no record of any agricultural operations what

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ever at or near the presidio outside the mission, Bancroft tells us, nor were there any private ranchos in the whole region before 1800. (2) Vancouver essays an explanation. "The military," he declares, "do nothing, in the strictest sense of the expression; for they neither till, sow, nor reap, but wholly depend on the labor of the inhabitants of the missions and pueblos for their subsistence, and the common necessaries of life. To reconcile this inactivity whilst they remain on duty in the presidio, with the meritorious exertions that the same description of people are seen to make in the pueblos, is certainly a very difficult task; and the contradiction would have remained very prejudicial to their character, had I not been informed that to support the consequence of the soldier in the eyes of the natives, and to insure him their respect, it had been deemed highly improper that he should be subjected to any laborious employment. This circumstance alone is sufficient to account for the habitual indolence and want of industry in the military part of the societies." (3)

The excuse offered was only a pretext to cover the inveterate laziness of the Mexican soldiers, who were recruited to a large extent from the scum of Mexican society and from convicts. The missionaries, men of learning, and frequently of noble blood, did manual labor of every kind; yet in no way did they suffer in the esteem of the Indians. On the contrary, they endeared themselves to the Indians, besides setting them an example of industry. Because of the lack of useful employment, time hung heavy on the hands of the soldiers, and this naturally bred mischief. Here lies the secret of much of the hostility the missionaries and their wards encountered on the part of the military. While the mother country provided the soldiers with food and clothing, the troubles were not so poignant; but, when with the year 1812 supplies failed to come from Mexico, on

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account of the ill-fated and ill-advised revolt of Hidalgo, a veritable martyrdom began for the Franciscans and their neophytes, as may be seen in the third and fourth volumes of the General History. No, it was not that the soldiers would have lost the esteem of the Indians by using their spare time in cultivating gardens and raising stock with a view to have something for a rainy day, or to support themselves independently of the poor Indians, but because, worse than the savages, the soldiers disdained to work. Here we must except the Catalonian Volunteers, however, who were Spaniards with a good sense of the fitness of things. As a sample, it may be noted here that in 1796, at the request of Governor Borica, Comandante Grajera in vain tried to induce the Mexican youths at San Diego to learn trades; some of them deemed the mere request an insult. (4) The comandante was ordered to call together parents who had objected to having their sons apprenticed to mechanical occupations. He was directed to tell them that they were acting against their own interests; that it was plainly advantageous for the youths to be enabled to support themselves by honest labor and that in the meantime they should be kindly treated, well fed and clothed, and given a regular education. Borica then ordered a list of boys between the ages of seven and eighteen to be forwarded to him at Monterey. (5)

Unfortunately, the soldiers themselves were not compelled by the governor to be usefully occupied. When parents and children alike grew up idlers, it was easy to guess what the consequences would be. No wonder the troubles of the missionaries were immensely augmented by the neighborhood of the idle, shiftless, vicious, gambling, and frequently drunken whites, who should have been an example to the Indians.

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However, from 900 to 1,200 head of live stock were kept, including the military company's horses and mules. Though this entailed little manual labor, it afforded the youths and adults opportunities for enjoying themselves on horseback, and provided them with flesh meat, at least. Each year, in Mexico, an appropriation was made from the royal treasury for presidio expenses, which varied from \$14,000 to \$15,000. For this amount goods with a small amount of coin were sent by means of the transports that plied between San Diego and San Blas. The Catalonian Volunteers and the artillery men, mentioned before, here and at other presidios, received supplies to the value of \$15,000 a year, of which about one-third went to the men stationed at San Diego till 1803. Supplies for them were also obtained from the missions during the three last years of the century, for which the presidio was indebted to them for about \$10,000. (6)

"The Presidio of San Diego," says Vancouver, "seemed to be the least of the Spanish settlements. It is irregularly built, on very uneven ground.... The situation of it is dreary and lonesome, in the midst of a barren, uncultivated country, producing so little herbage, that excepting in the spring months, their cattle are sent to the distance of twenty or thirty miles for pasturage.... This interior country, although more productive in point of grass, is not very prolific in grain, pulse, fruits, roots, or other culinary vegetables. I understood that they are frequently obliged to resort for supply of these articles to the Mission of San Juan Capistrano, which abounded in vegetables and animal productions, consisting of great herds of cattle, flocks of sheep and goats; and I was assured

that it was one of the most fertile establishments in the country. . . . With little difficulty the presidio might be rendered a place of considerable strength, by establishing a small force at the entrance of the port where at this time there were neither works, guns, houses, or other habitations nearer than the

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presidio which is at the distance of at least five miles from the port, and where they have only three small pieces of brass cannon. (7)

The defect noticed by Vancouver was remedied in 1795 when Point Guijarros, Cobblestone Point, was selected as the site of a fort. Preparations were at once begun. Two or three laborers and the necessary timber went down by sea from Monterey. Santa Barbara furnished the axletrees and wheels for ten carts, while bricks and tiles were hauled from the presidio to the beach and taken across to the point in a flatboat. Before March, 1797, \$9,020 had been expended. Nothing more is known of the extent of the work; but by the year 1803 it served its purpose very well; for in that year the Lelia Byrd, an American smuggler, in attempting to pass the point was nearly sunk by the balls discharged at her under command of Corporal Jose Velasquez. A project to open a road round the bay to connect Point Guijarros with the presidio was under consideration in 1798. (8)

Vancouver, the English navigator, named the point opposite Ballast Point, at the entrance to San Diego, Zuniga Point in honor of its former commander. Zuniga Shoals, however, "abreast the eastern side of Point Loma, and parallel therewith, at a distance of two-thirds of a mile," was so named by Sebastian Vizcaino in 1602 for Viceroy Zuniga, Count of Monterey. (9)

By the year 1799, Lieutenant Antonio Grajera's excessive use of liquors had rendered him unfit for service. Having obtained leave of absence to visit Mexico, he sailed away on the Concepcion, but died two days out from the port, on January 18, 1800. Ensign Manuel Rodriguez succeeded him as commander of the port, and he was promoted to the lieutenantancy in July, 1801. The corporals and privates, with

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generally an armorer and carpenter, varied in number but slightly from fifty-seven during the last decade of the century, not including the retired soldiers or invalids, who gradually increased from four in 1792 to fifteen in 1800. From this force twenty-seven to thirty-three men were constantly detached to form guards for the five missions, including San Miguel, Lower California, and the town of Los Angeles. In 1796, Lieutenant Jose Font with twenty-five Catalonian Volunteers came up from Mexico and they were stationed here till their return in 1803. At the same time, six artillerymen under Sergeant Jose Rocha arrived and increased the force to nearly ninety men. The whole white population of the district consisted of two hundred and fifty souls, according to Bancroft, but according to official reports there were 112 white men, that is to say, not Indian, 58 white women, 78 white boys, and 51 white girls, or in all 299 souls. Of these, 160 lived at the presidio; the rest were scattered in the missions or were located at the pueblo as pensioners. In 1800, eight foundling children were sent up from Mexico to live at San Diego. (10)

Ensign Francisco Maria Ruiz of Santa Barbara, at the end of 1805 was promoted to the lieutenancy and appointed acting commander of San Diego to succeed Captain Manuel Rodriguez, who in 1806 was promoted to the office of habilitado general for the Californias with residence in Mexico. Late in 1807, Captain Raimundo Carrillo took charge; but he died in November, 1809. His daughter, in 1804, married Jose de la Guerra y Noriega who at the time was ensign at Santa Barbara. Ruiz then became commander and remained in charge till 1827, although he did not enjoy the rank of captain till 1820. The presidio obtained supplies from the missions of the district as follows: in 1804, to the amount of \$4,000; in 1806, to the amount of \$5,500; and in 1807, to the amount of \$7,700. The records of other years are not extant, according to

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Bancroft. (11) This historian also notes particularly that in the said years the presidio officials collected annually \$75, and in 1811 as much as \$111, from the distribution of Papal Bulls, which in other places he ignorantly calls Papal Indulgences. (12) These were nothing more than certificates entitling the holder to the privilege of using flesh meat on certain days of abstinence. They had to be renewed each year and could be procured from government officials in consideration of a small contribution, twenty-five cents for ordinary people once a year. The poor had to pay nothing for them. Neither the missionaries nor any other official of the Church received any portion of this revenue. All went into the royal treasury. It was a privilege granted by the Popes to the Spanish kings in acknowledgment of the services which the Spanish rulers and people had rendered and the sacrifices they made in behalf of Christianity in the wars against the Mohamedans. (13)

In 1812, the Spanish Government for some reason or other sent to all civil and ecclesiastical authorities in the dominion of Spain an "Interrogatorio" or list of questions regarding the natives in their pagan state. The missionaries of California received this list through the Bishop of Sonora. The replies were laid down in a document called "Respuesta- Answer." Omitting the questions for the sake of brevity and because they can be readily inferred, we here subjoin entire the answers of the two missionaries of Mission San Diego to the thirty-six questions. They throw a clear light on the Indians of the district in their pagan state.

"Respuesta

The undersigned Fathers of Mission San Diego de Nipaguay respond to the questions of the Interrogatorio which His Excellency Don Ciriano Gonzales Carvajal, Secretary

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ad interim of the Guvernacion del Reino de Ultramar, directed to the Rt. Rev. Bishop of Sonora, and by whose orders the Rev. Jose Joaquin Calvo sent it to the Very Rev. Fr. Jose Senan, Presidente of the Missions of Upper California.

1. In this Mission of San Diego, two classes of people are attended, the neophytes and the military of the adjoining presidio of San Diego, among whom there is but one European.

2. The native home of the neophytes is the mission and its neighborhood.

3. The idiom which the neophytes speak is the Language of MAU. It is so called because for the word yes they say SAA, and for no they say MAU. They understand and speak also our Castilian language, especially the young people.

4. In these neophytes, much affection between man and wife is observed; for at the death of either, the survivor weeps much and goes about sad; this is more common among the old people. The parents love their children to excess; for by every means they seek to feed them. They suffer want themselves rather than let their children feel it; and this is general with all. The parents train their children; for it is noticed that, when they do wrong, the parents exhort, reprove, and even punish them; but this is not common with all. They are excessively averse to labor and mechanical arts but the vigilant missionaries make them apply themselves to labor and mechanical arts, and the Indians learn any task with facility.

5. There is noticed in these neophytes a good deal of fondness for the Europeans and Americans; for they wish to serve them and to live with them. No hatred or rancor is observed.

6. Already answered.

7. No inclination to learn to read or write is noticed for no vestige is found which would demonstrate that they at any time used characters. But the missionaries, indeed,

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put one or the other to writing and reading, and these learn with facility. They use our paper for it.

8. To this mission come every year from paganism those who desire to be Christians, and a large proportion are old people. It is difficult for them to learn to speak the Castilian tongue. The most suitable method to induce them to speak is the one we follow, that is, to exhort and admonish them and to threaten punishment; to the young people punishment is sometimes applied. The causes which have hindered them in using the Castilian language we do not know.

9. The virtues of compassion, charity, and generosity are noticed, especially in the women.

10. They are very fond of participating in the Feast of the Bird called Gavilan (Hawk), which consists in searching with much anxiety for that bird. They invite one another to hunt for it. This is owing to the fact that there are at this mission certain neophytes who are very smart, though very poor at the work of collecting seeds. Hence, when they want food, they take up the plan of searching for that bird. They deceive the



more simple-minded and tell them that the bird is a real person who can liberate them from their enemies and who grants them whatever they ask. Under this supposition, though false, the simpletons believe with such obstinacy, that they take as much care of the bird as the most affectionate mother would show for her child. For as soon as they have caught the bird, they treat it to whatever they hunt or chase, and of the seeds gathered they always give it the best. After they have raised it, they kill it; then they burn it and while it is consuming on the pyre, they offer it the collected seeds, beads, and whatever they prize. In the following year, they search for another hawk and treat it in the same manner. The method used to break them of this foolishness is to appoint a few good Indians to watch over this particular affair; and all who are caught practicing it are severely punished in public.

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11. In this Mission we use and observe the catechism (in the native as well as in the Castilian language) which our Superiors have prescribed.

12. Answered under number 10.

13. In the moral as well as in the political order progress is noticed.

14. When a young man thinks of getting married, he goes to the house of the parents of the desired. girl, or to that of her nearest relative, and asks her of them. If the girl consents, they immediately go to the house of the missionaries, where the young people present themselves accompanied by the parents and the witnesses, and declare in the presence of the missionaries that they desire to marry. If there is no impediment, the marriage takes place.

15. They have no other curative methods than those which the missionaries or some other white person may apply to the Indians. For, although this country is favored with many medicinal herbs, the Indians do not use them, nor have they used them at any time. There are certain shrewd neophytes who call themselves Guisiyag. which means wizard. The method they employ in curing diseases is that as soon as an Indian is found to be sick, the relatives approach or summon the guisiyag. This fellow comes with a stone or a stick or some hair concealed in his mouth, which he applies to the suffering part. Then he commences to extract or suck from the said part and on withdrawing shows what he had concealed in his mouth and persuades the patient that this is what ailed him. At this they are all quiet and content, since it appears to them that the patient is already freed from his malady. From this it may be inferred that their greatest infirmity and ailment is melancholy and apprehension. However, the most widespread malady is the morbo venereo. For the last four years, in this part of the territory, deaths have exceeded Baptisms. In the last year of 1814, the deaths were 118, while the Baptisms were only 75. In this number are included the gentile adults who have been baptized.

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16. The seasons of the year are known by the leaves on the trees, by the plants in the fields, and by the harvest of the various grains. The Indians have not and never had a calendar. They are guided merely by the sun and the moon.

17. The missionaries provide food for the neophytes. In the morning it consists of atole or a gruel of barley, wheat, or corn. At noon they get pozole, which consists of the same grains boiled. In the evening the meal is the same as in the morning. Every fifteen days, twenty-four head of cattle are slaughtered. More is not given because the condition of the mission permits no more.

18. We are not aware that they use any fermented beverage; but they have occasion, indeed, to drink wine and aguardiente to excess (at the presidio).

19. Answered under number 10.

20. The Indians are not eager preserve the customs of their forefathers. They say that they came from the north to these lands.

21. In their burials they observe no ceremonial whatever. What they do is this: at the death any one, the relatives of the deceased, in the presence of the missionaries, throw a few seeds of grain into the grave, and then raise a wail which lasts for some days.

22. They are little trustworthy in their dealings and words.

23. They are inclined to tell lies, especially in reporting anything incriminating ; for they dread chastisement and that is the reason for their lying.

24. The dominant vices in them are impurity, stealing. and murder.

25. They readily loan things to one another and without interest.

26. As they lead a community life under the direction of the missionaries, the latter apportion the labor and the sustenance.

27. The Indians are much inclined to pride and rancor;

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the men persecute one another to death out of jealousy or for some other grievance; the women, when they are angered at their men, or when the men have dealings with other women, may revenge themselves for such grievances by committing suicide.

28. Answered under number 10.

29. Among the pagans no other idolatry is observed than the Feast of the Bird, after the manner described under number 10. The ceremonial which they observe at their burials consists in burning the body; while it is burning, they throw seeds on the fire and raise a cry accompanied by weeping, which lasts for days and even for months.

30. Since the neophytes live in community, they have no private property and therefore they are neither rich nor effeminate.

31. The neophytes of the Mission are equal as to food and clothing, which is all they possess.

32. The male and female neophytes of this Mission serve the military of the presidio nearby, because they voluntarily desire to serve them. The latter then have the same obligations as the Fathers, that is to say they must feed and clothe the neophytes, attend to their education, and give them a good example.

33. These neophytes have not and never had other musical instruments than a timbrel which has a disagreeable sound. However, the Fathers have procured some musical instruments, and the neophytes play them with some ability; they would be proficient if they had someone to perfect them, for they are very fond of our musical instruments.

34. In this Mission there are not and never have been men distinguished in literature or in arms.

35. It is known that the Indians have an idea of eternity, of a reward and punishment, of a final judgment, of purgatory, hell, and heaven; for some live content, others confess during the year, many at Easter time, and at hour of death all anxiously plead for the holy Sacraments.

36. These neophytes are dressed in overalls and a blanket and wear a sash half a yard wide around the waist. The

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women wear chemise, gown, and blanket or shawl. Mission San Diego, December 23, 1814.-Fr. Fernando Martin, Fr. Jose Sanchez." (14)

There were some vicious characters among the neophytes of San Diego Mission, and the fact that many had to be allowed to live most of the time in their distant rancharias away from the control of the missionaries scarcely helped the Indians to curb their passions. Late in 1814, for instance, three Indians, called Francisco, Fermin, and Fernando, who were neophytes only in name, murdered the mayordomo of the mission, whose name was Miguel. The affair was reported to the viceroy in February, 1815, but the fate of the criminals is not known, as no documents appear to have been preserved. (15)

A similar case was that of Vicente Acevedo of San Diego, who in April, 1815, was accused of having stabbed his wife. He claimed that he did so because she had put some herbs into his porridge. Of course, that was as true as Indian accusations generally were, for instance those against the missionaries, and it was sure that he made it only to cover some misdeed of his own. In the trial, it became evident that he had attempted the life of his wife in order to rid himself of her, so that he could live with an-

other woman. On August 1, 1815, he was sentenced to receive daily for nine days twenty-five lashes at the door of the guardhouse of Mission San Diego in the presence of the other Indians, as a lesson to them, and then he was put in chains. The woman he coveted was sentenced to receive daily twelve lashes in the women's apartments, and then to be kept a prisoner there among the single women and finally she was turned over to the care of the missionaries.

Horse-stealing developed early. The culprits were not unceremoniously hanged as was the case among the rovers

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on the western wilds; for after all, human life, even that of an Indian, was regarded more than that of any number of horses; but the punishment inflicted produced a lasting effect on the individual. For instance, in September, 1816, Governor Sola directed Comandante Ruiz of San Diego to apply to some Indians, who had stolen horses, a novena of twenty-five lashes, that is to say, twenty-five stripes a day for nine days, then to put them in chains, and to engage them in labor at the presidio for six years. (16)

Nothing else of importance seems to have occurred in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. "It was an uneventful period even for San Diego, always the dullest place in the province," as Bancroft writes. "As elsewhere the inhabitants had the ever-increasing destitution" (due, we may add, to the revolt in Mexico and to the indolence of the local soldiery and their relatives) "as a subject for thought and conversation, too often without cigarettes to clear the minds for a proper consideration of the problem. Only twice did they see upon their fine bay the sail of any craft except that of their own flat-boat plying lazily to and from Point Guajarras, when Wilcox in the *Traveler* came for a load of grain in September, 1817, and the whaler *Discovery* refitted in the port in August, 1820. There was some kind of school at San Diego during a part of the decade." (17)

After 1811, neither stipends for the missionaries nor salaries for the military, to be paid in goods designated. came from Mexico, owing to the revolt then raging in that unhappy country. The Fathers regretted the nonappearance of the annual transports with the *Memorias* only for the sake of their dusky wards; for they could no longer delight them with various kinds of gifts such as solicitous fathers provide for their children, and among which even

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fireworks used to figure. Nor could they offer anything but home products to attract the savages to the mission family; for of beads and other gaudy trinkets the pagans were even more fond than the neophytes. Hence a strong means of increasing the number of converts was lost; for other methods of winning over the savages were not employed, the bold assertion of mission enemies to the contrary notwithstanding.

The reader will excuse us if we dwell on this point a little longer, because an apparently so well-meaning author as William A. Smythe, and that as late as 1908, asserts in his *History of San Diego* (18) that "the missionaries were so deeply in earnest to bring

souls to Christ that they did not hesitate to employ the military arm as a means of forcible conversion. There is reason to believe that whole villages were sometimes surrounded and their inhabitants driven to the missions."

A little knowledge of Catholic doctrine and practice and less gullibility would have prevented Smythe from penning such an outrageous statement. All the villages in the San Diego district are known and enumerated, as we shall see later. Which whole village, nay, which family of any such village, was treated in the manner alleged? No such forcible winning for Christ occurred anywhere in California, much less at the San Diego Mission, where most of the neophytes did not live at that establishment at all. Furthermore, the soldiers were not at the disposal of the missionaries for any such purpose. And even if the military had been free to assist in such nefarious action, the Fathers could not have employed them for such a purpose, because a Baptism administered to any one so brought to the mission would have been null and void, and would have subjected the priest to the heaviest censures.

Nor does Smythe prove his assertion by referring to Robinson's Life in California, where the author says that

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"it is not unusual to see numbers of the Indians driven along by the alcaldes, and under the whip's lash forced to the very doors of the sanctuary." Robinson is not an impartial witness. He had become a Catholic because a Spanish lady would not have otherwise consented to marry him; it would seem, however, that Baptism had not entirely washed out of him every anti-Catholic rubbish. He was, therefore, like many another well-meaning writer, prone to believe without examining the facts closely. At Mission San Diego he had tarried only once and that for two hours about noon, at a time when there was no divine service in church. Besides, suppose the case was as he puts it, the said Indian alcalde or foreman did no worse than school teachers were, at least formerly, accustomed to do. These, too, could be seen with whip in hand taking care that their unruly boys marched to the classes in an orderly manner. So much for the bubble.

For themselves the Franciscan missionaries in this and in the other missions cared little whether or not any supplies arrived from Mexico, although they needed habits and underwear and sandals, which, however, were hereafter made in the mission shops by the neophytes. Church goods, too, could be similarly provided or obtained from merchant vessels in exchange for grain and hides and tallow. What the Fathers felt keenly was that after 1811, the whole military, from the governor down to the last worthless soldier, demanded that the mission furnish every necessity of the department, from tortilla to uniform and weapons, either in kind or in coin. Thousands of dollars were collected from the missions in the shape of money contributions. Others there were in the territory who profited by the presence of the soldiery, namely, the white settlers and rancheros with their large flocks; but on these no such calls for contributions were made. As the missionaries possessed nothing and received nothing for managing the missions save what they wore and ate, they and their neophytes had either to produce by combined efforts what the heartless, indolent soldiery demanded or be threatened with forcible seizure

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## FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER 1

(1) This undoubtedly refers to Alareon's expedition up the Gulf of California. See Missions and Missionaries of California, vol. i, p. 25.

(2) Bolton, Spanish Explorations, pp. 13-39. See also Missions and Missionaries of California, vol. i, pp. 25-28.

(3) Spanish Explorations, pp. 5-6.

(4) Spanish Explorations, p. 10.

(5) At Point Loma Lighthouse, 32 degrees, 40 minutes, and 13 55/100 seconds. See Davidson, Pacific Coast Pilot, p. 19.

(6) i. e. November 12, 1602, feast of St. Didaeus, according to Franciscan Calendar.

(7) "que se hizo en un Arenal, ó Isla de Arena."

(8) Spanish Explorations, pp. 81-82.

(9) See Missions and Missionaries, vol. i, pp. 47-52, and Appendix A, for the patron saint.

(10) See Missions and Missionaries, vol. ii, p. I.

(11) Ballast Point, most probably, where Perez anchored, and most likely also Cabrillo. The place deserves to be marked by a monument.

(12) Names are not given. On the San Carlos, the boatswain Fernnndez Alvarez had died April 18, in latitude 27 degrees, 46 minutes, and Manuel Reyes, the pilot, Sunday, April 23, in latitude 32 degrees, 11 minutes. Both were buried at sea. In connection with the latter, Vila notes that on this day all who had not yet made their Easter duty confessed and received Holy Communion. It was the fifth Sunday after Easter which latter in that year fell on March 26.

(13) Bancroft with Hayes thinks that Punta de los Muertos or Dead Men's Point, at San Diego, derived its name from the burial of the scurvy-stricken soldiers. We do not think that the Spaniards, who preferred to have the cemeteries near the church would have buried the dead so far away. See Bancroft, vol. i, pp. 130-131.

(14) Blessed be Jesus, Mary, and Joseph-the usual way Fr. Serra and other Fathers head their letters.

(15). i. e. Fr. Junipero Serra.

(16) Fr. Palou never gives him the title governor. He was the military commander of the expedition to Upper California and had been governor only of Lower California.

(17) "El pan cotidiano de los miserables en este pais es el mezcal."

(18) See note 5.

(19) If he had advanced a league farther, Fr. Crespi would have changed this last statement.

(20) He was Presidente or Superior of the Fathers till the arrival of Fr. Junipero Serra.

(21) In the Serra Gorda Indian missions of Mexico. Fr. Cruzado arrived at San Diego in 1771, and was assigned to Mission San Gabriel, where he died in 1804. The remains were buried in the mission church.

(22) Documents & Relativos a las Misiones de California, Quarto Series, Museo Nacional de Mexico. This letter was kindly copied for the writer at the Museo Nacional by Professor Herbert E. Bolton of the University of California.

(23) i. e., professor of theology. With members of religious Orders, Lector stands for professor.

(24) He was Presidente in Lower California after the departure of Fr. Junipero Serra.

(25) See Appendix B.

(26) Fr. Serra alludes to medical treatment received at the hands of a muleteer. See Missions and Missionaries, vol. i, p. 361.

(27) Palou, Vida, cap. xvi.

## FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER 2

(1) As this subject does not concern us here, we refer the reader to Missions and Missionaries of California, vol. ii, for particulars.

(2) See Missions and Missionaries of California, vol. ii, pp. 16-18.

(3) Archivo General y Publico, quoted in the San Francisco Call by Professor Herbert E. Bolton.

(4) "Levanto el V. P. Junipero el estandarte de la Santa Cruz, fijandola en el sitio que le parecio mas proprio para la formacion del pueblo a la vista de aquel puerto." (Palou, Vida, 82-83.)

(5) "unas pobres chozas de tule dentro de la estacada. " (Palou, Noticias, vol. ii, p. 254. )

(6) Fr. Crespi to Fr. Guardian Andrés. February 8, 1770; Diario, January 24, 1770; Palou, Noticias, Vol. ii, p. 243.

(7) Palou, Noticias, vol. ii, p. 203.

(8) Palou, Vida., p. 131.

(9) Palou, Noticias, vol. ii, p. 253.

(10) Palou, Vida, p. 86.

(11) But Pedro Fages and Miguel Costanso, on February 7, jointly wrote to Galvez: "That they (the troops remaining) could hold this port until the arrival of one of the pack-boats San Jose or the Principe (San Antonio) which we are expecting daily"- "podra conservar este Puerto hasta la venida de uno de los pacabotes el San Jose o El Principe (San Antonio) que esperamos de dia a otro."- Archivo General, 66.

(12) See Appendix C.

(13 ) Fr. Vizcaino, being in ill health, had accompanied Captain Rivera to Lower California. Rivera had been ordered by Portola to bring up supplies from Velicata, and had started out February 11. See Missions and Missionaries of California, vol. ii, p. 61.

(14) This refers to Rivera's errand.

(15) James, in his Fr. Serra, p. 90, translates "Santos Oleos" with "Holy Wafers!"

(16) Palou, Vida, cap. xix.

(17) Palou, Vida, capp. xx, xxi. See Appendix C.

(18) See Missions and Missionaries, vol. i, p. 292.

(19) The ship was lost at sea and never heard from.

(20) St. Francis made his vows or profession, on April 16, 1209.

(21) Letter entire in Missions and Missionaries, vol. ii. pp 66-68

(22) See Missions and Missionaries, vol. ii, pp. 71-81; Bancroft, vol i, p. 128.

(23) Bancroft, California, vol. i, p. 139.

(24) "Que ya tenia bautizados algunos neofitos,"-Palou, Vida, p. 115.



(25) See Missions and Missionaries, vol. ii pp. 84-86.

(26) See Missions and Missionaries, vol. ii, p. 90; Archivo General, 66.

(27) See Missions and Missionaries, vol. ii, p. 90; Palou, Noticias, vol. ii, pp. 294-298.

### FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER 3

(1) III Kings, xxii, 27.

(2) Palou, Vida, capp. xxx-xxxiii; Noticias, vol. iii, pp. 25-27; 31-32; Father Crespi, in Out West, January, 1902, pp. 56-57; see also Missions and Missionaries, vol. ii, pp. 100-104.

(3) For details see Missions and Missionaries, vol. ii, pp. 104-121.

(4) See Missions and Missionaries, vol. ii, pp. 121-122; 132.

(5) Eighty-three Indians had been baptized by this time.

(6) Palou, Noticias, vol. i, pp. 264-265.

(7) Palou, Noticias, vol. i, pp. 257, 261.

(8) Palou, Noticias, vol. i, p. 266; see also Missions and Missionaries, vol. ii, p. 128.-Alabado, i. e. Canticle of Praise, a kind of doxology. The words are, "Alabado sea el Santisimo Sacramento del Altar; y Bendita sea la Purisima Concepcion de la Beatissima Virgen Maria."

(9) Palou, Informe, December 10, 1773, (S. B. A.). See Missions and Missionaries, vol. i, p. 420; vol. ii, pp. 137-139.

(10) "Assisten (los gentiles) a la doctrina llevados de la aficion de oir cantar a los neofitos."

(11) A fanega is equal to one hundredweight.

(12) Palou, Noticias, vol. iii, pp. 227-232. The original manuscript is preserved in the Santa Barbara Archives.

(13) Serra, Representacion, May 21, 1773, preserved in Santa Barbara Archives.

(14) See Missions and Missionaries, vol. ii, p. 133.

(15) Bancroft, California, vol. i, p. 229.

(16) Gruel or porridge. See Missions and Missionaries, vol. ii, pp 254; 554-555.

(17) "El como hen trabajado los Religiosos, y trabajan, lo sabe Dios, y esto nos baste." Serra, at close of Representacion

(18) Copied for the writer from the original at the Museo Nacional Mexico, by Dr. Herbert E. Bolton, University of California. From this it is clear that the Father spelled his name Jayme. Fr. Serra and Fr. Fuster wrote it Jaime. Fr. Palou always writes Jayme.

(19) A memoria was an invoice, i. e., a list of goods purchased in Mexico and shipped to the missions at the request and expense of the Fathers.

(20) Serra, Informe, February 5, 1775. Santa Barbara Archives.

#### FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER 4

(1) The names, according to Bancroft, i, 250, were Alejo Antonio Gonzalez, Juan Alvarez, Joaquin Armenta, and Corporal Juan Estexan Rocha.

(2) In his Vida (chap. 40), Fr. Palou relates that Fr. Fuster covered the bag of powder with the skirt of his habit.

(3) "Gracias a Dios! ya se regó aquella sierra; ahora si se conseguira la reduccion de los Dieguinos. "-Palou, Vida, p. 184.

(4) Palou, Noticias, iv, pp. 118-131; Vida, pp. 176-186. See also Missions and Missionaries, vol. ii, pp. 169-170.

(5) For details of the expedition see Missions and Missionaries, vol. ii, chap. xi.

(6) In that year, 1776, the feast fell on March 29, Easter being on April 7.

(7) For details see Missions and Missionaries, vol. ii, pp. 185-188, 668-670. Fr. Font writes that Rivera entered the chapel with drawn sword - con la espada desnuda en la mano.

(8) "que no solo los marineros sino que el mismo en persona iria de sobre-estante, y si fuese necesario de peon. "

(9) See Palou, Vida, pp. 189-195; Missions and Missionaries, vol. ii, pp. 210-218.

(10) Bancroft, vol. i, p. 302.

#### FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER 5

(1) This statement was made on the authority of Fr. Fuster, who, after closer investigation, found the number of baptisms administered by the end of December, 1775, to be only 431.

(2) See note 1.

(3) See note 1.

- (4) Vicente Fuster, Informe Annual, March 20, 1777; Santa Barbara Archives.
- (5) Bancroft, Callifornia, vol. i, pp. 310-316.
- (6) "receive the white garment," - words addressed by the priest to one just baptized.
- (7) Sta. Barb. Arch.
- (8) Indian criminals, not sentenced to death, were usually put to hard labor at some presidio away from the scene of their crime. Thus one happened to be at Monterey from San Diego.
- (9) Register of Confirmation.
- (10) Sta. Barb. Arch.

#### FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER 6

- (1) For this letter see Missions and Missionaries, vol. ii, pp. 385-389.
- (2) Sta. Barb. Arch., ad annum.
- (3) The allusion is to I Kings, cap. i.—For a long time, Mission San Diego had produced no converts.
- (4) "You will see greater things." The allusion is to John i, 50.
- (5) Sta. Barb. Arch.
- (6) Missions and Missionaries, vol. ii, pp. 586-588 [ed.- this citation may be inaccurate].
- (7) Missions and Missionaries, vol. ii, pp. 336-344.
- (8) i. e., when the neophytes had been judged sufficiently advanced to manage their affairs themselves and were able to support a secular priest.
- (9) Missions and Missionaries, vol. ii, pp. 345-346. The Spanish law requiring such officials concerned only those missions that in the sense of the preceding note had been secularized and had thus become regular parishes.
- (10) S. B. Archives.
- (11) "Los parvulos de unos y otros, que pueden comer."
- (12) This does not include all that was dealt out to them; for meat also formed a staple.
- (13) See Missions and Missionaries, vol. ii, pp. 124; 279-294.

(14) For Neve's contemptible action in this matter see Missions and Missionaries, vol ii, pp. 121-125; 279-294.

(15) Informe, December 31, 1780. Sta. Barb. Arch.

(16) Fr. Lasuen to Fr. Serra, May 10, 1783. Bancroft Collection.

(17) Urselino had been mortally wounded at the affray of November 5, 1775. After five years, the money was still due to the Mission! Gonzales was one of the four soldiers in the same battle.

(18) Each missionary was allowed \$400.

(19) These are the words of the Alabado. Fr. Serra had never before used them in a letter.

(20) For Neve's unworthy tactics in this matter see Missions and Missionaries, vol. ii, pp. 302-318.

(21) Unfortunately, the date of its dedication can nowhere be found.

(22) Psalm 143, verses 13, 14, 12.

(23) Don Raphael Pedro y Gil, the storekeeper. He was also the sindico of the San Diego missionaries.

(24) Sta. Barb. Arch.— Like a solicitous father, Fr. Serra adapts his communications to the mood of the recipient—always sympathetic, encouraging, never harsh.

(25) "V. R. me respondió con una valiente y resolutiva entereza: Si no me lo conceden, levantaremos el puerto."

(26) The San Diego Indians were poor material, indeed, out of which to make Christians and citizens.

(27) Sta. Barb. Arch.

(28) Sta. Barb. Arch.

(29) Bancroft, California, i, pp. 452-453.

(30) Missions and Missionaries, vol. ii, pp. 390-400.

(31) Baptismal Record, Mission San Antonio.

(32) "Verdad es que con la incansable tolerancia y prudencia de sus Misioneros con sus continuos agasajos y otros apostolicos arbitrios."

(33) Fages, Informe General Sobre Misiones, Bancroft Collection, nos. 6-12.

(34) "Las tropas que solo sirven en el sistema presente pare infundir respecto, dar buen exemplo a los Indios, castigar con prudencia los excesos que cometan."—Instruccion of Viceroy Conde de Galvez, Mexico, August 20, 1787. Sta. Barb. Arch., ad annum.

#### FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER 7

(1) Hebrews, xiii, 1-2.

(2) The allusion is to John, xvi, 21.

(3) Fr. Fuster writes from memory which in this instance fails. him. Fr. Amurrio came later.

(4) The Our Father in the language of the San Diego Mission Indians runs as follows, according to Dufлот de Mofras: "Nagua anall amai tacaguach naganetuuxp mamamulpo cayuea amaibo rmamatam meyayam canaao amat amaibo quexuic echasau naguagui nanacachon naquin nipil meneque pachis echeyuchapo nagua quexuic nagaich nacaguaihpo namechamel anipuchuchguelich-cuiapo. Nacuiuchpambo-cuchlich-cuiatponamat. Napuija." (Vol. ii, p. 395.)

(5) Book of Wisdom, xviii, 14.

(6) Baptismal Register, San Diego.

(7) vol. xi, pp. 317-319; Charles Lummis, Editor.

#### FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER 8

(1) Archbishop's Archives, no. 47b.

(2) "Su cementerio pegado al costado del norte de todo el largo de iglesia y sacristia, y de diez varas de ancho." Fr. Lasuen, May 10. 1783.

(3) Archb. Arch., no. 48.

(4) See Missions and Missionaries, vol. ii, pp. 490-491.

(5) Cal. Arch., Prov. Records, v. fi50. See Missions and Missionaries, vol. ii, p. 474.

(6) Bancroft, i, p. 652.

(7) Sta. Barb. Arch.

(8) Archb. Arch., no. 166.

(9) But the same epidemic afflicted the Mission of San Diego in 1798. See Bancroft, p. 654, note 20.

- (10) See Missions and Missionaries, vol. ii, pp. 554-567, for details on mission routine.
- (11) Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap., xvii, p. 105.
- (12) History, vol. i, p. 655.
- (13) ``Comen uvas v se trace algun vino."
- (14) "Ya en San Diego se ha hecho un poco de aceyte muy bueno. " Sta. Barb. Arch.
- (15) Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap., xxi, pp. 134-138, Bancroft Colleition. Baneroft, vol. ii, p. 10G, notes also, on the authority of the Provincial Records, xii, 21, that on May 25, 1803, an earthquake slightly damaged the San Diego Mission church.
- (16) Cal. Arch., Prov. Rec., xii, 35-36. Bancroft Collection.
- (17) California, vol. ii, pp. 104-106.
- (18) 2,010 bushels of all kinds of grain and 78 bushels of beans were raised in 1801 and less in the two subsequent years. The year 1809 yielded only 1,262 bushels.
- (19) Vol. i, pp. 64-65.
- (20) In this year, on May 16, 1807, Fr. Presidente Tapis designated San Diego Mission as the place of the Retreat for the Fathers of this and the neighboring missions. See Missions and Missionaries, vol. ii. p. 630.
- (21) Smythe, History of San Diego, vol. i, p. 64.
- (22) Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mill, xlix, 104, 105.
- (23) See Missions and Missionaries, .vol. ii, pp. 581582.
- (24) Vol. ii, p. 345.
- (25) Pp. 3-4, according to Bancroft, vol. ii, pp. 344.
- (26) "Debajo del nicho de Nro. P. S. Francisco esta deposited oferta que dio Don Josef Fons, Capitan Graduado de la Compania de los Voluntarios de Cataluna. "
- (27) Archb. Arch., nos. 523, 843.
- (28) Sta. Barb. Arch. and Mission Register.
- (29) Santa Isabel was only a mission station of San Diego.
- (30) Vol. xi, November, 1899, pp. 318-319.

- (1) Voyage of Discovery, vol. ii, pp. 471-472.
- (2) History of California, vol. i, p. 648.
- (3) Vancouver, Voyage, vol. ii, pp. 496.
- (4) Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap., xiv, p. 16, as per Bancroft, vol. i, p. 652.
- (5) Cal. Arch., Prov. Records, v, 400-407. See Missions and Missionaries, vol. ii, p. 475.
- (6) Bancroft, vol. i, pp. 648-649.
- (7) Vancouver, Voyages, vol. ii, pp. 495, 501.
- (8) Bancroft, vol. i, pp. 651-652; vol. ii, pp. 11-14; 102-104.
- (9) Davidson, Pacific Coast Pilot, p. 17.
- (10) Bancroft, vol. i, pp. 646, 648.
- (11) Bancroft, vol. i, pp. 651-652; vol. ii, pp. 11-14; 98-104, 340.
- (12) Bancroft, vol. ii, pp. 167, 343.
- (13) For a full discussion of this subject see Missions and Missionaries, vol. iii, pp. 620-623.
- (14) Sta. Barb. Arch.
- (15) Cal, Arch., Dep. St. Pap., Ben. Mil, xxxvii, p. 7, Bancroft Collection.
- (16) Cal. Arch., Dep. St. Pap., Ben.Mil., xxxvii, pp. 8-9. Bancroft Collection.
- (17) Bancroft, vol. i, pp. 343-344.
- (18) Vol. i, pp. 60-61.

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