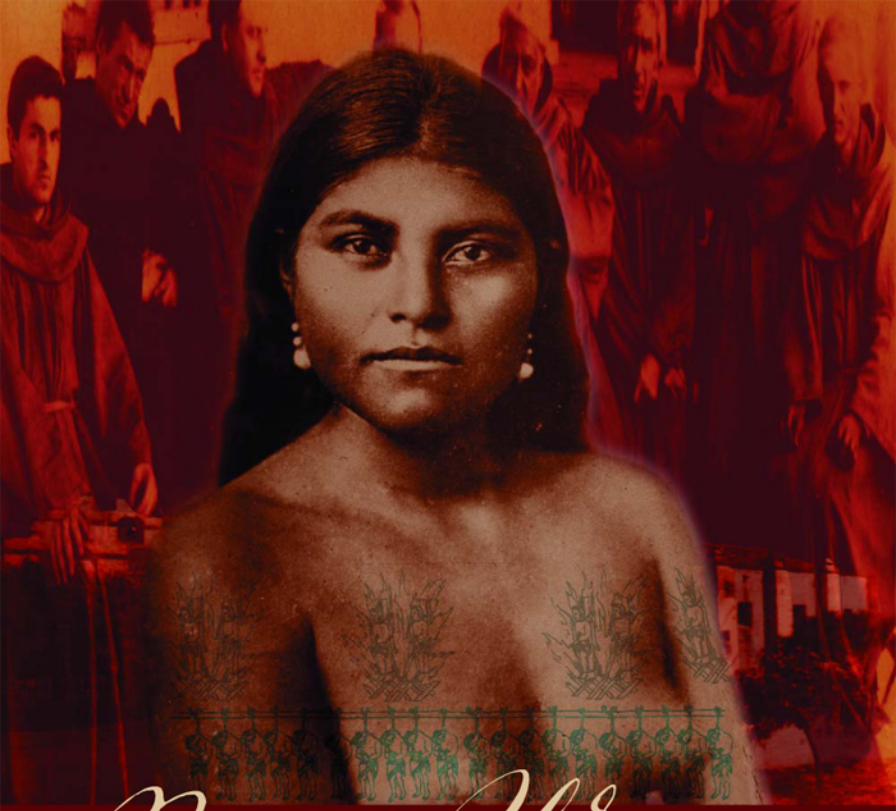

Private Women, PUBLIC LIVES

Gender and the Missions of the Californias

Bárbara O. Reyes

Private Women, Public Lives

Chicana Matters Series / Deena J. González and Antonia Castañeda, editors

Chicana Matters Series focuses on one of the largest population groups in the United States today, documenting the lives, values, philosophies, and artistry of contemporary Chicanas. Books in this series may be richly diverse, reflecting the experiences of Chicanas themselves, and incorporating a broad spectrum of topics and fields of inquiry. Cumulatively, the books represent the leading knowledge and scholarship in a significant and growing field of research and, along with the literary works, art, and activism of Chicanas, underscore their significance in the history and culture of the United States.

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Gender and the Missions of the Californias

BÁRBARA O. REYES

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Para mi mamá,
María de Lourdes Hernández Ochoa de Reyes,
por su fuerza moral y espiritual
y por su cariño y apoyo incondicional.

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Private Women, Public Lives

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Introduction: Gender and Public Space in the Nineteenth-century Californias

During the 1996–1997 academic year, at the University of California, San Diego, I was an appreciative recipient of one of the J. M. Hepps Graduate Fellowships. One evening, awardees were afforded the opportunity to meet and thank the Howard and Iris (Hepps) Harris family and provide a brief synopsis of our research interests and projects. I had recently worked with Professors Rosaura Sánchez and Beatriz Pita on the transcription of a selection of Californio women's *testimonios,* which culminated in the publication of our coedited special edition of *Crítica: A Journal of Critical Essays* entitled "Nineteenth Century *Californio* Testimonials." One particular *testimonio* caught my attention: the story of Eulalia Pérez' work as a *llavera,* or principal housekeeper, at Mission San Gabriel, a story that seemed to have disappeared in the traditional historiography of the region. At the urging of my advisor, Ramón Gutiérrez, I had also contacted Mtra. Lucila del Carmen León Velazco, of the Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas of the Universidad Autónoma de Baja California. She, involved in her own research on presidial soldiers and their families in colonial Baja California, had recently published an essay on the divorce petition of Eulalia Callis, the wife of Pedro Fages, one of the governors of eighteenth-century California. Callis, in response to her accusations of Fages' adultery, was held incommunicado at Mission Carmelo in Alta California. In addition, Mtra. León Velazco very generously introduced me to Carlos Lazcano Sahagún's recovery project of Manuel Clemente Rojo's memoirs. This now-published work includes a brief, but very interesting, description of the legend of Bárbara Gandiaga, an indigenous woman of Baja California who was accused and convicted of conspiracy to murder two Dominican priests of Mission Santo Tomás de Aquino.

During the course of the evening, I met and conversed with various

members of the Harris family and stumbled through different attempts at explaining my still-developing research project on these three women. I wanted to be as articulate yet concise as possible as I tried to make sure the Harris family would not be disappointed by this fellowship recipient's selection; thus, I attempted to wax poetic—and scholarly—about women's agency, mobility, and survival strategies.

Finally, after what seemed the twelfth attempt at this exercise, a woman, a Harris family friend, cut me off during what must have been a long-winded explanation and said, "Oh, it's about choices, the choices women make." I was immediately intrigued, if not shocked, by the efficiency of her statement. I wondered, could it be that simple; that is, did women truly have choices in this frontier colonial region? If so, what kind? If not, what were the restrictions or limitations of their choice making?

I recognized how the three women's stories were connected as they allowed for the articulation of separate incidents that highlighted the function of the mission project in constructing gendered roles and expectations of women in the colonial Californias. But, after locating Bárbara Gandiaga's criminal inquiry and interrogations, and with the divorce petition of Eulalia Callis and the *testimonio* of Eulalia Pérez, I gained access to the voices of these women, who seemed to reach across time and place and call for additional, more complex, analysis and questions: Could women have had agency in the colonial Californias? Did the social structures or colonial processes in place in the frontier setting of New Spain confine or limit them in particular, gendered, ways? Was race the predominant factor that determined access to legal recourse? And were gendered dynamics in colonial California explicitly rigid as a result of the imperatives of colonization?

Private Women, Public Lives initiates discussion of these questions, highlights these dynamics, and examines the frontier mission social spaces and their relationship to the creation of gendered colonial relations in the Californias.[1] In addition, it explores the function of the missions and missionaries in establishing hierarchies of power and in defining gendered spaces and roles for the inhabitants of the Californias and looks at the ways that women challenged and attempted to modify the construction of those hierarchies, roles, and spaces. I seek neither to demonize nor to romanticize the missions and missionaries of the colonial Californias. As James A. Sandos proposes, neither simple Christophilic Triumphalist (mythologizing pro-mission) nor Christophobic Nihilist (anti–Franciscan missionary) perspectives result in a "complex, and interesting" or, I would

add, necessarily illuminating reading of the impact of missionization on frontier societies.[2]

This monograph, however, not only fills a critical gap in the history of colonial California—scholars of which have only recently begun to give adequate attention to Hispanic women—but it also adds to current research on indigenous, Spanish, and Mexican women and public space as I examine the lives and work of three women in colonial California.

Bárbara Gandiaga was an Indian woman in the Dominican frontier in Baja California. She was taken as a child to live at Mission Santo Tomás, where, according to legend, she was held against her will and abused by a missionary. In 1803, Gandiaga was charged with conspiracy to murder two priests at her mission.

Eulalia Callis was the first lady of colonial California and petitioned for divorce from her adulterous governor-husband, Pedro Fages. Callis, a member of the Catalonian elite of New Spain, was detained and held incommunicado at Mission San Carlos (commonly referred to as Mission Carmelo) for defying the missionaries' directives to recant her accusations.

Eulalia Pérez, a mestiza, was a *llavera,* or head housekeeper, at Mission San Gabriel, a position of significant authority and responsibility in the most successful of the Alta California missions. However, neither missionaries nor historians have recognized her role in the commercial development of the mission and have relegated her work to the "domestic" (and thus private) sphere.

To understand how women navigated the various social spaces of the Californias, we must examine the ways in which the notion of public and private spaces functions in this frontier colonial setting. It bears remembering that the boundaries between the public and the private are inherently discursive, constantly changing, and socially constructed. Thus, we will find that boundaries between public and private spaces in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century California frontier are also socially constructed and continually redefined. And it is in those changing social, temporal, and spatial boundaries—that is, the boundaries between Españolas, mestizas, and *indígenas,* the colonial and Mexican Californias, and the public and private domains—that women constructed their own individual identities, asserted agency, sought recourse, and attempted to reposition themselves across those various spheres.

These women were socially situated, and, to paraphrase Mary P. Ryan, their movements were charted by class and race distinctions. Women

were constrained or able to negotiate within and beyond traditional gender roles in ways intimately tied to their specific racial and social status.[3] Certainly, indigenous women, who were the focus of concerted colonial efforts to transform the indigenous communities, experienced varying degrees of restriction and violent coercion in this process. Some mestizas in this colonial region were allowed a certain amount of mobility, particularly as this mobility served the colonial system. There were, however, relatively few Españolas in the eighteenth-century Californias, and, as will be later demonstrated and despite the established legal recourse that Spanish women had and accessed in Spain and other centers of urban life in the Spanish Americas, in this colonial frontier the urgency of colonial control over the region dictated the degree to which these women were bound by Spanish codes of honor and virtue.

What is especially interesting is how, in the case of the Californianas,[4] their subordinate positioning was also determined by their relationship to the ecclesiastical institutions in Alta and Baja California, that is, whether they were in conflict, supported by, or in cooperation with the missions and missionaries. Thus, the degree to which their actions were either in harmony with or were seen to threaten the mission project determined the nature of both the treatment they were given and the constraints imposed on their mobility and agency.

Current Chicana/o scholarship on the Southwest is creating new approaches to the study of the diverse peoples of the Southwest. One of these approaches explores cases, themes, or concerns about Californianas through gender-centered questions that help us understand the complex reality of women's life experiences. Antonia Castañeda's work on Spanish/Mexican women in the frontier has begun to foreground the centrality of the gender issues that underlie California's colonization process. Her analysis calls attention to the gendered differences that contextualize the experiences of women in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century California and provides us better, or more nuanced, insights into Californianas' daily lives. More specifically, Castañeda calls attention to the gendered nature of the politics, policies, and power structures of Spanish colonialism.[5]

This book builds on Castañeda's foundational work and interrogates the nature and consequences of those gendered power structures in the Californias while bringing together multiple fields of history. In addition, I am approaching the study of gender in the colonial Californias by joining nationalist historiographies—of Baja and Alta California and the United States, Mexico, and Latin America—that traditionally have been artificially separated.

The book is also informed by pioneering research by Latin Americans that focuses on women and their role in Latin American societies. This early work initiated a scholarly conversation the goal of which was to situate women in a variety of public spaces (economic, political, legal, etc.) across time (in pre-Hispanic, colonial, and independent Latin American societies) and across social and racial strata (*indias pipiltin* [of the nobility] or *macehualtin* [of dominated Indian groups], Spanish elite or frontier women, and a variety of mixed-race women of the Americas), thus problematizing generalized notions of women's roles and place in society and history.[6]

In addition, I am building on recent scholarship that focuses on Spanish-speaking women in Spain and the Americas in active engagement with the courts as they availed themselves of their judicial rights and sought redress for a variety of grievances. This scholarship demonstrates the legal tradition of women's rights within the Spanish Empire and the history of women exercising those rights. For example, Basque working-class women, as early as the sixteenth century, brought lawsuits against men for a number of offenses such as seduction, abandonment, and sexual assault; colonial-period Ecuadorian women sought legal redress against physical violence, adultery, lack of financial support, and rescinded marriage proposals and filed for participation in local, interregional, and international economies. New Mexican Hispanas secured legal recourse to protect their businesses and property, and women in California contested the loss of patrimonial rights during the late colonial, Mexican, and early period of American domination.[7]

But a gendered analysis of the past has to go beyond an exploration of "women's concerns." It requires the study of socially constructed roles and expectations for males and females, their relationship to each other, and the dynamics that correspond to their position in the prevailing social and racial hierarchy.[8] In the setting of the colonial and Mexican Californias, this type of analysis allows the reader to understand the ways that men and women of different classes experienced frontier life. As Iris A. Blanco points out, women are not part of a static group, independent of broader social dynamics; rather, they participate in, and are affected by, gendered social hierarchies and are often the target of specific male oppression even when they share the same social condition.[9] These dynamics are evident in the gendered hierarchy of the colonial Californias, as women attempted to negotiate constraints generated by the priorities of the colonial project. This approach calls for an analysis of how roles and expectations were structured, how they perpetuated the social status

quo of the inhabitants of the region, and how these roles and expectations conflicted with, or upheld and promoted, the mission project.

Some contemporary scholars have also used a gender approach to the study of *indígenas* and Hispanas in California and the American Southwest, while others have focused on gender, politics, and public space in the United States.[10] Few, however, have considered the possibility of highlighting the juncture of these lines of inquiry and redefining public space as it relates to missionization in the context of the late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century frontier Californias.

Space, as a point of inquiry, has undergone several conceptual transformations from simple public/private dichotomies to more nuanced, and complex, examinations of the interstices of the public and private divide, including the development of innovative definitions of multiple gendered spaces. Emma Pérez has contributed to this debate by suggesting an additional area, third space feminism, as a discursive locus where feminists are engaged in deconstructing colonized explanations of relations of power, or constructing new paradigms and approaches for understanding gendered frameworks, hierarchies and power relations, that is, creating decolonial imaginaries.[11]

This book is situated in this theoretical and discursive space because I am redefining the gendered relations of the colonial mission by linking the demands of colonial policy in the development of the Californias to the age of exploration's globalized imperatives while examining the role that California missions, as colonial public spaces, played in defining gendered hierarchies. Further, I am engaging the scholarly debate on the notions of women's access and ability to negotiate public spaces and how mobility and agency intersect certain socially constructed categories such as race, class, and gender in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century frontier Californias.

Jürgen Habermas discusses the notion of bourgeois public space as the broad domain within which politics and public opinion were discussed, defined, and constituted.[12] Habermas proposes that the bourgeois public sphere was "the sphere of private people [coming] together as public."[13] In his analysis the private realm consisted of civil society, which he identifies as the realm of commodity exchange and social labor and the conjugal family's internal space. By contrast, the sphere of the public, which Habermas associates with authority, was relegated to the state and the courtly-noble society. Thus, "the line between state and society . . . divided the public sphere from the private."[14]

Scholarly work, however, has gone beyond Habermas' propositions to

question the very category of the "public" and has contributed arguments regarding the penetration of the private or civil society by the state.[15] *Private Women, Public Lives* contributes to this ongoing scholarly conversation that proposes that there is no essential public space; rather, there are different "publics," or different spaces where "public" activity takes place.

Habermas' paradigm continues to be widely debated and critiqued, especially by feminist scholars and historians. Mary Ryan's treatment of this concept, using gender as a socially constructed phenomenon, redefines the public sphere and expands it to include those areas in which women lived, toiled, and contested their situation within the context of the nineteenth-century United States. Such an approach to the issue of public space informs research on gender by questioning the very conceptualization of the gendered notions of public and private, particularly as they relate historically to women.

As Ryan notes, the very establishment of gendered social space has functioned as an instrument of containment for the allowed activities, roles, and role expectations of women in everyday life: "Social space . . . serves as a scaffolding upon which both gender distinctions and female identity are construed. Although women's status is often, perhaps inappropriately, defined in [a] spatial metaphor of [a] woman's place . . . by its very definition, however, public space defies exact boundaries between male and female spheres."[16]

This approach provides an alternative locus to the public in the nineteenth-century United States, not primarily in literary and political clubs, but in outdoor assemblages, in open urban spaces, along the avenues, on street corners, and in public squares. This reexamination of what constituted public space broadens our understanding of the social base that characterizes inclusion and exclusion within the public sphere. As such, "publicness" in the nineteenth-century United States took shape in a distinctive class and social context. Ryan notes that the "urban public found its social base in amorphous groupings of citizens aggregated according to ethnicity, class, race, pet cause and party affiliation."[17] Further, it is critical to underscore the specificity of the development of public spheres that respond differently within given unique temporal and spatial conditions. Access to gendered rights was mediated by frontier demands and conditions, despite the rights accorded to women through Spanish law. Silvia Arrom explains that women of Mexico City, by the late eighteenth century, were actively conducting, for example, "their own legal affairs: women could participate in a wide range of public activities, they

were allowed to buy, sell, rent, inherit, or bequeath properties of all kinds. They could lend and borrow money, act as administrators of estates, and form business partnerships. They could initiate litigation [and] be their own advocates in court."[18] By broadening and calling these categories into question, this line of inquiry has opened up new spaces for research and afforded new research avenues.

Other feminist scholars have also addressed the analytical feasibility of the notion of public space, particularly as it applies to women's everyday experiences. Feminist scholars who have examined the issue of the domestication of politics point to the need to go beyond the definition of the "political" in order to understand the importance of women-centered activities and the effect and influence these activities may have on the polity.[19] They have found that nineteenth-century women's exclusion from "traditionally defined politics" necessitated their creating avenues of "acceptable" civic-minded involvement and have demonstrated how the vectors of class and agency figure in discussions of public/private male/female spaces.[20] Women's participation in societies and organizations, which ultimately affected local governments and politics, further complicates the distinction between female private and male public spheres.

Along the same lines, other scholars have proposed that women's everyday activities were not confined to the kitchen or bedroom but involved a variety of operations that were driven by economic, familial, religious, and social necessity. In nineteenth-century Latin America, the vectors of the private and public were further blurred when, for example, Peruvian women endured, and confronted, the private being made public, as spousal "private" conflicts were debated and resolved by neighbors in community settings.[21]

It is in this sense that this book redefines the public sphere and the role that the missions, as public institutions, played in the late-eighteenth-early-nineteenth-century frontier Californias. By highlighting the public character of the California missions, that is, by pointing to their role as Christianizing institutions, as colonial trading posts, banks, haciendas, cultural transformation centers, and so on, one can appreciate their public function as agents for the Spanish Crown that carried out colonizing policies and worked to define social, racial, and gendered hierarchies in the region.

The notion of public space in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is the framework within which the cases of the three women of this study must be understood. I am proposing that public space in colonial Califor-

nia has less to do with ordinary indoor/outdoor designs or work patterns. In the colonial Californias, what was key to this formation was the role and function of missionization as the foremost architect of colonization. Thus, wherever this process was taking place there were no private spaces. As such, the missions' churches, *monjeríos* (gendered—female—sleeping quarters), *talleres* (workshops), *obrajes* (logging camps or other work spaces), the friars' quarters, and colonial homes such as the governor's house were the very locus of the public.

But it is critical to note that, as Rosaura Sánchez has correctly pointed out, "there can be no essential gender discourse, only gender discourses in articulation with other discourses," and "gender can only be read across time and space."[22] I would add that public space must also be read chrono-geographically, and that women's access and ability to negotiate within and across the colonial California public space must be read as they intersect with issues of race and class. Further, in order "to chart the borders of public and private as an exercise of social geography," it is imperative to understand "the patterns which arise from the use social groups make of space as they see it, and of the processes involved in making and changing such patterns."[23]

These propositions are further problematized by the geographic and temporal specificities of the colonial frontier. It should be remembered that California was the last region to be settled in the Spanish borderlands, over two centuries after the colonial project had begun in central Mexico. The mode of production at the time did not necessarily coincide either in stage or degree of development with that in other places in Mexico or Latin America. Nevertheless, as was the case in most colonial frontier communities, women could be found actively engaged at many levels and participating in the development of the regional economies.

These historical differences must be addressed, as they necessarily affected the way in which gender roles changed, were transformed, or remained the same. In addition, in the Californias, gendered spheres and women's ability to maneuver within them were distinctly linked to the degree to which women contested their prescribed roles and whether they were contesting, being supported by, or supporting the coercive institutions of the colonial project, namely, the mission system established by the Jesuit, Franciscan, and Dominican orders. It must be noted that the overall conditions in the northern frontier pressured women in particular ways, as the precariousness of colonial life often rendered them widowed or forced to contribute to their families' support. The frontier economy

provided little if any opportunity for women to gain employment; thus, women who lived on or near the missions sometimes were compelled to work for the mission project.

It is, furthermore, clear that the blurring of public and private spatial boundaries becomes even more evident in the nineteenth-century U.S. frontier, where many women were involved in manual and backbreaking work. The gender division of labor expanded, but the gender inequity was nevertheless maintained. Although this is not an uncommon development (historically, women have often endured an unequal burden of the division of labor), the dynamic merits scrutiny in order to demystify essentialist explanations for its persistence.

Late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century California was a frontier site to which women were brought to assist in populating and building settlements which would further the Spanish colonial and, later, Mexican projects. Thus, the Californias must be understood first and foremost as the locus where the sexual reproductive and the economic productive orders operated together.[24] That is to say, in the context of the late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Californias, women provided a variety of "services" to the settlement project. As Rosaura Sánchez explains, biological reproduction "was not only women's primary family obligation but also a civil duty." And where women relinquished "the role of progenitrix, [they] played other 'feminine' roles in *Californio* society as teachers, nurses, and in service outside their own immediate family, but still fully within the idealized patriarchal norm."[25] As a consequence, women served in a reproductive/sexual capacity as the producers of the frontier settlement's inhabitants, further performing a productive role in the execution of a variety of tasks required in the course of daily survival in the missions and ranches and as participants in the ideological reproduction that would serve to legitimate colonial dominance in the region.

Historians, literary critics, and social scientists have examined, analyzed, and redefined socially constructed hierarchies and structures that have subordinated women. But only a few writers have crafted an interpretive approach to relational studies that addresses the intersection of gender, race, and class. The work of feminist scholars who utilize gender not as a variable of study but as a central point of inquiry provides the organizing principles of this book.[26] While referencing a range of interdisciplinary work, my research draws primarily on that which examines gender, culture, and agency as central issues in women's studies.

Further, since the 1970s, historians have exponentially advanced research on the history of the Southwest, particularly in studies that focus

on the period of the Spanish colonization of California, the development of the mission and rancho economies, and the disenfranchisement of Mexicans as a consequence of the U.S. invasion of 1846. Scholars have focused on issues surrounding Mexican resistance and reaction to these changes as well as ethnic representations (historical, literary, oral, etc.) during these distinct periods. Whether focused on ties of *comadrazgo* (spiritual godmotherhood) and *compadrazgo* (spiritual godfatherhood), the interrelations of power and powerlessness, marriage and sexuality, poverty and sexual violence, racial and ethnic conflict, structures of difference and power, or political disenfranchisement, in each of these projects historians are fleshing out the inner dynamics of California in the nineteenth century and, in the process, reshaping our understanding of a period that experienced rapid transformations.[27] David Gutiérrez describes the thrust of these historiographic projects thus: "Scholars writing during this period broadened and deepened comprehension of the west, by pulling Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants out of obscurity by rendering them visible and significant in regional history. And perhaps more importantly, [by replacing] the traditional stereotypical representations that long dominated regional history with more complex and subtle renderings of individual Mexicans and Mexican culture."[28]

The breadth and scope of these studies, often grounded in history and literary analysis, have produced a growing corpus of research on the early settlers of the Southwest prior to U.S. westward expansion. These scholars are involved not only in the process of mapping the particulars of California history but also in interrogating the underlying presuppositions embedded in canonical texts and in earlier historical interpretations. As a result, scholarship on the inhabitants of the Californias is also beginning to provide us with multiple and corrective insights into the lives of this diverse eighteenth- and nineteenth-century frontier population.

There is a growing field of scholarship that examines the gendered dynamics of the missionization process and the persistence and transformation of indigenous lifeways in the Californias.[29] Although women's resistance strategies have become the focus of much feminist and historiographic scholarship, few historians have devoted attention to women as agents *and* subjects in the Spanish colonial frontier. This study contributes to this scholarly impetus by highlighting the role that the California mission project played in gendering agency, behavior, work, and recourse in the California frontier.

Given frontier conditions, one of the principal contradictions in this setting was how the social, patriarchal hierarchy, which rendered women's

participation for the most part indiscernible, was preserved and bolstered by the coercive role of the missionaries as well as by the Californio families, including women who on occasion contributed to the reinforcement of the hierarchical structure which maintained their subordination in society. This dynamic helps explain how the work of Californianas of the Spanish colonial and, later, Mexican national projects became "domesticized," constrained, rendered invisible, and yet was part and parcel of the colonial enterprise.

But locating the contribution of women to California society is not the only, or even possibly the most significant, aspect of this line of inquiry. I am also concerned with identifying the very access that women had to the public sphere and the treatment they experienced as they negotiated within and across this space. Thus, a gendered approach to the study of the social processes that construct identity, agency, and spatial mobility sheds light on the way in which men and women (of different racial and social strata) experienced the Californias. Only in this way can we question the, at best, fuzzy dichotomies of public/private spheres and place these women's work, lives, and contestation of their socially constructed roles within the larger framework of California social production and reproduction.

There are precious few works that address the participation of European women in exploration and early empire, although there are increasingly more about elite women in certain Spanish colonial societies.[30] But, by now, most scholars involved in reconstructing the daily life of poor women recognize that there is a dearth of historical records that attest directly to their movements and actions, particularly those of lower-class and indigenous women in the late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Californias. François Giraud explains:

> We know much about some of the privileged sectors of New Spain's society, like the women of Spanish aristocracy, or nuns, also largely Spanish women. But little is known of the lower classes, servant women, slave women, and, more generally, of the poor women of the countryside and city, belonging to indigenous, black, or mixed-race groups. In other words, historiography reflects the power relations of the colonial society and offers many more documented sources about women, who, because they enjoyed more power, the right to speak, write, and engage in [C]ulture, had a greater possibility of leaving their imprint, remembrances, and testimonies.[31]

Thus, in part, my project is one of excavation. The sources I used for this study include a variety of documents that describe women's lives, including a broad selection of journals, letters, memoirs, published and unpublished interviews, statements, and other historical documents that reveal a complex reality for women of the Californias during the late Spanish colonial period.[32]

Specifically, I reviewed a number of Californio testimonials, including that of Eulalia Pérez, from the Special Collections Archives at the Bancroft Library of the University of California, Berkeley. In addition, I was able to study legal depositions, mission records, and correspondence relating to Fathers Eudaldo Surroca's and Miguel López' murders at Mission Santo Tomás in Baja California; Eulalia Callis' petition for divorce and related correspondence, retrieved from the Archivo General de la Nación's microfilmed documents housed at the Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas of the Universidad Autónoma de Baja California in Tijuana, Baja California, Mexico; and the California Mission Archives at Mission Santa Barbara in Santa Barbara, California, which also houses documents that reveal the process of development of the Alta California missions. I am including eight appendices, the Spanish transcriptions (and English translations) of the archival documents of Bárbara Gandiaga's interrogations regarding the murders of Frs. Eudaldo Surroca and Miguel López, Eulalia Callis' divorce petition, and Eulalia Pérez' testimonio. I tried to keep to the Spanish colonial spelling of the Gandiaga transcriptions, inserting accents only for the sake of tense agreement or continuity. I was also able to inform the chapter on Bárbara Gandiaga through the retelling of her legend included in the published memoirs of Manuel Clemente Rojo.[33]

The Introduction foregrounds the book's primary queries and theoretical framework. Although this book builds on the scholarly traditions of sociological and cultural studies and, thus, is an interdisciplinary project, it is firmly grounded in historical method and inquiry and makes use of a variety of sources such as case studies, diaries, and testimonials, as well as more traditional ones, such as court records.

Case studies have proven to be rich sources for reconstructing dailiness in the nineteenth century, as they provide us a grounded, nuanced, and intimate window onto larger processes. For this purpose, I have examined three women (indigenous, Spanish, and mestiza) who lived in the Californias during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. These women's stories inform my analysis of gender and public space as these notions intersect with other analytical categories, such as race and eth-

nicity, that make up the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century social frontier of the Californias.

Chapters 1, 2, and 3, on the Jesuit, Dominican, and Franciscan mission efforts, respectively, review the global events and colonial policies leading to missionization in the Californias, the interconnectedness of Baja and Alta California (with the former's role in the founding and development of the latter), the precariousness of life for the indigenous population (men and women) and the missionaries during this process, and the consequences brought about by the very public character of the mission system in these regions. I chose Missions Santo Tomás de Aquino (Baja California) and San Gabriel Arcángel (Alta California) as windows through which to view the broader colonial frontier project. In addition, these two missions are the sites where the life stories of two of the women examined herein take place.

These chapters build on the understanding that the goal of the colonizing project was the acquisition of land, wealth, and power, and that the mission system was the cornerstone of this endeavor. The social/religious regulation of the settler populations and the domination of the indigenous peoples—and the exploitation of their labor—were key to the colonial project. In order to show the multifaceted strategies of frontier women who attempted to manage their social environment and contest and resist social containment, it was necessary, first, to address the processes through which the missionaries established, organized, and reorganized indigenous and settler social spheres.

In Chapter 4, I examine the life story of the Indian woman Bárbara Gandiaga, a resident of Mission Santo Tomás in the Dominican frontier of Baja California. Gandiaga was accused of being the intellectual author of the murder of two missionaries. Little is known of her life story that is not directly associated with her court case. Accounts of her experiences, including alleged abuse she suffered at the hands of the missionaries, were later recovered and reconstructed within local legends. Despite the fact that Spanish and mestiza women during the colonial period were engaged in accessing legal recourse for a variety of offenses, Gandiaga's defense against the murder accusations is attenuated by her perceived threat to the maintenance of colonial order. The alleged conspiracy was seen as a threat not simply to the remaining missionaries but to the entire mission effort. Missionaries responded by ordering the most brutal of punishments as an example to the rest of the Indian population. What becomes significant in Gandiaga's case is neither her guilt nor her innocence. Instead, given her racial and social positioning in this colonial frontier, Gandiaga had few

means to air grievances and seek justice. The case was judged in relation to the broader state of colonial affairs, that is, in relation to the precariousness of life for the colonists due to hostile relations between colonizers and colonized.

Chapter 5 considers the case of Eulalia Callis, the Spanish wife of California governor Pedro Fages, who was likewise limited in her ability to negotiate her choice of residence and agency on the frontier. Callis reluctantly moved to the Alta California frontier to live with her husband and soon discovered him in flagrante delicto with an indigenous girl. The local ecclesiastical authorities attempted to suppress her allegations of his immoral behavior, for the First Lady's charges, not the governor's alleged immoral actions, were seen as threatening the social order of the region.

Spanish colonial scholarship has proposed that honor and power in the borderlands intersected with and served to ensure the consolidation and perpetuation of social hierarchies, perhaps more than in Spain or Mexico at the time, and that Spanish colonists placed honor at the very center of their moral system.[34] Callis' accusations were deemed a threat to the honor of the highest regional colonial representative, the Spanish governor, and to the moral and legal authority of the Catholic Church. When she insisted on submitting an official petition for divorce, she was forcibly detained by the presidial soldiers and confined by the local missionaries to reconsider her charges. Ultimately, however, she was forced by mission authorities to withdraw her accusations of adultery against her husband. Although her social status allowed her a voice with which to contest her situation, her high visibility in the colonial frontier worked against her, as her petition for divorce challenged the prevailing colonial order.

Chapter 6 considers the life and work of a mestiza Baja Californian, Eulalia Pérez, who was the *llavera* of Mission San Gabriel in Alta California. Her participation in the compilation of testimonials gathered by the H. H. Bancroft interview project of old Californios in the late 1800s affords a more accurate picture of her significant contribution to the mission's role in the region's economy. Perez' work was highly influential and central to mission operations. However, her gendered status largely contributed to her virtual anonymity in histories about the California missions. In addition, Perez' social status was defined and mediated by the missionaries. She for the most part organized the productive activities at the mission, including selecting women from the pueblo to train mission Indians in weaving, sewing, and other skills, organizing the daily work schedules of the mission Indians, and supervising the trading of mission goods. The missionaries, however, relying on prevailing patriarchal rela-

tions, held sway over her personal life and social status, even forcing her to remarry against her wishes.

The Conclusion brings together the stories examined in this book to reveal how women of colonial California negotiated within and beyond gendered roles, depending on their specific positioning in the social and racial hierarchies of the region and according to the nature of their relationship to the colonial mission project.

PART I

CONSTRUCTING SPACE

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CHAPTER 1

"For the Riches of Its Souls": The Society of Jesus in Antigua California

In order to understand the public character of the mission system in the Californias, one must review the development of that region and the role that the Jesuits, Franciscans, and Dominicans played in its colonization.[1] Further, one must examine the role that missionization played in the process of extending colonial rule in the last frontier spaces of New Spain.

The analysis of California's colonization builds on the understanding that the goal of the colonizing project was the acquisition of land, wealth, and power. The mission system was the cornerstone of this endeavor, and the domination of the indigenous peoples and the exploitation of their labor were key to this process.

It is understood that the missions were not the only Spanish institutions established in Baja California during the colonial period. Visitador (Inspector General) José de Gálvez recommended policies in 1768 that promoted the exploitation of mineral wealth in the area. This activity led to a brief boom in mining and colonial settlement. But miners and missionaries made conflicting partners in the colonial project (and often were at odds in defining the primary purpose of colonial enterprises) and in the control of colonial resources. Although the mineral wealth extracted from the region was infinitesimal compared to that of central and north-central New Spain's mines, secondary supportive productive activity attached to the *reales mineras* (royal mines), such as cattle and sheep raising and agriculture, led to the economy that typically sustained the later development of Baja California society. But, in order to show the multifaceted strategies of contestation and resistance to the mission system, especially of women in this frontier, the discussion must begin by addressing the role of the Jesuits in the initial effort to colonize Baja California.[2]

Early Inhabitants of the Peninsula

The original inhabitants of the peninsula are said to have migrated from the north approximately ten thousand to eleven thousand years ago and remained nearly fifteen hundred years.[3] They were part of what archeologists have named the San Dieguito cultural complex. Archeological evidence demonstrates that they settled across the peninsula. Artifacts of a subsequent hunting-gathering-fishing complex, the La Jollans, have been dated at approximately seventy-five hundred years ago. This group is thought to have remained for forty-five hundred years. They largely settled along the northern shores of the Pacific coast of the peninsula. The Yumano complex appears from three thousand years ago to historic times and is situated from central to northern Baja California.

More recently, the peninsular indigenous peoples have been classified in broad linguistic groupings and according to geographic location. Anita Álvarez de Williams' study identifies these linguistic groups as follows: the northern Yumanos, who comprised several groups including Cochimíes, Diegueños, Kumyaay (Kumeyaay or Kumiai), Pa-ipai, Tipai, Kiliua (or Kiliwa); and a distinct group, the Cucapá. The peninsular Yumanos inhabited the central area and included Borjeños, Ignacieños, Cadegomeños, Laymanos, Monquís, and Didiús. The southern region of the peninsula was inhabited by Guaicurianos, which were broadly sub-divided as Guaycuras, Uchitíes (or Huchitís), but also included Callejúes, Periúes, Coras, Aripes, and the distinct Pericúes.[4]

Early Jesuit reports suggest that the Pericúes were actually a distinct group completely separate linguistically from other indigenous people of the region. Current anthropological studies speculate that this group's origin does not coincide with the northern migration settlement patterns of most indigenous groups of the Americas; rather, the Pericúes' linguistic patterns and oceangoing vessel construction share similarities with South Pacific indigenous groups. This introduces the possibility that the Pericúes' origins may be situated there.[5]

Ignacio del Río and María Eugenia Altable Fernández, however, identify the linguistic groups into what are the more commonly known categories of Pericúes in the south; Guaycuras in the south-center, from La Paz to Loreto; and Cochimíes to the north of the peninsula.[6] (For a detailed map that charts the location of peninsular Indians, see Figure 1.)

These people inhabited a peninsula that is approximately 553 miles in length and encompasses a surface of approximately 14 million hectares and a coastal expanse of about 1,864 miles. It is 200 miles wide at its widest

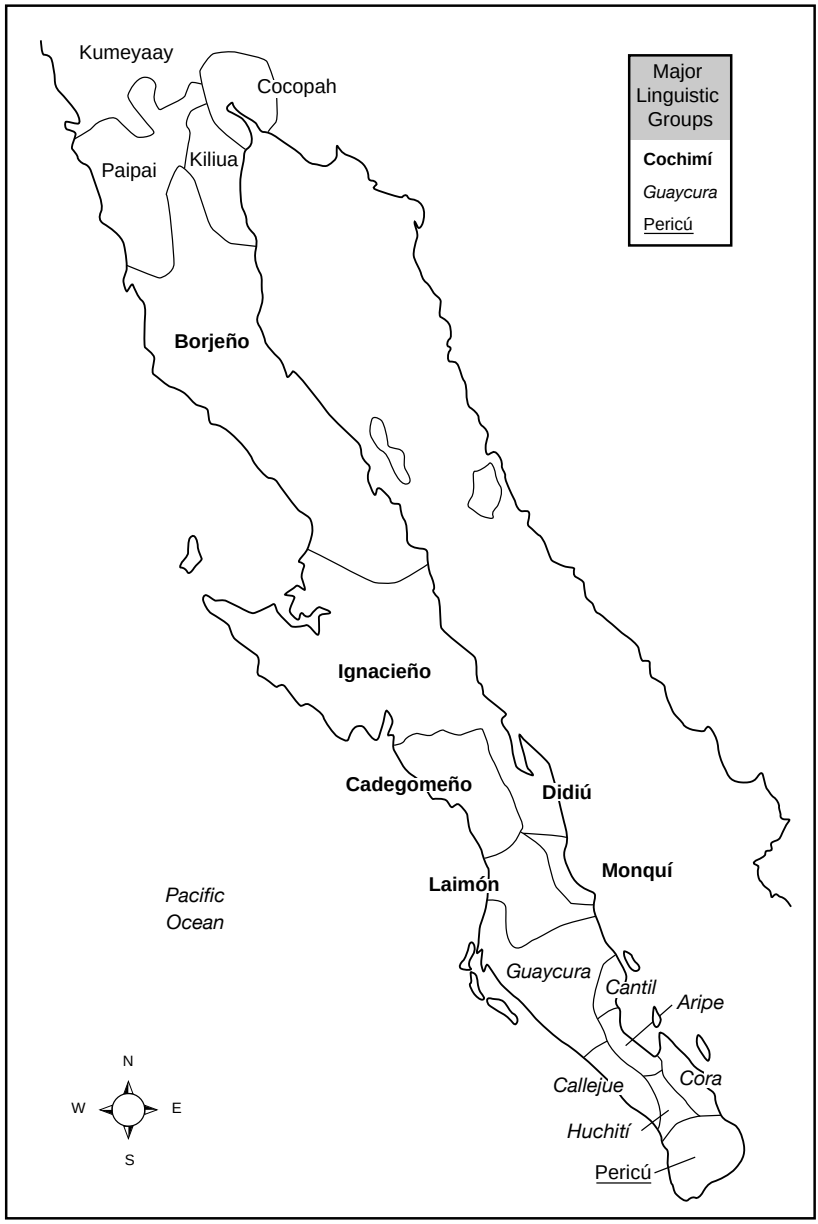

Figure 1. Language groups of Baja California. First appeared in *The Way We Lived, California Indian Stories, Songs and Reminiscences,* Edited with Commentary by Malcolm Margolin. Copyright 1981 by Malcolm Margolin. Reprinted with the permission of Heyday Books.

point and is traversed by a chain of rocky sierras. The peninsula has mountains, some of which reach approximately 1.25 miles above sea level, but largely suffers from very sporadic rainfall; in fact, 89 percent of the land is considered desert or semidesert.[7] Of the 14,474,700 hectares, 11,909,200 are desert or semidesert, and 2,505,500 are considered mountainous terrain. Only 392,772 hectares, less than 2.9 percent of the total land of the peninsula, are considered useful for agricultural activity.[8]

Some of the earliest indicators of peninsular inhabitants are the cave and rock paintings of the sierras of the central peninsula.[9] These are polychromatic mural-style paintings (mostly in yellow, red, green, and black) that vary in size from smaller than thirty feet long, eighteen feet wide, and sixteen feet high at some places to covering areas as large as three hundred square feet. Carbon dating of the paintings located at Cueva del Ratón in the San Francisco sierra (in central Baja California) places their origin at around 4,800 BCE. Fragments of textile found at one of the painting sites, Cueva Pintada, also in the San Francisco sierra, have been determined to be approximately 3,000 years old.[10]

Others attribute the paintings to prehistoric Comondú culture (considered possible ancestors of mid-peninsular Cochimí Indians).[11] But the significance of the murals is that they belie the so-called simplicity of the nomadic peoples thought to be among the earliest inhabitants of the region. The murals, sometimes painted as far as twenty-five miles from the nearest sea inlet, depict assemblages of humans and a large variety of animals, from bighorn mountain sheep, deer, mountain lions, bobcats, rabbits, birds, and snakes to marine animals such as whales, manta rays, fish, and sea turtles.

Their location, style, and characteristics suggest that the painters "were organized into small bands that occupied discrete territories . . . [and that the] creation [of the paintings] was neither casual nor the product of individual inspiration."[12] Consequently, despite the variations from site to site, "the painters adhered to a remarkably rigid code . . . subject to a number of formal and arbitrary rules."[13]

In addition, the paintings are indicative of a level of social organization "which apparently extended beyond the mere feeding of a materially nonproductive group."[14] They required the gathering and transportation of special colored materials and their grinding into suitable pigments, the collection of materials for the construction of scaffolding, the support of a class of artists, and a degree of long-distance communication that links thousands of these paintings at hundreds of sites across three ranges of difficult mountainous topography.[15]

But whatever assumptions archeologists are currently making about these early, relatively small communities of people, certain characteristics are clear and are the foundation for our understanding of the people who lived in the peninsula at the time of the Europeans' arrival. Demographic studies of the pre-Columbian peninsular population estimate that there were approximately forty thousand to fifty thousand inhabitants in Baja California at European contact.[16] However, little of what is currently known of the early prehistoric cultural complexes and their descendants' cultural, social, or religious systems has been accessed through indigenous oral tradition. Many of the indigenous peoples inhabiting the peninsula at the time of contact were either decimated by disease or died at the hands of the colonists. The missionization process also served to sever the transmission of ancient traditional indigenous lifeways and beliefs, and, as a result, much of what we know of them is through colonial testimony, correspondence, reports, or memoirs. Thus, this information reflects what the missionaries were able to ascertain from those seventeenth- and eighteenth-century groups with whom they came in contact and from whom they were able to gather information, particularly those of the south and central areas of the peninsula.[17]

There are several critical reports, or memoirs, written by Jesuit missionaries that include scientific data (flora, fauna, topography, climate, etc.) about the peninsula, as well as ethnographic information (dress, linguistic practices, customs, social events and interaction, etc.) about the indigenous peoples of the Californias.[18] These records, although indispensable for any research or analysis of indigenous lifeways, are certainly narratives that are imbedded with colonial discourse and thus must be read critically.

Following the requisite Catholic interpretation of "new world" religions, most of the missionaries of the colonial period depicted indigenous principles, morality, and sacred beliefs as paganism. Some did, however, record the existence of creation stories among several of the Indian peoples of the peninsula. For example, Kiliwa creation stories called the creator Matipá; for the Cochimí, the creator was Menichipá; the Pa-ipai creator was Miowkiak. Shamans held social and religious ceremonies as well as healing rituals.[19]

Peninsular Indians were largely organized around small patrilocal familial groupings, or bands, of generally no more than 250 people, who moved seasonally within certain proscribed, yet not necessarily rigid, parameters. During times of abundance, the bands came together and held celebrations, such as posthunt festivities. Most peninsular Indians married

within their groups, except on those occasions when various groups came together. On those special occasions, women were sometimes exchanged and intermarried with members of other bands.[20]

At first contact, the missionaries reported that most indigenous men were naked. Women were covered from the waist down with fabric fashioned from ditch reeds, string fashioned from plant fibers, and, in the sierras, animal hides, and most appeared with their bodies painted in various colors, predominantly a brownish gray color and white. According to one missionary, the nomadic indigenous groups they encountered "neither [grew] maize nor in any way [tilled] the ground, but merely lived on wild fruits, fish, and animals."[21] Both men and women made a variety of stone, shell, bone, horn, and wood instruments and used them for diverse purposes. Men typically used bows and arrows for hunting and, along the coasts, made rafts of reeds or of wood for fishing. They also wove nets of plant fiber and baskets made from tree bark that were often used to toast seeds.[22] Across the peninsula, men and women gathered fruit, nuts, seeds, and roots; however, the task belonged largely to women, who were also responsible for the preparation of meals.

Most of the indigenous peoples of the peninsula moved seasonally and were organized around principles of cooperation and reciprocity. Their diet and subsistence practices varied according to the area that they predominantly inhabited. The sierras and mountain slopes provided a variety of mammals such as deer, bighorn mountain sheep, and mountain goats, squirrels, and hare. In addition, depending on climate constraints, these areas included oak, pine, willow, and plum trees valued for their fruit, nuts, and seeds. The foothills and flatlands offered a variety of flora, including mesquite and salate, a *ficus palmeri* valued for its fruit. These areas also supported a variety of birds such as quail, turtledoves, pheasant, and partridges.

Among the most frequent items gathered by peninsular Indians were nuts, seeds, fruits, and roots like the garambuyo, biznaga, yucca, and jícama. They also used a variety of plants such as pitahaya and portulaca (for eating), and jojoba, *batamontes,* artemisia, and aloe (for medicinal purposes). The semidesert (and desert) floor provided a variety of reptiles, insects, mescal (which, unlike the maguey drink in New Spain, was a plant eaten in the peninsula), and saguaro cactus often used as a food source.[23] The coastal Indians were very adept at fishing for bass, grouper, sardines, manta rays, turtles, and, hazardously, sharks and swordfish. They also caught a variety of sea mammals available along the coasts such as sea otters, whales, dolphins, and sea lions.[24]

Social groups usually included a leader who exercised authority over the ranchería,[25] was in charge of ceremonies and special festivities, and directed collective action in unusual circumstances such as hostilities or combat with outsiders. Women sometimes held leadership positions.[26] For the most part, however, across the peninsula women were responsible for the maintenance of the family. They gathered food, water, and wood for toasting seeds and for heat, and they slept near a fire to keep warm except in hot weather. Toasted seeds were eaten hot, or the women ground them between two stones and made a thick flour, which they promptly ate.[27]

Among the Indian groups the colonizers encountered, the Pericúes were notable not only for their distinctive language and culture but also for their armed resistance to colonization. They were considered larger and more corpulent than Indians from New Spain's mainland. Many missionary reports and memoirs speak, at times with a mix of admiration and fear, of their experiences with the Pericúes.

As mentioned earlier, the Pericúes were located in the southern part of the peninsula. Known, alternately, as *playanos,* or beach dwellers, they are thought to be part of the Cultura de las Palmas (Palm Culture), hunters/fishers/gatherers. Some of the men and women appeared with their faces or parts of their bodies painted in different colors. Others adorned their arms and necks with bracelets and necklaces fashioned from seashells, and some had two- to three-inch sticks or reeds pierced through their earlobes. Pericú men were also known to wear their hair long, four to five inches in length. Some of the men wore little more than adornments in their hair, braiding it with pearls and white feathers.[28]

Jesuit Miguel del Barco reported early colonial sightings in Pericú land of wooden blow darts, oval-shaped receptacles made of palm tree bark, spatula-shaped bones, as well as petroglyphs. The Pericúes used rafts, canoes, nets, and harpoons for fishing and bows and arrows for hunting. The men were largely responsible for hunting and fishing, while the women gathered fruit, nuts, and seeds and were responsible for the maintenance of the family.[29] Although not common practice among all peninsular Indians, the Pericúes were polygamous, and women reportedly competed for favor with their common husband by laboring to gather the most fruit, seeds, or nuts for their mate.[30] Divorce was reportedly "an exclusive right of the men, and in cases of adultery only the woman would be punished."[31]

Pericú beliefs revolved around a creator known as "Niparaya who made the earth and sea, gave food, [and] grew the trees . . . Niparaya had a wife

named Anayicoyondi and had three sons . . . Of the three, Quaayayp was a human who walked among humans (the Pericú) and taught them."[32] Jesuit Miguel Venegas offered an additional narration to this creation story, stating that Pericú shamans also spoke of another character named Waac or Tuparán, who fought against Niparaya. According to the tradition, Waac was defeated by Niparaya, expelled from heaven, and held in a cave. Niparaya then made the whales to scare Waac-Tuparán into staying in the cave.[33]

Further, there were two bands of Pericúes: one that worshipped Niparaya, and one that consisted of the followers of Waac-Tuparán. The former group was considered a "grave and circumspect people who could be easily brought to reason. [The latter] were perverse, healers, and witchdoctors" who were embroiled in agitation and disturbances.[34]

This interesting variation in the creation story could be interpreted as a Jesuit construction, if only because the missionaries' view of Pericú resistance to missionization was that it was perverse at best. The Jesuits may have implicitly assumed that the leaders of Pericú rebellion were followers of Waac-Tuparán who agitated against authority and were largely guilty of fomenting resistance.

Colonial Antigua or Baja California

It must be noted that the colonial enterprise was responsible for the obliteration of most of the indigenous cultures of the peninsula. It has been well established that tens of thousands died from disease and the brutal coercion effected on the Indians during the pacification of the colonial California frontier. But more recent studies by Mexican and U.S. scholars propose that indigenous cultural extinction was also a result of the missionization (or acculturation) process in the Californias. Baja California's Indians suffered from chronic hunger as they were stripped of their hunting-and-gathering strategies and were ultimately unable to sustain themselves. Between disease and acculturation, the peninsular natives in Jesuit territory declined from approximately forty thousand in 1697 to seven thousand by 1768.[35]

The major thrust of the missionary period in the Californias took place from 1697 to 1849. The Jesuits built and controlled the missions in Baja California from 1697 to 1767. When they were expelled from the Americas in 1767, the task of maintaining those missions was passed to the Franciscans, who added only one more mission in the peninsula.

Franciscan control of Baja California's missions lasted a mere five years, from 1768 to 1773. In 1773, the administration of the remaining Baja California missions and the building of new missions in the area known as the Frontera Dominica (roughly the north and northwestern section of the peninsula) was transferred to priests of the Dominican order, while the effort to expand further north and establish missions in Alta California (from San Diego to Monterey) was entrusted to the Franciscans.

But exploration along the Pacific coast of New Spain and around the California peninsula was recorded as early as the 1530s. In 1528, Hernán Cortés petitioned for and was granted license to embark on a trans-Pacific journey to explore the East Indies. At the time, Cortés had been granted the title of Marqués del Valle de Oaxaca and in April of 1529 was granted the monopoly over the exploration of the South Seas (Pacific Ocean).[36] But the earliest missionaries who accompanied explorers in California were not Jesuits but Franciscans who joined Cortés' (1535) and Francisco de Ulloa's (1539) expeditions.

There were, however, other notable expeditions that charted the upper California coast during this period. Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo led an exploratory naval expedition aboard the flagship *San Salvador,* leaving the port of Navidad along with two smaller ships, the *San Miguel* and *La Victoria*. They left on June 27, 1542, and after three months of sailing, arrived at a sheltered harbor on the feast day of San Miguel Arcángel, September 28, 1542, and named it San Miguel.[37] Cabrillo, however, died during the journey, on January 3, 1543, while trying to escape the attack of coastal Indians, during which he fractured a leg that later became gangrenous. His chief pilot, Bartolomé Ferrer, took command and continued the voyage north, ultimately reaching the southern coast of present-day Oregon. In 1595, a Portuguese sailor, Sebastián Rodríguez Cermeño, was given command of a Manila galleon, and on his return he anchored at a bay he named San Francisco (now known as Drake's Bay).[38]

Another significant early explorer was Sebastián Vizcaíno, who in 1607 set out to explore the California coast and was given the task of identifying potential harbors for the Manila galleons. Vizcaíno set his sights on some of the landmarks previously located by Cabrillo, such as the Bay of San Miguel, which he renamed San Diego. Vizcaíno is also responsible for renaming Santa Catalina Island, Santa Barbara, Monterey, and Carmel.[39]

Early naval exploration of the peninsula included landings by Hernán Cortés, who financed a couple of failed sea expeditions, one of which was headed by Diego Becerra in 1533. Becerra's ship, the *Concepción,* sailed from New Spain's western coast from Santiago de la Buena Esperanza, the

present-day port of Manzanillo, Colima, Mexico. He was killed in his sleep when his pilot, Fortún Jiménez, began a mutiny that ended with several sailors being killed or injured; others (including the missionaries) were left on the shores of the present-day state of Michoacán, Mexico.[40] Jiménez managed to sail into the Bay of La Paz in 1533, where he landed and was soon killed along with many of his shipmates, ostensibly by Guaycura Indians.

Survivors who were able to return to the mainland offered reports of sightings of an abundance of pearls in the newly "discovered" lands. Cortés outfitted and personally commanded a ship to explore beyond the coast of Jalisco, and in May of 1535 landed at what was promptly named Bahía de Santa Cruz, on the southeastern coast of the Baja California peninsula where the current port of La Paz is located.[41] The unwelcoming local inhabitants and the Spaniards' inability to quickly access foodstuffs and other goods forced Cortés to return to the mainland.

For the missionary project in the northern frontier, the latter part of the sixteenth century, however, was a period of Jesuit advance, as these friars were successfully heading the missionization process in the northwestern provinces of New Spain, in Sinaloa and Sonora, and quickly began to petition for their inclusion in the California colonial project. Friar Roque de Vega was the first Jesuit missionary to travel to California, with a 1636 expedition headed by Capt. Francisco de Ortega, followed by Jesuit Jacinto Cortés' entry in 1642 with the Luis Cestín de Cañas expedition and again in 1648 with the Pedro Porter Cassanate expedition; the latter also included Jesuit friar Andrés Báez.[42]

According to Jesuit Miguel Venegas, who penned his *Noticia de la California* in 1739, the area was alternately referred to as California, Nueva Albión, and Isla Carolina (during the reign of Carlos II, when it was still considered an island).[43] Of the three names, however, the one that persisted was California.

There are several versions of the origin of the name "California."[44] But the most commonly accepted version claims that the word has its origin in "a tale of chivalry popular in the early sixteenth century, *Las sergas de Esplandián* by García Ordóñez de Montalvo, which told of an island called California, located at the right hand of the Indies."[45]

Both Francisco Clavijero and Miguel Venegas, Jesuit friars neither of whom was in Baja California, compiled notes from the remembrances of old California missionaries. They wrote about early colonial efforts to enter and advance into the Californias, from the Cabrillo expedition of 1542, to the Iturbi expedition of 1651, which set sail to the northernmost

part of the Gulf of California. But it took several decades from these early voyages for the members of the Society of Jesus to enter the Californias and begin their "conquest of souls."[46] They were headed by Fr. Eusebio Francisco Kino (1645–1711), who also served as royal cosmographer (astronomer and cartographer) for the expedition, and were under the military authority of the governor of the provinces of Sinaloa and Sonora, Adm. Isidro Atondo y Antillón.[47]

The Atondo-Kino expedition landed in the Bay of La Paz in 1683, and was quickly confronted by unreceptive Indians. Atondo organized an attack in reprisal and, by Kino's report, engaged in a near-massacre of the local Guaycuras. The expedition proceeded farther north, however, and built a fortified mission in October of 1683, which was named San Bruno. This settlement lasted a scant two years because of the inhospitable terrain and lack of sufficient agricultural resources to sustain the settlers. Thus, in 1685, the settlers evacuated the area and returned to the mainland of New Spain. Despite the failure, Kino became convinced of the absolute imperative of bringing Christianity to the indigenous population of the peninsula.

The establishment of missions in Antigua California, although sanctioned by the Spanish Crown, was not considered significant enough to warrant major funding by the Viceroyalty.[48] Early reports of expedition findings did not identify the area as a source of mineral wealth. Its possible strategic positioning for safe harbors on the Southern Seas (the Pacific Ocean) or resupply sites for longer voyages (those headed to the Orient, for example) was considered risky at best, as the peninsula was considered too distant and isolated an area, too vulnerable to bad weather, for regular maritime travel; thus, settlement and maintenance of colonial sites were deemed to be too costly.

For the Spanish Crown, the northern frontier of New Spain was important primarily as a buffer zone, to protect the mining enclaves of the Viceroyalty's north-central region. However, the northwestern frontier was important for its strategic coasts and harbors. Control of the Pacific coastline was key, as a number of nations were vying for domination of trade with the Orient and for the Japan Currents that facilitated maritime travel from the east and made for swifter voyages. These currents ostensibly ended along the California coastline.

However, the Spanish Crown had already authorized several failed expeditions to the northern frontier during the sixteenth century that attempted to find great cities of gold or vast mineral deposits, most notably, the failed settlement expedition led and cofinanced by Juan de Oñate in

1598.[49] But as early as 1573, the Orders for New Discoveries prohibited "the use of Crown funds in future efforts at settlement" and gave the "missionaries the central role in the exploration and pacification of new lands . . . Missionaries, their expenses still paid by alms from the Crown, were to enter new lands before all others."[50] However, the Viceroyalty of New Spain largely depended on wealthy *adelantados* for financial support of settlement expeditions. And early *entradas* (entries or advances) in the peninsula reported little in the way of wealth. Consequently, the viceroys were more than cautious about financial involvement in further exploratory endeavors.

Nevertheless, the Jesuits, by the late seventeenth century, were eager to begin organizing missionization efforts as they noted, from Father Kino's reports, that there were souls fervently awaiting Christian conversion. Thus, the *entrada* into the Californias was entrusted to the Jesuit order, which reassured the Viceroyalty that the Society of Jesus would cover the cost of mission efforts.

The Jesuits were eager to favorably record their experiences in Baja California. Fr. Eusebio Kino's first reports on the Indians and the climatic conditions of the area were even optimistic: "The land is good and the temperature pleasant. Here is an abundance of fish, wood, birds, stags, rabbits, etc. We have sown maize and planted melons, watermelons, etc. and hope they will yield fruit."[51] Further, Kino eagerly represented the potential for Christianization of the peninsular Indians, noting that "these Indians seem to me the most docile, affable, pleasant and sociable in all America."[52]

Other expeditions and reports of contact with indigenous groups, however, were not so optimistic, as the soldiers and missionaries had conflicting impressions of the region and its inhabitants. Admiral Atondo, the expedition's military leader, and Father Kino, the head of the Jesuit mission, both wrote to the Viceroyalty during their initial attempt at missionization.[53] Their reports reflect their differing attitudes toward the continuation of efforts in Baja California. Some of the missionaries were very encouraged by their initial contact with the Indians, and they were certainly enthusiastic in their reports of missionization activities to their various private donors. But, by Father Kino's own account, during their first fourteen months of missionary activity the Jesuits had only baptized five Indians, most of whom were in "danger of death," that is, either infirm or elderly.[54]

By contrast, the soldiers claimed that there was "no hope of material gain" in what they considered a barren land of hostile savages. They "could

not understand how it was possible for the fathers to offer to stay among such barbarians."[55] In addition, the early efforts of the missionaries to become self-sufficient were not very successful, as their crops did not yield sufficient food for the subsistence of the missionaries and soldiers. For the Jesuits, however, the colonization of Baja California seemed "attractive . . . not for the riches of its pearls, but for its souls."[56]

After reviewing the differing reports, the viceroy considered the price of colonizing the area to be too costly, given the meager success of the missionaries' Christianizing efforts and the apparent lack of mineral wealth in the peninsula. Thus, missionization efforts were discontinued a mere two years after they had begun.

Father Kino, however, continued petitioning for permission and funding to return to Baja California. He assured anyone who was willing to listen that the Indians were passive and willing receptacles for the religious teachings of the Society of Jesus. In 1686, his correspondence to the Duchess of Aveiro, a benefactress of the Jesuits, gave a positive spin to the project: "More than a thousand times I commended to your Grace's special care the territory of California, and the ripeness of the harvest of so many, such docile, sweet and peaceful, and even instructed souls, who were begging earnestly for holy Baptism."[57]

Back in central Mexico Father Kino enlisted the support of Fr. Juan María Salvatierra, aided by Fr. Juan de Ugarte, who became eager fundraisers for the California missionary effort through the Pious Fund for the Californias of the Society of Jesus.[58] According to Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt, a list of benefactors to the Pious Fund provides "evidence that not the royal government of Mexico, nor the king of Spain, but individual . . . benefactors had planted and maintained the Indian missions of California."[59] These private donations of differing amounts from a variety of individual sources were specifically targeted for the establishment of missions in the Californias.[60]

The full thrust of Jesuit missionization in the Californias began in 1697 with the establishment of missions in the southern and central part of Baja California; it continued for almost seven decades, until 1767. This endeavor proved to be tremendously difficult not only because of the resistance to colonization from some of the indigenous populations that inhabited the peninsula but also because of the inhospitable climate and arid nature of much of Baja California. Thus, Fathers Salvatierra and Ugarte continued Kino's fund-raising efforts.

This fund-raising activity continued throughout the mission period and became an ongoing enterprise of the Jesuits, the Franciscans, and, later, the

Dominicans. In fact, Don José de la Puente Peña y Castejón, Marqués de Villapuente, was recorded as the founding donor of at least five missions between 1698 and 1747.[61] Many of these benefactors were members of the elites of Mexico City and Guadalajara or from Spain. Among the most prominent, as early as August of 1680, were Doña Gertrudis de la Peña, Marquesa de Torres Rada; Don Nicolás de Arteaga and his wife, Doña Josefa Vallejo; Don Juan Caballero y Ocio; and the aforementioned Doña María Guadalupe de Lancaster, Duchess of Aveiro, Arcos y Masqueda, a close friend of Fr. Eusebio Kino's, with whom he often corresponded.[62]

Granting permission for the founding and maintenance of the missions, albeit through private funding, reflected several key issues: that the Crown recognized the need to expand and colonize the northwestern frontier to prevent the possibility of foreign expansion and control of the California coast; to secure Pacific coast ports and bays that would provide safe harbor for the Manila galleons; and to continue the efforts to secure the frontier by creating a buffer zone to protect the mining ventures of north-central Mexico.

But the viceroy was unwilling, or unable, to completely underwrite the missionaries' efforts to build the missions and presidios necessary to settle and defend the expansive, isolated area that was the frontier region of the Californias. Thus, the Jesuits' ability to raise funds (whether through private donations or through funds generated by Jesuit land and other Jesuit income-producing holdings in other parts of New Spain) was critical to the expansion effort into the peninsula.[63]

However difficult the acquisition of funding was, what is clear is that the colonial project in the Californias was a missionization project that had its beginnings with the founding of Jesuit missions, an undertaking only nominally supported by the Crown through the viceroys' financial administrations. For example, by 1699, the viceroy, Don José Sarmiento y Valladares, Conde de Moctezuma y de Tula (1696–1701), had petitioned the Crown for fiscal assistance for the California enterprise. The Jesuits had been requesting assistance from the Viceroyalty to help defer what had become a very costly venture. The Royal Treasury began subsidizing the royal troops' expenses to the annual amount of 6,000 pesos in 1702, raised to 13,000 pesos in 1706, and 18,000 in 1718. By 1741, it was contributing 32,000 pesos to the cost of military support of colonization in Baja California.[64]

Nevertheless, through their firm commitment and ongoing efforts, the Jesuits were successful in building sixteen missions in Antigua California, or what is today known as Baja California. The first successful mission

was Nuestra Señora de Loreto, founded in 1697 by Father Salvatierra (see Table 1).

The size and significance of these missions varied according to a number of factors that conditioned their viability.[65] These factors often directly resulted in the success, or the demise, of these missions and included the "distance from the other centers of population of New Spain, the topographical harshness of the surrounding area, and the difficulties regarding funding and recruitment of civilian colonists."[66]

Some of the missions fared very well, as the Jesuits were able to develop a certain amount of self-sufficiency. Inventory figures demonstrate that the missions had a wide range of holdings and indigenous population. For example, the Mission Santa Gertrudis rosters include the mission's Indians as well as those from the eight surrounding rancherías for a total count of 229 families. Altogether, counting orphans, widows and widowers, and single unaffiliated people, the total indigenous population was approximately 808. The Mission San Francisco de Borja's rosters include 254 families, with a total count of over 1,000 Indians. These figures compare significantly with those of missions like San José del Cabo and Santiago, where the former included only 10 families (51 Indians total), and the latter, 15 families, with a total of 66 recorded on the mission rosters.

Though they did not produce large, bountiful crops, some of the missions had cattle, sufficient grain, and some vineyards so as to provide for the area's residents. For example, Mission Nuestra Señora del Pilar, originally named Santa Rosa de las Palmas (commonly referred to as Todos Santos) had two working sugarcane mills, 376 horses, and 671 head of cattle. These, although they belonged to the mission, were held at the *ranchos misionales,* which were dependencies of the missions and were in some areas considered very valuable.

In addition, the more successful missions often sold goods to lesser missions, other colonial enterprises, and individual colonists. For example, the inventory lists presented to the Dominican priests at the transfer of the missions to their administration included debts owed by private civilians to the missions for goods taken from the missions and the Real Almacén de Loreto (the Royal Warehouse/Store of Loreto).[67]

But several factors contributed to growing opposition to Jesuit control in the "New World." Jesuit influence in Baja California was consolidated early on and officially sanctioned when, by viceregal decree, the Jesuits were granted command over military, civilian, and judicial authorities under the auspices, and for the benefit, of the Crown. On February 6, 1697, the viceroy granted Fathers Kino and Salvatierra license to

Table 1. Jesuit, Dominican, and Franciscan Missions of Baja (Antigua) California, 1683–1834

Mission	Year Founded	Founder(s)
Jesuit Missions (1683–1767)		
San Bruno[1]	1683	Fr. Eusebio Kino, SJ, and Adm. Isidro de Atondo y Antillón
Nuestra Señora de Loreto de Conchó[2]	1697	Fr. Juan María de Salvatierra, SJ
San Francisco Javier de Viggé-Biaundó	1699[3]	Fr. Francisco María Piccolo, SJ
San Juan Bautista de Ligüí[4]	1705	Fr. Pedro de Ugarte, SJ
Santa Rosalía de Mulegé	1705	Fr. Juan Manuel de Basaldúa, SJ
San José de Comondú	1708	Fr. Julián de Mayorga, SJ
La Purísima Concepción de María de Cadegomó	1720	Fr. Nicolás Tamaral, SJ
Nuestra Señora del Pilar de la Paz de Airapí[5]	1720	Fr. Jaime Bravo, SJ, and Fr. Juan de Ugarte, SJ
Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Huasinapí	1720	Fr. Everardo Helen, SJ
Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de Apaté[6]	1721	Fr. Clemente Guillén, SJ
Santiago el Apóstol de Añiní[7]	1724	Fr. Ignacio M. Nápoli, SJ
Nuestro Señor San Ignacio de Kadakaamán	1728	Fr. Juan Bautista de Luyando, SJ
San José del Cabo Añuití	1730	Fr. Nicolás Tamaral, SJ
Santa Rosa de las Palmas (Todos Santos)[8]	1733	Fr. Sigismundo Taraval, SJ
San Luis Gonzaga Chiriyaqui	1737	Fr. Lamberto Hostell, SJ
Santa Gertrudis de Cadacamán	1751	Fr. Jorge Retz, SJ
San Francisco de Borja Adac	1762	Fr. Wenceslao Linck, SJ
Santa María de Los Ángeles Cabujakaamung	1767	Fr. Victoriano Arnés, SJ
Franciscan Mission (1769)		
San Fernando Rey de España de Velicatá	1769	Fr. Junípero Serra, OFM

Table 1. Continued

Mission	Year Founded	Founder(s)
Dominican Missions (1774–1834)[9]		
Nuestra Señora del Rosario de Viñadaco	1774	Fr. Vicente Mora, OP, and Fr. Francisco Galisteo, OP
Santo Domingo de la Frontera	1775	Fr. Miguel Hidalgo, OP, and Fr. Manuel García, OP
San Vicente Ferrer	1780	Fr. Joaquín Valero, OP
San Miguel Arcángel de la Frontera	1787	Fr. Luis Sales, OP
Santo Tomás de Aquino	1791	Fr. José Loriente, OP
San Pedro Mártir de Verona	1794	Fr. José Loriente, OP
Santa Catalina Virgen y Mártir	1797	Fr. José Loriente, OP
El Descanso	1817	Fr. Tomás de Ahumada, OP
Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Norte	1834	Fr. Félix Caballero, OP

Notes:
[1] A mission/fort; abandoned in 1685 after failed colonization attempt
[2] Founding begins the missionary period of Baja California
[3] Jesuits also established a visiting station in this year, Visita San Juan Bautista de Londó
[4] Abandoned in 1721
[5] Abandoned in 1734 after Pericú Rebellion; reestablished in 1836
[6] Commonly known as La Pasión; moved to Chillá in 1741 by Fr. Lamberto Hostell and renamed Mission de Chillá
[7] Destroyed in 1734 during Pericú rebellion; rebuilt in 1736 and finally abandoned in 1795
[8] Burned down during 1734 Pericú rebellion, rebuilt in 1748, and renamed Nuestra Señora del Pilar by the Dominican missionaries. This mission was commonly referred to as Todos Santos.
[9] The official decree to secularize the missions was issued in 1834; however, because the civilian authorities believed no one else capable of, or willing to, maintain the missions, the missionaries in Baja California continued as administrators of many of the missions until they retired or, in some cases, passed away.

enter California for the purpose of Christianizing the peninsular Indians, noting that all expenses would be the responsibility of the Jesuit Order. What may have been of greater significance was that the viceroy authorized the attachment of soldiers who could pay for their ammunition and whose commanders would be named, and if necessary removed, by the same Jesuits. In addition, the friars had authority to appoint the person

responsible for administering royal justice in the peninsula.[68] Thus, the Jesuits were "granted nearly absolute control over Baja California."[69]

In addition, the Society of Jesus included many missionaries who were of high social standing, highly educated, and from wealthy families. During the seventeenth century, many of the European elite had been educated by Jesuit priests; thus, the Order of the Society of Jesus exerted a great deal of influence. But by the mid-eighteenth century, the Bourbon Crown was well on its way to attempting its own version of the Enlightenment by taking a different approach to church authority and power. The Spanish monarchy, specifically, Carlos III (1759–1788) and some of his representatives, became interested in reducing Jesuit control of colonial lands, resources, and influence.

During Bourbon rule, the relationship between church and state became increasingly contentious as the Crown attempted to contain "the church's fiscal privileges, the granting of ecclesiastical positions, [and] the execution of pontifical mandates . . . For the Spanish kings of the house of Bourbon, the idea of a church subordinate to national necessities rather than to the dictates of a pontifical authority was well received."[70]

This new approach culminated in the expulsion of the Jesuits from the entire New World. The Pragmática Sanción, decreed on April 2, 1767, ordered the immediate expulsion of the Society of Jesus from all Spanish Crown dominions.[71] Once the Jesuits were expelled from New Spain, Viceroy Carlos Francisco de Croix, Marqués de Croix (1766–1771) and Visitador José de Gálvez resolved to place the California missions under the charge of the Order of the College of San Fernando, the Franciscan missionaries.[72]

However, the tenure of the Franciscan missionaries in Baja California was short-lived, as the president of the Dominican Order plotted his order's entry into the Californias and negotiated the takeover of the existing missions. Further, while the Franciscans were sent to Alta California to build missions from San Diego to Monterey Bay, the Dominicans set out to build a chain of missions to reach the northernmost region of the peninsula.

The next chapter examines the mission project in the Dominican frontier and the processes through which the missionaries established and reorganized social spheres which later contributed to the construction of colonial gendered roles in the Alta California frontier.

CHAPTER 2

"To Teach the Natives Love and Loyalty toward the Spanish Monarch": The Order of the Predicants of Santo Domingo in Baja California

Catholic priests appeared in New Spain with the advent of Hernán Cortés' expedition into Tenochtitlán in 1519.[1] As Cortés wrote to the monarch about the riches and wealth of the newly acquired territories, the priests also sent correspondence relating the need for missionaries to bring the faith to the newly conquered subjects. Pope Leon X issued a papal bull in April of 1521 granting permission to two Franciscan friars to begin the task. By 1524, the Council of Indies had determined that twelve Franciscan and twelve Dominican missionaries (under the direction of Frs. Martín de Valencia, OFM, and Antonio Montesinos, OP, respectively) would be added to that mission project. Thus began the missionary efforts in New Spain.[2]

By the end of the seventeenth century, Jesuit, Franciscan, and Dominican missionaries were all involved in the advancement of the colonial project in the northern and northwestern frontier. Franciscans were among the conquering expeditionaries of the northern frontier of New Spain, founding ten convents east of the Sierra Madre by the end of the sixteenth century and missions in New Mexico and Tejas in the seventeenth century. By 1590, Jesuits had advanced to Sinaloa, Sonora, Nayarit, and Nueva Vizcaya and were in Pimería (present-day Arizona) by 1687, and the peninsula of Baja California in 1697. The Dominicans founded the convent of Santa Cruz in Zacatecas in October of 1604, and were establishing missions in the Sierra Gorda, six in Chichimeca territory, by 1700.[3]

The 1760s was a period of escalating threat to New Spain's northern territories by the increasingly interested French, English, and Russian empires. The Bourbon king, Carlos III, "gathered a group of enlightened ministers to help him restore Spain's international prominence . . . [with

a] series of economic administrative, political and military reforms" that were intended to centralize government, eliminate corruption, professionalize the military, invigorate the economy, and colonize the regions of the Viceroyalty's northern periphery.[4] For this purpose, the Spanish Crown took several measures to inspect operations in the Viceroyalty of New Spain and gauge the vulnerability of the frontier regions to foreign incursion.

The Crown selected Cayetano María Pignatelli Rubí Corbera y San Climent, the Marqués de Rubí, to engage in a comprehensive survey of the northern presidial system, a task that took over two years to complete. The survey findings were later embodied in a set of regulations meant to create a more efficient, professional, and standardized military pacification and defense organization.[5]

Carlos III sent Visitador General José de Gálvez to inspect all Royal Treasury affairs and offices. He arrived in Baja California in July of 1768 and remained for approximately ten months. De Gálvez' arrival coincided with the expulsion of the Jesuits from the peninsula, and part of his task was to oversee the ordered transition of Jesuit operations. He initiated measures intended to ensure the proper progression of colonization in the area by dictating a wide range of regulations regarding a variety of social, political, and economic matters, such as regulating the stipends of the new missionaries, granting parcels of land to settlers and members of the indigenous communities, and dictating the proper construction of streets, plazas, and public buildings.[6] However, perhaps one of the most significant matters that de Gálvez encouraged, given the monarchy's interest in expanding the colony to the far northwestern reaches of its territory, was the colonization of the northern part of the peninsula and, further, of Alta California.

Ironically, despite the new secular orientation of the Bourbon regime, the advance of colonization in the region at this time was not necessarily entrusted to military or civilian leaders. Recruitment of civilian settlers for this harsh and sometimes volatile area was still proving to be a difficult enterprise. In addition, for the most part, the peninsula's potential for wealth extraction was still questionable, and the area was still dependent on the mainland for certain goods and supplies.[7]

Accordingly, once the Jesuits were expelled from Baja California, Viceroy Carlos Francisco de Croix, Marqués de Croix, in consultation with Visitador José de Gálvez and by order of King Carlos III, charged the Franciscan Order with the task of continuing missionization and, thus, pacification of the Californias. It would be, however, safe to speculate

about the choice of Franciscan direction of the colonial project in the peninsula. The king's aversion to the privileged and wealthy Jesuit Order likely influenced his preference for the Franciscans, as they took vows of poverty and could not possess private or community property.

The order was founded by Francis Bernardone of Assisi in 1209. Franciscans endeavored to live simple lives, reportedly preferring to walk rather than ride horses, wear sandals rather than shoes, and minister to the laity rather than live a cloistered, contemplative monastic life.[8] They had proven to be energetic, enthusiastic, and diligent in their missionary efforts in other frontier areas of New Spain. They seemed the perfect fit, given the political disposition of the authorities of the time to take over the Jesuit enterprise in the precarious environment of Baja California.

The Franciscan authorities in New Spain selected a friar who already had a considerable amount of experience with missionary work to head the effort after the expulsion of the Jesuits. That man was Fr. Junípero Serra. Several months passed before the first group of Franciscan missionaries set sail for California to take over the administration of the Jesuit missions.[9]

During their tenure in Baja California, the Franciscan missionaries endeavored to maintain the missions in the same state as they were left by the Jesuits and in 1769 established two missions, one at the north end of the peninsular Jesuit chain, San Fernando de Velicatá, and another, 120 leagues north of Velicatá, on San Diego Bay. However, Matías de Armona, governor of the Californias (1769–1770), lamented the great distance left unprotected between the two Franciscan missions.[10] And, on November 12, 1770, Armona approved the founding of five missions between Velicatá and San Diego, and five more between San Diego and Monterey.[11]

But the Franciscan period (1767–1773) in Baja California was relatively short-lived, as religious and political intrigue continued to fester both in the Spanish court and in New Spain. The Rev. Fr. Juan Pedro de Iriarte y Laurnaga, the Dominican procurator in Mexico, requested permission from Carlos III in 1768 to take over some of the missions in Baja California, proposing that "it [was] not prudent for one order to be in sole possession of such vastness of land."[12] In addition, Father Iriarte petitioned for the "privilege of extending the spiritual conquests to the north, explaining that the numerous good ports of that part of the Californias would be that much safer against foreign settlement."[13]

The Spanish king solicited the advice of Viceroy de Croix, who in turn consulted with Visitador de Gálvez. De Gálvez replied that it would be unadvisable to accede to the Dominican petition, as the Franciscans were

"successfully proceeding with their task."[14] Thus, the Dominicans were initially refused their request, as it was considered "inexpedient to divide the peninsula between the Dominicans and the Franciscans."[15]

Nonetheless, in an attempt to minimize any one order's control of this frontier, the Crown decreed, on April 8, 1771, that some missions should be given to the Dominicans or that the peninsula should be divided between the two orders.[16] The Californias were then divided, with the northernmost part under the direction of Franciscan Junípero Serra for the purpose of "extend[ing] a chain of missions along the Pacific coast from San Fernando de Velicatá to the San Francisco Bay," that is, of developing the colonial project in Alta California.[17]

This enormous undertaking required the enlistment of additional missionaries and resources. It necessitated the creation of various supply routes, both sea and land, which would cover approximately 1,864 miles from San Blas, Nayarit, to Monterey, Alta California. In order to free the Franciscans to concentrate on this endeavor, the Dominican fathers were charged with the task of administering the Baja California missions.[18]

The Dominican and Franciscan leaders were allowed to discuss the specifics of the division of the Californias. According to their agreement (approved and signed by Fray Rafael Verger, the guardian of the College of the Propagation of the Faith of San Fernando [the Franciscans] and Fray Juan Pedro de Iriarte y Laurnaga, the vicar general of the Holy Order of Preachers of Santo Domingo [the Dominicans]), the "Dominican fathers [would] take charge of the old missions of Baja California and the frontier Mission of San Fernando de Velicatá . . . to the boundaries of the Mission of San Diego . . . [and] the fathers of the College of San Fernando [would] maintain the establishment they occupy from said port of San Diego following the road to Monterey, the Port of San Francisco, and beyond."[19]

In 1773, the Dominicans took over the administration of the existing missions in Baja California and took upon themselves the task of building new missions in the northern peninsula with the goal of creating a link from the central part of the peninsula to the northern Franciscan missions in Alta California. The area in question, located in the northwestern part of the Baja California peninsula, and the missions that were built there became part of what is known as the Dominican Frontier. In the geohistorical context of peninsular California, the "frontier" at the end of the eighteenth century included "the area between the Mission of San Fernando Velicatá and San Diego, California, extending easterly to the Gulf of California approximately from the San Luis Gonzaga Bay to the

desembocadura [opening] of the Colorado River and westerly to the Pacific Ocean."[20]

The instructions decreed by Fr. Pedro Garrido on May 15, 1772, for the good government of the missionaries of Antigua California were to serve as a guide for the Dominican effort and included twelve directives. The first seven refer to administrative matters, such as the inventory of the missions, the state of fiscal affairs, the scheduling of Mass, and the identification of mission leadership. Most notable among the directives are number eight, which calls for the priests to avoid any inappropriate situations and to practice charity, patience, clemency, and prudence with the Indians, treating them without severity and with kindness; number nine, which directs the missionaries to educate the Indians in Christian doctrine and endeavor to train them in various skills and arts appropriate to society and for the common good; and number ten, which commands them to teach the Indians love and loyalty toward the Spanish monarch.[21] The training and education of the Indians beyond Catholic doctrine as loyal subjects of the Crown and ostensibly loyal to the colonial "common good" evidences the public rather than simply spiritual nature of missionization.

Mission Santo Tomás was established during this Dominican period. Before reviewing the development of Dominican missionary efforts, however, let us briefly look at what life was like for the indigenous people that these Dominicans sought to Christianize. (For the location of missions in the Baja California peninsula, see Figure 2.)

Indigenous Life on the Dominican Frontier

Of the pre-Columbian inhabitants of the peninsula, only the northern Indians are largely considered present-day survivors. Among the northern peninsular Indians are the Kumeyaay (or Kumiai), Pa-ipai, Kiliuas (or Kiliwas), and the Cucapás.[22] Many of the indigenous people succumbed to disease, others to the brutality of colonial attempts at control, and the rest to their incorporation into settler society through Christianization or *mestizaje* (racial mixing).

The topography on which the Dominican missions later stood in Baja California was more arid than the southern part of the peninsula. However, the area also included coastal plains along the eastern edge of the peninsula between the Colorado River and the Jacumé Sierra and present-day Sierra Juárez. At the southern edge of the Dominican Frontier's eastern

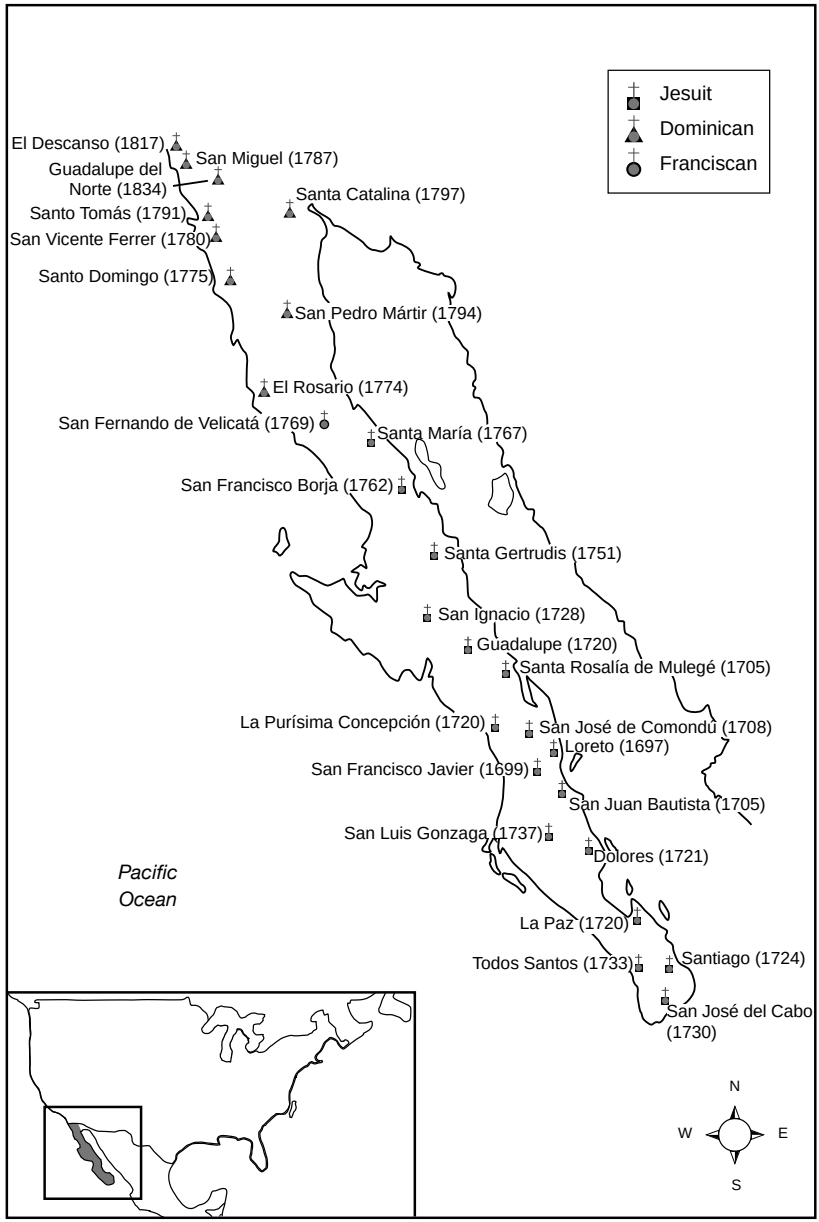

Figure 2. Missions of Baja California, 1697–1834.

coast is the sandy plain of San Felipe. The western section of this frontier includes high rocky sierras that envelop small valleys such as present-day Valle de las Palmas, El Descanso, Valle de San Rafael, Ensenada, Santo Tomás, San Vicente, El Rosario, and San Fernando. This northern region also includes expansive desert areas.[23] There are no major rivers in the peninsula, although the far northeastern edge is the site of the opening of the Colorado River, where it flows out to the Gulf of California. However, the northern frontier had various-sized rivulets or arroyos, *cañadas* (brooks) and streams, *aguajes* (running springs), and hot springs.[24]

Some of the earliest evidence of indigenous life in the northern regions of the peninsula has been located in the coastal areas. Traces of community life have been identified in areas described as *concheros,* which are coastal sites where groups would encamp for a few months at a time and engage in the collection of mussels, clams, abalone, or other mollusks.[25] Researchers have identified concentrations of shells; skeletal remains, including those of birds and marine mammals; and vestiges of jojoba and pitahaya seeds.

Excavations have also revealed stone instruments, including scrapers and knives; needles made of fish vertebrae; sharp-pointed tools for engraving and perforating (which anthropologists suggest were used for work on animal hides); and ceramic fragments that indicate use of large round bowls for cooking over hearths. Mortars and metates were used for the grinding of seeds, but animal bones were also ground up to make an edible flour. The presence of obsidian stone and opal not native to the area suggests that the local Indians engaged in long-distance travel and importation of select items from other regions.[26]

But subsistence was never easy for the indigenous population of this region. In order to hunt and gather sufficient food, they often had to travel long distances. Thus, for the most part, the inhabitants provided for themselves in the quantities necessary for the maintenance of relatively smaller populations.[27]

Although the weather was temperate in the region between the sierra and the coast, with some rainfall during the winter months, the hunting-gathering groups of the region varied their activities according to the availability of seasonal resources, usually hunting in the sierras during the summer months and in the coastal areas during winter. The vegetation was, however, diverse and allowed for some dietary variation. Around the mouth of the Colorado River there was a variety of tall bushes and thick grass, such as the mesquite, wild amaranth, and clover (which, according to early missionary reports, was so thick it made equestrian travel impracticable). The area also included willows and overgrown hemp.[28]

The Indians also collected agave along the coast. The agave was an important resource for the people of this area as, according to Fr. Luis Sales, it had a variety of preparations and uses. Jojoba, *yuva,* and other vegetation found across the valleys and hillsides were important dietary and medicinal plants. In the late summer and fall, the Indians gathered piñon and bellota.[29] The pine tree, *Pinus quadrifolia* or *Pino piñonero,* grew abundantly in the cracks of the rocky mountainsides and bore the piñon, which was a staple of the indigenous diet.[30]

The temperate weather of the northern region of the peninsula was considered adequate to maintain the vegetation that sustained the existing indigenous population. But even prior to the arrival of the explorers and missionaries, the peninsular indigenous population was not considered numerous or extensive.[31] As a result, they were organized in autonomous, seminomadic bands (called *shamuls*) of fewer than one hundred individuals, largely along patrilineal lines.[32] Possibly because of the relatively small size of the *shamuls,* for the most part, the peninsula's inhabitants were careful not to marry within their *shamul*. Thus, typically, *shamuls* practiced exogamy. On the rare occasions when women from other groups were not available to marry through voluntary matching, men were known to resort to armed struggle with the other *shamuls* to capture women.[33] However, usually, *shamuls* from different indigenous groups gathered to perform large ceremonies in celebration of a variety of special events, such as harvesting of pitahaya or a successful hunt, and these social gatherings were opportunities for men and women to meet and marry.

Customs, lifeways, and beliefs, as well as survival skills, were passed on from parents to children largely through oral tradition, songs, games, and ceremonies. Across the peninsula, mixed groups of indigenous people gathered for special occasions, such as weddings, the birth of a child, victory over an enemy, or to call on the spirits for good harvests and good hunts. One such ceremony was the distribution of deerskins. At the deerskin-distribution ceremonies, women danced and sang. The *shamul* leader then sang the praises of the hunters, after which the deerskins were distributed among the women, who used them to make clothing.[34]

A few of del Barco's brethren in the central and southern areas reported large gatherings that involved dancing, singing, joviality, and skilled buffoonery.[35] Sometimes the males challenged each other to races and tests of strength and skill, for example, games using bows and arrows. Children as young as three and four were included in the festivities and dancing. Farther south, early reports from Jesuit priest Juan María Salvatierra included the description of a ceremony that he witnessed which included no

fewer than thirty different dances performed by children that represented a variety of activities such as hunting, fishing, war, and travel.[36]

Jesuits had reported that women in the central and southern regions of the peninsula typically took up their daily tasks again immediately after birthing children, without taking any particular care of their postpartum bodies.[37] However, Fr. Luis Sales wrote that, for two or three days following a birth, women bathed in warm water, then entered a hole in the ground, were covered to their necks in branches and dirt, surrounded by warm stones, and made to sweat. This practice, however, did not prevent them from continuing to gather wood, water, and seeds and perform other tasks required to care for their families.[38]

The indigenous groups north of the 30th parallel were the only peninsular Indians who were known to build temporary triangular-shaped dwellings made of bulrushes and other branches.[39] The men, not unlike their central and southern counterparts, for the most part went unclothed. The women of the northern frontier wore attire often made of animal skins that covered them sometimes only from the waist down, but that also wrapped around their shoulders and back for warmth, particularly in the winter.

Across the peninsula, the indigenous groups cremated their dead. In the peninsular frontier, the various indigenous peoples honored their dead by performing a grieving ceremony referred to as El Lloro Grande (the Great Wail). They believed that their ancestors lived after death in a better world where only shamans could see them. The departed were believed to live in a great mansion surrounded by large trees full of delicious fruit, where deer, hare, ducks, and quail were abundant and did not flee from them and thus were easily taken for food. The grieving ceremony involved a large gathering of people. The shaman smoked coyote tobacco (*Nicotiana attenuata*) in a reed tube (or sometimes a stone or clay pipe) while dancing and gesturing. Then he dropped to the ground and placed an ear to the earth as if listening to the departed. At this point, the women began to sing a type of melancholy cry until they were too exhausted to continue. The shaman then began calling the names of some of the most well remembered departed males and crying, "They are here. They are watching us from there, and they are calling us to go with them. . . . Milluca najal [Pa-ipai for] Come here, dear ones."[40]

As mentioned previously, men typically went about naked. Early attempts at clothing indigenous males were often received with derision. Civil servant and ethnographer Manuel Clemente Rojo interviewed Jatñil (Black Dog), also referred to as Jatiñil or Jatiñilg, a famous Kumeyaay

(Kumiai) leader who Rojo estimated was born in the 1780s and was approximately seventy years of age when Rojo met him. Jatñil was the son of a Kumeyaay (Kumiai) leader and became leader himself at about twenty years of age. He was a controversial figure among the colonials and Indians alike, as the former celebrated his service to the Crown in defense of the missions when he helped quell rebellions by other indigenous groups in the region. He was a fearless warrior who fought against the Pa-ipai, Kiliwas, and Cucapás and helped suppress an uprising in 1836 that targeted the San Diego presidio.

But despite his alliance with the missionaries, Jatñil's experience at the missions was not always pleasant. He told Rojo that at one time the Dominicans, in an attempt to baptize him by force, captured him in Rosarito, dragged him to Mission San Miguel, locked him up for a week, and fed him only maize gruel. One day, water was thrown at his head and he was declared baptized. He was tossed among the rest of the mission Indians to work at the mission orchard, but since he didn't have the skills required for the work, he was beaten daily until he escaped. He was recaptured at San José de la Zorra but later managed to escape permanently. In 1840, Jatñil led an uprising at Mission Guadalupe del Norte, reportedly because of the ill treatment by the mission priest of his people, who were beaten, forced to work, and baptized unwillingly. After that incident, Jatñil never again took up arms and resumed the peaceful leadership of the local Kumeyaay (Kumiai).

Despite attempts to acculturate him, at the time of his interview in 1848, Jatñil was barefoot and still only partially clothed, wearing a simple loincloth between his legs and tied at the waist with a string. During the interview, Rojo asked Jatñil if he was cold. He answered simply, "No." When Rojo pressed him by asking, "How can that be, since you do not cover your nakedness?" Jatñil responded, "Is your face cold?"[41]

Jatñil and his wife, Tellghá (Moon), had ten children, and he lived to around ninety years of age. He was *kwaipei* (leader) of his people for approximately seventy years. The date and place of his death are reportedly unrecorded.[42]

Dominican Missionization

The first mission established by the Dominicans was Mission Nuestra Señora del Rosario de Viñadaco, founded in 1774 by Frs. Vicente Mora and Francisco Galisteo. During the *congregación* of Indians, the population

was so severely affected by disease that the Indian communities of the area were decimated. The mission was rendered ultimately ineffective with only 88 baptisms and 274 burials reported between 1800 and 1819.[43]

Congregación was a colonial policy that the Crown instituted as early as the mid-sixteenth century across the New World. In the Californias it was put in place as early as the Jesuit period and consisted of moving the seminomadic Indian population from their rancherías to the missions or to a mission townsite for the purpose of facilitating their Christianization.[44] But the "resettlement of dispersed populations into spatially compact communities, had as its goal the transplanting to the northern frontier of colonial social, economic, and cultural patterns developed by the Spanish in central Mexico."[45] Creating these "large nucleated communities" also made it "easier for royal officials to collect tribute and organize labor drafts."[46] This practice led to the formal reorganization of indigenous communities and traditional lifeways and, in a broader sense, also began the reconfiguration of native socioeconomic spaces.

The strategy for enticing Indians to the missions was quite simple initially: the missionaries gave them food, typically, maize or some form of flour. Although *congregación* had proven productive in other areas of New Spain, and despite the productivity of some missions, the harshness of the climate and the terrain of Baja California prevented the missions from producing enough food to sustain a large concentrated population. Thus, the missionaries instituted a specific type of *congregación* system, one that functioned on a rotating basis. Indians were brought to missions to work, receive Christian instruction and food for a given time (sometimes as short as a week), and then made to return to their rancherías; this was repeated with different groups of Indians.

This practice, although exceedingly disruptive for the Indian communities, was also considered by some of the missionaries as very frustrating, as many of the Indians would purportedly regress to their "pre-Hispanic religious beliefs."[47] The most significant negative impact, however, was the exposure of the congregated indigenous populations to European diseases, particularly since these dreadful epidemics were not contained at the mission sites. As Indians were made to return to their seasonal villages, they spread the diseases among the dispersed communities, ultimately devastating the peninsular populations.

In the Baja California Dominican Frontier, the mission site or town characteristically comprised only one priest (in rare cases, two), one or two soldiers and their wives and children, a few Indian servants, and school-age children who attended the mission school.[48] The quarters for

those Indians from the nearby rancherías who were brought to the mission site for Christianization were usually located on or near the mission. Wherever possible, the mission also included a *monjerío,* which housed the unmarried females of the rancherías, whose work, and sleep, was strictly monitored by the missionaries.

The holding of women at the *monjeríos* was a huge source of contention between the missionaries and the various Indian communities. Indian men protested the unavailability or scarcity of marriage-age women, as the latter, along with children, were particularly vulnerable to epidemics and had a significantly higher mortality rate because they were congregated in the missions.[49] These disputes, which occurred as early as the Jesuit period, even led to major organized rebellion against the missionaries across the peninsula. The 1734 Pericú rebellion is an important case in point.

Mission San José del Cabo, near the Bay of San Bernabé, located at the southern tip of the peninsula, had been targeted as a way station for the Manila galleons, whose return voyage from the Philippines often took such a long time that the ships ran out of supplies and the crews were weakened by malnutrition and scurvy. The Pericú rancherías, located around Mission San José del Cabo, lost many women as a result of a protracted syphilis epidemic brought by galleon crews and mission soldiers. In addition, the Pericú leaders and shamans were aggrieved by the excessive punishment the missionaries visited on them because of their traditional polygamy and other perceived infractions of Christian practice.

In October of 1734, the Pericúes attacked Mission Santiago, killing Fr. Lorenzo Carranco, his Indian servant, and two mestizo soldiers who guarded the mission but also served as cowhands.[50] The rebellion quickly expanded to Mission San José del Cabo, where the Pericúes bludgeoned, mutilated, and burned the mission's friar, Nicolás Tamaral, and another priest and his two servants and took the wife of a mission soldier, his sister-in-law, and his two daughters. The priest at Mission Nuestra Señora del Pilar de La Paz, William Gordon (a Scotsman), had been warned and was able to escape.[51]

In January of 1735, a Manila galleon, the *San Cristóbal,* captained by Don Mateo de Zumalde, was returning from its voyage to the Orient. Zumalde was approaching San Bernabé Bay to resupply but intemperate weather forced him to "secure the vessel [in the nearby] Bay of San Lucas."[52] A landing party of thirteen sailors was killed and the ship was attacked, although the *San Cristóbal*'s guns were able to repel the Pericú attackers.

The Jesuits asked the viceroy to appoint Juan Bautista de Anza, the renowned Indian fighter, to command a military force to put an end to the uprisings. However, the authorities in New Spain delayed in responding to the rebellions, and it wasn't until 1736 that Viceroy Juan Antonio de Vizarrón y Eguiarreta, archbishop of México, sent a punitive expeditionary force commanded by the governor of Sinaloa-Sonora, Manuel Bernal de Huidobro.[53]

The governor's forces eventually subdued the rebellions, but it could be argued that some of the reprisals led to an interesting aftermath. As Huidobro's efforts quelled the insurrections, some Pericú and Guaycura warriors fled to remote outskirts, while women and children were captured and later expelled from the region (and in some cases from the peninsula). This action, and the continued impact of disease on surviving local women, exacerbated their scarcity so that, by the 1760s, Pericú men were formally requesting permission to travel to the New Spain mainland in search of marriage-age women. According to del Barco, the missionaries unsuccessfully petitioned for indigenous women from the Jesuit holdings in Sinaloa-Sonora. When these efforts fell through, Pericú Indians reportedly seized a colonial vessel, crossed the Gulf of California, and on their arrival in the mainland went in search of indigenous women.[54]

The colonial authorities were kept busy during this period, as peninsular confrontations continued. Other uprisings and attacks ensued, notably the Huichití uprising of 1740. The military campaign against this indigenous group was so brutal that it is said to have ultimately led to their extinction.[55]

The Kumeyaay (Kumiais) and Cucapás of the Dominican Frontier also rebelled against the missions because of the treatment of the women at the hands of the missionaries. One of the largest of these uprisings occurred in 1808, when neophytes of Missions San Pedro Mártir and Santa Catalina, as well as gentiles from surrounding rancherías, rose up in arms, exclaiming, "We don't want priests or missions, because the missionaries take our women and our daughters against their will, to baptize them by force, separating them from us and appropriating them so they can later give them to other men who do not love them."[56]

Despite directive number eight of their instructions, the Dominican missionaries were known for the severity with which they treated the indigenous people and how they responded to Indians who broke any rule at any level. Although it has been acknowledged that there was no love lost between Hubert H. Bancroft and the California missionaries, even

he made a distinction between the orders' practices: "The fact is the Dominicans were harder task-masters than either the Jesuits or the Franciscans, and administered severer punishments, and the natives were weary of excessive labor and the lash."[57] Others propose that there was little difference in the severity of treatment of the indigenous populations by the three missionary orders, as is evidenced by the Franciscans' reliance on corporal punishment in Alta California.

But the brutal treatment afforded the Indians by the missionaries and the combined effects of starvation and disease did produce a high mortality rate. By the late eighteenth century, the number of indigenous inhabitants had severely declined. It bears mentioning that, in the case of colonial Baja California, the indigenous population was dramatically affected by measles, smallpox, and syphilis introduced there by the Spaniards; in some cases, the various indigenous populations were decimated to the point of extinction (as was the case, for example, with the Ñakipas).[58] An estimated 83 percent of the Indian population of the peninsula perished as these diseases made their way north and, particularly, as a result of the smallpox outbreaks in 1742, 1744, and 1748.[59]

Scholarship continues to build on the proposition that severe exploitation, brutal treatment, and recurring epidemics were the primary factors in the collapse of the native populations of the Americas. One approach that merits review proposes that forced changes in social and economic organization, culture, and worldview contributed to the severe demographic collapse of the semisedentary agriculturalists and nomadic hunter-gatherers; this was largely responsible for the depopulation of the Baja California missions.

Robert H. Jackson argues that biological factors alone cannot explain the significant decline in Indian population in northwestern New Spain. Rather, the imposition of social control coupled with a systematic effort to destroy the surviving elements of Indian cultures, worldviews, and social organization caused extreme stresses that contributed to high death rates.[60] This process, as mentioned earlier, involved forcing the indigenous population to work in, and for, the mission project.

For Baja California's Indians, this process had devastating consequences, resulting in population collapse within a century of European entry. In addition, the period after the expulsion of the Jesuits precipitated greater disintegration of Indian communities as colonial expansion headed northward, bringing with it severe epidemics (measles in 1769, smallpox and other contagious diseases in 1771–1772, and smallpox in

1782). As Jackson states, "It is clear that the Indian population in Baja California declined by more than 90 percent in the century and a half following the establishment of the first permanent mission."[61]

The Dominicans and their Franciscan counterparts in Alta California encountered financial difficulties similar to those that their Jesuit brethren had experienced. They faced the onerous task of building missions with little financial support from the Crown. The previously mentioned geographic and climatic conditions of the Dominican Frontier and the seminomadic lifestyle of the indigenous groups that inhabited the region contributed to the difficulties these missionaries faced in successfully building a self-supporting economy. The idea of a self-supporting mission, of course, in reality meant a site controlled by the missionaries (and their military aides), which at least produced what was necessary for the maintenance of the mission and which was primarily obtained through the labor of the indigenous people.

On their arrival in 1773, the Dominicans had the significant task of maintaining the missions in the entire expanse of the peninsula amid periods of heavy drought in the south, eruptions of epidemics (to which some of the missionaries succumbed), and continued, if intermittent, acts of indigenous resistance.[62] But by the 1780s, conditions in Baja California were already in complete decline as the missionaries, soldiers, and settlers across the peninsula were still very much dependent on supplies from other provincial sources. The residents of the Mission at Loreto were already destitute: "When Captain Arrillaga in November, 1783, arrived at Loreto as lieutenant-governor, he found the soldiers wearing any kind of clothing they could obtain; and many families were unable to visit the church for want of absolutely necessary covering . . . Neither money or supplies had been received in 1781, very little in 1782, and none in 1783."[63]

The missionaries frequently moved some of the missions' and the rancherías' Indians to other parts of the peninsula in order to "equalize" population and resources. This relocation process—called *reducciones* of indigenous people to other mission sites—occurred as early as the Jesuit period. What is significant is that this was one way in which the missionaries began to take control of the Indians and, in Baja California, continued the process of reconfiguring their socioeconomic and cultural spaces.

Despite the impoverished conditions of some of the missions and their surrounding areas, the Dominicans insisted on meeting their "spiritual mission to save souls," and for this reason continued efforts to build more missions to connect Baja California with Alta California.[64]

Mission Santo Tomás de Aquino

Mission Santo Tomás de Aquino was founded by the Dominican order on April 24, 1791.[65] This was the last mission in the peninsula to be abandoned, in 1849. It was located in the northern portion of the Baja California peninsula, "at a place called San Solano, between San Vicente Ferrer and San Miguel," approximately thirty miles south of the present-day port city of Ensenada, Baja California.[66] The mission was moved from its original site in June of 1794. Its final destination was "somewhat higher up the *Cañada* of San Solano," where there was a source of water sufficient to sustain a fruit orchard, which included figs, olives and grapes.[67] There were approximately one hundred olive trees, more than two thousand vinestocks, and three or four peach trees. The mission also cultivated wheat, maize, barley, beans, and vegetables.[68] This productive capacity, of course, required a constant source of Indian labor.

The mission's neophyte population was recorded at 96 individuals in 1791; by 1800, it was reportedly up to 262. Keeping in mind that this population fluctuated, given the characteristics of Baja California's *congregación* system, and as the epidemics ran their course through the Dominican Frontier, the missionaries often had to resort to capturing Indians from areas ever more distant from the missions.

Nevertheless, Indian laborers were required to handle the growing productive capacity of the mission and, thus, needed training in European agricultural methods and techniques as well as in the maintenance and care of domesticated animals. The productive activities at the mission were increasing at the turn of the century. For example, the mission had 350 head of cattle in 1791. By 1800, the herd amounted to 1,070 head. The tally of sheep and goats was 650, which had increased to 2,400 by 1800.[69] An estimated 200 acres were irrigated and farmed, principally to grow corn and wheat, but also included some sugarcane in the valley below the mission.

The mission comprised a "church, a spinning room, the priest's room, a store room, and a workshop room." Some of the roofs of these structures were "described as flat, with rafters covered with earth over brush and straw."[70] Because of the remoteness of the site, however, construction of buildings that required lumber took a long time, because the materials had to travel long distances. The church building was finally completed in 1800, measuring eighty-five feet long and eighteen feet wide. Two storerooms and quarters for young girls and unmarried women were built

a year later. Indians considered capable of acquiring certain skills were singled out to learn the use of tools for carpentry and other building construction. Wherever necessary, women were taught to weave, cook, or do laundry, or were trained in any other skills necessary for the maintenance of the mission.

The creation of segregated sleeping quarters in the missions was one of the missionaries' critical attempts at restructuring and gendering social space. Indian children were taken from their parents at an early age, and the females were made to sleep in the *monjerío*s and the males in the men's sleeping quarters. This practice was rooted in the Spanish patriarchal normative concepts of honor and chastity, concepts that agreed with Catholic beliefs and norms.[71] Historians have also by now clearly established that indigenous children were taken from their parents in a concerted effort to sever the processes whereby they would learn their traditional beliefs and way of life.[72]

Notwithstanding the missionaries' efforts to colonize the Indians of the Dominican Frontier (and the gains made at certain missions such as Mission Santo Tomás), by the missionaries' own accounts, many of the missions were in dire straits by the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries. Fr. Luis Sales wrote to the Dominican president in 1783 that "California, from wherever you look, be it in general, or in particular, manifests nothing other than hunger, nakedness, misery, and little chance of rising out of this unhappy state."[73] In his report regarding the causes for the diminution of the indigenous population, Fr. Domingo Barreda wrote in 1809, "Despite the efforts that, for the most part, the missionary fathers have made through their zealous and continued endeavors to attract the Indians to the sacred society of the Catholic Church . . . to inspire in them love and loyalty toward our sovereign, to put them on track to live in society, [and] shape them from being wild men to being cultured men . . . far from accomplishing these goals . . . on the contrary [these settlements] have been considerably diminished."[74]

But the missionization strategies of social and spatial reorganization were continued and also imposed on the indigenous populations of Alta California as the mission system moved northward with the efforts of the Franciscan Order. The next chapter examines the international conditions and resulting policies that led to expansion into the new California and the effects of missionization on the Indians of the Californias as the Franciscans engaged in the incipient colonial project of pacification and acculturation of the Alta California indigenous populations.

CHAPTER 3

"[For Its] Very Large and Fine Harbor": The Franciscans of the College of San Fernando in Alta California

The Spanish Crown's principal motives for the early exploration of Baja California were largely to chart and map the coastline and to find gold and pearls.[1] For the missionaries, the primary, if not sole, purported goal was to Christianize the indigenous peoples. The missionization of the Californias brought these efforts together.

But the settlement of Alta California was meant to serve a strategic role, as the impetus for furthering exploration and, ultimately, colonization of the region was to secure Pacific ports, facilitate the quickest route to the East, and settle the region in order to lay legitimate claim to those lands. In theory, this claim would prevent other European incursion into the region and, thus, prevent competition in, if not foreign monopoly of, trade with the Orient.

European trade with the Far East dates to the Middle Ages and Marco Polo's journey to the court of Kublai Khan in 1271. Inland travel to the Orient continued intermittently until the overthrow of the Ottoman Turks and the defeat of the Mongols by the first Ming dynasty in the fourteenth century, which interrupted the land passage from Europe to the Far East. These events compelled Europeans to search for alternate routes that would expedite travel to the Far East. By the latter part of the fifteenth century, Europeans had advanced their technology and shipbuilding enough to enable long-distance oceanic travel. Leading this transoceanic movement were Portugal and Spain.[2]

The Portuguese embarked on a push of discovery along the Atlantic coast of Africa, mapping the coastline along the way. In 1497, with the expedition of Vasco da Gama, they managed to navigate around the southern tip of Africa, the Cape of Good Hope, sail into the Indian Ocean,

and land at the port of Calicut, in India. Later, they reached the island of Macao, in the China Sea. These accomplishments secured Portugal's control of the very profitable eastern spice trade.[3]

While the Portuguese were actively engaged in trade with the East via the Indian Ocean, the Genovese explorer Christopher Columbus proposed the idea to the Spanish Crown that Asia could be reached by sailing in a westward direction, across the Atlantic. With the approval and funding of the Catholic monarchs, Fernando of Aragon and Isabel of Castille, Columbus embarked on his famous journey of 1492, which resulted in the inadvertent "discovery" of the Americas.

As the Portuguese increased their wealth through their virtual monopoly of the growing spice trade, they, along with other seafaring nations, engaged in the search for the fastest, most efficient route to the Indies. In fact, some of these nations were searching for the mythical Northwest Passage, which reportedly was a waterway in the northern part of the Americas that connected "el mar del norte" and "el mar del sur," that is, the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, respectively. Many of the exploratory expeditions that took place during the early part of the sixteenth century had the goal of discovering the mythical strait.

The sixteenth century, thus, is characterized by much exploration and discovery, as Spain and the English and Dutch were very much involved in the search for the swiftest route to the East. One such journey of note was the 1519 voyage of the Portuguese navigator Ferdinand Magellan (Fernão da Magalhães), who, in the service of the Spanish Crown, sailed south on the Atlantic around the southern tip of the American continent, Cape Horn, and continued to the "east" across the Pacific Ocean. During this journey, among the new lands Magellan noted was a chain of islands he named the Archipelago of St. Lazarus, as the discovery of the islands took place on the Feast of St. Lazarus. In 1542, Capt. Ruy López de Villalobos (who accompanied Magellan on an earlier expedition) renamed them the Philippine Islands, in honor of Prince Felipe of Spain.[4] The islands later became a significant base for Spain's eventual inclusion in the Orient trade.

During the third decade of the sixteenth century, Don Antonio de Mendoza (1535–1550) headed the Viceroyalty of New Spain. The great mineral discoveries of north-central New Spain in the first couple of decades after conquest encouraged the leaders of the colony to seek licenses to explore the unknown northern frontier. Mendoza was keenly interested in this search and actively encouraged efforts to explore the northern

boundaries of the Viceroyalty, going as far as cofinancing some of them, including the famous expedition of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado in 1540.[5]

The viceroy also eagerly promoted the exploration of the Pacific coast by veteran sailor Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo. Like Cabrillo, Sebastián Vizcaíno, selected to further explore the California coast in 1607, never saw the reported San Francisco Bay. In a letter to King Felipe III, however, Vizcaíno informed him of the discovery of a port he named Monterey, which was "all that one could hope for . . . sheltered from all winds [where] there are many pine trees that could be used for ship masts of any size desired . . . with many rabbits, hares, partridges [and] populated by people . . . meek, gentle, quiet and quite amenable to conversion to Catholicism and to become subjects of Your Majesty . . . They are very knowledgeable about silver and gold and said that these metals can be found in the interior."[6]

In one fell swoop, Vizcaíno pointed to the political, economic, and religious interests that might compel the king to support further exploration. But the search for such a port fueled exploration only as international conditions obliged Spain to secure the Pacific coast of upper California.

These costly, somewhat unsuccessful ventures, however, made for very cautious advances on the part of New Spain's future viceroys.[7] Although it took nearly seven decades for Spain to embark on the colonization of Alta California, the Spanish Crown continued to recognize the imperative of finding large, secure, and viable harbors for the Manila galleons if Spain was to become competitive in the Far East trade, consolidate its presence in the Orient, and, consequently, be able to legitimately claim the Philippines. Typically, it took approximately three months to reach the Far East from the Pacific coast of New Spain. However, the return trip was much longer and more perilous, fraught as it was with uneven currents and tempestuous weather. The lengthy journey would often render ships devoid of supplies, and the crews would suffer from hunger, thirst, and scurvy.

Intermittent at best, even when feasible, the Manila trade took an exceedingly long time to reach Spain. Goods had to travel from the Philippines to the Bay of Acapulco on the southwestern coast of New Spain, across the mainland by road to the Port of Veracruz on the Gulf of Mexico, and from there out through the Caribbean and the Atlantic Ocean to the Port of Cádiz on the Iberian Peninsula. The goods transported—tea, spices, ivory, gems, Chinese silks—however, were considered valuable enough to seek out that part of the route that could potentially be made faster: the ocean voyage in the Pacific.

It took several decades for Spain to identify the swifter currents. But

Andrés de Urdaneta, a sailor-turned-Augustinian friar, who had been a seaman on an eastern voyage subsequent to Magellan's Philippines discovery, proposed a more northern approach that could expedite the galleons' return journey. In 1564, under the captaincy of Miguel López de Legazpi y Gurruchátegui, Urdaneta charted a return course that followed the northern Japan Current, which reached the North American continent flowing down the coast of California. This route was later the standard course followed by the merchant vessels on their return to New Spain. Nevertheless, the Manila galleons' return trip was still typically a six-to-nine-month voyage.[8] This condition thus necessitated the identification of safe harbors for relief of crews and resupply of ships. In addition, maritime travel in the Pacific Ocean had become extremely hazardous, as English privateers were on the offensive, attacking Manila galleons with impunity.[9]

English profiteers such as Francis Drake and Thomas Cavendish had faster, more maneuverable ships. Drake sailed past the Strait of Magellan, plundering the western coast of South America. In 1579, he made an emergency landing on the coast of California to make repairs to his ship, the *Golden Hind*. Staying for over a month, he claimed the land for Queen Elizabeth and named it Nova Albion.[10]

Only a few years later, in 1587, Thomas Cavendish, at the head of two smaller and swifter vessels, the *Desire* and the *Content,* attacked a seven hundred–ton galleon, the *Santa Ana,* full of luxury goods worth hundreds of thousands of pesos. The battle lasted six hours, but Cavendish and his men succeeded in boarding the *Santa Ana,* seized the goods, put the Spanish crew ashore, and hanged Father Juan de Almendrales from the mainmast of the *Desire*.[11]

The Spanish Crown was always interested in expansion preferably at a reduced cost to the Royal Treasury. But certainly, given the geopolitical significance of the upper California coast and the Jesuits' expressed desire to enter the peninsula of Baja California to Christianize the indigenous population, the Crown acceded to the order's request as it envisioned the Society of Jesus' *entrada* as the first step in the eventual colonization of upper California.

The critical expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, however, led the Viceroyalty to consider a different scheme for the continued colonization of the Californias. Thus, the Franciscan Order was selected to engage in the sustained pacification of the inhabitants, an essential task if colonization was to succeed in that frontier.

Viceroy Carlos Francisco de Croix, Marqués de Croix, would ultimately

embrace Visitador José de Gálvez' recommendations for colonial expansion, stemming from de Gálvez' extensive inspection of colonial organization and administration of the frontiers of New Spain.[12] De Gálvez' overall plan proposed the creation of a civil and administrative structure in charge of the interior provinces (*comandancia general*) that included Sinaloa, Sonora, Chihuahua, and the Californias, which would ostensibly make for more efficient government of these frontier areas. His inspection expedition (1765–1771) took him to the Baja California peninsula from July of 1768 to May of the following year. He was considered a special appointee of the Crown who actually had "extraordinary powers overlapping and sometimes transcending those of the Viceroy."[13] De Gálvez must have deemed the expansion to and settlement of the California coast an admirable accomplishment.[14]

Rumors abounded of Russian interest in the shorelines and land of the upper reaches of the Californias. In fact, the Russians had crossed Siberia and engaged in trade with the Chinese in the seventeenth century. That was followed, in the early part of the eighteenth century, with sea voyages that traversed the Bering Strait and sailed down the coast of North America. The Russians were involved in the sea otter fur trade in the Aleutian Islands and quickly established hunting and trade posts in other islands along the Alaska coast. What may have alarmed the Spanish king was a report by the ambassador of Spain to the Court of Saint Petersburg that noted a Russian landing off the northern coast of Spanish California as early as 1741. In the eighteenth century, Marcos Burriel described the events as follows: "The Russians' or Muscovites' . . . vast empire extends to the outer lands of Asia . . . and crosses the South Sea (that is to say, the Pacific) until it reaches various points of our America. In one of their navigations, made in 1741, the Russians set foot . . . on a site only twelve degrees from Cabo Blanco, the last currently known landmark of our California. What keeps the Russians from navigating to the very same Cabo Blanco, or to Cabo San Lucas?"[15] De Gálvez was determined to prevent that eventuality.

In May of 1768, at the port of San Blas, de Gálvez convened a meeting consisting of Don Miguel Constansó, an engineer; Don Manuel Ribero Cordero, commander of the navy and harbor of San Blas; a professor of mathematics experienced in the navigation of the Pacific and the Philippine Islands, Don Antonio Fabeau de Quesada; and Don Vicente Vila, a pilot of the Royal Armada to discuss and design the expedition to the new California. They plotted "occupancy with a Presidio at *Puerto de Monterey* . . . adopt[ing] those measures . . . deem[ed] most expedient in order to

explore by land and by sea so important a harbor . . . it was also agreed that it would be most important to undertake an entry or search by land . . . from the missions to the north of California, so that both expeditions might unite at the same harbor of Monterey . . . and [effect] settlement at that place which is truly the most advantageous for protecting the entire west coast of California . . . against any attempts by the Russians or any northern nation."[16]

After his arrival in Baja California, de Gálvez (along with Fray Junípero Serra, the father president of the Franciscan missionaries in Baja California), started planning the expedition with the goal of establishing a chain of missions to northern points in Alta California, with "San Diego as an anchor in the south [and] Monterey . . . as the principal center."[17] This chain was to connect both Californias and secure the Pacific coast for Spain. But Serra was visiting the northern missions of the peninsula when de Gálvez arrived in Baja California in July of 1768. De Gálvez quickly summoned him to return: "The King has need of you. Come at once. We are going to found new missions."[18] At the port of La Paz, de Gálvez and Serra resolved to begin with three missions in Alta California, "one in the port of San Diego, another at Monterey, named San Carlos, and the last at San Buenaventura, between the two ports."[19]

Serra had begun his missionary work in New Spain in 1749.[20] He labored in the Sierra Gorda, and then in 1750, along with his pupil Father Francisco Palóu, was sent to the San Saba region of Texas to engage in very hazardous pacification work among the Apache.

All of 5′2″ tall, Serra was still a fiery, determined man who was given to scourging himself, bruising his breast with stones, and burning his skin with live coals. He seemed eager to find a martyr's end and dutifully obeyed when he was hastily called (in 1767) to lead the mission effort in Baja California.

The Sacred Expedition of 1769 included two contingencies, one by land, the other by sea. The sea contingent left Baja California first and involved three ships, the flagship *San Carlos,* the *San Antonio,* and the *Señor San José*. The *San Carlos,* captained by Vicente Vila, left from La Paz, Baja California, on January 9. The crew consisted of twenty-three sailors, Miguel Costansó as cosmographer, Pedro Prat as medical doctor, Lt. Pedro Fages and his company of twenty-four Catalan volunteers, four cooks, two smiths, and Franciscan missionary Fr. Fernando Parrón.

The *San Antonio* followed a month later, on February 15, with Juan Pérez as its captain, a crew of twenty-eight sailors, and two Franciscan missionaries.[21] Both ships sailed past San Diego Bay because of bad

weather (and inaccurate charting by previous expeditions), making for a lengthier journey that took the former 110 days to arrive and the latter 54. As a result, the *San Carlos,* which left first, actually landed at San Diego about 20 days after the *San Antonio.* The supply ship, *San José,* was never seen again and is thought to have been lost at sea.

Both ships were in distress because of scurvy and dysentery as a result of the unexpected delay in reaching San Diego Bay. The *San Carlos* lost most of its crew and some soldiers, while the *San Antonio*'s crew was, for the most part, also very sick on arrival. Many of the Indian workers brought from the peninsula and the interior had also died or had deserted, as, reportedly, the sailors and soldiers had refused to share food with them.[22]

The overland expedition was organized into two parties. Some members of this expedition ultimately traveled almost one thousand miles, approximately six hundred from Loreto to San Diego and another four hundred to Monterey. The first company to leave set out on March 24, 1769, from Velicatá and was headed by Capt. Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, commander of the garrison at Loreto, and accompanied by Franciscan friars Juan Crespí and Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, twenty-five veteran leather-jacketed presidial soldiers,[23] forty-two Christianized Indians, three muleteers, and forty Baja California Indians.

The contribution of Baja California's missions to the founding and development of the colonial project in Nueva (or Alta) California should not be overlooked, as it was significant in terms of both material and human investment. Following de Gálvez' instructions, Rivera gathered supplies from the missions across the peninsula. During this period, some of the missions were almost stripped bare of their livestock and supplies. For example, only "a few old mules were left behind at Guadalupe . . . Mission del Rosario was left with no presidial guards or servants.[24]

The fifty-two-day journey went at a relatively slow pace, as they were advancing through unknown territory and cutting the trail north that would be followed by the second overland expedition. The second company, headed by Baja California's governor, Gaspar de Portolá, and Fr. Junípero Serra, left on May 21, included ten soldiers, priests, and Christianized Indians, and arrived at San Diego on July 1, 1769. On seeing the poor condition of the ships' crews and the soldiers, Portolá sent the *San Antonio* back to San Blas to gather supplies.

While Serra and some of the soldiers and workmen stayed to continue building the mission in San Diego, Portolá, Rivera y Moncada, Father Crespí, Lt. Pedro Fages, Sgt. José Francisco de Ortega (who served as

scout), approximately seventy soldiers, and a supply train of mules set out to reach the "fine harbor" of Monterey.[25] Along the way, the party saw plenty of pasture, drinkable water, and numerous friendly Indians. It also experienced several earthquakes and waded many arroyos and a moderate-size river (the Los Ángeles), and laboriously crossed the rugged Sierra de Santa Lucía. This group of explorers was the first group of Europeans to set sight on the giant California coastal hill redwoods, which they named *palo colorado.* Somewhat discouraged, however, they did not locate Monterey Bay.

After many weeks of traveling, with provisions almost gone, a few men were sent to scout and hunt for game. As they moved up the side of a hill, they reached a clearing from which they saw a great harbor.[26] Crespí wrote in his expedition diary: "About eight o'clock at night, the scouts who had been sent out came back from their exploring, firing off their guns as they arrived; and on reaching camp reported that they had come upon a great estuary or very broad arm of the sea."[27] Ironically, it was a land expedition that finally discovered the expansive San Francisco Bay.

It is clear that the Franciscan missionaries always held that their primary (or only) role was the Christianization of the indigenous populations of the frontier. And, certainly, acculturation (a process begun at the missions) and, thus, pacification of the Indians was recognized as the first thrust of the colonial project. The Franciscans, however, were also keenly aware that the Crown was primarily interested in the discovery of safe harbors and almost certainly knew that the support of missionization in this frontier area would be largely dependent on that contingency. Father Crespí excitedly proclaimed after seeing the impressive San Francisco Bay that, "in a word, it was a very large and fine harbor, such that not only all the navy of our most Catholic Majesty but those of all Europe could take shelter in it."[28]

On his arrival at Monterey on May 31, 1770, Serra began the task of founding the mission and presidio of San Carlos Borromeo de Carmelo. Portolá, having successfully fulfilled his commission, returned to Mexico, while Serra and the others stayed and were kept busy. What they needed now, beyond the immediate need of more supplies, was more Franciscans to transform the inhabitants of the region into loyal subjects of the crown. As Serra would have it, when the *San Antonio* "was back at Monterey in May 1771 on board were ten friars to make possible the five missions which Gálvez [had envisioned]."[29]

Indigenous Life in Alta California

Most of the missionaries and soldiers who traveled with the Sacred Expedition had experienced Indian contact in other parts of New Spain's frontier. Few, however, could have expected the diversity of peoples, terrain, and climate that they found across the wide expanse of Alta California. Pre-European contact population estimates vary, but most calculate it at anywhere from 250,000 to 300,000.[30]

Broadly defined, the coastal people included the Chumash, Tongva, Salinan, Esselen, (Costanoan) Ohlone, and Coast Miwok. Indians of the valleys, foothills, and mountains included the Northern and Southern Valley Yokuts, the Lake Miwok, Shasta, and Wappo, among others. Some of the south-central and southern peoples included the Tubatulabal, Kawaisu, Kitanemuk, Serrano, Cahuilla, and Kumeyaay peoples.[31] These peoples' social organization and customs were as different as the area that they lived in. Their dress and lifeways often differed as a direct result of their relationship with their environment. Alta California's indigenous sociocultural diversity coincided with the diverse climate and topography of the region. (For the location of tribal areas of California, see Figure 3).

California has a coastline of 1,264 miles and a surface of 158,693 square miles. It has virtually every climatic, geologic, and vegetation combination available in coastal, mountain, and desert areas. It includes very wet areas, as in the northwestern corner of the region, where the annual rainfall is approximately 110 inches, and some of the coldest weather, as in the Sierra Nevada, which includes the second-highest peak in the United States outside of Alaska (Mount Whitney, 14,496 feet). It also consists of some of the most fertile areas, as in the Central Valley, into which the mountain range rain and melted snow flow. California also has dry zones that get less than 15 inches of annual rainfall, such as in San Diego, the southwesternmost corner of the region, and poor sandy soil in the desert areas, which include the hottest temperatures and the lowest point in the United States (Bad Water in Death Valley, 282 feet below sea level).[32]

The majority of the indigenous peoples in the region were hunters, gatherers, and fishermen. The origin of the inhabitants of Alta California is still a matter of debate. Although most studies propose the traditional Bering Strait migration, some studies, through carbon bone dating, locate their appearance at approximately seventeen thousand years ago. More recent studies of flint chips found in the southern section of the region

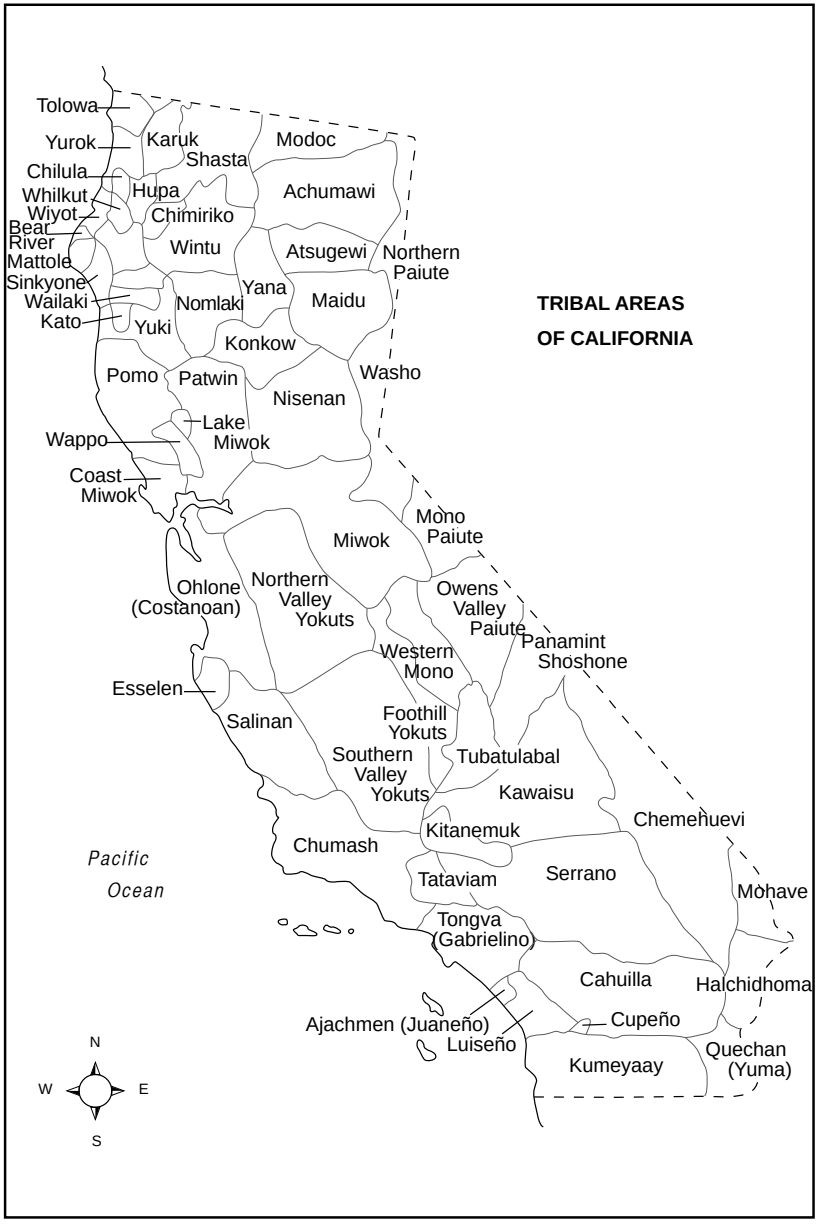

Figure 3. Tribal Areas of Alta California. First appeared in *Lands of Promise and Despair, Chronicles of Early California, 1535-1846,* Edited by Rose Marie Beebe and Robert Senkewicz. Copyright 2001. Reprinted with the permission of Heyday Books.

suggest the possibility that indigenous life predated the Bering Strait migration.

Interestingly, anthropologists claim that there are many links between Asian peoples and California's Indians. For example, more than ten thousand words and grammatical forms used by California's Indians resemble linguistic forms used in eastern Russia. At the time of the Spanish contact, there were approximately twenty-two linguistic families with 135 distinct dialects in the region.

The housing styles and architecture of the groups contacted by the missionaries varied according to the local climate and available resources. Mostly, people constructed simple dwellings using materials from their immediate environment. For example, the Klamath River peoples sometimes built large shelters from bark and redwood planks, while the Chumash built houses from poles drawn together in a semicircle and tied at the top with reeds. Along the Santa Barbara coastline, dwellings were often thatched with grass, wet foliage, or wet earth.

Since the missions were, for the most part, constructed near the coastal areas, or on mesas and foothills near the western section of the region, the missionaries came in more frequent contact with Indians of those areas. As they implemented the *congregación* system, however, they (or their presidial guards) traveled farther to forcibly recruit workers for the mission project.[33] Thus, the missionaries also came in contact with indigenous groups that resided in the valleys and more desertic areas of the region.

Most indigenous people had bows and arrows and flint-tipped lances for hunting animals. They built pits and traps to catch larger dangerous animals. Indians were even known to run deer down in human relays until the animals fell from exhaustion.

While men did most of the fishing and hunting, women also hunted small animals, hauled water and firewood, prepared food, and sometimes participated in the construction of dwellings. They also gathered cactus fruit, acorns, and wild berries. Coastal peoples included seafood and shellfish in their diets.

Most of the indigenous groups used a variety of utensils for cooking, including horn knives, flat spoons for stirring acorn gruel, and mortars to grind acorns and other seeds. They used looped sticks to cook meat in baskets lined with red-hot stones and nets to fish or carry small objects. Some groups made wooden trays and bowls for hauling, preparing, or storing food. Coastal people were very skilled at building a variety of canoes, typically by chopping or burning out large tree trunks, but they also made plank canoes and reed rafts.

Men and women wore rabbit and deerskin cloaks and made blankets from the same materials. They used fur, including from otters and wildcats, for cold weather. Some women were also known to wear skirts made of tule grass or aprons from animal skin. Many of the coastal people, who were among the first the missionaries saw, painted their faces and bodies in intricate designs, while others braided decorative shells in their hair.

These groups had distinct ceremonies that included dancing and singing for a variety of life events, such as births, boys' and girls' puberty rites, mourning, to welcome visitors, war, or peace. Dancing was an important part of structured ceremonies. The Yurok, for example, held a first-salmon dance at the mouth of the Klamath River, and others celebrated acorn-harvest time.[34]

Some peoples, like those in northwestern California, had social units that were governed by lineage and had very precise social patterns. For the most part, the basic political unit was the village community settlement, which the Spanish missionaries called rancherías. These communities were close knit confederations of several hundred persons grouped in smaller clans. And although most of these people were hunter/gatherers, they were not generally nomadic. The clans' boundaries were usually well defined.

Early missionary reports indicate that the various indigenous groups had no fully systematic method for punishing social infractions, although people were expected to atone for injuring others. Often, the guilty party made amends by paying the aggrieved member with animal hides, shells, or other valued items.

Franciscan Missionization

Mission San Gabriel Arcángel was the fourth mission to be founded in Alta California, on September 8, 1771, and was located approximately nine miles east of what is now downtown Los Angeles, near the Río de Nombre de Jesús de los Temblores.[35] It became the most successful mission in Alta California and was called the "Queen of the Missions."

The founding missionaries, Frs. Benito Gambón and Ángel Somera, experienced difficulties early on with the conversion of the Indians to Christianity because of the sexual violence the military had wrought on the indigenous communities. With good reason, the Indians were extremely suspicious of all incoming missionaries and soldiers. To allay such fears, Fr. Fermín Lasuén moved the mission in 1775 from its original site

to the Carmel River, five miles away from the presidio, to better separate the garrison from the Indians. The behavior of the soldiers toward the indigenous population was from the outset a source of major concern for the missionaries of San Gabriel. (See Table 2 for a list of Alta California's missions.)

The mission's friars vehemently and constantly complained about the aggressive and immoral behavior of the soldiers. Some of the soldiers accosted "even the [male] children (*muchachos*) who came to the mission [and] were not safe from their baseness,"[36] reported Father Serra. The missionaries claimed that the soldiers' lascivious behavior interfered with their ability to accomplish their evangelical work. The work of conversion was arduous, and it was almost impossible to win over the Indians to Christian values when the soldiers behaved in lewd and aggressive ways.[37] The relocation of the mission was but one attempt by the missionaries to curtail the exploitation of the Indians by the soldiers.

The mission also experienced initial difficulties due to a period of severe drought and crop failure. Although the de Anza expedition to California in 1774 found the mission in extreme poverty and the missionaries and soldiers subsisting on only minimal food, by the second expedition, in 1776, the mission had milk, cheese, butter, a small flock of sheep, hogs, chickens, corn, beans, and wheat.[38] These items provided sustenance for the missionaries, neophytes, and the presidial soldiers.

Fr. Antonio Crusado, who arrived at Mission San Gabriel in 1772, and Fr. Miguel Sánchez, who came in 1775, had a long-term and significant impact. They endeavored to transform the indigenous population brought to the mission from hunter/gatherers to sedentary laborers, that is, to a much more readily exploitable work force. They began the task by imposing colonial forms of agricultural production that had been successful in central Mexico during earlier periods of colonization.

Two other men, Frs. José Zalvidea (1806–1827) and José Bernardo Sánchez (1821–1833), also figured significantly in the subsequent expansion and success of the mission's productive forces. Father Sánchez entered the College of San Fernando in 1803, and a year later was sent to work at the missions. His first assignment was to officiate at Mission San Diego (1804–1820), then briefly at Mission Purísima Concepción, and subsequently at Mission San Gabriel in 1821. This appointment was a fortuitous one for Father Sánchez, as the success of the mission gave him broader, albeit unwanted, visibility, such that he was eventually appointed president of the California missions (1827–1830). He died in 1833 at approximately sixty-six years of age.[39]

Table 2. Franciscan Missions of Alta California, 1769–1834

Mission	Year Founded	Founder
San Diego de Alcalá[1]	1769	Fr. Junípero Serra, OFM
San Carlos Borromeo de Carmelo[2]	1770	Fr. Junípero Serra, OFM
San Antonio de Padua[3]	1771	Fr. Junípero Serra, OFM
San Gabriel Arcángel[4]	1771	Fr. Pedro Cambón, OFM, and Fr. Ángel Somera, OFM
San Luis Obispo de Tolosa	1772	Fr. Junípero Serra, OFM
San Francisco de Asís[5]	1776	Fr. Francisco Palóu, OFM
San Juan Capistrano	1776	Fr. Junípero Serra, OFM
Santa Clara de Asís	1777	Fr. Junípero Serra, OFM
San Buenaventura	1782	Fr. Junípero Serra, OFM
Santa Bárbara Virgen y Mártir	1786	Fr. Fermín Lasuén, OFM
La Purísima Concepción de Santa María	1787	Fr. Fermín Lasuén, OFM
Santa Cruz	1791	Fr. Fermín Lasuén, OFM
Nuestra Señora de la Soledad	1791	Fr. Fermín Lasuén, OFM
San José de Guadalupe	1797	Fr. Fermín Lasuén, OFM
San Juan Bautista	1797	Fr. Fermín Lasuén, OFM
San Miguel Arcángel	1797	Fr. Fermín Lasuén, OFM
San Fernando Rey de España	1797	Fr. Fermín Lasuén, OFM
San Luis Rey de Francia	1798	Fr. Fermín Lasuén, OFM
Santa Inés Virgen y Mártir	1804	Fr. Estevan Tapis, OFM
San Rafael Arcángel[6]	1817	Fr. Vicente de Sarría, OFM
San Francisco Solano	1823	Fr. José Altimira, OFM

Notes:
[1] Moved from Presidio Hill to a few miles inland; burned during Indian attack 1775 and rebuilt in 1780
[2] Also known as Mission El Carmelo; moved from presidio of Monterey to Carmel in 1771
[3] Moved to present site in 1773
[4] Moved to present site in 1775, under direction of Fr. Fermín Lasuén
[5] Also known as Mission Dolores
[6] A *hospital asistencia* (a sub-mission that served the infirm Indian population) at Mission Dolores; given full mission status in 1823

The mission was located in a fertile valley with plentiful timber, water, and fine pasturage. Within a few years of its establishment, it began to prosper, primarily because of the extraction of indigenous labor. Compared to the buildings that were typical of the less-successful missions, where the churches were simple and had thatched roofs or were made of some combination of adobe and other available materials, the new church at San Gabriel (begun in 1779 and completed in 1805) was made of stone and concrete up to the windows, and brick from there up, with a vaulted roof.[40]

By 1783, the mission was producing 1,770 fanegas of wheat, 1,500 fanegas of corn, 150 fanegas of beans, and 23 fanegas of garbanzos. The mission inventory included 900 head of cattle, 1,800 sheep, 1,000 goats, 140 pigs, 140 horses, and 36 mules.[41] Through the extensive use of Indian labor, the mission provided most of the food the missionaries, neophytes, and soldiers consumed. By the 1780s, San Gabriel had also become a storehouse for supplies and foodstuff for incoming settlers and expeditions of various sorts. This was underscored in Governor Fages' report (during his second appointment to the Californias) in 1787: "[The] Mission Fathers . . . have been able to provide abundantly for the maintenance of the Indians; have succored the greatest needs which have been experienced in the territory, their succor reaching even as far as Lower California; have facilitated the expeditions and very costly enterprises which would have been almost impracticable without its supplies. It is to a great extent true that it has sustained the conquest (of California)."[42]

Interestingly, Fages naturally attributes the productive success of the mission and its ability to provide for so many in Alta California to the "Mission Fathers." The project to make the Indians and their work invisible is constant throughout colonial accounts of mission production. Ironically, Fages was in recurring conflict with the Franciscans and in a heated feud with Father Serra early in 1770. Fages considered the California colonial project, first, a military project, and second, a religious endeavor. As commander of Alta California (1770–1774), he frequently argued with Serra over the location of missions and about the purported lack of discipline among the soldiers. At one point, Fages refused to allocate funding for the establishment of more missions until he had the soldiers and equipment to guard them.[43]

Serra continually objected to the behavior of Fages' presidial soldiers, who were frequently accused of gambling, drinking, and abusing indigenous women. The military and religious power struggle extended to dis-

putes about allocation of supplies from the interior of New Spain, access to the region's best plots of land, and control over the Indians, particularly over their labor.[44] Although the missionaries depended on the military for protection from Indian attacks, to impose control over the missions' neophytes, to capture Indians who ran away from the missions, or to forcibly recruit indigenous labor, Serra considered the military as only supporting the mission effort.

So sure was Serra of the preeminence of the missionaries' role that in the spring of 1773 he traveled to Mexico City to file a formal complaint against Pedro Fages directly with Viceroy Antonio de María Bucareli y Ursúa (1771–1779). Serra prepared a thirty-two-point legal brief outlining his problems with Fages, including, "When a ship puts into port, [Fages] takes possession of the entire cargo, divides it up according to his own intentions, and steals for his own benefit part of what belongs to the missions."[45] Bucareli granted most of Serra's requests, including demoting Fages. The viceroy appointed Fernando de Rivera y Moncada as his replacement.[46]

Despite Fages' early (and later) clashes with the missionaries, Mission San Gabriel continued to prosper economically. By the 1820s, it had become the religious and cultural center for the inhabitants of the cattle and farming ranches in the vast surrounding area. Even early on, the mission's productive activity was highly promising. But this productivity required an ever-increasing reliance on Indian labor. Between 1792 and 1794, there were 1,263 neophytes attached to the mission.

Since resupply from San Blas was at best sporadic and inconsistent, many of the presidios relied heavily on supplies from Mission San Gabriel. According to Hubert Howe Bancroft's *History of California,* in 1797 the presidio in Santa Barbara owed its sister mission at San Gabriel $3,311 for supplies; in 1798, the presidio at San Diego owed San Gabriel $2,597 for supplies.[47]

Douglas Monroy proposes that Mission San Gabriel "emerged as the largest producer in California," diversifying its production and becoming self-sufficient:

> The mission's *obraje* [or workshop] had looms, forges, and facilities for carpentry and the production of bricks, wheels, carts, ploughs, yokes, tiles, soap, candles, earthenware, adobes, shoes, and belts . . . The statistics were striking . . . [B]etween 1783 and 1790 the number of mission horses, mules and cattle increased from 4,900 to 22,000 while sheep,

> goats, and swine increased from 7,000 to 26,000. Between 1790 and 1800 these numbers trebled . . . By 1821 there were 149,730 head of cattle, 19,830 horses, and 2,011 mules . . . [By] 1834 the Queen of the Missions had 163,578 vines, [and] 2,333 fruit trees.[48]

Heightened productivity at Mission San Gabriel led to an expansion of the mission's physical plant. The mission became the site of extensive construction undertaken by neophyte Indian labor crews, which had to be fed, clothed, and housed. In 1804, ten rooms were "constructed to serve for granary, weaving room, carpenter shop, pantry, storeroom, and dwelling for friars . . . all were roofed with pine timbers and covered with tiles."[49]

The following year, another nine rooms were built to serve as granaries and for other purposes.[50] Two years later, Christianized Indians built thirty houses of adobe. These structures were roofed with tile, and the doors and windows were made of pinewood. Several large granaries were subsequently constructed and "another building rose . . . thirty varas long and six varas wide, which contained tanks for tanning hides." A hospital was built in 1814, which had four apartments and, later, a chapel. Two stone mills were added in 1820. One was a water mill for grinding flour, the other, for pressing oil.[51] Three winepresses and eight stills were also found on the property. As these statistics show, Mission San Gabriel was a complex site with multiple work domains and storehouses, all requiring supervision, management, and, all too often, coercive control.

It should be remembered that the *congregación* system in Alta California had its own characteristics. Alta California's climate and terrain allowed for the development of large-scale agriculture on some mission sites. As a result, most if not all of the neophyte Indians were relocated from areas surrounding the missions, or from greater distances, and congregated at the mission communities. Part of that indigenous population lived and worked on outlying mission farms and ranches called ranchos or *labores.*[52]

The Alta California mission project was labor-intensive; thus, the recruitment of indigenous labor was an essential component of the system.[53] This relocation of Indians to the missions also involved concentrating indigenous populations in densely populated stations with poor conditions and segregating housing. Of the approximately 60,000 Indians who lived in the coastal areas, where most of the missions were built, in 1769, by 1800, only 35,000 remained.[54] About 10,500 inhabitants of the

Central Valley and San Joaquín–Sacramento River delta were relocated to mission sites, and close to 3,500 neophytes were relocated from north of San Francisco Bay.

By 1820, at the peak of neophyte population in the twenty-one missions, approximately 21,063 converts lived in the missions. These numbers, as mentioned earlier, fluctuated widely as Indians died because of the conditions at the missions and disease. The indigenous population also decreased because of flight from the missions. Thus, the missionaries, with the assistance of the presidial soldiers, were obliged to repopulate the missions to replace the neophytes who died or escaped.[55] The average life expectancy of indigenous people after they were congregated at missions was twelve years, because of a less diversified diet, overcrowding, severe punishment for infractions, unsanitary conditions in the segregated Indian quarters, disease, and the psychological trauma suffered as a result of the breakdown of indigenous social and cultural lifeways.[56] But as harmful as *congregación* was to the average indigenous person, the system was most injurious to women and children.

Women and Missionization

Women and young children had the highest rates of mortality in and around the missions of both Californias. As mentioned earlier, the indigenous women of Baja California were the target of abuse and sexual violence by soldiers and some missionaries. Alta California's women fared no better. And, as in Antigua California, insurrections also occurred in Alta California as a result of the treatment afforded indigenous women. San Diego was the site of a violent outbreak in 1773 caused by soldiers raping indigenous girls.[57]

During the first couple of decades of missionization, "the mission populations had a nearly balanced age structure," but as *congregación* began, "the population became unbalanced as a result of high rates of mortality among young girls and women."[58] In 1797, females made up 47 percent of the population of the missions. Between 1791 and 1832, the Franciscans stationed at Santa Cruz baptized 1,133 females. By 1832, only 87 women and girls lived in the mission, that is, only 8 percent of the accumulated baptisms on record since the mission was established.[59] The decline is largely attributed to deaths due to illness and generally poor health due to the adverse conditions at the missions.

Gov. Diego de Borica (1794–1800) wrote about the high mortality rate in the California missions in a report in 1797 and identified four major causes: the heavy workload and poor diet of the Indians; poor sanitation at the missions; the loss of liberty and mobility of the missionized Indians; and the practice of locking unmarried women and girls, including the wives of Indians who had fled the missions, in unsanitary dormitories at night.[60] Women were made to sleep in poorly ventilated, cramped quarters that were exceedingly damp and with inadequate covers, usually only a single blanket. Governor Borica describes entering one such dormitory at an unidentified mission and being forced to leave the building because of the stench of human feces.[61]

But epidemic diseases were considered the major cause of death of Indian women in the Californias. Friars complained that "the most prevailing diseases are the *galico* [syphilis], consumption and dysentery . . . [I]n some years there are three deaths to two births."[62] Syphilis, a debilitating, and usually deadly, disease introduced by Spanish soldiers and colonists, was the scourge of indigenous women in Alta California.

Pedro Fages reported that the "natives of the old missions [were] affected to the maximum by syphilis."[63] Women of childbearing age were most at risk. The separation of young women from their elders denied the transmission of cultural knowledge regarding childbirth and child rearing. Thus, too often, babies were stillborn or died shortly after birth due to the complications of childbirth or conditions contracted from a syphilitic parent.[64] In addition, Indian women living in the missions began bearing children at about age fifteen, and the period of fertility ended with the women's premature death at around age twenty.[65]

Children were particularly susceptible to disease in the Californias. More than 90 percent of the children born in the missions died before reaching the age of ten.[66] For example, during a major outbreak of measles in Baja California in 1769, life expectancy for infants was 2.1 years; during the 1781–1782 outbreak of smallpox, life expectancy dropped to 1.4 years.[67]

Infants' and children's (under age nine) mortality rates were also exceedingly high in Alta California. During the 1827–1828 measles epidemic in San Diego, children made up 20 percent of the population. Of these, 48 percent died. In San Gabriel, where children were 30 percent of the population, 37 percent of them died. In San Luis Rey, where children were 24 percent of the population, 65 percent died.[68] In fact, missionaries were lamenting the state of affairs, reporting that "few children [were being] born, and of these many die soon after birth, so that the number of deaths

exceeds that of births by three to one."[69] At Mission La Purísima, the friar wrote that nearly all the women "gave birth to dead infants."[70]

The Franciscans became alarmed by the high mortality rate of women and children and by male flight. The system of *congregación,* which required the departure of soldiers from the mission area in order to recruit Indians from surrounding (and, at times, distant) regions, and the capture of escaped Indians compelled the soldiers to be absent from the missions often when they were most needed for defensive purposes. As a result, neophyte procreation (to replenish the labor force) became a source of contention between missionaries and the neophyte women. Some of the missionaries became virtually obsessed with monitoring Indian women's reproductive capacity and performance.

Miguel del Barco reported that missionaries were aware of the practice of abortion among Baja California's women as a form of population control: "Women reported resorting to abortion when there were not enough resources [available for the proper maintenance of the group], and because they feared the fetus was weak or impaired."[71] Although there is some evidence that suggests that abortion was practiced in the mission communities, the missionaries in Alta California suspected that the low birth rate, and thus the decline of the indigenous population, at the missions was due to widespread practice of abortion by neophyte women.[72] Virginia Bouvier proposes that the missionaries' accusations of intentional abortions "deflected criticism away from the practice of cloistering the missions' Indians in close quarters, the lack of adequate medical care on the frontier, and the role of the mission in interrupting traditional indigenous life."[73] The response by missionaries to apparent or real instances of provoked abortion contributed to the humiliation of Indian women, raised their levels of stress, and only exacerbated the social conditions that may have led women to abort in the first place.[74]

While missionaries went to great lengths to regulate everyday life, particularly for indigenous women, they frequently resorted to different forms of punishment as they attempted to control Indian reproductive practices at the missions. Edward Castillo points to an incident in which Fr. Ramón Olbes, the Franciscan missionary stationed at Mission Santa Cruz, attempted to examine the reproductive organs of one Indian woman believed to be sterile. When the woman resisted the examination, he had her beaten and, in an attempt to humiliate her into submission, made her stand in front of the mission church with a small wooden doll that represented an unborn child.[75]

Conclusion

Although the Spanish colonial project utilized three institutions to colonize the Californias—the mission, the presidio, and the mission pueblos—the mission was the primary tool for pacifying the indigenous inhabitants of the province. That institution, therefore, was of critical importance if colonial settlement was to succeed. And, as explained in this chapter, ultimately, the significant number and variety of productive activities performed by Indians in the California missions required a great deal of spatial and social organization. The organization of space within and outside of the missions across the Californias frequently involved coercion and violence perpetrated against the indigenous people. But Indians responded in a variety of ways to this process.

The next chapter will examine one case of agency and resistance to such coercion, that of the Indian woman Bárbara Gandiaga at Mission Santo Tomás de Aquino in the Dominican Frontier of Baja California.

PART II

NEGOTIATING SPACE

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CHAPTER 4

Bárbara Gandiaga: Race and Agency at Mission Santo Tomás

[I] had no reason to commit such an act: [I] went to the priest's house when he was killed, only because Juan Miguel, [my] husband, had ordered [me] to go, and when [I] didn't want to go, he told [me I] won't have to do anything, only after they have killed the priest, [I] will collect clothes, and some other things, and that's how it was.

BÁRBARA GANDIAGA

In 1806, thirty-eight-year-old Bárbara Gandiaga (1769?–1806) was convicted of conspiring to kill a Dominican missionary at Mission Santo Tomás in Baja California.[1] Several accounts of the murder exist, including the official version as constructed by the colonial authorities and a legend recovered by a Peruvian immigrant in Baja California in the late nineteenth century. One narrative has Gandiaga murdering the missionary in a fit of jealousy, thereby rendering the murder a crime of passion and obfuscating justifiable cause. A second narrative frames the murder as retaliation against brutal treatment of the Indians, making it a justifiable act of rebellion.[2]

The case of Bárbara Gandiaga represents occurrences that were not altogether unusual in the borderlands: Indian reprisals against missionaries who mistreated them. This case also highlights the recourse available to indigenous women in the public spaces of Baja California's missions and the treatment this particular woman received because of her positioning in the socioracial hierarchy of the region.

What is particularly significant to this study is not whether Bárbara Gandiaga was guilty or innocent of the murder charge but, rather, the treatment afforded her by the church and the resolution of the case as dictated by the civilian authorities.[3] Her case exemplifies the role that race

and gender played in her conviction. In this colonial frontier setting, however, the precariousness of the missions and missionaries served as the preeminent factor in the determination of her guilt or innocence and in her sentence.

Equally interesting is the way in which acts of aggression against her that occurred in a "private setting" were invisible in the colonial judicial proceeding, yet the act of resistance against this oppression was transferred into a public arena and became an opportunity for colonial institutions to exert power over the colonized. Further, this case demonstrates that the missions (including the private quarters of the missionaries and what occurred within the mission walls) were public spaces in the Spanish colonial frontier. As Rosaura Sánchez points out, "In addition to being a political space ensuring the crown's domination . . . the mission was also a cultural space, a religious space, a superstructural space generating ideological discourses and strategies to maintain the Indian . . . subordinated and acquiescent."[4] Thus, the murders must be analyzed within the larger colonial setting.

Murder at Mission Santo Tomás

Indian resistance to the Baja California missions took the form of rebellion, large-scale flight, and even the murder of missionaries. Two such murders took place at Mission Santo Tomás de Aquino in 1803. Fr. Miguel López died in January from what the authorities initially thought were suspicious—but then dismissed as natural—causes. It was after López' assistant, Fr. Eudaldo Surroca, was found beaten to death in May that the authorities began to question the deaths.[5] As a result, Surroca's murder—which occurred four months after Lopez'—was actually investigated first.

Fr. Rafael Arviña, president of the Dominicans in the frontier, wrote to Fr. Fermín Lasuén of the Franciscan Order in Alta California: "I have received the unhappy notice that Fr. Eudaldo Surroca, missionary of Santo Tomás, was found dead in his bed. Although at first he was believed to have died a natural death, it is now known that it was a violent one, and that it was perpetrated by four Indian domestics . . . The body was found beaten all over, full of bruises and bones fractured. From signs which were observed about the room, it may be believed that the deceased must have made a strong defense to save his life."[6] Father Arviña's letter contains a postscript notifying Father Lasuén of the death of Fr. Miguel López, "a

missionary of the same mission . . . who also, it is suspected, was a victim of the Indians."[7]

Bárbara Gandiaga and several indigenous men were the "Indian domestics" who were charged with the murders. The male suspects included Lázaro Rosales, Mariano Carrillo, Juan Miguel Carrillo, and Alexandro de la Cruz. They were eventually charged with conspiracy to commit murder, arrested, and held prisoner at San Vicente. Second Lt. José Manuel Ruiz, commanding officer of the Baja California frontier, interrogated the accused Indians regarding Father Surroca's murder; what he learned was used in the judicial proceedings against them for the first murder (that of Fr. Miguel López).

The colonial Spanish judicial process, not unlike court procedures of the twenty-first century, required all testimony by witnesses or defendants to begin with a ritual which required the declarant to swear to God to the veracity of her or his statement. In her testimony, Gandiaga denied direct involvement in the Surroca murder or any involvement in the López murder, yet the missionaries eventually insisted on charging her not only with conspiracy to murder both priests, but also with the intellectual authorship of the murders.[8] Commander Ruiz set out to gather the facts regarding the case.

At Santo Tomás he was taken to examine the friar's body. As no doctor was available to officially record the state of Surroca's body, Ruiz reported that he found abrasions on the head and knees and scratches on Surroca's neck. The witnesses' testimonies and the male suspects' statements allowed Ruiz to ascertain that the night of Surroca's murder, eighteen-year-old Lázaro Rosales removed a nine-year-old mission page, Carlos Aparicio, from where he was sleeping, near the friar's quarters. As they were leaving, the page saw thirty-two-year-old Alexandro de la Cruz lurking in the shadows.[9] Rosales and de la Cruz returned and entered Surroca's room. Rosales went in first and grabbed Surroca by the neck. De la Cruz followed and grabbed Surroca to hold him down. While Gandiaga went to the pantry to get a candle, Juan Miguel Carrillo, a twenty-four-year-old Indian who was Gandiaga's mate, served as the lookout.[10] Gandiaga then entered the room and grabbed Surroca by the genitalia. During the struggle, Surroca fell from the bed and struck his head on the wall. When they confirmed that he was dead, they lifted him, positioned him on the bed facing the wall, and covered him.[11]

Gandiaga stated that she and Juan Miguel Carrillo were outside of the friar's house when Surroca was killed. When they entered his room, she was told to close the window. When "[I] was done closing the window

[I] saw that Lázaro and Alexandro had the priest's limp body in a chair at the head of his bed."[12] She later "saw the priest's dead body thrown on the floor at the base of a wardrobe."[13]

The men's testimony further indicates that the following morning, twenty-two-year-old Melchor Gutiérrez ran into Rosales, who was scurrying from the friar's dwelling. Rosales told Gutiérrez that he had killed the friar because Gandiaga had ordered him to do so. Gutiérrez also testified that he knew of another occasion when Gandiaga had ordered the death of a gentile Indian who was said to practice witchcraft.[14]

Juan Miguel Carrillo was also interrogated. He reported having heard a conversation between Rosales and Gandiaga during which Rosales commented to Gandiaga that no one knew that they had killed the missionary. Twenty-year-old Nicolasa Carrillo also testified that Gandiaga had informed her that she, along with Rosales and de la Cruz, had killed Surroca.[15]

Gandiaga denied all accusations against her. She claimed to have had little if any role in the matter and that the men were responsible for the death. Rosales' testimony implicates her as the mastermind of the murder, and he also reported that after the crime was committed Gandiaga ordered them to clean Surroca's bloodied face and change his clothing so that there would be no indication of foul play. Rosales added that, in the friar's cell, while the men were changing him, Gandiaga reportedly closed the window so that they would not be seen by anyone from the outside. When they were finished, Gandiaga grabbed some supplies from the pantry and left with the men.[16] Gandiaga reported that, when Alexandro and Lázaro returned to her house after the murder, Rosales said, "The padre is scraped and covered with blood; they will find out." Carrillo responded, "Go, wash his face, change his shirt, and put his body properly in his bed."[17]

During the investigation, the male suspects attempted to clear themselves and others of the crime by stating that Gandiaga instructed them not to implicate her in the murder and to blame others for the crime. Adding to the conflicting testimonies, Gandiaga reportedly ordered twenty-four-year-old Mariano Carrillo to blame Rosales and another Indian male (who was later cleared of all charges). De la Cruz also testified that Juan Miguel Carrillo had in fact not taken part in the murder, that Gandiaga had involved him because she was angry that Carrillo had implicated her in the crime.

According to some of the men, Gandiaga wanted Surroca killed to make way for a better missionary. In addition, Gandiaga was said to be upset with the friar, who had given gifts to some of the women in the

choir. Reportedly, after Gandiaga complained to Surroca, he scolded her, threatened her with a lashing, and sent her to the ranchería to eat with the other Indians.[18] But Gandiaga declared, "[I] never intended to kill [my] priest, in spite of [my] having been punished and thrown out of the house by him, [I] never had such intent."[19]

Having completed the investigation and determined the culpability of Lázaro Rosales and Alexandro de la Cruz, 2nd Lt. Ruiz submitted his findings to Gov. José Joaquín de Arrillaga (1792–1794, 1800–1814) at Loreto. Ruiz noted at the time that the investigation of the other suspects would be completed soon thereafter. He also indicated that new testimony taken from Gandiaga revealed foul play in the death of Fr. Miguel López. She reported that "Juan Miguel said to [the page] Juan de Dios, Look, even if they level shotguns at you, don't say anything; and the declarant asked Juan de Dios why he had said that to him, and Juan de Dios replied that Juan Miguel, Lázaro, and Mariano had killed Father Miguel."[20] Ruiz ended his report by stating that Bárbara Gandiaga had a diabolical spirit.

But by September of that year, Governor Arrillaga had instructed Lt. José Pérez Fernández to take charge of the investigation as Second Lieutenant Ruiz' findings included irregularities that reportedly nullified much of the proceedings. Thus, Lieutenant Pérez reinterviewed the suspects and established that the male suspects confirmed Gandiaga's role in the murder as conspirator and instigator of Surroca's murder. Gandiaga stood firm in her denial of the accusations.[21]

As suspicion regarding the nature of López' death grew, the authorities embarked on an investigation. During this second interrogation, Gandiaga told 2nd Lt. Ruiz that she first heard of the death of Fr. Miguel López from one of the missionary's pages, an Indian boy named Juan de Dios (no last name). She then asked Mariano Carrillo how Father López had died. Carrillo explained to her that Juan Miguel Carrillo had gotten drunk and struck the son of the majordomo. The majordomo then complained to the friar, who ordered that Juan Miguel be shackled and punished.[22]

News later trickled back to Lázaro Rosales that Juan Miguel Carrillo had been locked in the single-men's quarters. When Rosales heard of Father López' intent to punish Carrillo, he decided to help free him. Two other Indians, a sixteen-year-old male named Miguel (no last name) and a twenty-four-year-old male named Thomas [*sic*] Arrillaga, were sleeping in the single-men's quarters when Rosales entered to let Juan Miguel Carrillo out. It was then—Mariano Carrillo told Gandiaga—that Lázaro Rosales and Juan Miguel Carrillo decided to kill the friar.[23]

Shortly after Juan Miguel Carrillo and Rosales left the men's quarters, they proceeded to Father López' cell. According to Gandiaga, "Juan Miguel entered the living room and hid under a large table there. Lázaro, who was the cook, took the evening meal to the priest, who said the meal was spoiled and that he would punish the cook tomorrow. Lázaro left and told Juan Miguel that he too was going to be punished the following day."[24]

Juan Miguel Carrillo had been sick and was unsure that he and Rosales would be able to overpower the friar without assistance. Gandiaga declared, "Juan Miguel then said, Who knows if we will be able to kill him between the two of us because I am sick. Go get my brother Mariano, he is very strong. Lázaro then took the key to the single-men's quarters and got Mariano out. All three went to where the priest was. The priest was asleep with the sheet over his head. Mariano pulled the sheet from him and grabbed him by the neck. Juan Miguel sat on top of the priest. Lázaro had hold of his legs and his ribs."[25]

Father López struggled and pleaded for his life: "Boys, forgive me, you don't know what you are doing." Rosales responded, "I don't forgive you. When you want to punish, you do not forgive us."[26]

Afterwards, to be sure that he was dead, they wrapped a sash that Juan Miguel was wearing tightly around the friar's neck. Then they carefully placed him on the bed to make it appear as if he were asleep.[27]

The scuffle woke up two young boys, Juan de Dios and Ildefonso (no last name), who worked as pages for Father López. They were, as was reportedly their custom, sleeping under the friar's cot. They awoke to find Lázaro Rosales, Juan Miguel Carrillo, and Mariano Carrillo sitting on the friar's bed; by then Father López was dead. When they realized what had happened, the two boys tried to run. The men caught the boys and told them that they had better keep quiet long enough to give the men time to escape. After a few hours, they were to inform others at the mission that the friar had passed away.

Fearing for their lives, the boys initially followed the men's instructions. Juan de Dios believed Rosales fully capable of having committed the crime, as once, when Rosales had been shackled and punished, he had told the page that one day he would kill the friar.[28] Ildefonso also kept quiet, and it was only later, when questioned by the authorities, that the boys revealed what they knew.[29]

In her defense, Gandiaga swore that all she knew of the López murder was what Mariano Carrillo had told her: "All that I have declared was told to me by Mariano Carrillo, but I have no witness, because no one heard us.

He was sick in the dungeon when he told me, and I have nothing else to say."[30] But by the time authorities were completing the investigation on the López case, Juan Miguel Carrillo, Rosales, Gandiaga, and Alexandro de la Cruz had been charged for the May 1803 murder of Fr. Eudaldo Surroca.[31]

Lt. José Pérez Fernández of the Loreto presidio was commissioned to take the second statements in the Surroca case. Of these, Lázaro Rosales' was the only one that supposedly positively identified one of the murderers of the second friar. When asked, "Do you know why you are imprisoned?" Rosales replied that he was in prison because he took Surroca's life.[32]

Although Gandiaga denied direct participation in the Surroca murder, she did confirm her knowledge of the men's intention to kill him and placed herself—after the fact—at the murder scene. She was instructed by Juan Miguel Carrillo to get supplies and clothing from the mission's pantry during what may have been an attempt to escape after the murder, and in the process she saw Father Surroca's lifeless body in his quarters.[33] The men, however, consistently accused Gandiaga of instigating the murders.[34] For her participation she was charged, convicted, and, along with Rosales and de la Cruz, sentenced to death by hanging.[35]

The investigation of the López murder revealed that Mariano Carrillo had testified while detained at the garrison of San Vicente for suspicion of conspiracy to commit murder. His testimony supports Gandiaga's claims of innocence, as he reported having had a conversation with Gandiaga but only about Indian flight from the mission after one of the murders. Carrillo also vehemently denied his involvement in the murder.[36] Mission page Juan de Dios indicated in his statement that subsequent to the murder he had told all that he knew to Gandiaga. Both Juan de Dios and Ildefonso, the other page, thereby corroborated Gandiaga's testimony.

By February of 1807, when final adjudication was made regarding the López murder, Juan Miguel Carrillo was dead, reportedly from natural causes while under arrest at the San Vicente garrison, and Rosales, de la Cruz, and Gandiaga had been executed for the Surroca murder.[37] Some of the key witnesses were no longer available, which added to the difficulty of determining Gandiaga's role in López' murder.

By the time the proceedings of this second case were reviewed for final adjudication, the colonial state filled in the gaps as it saw fit. With few witnesses still alive and no further corroborating testimony to support Gandiaga's position, she was still officially a suspect in the case—along with Mariano Carrillo—and was thought by mission authorities to be the

instigator of the murder. Thus, in February of 1807, with Gandiaga already executed for the Surroca murder and Mariano Carrillo the only suspect still alive, it was decreed that there was sufficient cause to believe that he and Gandiaga were conspirators in the murder. With no further corroborating evidence or testimony, Governor Arrillaga wrote to Viceroy José de Iturrigaray that it was no longer possible to verify the López investigation's findings.[38] Mariano Carrillo was, however, still *thought* guilty of conspiring in Father López' murder and thus was condemned to six years labor at the presidio of Loreto so as "to serve as an example to his class."[39]

What was at stake in the construction of the case against the Indians, especially against Gandiaga? There is a striking absence in the judicial record of evidence of sexual misconduct as a motive for Gandiaga's participation in the murders. The investigation reveals only that Gandiaga was upset at being turned out of the friar's house or was possibly jealous of the friar's attentions to other mission women; some of the male conspirators reported fearing unwarranted punishment for misbehavior. But the record conceals any severe, unwarranted, or unprovoked brutal punishment against the Indians prior to the murders. Instead, the official story that emerges from the judicial proceedings is one of an irrational and immoral action ostensibly committed by merciless and ruthless savages against their missionaries.

Gandiaga's was not the first case of an Indian woman being accused of a murder or insurrection in the Californias. In 1785, Toypurina, an Indian woman at Mission San Gabriel in Alta California, was accused of ordering the killing of the friars because, as she testified, the missionaries were living on Indian land. She and two other men were convicted of the (thwarted) conspiracy and imprisoned. Toypurina's case, however, differs in that she held a position of influence as a shaman among the Gabrielino Indian communities.[40]

Yet, the authorities' decision to place intellectual authorship of both the crimes on Gandiaga is somewhat puzzling. They risked the possibility of bringing into the investigation a dynamic, sexual or otherwise, between the friars and the Indian woman. That Gandiaga's testimony offers no such link, in fact, would have made it difficult for the authorities to demonstrate any clear reason for her involvement in the conspiracy. Seen another way, the alleged motivation renders her participation illogical, sacrilegious, or treacherous.

The judicial record depicts Gandiaga, moreover, as a passive, marginally involved woman who merely followed the lead and instructions of her

mate and male counterparts or, alternately, as a treacherous, manipulative, vengeful, and diabolical woman. Some of the military and civilian officials reviewing the case, however, viewed Gandiaga differently. Lieutenant Ruiz claimed that careful consideration had to be given to Gandiaga's participation. Thus, Insp. José Joaquín Mosquera, who was commissioned by the viceroy, called for the assignment of a guardian ad litem to defend the accused;[41] a protector for Gandiaga and defense attorneys for the Indian males were named. Juan José Monroy, procurator of Indians, the defense attorney, petitioned for clemency for Gandiaga, alleging that she was only a child incapable of the maliciousness required for the murder and that irregularities had been committed during the investigation of the case.

Yet, even this dissenting opinion bolstered the racist and gendered stereotypical assumptions behind the judicial process: Indian women were childlike and incapable of malicious or sophisticated—albeit criminal—thinking and were passive followers of their aggressive and bellicose male cohorts. At the other extreme of this stereotype, Indian women were considered manipulative, vengeful, or diabolical.

The Indian males were similarly perceived; Pedro Montes de Oca, procurator of the Real Audiencia on the recommendation of Inspector Mosquera, sought minor status for Lázaro Rosales and Alexandro de la Cruz not simply because of their age (Lázaro Rosales was only eighteen) but also because of their "condition as Indians" and their perceived mental capacity.[42]

The colonial authorities had no qualms about utilizing the events to consolidate, if not regain, control over the Santo Tomás Indian population. In fact, shortly after the Surroca murder investigation began, Mission Santo Tomás was beset by the mass flight of Indians who feared broad, indiscriminate, and brutal retaliation against them as a consequence of the murder. Ruiz informed Governor Arrillaga that he was forced to temporarily suspend the investigation of Surroca's murder due to the need to use troops to capture the fleeing Indians and to pacify the region. This campaign reportedly took approximately two months.[43]

The colonial authorities agreed to recommend conviction of the accused Indians for the murder of Friar Surroca. On December 18, 1805, Viceroy José de Iturrigaray approved the verdict and sentenced Gandiaga, Rosales, and de la Cruz to be hanged until dead; if there was no executioner available they were to be executed by firing squad, then their heads and right hands were to be cut off, fixed on hooks, and displayed in a public site as an admission of their crime.[44]

And the punishment was thus effected. On August 19, 1806, at 11:00 AM, Gandiaga was shot four times in the chest and twice in the head. The colonial authorities deemed it necessary to order convicts from Mission San Vicente, six Indians from Mission Santo Tomás, four from Mission San Miguel, four from Mission Santa Catalina, four from Mission Santo Domingo, four from Mission San Pedro Mártir, four from Mission del Rosario, and four from Mission San Fernando to witness her execution and file past her dead body. The gruesome sentence and subsequent order were meant to send a message to the region's indigenous population, thwart any plans of retaliation against the missionaries, and preclude any future insurrections.[45]

The Mission Project

As a young girl, Bárbara Gandiaga was taken from her family to work and live in the mission. Although it is not clear to which indigenous group Gandiaga belonged, she may have been a member of the Kumiai (or Kumeyaay) or Pa-ipai, indigenous groups that lived in the area of the San Vicente and Santo Tomás missions.[46]

Taking Indian children from their parents was a socially and culturally devastating, albeit common, practice at the missions during the colonial period. At the missions the Indians were instructed in Christian beliefs and rituals and submitted to the daily routines and practices that promoted strict observance of Spanish patriarchal values and Christian mores. The missionaries handed out severe punishments to those who "broke mission rules regarding sexual behavior, labor, and compliance with church attendance."[47]

As was the case in most missions throughout New Spain, unmarried indigenous men and women at Mission Santo Tomás were assigned segregated sleeping quarters and gender-specific tasks.[48] Gandiaga was at first made to sleep in the *monjerío,* although later she was moved to a room adjacent to the kitchen pantry.[49]

The indigenous inhabitants, men and women alike, often taken, as previously indicated, by force, served as the primary labor force for the missions' various agricultural, crafts, and, later, manufactured-goods enterprises. Mario Alberto Magaña argues that sometimes the "indigenous population would leave the mission sites . . . and go to certain zones where they would be able to survive and live outside of the missionaries'

control . . . [However], this was possible only if the missions had periods during which they could not offer [the] residents basic sustenance; thus, they would allow the Indians to leave for the purpose of gathering and hunting for their own meals."[50]

As has been widely recognized, the mission economy wherever it did flourish succeeded as a result of the exploitation of indigenous labor. As Robert H. Jackson states, "The demographic collapse . . . of the Indian populations of northwestern New Spain was not intended, but was intentional. Policymakers hoped to reproduce the structure of the colonial society and economy of central Mexico on the northern frontier. Indian labor was critical for the functioning of the economy . . . [Further,] the development of the frontier societies ideally required a stable tribute-paying Indian population and labor force, but the means of achieving the ends of frontier colonial policy destroyed the populations congregated in the missions."[51] Jackson further argues that the missionaries of Baja California "attempted to more radically transform the culture, social organization, and economy of the Indians" in an effort to transform the hunter-gatherer character of their groups into a more sedentary and, thus, stable source of labor. The indigenous populations resisted this transformation throughout the mission period. What is particularly significant for an analysis of the Gandiaga case is that "the mission acculturation program in the Californias relied more heavily on coercion and threats of coercion."[52]

As a result, one of the indigenous people's responses to these conditions was that there were several major Indian revolts in Baja California (particularly hard hitting was the 1734 Pericú uprising), although there were also many other raids that took place against mission communities.[53] For the most part, "Indian resistance to the missions and Spanish colonization consisted of rebellion, large-scale flight, and even the murder of missionaries."[54]

Bárbara Gandiaga's story, when documented solely through these judicial proceedings, can be only partially established. There is nothing in the judicial record about the circumstances under which Gandiaga lived in the mission. Thus, those conditions and the dynamics of her relationship with the missionaries cannot be determined. There is no evidence of any sexual exploitation, nor do the records attest to any injury, physical or otherwise, she suffered. Current scholarship has, however, clearly established that sex and gender are key issues that must be addressed when reviewing the politics and policies of conquest and colonization.[55] Antonia Castañeda has argued that, "for native women and their communities, the arrival of

soldiers and priests . . . ushered in an era of unprecedented violence and social change . . . [T]he initial imposition of Spanish colonial power centered on women and the violent extortion of sex."[56]

Furthermore, the application of excessive force against Indians was a chronic problem in the region. Zephyrin Engelhardt recounts a particular incident involving Fr. Antonio Lázaro of Mission San Fernando Velicatá, who was accused of brutal treatment of the mission's indigenous people. In correspondence exchanged between Gov. José Joaquín Arrillaga and Fr. Rafael Arviña, the president of the Dominican missions, Arrillaga complained about Father Lázaro and instructed Arviña that "something ought to be done in the matter." Arviña responded by claiming that Father Lázaro was indeed guilty of brutal mistreatment of the Indians and, further, that he, in turn, had "raised false accusations against [Arviña], his superior."[57]

Arviña was incensed by the accusations and "issued a circular forbidding the missionaries to flog any neophyte, or in any case not to apply more than five lashes." The circular made public the dissension and recriminations that were hurled back and forth among the missionaries. In response to this circular, nine missionaries in the northern district wrote a letter to Father Arviña, dated January 12, 1803, scolding the father president, noting that his claims were "defamatory, calumnious, libelous and entirely false."[58]

Further, they contended that, if they were to follow his orders, an "infinity of evils in spiritual affairs would fall upon the missions," as the Indians would perceive "no obstacles . . . [that] would restrict them in their disorders. As it is, they are seditious, revengeful, and what is worse, stupid, foolish, indiscreet and carnal." The friars went on to condemn Arviña and *his* behavior: "Finally, seeing how little Your Very Rev. paternity conforms to our sacred Constitutions, we supplicate that, in place of studying the laws of the Indies, passing so much time jesting with Estefana, Martina and other Spanish females, and assisting so much at the *fandango* you occupy yourself with reading a little more of the Dominican constitution. Then you will not commit so many absurdities, not be the scorn of the province, nor blacken our honor, as you do now, by *communicating to seculars what would be more just to conceal*."[59]

The mission fathers were outraged, not necessarily by the accusations against Father Lázaro for alleged brutal mistreatment of the Indians, as brutal coercion played an important role in the submission of the neophytes, or by the alleged scandalous behavior of the father president, who

was ostensibly involved in his own salacious behavior, but by the fact that these internal problems were being made public.

This practice of veiling the violent and sexually aggressive behavior of the missionaries was thus condoned and sanctioned, if not promoted.[60] In this same manner, the details of physical and sexual abuse that may have been committed against indigenous women at Santo Tomás, including Gandiaga, by the mission fathers disappear in the judicial process narrative.

The Legend of Bárbara Gandiaga

A different account of Gandiaga's life story appears in a legend about her documented in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Scholars have addressed the use of legend in reconstructing the stories of women in the past. They propose that "finding women in the histories of the non-Western world, just as in the Western, requires persistence due to the silence or obliqueness of 'traditional' historical sources." Thus, in order to realize a fuller understanding of women and their condition in Latin America, we must also use the entire spectrum of "non-obvious" sources such as legends, oral testimonies, mythology, life histories, explorer accounts, oral and written literature, cultural lore, and fable.[61]

This version of Gandiaga's life history first came to light as her story was discovered among the memoirs of a South American adventurer who traveled to the northern frontier of New Spain. It is through the "*apuntes históricos*" gathered by a Peruvian immigrant to the Spanish borderlands in 1848,[62] Manuel Clemente Rojo, that we get a broader picture of Gandiaga's life.[63]

Rojo, not unlike many international miners who had apparently heard of the gold that was to be found in California, journeyed to New Spain as a self-described adventurer.[64] During his trip north, Rojo and an associate were shipwrecked off the western coast of Baja California near the Bahía de Todos Santos. Although Rojo's partner continued north on foot after they were shipwrecked, Rojo remained in Baja California to safeguard the salvaged load. During his short stay in the Ensenada region, he met and was befriended by residents of the area, including soldiers, civilians, and Indians.

Over the years, Rojo wrote his memoir, which included reminiscences about those people who befriended him, mestizos and Indians alike, and

about those with whom he developed long-standing relationships and associations. It is by way of the recollections from these, as he called them, "respectable old men," who either lived during Gandiaga's time or heard tell of this Indian woman, that we get a fuller understanding of her life.

Gandiaga was remembered as an inordinately beautiful young indigenous maiden of sixteen or seventeen years of age in 1794. She was taken and literally imprisoned by the missionaries.[65] She reportedly trained to sing in the choir and was shuttled from the *monjerío* to the priest's cell during choir practice, as well as to the kitchen to cook for the missionaries. These young unmarried indigenous women were in some cases called "*monjas,*" and although they were usually Christianized, they were not nuns who were traditionally trained as catechistic instructors, or for the purpose of performing cloistered prayerful duties. However, one day "Padre Lázaro" took Gandiaga to his cell after she had drunk the mission wine and lost consciousness; after this he never again allowed her to leave the kitchen area or to see her friends and family.[66] Gandiaga's sleeping quarters were transferred to a pantry adjacent both to the kitchen and the friar's cell. Thereafter, Gandiaga became Padre Lázaro's personal cook.[67]

Subsequently, mission residents heard muffled screams from Gandiaga's quarters during the night. They were described as "sounds someone might make as if she were defending herself while being forced against her will."[68] In addition, Bárbara Gandiaga was said to be terribly afraid of the padre, and not only for his purported practice of controlling the bodies and minds of the indigenous youth.[69] The Dominican priests were known for the beatings inflicted on those Indians who ran away from the missions or refused to submit to mission rules.[70]

According to the legend, two (or three) indigenous men attempted to free Bárbara Gandiaga from her bondage only to be caught in the act by the friar. Responding to a series of loud voices and noises, several soldiers from the barracks rushed to the room. Gandiaga was found standing above the body of the friar, bloody knife in hand. At that point, other mission residents entered the room. When asked, "Who killed the *fraile*?" Gandiaga is said to have responded, "I did!" almost at the same time as the Indian men in the room cried out, "We did!"[71]

In this telling of the events, the authorities arrested Gandiaga and her two accomplices and held them at the garrison of San Vicente to await investigation, conviction, and sentencing. Gandiaga and her co-conspirators were found guilty and condemned to hang. They were returned to Santo Tomás for execution. Gandiaga was hanged in the middle, between the two men, her body slightly higher than those of the males. Their bodies

were left hanging in the middle of the plaza until they were consumed by buzzards or they rotted and fell in putrefied pieces to be eaten by scavenging animals.[72]

Conclusion

Bárbara Gandiaga's and her alleged co-conspirators' guilt is not the most significant issue here. The killing of the friars may very well have been a retaliatory act of violence. It has been well established that missionaries' sexual violence against Indian women was commonplace throughout the colonial domain. Historians have clearly established missionaries' use of violence in general, and sexual violence in particular, as a tool for control and domination.[73] What is significant, however, is that, given her racial and social positioning in this colonial frontier setting, Bárbara Gandiaga had few means for negotiation in the mission setting. Her condition as an Indian in Santo Tomás precluded her from seeking or having legal (and thus public) recourse for her grievances on the Dominican Frontier. The viceregal government, and the ecclesiastical authorities, judged her case in relation to the broader state of colonial affairs, that is, in relation to the precariousness of life for the colonists because of hostile relations between colonizers and colonized. The church, for its part, provided Gandiaga no space for sanctuary or recourse since, in this colonial frontier setting, it was one of the institutions that perpetrated violence against her.

Gandiaga's probable sexual abuse, isolation, and mistreatment took place within the confines of the mission walls, ostensibly a religious space. Thus, the missionary was able to hide his aggression behind the veil of the relative privacy of his quarters. However, the violence experienced by Indians such as Gandiaga occurred in a locus, the mission setting, which, by the nature of its role as a coercive arm and as the setting for the implementation of colonization, was a public space. But it is only when the Indian woman acted against her aggressor that the event became public, and that very public sphere was then utilized to censure, condemn, and convict her. The severity of her sentence highlights the role played by the colonizers, who, in the form of church and civilian prosecutors, were invested in making Gandiaga (and her alleged accomplices) an example of the punishment that could be expected in the furtherance of social control among the indigenous population.[74] Rojo points to the effectiveness of Gandiaga's sentence and execution: "[The women] became so submissive and obedient that from that day forward they accommodated the friars'

every demand, even when it went against their most ancient and venerated customs."[75]

Rojo's Baja Californianos reported that, when Indian women became pregnant as a result of this "alliance between missionaries and neophytes," the friars would marry them off to neophyte men whether or not they were already married to gentile men who lived outside the mission lands. What is evident is that the authorities wanted to use these cases to "serve forever as an example to others of [their] class."[76] Thus, their punishments not only prevented further attacks against the missionaries, but also re-created and consolidated the gendered roles of and expectations for the indigenous women of the area.

Rosaura Sánchez correctly argues, then, that the missions were "political instrumental space[s] for the control of the Indian population and occupation of the land . . . [and] sites for production and reproduction of particular social relations."[77]

I further propose that the evangelical function of the mission served, under the veil of religiosity, to obfuscate relations of power within that space. The mission was a religious space involved in the Spanish Crown's project of Christianization. But the strategic objective of the mission was political and public, as it also served as one of the ideological instruments of the colonial hegemonic process; that is, the mission's public role was involved in constructing the gendered (and racialized) social scaffolding that served to contain women and men of different racial groups and social standings.[78] Gandiaga's ability to negotiate space, find redress for grievances, or have access to legal recourse was proscribed within the colonial/mission framework by the indigenous people's—especially indigenous females'—subordinate positioning in the social and racial hierarchy of the mission setting and their contentious relationship with the mission project.

The missionaries' attempts to define and regulate gendered behavior in the California frontier were not limited to the indigenous population. The colonial project also required the imposition of particular roles and expectations for Spanish women. The dynamic of developing a different strategy for redress and contestation of oppressive conditions in this frontier setting is examined in the next chapter through the case study of Eulalia Callis, the wife of colonial California governor Pedro Fages.

CHAPTER 5

Eulalia Callis: Privilege and Power in the Colonial Californias

On Ash Wednesday in the presidio church, the priest who celebrated Mass also was the judge on the case. After reading from the Gospel and preaching the sermon, he ended by vilifying me and had the soldiers throw me out of the church. This is what he said: "Detain that woman so I can put a gag over her mouth."

EULALIA CALLIS

In 1789,[1] an elite Spanish woman, Doña Eulalia Callis (1759–??), petitioned for divorce from her husband, governor of the Californias, Pedro Fages. The events that followed her petition illuminate the treatment given to a woman of high status who attempted to assert her rights in the colonial frontier of California and confronted the ecclesiastical authorities of the region.

What is significant about this particular process is neither that this woman petitioned for a divorce nor that her husband committed adultery.[2] In spite of Doña Eulalia's social and racial position as a member of the colonial elite, when she confronted the ecclesiastical authorities, her subordinate gender position determined her access to redress and her punishment for daring to think of herself as a subject with legal rights. In fact, her treatment, detention, and humiliation and the threats of whipping and excommunication she received were calculated to serve as a warning to *any* woman in this frontier setting who dared challenge the church's norms, values, and moral imperatives or who "resisted and defied patriarchal control of [her] social and sexual bod[y]."[3]

This case also serves to illustrate how the "political violence effected on the bodies of women" was a phenomenon that transcended class and racial boundaries within this patriarchal space.[4] It also demonstrates how women nevertheless attempted to negotiate within the spatial and hier-

archical constraints of colonial California by apparently making "private matters public."[5]

The Public/Private Divide

Doña Eulalia Callis was a Spanish woman from an influential Catalan family. She was married to Don Pedro Fages, also of Catalan ancestry, who became governor of the Californias.[6] Callis came to New Spain with her father, who was assigned a military post in the Viceroyalty of New Spain.[7] Callis and Fages courted in the capital city of Mexico. They married in 1780, when she was twenty-one years of age and Fages was fifty. Although it was not uncommon for young women of the period to marry men who were twice their age, the existing social and political environment in Mexico could have influenced their pairing.

In eighteenth-century Mexico, certain unmarried males and females, particularly those among the colonial elite, experienced less freedom of marital choice. The ongoing political and economic conflicts and rivalries between peninsulars and *criollos* (Spaniards' sons and daughters born in the Americas) often interfered in the formal consolidation of spontaneous matrimonial (or romantic) linkings. Thus, elite parents made concerted efforts to arrange matrimonial matches for their offspring that met the proper ethnic, political, and financial requirements.[8] This might account for young Eulalia's matching with her older, yet upwardly mobile, compatriot, Fages.

In 1782, Fages was appointed governor of the Californias and was required to move to the borderland province. As his appointment had him traveling across the frontier region and staying extended periods of time there, he was precluded from frequently visiting Mexico City. For this reason, he called for his young wife and son to join him at Monterey.[9] It is this period, when Callis followed her husband to the borderlands frontier and ran up against the ecclesiastical authorities, that is of interest for what it has to say about differential access to and treatment by the civil and church power structures of this colonial frontier region.

Late-Eighteenth-Century Monterey and Mexico City

We can gather from their correspondence that Eulalia Callis was very reluctant to join her husband and reside in what she must have considered

to be a savage and barren land.[10] The presidio of Monterey and Mission San Carlos (also known as Mission Carmelo) were founded in 1770. Jean François de la Pérouse, commander of a French scientific expedition, arrived in Alta California's Monterey Bay in September of 1786, soon after Callis' arrival. During his stay, Pérouse kept a journal of his experiences in this area of the New World. His description of the presidio, mission, and surrounding areas paints a picture of scarcity and squalor.[11] He characterizes the presidio's surrounding buildings as "miserable mud huts" and the general appearance of the outpost as "lonely and uninteresting."[12] Even as late as 1792, a British explorer, Capt. George Vancouver, characterized the area as lacking "any object to indicate the most remote connection with any European or civilized nation."[13]

The area's desolation and virtual isolation must have been daunting for the governor's wife. Pérouse reported: "A ship sent from San Blas . . . might take two, three, or even four months . . . and a goodly number of crewmembers might be dead or utterly disabled from scurvy. Land expeditions took even longer and were fraught with even more dangers."[14]

Still, in comparison to Baja California, the terrain and climate of Alta California were more favorable to agricultural activities and cattle raising. However, as in the south, the destitute condition of Monterey and Mission Carmelo in the mid-1780s was attributed to failed crops, the inconsistent provision of goods and materials due to the irregular appearance of supply ships from San Blas, and resistance on the part of the Indians to practicing European forms of farming.

According to Malcolm Margolin, Pérouse's description of the Indian people who lived in Mission Carmelo, interestingly, depicts a people who had been "robbed of spirit . . . traumatized, exhibiting what we would today characterize as psychotic levels of depression."[15] The high mortality rate of Indians in Alta California led to a demographic collapse after contact with Europeans. In addition, Franciscan use of coercive force caused drastic changes in the social and cultural practices of the California Indians.[16] Gov. Pedro Fages compiled reports of abusive and insubordinate behavior by Alta California missionaries, whom he sometimes characterized as bad-tempered, defiant, and noncompliant with colonial regulations.[17]

Further, the Indians living in the Alta California missions experienced rapid changes in lifestyle and socioeconomic organization. Their high mortality rates were attributed to the living conditions in the missions and the degree of sociocultural dislocation caused by the program of acculturation and the psychological impact of rapid social change.[18] Robert Jackson has proposed that, although the indigenous population

of Alta California experienced fewer epidemics than their counterparts in Baja California, their death rates were higher than those in Sonora and Baja California mission communities in nonepidemic years as a result of a combination of factors, in particular, the trauma experienced by the suppression of their culture and lifeways.[19]

The Indian population at Mission San Carlos, however, grew slightly during Callis' stay, from 694 in 1786 to 770 in 1791. This growth was primarily due to the recruitment of converts from the Carmel River basin, the Salinas Valley, and other coastal areas. In 1786, only 49 births among the indigenous people at the mission were recorded, and 85 deaths. The numbers were 59 and 102, respectively, in 1791.[20]

The early colonial Spanish presence in Alta California was, for the most part, masculine, as evidenced in the presence of soldiers and missionaries. There were, however, attempts to settle the area with families, as happened in 1774, when eight women who were the daughters and sisters of soldiers from the northern settlements of New Spain became the first European women to arrive.[21] In an attempt to secure a stronger presence in the area, the colonial government encouraged further migration from Mexico, which led to the establishment of the pueblos of San José (1777) and Los Ángeles (1781), both initially exceedingly small.

Early settlement of non-Indian populations in the area, however, was largely restricted due to the precariousness of life in Alta California. Even as the mission economies began to flourish, the distance from the population centers of central Mexico was an important factor for the small number of settlers who ventured into the region. Robert Jackson points out the difficulties encountered by the colonial government in settling the northern outposts: "In the last years of the eighteenth century, royal officials in Mexico City expressed considerable concern over the weakness of Spain's hold on Alta California and the rest of the northern frontier, especially the sparseness of the settler population . . . [They] encountered considerable difficulty in finding colonists to send to Alta California and ended up recruiting settlers from among convicts . . . Moreover the missionaries had an unusually strong voice in the implementation of colonial policy in the region, and were able in some instances to limit settlement."[22]

In addition, the missionaries exerted economic control over the region as a result of an agreement signed in 1777 between Junípero Serra and the viceregal government. The Franciscans were granted control over mission temporalities in exchange for selling food and other goods to the presidios. This gave them the monopoly to supply food, clothing, and leather goods to the soldiers.[23]

Even missionaries who were motivated by religious zeal and devotion to a Christianizing project did not fare well in this remote environment. Three of the young missionaries temporarily assigned to Mission Carmelo who worked alongside Frs. Fermín Lasuén and Matías Antonio de Santa Catalina Noriega reportedly had relatively brief, and difficult, tenures. Fr. Francisco José Arroita, for example, was allowed to "retire" in his thirties, after a ten-year stay in the area, as "he was worn out by hardships." Fr. Cristóbal Oramas was relieved of his duties in 1793 because of "depression and hypochondria." Fr. Faustino Solá was "incapacitated for work by reason of insanity" and was sent back to Mexico City after serving only a few years.[24] These were, by and large, the conditions that Callis encountered in her new home.

It is also likely that, as much as Callis was reluctant to adventure into the frontier, she was loath to leave her social life and affluent surroundings among the elite in Mexico City.[25] The Californias were considered a distant and completely peripheral space in relationship to the urban environment of late-colonial Mexico City, and relocating there must have been perceived as akin to banishment. With regard to the gendered and racialized structure of colonial society, Silvia Arrom notes that the "marketing and manufacturing hub of a broad agricultural hinterland, [Mexico City] had a diversified economy on the verge of industrializing, and a growing middle class. It was also distinctively Hispanic, for in a country populated by Indians and Castes (as Mexicans designated those of mixed blood), half the capital's inhabitants were of Spanish descent."[26]

Unlike the California frontier, Mexico City in the late eighteenth century witnessed a dramatic growth in population and economic activity, and an increasing gap between the well-to-do and the city's poor. According to Arrom, crop failures and other devastating conditions in the Valley of Mexico between 1784 and 1787 forced approximately forty thousand unemployed rural workers from the surrounding areas to migrate to Mexico City. Mexico City's growing commerce and bureaucracy attracted a growing number of artisans, professionals, and other well-educated people. As Arrom notes, Mexico City's "social activities, consumer market, medical services, convents, and cultural life attracted those who could afford them. The concentration of the well-to-do in turn created a demand for servants, clerks, and craftsmen, thereby contributing to the city's drawing power. [As a result,] Mexico City's population increased by a third during the second half of the eighteenth century."[27]

Thus Callis' resistance to moving from what must have been a familiar, comfortable, and bustling social environment to the "northernmost ex-

tension of the Spanish Empire, some 2,000 miles from the colonial center, Mexico City . . . [to a place where] people saw themselves at the end of the world, cut off from even the most essential supplies and information," is quite understandable.[28]

Gov. Pedro Fages apparently pleaded his case to Callis' mother, who, incidentally, was younger than Fages. Doña Rosa de Callis was seemingly successful in reminding her daughter of her marital duty, reinforcing her submission to the patriarchy, and stressing the imperative of obeying her husband. Thus, at the urging of her husband and through the intervention of her mother, the younger Callis was convinced and set out for the northern frontier.

The Españolas in the Colonial Frontier

In the colonial setting of Alta California, and following established patriarchal norms, the role of settler women was, first and foremost, as biological reproducer and family nurturer. Rosaura Sánchez proposes the following: "Occupation of the land required not only the establishment of missions and presidios but the 'upkeep' of frontier soldiers by recruiting families, men and women and children, for settlement in Alta California . . . The importance of women for settlement was thus recognized at the highest levels; the establishment of families in the territory and reproduction itself were very much political, economic, and cultural acts."[29] Antonia Castañeda further maintains that a "woman's reproductive capacity, as the vehicle for the production of legitimate heirs and the transference of private property, was defined as the single-most important source of her value." Women also served an ideological function, reinforcing "the Spanish cultural idiom of honor—the ideology of personal subordination to familial concerns—[which] held the larger patriarchal edifice together at the fundamental unit of the family."[30] The duty to procreate was no less imperative for the elite women than for those of a lower station.[31] Eulalia Callis was thus no less bound to fulfill her reproductive function than was a soldier's wife. Indeed, she was pregnant four times in six years. During her second pregnancy, she miscarried.[32] After her fourth pregnancy, in 1786, she gave birth to a daughter, who died eight days later.

Ramón Gutiérrez' comprehensive study of colonial New Mexico examines how honor, marriage, sexuality, and power intersected in the borderlands and jointly served to ensure the consolidation and perpetuation of social inequalities. According to Gutiérrez, the Spanish colonists

placed honor at the "very center of their moral system."[33] It mediated social relationships and was the standard by which individuals, families, or groups were valued. "Honor-status" as the qualifier for social standing was measured on a vertical continuum on which, at one end, were people with "much honor" and at the other, "those with none." In the colonial context, honor was "born of victory and dominion, dishonor of vanquishment and domination." This concept created a binary opposition that equated Spaniard with "honorable" and Indian with "dishonorable." Gutiérrez proposes that in the northern frontier "much of what was considered Spanish culture . . . gain[ed] its meaning in opposition to and as exaggeration of what it meant to be an Indian . . . The conquerors were [considered] honorable because they were Christians, Spaniards, 'civilized,' and white. The vanquished Indians were dishonored because they [represented] everything their victors were not: heathens, uncivilized."[34]

Within this framework of honor, a woman's duty was to protect and uphold the male head of household's honor-status. This was achieved through any number of appropriately honorable behaviors, such as maintaining sexual purity, guarding one's virginity and reputation, marrying, and willingly remaining subordinate in matrimony.

The notion of "honor-virtue" further constrained women's behavior. Whereby "honor-status" could be awarded, for example, for valorous behavior, or inherited, honor-virtue was attained strictly through individual compliance with and reproduction of the ideals of proper social conduct. Gutiérrez explains: "Honor-virtue prescribed gender-specific rules . . . [where] honor was strictly a male attribute while shame was intrinsic to females. . . . The shamelessness of a female reflected on the male head of the household and dishonored him and the family as a group."[35]

These values served to circumscribe the boundaries of behavior for a woman in the colonial period, more so if she was of the elite sector. Moreover, they also buttressed the role of the institutions, such as the church, that were empowered to promote and uphold the colonial and patriarchal code of ethics in order to maintain the hierarchy necessary to Christianize, and thus dominate, the indigenous population. The strict adherence to these values and behaviors, particularly in the frontier regions, was even more imperative for a Spanish and "aristocratic" woman, who was bound by duty and class to adhere to what was deemed honorable, as part of the conqueror's process of self-validation. These were the idealized honor codes and notions used to dictate the rules for behavior of the colonial frontier governor's wife.

Eulalia Callis' Journey to the Frontier

In 1783, Callis traveled by land to San Blas on the Pacific coast of Nueva España and transferred onto a boat that took her across the Gulf of California. On the peninsula, Callis was met by Governor Fages at Loreto, and from there they headed north by land until they arrived at Monterey, then the capital of the Californias.

Governor Fages' comments regarding his young wife's arrival in the region reflect his attitude toward and view of her and rarely focus on the conditions that gave rise to her discontent in the new environment. In Fages' correspondence with his mother-in-law and with others, he related that the "inhabitants of the peninsula [were] organizing themselves to receive [Doña Eulalia] like a queen."[36] Fages reported that on the way to Monterey his wife's presence was recognized with numerous festivities, as she was celebrated and "applauded in receptions throughout the presidios and missions, as it appear[ed], luckily, that everyone [was] in competition, Dominican friars . . . soldiers, and *vecinos* [frontier settlers], and even *indios*" to outdo each other with their gifts. According to Fages' rendition of events, his wife was "happy and smiling" throughout her trip.[37]

Her husband's positive spin notwithstanding, the trip to the Californias, by all accounts, proved a long, arduous, and difficult one. From Callis' initial arrival on the Pacific coast, where she was to set sail across the Gulf of California, she encountered great difficulties. When she embarked on a small ship from San Blas, her carriage was left behind, as there was scant room for cargo on the passage across the water.

Callis was met by her husband at the Mission of Loreto in May of 1783.[38] The journey to Monterey would have been strenuous and fatiguing for any person, but even more so for a woman of the elite accustomed to the luxuries and amenities available in the urban environment of late-1700s Mexico City. On the northerly trip through the peninsula to Monterey, the "happy and smiling" Callis, as mentioned earlier, now pregnant with her second child, suffered a miscarriage.

The passage of time did not ameliorate the governor's wife's difficulty in adapting to the climate and environment, and Callis developed a number of maladies. Governor Fages exchanged correspondence with a number of associates and missionaries in his attempt to find remedies that would aid him in restoring his wife's health. In a letter to Fr. Miguel Hidalgo, Fages informed the priest of his wife's ill health and asked for medicine to help her sleep. In other letters, to Nicolás Soler, Joaquín Cañete, Frs. Juan

Crisóstomo Gómez, Juan Formoso, and Nicolás Muñoz, Fages sought assistance for his infirm wife.[39] On her arrival at Monterey, Callis found some comfort among the settlers, who received her with open arms. She was undoubtedly seen as something of a celebrity as the wife of the provincial governor.

But Callis continued to suffer ill health, and her longing for her family added to her increasing sense of isolation and loneliness. This was exacerbated by the fact that her husband was required to travel extensively and frequently throughout the region. There are some indications that Callis was not completely bereft of social interaction. She was able to "acquire [certain] links with the settlers and the families of her husband's comrades-in-arms" through the usual kinship ties made when, for example, the couple was asked to stand as godparents for settlers' offspring.[40]

By the winter of 1783, Callis was again pregnant, and in August of 1784 she was taken to Mission San Francisco de Asís to be attended by a midwife who assisted her with the birth of her daughter María del Carmen. Callis was forced to remain there to recuperate from an illness that she contracted after giving birth.

During this time, Callis convalesced in the home of the Argüellos, a well-known Californio family, where she reportedly spent a couple of contented and restful months. But shortly after her return to her home, perhaps because of her continued frail health and the absence of familial support, Callis began to ask her husband to allow her to travel to Mexico City for an extended visit. It was at this time that the couple's conjugal discord came to a head.

Adultery on the Frontier

It is not difficult to imagine Fages not remaining entirely faithful to his marital vows. Historians have clearly established that the colonial soldiers frequently seduced, raped, abused, and mistreated local Indian women. Antonia Castañeda and other scholars have also stressed the importance of recognizing that sexual violence against indigenous women of the frontier was common: "These acts included not only the hunting, rape, and abduction of native women, but also the beating and sometimes the killing of native men who refused to disclose the hiding places of women. Thus, the initial assertion of Spanish Colonial power centered on women—on the violent extortion of sex."[41] The sexual violence exerted on the indigenous

female has to be seen, thus, as part of the colonial process to dominate the indigenous population. Albert Hurtado asserts that, as interracial sex resulted in a mestizo population that "attached [itself] to the religion and society of their Spanish fathers, sexual amalgamation [became] an integral part of the Spanish colonial experience that served to disable native society."[42]

Here we also need to address Fages' racist views of and attitudes toward the Indians, whom he saw and treated as little more than lazy and ignorant brutes and who were nothing more than the Crown's property. These views would not be in conflict with the aforementioned sexual exploitation of Indian women.[43] Fages personally reported to the viceroy in 1786 regarding the state of affairs in California: "All the Indians of California are alike, lazy, incapable, and stupid. Their only aspiration is to rove about the country . . . If the Indian had the land to himself, he would not be capable of cultivating it, so lazy is he."[44]

Born in Catalonia in 1730, Don Pedro Fages arrived in New Spain in 1765, after joining the Second Volunteer Regiment of Catalonia. One of his commanding officers was Eulalia Callis' father. Fages was an astute veteran officer who was quickly moving up the ranks. In June of 1762, he was commissioned a *subteniente* (roughly the equivalent of a second lieutenant). In a little less than five years, in May of 1767, he was promoted to *teniente*. Within four years (in January of 1771) he was commissioned *capitán graduado* and subsequently promoted to *capitán propietario* (in November of 1774). By October of 1778, Fages had become a lieutenant colonel, and within five years (on September 10, 1782), he was appointed governor and commander of the Californias.[45]

In addition, as indicated earlier, Fages was a veteran of numerous military encounters with indigenous peoples in the northern frontier, having participated in many Indian campaigns, expeditions of conquest, and pacification operations. He was at Cerro Prieto in 1768, fought numerous battles against the Apache, Seri, and Yuma during the Spanish *entrada* in the northwest of New Spain and in the process of dominating California. Fages participated in the 1769 Portolá land expedition to California, where he commanded the presidial forces that served as military support in the founding of the presidios at San Diego, Monterey, and five missions in Alta California. He was later sent to quell the Quechan revolt in the Colorado River area in 1781.[46]

But Fages did not always have a harmonious relationship with the California missionaries. After several years of hardship, and facing indigenous

resistance and conflicts with Junípero Serra, who vehemently disapproved of Fages' inability to control his soldiers' as well as his own immoral and offensive behavior, he was relieved of command. But, due to his extensive service and experience, he was finally reappointed to serve as governor of the Californias (1782–1791).

Fr. Junípero Serra repeatedly complained about Captain Fages' inability to control the region's soldiers and their aggressive sexual behavior while Fages was head of the presidial forces there. In fact, Serra personally complained to the viceroy, and through these efforts was able to get the viceregal government to relieve Fages of command during his first assignment in the Californias.

Fages' troops were well noted for their mistreatment and sexual abuse of indigenous women. But Callis must have had her suspicions about her husband's own inclination and "fondness" for Indian women. Her 1785 petition clearly states that she had "well-founded suspicions and the girl's easily obtained confession," which led her to the discovery of his adulterous acts.[47]

This case also provides a good example of the missionaries' paternalistic attitude toward young indigenous women, a normative practice across the colonial world. The indigenous girl referred to in the judicial record is never mentioned by name but simply identified as the "Yndia Yuma," or "Indizuela," one of many feminine diminutive variations meaning "Indian girl." Further, while the case is known because of the identity of the high-ranking accused (Governor Fages), the assault victim is invariably only identified as "Yuma girl." Other witnesses—a teenage woman and two young indigenous males—are likewise recorded with no last name.[48]

Thus, in February of 1785, as Callis indicated in her petition to the commander general, she happened on her husband in flagrante delicto "on top of one of his servants, a very young Yuma Indian girl."[49]

What is particularly intriguing from the vantage point of mapping relative privilege and agency for women in the colonial Southwest is the treatment Callis received after she initiated attempts to seek aid from the civilian authorities and, later, to request protection and redress from the conditions she endured because of her husband's adulterous behavior and the punishment enforced upon her by the missionaries. Callis recognized the punitive treatment as not only an affront but as a violation of her rights: "I shall consider the first insult to my person as my cross to bear. I am told that the crimes committed against me were not that serious and my desires for satisfaction are merely earthly and transitory. Hence, I am

told that I should forgive my husband and return to him, a surrender that would force the most innocent party to suffer the greatest losses."[50]

Callis' Challenge of the Colonial Order

According to the Spanish and colonial codes of honor described earlier, Callis was honor bound to submit to both her husband's and the church's will. A public accusation of infidelity or adultery against her husband was, by virtue of her breach of duty to protect her husband's honor-status, censurable if not condemnable. Her accusations, in a sense, coincided with those of the missionaries, who vehemently denounced the regular soldiers' lascivious and violent behavior against the indigenous population, arguing that it was counterproductive and ran at cross-purposes to their civilizing and Christianizing efforts.

That logic seemed to support Callis' public accusation of immoral behavior. Instead, her levying these charges against her husband was seen as potentially more dangerous and injurious than the behavior itself, as she was challenging the patriarchal hierarchy and the colonists' honor and defying the missionaries' attempts to silence her. Callis' public voice not only attacked her husband but also undermined the very foundation of colonial institutions, which required the Spanish male to serve as head of household and the woman to be submissive and reject the idea of divorce.[51] Fages as governor was expected to set an example about how a family should be structured and a government run.

In this California frontier environment, the ensuing discussions in regard to the developing events divided the settlers, soldiers, officials, and missionaries into two groups. On one side were what Lucila León Velazco calls the "guardians of morality and good behavior," who, paradoxically, aligned themselves with the governor; on the other were those officials who—for their own reasons perhaps—deemed Fages' behavior dishonorable and worthy of censure and considered Callis in need of support and protection.[52]

One example of qualified support came from Nicolás Soler, assistant inspector of presidios, who wrote to both Fages and Callis regarding the case. Soler was eager to have the case resolved and acknowledged that, despite Fages' position, if the accusations were true, his social and political rank would not excuse his behavior. However, he was reluctant to intercede on Callis' behalf and left the matter "to Fages' discretion." He would

neither speak with Callis nor go to see her until Fages wanted him to do so.[53] Soler later wrote to Callis and attempted to persuade her to "control herself in her dealings with the priests and patiently suffer the insults that were hurled at her publicly in the church."[54]

Callis was severely berated by the ecclesiastical authorities for making public her husband's "indiscretion." It bears mentioning that she was characterized by local civilians and missionaries (and contemporary historians) as notorious, scandalous, headstrong, and interested in her own lascivious pleasures. She was represented as a woman who was capable of "outlandish and desperate acts" and whose "tortured behavior provided the lonely outpost with gossip for a couple of years."[55] Some scholars have gone as "far as to claim that Dona Eulalia was a hysterical woman suffering from premenstrual syndrome,"[56] while others portray her as a "fiery, tempestuous Catalan woman" who was "suffering from postpartum depression."[57]

Eulalia Callis was nevertheless also the object of some sympathy for being subject to the indignity of having her honor and integrity as a lady of elite society besmirched by the actions of her philandering husband. We are reminded by, for example, Inspector Pedro Galindo Navarro, that it was precisely Callis who "truly suffered the offense as a result of the governor's conjugal infidelity," although, ironically, she was the one "considered the offender" for having exposed the adultery and made "public her aggrieved position by petitioning for divorce."[58] In addition, Galindo Navarro makes the point that Callis was detained for not agreeing to recant her accusations and return to her husband.

Galindo Navarro further notes that it was "in order to prevent her from acting and using her resources for her defense" that Callis was transferred to Mission Carmelo, where she was submitted to the harshest of conditions, unable to speak to her friends and advisors, as they were also under threat of excommunication if they attempted to talk with her.

Callis was more generous in her assessment of the ecclesiastical judge's failure to gather testimony: "The judge forgot to obtain statements from everyone at the presidio who had evidence, according to the [Indian] girl. In cases such as this, the law requires that the testimony be from credible witnesses, such as midwives or others who have knowledge of the situation. The proceedings of this case have been drawn up as best as can be expected."[59]

Galindo Navarro, however, finally asserts that the ecclesiastical juridical process investigating Callis' accusations was questionable. It could not be

considered fair, as it had not taken into account the testimony of those people who had knowledge of the governor's actions but who, intimidated, had not testified for fear of reprisals by the governor's office.[60]

Fages' position as governor, of course, involved a good deal of responsibility and authority. He not only provided reports on the general conditions in the Californias, but also was undeniably in a position to exert influence on the viceroy regarding juridical and economic matters concerning the region. Thus, it was likely that Callis' *vecinos* (neighbors), who could have testified on her behalf, were unlikely to be willing to confront the military, civilian, and ecclesiastical powers whose interests were more closely aligned with those of Fages at that moment.

Callis, however, was offered a protective decree by José Antonio Rengel, acting commandant general of the interior provinces in Arizpe. Callis reported that she was "locked in a room guarded by soldiers from the troop. Placed there incommunicado . . . The cloister was rigorous. There were few candles. They stood watch over me and forced me to eat even though I was sick."[61] Rengel therefore decreed that, until the process was concluded, Fages was to transfer a third of his earnings as governor for his wife's maintenance and for the expenses incurred by her as a result of the investigative and/or juridical process.[62]

Callis thus had defenders who, at first glance, appear to have advocated on her behalf. However, it is important to question whether it was truly the woman's honor, integrity, and security that were at stake, or whether there was an imperative to protect and uphold the idealized patriarchal hierarchy. Marysa Navarro posits the following: "Spanish women . . . played a crucial role in the development of the colonial class and racial hierarchy. They were its essential component, because through them the male elite could maintain its racial and class supremacy. They were the axis that permitted the articulation of all the other hierarchies. [That is, t]hey were the necessary link for the proper transmission of material wealth, status, and honor."[63] In this regard, it was more important to ensure Callis' strict compliance with idealized Spanish and Christian mores than to engage in criticism of Fages' behavior, however censurable.

What became clear and perhaps was more significant, moreover, was that Callis was censured for her behavior because, as Navarro proposes, Spanish women's "assigned role required strict control of their sexuality [and behavior] because it was crucial for the perpetuation of Spanish hegemony."[64] The ecclesiastical authorities simply could not allow a woman, albeit a Spanish one, to challenge their patriarchal authority; they pre-

ferred to establish clear gender dichotomies and constraints rather than condemn Fages' violation of an Indian child.

Colonial Women and Divorce

Historians have observed that, in the late-eighteenth-century colonial frontier, women were active participants in legal and court proceedings where they petitioned on any manner of issues, from land tenure to divorce to seeking protection from a variety of sexual or violent attacks at the hands of men.[65] In Spanish America, women were petitioning for annulment or dissolution of a marriage as early as the sixteenth century. During that century, Spanish women had legal recourse and often exercised it by filing lawsuits against men for a variety of sexual offenses. *Estupro,* for example, was one such offense and also appears in proceedings from New Spain's northwestern frontier. *Estupro* typically involved premarital sexual intercourse, often consensual, which was considered to have taken place under false pretenses and was a liable offense. Sometimes the act consisted of the failure of the man to follow through with the promise of marriage, particularly when sexual relations had occurred as a result of that promise.[66]

At one level, then, Callis was entirely within her rights to petition for protection from her philandering husband. In colonial Spanish America, divorce in the modern sense did not exist, but one could request dissolution of a marriage, considered a legal separation, or an annulment. In the case of dissolution, the marriage bond was maintained although the parties could live separately, and the woman was allowed to recover her dowry and keep custody of her children. Annulment, on the other hand, allowed either party to remarry. The most common ground for legal separation was "extreme physical or spiritual threat, physical cruelty, prostitution, the danger of heresy or paganism, and adultery."[67]

Fages appealed to the civilian authorities and to the church in hopes of convincing his wife to withdraw her accusations. He apparently quickly received the support of the church in the person of the mission friar, who immediately condemned the "spurious" actions of Doña Eulalia. The missionary's response alleged that Callis was probably motivated by her own needs for sensual pleasure and proceeded to publicly humiliate and punish her, ordering the troops at the end of Sunday Mass to detain her: "After reading from the Gospel and preaching the sermon, he ended by vilifying

me and had the soldiers throw me out of the church. This is what he said: 'Detain that woman so I can put a gag over her mouth.'"[68]

As a result, Friar Matías Antonio de Santa Catalina Noriega, the region's ecclesiastical judge, ordered Callis to be detained incommunicado at Mission Carmelo so that she could be given the "opportunity" to meditate, reflect, and pray for holy guidance.

At the end of her protracted case, even the bishop questioned Callis' veracity. The inspector, who had requested confirmation from the bishop of Sonora regarding his order that a third of Fages' salary be advanced for Doña Eulalia's support, offered that it was Callis who was the aggrieved party and not the transgressor. The bishop responded: "Why is it so difficult to understand? How can [we] be so assured that Doña Eulalia is the aggrieved one?" He continued by pointing to the fact that it was only the woman's testimony that supported the accusations and concluded that the ecclesiastical court could not, on that basis and without more "substantial" corroboration, be obliged to find for divorce.[69]

After two or three months of detention, Callis—probably fully aware that there was no chance that her petition, or grievance, would have a positive outcome—withdrew her accusations and ecclesiastical petition. Reportedly, she was urged and encouraged by family, friends, and representatives of the church to reconcile with her husband, a reconciliation that apparently took place.[70] There does not appear to be any written record from Callis in which she publicly and formally recants. She was either simply returned to her home in Monterey or made private statements to that effect. Inspector Galindo Navarro also reported in 1787 that Callis and Fages had resumed conjugal life and, in this way, the juridical process was terminated.[71]

Sexual relations were part of that resumed cohabitation. Doña Eulalia became pregnant for the fourth time during 1787. But what is also evident is that the reconciliation was not complete, for Callis resorted to other means to remove herself from the frontier region.[72] Unbeknownst to her husband, she began petitioning the regional authorities for her husband's official transfer to Mexico City.[73] In 1791, Fages finally submitted his own petition to be relieved of duty in the Californias and was transferred back to the capital city.[74] Thus, the couple returned to Mexico City, where Fages died three years later.

Conclusion

What is of consequence to this study is not whether Callis falsely accused her husband of adultery or whether the frontier environment proved to be extremely harsh for Spanish women and discouraged their migration. What *is* noteworthy is the way in which the Spanish idealized patriarchal values of honor and the frontier missionary system ensured a particular social construction for women, even in distant and sparsely populated colonial California. This set of values determined how women lived related to the power structures, and survived. At the same time, the agency assumed by women in Mexico City also led women, like Callis, to attempt to take matters into their own hands through legal accusations or personal lobbying, in this way negotiating their survival in public spaces. Callis, in fact, acknowledged her right to legal access when she declared the following: "I humbly beg you to agree to hear this petition in the form that it is presented. Justice will grant me a pardon. I swear to accept what I am given. The laws that protect me will save me from poverty. I will not give up my rights during the course of the proceedings of my case."[75]

On the other hand, some roles were not negotiable. The biological reproductive role of women in California cut across racial lines and social status, and even in desolate and remote Alta California, Callis was expected to reproduce despite difficulties which left her physically debilitated.

Still, her role as a wife and her responsibility to maintain her husband's honor did not preclude her from seeking public denunciation of him, in this way asserting a space for herself as a legal subject. That in the process of confronting the ecclesiastical authorities and challenging patriarchal norms she was silenced and physically restrained does not negate the fact that Callis, perhaps because of her position as the governor's wife, exacted from the authorities recognition and status that probably would have been denied to an individual of a lesser station in the frontier.

Eulalia Callis' actions, from her initial refusal to join her husband to her charges of adultery and, finally, her attempts to have her husband transferred back to Mexico City, were all, as Castañeda points out, strategies for survival. The four pregnancies—from which only two children survived—her chronically poor health, and her arrest, fast, and physical confinement were all, to some extent, forms of political and physical violence against her body. But survival may not have been Callis' only motivation for her actions, as she clearly preferred living in the relative comfort of Mexico City to "roughing" it in Alta California. Though her wish to return to Mexico City was difficult to attain, in the end it was realized.

Despite Eulalia Callis' experience in the California frontier, her social positioning in the colonial racial hierarchy and her status as a member of New Spain's Spanish elite allowed her a voice, a certain degree of agency, and high visibility in that colonial public space. Faced with her public insubordination, however, the church, in its capacity as an instrument of coercion for the colonial project, asserted its power in the domain of moral behavior by sentencing her to incarceration in the mission. Clearly, Callis had not violated a civil statute in denouncing her husband; hers was a moral transgression in the eyes of the missionaries, and it would be they who would have her arrested.

It is also interesting to see that, despite ongoing conflicts between the missionaries and the head of civil and military matters in Alta California, the *jefe civil-militar*—for let's not forget that these same missionaries had Fages removed from a previous post—in *this* case, the missionaries chose to uphold their power over family and social norms and to assert the subordinate role of women.

Although some women of the California frontier at times found themselves contesting, negotiating, and confronting the mission authorities, others found different strategies for negotiation and exercising agency within the constraints of the hierarchical order and given the precariousness of frontier life. The case of Eulalia Pérez, the *llavera* of Mission San Gabriel in Alta California, which is the focus of the next chapter, serves to illuminate the gendered construction of labor and the relative access to agency and authority in the mission system of Alta California.

CHAPTER 6

Eulalia Pérez: Gender and Labor in the Spanish Frontier

The priests then talked among themselves and agreed to hand over the mission keys to me. . . . The llavera *had various responsibilities.*
EULALIA PÉREZ

Eulalia Pérez (1768?–1878),[1] the *llavera* (key keeper/head housekeeper) of Mission San Gabriel in Alta California, told her story as part of the interview project Hubert H. Bancroft conducted with old Californios in the 1870s.[2] From these interviews, collectively known as the "Californio Testimonials," Bancroft compiled a history of California.

The testimonial of Eulalia Pérez is important because her remembrances illuminate the differences in power that some mestiza women experienced in the process of negotiating work roles and gaining access to certain social spaces. What is especially noteworthy is that a mestiza woman such as Eulalia Pérez had limited access to employment in the California frontier setting. Women labored alongside their male cohort, inside the home, as well as in the fields and ranches of the region, contributing to the family's survival. When Pérez became a widow, her employment at the mission significantly aided her in supporting her children. She ultimately proved to be a talented and very capable employee who gained a position of influence with functions that were neither oppositional nor contestational to the colonial/mission project but that supported and consolidated the dominant gender, racial, and social hierarchies. Thus, the case of Eulalia Pérez, the head housekeeper at Mission San Gabriel, provides a revealing example of a mestiza woman who acquired a position of significant authority and responsibility in the most successful of the Alta California missions.[3] Although Pérez' case is somewhat unusual, for it was uncommon for mestiza women on the frontier to be appointed to positions

Figure 4. Eulalia Pérez. Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

of power within the missions, it does serve to explain how, in instances of nonantagonistic relationships with the hierarchical powers, the prescribed spatial and social parameters within which women were supposed to live and work were at times somewhat less rigid, less defined, and more permeable.[4]

Women who functioned in administrative roles supportive of the mission were often entrusted with some authority, albeit largely within the "domestic" sphere. The work of Eulalia Pérez, the *llavera* of Mission San Gabriel, serves as an example of one way in which a frontier mestiza manipulated that limited authority to achieve a certain amount of mobility within the otherwise racialized and gendered hierarchy of the Alta California mission system.

It must be noted, however, that there were few options for women in this isolated, distant frontier region, and few women achieved a level of responsibility within the mission system and the broader California society (particularly if that influence was not linked to their family's status). One notable exception was Apolinaria Lorenzana, the *llavera* at the smaller, less productive Mission San Diego. Lorenzana eventually informally performed the role of supervisor and administrator of the mission, as the friars gave her the authority to oversee mission activities as well as trade with merchants and supply ships: "I began to do a lot of work at the mission. When somebody came to buy a fanega of wheat or corn or something else, I was the person who went and witnessed the handing over of the grain . . . When ships arrived at the port . . . the fathers . . . would select from the invoices the goods needed at the mission . . . Later, when I had enough time, I would board the ship with some servants to receive the goods. I was always authorized to take any goods I thought might be useful for the mission."[5] Eulalia Pérez and Apolinaria Lorenzana must have seen their employment at the missions as exceedingly fortunate, as few women in this frontier setting benefited from similar ongoing paid work.

The Women of Early California

The population of the northern frontier of New Spain was largely mixed-race, poor, and uneducated.[6] Presidial soldiers from Baja California, some of whom were single, others of whom came with their families, were the typical early settlers in Alta California. They were transferred from other provinces of New Spain, particularly Baja California, to serve the colonial

presidios, missions, and, later, civic pueblos. Few others, however, were interested in settling in this remote colonial outpost; thus, there were several attempts at transplanting convicts and orphans from the interior of New Spain. Apolinaria Lorenzana was one such orphan: "When I was very young, barely seven years old, the government of Mexico (which at the time was a part of Spain) sent me and a large number of families and children of both sexes to Alta California . . . [W]hen we arrived in Monterey, the government distributed some of the children, as if they were puppy dogs, to the families there."[7]

The women in settlement projects performed the critical role of reproducing.[8] Dorotea Valdez, who helped care for many children of Californio families, suggested that "it was not unusual to see a mother leading twenty-four children to church. And all these children had the same father. I am not exaggerating when I state that the average number of children raised by one mother was usually more than eleven and not less."[9]

As mentioned in Chapter 5, women of the Californio elite did not escape their biological reproduction duty. It was not unusual for them to give birth to anywhere from six to ten (or more) children, with only a few surviving to adulthood. The Californio women interviewed for the Bancroft project provide a good example of this dynamic: Teresa de la Guerra's mother had eleven children, while Teresa stated in her *testimonio* that she had twenty sons and five daughters; María Antonia Rodríguez had eleven siblings and she had fourteen children of her own; Rosalía Vallejo had at least nine siblings and she raised at least six children of her own; Josefa Carrillo gave birth to twelve children, and her mother, María Ignacia López, gave birth thirteen times; Catarina Ávila's mother, María Antonia Linares, was the tenth child in her family, and Catarina gave birth to twelve children; Eulalia Pérez gave birth twelve times, two of her four children born in Loreto traveled with her to San Diego, and four daughters born in Alta California are also mentioned in her *testimonio;* Angustias de la Guerra had fourteen children; María Inocenta Pico de Ávila, who had nine siblings, gave birth to ten children.[10]

Californio women also largely supported the Christianizing efforts of the missions. Eulalia Pérez refers in her *testimonio* to the severe punishments imposed on Indians who were charged with infractions of mission rules and claims that "Father Sánchez and Father Zalvidea always showed much concern for the Indians."[11]

Elite women whose families had close friendships with mission friars or who were related to missionaries, as in the case of Angustias de la Guerra, were devoted Catholics who were bound by Catholic values and Spanish

patriarchal mores. Teresa and Angustias de la Guerra were the daughters of one of the richest men in California, Capt. Don José de la Guerra y Noriega. One of the largest landowners of the region, Captain de la Guerra was said to have "owned four large ranchos that comprised a total of fifty-three square leagues," and "[had] fifty-eight thousand head of cattle."[12] Captain de la Guerra was fond of entertaining Alta California's mission friars and was said to have been a close friend of Fr. Luis Martínez of San Luis Obispo, who was accused of conspiring to overthrow the Mexican authorities during a revolt in late 1829. De la Guerra was appointed by the Franciscan Order to manage their finances in California and was, thus, trusted and respected by the missionaries. Reflecting her father's attitude toward the missionaries, Angustias de la Guerra Ord declared that the missionaries "were living examples of virtue and devoted their lives to the well-being of their neophytes."[13]

Teresa de la Guerra Hartnell vehemently defended the missionaries:

> I have heard many people ascribe a thousand denigrating epithets to the Reverend Fathers without being aware of how things were done in the past. May God forgive them. Those people who dislike the ministers [do not] know what they are talking about . . . This criticism is so unjust, and should not be doled out against individuals who during their lifetime made unprecedented efforts to redeem this blessed land from the hands of the barbarous infidels . . . [The] Fathers found it filled with hundreds of thousands of Indians thirsty for the blood of Christians . . . [C]ivilization is indebted to them for the progress that has been made in this, my native land.[14]

By the end of the colonial period, some Californios had accumulated much wealth through the acquisition of land (some by way of land grants) and trade. However, many more worked on the ranchos as vaqueros, majordomos, and in other skilled labor, and some mestizas worked in the homes of wealthier Californios as maids, caring for the children of the landed elite and occasionally working for the missions. Apolinaria Lorenzana, the *llavera* of Mission San Diego, supported herself sewing, embroidering, instructing pueblo children in catechism, and as the *llavera* and nurse at Mission San Diego: "I took care of the sick in the mission hospital, . . . [Father Sánchez] said I should teach others how to care for the sick and be present to supervise them."[15] Her services as nurse and *curandera* were well known, and she was often called to care for injured and sick prominent Californios and missionaries and as a midwife. In fact,

on one notable occasion in 1834, Lorenzana was called on to take care of members of the Híjar colony who arrived in San Diego with measles.[16]

Although Lorenzana stated that she "supported [herself] working with [her] hands," she put other self-taught skills to great use. She learned how to read while at the orphanage but taught herself to write and was much sought after among the Californios as a teacher: "By the time I was living at Doña Tomasa Lugo's home, I had already begun to teach a few girls how to read . . . Later I did the same thing at Doña Josefa Sal's home. [She] started a school to teach girls how to read, pray and sew . . . I was in charge of the school almost exclusively . . . During the years I was at the mission, parents would ask me to teach their boys and girls how to read. I would do this when I had some free time from my work. I always had several girls under my care."[17]

As the social hierarchy of California developed, daughters of the Californio elite were expected to learn the social graces and skills of polite society. Juana Machado (de Ridington) recalled going with the young daughters of the Pico family and other children of the elite to Lugarda Delgado, a woman from Mazatlán and wife of Alférez Ignacio Delgado, to learn "all types of needlework and [to make] artificial flowers and other fanciful crafts."[18]

The demands of frontier life, however, often compelled parents to ensure that their children were taught to be resourceful. Young females, who often married early, sometimes also received a formal, albeit basic, education. Often, and perhaps more important, they were also expected to learn other skills necessary for survival: "At school, they taught us how to read and write and also the four rules of arithmetic with whole numbers. Many girls did not complete even those basic subjects because their mothers would take them out of school almost always to marry them off. The bad custom existed of marrying off very young girls whenever men asked for their hand. I was in school only until the age of fourteen, which is when my mother took me to the rancho to *show me how to work*."[19] Sometimes, as in the case of mestizas in Los Ángeles, women were hired to assist in skilled jobs that were needed at the missions, such as sewing and embroidering, thus effectively utilizing their "feminine" skills to generate income.

But the vastness, geographic isolation, and undeveloped character of the northwestern frontier in Alta California required that both men and women become involved in a variety of tasks that in other, more economically developed, towns would be considered outside the norm of hierarchical and dichotomized labor domains. By the early 1800s, those

areas of New Spain that had experienced early conquest, colonization, and economic development, such as Mexico City, had undergone close to three centuries of social, cultural, and economic transformation and thus were significantly more "advanced" in terms of their productive base and relations of production than were the frontier regions.[20]

Work roles for men and women had undergone concomitant, albeit in no terms equitable, transformations. As we saw in Chapter 5, women living in the northern borderlands of New Spain were involved in a variety of activities as biological, economic, and ideological producers. But their ability to negotiate independent action within and beyond the public sphere was limited, given the gender roles and identities dictated by the colonial patriarchal institutions. As Dorotea Valdez, a mestiza who was born in Monterey in 1793 and worked in several Californio homes, states in her testimonial interview, "I have witnessed every event that has taken place since that time [1793], but because I am a woman, I was denied the privilege of participating in politics or in business. My education has been very limited."[21]

Although the incorporation of women into the labor force was by the early 1800s an ongoing process in the preindustrial environment of Mexico City, where women were already involved in struggling for admission to, and representation by, certain guilds, in the California borderlands environment, the gender identity of women as housewives and mothers was in the process of expansion to other areas as workers, albeit in activities still generally considered domestic. This concrete and specific process of role extension responded to the Spanish semifeudal relations of production that the missionaries were attempting to duplicate on this frontier. Eulalia Pérez' work at the mission serves to demonstrate this.

Eulalia Pérez and Mission Management

Eulalia Pérez was originally from Loreto, Baja California, and settled in Alta California toward the last decades of the Spanish colonial period. The peopling of Alta California was done at the expense of the inhabitants of Antigua California; that is, the majority of presidial soldiers who staffed the presidios and guarded the missions of Alta California came from Baja California.

The colonial population in Alta California was always relatively smaller than that of the other northern frontier provinces. At the end of the eighteenth century, the population consisted largely of transplants from the

Baja California mission towns and presidial soldiers and their families. "Some families lived as military dependents near the actual presidios, or even within the walls of the forts; others accompanied their spouses or fathers on detached duty as part of the mission guard, the escolta."[22] This was the case for Eulalia Pérez and her family.

Pérez arrived in Alta California around 1800, when her soldier husband was transferred to the San Diego presidio. Pérez, her husband, Antonio Guillén, and two children stayed in the area for approximately eight years, until he was transferred to be part of the *escolta* at Mission San Gabriel. According to Martha Ortega Soto, there were 1,636 inhabitants in 1821, the year after Pérez began working at the mission. This number includes the Spanish, Indian, and mestizo populations.[23] Pérez and her family lived at Mission San Gabriel for approximately ten years and then returned to San Diego. In 1821, Pérez, now widowed and with six children, moved back to San Gabriel when she was hired as the mission's chief cook, overseeing its kitchen facilities and supervising its neophyte Indian labor therein.

Pérez eventually held a number of jobs at the mission: head cook, housekeeper, administrator, nurse, and midwife. Given the size of the mission, the scope of her duties was extensive and akin to those of a quartermaster. The "well regulated household" she ran entailed meeting the "domestic" needs of at times over 2,000 mission inhabitants. The extent, and significance, of her work can be assessed by the volume of production as well as the numbers of people living and working at the mission. Gov. Pedro Fages reported as early as 1791, 1,033 Indians attached to Mission San Gabriel—538 males, 495 females. (The non-Indian population typically amounted to one or two friars and possibly two to five presidial guards servicing the mission.) Only Missions San Antonio, Santa Clara, and San Diego had comparable populations, with 1,088, 925, and 853, respectively.[24] Two decades before Eulalia Pérez' first stay in California, the population at San Gabriel amounted to 1,176 (both Indian and non-Indian).[25]

Pérez assisted the missionaries in a variety of capacities, organizing the work of the mission Indians; supervising the training of female and male Indians for work in the various shops, mills, and fields; and overseeing the execution of all mission production, including the making of soap, clothing, blankets, brandy, and leather goods, and the planting of crops. Pérez managed the supply of provisions for the presidio and for other missions, and she was charged with maintaining the daily schedule of mission activities.

As Eulalia Pérez herself states in her *testimonio,* she was additionally responsible for the daily distribution of rations to all the Indians and the

missionaries at the mission. She supervised the weekly distribution of provisions for the presidial troops and "gente de razón" (or non-Indian) servants. She was assigned a servant to assist her with the distribution of goods, which, in any given week, included the provision of a variety of needed products, including beans, corn, garbanzos, lentils, candles, soap and lard.[26]

Pérez was in charge of the *jabonería,* or soap factory: "The factory consisted of 4 large cisterns or boilers, that [held] from 2,000 to 2,500 gallons each . . . [There was] a large iron pot or kettle [and smaller ones] lined around the mouth of the cistern. The pots or kettles [held] from 2 to 250 gallons each."[27] For this task, too, Pérez had assistants, supervising them to assure that they carried out the process correctly.

The production of leather goods was likewise her responsibility. She supervised the trained leather workers and was responsible for the distribution of suede jackets, saddles, shoes, and all other locally produced leather goods.

Pérez presided over the "cutting and making [of] clothes and other items, from head to toe [to outfit] the vaqueros . . . including shirt[s], vest[s], pants, hat[s], boots, shoes, and spurs, . . . saddle[s], bridle[s] and rope." Other non-Indian women were involved in the mission project, performing tasks that were considered domestic chores, such as sewing and cooking. Pérez oversaw these functions as well. Her position as *llavera* carried with it a significant degree of influence, not only with respect to Indian neophyte labor but also to the labor of settler women.

The most populous pueblos in 1790 were Los Ángeles, with 131 people, and San José, with 78.[28] Despite the relatively small size of these pueblos, as mentioned earlier, whenever necessary, colonial women would perform tasks needed at the missions, particularly as the indigenous female population of the missions declined. For this purpose, Pérez had the authority to assign duties to her five daughters and to "employ women of the Los Angeles pueblo" to assist in the sewing of clothes for the soldiers, vaqueros, and mission workers.[29] The women of Los Ángeles whom Pérez employed were paid by the missionaries for their completed work.

The most crucial role that Eulalia Pérez played at the mission was coordinating the training and acculturation of the indigenous women to ensure that they adopted new cultural practices and ways of life. The ideal was to make the Indians more suited to engage in those forms of production necessary for the expansion and prosperity of the mission project. This task was achieved through the women's acquisition of a variety of skills, from using spinning wheels to weaving and cooking.[30] Neophyte

Indian women were expected to assist in cooking for the mission's Indian workers and for this reason "had access to . . . grinding stones, pans, pots, stewpots and small ovens for baking bread."[31]

Indian men were also taught colonial productive practices. As Eulalia Pérez explains in her *testimonio,* Indian men were trained in the fields and taught to "care for the horses and cattle . . . There was . . . a large carpentry shop and a small one. The apprentice carpenters worked in the small carpentry shop until they had mastered enough to be sent" elsewhere to learn other skills. Pérez also notes that "as soon as the cattle had been fattened up, the slaughter would take place. The meat would be thrown out. Only hides, fat, loin, tongues, and horns would be kept. All of this, except what was eaten at the mission itself, would be sold to ships."[32] This was one type of labor that was required of most Indian men.

The *Llavera* and the Mission Project

The mission system in Alta California owed its success to the virtual enslavement and exploitation of the indigenous populations. In the span of approximately sixty-four years, Indians provided the labor which allowed the twenty-one missions to have, by 1834, an inventory of more than 396,000 head of cattle; 62,000 horses; 321,000 hogs, sheep, and goats; and to harvest over 123,000 bushels of grain.[33] With Mission San Gabriel as the flagship of the California missions, the agricultural development of the land with European crops was largely accomplished with Indian male and female labor. It is significant to note that, just prior to the secularization of the missions in 1833, Indians throughout Alta California were involved in the care of fields, harvesting crops, winemaking, stock tending, tanning, weaving, spinning, sewing, soapmaking, cooking, carpentry, construction, and leather manufacturing.

The sheer number of productive activities at Mission San Gabriel required a large number of Indians to perform them. In 1813, there were at least 1,600 neophytes at the mission, compared to approximately 526 pueblo settlers in Los Angeles.[34] This population asymmetry and the discontent of Indians forced to remain at the mission against their will and subject to various forms of brutal treatment resulted in a chronically insecure environment for the settlers and missionaries. Although the presidios were charged with the task of providing security for the missions and settlers, this duty was very demanding, given the vast territory to be protected.

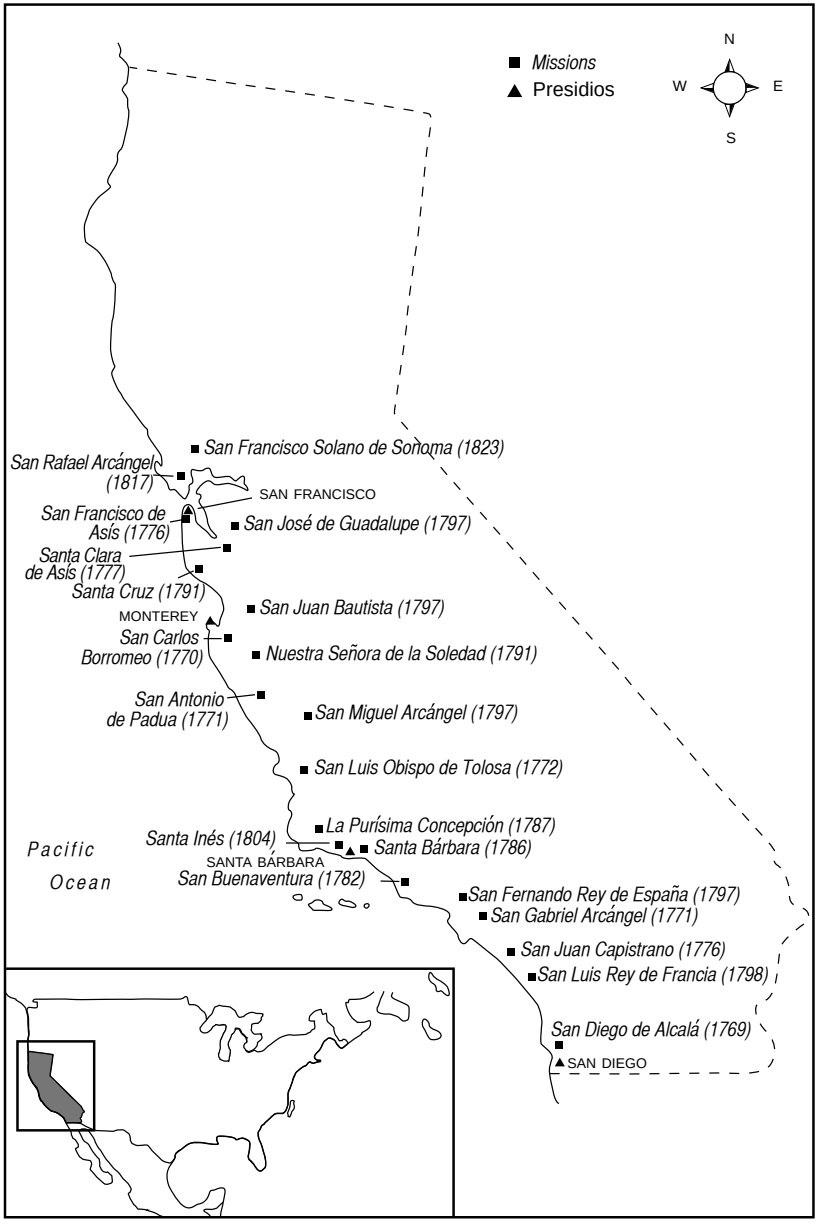

Figure 5. Missions of Alta California, 1769–1823.

Engelhardt describes an incident in which a party of Mohave Indians who had been raiding area ranchos attacked and killed several local neophytes. A military expedition set out from San Gabriel to find the perpetrators. On this occasion, a large group was ordered to the task, and thirty-five cavalrymen, fifteen infantrymen, four artillerymen, one cannon, and a large number of neophyte Indians set out.

Mustering this number of soldiers was not always possible, given the distances between missions and presidios and the low number of presidial soldiers attached to any given mission. Security at the mission sites and surrounding areas was thus always precarious. According to Monroy, in 1800, there were only 372 military men guarding the twenty-one missions in Alta California, 60 of whom were retirees.[35] This asymmetry in the ratio of Indians to settlers and soldiers required a concerted preemptive strategy on the part of the colonists to guarantee their own security.[36] To protect their own lives, or so the colonial authorities determined, they had to control and dominate the Indians.

The social control imposed on the mission Indians also facilitated, and was served by, the reorganization of their daily life and expedited labor extraction. The labor regime was strictly observed and rigidly quantified; that is, specific activities were performed during specific times of day, with little if any day-to-day variation, and largely consisted of prayer, meals, and work. In addition, gendered work often contrasted with, if it did not contradict, the traditional division of labor, thereby confusing traditional gendered roles and further collapsing the sociocultural schema and psychological makeup of the indigenous peoples.[37]

Eulalia Pérez' responsibilities at the mission furthered the maintenance and supervision of this strategy of spatial fragmentation. Her *testimonio* provides a detailed description of the spatial division at the mission designed to create order and separate the Indians in their work and sleep environments:

> There was a large number of neophytes at Mission San Gabriel. Those who were married lived at their *rancherías* with their young children.
>
> The unmarried neophytes lived in two separate quarters. The one for women was called the *monjerío* and there was another one for the men.
>
> Young girls between the ages of seven and nine were brought to the *monjerío.* They would be raised there and would leave when they were to be married. An Indian mother would care for them in the *monjerío.* When I was at the mission, that mother's name was Polonia. They would call her Madre Abadesa.

> The *alcalde* was in charge of the single men's quarters.
>
> Every night the buildings were locked and the keys were turned over to me. Then I would hand the keys over to the fathers.[38]

Indian flight from the missions was a recurring problem. Indigenous men and women were escaping individually and in groups from Baja and Alta California missions with such frequency as to create serious problems for the missionaries. In Baja California this flight created severe labor shortages, such that missionaries sometimes had to hire non-Indians as workers and supervisors of Indian labor.[39] In Alta California, some missionaries built walls around Indian housing. Mission Santa Cruz included a barrackslike dormitory that was specifically built to prevent flight.[40]

Incarceration in dormitories disrupted normal social relations between the sexes and, in most cases, family life. In addition, separating children from their parents was critical for the mission's acculturation program. As Lisbeth Haas explains, the "act of placing neophyte children in the *monjeríos* . . . [was] the most systematic effort of the missionaries to disrupt the passage of indigenous forms of knowledge, authority, and power from elders to their children."[41]

Compliance with this arrangement was strictly enforced. Any young Indian woman who left the mission site to spend the night at her parents' ranchería was severely dealt with, as were her parents. Pérez describes this practice: "A blind Indian named Andresillo would stand at the door to the *monjerío.* He would call out the name of each girl so that they would come in one by one. If any girl was missing when the girls were supposed to come inside, they would go out and look for her the next day. The girl would be brought back to the *monjerío.* If the girl had a mother, then she would be brought back as well and would be punished for keeping the girl away. The girl would be locked up for her carelessness in not returning to the *monjerío* on time."[42]

In her testimonial, at times Pérez objectively notes the order and discipline imposed on the young Indians and their parents; at other times, she is clearly aware of the coercive practices designed to keep the Indians subjugated and seems sympathetic to their suffering. While describing the severity of some of the punishments imposed on the Indians, which included "stocks and confinement . . . [lashings] . . . and a punishment called the *Ley de Bayona,*" a particularly painful form of punishment, Pérez expressed a sense of sadness ("*era muy penoso*").[43]

But, to ensure adherence to mission rules, the missionaries engaged in an exceedingly repressive system of social order. As Rosaura Sánchez

notes, "the maintenance of order among the many by the few relied on strategies of fragmentation and division . . . on the very spatial organization of the missions [which was] geared principally toward production and the extraction of labor. [Further,] spatial divisions within the mission facilitated the imposition of constraints and rules; space itself was repressive, for its configuration determined the social hierarchy within."[44]

As noted above, the *llavera* was also directly responsible for the daily work routine and meal schedule of the mission's Indians. Historians have asserted that the domination and exploitation of the Indians in the frontier was accomplished through the radical transformation of Indian culture, social organization, and economy through a concerted mission acculturation program.[45] The missionization process involved practices that took place in Baja California and were replicated in Alta California. The interruption of traditional ways and religious beliefs and customs was accomplished by eliminating those spaces where the transmission of knowledge from elders to children took place. Traditional social interaction was also disrupted through the monitoring of male/female interaction, the creation of separate housing for single adults, the regimenting of daily tasks, and the forced compliance with religious and work practices and rituals:

> The Indians would get up very early. Right at dawn the bell would ring for Mass. While the Father was saying this first Mass, all the Indians would be reciting prayers . . . Before the bell rang at dawn, all the Indians who lived at the rancherías would come to the *pozolera* to eat their breakfast of *atole* . . . [The mission's] single men and women ate breakfast after Mass . . . [They would leave after breakfast to go to work] . . . The Indians' second meal was at eleven o'clock . . . [after which they returned to work] . . . The workday ended at five o'clock. The bell would ring to signal that it was time for prayers. Everyone was required to go and pray . . . After prayers, they would go . . . for their evening meal of *atole*.[46]

Subsequently the single Indian males and females would be locked up in the segregated quarters for the remainder of the night.

Removed from their lands, prohibited from engaging in their own traditional ways, and coerced to work at the missions, the neophytes were subjected to a strictly defined regimented life imposed by the missionaries. And this regimen had as its primary objective the extraction of indigenous labor. According to Rosaura Sánchez, the missionaries effectively devel-

oped "a policy of deliberately spatialized regimentation [as the] best disciplinary strategy for curtailing and containing any attempts by the Indians to question their subordination . . . Each everyday practice was strategic in that it guaranteed collective participation . . . and acquiescence . . . for the routine varied but little."[47] The *llavera* at San Gabriel was charged with ensuring the implementation of this regimented schedule.

Pérez' testimonial offers a description of the daily routine imposed on the indigenous men and women at Mission San Gabriel. "The girls would be let out of the *monjerío* in the morning. First they would go to the Mass said by Father Zalvidea. He spoke the Indian language. Then they would go to the *pozolera* to eat breakfast. Sometimes the breakfast would be *champurrado* (chocolate mixed with atole made from corn). On feast days they would have bread and something sweet. On the other days they would normally have pozole and meat. After breakfast, each girl would go to her assigned task, which might be weaving, unloading items from *carretas,* sewing, or something else."[48] In San Diego, Lorenzana "taught the Indian women to sew. I had them working continuously on the sewing projects for the church or for the Fathers."[49] At Mission San Gabriel, for the most part, labor was spatially organized, with Indian women being taken to particular work stations where they performed "domestic" work, such as spinning or weaving. Indian men typically were taken to the carpentry shop, the blacksmith forge, tanning and soap factories, and fields to harvest crops and tend to livestock.

In addition to those already enumerated functions, Eulalia Pérez served as nurse and midwife at the mission as needed and trained others to perform related tasks at the infirmary. Thus, the *llavera* was also responsible for the nutritional and health needs of the Indians. Pérez notes in her testimonial: "When they were assigned to unload *carretas,* at eleven o'clock they would have to put one or two aside. These *carretas* were used to take drinks to the Indians who were working in the fields. The drinks were usually a mixture of water, vinegar, and sugar, but sometimes they were water, lemon, and sugar. I was the person who prepared and sent out those drinks so the Indians would not get sick. That is what the fathers ordered done."[50] The *llavera* also supervised the making of the meals and the distribution of food rations: "All work stopped at eleven. At noon, they would go to the *pozolera* for their meal of meat and vegetables. At one o'clock they would return to their jobs. The workday ended at sunset. Then they all would go to the *pozolera* to eat their dinner, which was *atole* with meat. Sometimes it was plain *atole*."[51]

Gendered Work on the Frontier

As indicated earlier, work roles on the California frontier were not rigidly construed, either spatially or functionally, along gender lines, although Pérez' testimonial suggests that there was some gender segregation of indigenous work at the mission. Other Californio testimonials collected by Bancroft indicate that Indian women participated in "domestic as well as non-domestic tasks, like harvesting, the cleaning of seedbeds, and the carrying of heavy loads," as both indigenous men and women were utilized as "brute" labor.[52]

For women, there was no strict or rigid parameter of gendered work in the spatial surroundings outside the mission walls; that is, women performed skilled work, weaving, sewing, basketmaking, and so on, but could also be assigned work in the fields. Indian men were also involved in what were otherwise deemed domestic tasks. As Engelhardt explains (from the 1812 Mission San Gabriel report to the Spanish government regarding mission Indians), "In the pueblo and ranchos of the other classes, pagans, men as well as women, serve as farm laborers, cooks, water carriers, and in other domestic work."[53]

Indian labor was extracted and exploited to ensure the success of the mission project. Whether the neophytes toiled in the mission workshops, factories, fields, or at the looms, whether they were providing domestic service at settler ranchos and pueblos or working as biological reproducers of mission labor, their work, lives, and environs were all prescribed by the mission project.

These undifferentiated work spaces were also characteristic of frontier labor among non-Indians in the Spanish colonial borderlands, where men and women experienced a broadening of the division of labor and a blurring of the boundaries that divided "male work" from "female work." Although the particularities differed some between the Spanish colonial frontier and the Anglo-American frontier, the experience of women in the latter illustrates the process whereby women engaged in productive domestic and farm labor and, moreover, were central to the success of these frontier settlement projects. John Mack Faragher posits that on mid-nineteenth-century Midwestern farms women "were engaged in from one-third to one-half of all the food production of the farm . . . Of the farm staples—meat, milk, corn, pumpkins, beans, and potatoes—women produced the greater number as a product of their portion of the division of labor. Women were also likely to be found helping men with their portion at peak planting time."[54] Although Faragher is referring to

Midwestern Euro-American frontier women, even in these cases, frontier women were known occasionally to engage in the purchase, sale, or trade of farm goods. And although colonial- and Mexican-period women in New Spain's northern frontier had legal rights to property and often engaged in business, laboring women still often found their work perceived as, and relegated to, the domestic sphere.

However, although both men and women were active participants in the survival of the family, the labor of women was still considered domestic in that their production was purported to be primarily for subsistence rather than for exchange. Despite the fact that women were involved in a variety of cottage industries, their labor was depreciated as women's work at the same time that men's work was afforded a superior value.

As Faragher states, "Woman's work was dominated by the omnipresent awareness of the immediate usefulness of her product."[55] In other words, women were seen as providing for the immediate needs of the family and the proper functioning of the household. By contrast, "the flavor of male work was quantitative: acres, fields, bushels—all measured a man's work." Faragher notes the perceived importance of men's work by stressing its connection to the market: "The market could connect men's work to a large social process and remunerate them in the tokens of commerce. In order to qualify as social labor, work had to have this characteristic: to be able to reach out and connect the family to the larger social world. Woman's work . . . always looking inward, did not qualify; it was hidden by domestic draperies."[56]

In this context, when women exchanged farm-grown products for other goods (such as sugar, glass, coffee, and crockery) and services, they were typically only afforded relatively higher status, as, generally, the products procured were deemed as intended for the improvement, or servicing, of the household. The perception of men's work, on the other hand, was that it was considered the primary source for payment of mortgages or equipment that would improve farm production; for this reason, it was construed as more valuable.

As noted, Faragher's study primarily examines gender differences in the Midwestern frontier among Euro-American men and women, yet it is useful in an examination of Spanish colonial gendered labor as it provides insights into the process of domesticization of women's work in the frontier. A comparison of the situation in the Spanish frontier with conditions in Mexico City during the 1820s is not as productive because of the very precise political, economic, and social realities faced by women in Mexico City vis-à-vis women in the frontier. Thus, in terms of the specific,

material characteristics of frontier women's work at this point in history, there is no discrete cross-temporal or cross-geographic normative labor experience for women.

On the Overland Trail, "responsibilities were apportioned [among family members] in strict adherence to the traditional sexual division [of labor], i.e. it was *assumed* that men would drive the oxen and mend the wagons, that women would cook and sew."[57] In practice, this division of labor varied significantly, depending on the remoteness of the settled area, the number of men available to do the work, and the harshness or fertility of the cultivable land.[58]

In the remote areas of Alta and Baja California, men and women shared similar backbreaking work, whether at the missions' *obrajes,* the ranchos, or the rancherías. Here, too, although women were involved in a wide variety of tasks, their work appeared to be invisible to visitors and to historians of the period. No matter how significant or influential their work was, it rarely entered the chronicles of the period. Thus, women's work was almost always characterized as domestic work.

Pérez' work at Mission San Gabriel, although managerial, supervisory, and administrative, did not escape this categorization. Her participation in the mission project virtually disappeared in the early historiography of the period and is only nominally mentioned in the *testimonios* of male Californios. The extent and scope of her participation at Mission San Gabriel really surfaced only as a result of her own *testimonio.* Despite her substantial influence and independence of action in the mission setting, Pérez was also subjected to—and somewhat grudgingly submitted to—the paternalistic control of the missionaries to the point of their determining her marital status.

In 1832, when all of Pérez' daughters were married, Fr. José Bernardo Sánchez insisted that she remarry: "Father Sánchez tried very hard to get me to marry 1st Lt. Juan Mariné, a Spaniard (Catalan) who had served in the artillery. He was a widower with a family. *I did not want to get married,* but Father Sánchez told me that Mariné was a very good man, which turned out to be the case. He also had quite a bit of money, but he never handed the box where he kept it over to me."[59]

Eulalia Pérez' power within the mission had been, to some extent, *allowed* by the missionaries, and it depended on their goodwill. Pérez acknowledged in her *testimonio* that Father Sánchez had supported her and her daughters until they married. For this reason, she was likely unwilling to go against their wishes or orders. "I did not have the heart to deny Father Sánchez anything because he had been like a father and a mother

to me and to my entire family."[60] But working for the missions and, by extension, contributing to the development and maintenance of California's missions, presidios, and pueblos afforded her a degree of empowerment not otherwise available to a mestiza widow of the colonial frontier.

Conclusion

Eulalia Pérez' case offers a revealing example of how gendered work in the borderlands context must be understood as occurring in public and private spaces that were fluid, permeable, and overlapping. Pérez had a high level of responsibility and authority at the mission, despite her gendered status. Her appointment and promotion were largely due to her subservience to the missionaries and her ideological investment in the mission project. But her social standing, economic condition, and the very survival of her family after the death of her first husband relied markedly on her employment at the mission.

Pérez' work for the mission was neither contestatory nor oppositional to the mission's goals. Rather, it undeniably served to consolidate the exploitation and domination of the indigenous population. Consequently, she was—her gender notwithstanding—allowed relatively greater mobility and agency because her functions facilitated the missions' operation.

The public character of the mission project situated Pérez within a public work sphere, despite the fact that traditional historiography would place her work at the mission in the private sphere as a domestic worker. A close examination of her duties verifies that she performed a key legitimating role of regimenting spatial and social constructs in the mission's colonizing public project.

Pérez' work at the mission helped to accomplish these public goals, even if within the mission's gendered relations both her work and her agency were deemed a mere extension of the private, domestic, realm. This process not only conformed to the normative gendered division of labor prevalent in this frontier system, but also served to reinforce the strictly gendered roles that were being constructed in a setting that essentially erased women's contribution to the development of the region.

Pérez' remembrances in her *testimonio* provide an accounting of her participation in the mission project and detail the mission's productive capacities. The report of her work and engagement in the mission project survived in large measure because of her willingness to provide the information.

In relating the particulars of her work to Bancroft's interviewers, Pérez ensured her place in the history of California, the purported goal of the Bancroft project. From her perspective, her role was key in the operation of the mission and reason enough for her to be remembered. The same forceful personality that shaped her work in the mission allowed Pérez' agency to resurface in the public historiographical space, despite her advanced age at the moment of her interview by Bancroft's assistants.

The range and significance of her functions at the mission would have been totally erased from history had she not been called on to offer her memories of her ties to the mission project. To socially construct Pérez' work as belonging only to the private sphere would constitute gendered erasure. To reduce her to a domestic worker (the housekeeper of Mission San Gabriel) would mean ignoring her substantive contributions at various public levels. She performed in spheres that were, for example, inaccessible to many other laypeople at the mission.

Eulalia Pérez' life and work illustrate how, despite the gendering of colonial spaces for the subordination and domination of women, there were gaps in the rigid structure that enabled women to perform at levels generally reserved for men, especially if the special opportunity was deemed of benefit to the mission project. In drawing generalizations about women's lives during the Spanish and Mexican periods in Alta California it is important to examine specific cases, as these can provide us with a better grasp of the complex nature of the period's social relationships and contradictions, the subordination of particular groups, and the cooperation and support of members of these various groups in the subordination and exploitation of others.

Conclusion: Women in the Public Missions of the Californias

In this book I have examined women's differential mobility within and outside public spaces in the California frontier of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In so doing, I hope I have contributed to both the history of the Californias and women's studies by investigating the gendered roles of women, their access to recourse and redress, and their relationship to the dominant power and its coercive institutions in colonial Alta and Baja California.

In addition, I have proposed a rethinking of public and private spaces as they were constructed in this late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century California frontier. More significantly, I have examined the public character of the mission project; that is, although the mission might in some sense be construed as a private, religious space, it in fact performed a public function in that it served as an agent for the state, carrying out colonizing policies and consolidating gendered hierarchies for the Spanish Crown. The mission was a highly heterogeneous site, for the locus served simultaneously as trading post, bank, hacienda, and church, as well as a socially transformative, and coercive, arm of the Crown; thus, the mission was both a public and a private space and stands as the epitome of overlapping social spaces.

I have also demonstrated that a gendered approach to the study of California frontier development and a nuanced understanding of social space are necessary to any historicizing project that seeks to analyze the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Californias. Key to this analysis is the examination of the role of the missions and missionaries, that is, the significance of missionization as the architect of the colonial project in the Californias that established specific regimes of power and production and

defined and delimited gender spaces and roles for the inhabitants of the Californias.

The degree to which women were constrained or able to negotiate within and beyond these gender roles was intimately tied to their specific positioning in the social and racial hierarchies of the region. And the extent to which their actions were either in harmony with or were seen to threaten the mission project determined the nature both of the status they were accorded and the constraints imposed on their mobility and agency.

As we saw in Chapter 4, Bárbara Gandiaga's actions unfolded late in the missionaries' colonial authority over the Californias. Her racial status in the colonial order precluded her seeking or having public (legal) recourse in response to her abuse or a defense against accusations; thus, we find her agency constrained in the legal, albeit mission, public sphere.

Eulalia Callis was likewise limited in her ability to negotiate her choice of residence and agency on the frontier, and was forced to retreat and recant her accusations against her husband when they were found to threaten the moral and legal authority of the church. Although her social status as a Spanish woman and wife of a governor allowed her a voice to contest her situation, her high visibility in the colonial frontier worked against her, as her petition for divorce challenged the prevailing ecclesiastical, and thus colonial, authority.

Eulalia Pérez' work, although highly influential and central to mission operations, was also largely defined by prevailing gendered relations, personally mediated by the missionaries as a consequence of the mission system's economic, and political, authority.

This research further demonstrates that historians must understand gender within the specific conditions of time and place and study it relationally, in its intersection with other categories. In each of the cases examined here, race, gender, and class are differentially weighted. In Gandiaga's case, for example, the nexus of race and gender was the predominant dynamic that determined the outcome of her trials, given her status as an Indian woman in a Baja California mission of the early nineteenth century. On the other hand, Callis' race and social status awarded her a degree of agency not available to other women positioned differently in the social hierarchy. However, given her role in the colonizing project, she was compelled to support her governor-husband's honor status and obey the commands of the missionaries, the church's (and Crown's) representatives, in this frontier region. Pérez' life and work illustrate gaps in the rigid social structure that enabled her to perform at levels generally reserved for

men, especially if the special opportunity was deemed of benefit to the mission project.

These stories reveal a multilayered historiography of women of the Californias and provide a window to a comprehensive understanding of California society of this period through a focused analytical approach to the study of California women—Spanish, mixed race or mestiza, and Indian. My goal was not to seek or create compensatory stories, what Deena J. González calls "egalitarian-companionate mythologies," vis-à-vis men.[1] Rather, it was important, as DuBois and Ruiz suggest, to look at a series of relations between gender and different classes of women who represent diverse cultures and unequal power.[2]

The unifying link among these three women, however, is that they were all engaged in creating and deploying strategies for survival and in asserting their agency within the dynamic and power relations of their respective historical moments. My challenge was to capture the intricacies of women's lives at the microhistorical level, that is, through the reading of particular women's experiences, thereby exposing the broader gender-defined relations of power and subordination. Further, I had to understand how a variety of social, racial, and class boundaries constrained individual women, and, in turn, how some of these individuals managed to negotiate mobility within and beyond these constraints.

The underlying goal of this book is to contribute to our understanding of those expanding analytical categories that continue to illuminate women's experiences by questioning traditional male/female, private/public dichotomies, particularly in the context of the Spanish and Mexican Californias. Certainly, the history of the Californias has been widely written and will continue to be mined for its deep and rich sources. There is still much to be said about its exciting ventures, intrigues, tragedies, discoveries, betrayals, and deaths and its population's survival and successes.

The histories of the Californias include stories of Spanish kings, indigenous peoples, mestizo settlers, miners, soldiers, viceroys, pirates, and missionaries, all of whom were significant actors in this region. But there is, perhaps, infinitely more to be researched and written about the women of this part of the Americas. *Indígenas, mestizas,* and *españolas*—their stories must also be told.

APPENDIX I-A

Interrogatorio de Bárbara Gandiaga sobre la muerte del Padre Eudaldo Surroca, misionero de la Misión de Santo Tomás en la Antigua California

En la Misión de San Vicente a veinte y seis de noviembre de mil ochocientos tres. Yo, Don José Manuel Ruiz, Alférez de Caballería de la Compañía del Real Presidio de Loreto y Comandante de estas fronteras hize comparecer ante mí y los testigos de asistencia que suscriben a Bárbara Gandiaga presa en la guardia de esta misión a quien hize levantar la mano derecha, y [,][1]

Preguntada: Juráis a Dios, y a esa señal de la Santa Cruz decir verdad sobre el punto que os boi a interrogar?

Dixo: si juro.

Preguntada: quántos años tiene de edad; de donde es natural, si se confesaba, y conocía lo que agrava al Alma el pecado de jurar en falso?

Dixo: que tiene treinta y ocho años, que es natural de la Misión de San Fernando, que se confesaba, y sabía lo que le agrava el Alma el pecado de jurar en falso.

Preguntada: si save porqué esta presa?

Dixo: que porque acompañó a los que mataron al Padre

Preguntada: cómo se llamaba su Padre Ministro, y quienes contribuyeron en el acto de quitarle la vida?

Dixo: que el Padre se llamaba Fray Eudaldo Surroca y que le quitaron a este la vida entre Lázaro Rosales, y Alexandro de la Cruz y Juan Miguel Carrillo, pero este no ayudó en nada por estar enfermo y no poder hacer fuerza.

Preguntada: qué causa les motivó a arrojarse a cometer un echo semejante tan atroz y sacrílego?

Dixo: que ella no tuvo motivo ninguno para ejecutar semejante echo: que ella fue a la casa del Padre quando lo mataron, pero porque le mandó Juan Miguel su marido que fuera, y no queriendo ella ir, le dijo no as de hacer tú nada, nomás después que ayan matado al Padre, cojerás ropa, y algunas cosas, y así fue. Que Lázaro continuamente iba a su casa a platicar con Juan Miguel, pero esto lo hacía quando ella no estaba en su casa y así estaba inocente delo que estaban proiectando el hacer, hasta que quando determinaron ya el hacerlo le avisaron, y que no queriendo ella, le dijo Lázaro a Juan Miguel nos castigarán, y respondió Juan Miguel no, nos matarán con las escopetas, a lo que dijo Lázaro mejor,

no nos dolerá; si nos castigaran con pelas entonces doliera, pero si nos tiran con escopetas no sentimos nada porque luego nos emos de morir, y golpeándose el pecho dijo ni mi madre, ni mi abuela me a de atajar.

Preguntada: Como o dónde se juntó con Juan Miguel, Lázaro y Alexandro para cometer el homicidio?

Dixo: que estando ella durmiendo en su casa con su marido Juan Miguel como a media noche llegó Lázaro con Alexandro a la casa de la que declara, se sentó Lázaro donde estaban durmiendo, despertó a Juan Miguel y le dijo, hombre ya bamos a hacer eso que dijimos, que se levantó Juan Miguel y le dijo que él no podía ir, que entonces le dijo Lázaro, yo no quiero que me ayudes, ya tengo quien me ayude no mas quiero que bayas hayá, que a esto dijo Alexandro, el Padre tendrá fuerzas quien sabe si podremos entre los dos, y respondió Lázaro qué fuerzas a de tener ese Padre, y dijo Juan Miguel sí a de tener, no ves que no está enfermo ni tiene nada, y respondió Lázaro pues ai beremos y de esta manera quedaron conformes.

Preguntada: cómo cometieron el homicidio?

Dixo: que estando conformes como tiene declarado, cojió Lázaro una ollita y echó unas brasas, la qual dio a Alexandro, para que llevara, se fueron estos dos dichos para la casa del Padre y después hicieron lo mismo la que declara y Juan Miguel, que en el camino encontraron a Lázaro, que venía de buelta para la ranchería con un muchacho que era paje del Padre y estaba durmiendo en la sala, y se quedaron en el camino hasta que bolbió Lázaro de donde dejó el muchacho y vinieron juntos hasta la casa y se quedaron en la puerta interin [indecipherable] Lázaro entró a buscar vela, que así que ayó vela salió y los llamó, entraron dentro cerraron la puerta encendió Lázaro la vela, y se la dió a Juan Miguel y fueron para el quarto donde estaba durmiendo el Padre, entró Lázaro y Alexandro adentro, que Juan Miguel dejó la vela en la puerta y le mandó a la que declara que la metiera adentro, y cerrara una ventana que está asia el lado de la Guardia para que no vieran los Soldados lo qual hizo poniendo la vela en una cama que estaba junto a la del Padre difunto y cerrando la ventana, que cuando acabó de cerrar la ventana vió que Lázaro y Alexandro tenían al Padre caído en una silla que tenía en la cavecera de su cama, apretándole el pescueso, y luego que vió esto se salió para la sala donde avía dejado a su marido pero no encontrándolo abrió la puerta y salió a buscarlo y lo alcansó en la puerta de una bodega que estaba pegada a la misma casa del Padre, y juntos los dos dieron buelta a la casa, y se quedaron parados, y al cavo de un rato largo bino Lázaro donde estaban y bolbieron para la casa del Padre, que Juan Miguel se quedó en la sala, y la que declara entró al quarto y vió al Padre muerto tirado en el suelo al pie de una alacena

Preguntada: si oyó ablar al Padre alguna palabra?

Dixo: que no oyó que ablara nada

Preguntada: qué hicieron después que quitaron la vida al Padre?

Dixo: que sin hacer caso del cuerpo habrió la Alacena y sacó una prenda pieza de manta un pedazo de baieta dos camisas y un paño, y salió a la sala donde estaba su marido: que le dijo éste, aquí se asomó uno y parece Vicente, a lo que respondió, bámonos no nos baia a acusar, que entonces le dijo Juan Miguel anda vete, se fue ella, y seguidamente su marido, quedando en el quarto del Padre,

Lázaro y Alexandro, que después de haver llegado a su casa llegaron Lázaro y Alexandro, y dijo Lázaro el Padre está rosado y lleno de sangre lo ande conocer, que respondió Juan Miguel, no te dije que avía de tener fuerzas el Padre, anda lávale le cara, múdale camisa, y ponlo bien en la cama, que después de haver echo esto bolbieron a la casa Lázaro, Alexandro, y Melchor no sabiendo dónde se habia juntado éste, llevando Alexandro dos fresadas y javón, siendo una de ellas de Lázaro, y la otra; y el Javón para la que declara, que Lázaro llevó una camisa, tres pañitos, y un jarro de vino el qual bebieron entre todos, y la camisa, y los tres pañitos le dió para que los guardara: que después dijo Lázaro: dejé avierto un quarto, Melchor vamos a cerrarlo, que éste no quiso y entonces combidó a Alexandro y éste le acompañó y bolbieron tercera vez a la casa, de donde Lázaro se fue a tirar las camisas que el Padre difunto le havía mandado tirara en la milpa del frijol para espantar las liebres; Alexandro no sabe adónde y Melchor se quedó con la que declara y Juan Miguel su marido hasta que amaneció que se fue para la misión

Preguntada: con quién abló sobre el asunto o se lo comunicó?

Dixo: que a ninguno se lo a dicho

Preguntada: en que se exercitó después?

Dixo: que se estubo en su casa hilando, que sin embargo que Aniseto le desía que se huiera ella no quiso

Preguntada: quántas veces tubo intención de matar a su padre ministro?

Dixo: que ella nunca a tenido intención de matar a su Padre ministro, pues sin embargo que la havía castigado y la havía echado fuera de la casa nunca tubo tal intención

Preguntada: si nunca a savido matar ni tenido tal intención de ello porqué no le avisó al Padre o al cavo de la escolta?

Dixo: que no avisó por su marido

Preguntada: en qué se ejercitó la gente de la Misión después de la muerte del Padre Surroca, y si tubieron baile?

Dixo: que la gente después que enterraron al Padre se fueron a travajar a las milpas donde antes estaban, que no supo hubiera baile alguno

Preguntada: qué le contó a Nicolasa Carrillo hacerca de la muerte del Padre Surroca?

Dixo: que no le a contado nada

Preguntada: si tiene alguna otra cosa que declarar, si tiene Yglesia; si tiene [algo que] añadir o quitar?

Dixo: que oió una ocasión a Lázaro que le decía a Juan Miguel que ya dos ocasiones habían ido a matar al Padre: la primera, iba Lázaro, Brito, Aniseto, y lo encontraron despierto y en la segunda Lázaro, Aniseto y no save qual otro, pero que iban tres, y haviendo ya encendido vela teniéndola Aniseto, quando iba Lázaro a agarrar al Padre apagó Aniseto la vela y lo bolbieron a dejar. Que cuando traje yo a Carlos paje del Difunto Padre Surroca le dijo Juan Miguel a Juan de Dios, mira aunque te pongan escopetas no digas nada, y que la que declara le preguntó a Juan de Dios, porqué se lo había dicho, y Juan de Dios le respondió que Juan Miguel, Lázaro y Mariano havían matado al Padre Miguel y que eso era lo que le encargaba no dijera nada; que no tiene Yglesia y haviéndole leído en este punto su confesión dijo ser todo verdad a cargo del Juramento que tiene

echo en cuia señal lo signó con una de Cruz. Y para que conste lo firmé con el Sargento Don José Mariano Estrada y el Cavo Ignacio María Arce ambos de mi asistencia.

José Manuel Ruiz
Lugar de la Cruz [Mark made by Bárbara Gandiaga]
De Asistencia José Mariano Estrada
De Asistencia Ygnacio María Arce

APPENDIX I-B

Bárbara Gandiaga's Interrogation Regarding the Death of Padre Eudaldo Surroca, Missionary at Mission Santo Tomás, Baja California

On November 26, 1803, at Mission San Vicente, I, Don José Manuel Ruiz, second lieutenant in the cavalry of the Royal Presidio of Loreto company and commanding officer of these frontiers, had Bárbara Gandiaga, who is imprisoned in this mission's guardhouse, appear before me with witnesses present and instructed her to raise her right hand to be questioned.

Asked: Do you swear to God and on the sign of the Holy Cross to tell the truth about what I ask you?
Answered: Yes, I swear.
Asked: How old she is; where she is a native of; did she go to confession; and did she know how grievous to the soul it is to sin by lying under oath?
Answered: She is thirty-eight years old, a native of Mission San Fernando; she did go to confession, and she knew how grievous to the soul the sin of lying under oath was.
Asked: Did she know why she was in custody?
Answered: It was because she accompanied those who killed the padre.
Asked: What was the name of the ministering padre, and who participated in the act of taking his life?
Answered: The padre's name was Fray Eudaldo Surroca, and those who took his life were Lázaro Rosales, Alexandro de la Cruz, and Juan Miguel Carrillo, although the last did not help at all as he was ill and unable to exert himself.
Asked: What motive compelled them to commit such an egregious and sacrilegious act?
Answered: She had no reason to commit such an act: she went to the padre's house when he was killed, only because Juan Miguel, her husband, had ordered her to go, and when she didn't want to go, he told her you won't have to do anything, only after they have killed the padre, you will collect clothes, and some other things, and that's how it was. Lázaro repeatedly came to her home to talk with Juan Miguel, which he did only when she was not at home, that being the reason why she was innocent of what they were planning to do, until they had decided to go ahead and do it, then they told her, and when she was not

willing, Lázaro told Juan Miguel, "We will be punished," and Juan Miguel responded, "No, we will be killed with shotguns," and Lázaro replied, "Better yet, as that won't hurt; if we were to be punished with beatings that would hurt, but if they shoot us with shotguns we will feel nothing because we will die right away." And beating on his chest he said, "Neither my mother nor my grandmother will stop me."

Asked: Where did she join Juan Miguel, Lázaro, and Alexandro to commit the murder?

Answered: That she was at home sleeping with her husband, Juan Miguel when, close to midnight, Lázaro and Alexandro arrived at her house. Lázaro sat down where she and her husband were sleeping, woke Juan Miguel, and said, "Man, let's go do what we said," and Juan Miguel got up and said he could not go. Lázaro then replied, "I don't want you to help me, I already have someone to help me, I just want you to go there." Alexandro then added, "The padre is strong, who knows if the two of us will be able to do it," and Lázaro responded, "How strong could the padre be?" Juan Miguel said, "Yes, he must be. Don't you see, he's not sick or anything like that," and Lázaro replied, "Well, we'll see," and so they agreed on it.

Asked: How was the murder committed?

Answered: Being in agreement as previously stated, Lázaro took a small pot and dropped some embers in it, which he handed to Alexandro to carry, both of the aforementioned went to the padre's house. The declarant and Juan Miguel did the same later, that on the way they came across Lázaro, who was on his way back to the ranchería with a boy who was the padre's page and happened to be sleeping in the living room. They waited there on the road until Lázaro returned from where he left the boy, and together they went to the house and stayed at the [interior] door. Lázaro went to look for a candle, and as soon as he found one he came back out and called out to them. They then went in and closed the door. Lázaro lit the candle and handed it over to Juan Miguel, and they walked to the bedroom where the padre was sleeping. Lázaro and Alexandro stepped inside. Juan Miguel left the candle at the door, directing the declarant to bring it in and to close the window facing the guard post to prevent the soldiers from seeing them, which she did by placing the candle on a bed alongside that of the dead padre and closing the window; that when she was done closing the window she saw that Lázaro and Alexandro had the padre's limp body in a chair at the head of his bed and were squeezing his neck. And as soon as she saw this, she went out into the living room, where she had left her husband, and, not finding him, she opened the door and went out to look for him and caught up with him at the door of the warehouse attached right on to the padre's house, and they both went around the house and stood still; and after a long while Lázaro came to where they were, and they all then went back to the padre's house, that Juan Miguel stayed in the living room, and the declarant entered into the bedroom and saw the padre's dead body thrown on the floor at the base of a cabinet.

Asked: Did she hear the padre say anything?

Answered: She did not hear him say anything.

Asked: What did they do after taking the padre's life?

Answered: Ignoring the body, she opened the wardrobe took out a coarse cotton garment, a piece of cleaning cloth, two shirts, and a piece of woolen cloth, and went out into the living room, where her husband was waiting. He told her, "Someone just stuck his head in here and it appears to be Vicente," to which she responded, "Let's go so he doesn't accuse us." Juan Miguel replied, "Just go," and she left. Her husband soon followed while Lázaro and Alexandro remained in the padre's room, and after she was at her house, Lázaro and Alexandro arrived, and Lázaro said, "The padre is scraped and covered with blood; they will find out," to which Juan Miguel responded, "Didn't I tell you the padre had to be strong. Go, wash his face, change his shirt, and put his body properly in his bed." Once this was done, Lázaro, Alexandro, and Melchor returned to the house. She didn't know when the last had joined them. Ale[x]andro was carrying two blankets and soap, one of the blankets belonged to Lázaro, and the other, the soap for the declarant. Lázaro was carrying a shirt, three little pieces of cloth, and a jug of wine, which they all drank. The shirt and the three little pieces of cloth he gave her to put away. Lázaro later said, "I left a room open. Melchor, let's go close it." He did not want to go, so he invited Alexandro to go with him, which he did, and they returned to the house for the third time. Then Lázaro left there to go scatter the shirts the padre had directed him to scatter in the bean field to scare the hares away. Alexandro doesn't know where. Melchor stayed with the declarant and Juan Miguel, her husband, until dawn, when he went to the mission.

Asked: With whom did she discuss or to whom did she communicate the matter?

Answered: She has not told anyone.

Asked: What did she busy herself with afterwards?

Answered: She stayed home spinning, and although Ani[s]eto told her to flee, she refused to do it.

Asked: How many times had she intended to kill her padre?

Answered: She never intended to kill her padre, in spite of her having been punished and thrown out of the house by him, she never had such intent.

Asked: If she had never been involved in killing or ever had such intent, why didn't she warn the padre or the corporal of the guard?

Answered: She did not give a warning because of her husband.

Asked: What did the mission people do after the death of Padre Surroca, and did they have a dance?

Answered: Once the padre was buried, they all went to the fields where they had been before, and to her knowledge no dance was held.

Asked: What did she tell Nicolasa Carrillo about the death of Padre Surroca?

Answered: She has not told her anything.

Asked: Does she have anything else to say, does she have the church's protection, does she have anything to add or delete?

Answered: On one occasion, she heard Lázaro telling Juan Miguel that two prior times they had gone to kill the padre: the first time, Lázaro, Brito, and Aniseto went there but found him awake, and the second time, Lázaro, Aniseto, and she doesn't know who else, but there were three of them. Aniseto was holding a lit candle. Lázaro was just about to grab the padre when Aniseto put out the candle, and once again, they gave up on it. When I brought Carlos, Padre

Surroca's page, over, Juan Miguel said to Juan de Dios, "Look, even if they level shotguns at you, don't say anything"; and the declarant asked Juan de Dios why he had said that to him, and Juan de Dios replied that Juan Miguel, Lázaro, and Mariano had killed Padre Miguel, and that was the reason he was being told not to say anything. She added that she did not have the benefit of the church's protection. And having read her confession at this point, she said it was all true pursuant to the oath she had taken, as a sign of which she signed with an X. And for the record, I signed it along with Sgt. Don José Mariano Estrada and Cpl. Ygnacio María Arce, being both witnesses.

José Manuel Ruiz
Mark made by Bárbara Gandiaga
In Witness, José Mariano Estrada
In Witness, Ygnacio María Arce

APPENDIX I-C

Interrogatorio de Bárbara Gandiaga sobre la muerte del Padre Miguel López, misionero de la Misión de Santo Tomás en la Antigua California

En la Misión de San Vicente a diez y ocho días del mes de Agosto del año de mil ochocientos seis, por mandado del Señor Teniente Juez y Comisionado le acompañé a la capilla donde seayaba la rea Bárbara Gandiaga a la que tomé Juramento en la forma acostumbrada, i prometiendo, decir verdad en lo que por dicho Señor sea preguntada después de aberle amonestado la presisión en que se ayaba y para que Dios Nuestro Señor le de buena muerte se le iso relacionar todo cuanto sabe sobre la muerte del difunto Padre Fray Miguel López y el Indio Guentil que le yamaban el echisero de Santo Tomás:[1]

Y dijo que prometía decir la verdad que la primera notisia que tubo de la muerte del Padre Fray Miguel López la supo por el muchacho Juan de Dios que se lo dijo debajo del balcón como anteriormente lo tiene declarado;

A mas de esta noticia no ha tenido otra antes o después. Di lo que sepas sobre la muerte de dicho Padre Fray Miguel López.

Respondió que sí sabia que cuando Mariano Carrillo estaba malo del sarampión lo pusieron en la bartolina por más abrigado y que tuvo lugar para ablar despacio con él y que le preguntó que cómo abían matado al Padre Miguel y que porqué lo abían negado tanto. Respondió Mariano, yo te lo diré con tal que no lo digas a nadien. Le dijo eya, dilo que ya no te an de preguntar mas. Entonces le dijo Mariano que Juan Miguel estaba borracho y le pegó al hijo del mayordomo, el mayordomo se quejó al Padre, el Padre mandó entonces que le pusieran un par de grillos y le amenazó con un presidio lo que oyeron unos muchachos. Salieron estos y le avisaron a Lázaro de lo que le habían oído decir al Padre, Juan Miguel estaba enserrado en quarto de solteros y le avisaron de afuera de la resolución que el Padre tenía dispuesta pero que no se acuerda quien dio este aviso, y que Juan Miguel dijo, no me a de poner grillos. A la noche cuando el fiscal fue a enserrar los demás solteros se salió Juan Miguel, fue a la cosina donde estaba Lázaro y le dijo vamos matando al Padre, aora es buena la ocación questa solo. Dijo Lázaro: está bien pero quien sabe si podremos. Ya nochi se metió Juan Miguel a la sala y se puso debajo de una mesa grande que esta ayí. Lázaro que era el Cocinero yebó la sena al Padre. La sena estaba mala dijo el Padre que mañana abía de castigar al cocinero. Salio Lázaro y le dijo a Juan Miguel también a mi me an de castigar mañana. Juan

Miguel dijo entonces quien sabe si podremos matarlo entre los dos porque yo estoi malo, anda saca a mi hermano Mariano quese tiene buenas fuersas. Entonces cogió Lázaro la yabe de cuarto de solteros fue y sacó a Mariano, fueron los tres aonde estaba el Padre. El Padre estaba durmiendo tapada con la sábana la cabeza. Mariano destapó al Padre y luego le agarró del pescueso. Juan Miguel se sentó ensima del Padre, Lázaro le apretaba por los yjares y costillas.

Le pregunté si el Padre no abía hablado alguna cosa?

Respondió que sí, quel Padre desía, Muchachos, perdonáme vosotros no saben lo que asen. Respondió Mariano, no te perdono, tu quando quieres castigar no nos perdonas. Y lo acabaron de matar. Después consultaron si estaría muerto o no y por si acaso con una faja que yebaba Juan Miguel le apretaron el pescueso mui bien, lo taparon y lo pusieron en su cama y lo dejaron lo mismo que si estubiera durmiendo, todo esto que tengo declarado me lo dijo Mariano Carrillo pero no tengo testigo ninguno porque ninguno nos oyó, él estaba malo en la bartolina cuando me lo dijo y no tengo más que decir.

Los Guentiles Matapá y Cualainamey declaran que les mandates matar al echisero de Santo Tomás y la christiana de San Miguel que acompañaba a dicho echicero, que respondes a esto?

Lo que respondo es que yo no e ablado con dichos guentiles sobre semejantes muertes y que estoi ynosente. El indio Flujensio [*sic*] le dijo este echicero mató a tu marido Pedro, eya respondió cómo a de ser esto. Si mi marido ase dos años questa enfermo. Este echicero estaba en Loreto. Ahora viene. Y esto? Siento que ningún echicero tiene poder para matar a ninguno, la misma nochi que murió mi marido Pedro murió un ermano de Matapá i estos Guentiles le apropiaron la muerte al echicero, y por eso lo mataron. Esta es la verdad.

Preguntada y leída su declaración, si es la misma que a dado si tiene [algo] que añadir o quitar en eya y si todo es la verdad socargo al juramento, respondió que lo mismo que se le ha leído es lo mismo que tiene declarado y que no tiene que añadir ni quitar y que todo es verdad por el juramento que tiene echo en que se afirma y ratifica y lo sinó por no saber firmar de que doy fe.

José Manuel Ruiz
Ante mi, Francisco Amador
[Mark made by Bárbara Gandiaga]

APPENDIX I-D

Bárbara Gandiaga's Interrogation Regarding the Death of Padre Miguel López, Missionary at Santo Tomás Mission, Baja California

At Mission San Vicente, on August 18 of the year 1806, as ordered by the commissioned judge and lieutenant, I accompanied him to the chapel where prisoner Bárbara Gandiaga was being held, to whom I administered the oath in the customary manner, and promising to speak the truth about whatever the aforesaid man would ask her, after having warned her of the grave situation in which she found herself and so that God, our Lord, would grant her a good death, she was told to tell everything she knew of the death of Fray Miguel López and the gentile Indian called El Hechicero [the sorcerer] of Santo Tomás.

And she said she promised to tell the truth and that the first she heard of the death of Fray Miguel López was from the boy Juan de Dios, who informed her under the balcony, as she testified earlier.

Other than that she had not heard any news before or after then.

Tell what you know of the death of Fray Miguel López.

She answered that she knew that when Mariano Carrillo was sick with measles they placed him in the dungeon because it was more sheltered, and that she had time to speak with him at length, and that she asked him how had they killed Padre Miguel, and why had they denied it so much. Mariano told her, "I will tell you, as long as you do not tell anyone," and she said, "Tell, they will not ask you again." Then Mariano said that Juan Miguel was drunk and struck the son of the majordomo. The majordomo complained to the padre, who then ordered that Juan Miguel be put in shackles and threatened him with jail. Some boys heard this and told Lázaro what they had heard the padre say. Juan Miguel was already locked in the single-men's quarters and got word from outside of the padre's decision. She does not remember who gave the warning. Juan Miguel said, "I will not be shackled." During the night when the *fiscal* went to lock in the rest of the single men, Juan Miguel got out. He went to the kitchen where Lázaro was and told him, "Let's kill the padre; this is a good time, since he is alone." Lázaro said, "All right, but I don't know if we will be able to." During the night Juan Miguel entered the living room and hid under a large table there. Lázaro, who was the cook, took the evening meal to the padre, who said the meal was spoiled and that he would punish the cook tomorrow. Lázaro left and told Juan Miguel that he too

was going to be punished the following day. Juan Miguel then said, "Who knows if we will be able to kill him between the two of us because I am sick. Go get my brother Mariano, he is very strong." Lázaro then took the key to the single-men's quarters and got Mariano out. All three went to where the padre was. The padre was asleep with the sheet over his head. Mariano pulled the sheet from him and grabbed him by the neck. Juan Miguel sat on top of the padre. Lázaro had hold of his legs and his ribs.

I asked her if the padre had said anything.

She responded, "Yes." The padre said, "Boys, forgive me, you don't know what you are doing." Mariano responded, "I don't forgive you. When you want to punish, you do not forgive us," and they finished killing him. They then checked to see if he was dead, and just in case they wrapped a cotton belt or sash that Juan Miguel had tightly around his neck. They then covered him and put him in his bed as if he were sleeping. All that I have declared was told to me by Mariano Carrillo, but I have no witness, because no one heard us. He was sick in the dungeon when he told me, and I have nothing else to say.

The gentile Indians Matapá and Cualainamey testified that you sent them to kill the Santo Tomás sorcerer and the San Miguel Christian woman who accompanied the aforesaid sorcerer. What do you say to this?

What I say is that I have not spoken to the aforesaid gentiles about such deaths and that I am innocent. The Indian Fulgencio told her, "This sorcerer killed your husband, Pedro." But she responded, "How could this be? If my husband has been sick for two years and this sorcerer was in Loreto?" And this: "I'm certain that no sorcerer can kill anyone. The same night that my husband, Pedro, died, one of Matapá's brothers died, and these gentiles accused the sorcerer of the murder, and that is why they killed him. This is the truth."

Having read the testimony to her, and asked her if it is the statement she made, and did she have anything to add or remove, and if all was the truth pursuant to the oath she had taken, she responded that what was read to her was what she had stated and that she had nothing to add or remove and that it was all the truth as she had sworn to tell, which was confirmed and ratified with her mark as she did not know how to sign her name, to which I attest.

José Manuel Ruiz
Before me, Francisco Amador
[Mark made by Bárbara Gandiaga]

APPENDIX II-A

Instancia de Da. Eulalia Callis, muger de Don Pedro Fages, Governador de Californias, sobre que se le oyga en justicia, y redima de la opresión que padece

Eulalia Callis,[1] esposa de Don Pedro Fages, Governador actual de la Península de Californias, buscando la benigna, Superior Protección de Vuestra Señoría parece ante su recta Justificación: aclama a la primera porque es mujer, y desvalida, y apela a la segunda, porque la reconoze Justicia; ésta busca los Delictos, y conocerá primero de la parte más devil, y aquella deve amparar el secxo, porque assí lo quiere la Ley: es el caso haver encontrado a mi marido sobre una Yndia, Yuma, y de tiernos años, que mantenía a su servicio: justas sospechas, y fácil declaración de la muchacha me pusieron de Centinela, que descubrió el lance; y aunque devió prevalecer la prudencia (este es mi delicto) la abrazó el fuego y ardieron las matherias del despecho, publicando a gritos esta infamia: quien quiere Vuestra Señoría que mitigado el dolor no confiese su mal procedimiento? pero a pocas horas cargaron sobre esta parte delincuente, una turbamulta de consejos, y persuasiones, para que se juntase con su marido; todas eran muy Cristianas, pero la herida estava muy reciente; y como la medicina fuera de tiempo no pudo obrar, se siguieron los cauterios: el dolor de estos oprobios son los que buscan la noble piedad de Vuestra Señoría.

Mandó el Reverendo Padre Ministro de la imediata misión Fray Mathías Antonio de Noriega, se encerrase en un quarto a la agraviada con centinelas de la tropa; y puesta sin comunicación empezó actuar las diligencias: la más principal en esta causa era la declaración de la muchacha, que incada ante el Juez pronunció lo que pudo su miedo, por el castigo que le amenazaba; siguiéronse los gritos, para que le bolviese el crédito a su marido (como si sólo con su mujer lo tuviese perdido) y se le olvidó al Juez tomar declaración a todos los del Presidio, que sabían el cómo, y quando por boca de la misma muchacha (y en estos casos quiere el derecho, sean las mas esenciales, la de una, o dos matronas, o inteligentes que ayan reconocido a la parte de que se trata) y puestas en este estado las diligencias, poco mas o menos formalizadas, se han remitido al Ilustrísimo Señor Obispo, de Sonora, y de esta Provincia, de quien se espera la sentencia, desde luego contra la agraviada. No era consequente Señor y recto Tribunal a quien apela dexar a esta mujer con entero juycio, para que la oyese? Pues no es assí, acaso se teme su defenza. Ban por mayor las pruebas: el día de cenisa en la Yglesia de este Presidio,

principió el Ministro de la misa, y Juez de la causa, el sermón que proponía el Evangelio y concluyó tratándome con los mayores oprobios; y como era el lance para salirse de la Yglesia, mandó el mismo, a la tropa: esta fue su expreción: *detengan a esa mujer que le pondré una mordaza,* intimando excomunión a todos los que ablasen conmigo, o sobre el asunto. Los herrores [*sic*] en que han caydo estas Jentes son los precisos por su ignorancia, y no son del asunto, que sigue enbolver a la propia prisión, la que a pocos días en el mismo de mi Santo se me trasladó a la Misión del Carmelo: Rigurosa Clausura escaseándome hasta Las velas, y obligándome a comer de vigilia, sin embargo de hallarme mala. Concluyo, porque cansa la vista leyenda tan desastrada, en sufrir las amenazas del referido Padre de que me mandara azotar, y ponerme un par de grillos.

El primer agravio contra mi Estado podría borrarse, reciviéndolo por cruz, que me avisase no eran tan completos los deleytes, y contentamientos, como terrenos, y perecederos; pero llevar adelante el perdón para unirme a mi marido, es dolorosa la capitulación que hace sufrir la mayor pérdida, al mas ignocente; y si el mismo insta y ha sufrido mis ultrajes, manténgame reclusa a disposición del Padre que me extrecha mas, o menos según su temperamento. Pero no cerrará las puertas a mi propio honor, y nacimiento, que las abren a su natural defenza; y para protexerla Vuestra Señoría. Suplico rendidamente se digne oyrla en la forma que la presenta, que mediante justicia reciviré gracia, juro en lo necesario, salbándome la inopia los derechos que me favoresen no los zedo para los trámites de mi causa.

Misión del Carmelo, 12 de abril de 1785.
Eulalia Callis

APPENDIX II-B

Petition by Doña Eulalia Callis, Wife of Don Pedro Fages, Governor of the Californias, That Her Case Be Heard

Doña Eulalia Callis,[1] wife of Don Pedro Fages, the current Governor of the peninsula of the Californias, seeking Your Honor's most benevolent and superior protection, submits this petition for your fair ruling. She appeals to your benevolence because she is a helpless woman. She calls upon your superior protection so that justice may be served. Justice seeks out the guilty parties and recognizes the one who has been wronged. Justice must protect the weaker party because that is the law.

It is the case that I found my husband physically on top of one of his servants, a very young Yuma Indian girl. Well-founded suspicions and the girl's easily obtained confession put me in the position of being the sentinel who discovered the incident. Even though prudence should have prevailed (this is my crime), I was overcome by passion, which fueled the flames of my rage, which caused me to cry out publicly against this infamy. Your Honor, what person would not acknowledge the wrong that had been done to them even though the pain had passed? A few hours later this guilty party was besieged with an onslaught of advice and words of persuasion for her to return to her husband. It was all very well-meaning. However, the wound was still fresh, and, since the medicine was applied at the wrong time, it had no effect. Thus, drastic measures were taken. It is from the pain of these measures that I seek Your Honor's magnanimous mercy.

The Reverend Father Fray Matías Antonio de Noriega, the priest at the nearby mission, ordered that the offended party be locked in a room guarded by soldiers from the troop. Placed there incommunicado, she began to prepare her case. The most important piece of evidence in this case was the girl's statement. Kneeling before the judge, the girl uttered what she could, constrained by her fear of the punishment she faced. This testimony was followed by cries to restore her [Callis's] husband's reputation (as if he had lost it with just that one woman). The judge forgot to obtain statements from everyone at the presidio who had evidence, according to the girl. In cases such as this, the law requires that the testimony be from credible witnesses, such as midwives or others who have knowledge of the situation. The proceedings of this case have been drawn up as best as can be expected under the circumstances and they have been sent to the illustrious Bishop

of Sonora. We await news of his decision with regard to the offended party. Was it not important for Your Honor to allow this woman of sound mind to be heard? Apparently not. Perhaps one fears what she will say in her defense.

There is further evidence: on Ash Wednesday in the presidio church, the priest who celebrated Mass also was the judge in the case. After reading from the Gospel and preaching the sermon, he ended by vilifying me and had the soldiers throw me out of the church. This is what he said: *Detain that woman so I can put a gag over her mouth.* He made it known that he would excommunicate anybody who spoke to me or who spoke about the matter. The error of these peoples' ways is due to their ignorance with regard to the matter. On my saint's day they tied me up and transferred me to Mission San Carlos. The cloister was rigorous. There were few candles. They stood watch over me and forced me to eat even though I was sick. I conclude this wretched tale of suffering with the threats of the aforementioned priest, who said he would have me flogged and placed in shackles.

I shall consider the first insult to my person as my cross to bear. I am told that the crimes committed against me were not that serious and my desires for satisfaction are merely earthly and transitory. Hence, I am told that I should forgive my husband and return to him, a surrender that would force the most innocent party to suffer the greatest losses. If he [Fages] insists that he has suffered from my outrage, then keep me imprisoned at the disposal of the priest who can restrain me more or less according to his nature. He will not, however, close the doors to my honor and noble birth. These doors shall remain open to receive a lawful defense and Your Honor's protection.

I humbly beg you to agree to hear this petition in the form that it is presented. Justice will grant me a pardon. I swear to accept what I am given. The laws that protect me will save me from poverty. I will not give up my rights during the course of the proceedings of my case.

Mission San Carlos
April 12, 1785
Eulalia Callis

APPENDIX III-A

Una vieja y sus recuerdos, dictados por Doña Eulalia Pérez que vive en la Misión de San Gabriel a la edad avanzada de 139 años, a D. Thomas Savage para la Bancroft Library, 1877

Eulalia Pérez,[1] widow, first of Miguel Antonio Guillén, and next of Juan Mariné, lives in the San Isidro Ranch belonging to her son-in-law Michael C. White, who is upwards of 75 & his wife, upwards of 63 years of age.

Whatever may be the real age of Madame Eulalia Pérez, she is certainly a very ancient person; there can be no doubt, from her personal appearance that she is a centenarian. The accompanying photograph gives a very correct idea of her as I found her when I took from her lips the notes which appear on the annexed 33 pages.

For a person of such an uncommon age, she is not entirely feeble or helpless in as much as she can do some needle work and walk about the house unsupported even by a staff.

She sat by me upon a chair a while yesterday, but her usual seat is on the floor, and when flies or mosquitoes annoy her, she slaps & kills them with her slipper on the floor. When wishing to rise she places both palms of her hands on the ground before her, and lifts herself first on four feet (so to speak) and then with a jerk puts herself on her two feet—for this she needs no assistance. After that she goes about the house without difficulty. She did it in my presence yesterday, and saying that she felt chilled walked out & sat on the stoop to sun herself a while, then came back and resumed her former seat.

I was assured that with support and occasional rest in a chair taken with her, she walks to her granddaughter's house distant 500 yards or more.

Her memory is remarkably fresh on some things and much clouded on others, particularly on her age. She is at times flighty, but with patience, and by asking her questions only upon such matters as she could be conversant with, I found no great difficulty in obtaining intelligible answers. I had to resort to Mrs. White's assistance in asking the questions, because the centenarian lady is quite deaf, though not to the extent of needing to be addressed in an excessively loud tone.

I discontinued my questions as soon as I discovered she was fatigued, and have not returned to see her because I had to leave the mission San Gabriel, near which the San Isidro ranch is, and visit this place.

Spadra, Dec. 11th, 1877
Thomas Savage

Yo, Eulalia Pérez, nací en el presidio de Loreto en la Baja California. Mi padre se llamaba Diego Pérez y era empleado en el departamento de marina de [dicho] presidio; mi madre se llamaba Antonia Rosalía Cota;[2] ambos eran blancos puros.

No recuerdo la fecha en que nací, sí sé que tenía 15 años cuando me casé con Miguel Antonio Guillén, soldado de la compañía presidial de Loreto. Durante mi permanencia en Loreto tuve tres hijos dos varones que murieron allí chicos, y una hembra Petra, que tenía once años cuando nos trasladamos a San Diego, y otro varón Isidoro que vino con nosotros a esta California. En San Diego estuve ocho años con mi marido—éste continuaba su servicio en la compañía de dicho presidio, y yo asistía a las mujeres que estaban de parto.

Yo tenía parientes en las inmedicaciones de Los Ángeles, y aún más arriba, y repetidas veces le pedí a mi marido que me trajera a verlos—mi marido no quería venir, y el Comandante del presidio tampoco me dejaba salir porque no había otra mujer que supiera partear.

En San Diego todos me manifestaban mucha estimación, y en las casas principales me trataban con mucho cariño. Aunque tenía yo mi propia casa, me hacían estarme casi todo el tiempo con esas familias, y hasta mantenían a mis hijos.

En (1812) estaba yo en San Juan Capistrano, estaba en misa en la iglesia cuando ocurrió el temblor y se cayó la torre; yo arranqué por la sacristía y en la puerta me derribaron a tierra y la gente pasó por encima de mí, estaba yo en cinta y no me podía mover. Pronto después volví a San Diego, y muy luego di a luz [a] mi hija María Antonia[3] que vive todavía, aquí en San Gabriel.

A los ocho años de estar en San Diego nos vinimos para la misión de San Gabriel, en donde mi marido estuvo sirviendo en la escolta—en 1814 en el primero de octubre, nació mi hija María del Rosario, que es la esposa de Miguel White, y en cuya casa vivo ahora.

Como cuatro años después me volví con mi marido y familia para San Diego. Mi marido estaba enfermo y quería que le diesen su licencia para dejar el servicio—se la negaban, pero al fin se la dieron y como a los seis meses, o tal vez un año, nos volvimos a San Gabriel. Estaba mi marido gravemente enfermo y murió en Los Ángeles a poco tiempo. Siendo mi hijo mayor Isidoro Guillén soldado, me mandaron una escolta a cargo de mi otro hijo para que me volvieran a llevar a San Diego. Me volví con toda mi familia para San Diego, y fui a parar a casa del Comandante que era Don Santiago Argüello. Antes de éste fue Comandante muchos años Don Francisco María Ruiz, antes de éste Don Manuel Rodríguez, antes de él un tal Don Antonio.

Cuando yo vine primero a San Diego no había más casa en el presidio que la del Comandante, y la barraca en donde estaba la tropa.

No había iglesia y entre unas paredes viejas cubiertas con enramada decía misa el misionero que venía de la misión de San Diego.

La primera casa de pared que se hizo en San Diego fue de un tal Sánchez, padre del que fue Don Vicente Sánchez, alcalde de Los Ángeles, y diputado de la Junta Territorial. La casa era muy chica, y todos iban a mirarla como si fuera un palacio. Esa casa se hizo como al año de haber llegado yo a aquel lugar la primera vez.

Mi última ida a San Diego sería el año del 1818, teniendo mi hija María del Rosario unos cuatro años. Tengo la idea de que allí me hallaba yo cuando vinieron los insurgentes a California. Me acuerdo de que a un extranjero que cogieron le pusieron grillos, y después se los quitaron.

Unos tres años después, retorné a San Gabriel. La razón de mi vuelta fue que el Padre misionero de San Gabriel Fray José Sánchez, escribió al Padre Fernando, de San Diego que era primo hermano suyo, para que le hablara al Comandante de aquel presidio, rogándole que diese a mi hijo Isidoro Guillén una escolta para traerme aquí con toda mi familia, a lo que accedió el comandante.

Cuando llegamos aquí me dió el Padre José Sánchez una casita provisional para albergarme con mi familia hasta que se me proporcionara ocupación. Allí me estuve con mis cinco hijitas—mi hijo Isidoro Guillén prestaba servicio como soldado en la escolta de la misión.

Era el Padre Sánchez hombre en aquel tiempo como de 60 o 70 años de mediana estatura, gordo—blanco—español. Muy bueno, muy cariñoso muy caritativo, tanto él como su compañero Fray José María de Zalvidea trataban muy bien a los indios, y los dos eran muy queridos por la gente de razón y por los neófitos y demás indios.

El Padre Zalvidea era muy alto, un poco grueso—blanco—era hombre de bastante edad. Yo oí decir que a Zalvidea lo llamaron a San Juan Capistrano porque no habia misionero allí. Supe después que algunos años más tarde cuando se huyó de San Luis Obispo Fray Antonio Peyri, corrió la voz de que iban a matar a los padres—Zalvidea que estaba muy enfermo, y que en verdad estaba fuera de su juicio desde que lo sacaron de San Gabriel, cuya misión no quería abandonar, tuvo miedo, el Padre, digo, y vinieron dos indios de San Luis Rey a San Juan Capistrano y en una carreta de cueros lo acomodaron como pudieron, y lo llevaron a San Luis, donde murió muy luego de la estropeada que llevó en el camino.

El Padre Zalvidea quería mucho a sus hijos de misión, como llamaba él a los indios que él mismo había convertido al cristianismo yendo en persona unas veces a caballo y otras a pie y atravesando las sierras hasta llegar a las rancherías de los gentiles para atraerlos a nuestra religión.

El padre Zalvidea introdujo muchas mejoras en la misión de San Gabriel, y la hizo adelantar muchísimo en todo—no conforme con sustentar a los neófitos con abundancia, sembraba árboles en los montes y lejos de la misión para que tuviesen que comer los indios broncos cuando pasasen por esos lugares.

Cuando vine la última vez a San Gabriel, no había en toda esta parte de California más que dos mujeres que sabían cocinar; una era María Luisa Cota, mujer de Claudio López, mayordomo de la misión—la otra era María Ignacia Amador, mujer de Francisco Javier Alvarado, ella sabía cocinar, coser, leer y escribir, y cuidar enfermos—era buena curandera—estaba empleada en hacer las costuras, y cuidar de la ropa de la iglesia. Enseñaba a leer y escribir a algunos niños en su casa, pero no tenía escuela formal.

En los días grandes de fiesta, como el del patrono en pascuas, etc., eran llamadas las dos mujeres para hacer la gran comida y los rellenos, dulces, etc.

Los padres querían hacerme bien porque estaba viuda y cargada de familia, buscaban modo de ocuparme sin dar que sentir a las otras señoras. Tuvieron su consulta los padres Sánchez y Zalvidea, y resolvieron que pondrían a cocinar a una primero, después a la otra, y a mí la última para ver quién lo hacía mejor, con el objeto de entregar a la que aventajase a las otras, los indios cocineros a fin de que los enseñase a guisar. Para esto fueron avisados de antemano los señores que habían de decidir sobre el mérito de las tres comidas—uno de esos señores era

Don Ignacio Tenorio, a quien llamaban Oidor del Rey, que vino a vivir y morir en compañía del Padre Sánchez—era hombre muy anciano, y para salir caminaba muy despacito con ayuda de su bastón envuelto en un sarapito—su caminata se reducía a ir de casa del Padre a la iglesia.

Los otros jueces que habían de dar también su parecer fueron: Don Ignacio Mancisidor, comerciante; Don Pedro Narváez, oficial de marina; el Sargento José Antonio Pico, que después fue Teniente, hermano del Gobernador Pío Pico; Don Domingo Romero, que fue ayudante mío cuando estuve de llavera en la misión; Claudio López, el mayordomo de la misión. Además de los padres. Esos señores siempre que estaban en la misión comían con los padres.

Asistieron a las tres comidas en los días fijados—a mí no me habían dicho nada de lo que se trataba, hasta que se me llamó un día diciéndome el Padre Sánchez, "Mira, Eulalia, mañana te toca hacer la comida porque ya la han hecho María Ignacia y Luisa. Vamos a ver qué comida nos das tú mañana."

Al otro día fui yo a cocinar, hice varias sopas, diversidad de rellenos, y cuanto más se me vino a la cabeza que yo sabía. El cocinero indio, llamado Tomás, me miraba con mucha atención, como se lo había ordenado el Padre.

A la hora de comer asistieron los nombrados; después de concluída la comida les preguntó el Padre Sánchez su parecer sobre ella, empezando por el mayor que era Don Ignacio Tenorio. Este señor la ponderó mucho diciendo que no había comido como ese día hacía muchos años—que dudaba que en la mesa del Rey se comiera mejor. Los otros también alabaron mucho la comida.

Entonces el Padre llamó a Tomás y le preguntó cuál de las tres señoras le gustaba más para cocinar—que cuál de ellas sabía más, y él contestó que yo.

Con este motivo se me colocó en la misión, y se me pusieron primeramente dos indios para enseñarles a guisar, uno se llamaba Tomás, y el otro el Gentil. Les enseñé tan bien que tuve el gusto de que salieran muy buenos cocineros, tal vez los mejores de toda esta parte del país.

Los padres quedaron muy contentos, y esto me valió para granjearme más estimación. Estuve como un año enseñando a esos dos indios—yo no tenía que trabajar, sino únicamente dirigirlos porque ya ellos tenían algunos pequeños principios.

Consultaron después los padres entre sí, y se avinieron a entregarme las llaves de la misión. Esto fué en 1821, si no recuerdo mal, me fundo para acordarme en que mi hija María Rosario tenía siete años, y hallándose muy grave fue administrada por el Padre José Sánchez, quien la asistió con tanto esmero que al fin tuvimos la felicidad de no perderla. Ya estaba, yo pues, de llavera.

Los deberes de la llavera eran varios. En primer lugar, repartía diariamente las raciones para la pozolera, para esto tenía que contar el número de monjas, de solteros, gañanes, vaqueros de silla y vaqueros de en pelo—aparte de eso, había que darle cada día sus raciones a los casados. En una palabra ella corría con la repartición de raciones para la indiada, y para la cocina de los Padres. Tenía a su cargo la llave del almacén de ropas de donde se sacaban los géneros para vestidos de solteras, casadas y niños. Después también tenía que atender a cortar la ropa para los hombres.

Corría también con cortar y hacer la ropa y demás cosas para los vaqueros desde la cabeza a los pies, esto es, para los vaqueros de silla, los de en pelo no recibían

nada más que su cotón, frazada, y taparrabos, mientras que los de silla eran vestidos lo mismo que la gente de razón, esto es, se les daba camisa, chaleco, chaqueta, calzón, sombrero, bota vaquera, y sus zapatos y espuelas, para el caballo su silla vaquera, freno, y reata—a cada vaquero se le daba además un pañuelo grande de seda o de algodón, y su buena banda de saya—saya, burato, ó lo que hubiera en el almacén.

Todo lo concerniente a ropa lo hacían bajo mi dirección mis hijas, yo lo cortaba y arreglaba, y mis cinco hijas cosían las piezas, cuando no podían ellas dar abasto, se lo decía al Padre y entonces se empleaban mujeres del pueblo de Los Ángeles y el Padre les pagaba.

Tenía yo, además, que atender a la jabonería que era muy grande, a los lagares, a las moliendas de aceituna para hacer aceite, que yo misma lo trabajaba—Domingo Romero atendía bajo mi cuidado y responsabilidad a los cambios de licor.

Luis el jabonero tenía cuidado de la jabonería, pero yo lo dirigía todo.

Atendía yo a la entrega de vaquetas, vaquetillas, gamuzas, badanas, tafiletes, paños de grana, tachuelas, pita, seda, etc., de para todo lo relativo a hechura de sillas, zapatos, y todo lo que se necesita en una talabartería y zapatería.

Entregaba cada ocho días las raciones de la tropa y los sirvientes de razón; esto era, frijol, maíz, garbanzo, lenteja, velas, jabón y manteca—Para hacer estas reparticiones me tenían puesto un indio sirviente llamado Lucio, de toda la confianza de los Padres.

Cuando era necesario, alguna de mis hijas hacía lo que yo no podía dar abasto. Por lo regular la que andaba siempre conmigo a todos lados era mi hija María del Rosario.

Después que se casaron todas mis hijas—la última fue Rita por los años del 1832 o 1833—el Padre Sánchez se empeño mucho conmigo para que me casara con un español—con el Teniente de premio Juan Mariné, español catalán que había servido en la artillería, y que era viudo con familia. Yo no quería casarme, pero el Padre me dijo que Mariné era muy bueno, como en efecto resultó serlo; además tenía alguna fortuna en dinero, pero nunca me dio posesión de la caja. Accedí a los deseos del Padre porque no me hallaba con ánimo para negarle nada cuando el Padre Sánchez había sido para mí y toda mi familia como padre y madre.

Estuve sirviendo de llavera de la misión como 13 o 14 años, hasta cosa de dos años después de la muerte del Padre Fray José Sánchez, que tuvo lugar en esta misma misión.

El Padre Sánchez poco antes de morir estaba robusto y en buena salud a pesar de su edad avanzada—cuando vino el Capitán Barroso y sublevó las indiadas de todas las misiones, diciéndoles que ya no eran neófitos sino hombres libres. Llegaron indios de San Luis, San Juan y demás misiones y se metieron en el Colegio con sus armas porque estaba lloviendo muy fuerte—por fuera de la misión pusieron guardias y rondas de los mismos indios—se les había enseñado a dar las voces de ¡*Centinela alerta*!, y *¡alerta está!,* pero ellos decían *¡Centinela abierta! ¡Abierta está!*

El Padre Sánchez estaba muy afligido al ver la indiada desmoralizada; tuvo que ir a Los Ángeles a decir misa, porque lo acostumbraba hacer cada ocho o cada 15 días, no me acuerdo bien. Me dijo, "Eulalia, ya me voy, tú sabes cómo están todas las cosas, mira y cuida lo que puedas, no salgas de aquí, ni tú ni tus hijas." (El

marido de mi hija María Antonia llamado Leonardo Higuera estaba encargado del rancho de los Cerritos, perteneciente a la misión y el de María del Rosario, Miguel White estaba en San Blas.)

Salió el Padre para el pueblo y enfrente de la guardia fueron los indios y le cortaron los tirantes al coche, el Padre saltó del coche y luego se lo llevaron los indios a empellones hasta su cuarto—Él, lleno de pesar y tristeza por lo que habían hecho los indios estuvo en su cuarto como ocho días sin salir, cayó enfermo, y no volvió a ser lo que era, se le reventaron los oídos en sangre, el dolor de cabeza no se le quitó hasta que murió después de la ocurrencia de los indios, vivió tal vez un poco más de un mes, y vino a morir en el mes de enero, creo que de 1833. En ese mes hubo una gran inundación, el río creció mucho y por más de 15 días nadie pudo pasar de un lado al otro. En los Nietos hubo un muerto que no pudo traerse a la misión a enterrarse como cosa de 15 días, por causa de la creciente. En el mismo mes a los pocos días después que el Padre, murió Claudio López, que había sido mayordomo de la misión como 30 años.

En la misión de San Gabriel los neófitos eran un gran número, los casados vivían en sus rancherías con sus hijos mientras eran chicos.

Había dos divisiones para los solteros. Una para las mujeres que se [llamaba] el monjerío, y otra para los varones.

Al monjerío traían las mujercitas desde que tenían 7, 8 o nueve años, y allí se criaban, y salían para casarse—en el monjerío estaban al cuidado de una madre, india; mientras yo estuve en la misión esa matrona se llamaba Polonia, la llamaban *Madre Abadesa*.

El departamento de varones solteros estaba a cargo del alcalde.

Todas las noches se cerraban los dos departamentos, y me entregaban las llaves, y yo las entregaba a los Padres.

En el monjerío a la puerta se paraba un indio ciego a quien llamaban Andresillo, y él iba llamando a cada muchacha por su nombre para que entrara—si faltaba alguna a la hora de entrada, al día siguiente se buscaba, la traían al monjerío, la madre de ella, si la tenía, era traída allí y castigada por haberla detenido, y a la chica la encerraban por haberse descuidado en no venir con puntualidad.

En la mañana se sacaban las muchachas, primeramente iban a la misa del Padre Zalvidea que hablaba indio, después a la pozolera a tomar el desayuno que era unas veces champurrado (o chocolate con atole de maíz) con dulce y pan en días festivos—en otros días corrientemente pozole y carne—después que tomaban el desayuno cada monja iba a su trabajo que se le tenía destinado de antemano, ya fuese en los telares, ya en descargues, ya en costuras o lo que fuese.

Cuando estaban en el descargue a las once del día tenían que arrimar una o dos carretas para llevar refresco a la indiada que trabajaba en los campos. Ese refresco estaba hecho de agua con vinagre y azúcar, y otras veces con limón y azúcar. Yo era quien componía y mandaba ese refresco para que los indios no se enfermaran, así lo tenían mandado los Padres.

Todos los trabajos paraban a las once, y venían a la pozolera a comer a las 12, pozole con carne y verduras. A la una volvían a sus trabajos. Estos concluían por el día cuando se ocultaba el sol entonces venían todos a la pozolera a tomar la cena que era atole con carne y a veces puro atole.

Cada indio o india llevaba su vasija y el pozolero se la llenaba con la ración.

Los indios vaqueros u otros que tenían sus trabajos muy distantes comían en sus casas, si eran casados. Pero la mayor parte de la indiada venía a la pozolera.

A los indios se les enseñaban los diversos oficios para los que manifestaban alguna afición—los otros trabajaban en los campos, o en el cuidado de caballada, ganado, etc. Otros eran carreteros, boyeros, etc.

En la misión se tejía jerga, sarapes y frazadas.

Se hacían sillas de montar, frenos, botas, zapatos y demás avíos de ese ramo. Había jabonería, carpintería grande, y carpintería chica; en esta última trabajaban los que empezaban a aprender y cuando estaban adelantados los pasaban a la otra.

Se hacía vino y aceite, ladrillos, adobes.

Se fabricaba chocolate con cacao que se traía de fuera.

Se hacían dulces, y muchos de los que hice con mis manos pasaron para España mandados por el Padre Sánchez.

En cada departamento había un maestro que era indio ya de razón e instruído. Hubo un blanco al frente de los telares, pero al fin ya cuando aprendieron los indios se retiró él.

El chocolate, el aceite, los dulces, limonadas y otras cosas las hacía yo misma en compañía con mis hijas—Bastante limonada hice, que se embotelló y se mandó para España.

A los indios también se les enseñaba a rezar—a algunos pocos más inteligentes se les enseñaba a leer y escribir. El Padre Zalvidea enseñaba a los indios a rezar en su lengua india. Varios indios aprendieron música y tocaban instrumentos y cantaban en la misa.

Los sacristanes y pajes que ayudaban [en] la misa eran indios de la misión.

Los castigos que se imponían eran cepo, encierro, y cuando la falta era grave llevaban al delincuente a la guardia, allí lo ataban a un cañón o a un poste, y le daban de 25 azotes para arriba según el delito.

Algunas veces los ponían en el cepo de cabeza—otras veces le ponían un fusil que pasaba de una corva a la otra, y allí se lo ataban, y también le ataban allí las manos, ese castigo se llamaba la ley de Bayona, y era muy penoso.

Pero los padres Sánchez y Zalvidea siempre fueron muy considerados con los indios. Yo no me meto a decir lo que hicieron otros porque no vivía en la misión.

Cuando ya estaba gordo el ganado se hacían las matanzas, las carnes se botaban, lo que se recogía era el cuero, el unto, los lomos y las lenguas y los cuernos—todo esto menos lo que se consumía en la misión misma, se vendía a los barcos.

Durante el tiempo que estaba yo en la misión ocurrió el caso de la causa que se le siguió a Don Enrique Fitch y a su mujer Doña Josefa Carrillo, que se casaron en Chile, a donde se la llevó él en su barco.

Mientras se decidió la cosa, él estuvo arrestado en la misión, y Doña Josefa estuvo depositada en mi casa algunos días por la autoridad eclesiástica que la ejercía el Padre Sánchez que era Presidente de las misiones y Vicario foráneo. Fitch estuvo detenido en el cuarto de los huéspedes.

Me acuerdo bien de cuando trajeron a la misión de San Gabriel (en 1832) herido al Comandante General Victoria. Durante el tiempo que estuvo aquí lo asistí junto con mis hijas María Antonia, María de los Ángeles, María del Rosario y Rita. Tuvo una herida de lanza debajo de uno de los ojos, (creo que el derecho). El Padre Sánchez hizo venir a José Chapman que era uno de los insurgentes que se quedaron en

California. Era casado con Guadalupe Ortega, vivía al otro lado de las tapias de la misión y era hombre que entendía como cirujano. El metió la tienta en la herida, y entró como el largo de un dedo. José le curó la herida, y lo dejó en mis manos para que le diera las medicinas. El Sr. Victoria no tenía más herida que ésa, y algunas contusiones en el cuerpo.

Era Victoria hombre algo alto, envuelto en carnes, sumamente trigueño, su pelo era negro lacio, y quebrado en donde acababa, tenía poca barba, pero cuando lo vi se la habían rasurado. Durante su permanencia se portó muy bien, y no nos dio motivo de queja. Todos decían que era un déspota, pero no lo dio a conocer aquí. Cuando se marchó iba ya casi sano.

Volviendo muy atrás, cuando estaba José Maria Pico, padre de Don Pío Pico, de cabo de la escolta de San Gabriel, [hará] ahora cerca de 80 años, su mujer Eustaquia que estaba también en la misión tuvo a dicho Don Pío y yo fui la partera.

Cuando yo vine la primera vez a esta misión de San Gabriel las paredes de la iglesia (la misma que existe ahora) tenían como una vara de alta—la estaba fabricando el albañil José Antonio [indecipherable], uno de los mejores que había en California como era voz general—era español de nacimiento, y lo llamaban por eso, después que se cambió la bandera, el gachupín.

Me acuerdo que antes de la ida del Padre Peyri, en un rincón del almacén del Padre Zalvidea había una pila de sacos de cuero todos llenos de pesos fuertes, y talvez algunos tendrían oro—muchas veces por las costuras de los cueros vimos la plata. Un día estaba yo vacíando fardos para surtir la armazón de los géneros, llegó mi hija María del Rosario; estábamos juntos allí, además de nosotras dos, el Padre Sánchez, Domingo Romero, Claudio López, y Juan José Higuera, uno de los sirvientes, al cabo de un rato salió mi hija a atender a sus quehaceres—yo me quedé con el Padre y los otros. Cuando volvió mi hija, dijo al Padre—"Mire, Padre, allí hay un tápalo muy bonito, yo lo quisiera"—el tápalo estaba arriba de la armazón, no me gustó nada lo que hizo ella, y la miré con desagrado. El Padre dijo a mi hija, "Rosario, sube y baja el tápalo que te gusta." Ella lo hizo así, y se puso a mirar para atrás, cuando de repente dijo, "Mire, Padre, allí hay otro tápalo igual—voy a bajarlo para Rita"—El Padre gustaba de ver a las dos vestidas iguales. Ella subió a buscar el tápalo y cuando bajó le dijo Domingo Romero, "Rosario, no bajes por ahí" señalando un lugar donde no debía pisar—con todo, ella bajo por allí—Le dije a María del Rosario que se fuera con las muchachas, y le rogué al Padre que no les diera a las muchachas todo lo que pedían—el Padre respondió, "es para ellas, porque lo trabajan." María del Rosario salió, pasó por el cuarto del Padre Zalvidea, de allí pasó a la sala, el zaguán, y dio vuelta—se le metió en la cabeza venir a averiguar por qué Romero le había querido impedir el pisar cierto lugar, cuando bajaba el segundo tápalo de la armazón. Entró ella—el Padre Sánchez, Romero, López, y yo estábamos en el otro almacén acomodando—no la vimos entrar, según ella después me explicó, se acercó al lugar que le prohibieron pisar, y había allí tendido un guangoche (manta del tamaño de una sábana) encima del terreno que no le dejaban ver, lo levantó, tentó con la mano para ver lo que había—estaba la mezcla fresca debajo de la manta—mis hijas le decían a Romero, tío, y María del Rosario le contó lo que había visto, porque yo la quería castigar—ella y todos nosotros sacamos en limpio de que todo el dinero que estaba antes en los costales de cuero, había sido enterrado allí.

Un indio viejo de misión me contó una vez que cuando el Padre Antonio Peyri

se fue de la misión de San Luis Rey para embarcarse, no llevaba consigo más que un envoltorito en la espalda como una maleta—el indio lo vio salir—llevaba consigo dos inditos, y se dijo que era para llevarlos a Roma.

Oímos decir por el año de 1831 que se estaban llevando el dinero de la Misión en mulas y carretas—pero yo no lo vi. Lo que sí sé es que hubo un tiempo que en la misión había mucho dinero en cajones, en sacos, en almohadas, y guares (nombre que daban los indios a unos cazos grandes con las bocas chicas).

El Padre Boscana era chico de cuerpo, gordito, blanco, cuando lo conocí estaba bien anciano—a menudo venía a San Gabriel a visitar a los padres y se estaba bastante tiempo; pero creo que nunca fue ministro permanente—era hombre muy tomador de polvo de tabaco—Era un Padre muy cariñoso y bueno—sólo me parecía un poco lunático—cuando estaba con el ataque nadie le hablaba porque parecía que estaba enojado con todos, y con él mismo.

El Padre Nuez era alto, delgadito, joven cuando bautizó a mi hija María del Rosario—blanquito—pelo negro—muy bueno con todos.

Conocí a muchos de los padres misioneros que estuvieron en San Gabriel, pero no me acuerdo de sus nombres ni de su aspecto para poder describirlos. Me acuerdo, sí del Padre Peyri, era de buen cuerpo, envuelto en carnes—blanco—catalán—muy amable y cariñoso—

El Padre Esténega cuando vino a San Gabriel era ya hombre viejo como de 60 o 70 años, algo alto, delgado—muy blanco—muy inteligente en el manejo de lo poco que quedaba en la misión—trataba a todos, blancos e indios, con mucho cariño. Si no me acuerdo mal, aquí murió y fue enterrado—Zalvidea creo que fue enterrado en San Luis Rey.

El Padre Blas Ordaz murió aquí en la misión.

En mis viajes conocí también muchos Padres y lo mismo mientras el Padre Sánchez estuvo de Presidente, que venían los otros a sus juntas.

Una vez mi hija María del Rosario y yo descubrimos al Padre Sánchez y a José Chapman que estaban haciendo el entierro de un cajón que tendría una vara de largo, y más de media de alto, en un cuartito del mismo Padre, por supuesto que el cajón contenía dinero, porque vimos a José componiendo y emparejando el dinero, en pesos fuertes; ni el Padre ni José nos vieron a nosotras.

El Padre Sánchez, además de haberme mantenido a mí y a todas mis hijas hasta que se casaron, me dio dos ranchos—más bien tierra para un rancho y para una huerta—para dármelos juntó [a] toda la indiada en el Colegio—el Padre Zalvidea les habló en su lengua y les preguntó si querían darme ese terreno para huerta y para rancho, porque yo los había cuidado y atendido siempre, que los que querían, levantaran la mano. Toda la indiada a una levantó las manos, diciendo que sí querían.

Cuando me entregó las tierras ya estaba yo casada con Juan Mariné—Después él no me entregó más que la mitad de la tierra y se quedó con la otra mitad. Cuando me case con él era yo mujer de muchos años, pero muy fuerte y ágil, y apenas tenía canas, sin embargo no tuve hijos con él.

Cuando yo vine de Loreto a San Diego era muy aficionada al baile y considerada como la mejor bailadora que había en el país, también había sido cantora en la iglesia del presidio de Loreto.

Una vez bailamos juntas en Santa Bárbara, la Chepa Rodríguez y yo—era

Chepa muy mentada como gran bailadora—bailamos el jarabe y ella se cansó y se fue a sentar y me dejó a mí bailando todavía—también le gané a otra señora, famosa bailadora, y se hizo un desafío hasta Monterey a que viniesen a competir conmigo en el baile y nadie vino. Aquello fue cuando la bendición de la iglesia de Santa Bárbara.

Cuando yo era joven bailaba de todo, sones, jarabe, pontorico, Medio Catorce, fandango, la zorrita, las pollitas, el caballo. Este ultimo se bailaba entre dos mujeres con sombreros puestos y en cierta parte del verso había movimientos con los sombreros en las manos.

En los sones iba el tecolero zapateando y se paraba delante de la primera mujer en la fila, daba unas palmadas y la sacaba, después que acababa ella, se sentaba, y sacaba otra hasta que había bailado la última.

APPENDIX III-B

An Old Woman and Her Recollections, Dictated by Doña Eulalia Pérez, Who Lives at Mission San Gabriel at the Advanced Age of 139 Years, to D. Thomas Savage for the Bancroft Library, 1877

I, Eulalia Pérez, was born at the presidio of Loreto, in Baja California.

My father's name was Diego Pérez and he worked in the naval department at the presidio. My mother's name was Antonia Rosalía Cota.[1] They both were white people through and through.

I do not remember the date of my birth, but I do know that I was fifteen years old when I married Miguel Antonio Guillén, a soldier of the presidio company of Loreto. When I was living in Loreto, I had three sons and one daughter. Two of the boys died in Loreto at a young age and another boy, Isidoro, came with us to Alta California. I had one girl, Petra, who was eleven years old, when we moved to San Diego.

I lived in San Diego for eight years with my husband. He continued his service as a soldier at the presidio of San Diego. I assisted the women who were in labor.

I had relatives who lived in the vicinity of Los Angeles and even farther north. I asked my husband many times if he would take me to see them, but he did not want to go with me. The presidio commander would not let me go either, because there was no other woman at the presidio who knew how to deliver babies.

Everyone in San Diego respected me very much. I was treated with much affection in the homes of the important people. Even though I had my own house, those families would have me stay at their homes all the time and they even provided for my children.

In 1812, while I was attending Mass at the church at San Juan Capistrano, there was a huge earthquake that knocked down the tower. I ran through the sacristy and was knocked to the ground in the doorway. I was pregnant and could not move, and people stepped on top of me. Soon after, I returned to San Diego and almost immediately gave birth to my daughter María Antonia, who still lives here in San Gabriel.[2]

After living in San Diego for eight years, we went to Mission San Gabriel, where my husband served in the guard. On October 1, 1814, my daughter María del Rosario was born. She is the wife of Miguel White. I am now living in their house.

About four years later, I returned to San Diego with my husband and family.

My husband was sick and wanted permission to be discharged from the military. At first they refused his request, but in the end they granted it. About six months or perhaps one year later, we returned to San Gabriel. My husband was gravely ill and died in Los Angeles soon after. They sent me an escort to take me back to San Diego. Since my oldest son, Isidoro Guillén, was a soldier, they put him in charge of the escort. I returned to San Diego with my entire family and went to spend time at the home of Don Santiago Argüello, the commander of the presidio. Before Argüello became commander, Don Francisco María Ruiz had been the commander for many years. Before him, Don Manuel Rodríguez was commander, and before Rodríguez, some fellow named Don Antonio was the commander.

When I first came to San Diego, there were no other houses at the presidio except for the commander's house and the soldiers' barracks.

There was no church. The missionary who would come from Mission San Diego would say Mass in a shelter made from some old walls covered with branches.

The first adobe house that was built in San Diego belonged to some fellow named Sánchez. He was the father of Don Vicente Sánchez, the alcalde of Los Angeles and delegate of the *diputación territorial* [territorial council]. The house was very small but everybody would go and see it as if it were a palace. That house was built about a year after I arrived in San Diego for the first time.

My last trip to San Diego was probably in 1818. My daughter María del Rosario was about four years old then. Something tells me that I was there when the insurgents came to California. I remember that they captured a foreigner and put shackles on him, but then they took them off.

About three years later I returned to San Gabriel. The reason for my return was that Father José Sánchez, the missionary at San Gabriel, had written to his cousin Father Fernando at San Diego. He asked him to speak with the commander of the San Diego presidio and beg him to give my son Isidoro Guillén an escort to bring me back to San Gabriel with my entire family. The commander granted the request.

When we arrived here, Father José Sánchez provided me and my family with a small house where we could live temporarily until I found work. I lived there with my five young daughters. My son Isidoro Guillén was serving as a soldier in the mission escort.

At that time, Father Sánchez was between sixty and seventy years old. He was a Spaniard and a white man. He was of medium height and heavy-set. He was a very good, loving, and charitable man. He, like his colleague Father José María de Zalvidea, treated the Indians very well. Both men were well loved by the *gente de razón* and the neophytes, as well as by the other Indians.

Father Zalvidea was quite old. He was very tall and a bit heavy. He was a white man. I heard it said that Zalvidea was sent to San Juan Capistrano because there was no missionary there. Later I found out that many years later, when Father Antonio Peyri fled San Luis Obispo, it was rumored that the fathers were going to be killed. Father Zalvidea was very sick and, truth be told, he had not been in his right mind since they took him from San Gabriel. He did not want to leave that mission. I think the father was scared. Two Indians from San Luis Rey went to San Juan Capistrano and placed him in a *carreta* [wooden cart] used for hauling

hides. They made him as comfortable as possible and took him to San Luis Rey, where he died soon after, due to the rough ride he had to tolerate.

Father Zalvidea loved his "mission children" very much. This is what he called the Indians whom he personally had converted to Christianity. Sometimes he would go on horseback, and other times on foot, and cross the mountains until he reached the rancherías where the gentiles lived, so he could bring them to our religion.

Father Zalvidea introduced many improvements at Mission San Gabriel and helped it move forward in every way. He was not satisfied with feeding only the mission Indians an abundant amount of food. He also wanted the wild Indians to have something to eat. So he planted trees in the mountains and far from the mission so the other Indians would have food when they passed by those places.

The last time I came to San Gabriel, there were only two women in this whole part of California who really knew how to cook. One was María Luisa Cota, the wife of Claudio López, the *mayordomo* at the mission. The other woman was María Ignacia Amador, the wife of Francisco Javier Alvarado. She knew how to cook, sew, read, and write, and she could take care of the sick. She was a fine *curandera*. Her job was to sew and take care of the church garments. In her home, she taught some children how to read and write, but she did not have a formal school.

On important feast days, such as that of the patron saint and Easter, the two women would be called upon to prepare the large meal, the meat dishes, sweets, and other things.

The fathers wanted to help me because I was a widow supporting a family. They looked for ways to give me work without upsetting the other women. Father Sánchez and Father Zalvidea discussed the matter and decided to see who was the best cook. One woman would cook first, followed by the next one, and I would be the last one to cook. The woman who surpassed the others would be assigned to teach the Indian cooks how to cook. The *señores* who would be deciding on the quality of the three meals were notified ahead of time. One of the men was Don Ignacio Tenorio, whom they called the "king's judge." He came to live and die in the company of Father Sánchez. Señor Tenorio was a very old man. When he would go out, he would wrap himself in a little shawl and walk very slowly, aided by his cane. His long walk amounted to going from the father's house to the church.

In addition to the Fathers, the other judges who were asked to give their expert opinion were Don Ignacio Mancisidor, a merchant; Don Pedro Narváez, a naval officer; Sergeant José Antonio Pico, who later became a lieutenant and was the brother of Governor Pío Pico; Don Domingo Romero, who was my assistant when I was the *llavera* at the mission; and Claudio López, the *mayordomo* at the mission.

Whenever those men were at the mission, they would eat with the Fathers. They were present for the three meals on the designated days. I was not told anything about this until the day Father Sánchez called me over and said, "Look, Eulalia, tomorrow it is your turn to prepare the dinner, because María Ignacia and Luisa have already done so. Let's see what kind of dinner you will give us tomorrow."

The next day, I went to cook. I made several soups, a variety of meat dishes,

and anything else that came to mind that I knew how to make. Tomás, the Indian cook, paid close attention to what I was doing, as the Father had told him to do.

The men I mentioned came at dinnertime. After they finished the meal, Father Sánchez asked them what they thought of the food, beginning with the oldest man, Don Ignacio Tenorio. This *señor* pondered for quite some time. He said that it had been many years since he had eaten as well as he had that day. He doubted that a person would eat better food at the king's table. The other men also praised the meal highly.

The Father then asked Tomás which of the three *señoras* he liked best and which one knew the most. He said it was me.

Based on this, I was given a job at the mission. First, two Indians were assigned to me so I could teach them how to cook. One was named Tomás and the other was "El Gentil." I taught them so well that I had the pleasure of seeing them turn out to be very fine cooks. They were, perhaps, the best cooks in this whole part of the country.

The Fathers were very happy and this helped me earn more of their respect. I spent about a year teaching those two Indians. I did not have to work; I just supervised them because they now had some basic knowledge of cooking.

The Fathers then talked among themselves and agreed to hand over the mission keys to me. This was in 1821, if I remember correctly. I remember that my daughter María Rosario was seven years old at the time and was gravely ill. Father José Sánchez administered the last rites to her. He attended to her with the greatest care and we were finally able to rejoice because we did not lose her. At that time, I was already the *llavera*.

The *llavera* had various responsibilities. First, she would distribute the daily rations for the *pozolera*. To do this, she had to count the number of single women and men, field workers, and vaqueros—those who rode with saddles and those who rode bareback. Besides that, she had to give daily rations to the people who were married. In short, she was in charge of the distribution of the rations for the Indians and she was also in charge of the Father's kitchen. She was in charge of the key to the clothing storehouse, from where material would be taken to make dresses for single and married women, as well as children. She also had to supervise the cutting of clothes for men.

She was also in charge of cutting and making clothes and other items, from head to toe, for the vaqueros who used saddles. Those who rode bareback received nothing more than their shirt, blanket, and loincloth. Those who rode with saddles received the same clothing as the *gente de razón*. They were given a shirt, a vest, pants, a hat, boots, shoes, and spurs. And they were given a saddle, a bridle, and a *reata* for their horse. Each vaquero would also receive a large kerchief made of silk or cotton, and a sash of Chinese silk or red crepe cloth or whatever other material might be in the storehouse.

All work having to do with clothing was done by my daughters under my supervision. I would cut and arrange the pieces of material and my five daughters would do the sewing. When they could not keep up with the workload, I would let the Father know. He would then hire women from the pueblo of Los Angeles and pay them.

In addition, I had to supervise the area where soap was made, which was very large, and also the wine presses. I supervised and worked in the crushing of olives to make olive oil. Domingo Romero would drain off the liquid, but I would supervise him as he did this.

Luis, the soap maker, was in charge of the actual soap production, but I supervised everything.

I supervised the distribution of leather, calfskin, chamois, sheepskin, *tafilete* [burnished leather from goatskin or calfskin],[3] red cloth, tacks, thread, silk, etc.—everything related to the making of saddles and shoes, as well as everything that is needed in a saddle workshop and shoe workshop.

I would distribute rations and supplies to the troops and the *gente de razón* servants every eight days. They would receive beans, corn, garbanzos, lentils, candles, soap, and lard. An Indian servant named Lucio, whom the Fathers trusted completely, was assigned to help me distribute everything.

When necessary, one of my daughters would do whatever I could not find time to complete. My daughter María del Rosario almost always worked by my side.

After all my daughters had married (the last one was Rita, who married in 1832 or 1833), Father Sánchez tried very hard to get me to marry First Lieutenant Juan Mariné, a Spaniard (Catalán) who had served in the artillery. He was a widower with a family. I did not want to get married, but Father Sánchez told me that Mariné was a very good man, which turned out to be the case. He also had quite a bit of money, but he never handed the box where he kept it over to me. I gave in to the Father's wishes. I did not have the heart to deny Father Sánchez anything because he had been like a father and a mother to me and to my entire family.

I was the *llavera* at the mission for twelve or fourteen years, until about two years after the death of Father José Sánchez. He died at this mission. In spite of his advanced age, Father Sánchez was strong and in good health until shortly before he died.

When Captain Barroso came and incited the Indians from all the missions by telling them that they no longer were neophytes but rather free men, Indians arrived from San Luis, San Juan, and other missions. They went into the teaching room with their weapons because it was raining very hard. The Indians placed guards outside the mission and they also had patrols. They had been taught to call out "Sentry—on guard!" (*centinela alerta*) and "He is on guard!" (*alerta está*), but instead they would say, "Sentry—open!" (*centinela abierta*) and "He is open!" (*abierta está*).

Father Sánchez was very distressed at seeing how the Indians had been led astray. He had to go to Los Angeles to say Mass, something he was in the habit of doing every eight or fifteen days, I cannot remember exactly. He told me, "Eulalia, I am leaving now. You know what the situation is. Keep your eyes open and take care of whatever you can. I do not want you or your daughters to leave here." My daughter María Antonia's husband, Leonardo Higuera, was in charge of the Rancho de los Cerritos, which belonged to the mission. María del Rosario's husband, Miguel White, was in San Blas.

Father Sánchez left to go to the pueblo, but right in front of the guard, the Indians went and cut the traces off his coach. He jumped down from the coach and then the Indians took him by force to his room. He was filled with sorrow

because of what the Indians had done. He stayed in his room for about eight days and would not come out. He became ill and never was the same again. His eardrums burst and he bled from his ears. His headache lasted until he died. After the incident with the Indians, he lived for little more than a month. He died in January. I think the year was 1833. There was a huge flood during that month. The river rose considerably and no one could cross it for more than fifteen days.

A person died at Los Nietos but could not be brought to the mission for burial for about fifteen days because of the flood. That same month, a few days after Father Sánchez had died, Claudio López also died. He had been the *mayordomo* at the mission for about thirty years.

There was a large number of neophytes at Mission San Gabriel. Those who were married lived at their *rancherías* with their young children.

The unmarried neophytes lived in two separate quarters. The one for women was called the *monjerío* and there was another one for the men.

Young girls between the ages of seven and nine were brought to the *monjerío.* They would be raised there and would leave when they were to be married. An Indian mother would care for them in the *monjerío.* When I was at the mission, that mother's name was Polonia. They would call her *Madre Abadesa*.

The *alcalde* was in charge of the single men's quarters.

Every night the buildings were locked and the keys were turned over to me. Then I would hand the keys over to the Fathers.

A blind Indian named Andresillo would stand at the door to the *monjerío.* He would call out the name of each girl so that they would come in one by one. If any girl was missing when the girls were supposed to come inside, they would go out and look for her the next day. The girl would be brought back to the *monjerío.* If the girl had a mother, then she would be brought back as well and would be punished for keeping the girl away. The girl would be locked up for her carelessness in not returning to the *monjerío* on time.

The girls would be let out of the *monjerío* in the morning. First they would go to the Mass said by Father Zalvidea. He spoke the Indian language. Then they would go to the *pozolera* to eat breakfast. Sometimes the breakfast would be *champurrado* (chocolate mixed with *atole* made from corn). On feast days they would have bread and something sweet. On other days they would normally have *pozole* and meat. After breakfast, each girl would go to her assigned task, which might be weaving, unloading items from *carretas,* sewing, or something else.

When they were assigned to unload *carretas,* at eleven o'clock they would have to put one or two aside. These *carretas* were used to take drinks to the Indians who were working in the fields. The drinks were usually a mixture of water, vinegar, and sugar, but sometimes they were water, lemon, and sugar. I was the person who prepared and sent out those drinks so the Indians would not get sick. That is what the Fathers ordered done.

All work stopped at eleven. At noon, they would go to the *pozolera* for their meal of meat and vegetables. At one o'clock they would return to their jobs. The workday ended at sunset. Then they all would go to the *pozolera* to eat their dinner, which was *atole* with meat. Sometimes it was plain *atole*.

Each Indian man or woman would carry their own bowl which the *pozolero* would fill with their ration of food.

The Indian vaqueros or others who worked far away would eat at their homes if they were married. However, the majority of the Indians would go to the *pozolera*.

If the Indians showed a liking for a certain job, then that was the job they were taught. Otherwise, they would work in the field or care for the horses and cattle. Others had jobs as cart drivers or cowherds.

Coarse cloth, sarapes, and blankets were woven at the mission.

Saddles, bridles, boots, shoes, and other items of that nature were made. There was a place to make soap, as well as a large carpentry shop and a small one. The apprentice carpenters worked in the small carpentry shop until they had mastered enough to be sent to the larger shop.

Wine, olive oil, bricks, and adobes were made. Chocolate was made from cacao brought from abroad, and sweets were made. Father Sánchez sent many of the sweets that I made to Spain. In each of the different work areas there was a teacher who was a Christian Indian. This person had received some formal instruction. A white man was in charge of the looms, but he stepped down when the Indians finally learned the skill.

My daughters and I would make chocolate, olive oil, sweets, lemonade, and other things. I made quite a bit of lemonade that was bottled and sent to Spain.

The Indians were also taught how to pray. Some of the more intelligent Indians were taught how to read and write. Father Zalvidea taught the Indians how to pray in their own language. A number of Indians learned music. They played instruments and sang at Mass.

The sacristans and pages who assisted at Mass were mission Indians.

The punishments that were imposed were the stocks and confinement to a cell. When the crime was serious, they would take the delinquent to the guardhouse. There, they would tie him to a cannon or to a post and whip him twenty-five times or more, depending on the crime. Sometimes they would put them in the stocks head first. Other times they would put a shotgun behind their knees and tie their hands to the gun. This punishment was called *Ley de Bayona*. It was very painful.

But Father Sánchez and Father Zalvidea always showed much concern for the Indians. I am not going to talk about what the others did, because I did not live at the mission.

As soon as the cattle had been fattened up, the slaughter would take place. The meat would be thrown out. Only hides, fat, loin, tongues, and horns would be kept. All of this, except for what was eaten at the mission itself, would be sold to ships.

The case brought against Don Enrique Fitch and his wife, Doña Josefa Carrillo, happened when I was at the mission. He had taken her to Chile on his ship and they were married there.

While the case was being decided, Fitch was held under arrest at the mission and was kept in the guest room. The ecclesiastical authority, Father Sánchez, who was also the president of the missions and the Vicar Forane, placed Doña Josefa at my house for a few days.

I remember well when they brought the wounded Commander General Victoria to Mission San Gabriel in 1832. While he was here, I took care of him together with my daughters María Antonia, María de los Angeles, María del Rosario, and

Rita. He had a wound under one of his eyes from a lance. I think it was the right eye. Father Sánchez had José Chapman come to the mission. Chapman was one of the insurgents who stayed in California. He was married to Guadalupe Ortega. They lived on the other side of the mission walls. He was a man who knew something about surgery. He stuck a probe in the wound, and it was about as deep as the length of a finger. José treated Victoria's wound and left him in my hands so that I could give him the medicines. Señor Victoria had no other injuries except that one and some bruises on his body.

Victoria was a tall man. He was very heavy and his skin was very dark. His hair was black and straight and uneven where it ended. He did not have much of a beard. When I saw him they had shaved it all off. While he was at the mission, he behaved very well and gave us no reason to complain. Everyone said he was a despot, but he did not appear that way when he was here. When he left he was practically cured.

Returning to something way in the past that happened about eighty years ago: when José María Pico, the father of Don Pío Pico, was corporal of the escort at San Gabriel, his wife, Eustaquia, was also at the mission. That is where she gave birth to Don Pío, and I was the midwife.

The first time I came to Mission San Gabriel, the walls of the church (the same one that is here now) were about a *vara* in height. José Antonio was building the church. Everybody considered him to be one of the best bricklayers in California. He was a Spaniard by birth. That is why they called him *El Gachupín,* after the change of flags.

I remember that before Father Peyri left, there was a pile of leather sacks in a corner of Father Zalvidea's storeroom. The sacks were heavy, and some of them may have contained gold. We could often see the money through the seams in the bag. One day, when I was undoing packages to stock the shelves with supplies, my daughter María del Rosario came in. Besides the two of us, Father Sánchez, Domingo Romero, Claudio López, and Juan José Higuera were also there. After a while, my daughter left to do her chores. I stayed with Father Sánchez and the others. When my daughter returned, she said to Father Sánchez, "Look, Father, there is a very beautiful shawl over there and I would like to have it." The shawl was on the top shelf. I was not the least bit happy with what she had said, and I gave her a look of displeasure. Father Sánchez responded to my daughter, "Rosario, climb up and bring down that shawl you like." She did exactly that and then looked back at the shelf and suddenly said, "Look, Father, there is another shawl up there just like this one, and I am going to bring it down for Rita." Father Sánchez liked to see both girls dressed alike. She climbed up to get the shawl, and when she started to climb down, Domingo Romero said, "Rosario, do not come down that way," pointing to where she should not step. But she climbed down nevertheless. I told María del Rosario to go outside with the other girls. I begged Father Sánchez not to give the girls everything they asked for. He responded, "They can have it because they have worked for it." María del Rosario left and walked past Father Zalvidea's room. From there she went past the reception room and the hall, and then she turned around. She had gotten it into her head to come back and find out why Romero had tried to stop her from climbing down a certain way when she was bringing the second shawl down from the shelf. She came back in, but Father

Sánchez, Romero, López, and I were in the other storehouse putting things in order, so we did not see her come in. According to what she later told me, she went over to the spot where she was told not to step and saw a large piece of coarse cloth spread across the ground. She could not tell what was under the cloth, so she picked it up and then felt the ground with her hand to see what was there. There was fresh earth under the cloth. My daughters referred to Romero as "uncle." María del Rosario told him what she had seen, because I was going to punish her if she did not. She, as well as everyone else, had discovered the truth—all the money that was previously in the leather sacks had been buried there.

An old mission Indian once told me that when Father Antonio Peyri left Mission San Luis Rey to board ship, the only thing he took with him was a small bundle on his back. It was like a suitcase. The Indian saw him leave. Father Peyri took two young Indian boys with him. It was said that he wanted to take them to Rome.

Around 1831 we heard people say that money was being taken from the mission on mules and in *carretas.* However, I did not see that. What I do know is that one time there was a lot of money at the mission stored in boxes, sacks, and *guajes* (an Indian name for some big things that had small openings).

Father Boscana was a small man but a bit plump. He had pale skin. When I met him, he was quite old. He would frequently come to San Gabriel to visit the Fathers and he would stay for quite a while. But I do not believe he was ever a permanent minister there. He was very fond of snuff. He was a very loving and good man, although it seemed to me that he was a bit crazy. When he would have an attack, nobody would talk to him, because he acted as if he were angry with everybody, including himself.

Father Nuez was tall, thin, and young when he baptized my daughter María del Rosario. He was very pale and had black hair. He was very kind to everybody.

I met many missionary Fathers when they were at San Gabriel, but I do not remember very much about their names or what they looked like to be able to describe them. I do remember Father Peyri. He was a good-sized man but very heavy and his skin was white. He was Catalán and a very friendly and loving person.

When Father Esténaga came to San Gabriel, he was already a sixty- or seventy-year-old man. He was somewhat tall, thin, very pale, and very intelligent when it came to managing the little that remained at the mission. He treated everybody with much affection, white people as well as Indians. If I remember correctly, he died and was buried here. I believe that Father Zalvidea was buried at San Luis Rey.

Father Blas Ordaz died here at the mission.

When I traveled, I met many Fathers. I would also meet them when Father Sánchez was president, because the other Fathers would come to his meetings.

One time, my daughter María del Rosario and I caught Father Sánchez and José Chapman burying a box in the Father's room. The box measured about a *vara* in length and was more than half a *vara* high. Of course the box contained money, because we saw José arranging and matching the coins in large quantities. Neither Father Sánchez nor José saw us.

In addition to supporting me and all my daughters until they married, Father Sánchez gave me two ranchos, that is, land for one rancho and land for an orchard.

Before he gave them to me, he first had all the Indians gather together in the teaching room. Then Father Zalvidea, who spoke their language, asked them if they wanted to give me that land for an orchard and for a rancho, since I had always taken care of them and helped them. He said that those who agreed should raise their hand. All the Indians raised their hands and said they wanted me to have the land. When Father Sánchez turned the land over to me, I was already married to Juan Mariné. Later, Juan only gave me half the land and kept the other half for himself. When I married him I was an older woman, but very strong and agile, and I hardly had any gray hair. However, I never had any children with him.

When I came to San Diego from Loreto, I was very fond of dancing, and I was considered the best dancer in the country. I was also a singer in the church at the presidio of Loreto. One time, Chepa Rodríguez and I danced together in Santa Bárbara. Chepa was famous for being a great dancer. We danced the *jarabe* and she got tired and had to sit down, but I kept on dancing. I also outlasted another famous dancer. There was a contest to see if anybody from San Diego to Monterey would come and compete with me in dancing, but nobody came. That was when the church at Santa Bárbara was blessed.

When I was young, I danced every type of dance: *sones, jarabe, pontorico, mediocatorce, fandango, la zorrita, las pollitas, el caballo.* This last dance was done by women wearing hats. At a certain part in the verse, they would twirl their hats around in their hands.

With the *sones,* the *tecolero* would go around tapping his feet to the rhythm of the music and then stop in front of the first woman in line. He would continue clapping his hands and then take her out of the line. Once the woman had finished dancing, she would sit down and the *tecolero* would take another woman from the line, until the last woman had danced.[4]

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Notes

Introduction

1. I use "the Californias" when referring to both Alta and Baja California. I use "Alta California" when referring to the region roughly from Monterey south to the area surrounding Mission San Diego. "Baja" or "Antigua California" refers to the area south of San Diego to the southernmost tip of the peninsula. For purposes of this study, when I refer to the colonial frontier, I am specifically talking about the northwestern reaches of New Spain, i.e., the Californias.

2. James A. Sandos, "Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions, 1769–1836," *Boletín: The Journal of the California Mission Studies Association* 20:1 (2003): 5–10.

3. Mary P. Ryan, *Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots, 1825–1880* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990).

4. "Californiana" refers, in general, to women of the Californias. Indians, or indigenous women, are those members of the various groups native to the area. "Española" refers to Spanish women residing in the Californias, and mestizas are the women of mixed race (Spanish, Indian, and/or mulatto), who, for the most part, were the largest group of women settling this frontier area.

5. Antonia I. Castañeda, "Engendering the History of Alta California, 1769–1848," in *Contested Eden: California before the Gold Rush,* ed. Ramón A. Gutiérrez and Richard Orsi (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998); and idem, "Presidarias y Pobladoras: Spanish-Mexican Women in Frontier Monterey, Alta California, 1770–1821," PhD dissertation, Stanford University, 1990.

6. See Carmen Ramos Escandón, ed., *Presencia y transparencia: La mujer en la historia de México* (Mexico City: Programa Interdisciplinario de Estudios de la Mujer, Colegio de México, 1987); Silvia Marina Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City, 1790–1857* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1985).

7. Renato Barahona, *Sex Crimes, Honour, and the Law in Early Modern Spain, Vizcaya, 1528–1735* (Toronto, Can.: University of Toronto Press, 2003); Kimberly Gauderman, *Women's Lives in Colonial Quito: Gender, Law and Economy in Spanish America* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003); Deena J. González, *Refusing the*

Favor: The Spanish-Mexican Women of Santa Fe, 1820–1880 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Miroslava Chávez-García, *Negotiating Conquest: Gender and Power in California, 1770s to 1880s* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2004).

8. For more on this issue, see Ellen Carol DuBois and Vicki L. Ruiz, eds., *Unequal Sisters: A Multi-Cultural Reader in U.S. Women's History* (New York: Routledge, 1990).

9. Iris A. Blanco, "Participación de las mujeres en la sociedad prehispánica," in Enriqueta Tuñón Pablos, ed., *El álbum de la mujer: Antología ilustrada de las mexicanas,* vol. 1: *Época prehispánica* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1991).

10. Albert Hurtado, *Intimate Frontiers: Sex, Gender and Culture in Old California* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999); Lisbeth Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities in California, 1769–1936* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995); Sarah Deutsch, *No Separate Refuge: Culture, Class, and Gender on an Anglo-Hispanic Frontier in the American Southwest, 1880–1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); Ryan, *Women in Public;* Paula Baker, "The Domestication of Politics: Women and American Political Society, 1780–1920," in Ellen Carol DuBois and Vicki L. Ruiz, eds., *Unequal Sisters: A Multi-Cultural Reader in U.S. Women's History* (New York: Routledge, 1990); Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988).

11. Emma Pérez, *The Decolonial Imaginary: Writing Chicanas into History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999).

12. Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of the Bourgeois Society,* trans. T. Burger (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989).

13. Ibid., 27.

14. Ibid., 30.

15. Craig Calhoun, ed., *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1992).

16. Ryan, *Women in Public,* 59. For an additional feminist analysis of Habermas' theory, see idem, "Gender and Public Access," in Craig Calhoun, ed., *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1992).

17. Ryan, "Gender and Public Access," 264.

18. Arrom, *Women of Mexico City,* 61.

19. Baker, "The Domestication of Politics."

20. Christine Stansell, "Women, Children, and the Uses of the Streets: Class and Gender Conflict in New York City," in DuBois and Ruiz, eds., *Unequal Sisters* (New York: Routledge, 1990).

21. Christine Hunefeldt, *Liberalism in the Bedroom: Quarreling Spouses in Nineteenth-century Lima* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000).

22. Rosaura Sánchez, *Telling Identities: The Californio Testimonios* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 190.

23. Ryan, *Women in Public,* 60.

24. Joan Kelly, "The Double Vision of Feminist Theory," in Judith L. Nelson,

Mary P. Ryan, and Judith R. Walkowitz, eds., *Sex and Class in Women's History* (London & Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983), 286.

25. R. Sánchez, *Telling Identities,* 208.

26. I build on works such as Castañeda's "Presidarias y Pobladoras," which illustrates how Spanish hegemony on the colonial frontier relied on a distinct nexus of gendered and racial cultural practices; Ryan's *Women in Public,* which offers an exemplary demonstration of the importance of using gender as an independent frame of analysis, in this case, to fashion a theoretical framework for analyzing and interpreting women's relationships to public spaces; and Rosaura Sánchez' *Telling Identities,* which examines the unique features of the Californio population, particularly as capitalist reconstructing of California gave way to profound and broad sociospatial and geopolitical changes.

27. Douglas Monroy, *Thrown among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990); Gilbert Cruz, *Let There Be Towns: Spanish Municipal Origins in the American Southwest, 1610–1810* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1988); Ramón Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500–1846* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1991); Richard Allen Griswold del Castillo, *The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo: A Legacy of Conflict* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990). In addition, Deena J. González, Vicki L. Ruiz, David G. Gutiérrez, Alberto Camarillo, Gerald E. Poyo and Gilberto M. Hinojosa, Albert Hurtado, and David Montejano are just a few of the scholars whose work has added to the diversity of thematic concerns of early and contemporary Chicana/o history.

28. David Gutiérrez, "Significant to Whom?: Mexican Americans and the History of the American West," in Clyde A. Milner II, ed., *A New Significance: Re-Envisioning the History of the American West* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).

29. See Virginia Bouvier, *Women and the Conquest of California, 1542–1840: Codes of Silence* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2001); and Stephen W. Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769–1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005).

30. See Sarah Shaver Hughes and Brady Hughes, *Women in World History,* vol. I, *Readings from Prehistory to 1500* (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1995); vol. 2, *Readings from 1500 to the Present* (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1997). Also see Jane Slaughter and Melissa K. Bokovoy, *Sharing the Stage: Biography and Gender in Western Civilization,* vol. 1 (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2003); Margaret Strobel, "Gender, Sex and Empire," in Michael Adas, ed., *Islamic & European Expansion: The Forging of a Global Order* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Temple University Press, 1993).

31. François Giraud, "Mujeres y familia en Nueva España," in Carmen Ramos Escandón, ed., *Presencia y transparencia: La mujer en la historia de México* (Mexico City: Programa Interdisciplinario de Estudios de la Mujer, Colegio de México, 1987), 61–62. All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

32. Suzanne Bunkers and Cynthia Huff, *Inscribing the Daily: Critical Essays on Women's Diaries* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996), support the

argument that women have historically utilized those forms accessible to them to attest to their role and contribution to public life and that these texts illuminate the importance of linking "dailiness" to the social and public spheres.

33. Rojo, a Peruvian, arrived in Baja California in 1848. After a brief visit to Alta California he settled in Baja California and became a respected educator, ethnographer, and civil servant. His memoirs, written in 1872, were recovered and published in 2000 as Manuel Clemente Rojo, *Apuntes históricos de la frontera de la Baja California, 1848–1892.* (Ensenada, B.C., Mex.: Museo de Historia de Ensenada/Seminario de Historia de Ensenada, 2000).

34. R. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came.*

Chapter 1

1. Chapter title from W. Michael Mathes, "Descubrimientos y expediciones," in Marco Antonio Samaniego López, ed., *Ensenada: Nuevas aportaciones para su historia* (Mexicali, B.C., Mex.: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Universidad Autónoma de Baja California, 1999), 53.

2. For more on this, see Jorge Luis Amao Manríquez, *Mineros, misioneros y rancheros de la antigua California* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Plaza y Valdés Editores, 1997).

3. Carlos Lazcano Sahagún, "Los primeros pobladores de la Ensenada de Todos Santos," in Marco Antonio Samaniego López, ed., *Ensenada: Nuevas aportaciones para su historia* (Mexicali, B.C., Mex.: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Universidad Autónoma de Baja California, 1999, 27. Also see Julia Bendímez Patterson, "Algunas consideraciones sobre la arqueología de Baja California," *Meyibó* 2:5 (1985): 77–85.

4. Anita Álvarez de Williams, *Primeros pobladores de la Baja California: Introducción a la antropología de la península* (Mexicali, B.C., Mex.: Talleres Gráficos del Estado, 1975). Also see Miguel León-Portilla, *La California mexicana: Ensayos acerca de su historia* (Mexicali, B.C., Mex.: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Universidad Autónoma de Baja California, 2000).

5. Miguel del Barco, SJ, *Historia natural y crónica de la antigua California,* ed. Miguel León-Portilla (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1973), 174, asserts that the Pericúes were distinctly separate from other nations in language, customs, and kinship. Paul Rivet suggests that Melanesian migrations could have landed on the California coast either voluntarily, or due to oceanic currents. See P. Rivet, "Rechercher anthropologiques sur la Basse-Californie," *Journal de la Société des Americanistes* 6 (1906): 147–253.

6. Ignacio del Río and María Eugenia Altable Fernández, *Breve historia de Baja California Sur* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, Fideicomiso de las Américas, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2000). For more on the subject, see Johan Jakob Baegert, *An Account of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the California Peninsula* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1863–1864); Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States* (Berkeley, Calif.: Bancroft Library, 1882); Homer Aschmann, *The Natural and Human History of Baja California* (Los Angeles, Calif.:

Dawson Book Shop, 1966); Julia Bendímez Patterson, "Antecedentes históricos de los indígenas de Baja California," *Revista de Estudios Fronterizos,* yr. 5, vol. 5, no. 14 (1987): 11–46.

7. Del Río and Altable Fernández, *Breve historia de Baja California Sur,* 15–26.

8. Ibid., 17. See Enrique Cárdenas de la Peña, *Visión y presencia de Baja California,* México, Secretaría de Marina, 1969.

9. Harry W. Crosby, *The Cave Paintings of Baja California: Discovering the Great Murals of an Unknown People* (San Diego, Calif.: Sunbelt Publications, 1997). This book is a groundbreaking pictorial of the cave and rock paintings left by early inhabitants of the central region of the peninsula, and its publication led to increased federal, state, and local attention. International archeological interest in the murals ultimately led to varying degrees of support from the Mexican government that, in 1992, under the auspices of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, initiated a program of documentation, study, and preservation.

10. Data from Enrique Hambleton, president of the Fundación Amigos de Sudcalifornia, Asociación Civil (AMISUD), in Crosby, *Cave Paintings,* 233–234.

11. Crosby, *Cave Paintings.*

12. Ibid., 211.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid., 215.

15. Studies that include scientific observations about the paintings that have been published since the 1990s include Ramón Viñas and Enrique Hambleton, "Los grandes murales de Baja California Sur," *Revista de Arqueología* (Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico City) (1991); Ramón Viñas, "Observaciones astronómicas en las pinturas rupestres de Baja California Sur," *Revista Panorama* (1991); José María Fullola, María M. Bergadá, Victoria del Castillo, María Ángeles Petit, and Albert Rubio, "Comunidades pre-hispánicas de Baja California," *Investigación y Ciencia* 211 (April 1994): 8–15; and María de la Luz Gutiérrez M., "Pintura rupestre en la Sierra de San Francisco, Baja California Sur," *Revista de Arqueología Mexicana* 1:6 (1994): 57–63.

16. Del Río and Altable Fernández, *Breve historia de Baja California Sur,* 21.

17. There is a concerted effort by scholars from Baja California to compile and document oral histories of surviving indigenous peoples of the peninsula; see Mario Alberto Magaña Mancillas, *Ni muy tristona, ni muy tristona . . . : Testimonios de mujeres paipai y kumiai de Baja California* (Mexicali, B.C., Mex.: Programa de Apoyo a las Culturas Municipales y Comunitarias, Instituto de Cultura de Baja California, 2005).

18. Among the most notable are Juan Jacobo Baegert, *Noticias de la península americana de California* (Mexico City: Antigua Librería Robredo de José Porrúa e Hijos, 1942); del Barco, *Historia natural y crónica;* Sigismundo Taraval, *La rebelión de los californios,* ed. Eligio Moisés Coronado (Madrid: Doce Calles, 1996); Francisco Palóu, OFM, *Noticias de la Nueva California,* vols. 1 & 2 (Mexico City: Imprenta de Vicente García Torres, 1857); Luis Sales' letters published as *Noticias de la provincia de Californias* (Madrid: José Porrúa Turanzas, 1960); and, although the following were not among the missionaries who served in the Californias, Miguel

Venegas, *Noticia de la California y de su conquista temporal y espiritual hasta el tiempo presente* (Mexico City: Editorial Layac, 1944) and Francisco Xavier Clavijero, SJ, *Historia de la Antigua o Baja California* (Mexico City: Porrúa, 1970).

19. Álvarez de Williams, *Primeros pobladores de la Baja California,* 24–48.

20. Del Río and Altable Fernández, *Breve historia de Baja California Sur,* 22–25.

21. Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. 1, 22. Reports about the indigenous people of Baja California also appear in Luis Sales, OP, *Observations on California, 1770–1790,* trans. and ed. Charles N. Rudkin (Los Angeles, Calif.: Glen Dawson Publishers, 1968); Francisco Xavier Clavijero, SJ, *The History of (Lower) California,* 1787, reprint (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1937); and del Barco, *Historia natural y crónica*.

22. Del Río and Altable Fernández, *Breve historia de Baja California Sur.*

23. Del Barco, *Historia natural y crónica,* 13–22, 48–52, 55–93, 95–114. It is important to note that the variety of flora and fauna available in or near the sierras, given the harshness of the peninsular environment and topography, was not necessarily considered abundant, particularly in regards to large land mammals. Most missionaries reported the coastal Indians as faring better in terms of diet due to the plentiful supply of marine life.

24. Ibid., 127–133.

25. The colonials used the term "ranchería" to refer to the location, or seasonal sites, where communities of indigenous people lived or were encamped.

26. Del Río and Altable Fernández, *Breve historia de Baja California Sur,* 25.

27. Del Barco, *Historia natural y crónica,* 203–204.

28. Del Río and Altable Fernández, *Breve historia de Baja California Sur,* 22–26; del Barco, *Historia natural y crónica,* 183–184. The earliest report, made by the explorer Francisco de Ulloa, who came in contact with Pericúes in 1539, describes them as painted in brownish gray and white from the knees up. Ulloa also notes an important figure, or leader, among the group who wore a headdress of pearls, mother-of-pearl shell, and feathers fastened onto his head by some form of string; see León-Portilla, *La California mexicana,* 74.

29. Del Barco, *Historia natural y crónica.*

30. Ibid.

31. Álvarez de Williams, *Primeros pobladores de la Baja California,* 36.

32. Venegas, *Noticia de la California,* 89, as quoted in León-Portilla, *La California mexicana,* 77.

33. Ibid.

34. Ibid.

35. David Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992), 241. For more on mission acculturation in the peninsula during Jesuit missionization, see Ignacio del Río, *Conquista y aculturación en la California jesuítica, 1697–1768* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 1998); and Robert H. Jackson, *Indian Population Decline: The Missions of Northwestern New Spain, 1687–1840* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994).

36. Mathes, "Descubrimientos y expediciones," 36.

37. John L. Kessell, *Spain in the Southwest: A Narrative History of Colonial New*

Mexico, Arizona, Texas, and California (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), 47–50.

38. Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, eds., *Lands of Promise and Despair: Chronicles of Early California, 1535–1846* (Santa Clara, Calif.: Santa Clara University; Berkeley, Calif.: Heyday Books, 2001), 39. The Spanish merchant ships that participated in the Far East trade were called Manila galleons.

39. Vizcaíno was also one of those *adelantados* commissioned in 1597 to explore and colonize Baja California. He established an unsuccessful colony in La Paz that had to be abandoned shortly after founding. *Adelantados* typically were military men of means who led, financed, or cofinanced expeditions and who, if successful, expected to share in the spoils of war or the wealth of discovery, titles of nobility, or governmental powers in the conquered land.

40. Jiménez' name appears in records as Fortún Ximénez, Ortún Jiménez, and Ordoño Jiménez.

41. Sebastián Vizcaíno, during his 1596 expedition, landed in Santa Cruz and renamed it Bahía La Paz.

42. Del Río and Altable Fernández, *Breve historia de Baja California Sur,* 31.

43. Francisco Santiago Cruz, *Baja California: Biografía de una península* (Mexico City: Editorial Jus, 1969), 7.

44. Ibid., 6. One source attributes the name to a French song of the eleventh century, "The Song of Rolande," which includes the verse, "E cil de'Affrique, e cil de Califerne." For more on the origin of the name, see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Origin_of_the_name_California, accessed May 20, 2008.

45. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier,* 40. According to Jesús Tamayo Sánchez, *La ocupación española de las Californias* (Mexico City: Plaza y Valdés Editores, 1992), de Montalvo is alternately referred to as Garcí Ordóñez Montalvo or Garcí Rodríguez. Santiago Cruz, *Baja California,* proposes that there is a third version of the origin of the name California, attributed to Spanish explorer and conquistador Hernán Cortés, which appears in both Venegas' *Noticia de la California* and Clavijero's *Historia de la Baja California*. It posits that Cortés named the first port at which he landed Cálida Fornax (roughly, hot furnace) because of the intense heat they experienced there. Reportedly, the words later morphed into California and referenced the entire peninsula. Miguel del Barco, however, who wrote his epic *Historia natural y crónica* largely as a corrective to Venegas' *Noticia de la California,* proposed a different explanation, asserting that Cortés was referring to a specific site near, or at, Cabo de San Lucas, where he noted a small water inlet, or *cala* (of old Spanish usage) and a rock formation in the shape of a perfect arch, which was identified with the Latin term "*fornix,*" later purportedly corrupted into Californias or California (del Barco, *Historia natural y crónica,* 382).

46. Mathes, "Descubrimientos y expediciones," 53.

47. Zephyrin Engelhardt, OFM, *The Missions and Missionaries of California,* vol. 1 (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Mission Santa Barbara, 1929–1930). According to Boniface Bolognani, *Pioneer Padre: A Biography of Eusebio Francisco Kino, S.J. Missionary, Discoverer, Scientist, 1645–1711* (Sherbrooke, Can.: Editions Paulines, 1968), Eusebio Kino was born in Trent, northern Italy, on August 10, 1645 (although he would later state that he was culturally German). His birth date is a matter of debate, however. Bolognani asserts that this is the date that appears in Kino's

baptismal record. He was registered as Eusebio Chini, which he later changed, as he had always dreamed of joining the missions in Asia and felt the Spanish phonetic *K* of "Kino" (rather than the Spanish sound of *Ch,* since "Chino" means "Chinese" in Spanish) was closer to the Italian pronunciation of his surname. He later added Francisco as his middle name in honor of St. Francis Xavier, his patron, after he took holy vows. Not unlike those of other Jesuits, Kino's family belonged to the nobility, his family having been granted the rank in 1529 by the Emperor Charles V. In addition, like many of his Jesuit brethren, Kino's early education was with a local priest, but he later studied at the College of the Jesuit Fathers of the Province of Germany.

48. The term "Antigua" (or "Vieja") California is also found in reference to the central and southern area of the peninsula.

49. Oñate's petition was originally approved by Viceroy Luis de Velasco, Marqués de Salinas (1590–1595), the son of the first Velasco viceroy. However, before permission was ratified by the Crown, a new viceroy was installed, Gaspar de Zúñiga y Acevedo, Conde de Monterrey (1595–1603), who was concerned by the potential expense of such a large-scale expedition and took some time in going forward with his recommendation for the granting of Oñate's license.

50. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier,* 90–95. According to Weber (p. 95), the Ordenanzas de su Magestad Hechas para los Nuevos Descubrimientos, Conquistas y Pacificaciones, issued on July 13, 1573, specifically "prohibited the use of violence against Indians for any reason."

51. From Fr. E. Kino's *Carta al Padre Francisco Ximénez,* Bibliotheca Americana, Part II, Collection of Letters from Father Kino, Maggs Brothers, H. Huntington, Los Angeles, Calif., as quoted in Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. 1, 86.

52. Ibid.

53. Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. 1, 98–113.

54. From Eusebio Francisco Kino, *Kino Writes to the Duchess: Letters of Eusebio Francisco Kino to the Duchess of Aveiro* (Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1965); personal letters, Maggs Bros., London, 1922, as quoted in Engelhardt, vol. 1, 93, 96. Also see Kino, *Kino escribe a la duquesa* (Madrid: Ediciones José Porrúa Turanzas, 1958).

55. Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. 1, 95–96. Also see Francisco Xavier Alegre, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Nueva España* (Mexico City: Imprenta de J. M. Lara, 1841–1842).

56. Mathes, "Descubrimientos y expediciones," 53.

57. Rev. E. F. Kino, SJ, *Personal Letters,* Maggs Bros. catalogue no. 432, London, 1922, as quoted in Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. 1, 98.

58. Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. 1, 500. Members of the colonial elite sometimes donated or bequeathed significant amounts of money to the Pious Fund.

59. Ibid.

60. Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. 1, 497, includes a "List of the Pious Works Funded by Various Persons for the Spiritual Conquest of California." Also see Palóu, *Noticias de la Nueva California.*

61. Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, Calif.: The His-

tory Company, 1888–1890), and idem, *History of the North Mexican States* (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft, 1884–1889), include several references to the continued private support and maintenance of the Californian missions.

62. Bolognani, *Pioneer Padre,* 51.

63. The Society of Jesus' participation in expansion across colonial Spanish America has been well documented. There is also a vast body of work on Jesuit missionization efforts in northeastern New Spain, particularly in Sonora, Sinaloa, and Baja California. One early study is Peter Maste Dunne, *Black Robes in Lower California* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1952). More recent studies include del Río, *Conquista y aculturación;* Miguel Messmacher, *La búsqueda del signo de Dios: Ocupación jesuita de la Baja California* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1997); and José de la Cruz Pacheco Rojas, coord., *Seminario los Jesuitas en el Norte de Nueva España: Sus contribuciones a la educación y el sistema misional* (Durango, Mex.: Universidad Juárez del Estado de Durango, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 2003).

64. Del Río and Altable Fernández, *Breve historia de Baja California Sur,* 55.

65. Eligio Moisés Coronado, *Descripción e inventarios de las misiones de Baja California, 1773* (La Paz, B.C.S., Mex.: Gobierno del Estado de Baja Sur, 1994). This source provides an excellent transcription of the inventory lists of all of the Jesuit missions at the end of 1773. Although the Franciscans drew up the inventory lists six years after the expulsion of the Jesuits, these inventories may be read as reports of the condition of the missions to the new mission administrators, the Dominican priests. And, according to Coronado, these lists more accurately reflect Jesuit than Franciscan accomplishments. Franciscans were seen as not having significantly altered the fiscal state of the existing missions during their short tenure in Baja California.

66. Ibid., 7.

67. Ibid., 215.

68. Del Río and Altable Fernández, *Breve historia de Baja California Sur,* 33.

69. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier,* 241.

70. Del Río and Altable Fernández, *Breve historia de Baja California Sur,* 67–69. See also Nicholas P. Cushner, *Soldiers of God: The Jesuits in Colonial America, 1565–1767* (Buffalo, N.Y.: Language Communications, 2002).

71. Formally known as the Pragmática Sanción de Su Majestad, en Fuerza de Ley, para el Extrañamiento de Estos Reinos a los Regulares de la Compañía, Ocupación de Sus Temporalidades y Prohibición de Su Restablecimiento en Tiempo Alguno, con las Demás Precauciones Que Expresa. Expedited April 2, 1767, by Charles III; see ibid., 68.

72. Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. 1, 325.

Chapter 2

1. Title from "Representación hecha por los reverendos padres, a cuyo cargo se hayan las misiones de la California, sobre varios puntos para el mejor gobierno y administración de ellas," AGN, Misiones, Vol. 12, fs. 1–15.

2. Albert B. Nieser, *Las fundaciones misionales dominicas en Baja California,*

1769–1822 (Mexicali, B.C., Mex.: Universidad Autónoma de Baja California, 1998), 58–59. According to Nieser, the council's president was a Dominican friar, García de Loaysa, who also happened to be father confessor to Emperor Carlos V.

3. Nieser, 65–67. Also see Bancroft, *History of the North Mexican States,* 97, 116, 311; idem, *History of Mexico,* III: 720 (San Francisco: The History Company, 1887).

4. R. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came,* 299.

5. Rubí's recommendations were incorporated into the New Regulations for Presidios of 1772, or "Reglamento é instrucción para los Presidios Que Se Han de Formar en la Línea de Frontera de la Nueva España." See Weber, *Spanish Frontier in North America,* 215–220.

6. Del Río and Altable Fernández, *Breve historia de Baja California Sur,* 72–76.

7. As mentioned in Chap. 1, the first nonmission enterprise in the peninsula, begun by Manuel Ocio in 1740, was a mining concern in the southern end of the peninsula. The *reales mineras* gave way to civilian settlement but never rivaled the mining interests of central and north-central New Spain. Although men like Ocio became influential and wealthy, they largely made their money from enterprises peripheral to the mines, such as cattle raising and commerce with the missions.

8. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier,* 93–94.

9. Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. 1, 328.

10. In correspondence to Viceroy de Croix, Armona expressed his desire to establish missions in that vast expanse (*Carta a Croix,* June 30, 1770, in Meigs, *La frontera misional dominica,* 34). This book is a translation of *The Dominican Mission Frontier.*

11. Meigs, *La frontera misional dominica,* 34. Also see Palóu, *Noticias de la Nueva California,* vol. 1, 126–129.

12. Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. 1, 509.

13. Meigs, *La frontera misional dominica,* 34–35. Also see Sales, *Noticias de la provincia de Californias,* 35.

14. De Gálvez letter to de Croix dated June 10, 1769, in Peveril Meigs III, *La frontera misional dominica,* 35. Also see Sales, *Noticias de la provincia de Californias,* vol. 3, 10–16.

15. Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. 1, 505.

16. Meigs, *La frontera misional dominica en Baja California* (Secretaría de Educación Pública, Universidad Autónoma de Baja California, 1994), 33–34. Also see Sales, *Noticias de la provincia de Californias,* vol. 3, 10–17.

17. Coronado, *Descripción e inventarios,* 7.

18. Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. 1, 508.

19. Signed April 7, 1772; see Nieser, *Las fundaciones misionales dominicas,* 81; Francisco Palóu, *Historical Memoirs of California by Fray Francisco Palóu, O.F.M.,* ed. Herbert E. Bolton (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1926), 237–238.

20. Mario Alberto Magaña, "Indígenas, misiones y ranchos durante el siglo XIX," in *Ensenada: Nuevas aportaciones para su historia,* ed. Marco Antonio Samaniego López, 84.

21. "Representación hecha por los reverendos padres, a cuyo cargo se hayan las misiones de la California, sobre varios puntos para el mejor gobierno y administra-

ción de ellas," Archivo General de la Nación (hereafter AGN), Misiones, Vol. 12, fs. 1–15, as quoted in Nieser, *Las fundaciones misionales dominicas,* 82–83.

22. Lazcano Sahagún, intro. to Rojo, *Apuntes históricos,* 98.

23. Rojo, *Apuntes históricos,* 59–71; Mario Alberto Magaña, *Población y misiones de Baja California: Estudio histórico demográfico de la Misión de Santo Domingo de la Frontera, 1775–1850* (Mexicali, B.C., Mex.: El Colegio de la Frontera Norte, 1998).

24. Manuel Clemente Rojo explains that the northern peninsula had "two faces . . . the north-facing grounds had tall and animated vegetation . . . [whereas the] southern-facing terrain" bore a resemblance to desert areas (Rojo, *Apuntes históricos,* 64). However, the land was not altogether arid, as the missionaries were able to grow European plants, most notably, grapes and olives.

25. One of the most productive *concheros* is the one on the Bay of Ensenada de Todos Santos. For more, see Álvarez de Williams, *Primeros pobladores de la Baja California;* Lazcano Sahagún, "Los primeros pobladores."

26. Lazcano Sahagún, "Los primeros pobladores," posits that obsidian stone could have been imported from La Misión, an area thirty-one miles to the north of Ensenada, and obsidian is found in Jacumba, an area in the northern section of present-day San Diego County, California.

27. Magaña, *Poblaciones y misiones de Baja California,* 25.

28. Rojo, *Apuntes históricos.*

29. Magaña, *Poblaciones y misiones de Baja California,* 26–28.

30. Rojo, *Apuntes históricos.* White and red pine were also abundant and later used heavily for the construction of towns along the Pacific coast.

31. Homer Aschmann, *The Central Desert of Baja California: Demography and Ecology;* Magaña, *Poblaciones y misiones de Baja California.*

32. Zárate Loperena, "Dos narraciones," in Magaña, *Poblaciones y misiones de Baja California,* 34.

33. Álvarez de Williams, *Primeros pobladores de la Baja California,* 70.

34. Ibid., 54. Also see Venegas, *Noticia de la California.*

35. Del Barco, *Historia natural y crónica,* 192.

36. Álvarez de Williams, *Primeros pobladores de la Baja California,* 54.

37. Del Barco, *Historia natural y crónica,* 195.

38. León-Portilla, note in ibid., 195–196. See Sales, *Noticias de la provincia de Californias,* 38. Interestingly, Sales reported that, "after a birth, the husband would lie at the birth site and would receive the good wishes and thoughtfulness of others" (quoted in Del Barco, *Historia natural y crónica,* 196).

39. Carlos Lazcano Sahagún, in Rojo, *Apuntes históricos,* 72. Lazcano Sahagún notes that Fr. Luis Sales, in *Noticias de la provincia de Californias,* 35–36, states that housing at the rancherías consisted of two or three low, smoke-filled, longish huts with roofs made of branches and dirt.

40. Rojo, *Apuntes históricos,* 76–78. Rojo includes interviews conducted in 1848 of important Indian leaders such as the Pa-ipai leader known as General Clemente. He was, according to Rojo, a well-respected and honored leader who was thought to be a wise, talented, and reasonable man. His reputation even reached the center of federal government during the national period, when Mexico's president, Benito Juárez, appointed him "General of Indians of the Baja California Frontier." It was at the Sierra Santa Catarina, among General Clemente's Pa-ipai, that Rojo

witnessed the Lloro Grande, which, he was informed, had been performed in just this way from the beginning of time.

41. Rojo, *Apuntes históricos,* 24–26, 74. For more on Jatñil, see David Zárate Loperena, "Nat Jatñil; Soy Perro Negro," in *Memoria del II Simposio de Historia Regional* (Ensenada, B.C., Mex.: Asociación Cultural de Liberales de Ensenada, 1983).

42. Zárate Loperena, "Nat Jatñil." See Lazcano Sahagún, intro. to Rojo, *Apuntes históricos,* 26.

43. Carlos Lazcano Sahagún, intro. to Rojo, *Apuntes históricos,* 38. See Edward W. Vernon, *Las Misiones Antiguas: The Spanish Missions of Baja California* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Viejo Press, 2002); W. Michael Mathes, *Baja California (Textos de su historia)* (Mexico City: Secretaría de Educación Pública, Instituto de Investigaciones, 1988), 145.

44. Del Río and Altable Fernández, *Breve historia de Baja California Sur,* 38.

45. Jackson, *Indian Population Decline,* 5.

46. Ibid., 13.

47. Ibid., 34. See Dunne, *Black Robes in Lower California,* 222; Clemente Guillén, "Informe del principio, progresso y estado presente de la Misión de N[uest]ra Señora de los Dolores," Dolores, 1744, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

48. Del Río and Altable Fernández, *Breve historia de Baja California Sur,* 45.

49. The impact of missionization on women and children is further explained in Chap. 3.

50. Del Río and Altable Fernández, *Breve historia de Baja California Sur,* 57–58. The rebellion spread farther and reached Mission Santa Rosa de las Palmas (Todos Santos), although word had arrived about the insurrection, and the mission's priest, Fr. Sigismundo Taraval, managed to flee.

51. John Francis Bannon, *The Spanish Borderlands Frontier, 1513–1821* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1974), 147.

52. Kessel, *Spain in the Southwest,* 232–233.

53. Del Río and Altable Fernández, *Breve historia de Baja California Sur,* 233. Reportedly, neither Viceroy Vizarrón nor Huidobro were fans of the Jesuits, and Huidobro was asked to find out as much as he could about the Jesuit holdings and administration of California while he was there.

54. Del Barco, in León-Portilla, *La California mexicana,* 45.

55. Del Río and Altable Fernández, *Breve historia de Baja California Sur,* 60.

56. Rojo, *Apuntes históricos,* 88. For more on Dominican Frontier uprisings, see Zárate Loperena, "La guerra Kumiai"; M. Castillo, "Resistencia y supervivencia." Neophyte Indians were the Christianized Indians who lived on, or near, the missions and often worked on the mission enterprises. Gentile Indians were the non-Christianized.

57. Bancroft, *History of North Mexican States and Texas,* 741–744.

58. According to León-Portilla, *La California mexicana,* 91, Peveril Meigs asserts in *The Kiliwa Indians of Lower California* that the last known Ñakipa woman was recorded in 1929, living at Mission San Vicente. León-Portilla also notes (p. 97) that, at the turn of the twenty-first century, in the northern frontier, there were only about forty Kiliwas living in the Arroyo de León and south of Valle de

la Trinidad, as well as on surrounding ranches. In addition, he states that there were as many Pa-ipai and Kiliwas at San Isidoro, and some at San José de la Zorra, Nejí, and Los Coches. Some Cucapás are known to have moved to San Luis Río Colorado in Sonora, and others remain in traditional sites such as near El Mayor, Baja California.

59. Tomás Robertson, *Baja California and Its Missions* (Glendale, Calif.: La Siesta Press, 1978), 52.

60. For an interesting analysis of this phenomenon that specifically looks at nonbiological factors which contributed to the high mortality rate among the indigenous populations residing around the missions of the Californias, see Jackson, *Indian Population Decline*.

61. Ibid., 58–59. Of the 50,000–60,000 indigenous inhabitants in the peninsula prior to European entry, only 5,900 survived to 1800, down to 1,200 by the 1840s; for more, see Jackson, "Epidemic Disease."

62. The lack of security was an ongoing problem in the frontier. At Santo Tomás, the presidial force typically involved only four soldiers and at most included eleven.

63. Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. 1, 568–569.

64. An excellent source for information about this mission period and the region known as the Dominican Frontier is Peveril Meigs III, *The Dominican Mission Frontier of Lower California* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1935).

65. Missions Santo Tomás in Baja California and San Gabriel in Alta California are of particular interest, as two of the case studies herein examined concern women at these missions.

66. Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. 1, 574.

67. Ibid.

68. Meigs, *La frontera misional dominica,* 173.

69. Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. 1, 625.

70. Robertson, *Baja California and Its Missions,* 80.

71. The concepts of honor-virtue and honor-status as they relate to the construction of gendered spheres and agency in the frontier are discussed in Chap. 5.

72. Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities,* 29.

73. "Informe sobre la situación de la Misión de San Vicente Ferrer elaborado por Fray Luis Sales, 2 de mayo de 1783," AGN, Provincias Internas, Vol. 1, Exp. 11, fs. 345v–346v. See Nieser, *Las fundaciones misionales dominicas,* 447.

74. "Informe de Fray Domingo Barreda sobre las causas de la disminución de habitantes indígenas en las misiones de la Baja California. México, 16 de Agosto de 1809," AGN, Provincias Internas, Vol. 1, Exp. 11, fs. 43–44v. Also see Nieser, *Las fundaciones misionales dominicas,* 447. Barreda proposed that this reduction in numbers was due to the numerous and recurring epidemics.

Chapter 3

1. Title from Bannon, ed., *Bolton and the Spanish Borderlands,* 277.
2. This dynamic period of exploration led to conflicts between Spain and Por-

tugal over the legitimate claim of discovered lands, such that in 1493, Pope Alexander VI issued a special papal bull, enacted by the Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494, granting Spain all lands to the west of a demarcated line 320 miles west of the Cape Verde Islands. In return, Spain pledged to Christianize all the indigenous populations therein. Portugal was to retain rights to explore lands to the east of the line. This demarcation was later moved 1,185 miles west of the Cape Verde Islands to include Portugal's claim to Brazil, of which it claimed discovery in 1500.

3. For more on the Portuguese maritime domain in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see C. R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415–1825* (New York: Knopf, 1969); Bailey W. Diffie and George D. Winius, *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire, 1415–1580* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977).

4. Kessell, *Spain in the Southwest,* 50–51.

5. Coronado set out to find great mineral deposits and headed north into present-day New Mexico. Inspired by the mythical Seven Cities of Cíbola (or Antilles), his expensive expedition reached the boundary of present-day Kansas, but he never found gold. He eventually returned to New Spain amid charges of mismanagement of the expedition.

6. Beebe and Senkewicz, eds., *Lands of Promise and Despair,* 44–45; "A Letter from Vizcaíno to King Felipe III of Spain, Mexico, May 23, 1603," *Californiana I: Documentos para la historia de la demarcación comercial de California, 1583–1632,* ed. W. Michael Mathes (Madrid: Ediciones José Porrúa Turanzas, 1965), 370–372.

7. Many of the early-to-mid-sixteenth-century exploratory expeditions to the northern frontier of New Spain are generally referred to as "failed" insofar as they were largely unsuccessful in locating great mineral wealth. However, each exploration added to knowledge of these frontier regions, as expeditions were usually also involved in charting the new territories and identifying flora, fauna, and indigenous populations. So, although an early expedition located a good-sized bay explorers named Monterey Bay, the great San Francisco Bay was not discovered until 1769.

8. Kessell, *Spain in the Southwest,* 63–65.

9. Considered pirates by Spain, privateers were private shipowners who sailed their own vessels and, in the case of the English, typically were licensed by the Crown to sail the seas and raid the commerce of the "enemy." This was a significant aid to England. It shared part of the pirated booty, and this was the most inexpensive way of pilfering Spain's treasure without having to raise a navy to attack that empire.

10. Walton E. Bean, *California: An Interpretive History* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973), 18–22.

11. Kessell, *Spain in the Southwest,* 88–89. See W. Michael Mathes, *Vizcaíno and Spanish Expansion in the Pacific Ocean, 1580–1630* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1968), 18–24; William Lytle Schurz, *The Manila Galleon* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1939), 305–313; Peter Gerhard, *Pirates of the Pacific, 1575–1742* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 81–94.

12. De Gálvez was born in Málaga, Spain, in 1729. King Carlos III appointed him to the highly influential position of royal inspector, which took him to the colony. A vain and ruthless man, de Gálvez advocated for colonial expansion to Alta California and reorganized certain political, administrative, and fiscal offices

in New Spain. He was also able to quell the unrest resulting from the Jesuits' expulsion. On his return to Spain he was appointed secretary of the Indies and for his extended, memorable service to the Crown, he was granted title of Marqués de Sonora. See Lazcano Sahagún, intro. to Rojo, *Apuntes históricos de la frontera,* 34.

13. Bean, *California,* 30–32.

14. Ibid.

15. León-Portilla, *La California mexicana,* 269. See Marcos Burriel in Venegas, *Noticia de la California,* vol. 3, 19.

16. "From the Record of a Meeting at San Blas, Mexico, on the Sixteenth Day of May of the Year 1768," in Beebe and Senkewicz, eds., *Lands of Promise and Despair,* 110. See *Gálvez: The Spanish Occupation of California* (San Francisco, Calif.: Grabhorn Press, 1934), 19–23.

17. Bannon, *The Spanish Borderlands Frontier,* 155.

18. Omer Englebert, *The Last of the Conquistadors: Junípero Serra* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1956), 59.

19. Tamayo Sánchez, *La ocupación española,* 49. See Francisco Palóu, *Vida de Fray Junípero Serra y misiones de la California septentrional* (Mexico City: Porrúa, 1970).

20. Serra was born on the island of Majorca, a Mediterranean island belonging to Spain, on November 24, 1713. He was baptized Miguel José Serre (Majorcan for the Spanish Sierra and Catalan Serra). He changed his given name to Junípero after taking vows, in honor of Brother Juniper, a faithful companion of St. Francis. He began his schooling at the Franciscan church of San Bernardino. From there he went to the convent of St. Francis de Palma, where he studied philosophy. He was assigned as a postulant to the convent of Jesus-without-the-Walls near Palma, where he began his life as a Franciscan in 1730. Before embarking on his missionary work in New Spain, Serra taught philosophy as a doctor of theology and was considered a great orator. There is an extensive body of work about Serra, but Omer Englebert's *The Last of the Conquistadors* is an interesting early biography that includes Serra's struggle with military and civilian authorities in the Californias.

21. Martha Ortega Soto, *Alta California: Una frontera olvidada del noroeste de México, 1769–1846* (Mexico City: Plaza y Valdés Editores, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, Unidad Iztapalapa, 2001), 33–41. See Francisco Palóu, *Relación histórica de la vida y apostólicas tareas del venerable padre fray Junípero Serra y de las misiones que fundó en la California septentrional, y nuevos establecimientos de Monterey* (Mexico City: Porrúa, 1970), 49.

22. Kessell, *Spain in the Southwest,* 264–266; John Francis Bannon, ed., *Bolton and the Spanish Borderlands* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), 270–280; Joshua Paddison, ed., *A World Transformed: Firsthand Accounts of California before the Gold Rush* (Berkeley, Calif.: Heyday Books, 1999), 3–6; Weber, *The Spanish Frontier,* 242–246.

23. The *cuera* was a multilayered sleeveless leather jacket worn by presidio soldiers. These jackets proved to be very successful as protection against arrows. The soldiers also carried thick animal-hide shields and wore leather chaps to protect their legs from cactus and chaparral.

24. Ortega Soto, *Alta California,* 35. See Junípero Serra, *Writings of Junípero Serra* (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955).

25. Bannon, *The Spanish Borderlands Frontier,* 155–157.

26. Kessell, *Spain in the Southwest;* Bannon, *The Spanish Borderlands Frontier;* Paddison, ed., *A World Transformed.*

27. Juan Crespí, *Account of the "Sacred Expedition,"* dated November 3, 1769, in Paddison, ed., *A World Transformed,* 15.

28. Bannon, ed., *Bolton and the Spanish Borderlands,* 277. See H. E. Bolton, *Fray Juan Crespí, Missionary Explorer on the Pacific Coast, 1769–1774* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1927), xvii–xxxii.

29. Bannon, *The Spanish Borderlands Frontier,* 158.

30. Ortega Soto, *Alta California,* 42, quoting S. F. Cook, "The Aboriginal Population of Upper California," in R. F. Heizer, ed., *The California Indians* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971), 67–72.

31. Some of these groups lived in, or availed themselves of resources in, the coastal areas as well as the sierras.

32. Bean, *California,* 2.

33. Ortega Soto, *Alta California,* 43.

34. Bean, *California,* 10–11.

35. Zephyrin Engelhardt, OFM, *San Gabriel Mission and the Beginnings of Los Angeles* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Mission Santa Barbara, 1927), 3. San Gabriel is where Eulalia Pérez worked as mission *llavera;* thus, its development, success, and role in the missionization of California's Indians is highlighted in this chapter.

36. Monroy, *Thrown among Strangers,* 29, quoting Fr. Junípero Serra.

37. It should be reiterated, however, that, despite the objections of the missionaries, as Antonia Castañeda, Rosaura Sánchez, and others have proposed, sexual violence was not simply a common occurrence in the frontier; it must be seen as an *entrada* for the colonizers' domination and exploitation of the indigenous people.

38. Engelhardt, *San Gabriel Mission,* 63.

39. It was Father Sánchez who invited Eulalia Pérez, the mestiza who is the focus of Chap. 6, to work as a cook at Mission San Gabriel.

40. The church suffered damage during the 1812 earthquake, when the roof was cracked; it was replaced by a flat tile roof. However, the church was completely restored by 1828. Other buildings in the mission were also damaged or destroyed: the church tower, priests' quarters, and some of the workrooms had to be rebuilt or reinforced.

41. Ibid., 58–59.

42. Ibid.

43. Paddison, ed., *A World Transformed,* 22–23.

44. Ibid.

45. Englebert, *The Last of the Conquistadors,* 128.

46. Paddison, ed., *A World Transformed,* 23–24.

47. Bancroft, *History of California,* as cited in Engelhardt, *San Gabriel Mission,* 71.

48. Monroy, *Thrown among Strangers,* 66–67.

49. Ibid., 73–75.

50. Ibid.

51. Engelhardt, *San Gabriel Mission,* 73–113.

52. Jackson, *Indian Population Decline,* 37–38.

53. For more on the *congregación* system, see Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain;* idem, *The North Frontier of New Spain.*

54. Kessell, *Spain in the Southwest,* 322.

55. Jackson, *Indian Population Decline,* 59–60.

56. Kessell, *Spain in the Southwest.*

57. Ibid., 320.

58. Jackson, *Indian Population Decline,* 110.

59. Ibid., 112. See also Robert H. Jackson, "Disease and Demographic Patterns at Santa Cruz Mission, Alta California," *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 5 (1983): 42.

60. Diego de Borica, June 30, 1797, "Noticias de las misiones que ocupan los religiosos de S. Francisco del colegio de San Fernando de México en dicha provincia," W. B. Stevens Document Collection, no. 9, University of Texas General Libraries, Austin, in Jackson, *Indian Population Decline,* 127.

61. Ibid., 204.

62. Ibid., 202. See Engelhardt, *San Gabriel Mission,* 104.

63. Donald C. Cutter, *California in 1792: A Spanish Naval Visit* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 33. See also Alejandro Malaspina, *Malaspina in California,* ed. Donald C. Cutter (San Francisco, Calif.: John Howell, 1960), 83.

64. Jackson, *Indian Population Decline,* 126. According to Jackson's study of mission birthrates and infant life expectancy in Baja California, for example, women who throughout their reproductive years might give birth to six or seven children would have only one or two who would survive infancy.

65. Ibid., 158.

66. Ibid.

67. Ibid., 119.

68. Ibid.

69. Ibid., 202. See also Zephyrin Engelhardt, OFM, *San Buenaventura, the Mission by the Sea* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Mission Santa Barbara, 1930), 36.

70. Father Mariano Payeras to Tapis, January 13, 1810, Santa Barbara Mission Archives, 2, in Bouvier, *Women and the Conquest of California,* 131.

71. Del Barco, *Historia natural y crónica,* 190.

72. Bouvier, *Women and the Conquest of California,* 130.

73. Ibid., 133.

74. Jackson, *Indian Population Decline,* 126. Also see Erick Langer and Robert H. Jackson, "Colonial and Republican Missions Compared: The Cases of Alta California and Southeastern Bolivia," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 30 (1988): 302–303.

75. See Edward Castillo, "The Native Responses to the Colonization of Alta California," in David H. Thomas, ed., *Columbian Consequences: Archeological and Historical Perspectives on the Spanish Borderlands West* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989), vol. 1, 380, 377–394; Bouvier, *Women and the Conquest of California,* 108–139. Also see Sherburne Cook, *The Conflict between the California Indian and White Civilization* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of

California Press, 1943), 112. Cook argues that the negative conditions in the missions, including poor diet, social control, and limitations on cultural expression and physical mobility, contributed to the practice of abortion and infanticide.

Chapter 4

1. Bárbara Gandiaga's interrogation regarding the death of Fr. Eudaldo Surroca, dated November 26, 1803, AGN, Provincias Internas, Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, fs. 22–28]. I consulted the microfilmed copies of the original manuscripts, which are housed at the Acervo Documental del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Universidad Autónoma de Baja California, Tijuana, Baja California, Mexico. Parts of this chapter appear in Bárbara O. Reyes, "Race, Agency and Memory in a Baja California Mission," in Samuel Truett and Elliot Young, eds., *Continental Crossroads: Remapping U.S.-Mexico Borderlands History*" (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2004). All rights reserved. Used by permission of the publisher.

2. There are at least three accounts, or versions, of the events. In the judicial records, the first murdered friar is identified as Miguel López. The judicial records also name a second victim, Fr. Eudaldo Surroca. But other records, such as the memoir of Manuel Clemente Rojo, which is discussed later in this chapter, refer to the murdered missionary as "Padre Lázaro." And one version of the events appears in Zárate Loperena, "Testimonios de Santo Tomás."

3. I refer to the criminal investigation and adjudication of the case as a judicial proceeding and not as a court hearing. Nor do I use the terms "court records" or "court findings," because, unlike in the Anglo-Saxon judicial system—where a judge, a panel of judges, or, possibly, a jury of one's peers would be involved—criminal proceedings in the colonial Spanish frontier were typically investigated by a military or, in some cases, a clerical or civilian authority commissioned by the provincial government. This authority reviewed the case and made recommendations to the viceroy (or bishop, depending on the nature of the case), who, in turn, adjudicated.

4. R. Sánchez, *Telling Identities,* 79.

5. Fr. Rafael Arviña's correspondence to Fr. Fermín Lasuén, June 18, 1803, in Nieser, *Las fundaciones misionales dominicas,* 211; see AGN, Provincias Internas, Vol. 18, fs. 407–457.

6. Engelhardt, *San Gabriel Mission,* 626.

7. Ibid., 627.

8. Copy of proceedings, findings, and sentencing recommendation for Bárbara Gandiaga, Lázaro Rosales, and Alexandro de la Cruz, regarding the murder of Fr. Eudaldo Surroca, dated December 18, 1805 (AGN, Provincias Internas, Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, f. 61]).

9. Causa criminal seguida a resultas de haberse encontrado muerto en su cama a R. P. Eudaldo Surroca, Ministro de la Misión de Santo Tomás en la Antigua California, 1804, Fondo Californias, Vol. 59, Exp. 8, 3, as cited in Zárate Loperena, "Testimonios de Santo Tomás."

10. Some of the witnesses testified that Juan Miguel Carrillo often (with as-

sistance) sneaked out of the single-men's quarters to spend the night with Bárbara Gandiaga. One could assume from this that Juan Miguel and Bárbara were "mates," albeit not necessarily "married." It was not uncommon for indigenous men and women to choose a mate without church sanction and despite the severe consequences if they were found out. This may explain why Carrillo was still expected to sleep in the single-men's quarters. Bárbara Gandiaga, however, in her testimony refers to Juan Miguel Carrillo as her husband.

11. Interrogations of Lázaro Rosales [fs. 18–21], Alexandro de la Cruz [fs. 21–23], Juan Miguel Carrillo [fs. 12–14], all in Causa criminal seguida sobre la muerte que dieron los indios de Misión Santo Tomás a su misionero Fr. Eduardo [*sic*] Surroca, 1804, AGN, Californias, Vol. 59, Exp. 18, fs. 372–464, IIH-UABC [8.11], 162 fs.

12. Interrogation of Bárbara Gandiaga, in Proceso contra Lázaro Rosales, Alejandro [*sic*] de la Cruz, Bárbara Gandiaga y Mariano Carrillo, indígenas de la misión de Santo Tomás, Baja California, por haber dado muerte a los misioneros Eduardo [*sic*] Surroca y Miguel López, AGN, Fondo Provincias Internas, Vol. 18, Exp. 13, fs. 407–457, IIH-UABC [2.2, fs. 1–86].

13. Ibid., fs. 22–28.

14. Statement of Melchor Gutiérrez, in Causa criminal seguida sobre la muerte que dieron los indios de Misión de Santo Tomás a su misionero Fr. Eduardo [*sic*] Surroca, [fs. 9–11]. Gutiérrez stated that Gandiaga ordered the death of the gentile who was about to be baptized. The motive is unclear.

15. Interrogation of Juan Miguel Carrillo, in Causa criminal seguida sobre la muerte que dieron los indios de Misión de Santo Tomás a su misionero Fr. Eduardo [*sic*] Surroca, [fs. 12–14]; statement of Nicolasa Carrillo, in Causa criminal seguida sobre la muerte que dieron los indios de Misión de Santo Tomás a su misionero Fr. Eduardo [*sic*] Surroca, [fs. 16–18].

16. Interrogation of Lázaro Rosales, in Causa criminal seguida sobre la muerte que dieron los indios de Misión de Santo Tomás a su misionero Fr. Eduardo [*sic*] Surroca, [fs. 18–21].

17. Interrogation of Bárbara Gandiaga, in Proceso contra Lázaro Rosales, Alejandro [*sic*] de la Cruz, Bárbara Gandiaga y Mariano Carrillo, indígenas de la misión de Santo Tomás, Baja California, por haber dado muerte a los misioneros Eduardo [*sic*] Surroca y Miguel López, AGN, Fondo Provincias Internas, Vol. 18, Exp. 13, fs. 407–457, IIH-UABC [2.2, fs. 1–86].

18. Interrogations of Mariano Carrillo, [fs. 14–15]; Alexandro de la Cruz, [fs. 21–23]; both in Causa criminal seguida sobre la muerte que dieron los indios de Misión de Santo Tomás a su misionero Fr. Eduardo [*sic*] Surroca.

19. Interrogation of Bárbara Gandiaga, in Causa criminal seguida sobre la muerte que dieron los indios de Misión Santo Tomás a su misionero Fr. Eduardo [*sic*] Surroca, 1804, AGN, Californias, Vol. 59, Exp. 18, fs. 23–26.

20. Interrogation of Bárbara Gandiaga, in Proceso contra Lázaro Rosales, Alejandro [*sic*] de la Cruz, Bárbara Gandiaga y Mariano Carrillo, indígenas de la misión de Santo Tomás, Baja California, por haber dado muerte a los misioneros Eduardo [*sic*] Surroca y Miguel López. Provincias Internas, Vol. 18, Exp. 13, fs. 22–28.

21. Juan Manuel Ruiz, "Nuevos testimonios sobre la muerte del P. Miguel

López A.," to José Joaquín Arrillaga, San Vicente, August 29, 1803, AGN, Fondo Californias, Vol. 59, Exp. 8, fs. 551–553. Also see Zárate Loperena, "Testimonios de Santo Tomás: La muerte del Padre Eudaldo Surroca: 1803," in *Memoria del X Simposio de Historia Regional.* (Ensenada, Baja California, Mexico, 1991), 48.

22. Interrogation of Bárbara Gandiaga regarding the death of Fr. Miguel López, dated August 18, 1806 [I consulted a copy dated November 26, 1803], AGN, Provincias Internas, Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, fs. 2–4]; interrogation of Mariano Carrillo, AGN, Provincias Internas, Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, f. 6]. In an attempt to clear himself, however, Mariano stated that all he told Gandiaga was that the *alférez* (second lieutenant), who had set out to search for the Indians who had fled the mission, reassured those he found that there would be no reprisals as a consequence of the murders, and so the Indians returned. This was, according to his testimony, the extent of his and Gandiaga's conversation.

23. Statement of Miguel (no last name), AGN, Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, f. 31], dated December 5, 1803; statement of Thomas Arrillaga, IIH-UABC, [fs. 37–38], dated December 27, 1803; interrogation of Bárbara Gandiaga regarding the death of Fr. Miguel López, dated August 18, 1806.

24. Interrogation of Bárbara Gandiaga regarding the death of Fr. Miguel López, dated August 18, 1806, f. 3.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid.

28. Statement of Juan de Dios [no last name], AGN, Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, fs. 28–29], dated December 5, 1803.

29. Statement of Ildefonso [no last name], AGN, Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, f. 30], dated December 5, 1803.

30. Interrogation of Bárbara Gandiaga regarding the death of Fr. Miguel López, dated August 18, 1806, fs. 3–4.

31. En la causa seguida contra Bárbara Gandiaga, Lázaro Rosales y Alexandro de la Cruz, dated June 11, 1806, AGN, Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, f. 54].

32. Interrogation of Lázaro Rosales, dated January 26, 1804, AGN, Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, fs. 40–44], in Proceso contra Lázaro Rosales, Alejandro [*sic*] de la Cruz, Bárbara Gandiaga y Mariano Carrillo, indígenas de la misión de Santo Tomás, Baja California, por haber dado muerte a los misioneros Eduardo [*sic*] Surroca y Miguel López, AGN, Fondo Provincias Internas, Vol. 18, Exp. 13, fs. 407–457, IIH-UABC [2.2, fs. 1–86].

33. Interrogation of Bárbara Gandiaga, in Proceso contra Lázaro Rosales, Alejandro [*sic*] de la Cruz, Bárbara Gandiaga y Mariano Carrillo, indígenas de la misión de Santo Tomás, Baja California, por haber dado muerte a los misioneros Eduardo [*sic*] Surroca y Miguel López, AGN, Fondo Provincias Internas, Vol. 18, Exp. 13, fs. 407–457, IIH-UABC [2.2, fs. 1–86].

34. Zárate Loperena, "Testimonios de Santo Tomás."

35. Gandiaga, Rosales, and de la Cruz sentence decree, AGN, Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, fs. 56–58].

36. See interrogation of Mariano Carrillo, AGN, Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, fs. 5–6], and Mariano Carrillo's sentence recommendation, AGN, Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, fs. 7–9], dated February 9, 1807.

37. Fallecimiento del reo Juan Miguel Carrillo, dated April 4, 1804, notes the death of Carrillo by natural causes as on December 10, 1803 (AGN, Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, f. 50]). Gandiaga, Rosales, and de la Cruz were executed by firing squad and not hanged because there was no executioner available.

38. Letter from Gov. José Joaquin Arrillaga to Viceroy José de Iturrigaray, dated January 9, 1807, AGN, Provincias Internas, Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, f. 1].

39. Determination of Mariano Carrillo's involvement in Fr. Miguel López' death, AGN, Provincias Internas, Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, fs. 7–9].

40. See Beebe and Senkewicz, eds., *Lands of Promise and Despair,* 247–249, for a translation of Toypurina's interrogation.

41. Report by José Manuel Ruiz regarding Lázaro Rosales and Alejandro [*sic*] de la Cruz, who named Corporal José Francisco Osuna their guardian ad litem (AGN, Provincias Internas, Vol. 59, Exp. 18, f. 113, IIH-UABC).

42. From Causa criminal seguida a resultas de haberse encontrado muerto en su cama al Rdo. Pe. Fr. Eudaldo Surroca, Mntro. de la Misión de Santo Tomás en la Antigua California, AGN, Californias, Vol. 59, Exp. 18, IIH-UABC [8.11]. See Zárate Loperena, "Testimonios de Santo Tomás," 50–51.

43. Zárate Loperena, "Testimonios de Santo Tomás," 43.

44. Causa criminal formada contra Bárbara Gandiaga, Lázaro Rosales y Alexandro de la Cruz, a consequencia del sacrílego y aleboso homicidio perpetrado en la persona de su ministro el Padre Fr. Eduardo [*sic*] Surroca, AGN, Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, fs. 56–58].

45. Proceso contra Lázaro Rosales, Alejandro [*sic*] de la Cruz, Bárbara Gandiaga y Mariano Carrillo, indígenas de la misión de Santo Tomás, Baja California, por haber dado muerte a los misioneros Eduardo [*sic*] Surroca y Miguel López, AGN, Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, fs. 65–67].

46. Zárate Loperena, "Testimonios de Santo Tomás," 103. Mario Alberto Magaña, utilizing Homer Aschmann's geographic distribution of indigenous groups in Baja California, however, identifies the larger group residing in a broad northwestern corner of the frontier as Diegueños; see "Indígenas, misiones y ranchos durante el siglo XIX." In *Ensenada: Nuevas aportaciones para su historia,* coord. Marco Antonio Samaniego López (Mexicali, B.C., Mex.: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Universidad Autónoma de Baja California), 1999.

47. Robert H. Jackson, "Northwestern New Spain: The Pimería Alta and the Californias," in Robert H. Jackson, ed., *New Views of Borderlands History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), 79.

48. Lucila del Carmen León Velazco, "La presencia de la mujer bajacaliforniana en la época colonial," in *Seminario de historia de Baja California, Memoria 1992* (Ensenada, B.C., Mex.: Ciclo de Conferencias, IIH-UABC, 1992).

49. Rojo, *Apuntes históricos,* 86.

50. Magaña, *Población y misiones de Baja California,* 15.

51. Jackson, *Indian Population Decline,* 166.

52. Jackson, "Northwestern New Spain," 79.

53. For more on indigenous uprisings in Baja California, see David Zárate Loperena, "La guerra Kumiai en las postrimerías del siglo XVIII, y la fundación de San Miguel Arcángel," *Revista de Estudios Fronterizos,* yr. 5, vol. 5, no. 14 (1987):

87–97; and Martha Edna Castillo, "Resistencia y superviviencia: Los indígenas de la frontera de Baja California en el siglo XIX," in *Memoria de la I Semana de la Prehistoria* (Ensenada, B.C., Mex.: Taller de Arqueología de la Universidad Autónoma de Baja California, 1992).

54. Jackson, "Northwestern New Spain," 79.

55. For a thorough analysis of sexual violence as a tool of colonial domination in California, see Castañeda, "Presidarias y Pobladoras."

56. Ibid., 82. This study primarily focuses on Alta California; however, the analysis holds when looking at the broader general area of the Californias. Bancroft's *History of the North Mexican States and Texas* includes reports (from old Californios Mariano Vallejo and Juan Bautista Alvarado writing on California) of immoral conduct of friars in Alta and Baja California.

57. Zephyrin Engelhardt, *The Missions and Missionaries of California,* vol. 1 (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Mission Santa Barbara, 1929–1930), 740–743.

58. Ibid., 741.

59. Letters from the Archives of the Archbishop of San Francisco, nos. 224, 226, 230, in Engelhardt, *The Missions and Missionaries of California,* 742–743, my emphasis. Interestingly, one of the friars who signed the missive was Fr. Eudaldo Surroca of Santo Tomás.

60. Castañeda, "Presidarias y Pobladoras," 88–89.

61. For more, see Marysa Navarro and Virginia Sánchez Korrol, eds., *Women in Latin America and the Caribbean: Restoring Women to History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), xxxvii.

62. Sahagún's introduction to Rojo's *Apuntes históricos de la frontera de la Baja California,* 15, refers to Rojo as a recognized and true chronicler of Baja California's history (p. 11). For more on Rojo and his work, see Reyes, "Race, Agency and Memory."

63. Rojo's memoir includes a section subtitled "La bella Bárbara," *Apuntes históricos de la frontera de la Baja California,* 85. According to Rojo, the old inhabitants of the area praised Gandiaga so much so that he would have questioned the accuracy of their reminiscences if it were not for the sheer number of people who remembered her and were compelled to tell her story even fifty-two years after her death and the "respectability" attributed to the storytellers (ibid.).

64. Rojo, *Apuntes históricos de la frontera de la Baja California,* 16.

65. It is very difficult to definitively locate birth data for indigenous people in the colonial frontier. What is typically available are the baptismal records kept by the missionaries. It was also not uncommon for missionaries to baptize Indians on the frontier and assign them the last name of standing bishops, viceroys, or even the missionaries themselves. There are several records that document the baptism of Indian females with the name "Bárbara." However, one record could match that of Bárbara Gandiaga. Microfilmed baptismal, marriage, and death records from San Fernando de Velicatá and San Vicente Ferrer include baptismal record no. 1074, in which a gentile child of six years of age from Santa Rosa was baptized on August 24, 1775, at Mission San Fernando with the name of Bárbara, baptism performed by Fr. Pedro Gandiaga (microfilm archive, IIH-UABC, R. 1, Tbl., BANC 01 M-M 1766 1074).

66. Rojo, *Apuntes históricos de la frontera de la Baja California,* 85.

67. Ibid.

68. Ibid., 86.

69. Ibid., 85.

70. Ibid., 83, describes the cruelty of the Dominican friars toward the mission Indians and briefly depicts the friars' attitudes toward the indigenous population, whom they considered the mission's property and whose right to marry and have children without missionary consent they stripped.

71. Ibid., 86.

72. Ibid., 87.

73. For an excellent essay on violence against indigenous women in early California, see Antonia I. Castañeda, "Sexual Violence in the Politics and Policies of Conquest: Amerindian Women and the Spanish Conquest of Alta California," in Adela de la Torre and Beatriz M. Pesquera, eds., *Building with Our Hands: New Directions in Chicana Studies* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993).

74. It should be noted that Mariano Carrillo, who was the only other person found guilty of suspicion to conspire in the López case, was sentenced to six years labor at the Loreto presidio.

75. Rojo, *Apuntes históricos de la frontera de la Baja California,* 87.

76. Judgment against Bárbara Gandiaga, Lázaro Rosales, and Alexandro de la Cruz, May 27, 1806, AGN, Provincias Internas, Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, f. 57].

77. R. Sánchez, *Telling Identities,* 64.

78. Ryan, *Women in Public.*

Chapter 5

1. Epigraph from Instancia de Da. Eulalia Callis, muger de Dn. Pedro Fages, Governador de Californias, sobre que se le oyga en justicia, y redima de la opresión que padece, dated April 12, 1789, AGN, Provincias Internas, Vol. 120, Exp. 4, IIH-UABC, [5.32, fs. 1–4]. All English excerpts from this document are from Beebe and Senkewicz, eds., *Lands of Promise and Despair,* 236–238.

2. Divorce was not necessarily commonplace in New Spain, but neither was it totally unheard of, according to Silvia Arrom. Arrom indicates that accurate estimates are difficult to attain; however, on average, fifteen suits were filed in Mexico City each year from 1754 to 1818. On marriage, honor, and divorce in colonial Mexico, see Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City;* R. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came;* Patricia Seed, *To Love, Honor, and Obey in Colonial Mexico: Conflict over Marriage Choice, 1574–1821* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1988); and Edith Couturier, "Women and the Family in Eighteenth-century Mexico: Law and Practice," *Journal of Family History* 10:3 (September 1, 1985): 294–304.

3. Castañeda, "Engendering the History of Alta California," 246.

4. Ibid., 245.

5. Ibid., 248.

6. For more on Fages, see Josep Soler Vidal, "Pedro Fages: Descubridor, cronista y gobernador de la Nueva California," in *California, la aventura catalana del noroeste* (Mexico City: Libros del Umbral, 2001).

7. For more on the Catalan military in New Spain, see Joseph P. Sánchez, *Spanish Bluecoats in Northwestern New Spain, 1767–1810: A History of the Catalonian Volunteers* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990).

8. Giraud, "Mujeres y familia en Nueva España," 67–68; also see Patricia Seed, "Parents versus Children: Marriage Oppositions in Colonial Mexico, 1610–1779," PhD dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1980.

9. Lucila del Carmen León Velazco, "Eulalia Callis: El reto de una mujer a la autoridad," in *Seminario de historia de Baja California,* 106–107.

10. Charles Chapman, *A History of California: The Spanish Period* (New York: Macmillan, 1949).

11. De la Pérouse, *Monterey in 1786: Life in a California Mission* (Berkeley, Calif.: Heyday Books, 1989).

12. Ibid., 14.

13. In Paddison, *A World Transformed,* 76.

14. De la Pérouse, *Monterey in 1786,* 5. Margolin quotes correspondence from Fr. Junípero Serra to Fr. Francisco Palóu, to give the reader a frame of reference for the remoteness of the region: "It is just a year last month since I received my last letter from Christian people."

15. Margolin, in de la Pérouse, *Monterey in 1786,* 33.

16. For more on this subject, see Jackson, "Northwestern New Spain; idem, "Disease and Demographic Patterns"; and idem, "Epidemic Disease."

17. Expediente formado sobre recíprocas quexas del Governador Don Pedro Fages, y religiosos de aquellas misiones, AGN, Fondo Californias, Vol. 12, Exp. 1, fs. 1–11v., IIH-UABC [1.25] 23 *fojas.*

18. Robert H. Jackson, "The Formation of Frontier Indigenous Communities," in Robert H. Jackson, ed., *New Views of Borderlands History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), 131–156.

19. Jackson, "Northwestern New Spain."

20. Jackson, *Indian Population Decline,* 91.

21. León Velazco, "La presencia de la mujer bajacaliforniana."

22. Jackson, "Northwestern New Spain," 85.

23. For more on early California missions, settlement policies, patterns, and effects, see Englehardt, *Missions and Missionaries;* Sales, *Observations on California;* Phillips, *Indians and Intruders;* and Robert H. Jackson and Edward Castillo, *Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization: The Impact of the Mission System on California Indians* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995).

24. Margolin, in de la Pérouse, *Monterey in 1786,* 38.

25. Asunción Lavrin's work has been instrumental in foregrounding the history of women of Latin America. For an interesting early anthology of historiographic essays on this topic, see Asunción Lavrin, ed. *Latin American Women: Historical Perspectives* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978).

26. Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City,* 5.

27. Ibid., 6.

28. Margolin, in de la Pérouse, *Monterey in 1786,* 5.

29. R. Sánchez, *Telling Identities,* 191.

30. Castañeda, "Engendering the History of Alta California," 232.

31. For a significant anthology on the social dynamics of matrimony and the body, see Asunción Lavrin, ed., *Sexuality and Marriage in Colonial Latin America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989).

32. Letters from Pedro Fages to Comm. Felipe de Neve regarding his family's journey to Loreto and his wife's miscarriage, dated July 17, 1783, from Loreto, Baja California. BANC, C-A 23: 183; and letters from Pedro Fages to Fr. Pedro Cambón informing him of journey in Baja Calif. and of wife's condition, dated September 20, 1783, from San Fernando, Baja California. BANC, C-A 23: 134.

33. R. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came,* 177.

34. Ibid., 177–194.

35. Ibid., 209.

36. León Velazco, "Eulalia Callis," 106; also see Fages' correspondence to Doña Rosa Callis, dated February 24, 1783, AGN, Fondo Californias, Vol. 23, fs. 86–87.

37. Ibid., 107; see Fages' correspondence to Doña Rosa Callis, San Fernando, dated September 14, 1783, AGN, Fondo Californias, Vol. 23, f. 127.

38. Ibid.

39. All letters from Loreto, dated August 8, 1783, California Archives, BANC, C-A 23: 242–243.

40. León Velazco, "Eulalia Callis," 108.

41. Castañeda, "Presidarias y Pobladoras," 64.

42. Hurtado, *Intimate Frontiers,* 6.

43. Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries of California,* vol. 1, 508.

44. Ibid., 571.

45. Pedro Fages [résumé], Informe de servicio, Regimientos donde ha servido, y campañas y acciones de guerra en que se ha hallado, AGN, Fondo Californias, Vol. 46, Exp. 10, IIH-UABC [6.10, f. 192]. Included with documents submitted with a petition by Pedro Fages to be relieved of the governorship, AGN, Fondo Californias, Vol. 46, Exp. 10, fs. 171–203, IIH-UABC [6.10, 53 fs.].

46. Pedro Fages [résumé], Informe de servicio, Regimientos donde ha servido, y campañas y acciones de guerra en que se ha hallado, AGN, Fondo Californias, Vol. 46, Exp. 10, IIH-UABC [6.10, f. 192].

47. Instancia de Da. Eulalia Callis, fs. 2–4; translation from Beebe and Senkewicz, eds., *Lands of Promise and Despair,* 236–238.

48. For an exemplary study of the loss of identity and the "invisibility" of Indians in captivity, see Estevan Rael-Gálvez, "Identifying Captivity and Capturing Identity: Narratives of American Indian Slavery, Colorado and New Mexico, 1776–1934," PhD dissertation, University of Michigan, 2002.

49. Instancia de Da. Eulalia Callis, fs. 2–3; translation from Beebe and Senkewicz, eds., *Lands of Promise and Despair,* 237.

50. Ibid., 238.

51. For divorce during late-colonial and early-independent Mexico, see Arrom, *La mujer mexicana,* 251.

52. León Velazco, "Eulalia Callis," 109.

53. Summary of a letter from Nicolás Soler to Pedro Fages with regard to the

governor's wife's right to speak, BANC, CA 3: 254–255, dated April 14, 1784; translation in Beebe and Senkewicz, eds., *Lands of Promise and Despair,* 239.

54. Summary of a letter from Nicolás Soler to Eulalia Callis with observations with regard to her behavior, BANC, CA 3: 254–255, dated April 9, 1785; translation in Beebe and Senkewicz, eds., *Lands of Promise and Despair,* 238.

55. De la Pérouse, *Monterey in 1786,* 56.

56. Hurtado, *Intimate Frontiers,* 27.

57. Castañeda, "Engendering the History of Alta California," 248; also see Bancroft, *History of California*.

58. Correspondence from Pedro Galindo Navarro to Nicolás Soler, AGN, Provincias Internas, Vol. 120, Exp. 4, IIH-UABC [5.32, fs. 15–16].

59. Instancia de Da. Eulalia Callis, fs. 2–3; translation from Beebe and Senkewicz, eds., *Lands of Promise and Despair,* 237.

60. Correspondence from Pedro Galindo Navarro to Nicolás Soler, f. 14.

61. Instancia de Da. Eulalia Callis, fs. 2–3; translation from Beebe and Senkewicz, eds., *Lands of Promise and Despair,* 237–238.

62. Protective decree issued by José Antonio Rengel, dated September 6, 1785, Vol. 120, Exp. 4, IIH-UABC [5.32, fs. 5–6].

63. Marysa Navarro, "Women in Pre-Columbian and Colonial Latin America and the Caribbean," in Marysa Navarro and Virginia Sánchez Korrol, *Women in Latin America and the Caribbean: Restoring Women to History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 41–42. By "Spanish women" Navarro refers to both *criollas* (women of Spanish descent born in the Americas) and *peninsulares* (Spanish women born in the Iberian Peninsula).

64. Ibid., 43.

65. For more on women, sexuality, and the law in Spain, see Renato Barahona, "Mujeres vascas, sexualidad y ley en la España moderna (siglos XVI y XVII)," in Alain Saint-Saëns, dir., *Historia silenciada de la mujer: La mujer española desde la época medieval hasta la contemporánea* (Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 1996).

66. Navarro, "Women in Pre-Columbian and Colonial Latin America and the Caribbean," proposes that, although women were initiators of dissolution proceedings, in Peru, for example, as early as the sixteenth century, the actual granting of such dispensations was not necessarily common, as the petitioners faced many obstacles in the process, and the proceedings were usually long and expensive.

67. Ibid., 46.

68. Instancia de Da. Eulalia Callis, f. 2; translation from Beebe and Senkewicz, eds., *Lands of Promise and Despair,* 237.

69. Letter from Bishop of Sonora to the Inspector General, Vol. 120, Exp. 4, IIH-UABC [5.32, fs. 22–26].

70. Letter from Fr. Miguel Antonio Cuevas to Father Noriega reporting the apparent reconciliation of the governor and his wife, Junípero Serra Collection, Document no. 1020, dated September 5, 1786, Santa Barbara Mission Archives.

71. Insp. Pedro Galindo Navarro's report to José Antonio Rengel, dated December 13, 1785, AGN, IIH-UABC [5.32].

72. Solicitud de Eulalia Callis, esposa de Pedro Fages, para que éste sea relevado del cargo de gobernador de las Californias y traslado [*sic*] a otro lugar, AGN, Provincias Internas, Vol. 78, Exp. 1, fs. 116, 131, 166, IIH-UABC [4.5, f.2].

73. León Velazco, "Eulalia Callis."

74. Don Pedro Fages, gobernador de California, solicita se le abone su sueldo de Coronel, adjunta su hoja de servicios y pide se le recomiende para el rey le otorgue otro destino, AGN, Fondo Californias, No. 135, 1792, Vol. 46, Exp. 10, fs. 171–203, IIH-UABC, 53b, [6.10]; and letter to Brigadier Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola, dated December 4, 1789, from Monterey, in which Fages requests to be relieved of duty due to his age and exhaustion, AGN, Fondo Californias, Vol. 70, Exp. 8, fs. 4–5, 1790–1791, IIH-UABC [6.1].

75. Instancia de Da. Eulalia Callis, f. 2; translation from Beebe and Senkewicz, eds., *Lands of Promise and Despair,* 238.

Chapter 6

1. Epigraph from Eulalia Pérez, "Una vieja y sus recuerdos, dictados . . . a la edad de 139 años, San Gabriel, California, 1877," BANC MSS C-D 139. For easier referencing, I am using the pagination for this narrative in Spanish from Sánchez, Pita, and Reyes, *Nineteenth Century Californio Testimonials*. The epigraph is on p. 36.

2. For analytical studies of the narrative of the Californio women's testimonials, see Virginia M. Bouvier, "Framing the Female Voice: The Bancroft Narratives of Apolinaria Lorenzana, Angustias de la Guerra Ord and Eulalia Pérez," in María Herrera-Sobek and Virginia Sánchez Korrol, eds., *Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage* (Houston, Tex.: Arte Público Press, 2000), vol. 3, 138–152; Rosaura Sánchez, "Nineteenth Century Californio Narratives: The Hubert H. Bancroft Collection," in Ramón A. Gutiérrez and Genaro Padilla, eds., *Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage* (Houston, Tex.: Arte Público Press, 1993), 279–292; and for a comprehensive examination of the body of *testimonio* discourse, Genaro M. Padilla, *My History, Not Yours: The Formation of Mexican American Autobiography* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993).

3. Pérez did not specifically identify herself as mestiza. In fact, she pointed out that her parents "both were white people through and through," meaning Spanish. But, as Sánchez and others have explained, early settlers of the frontier promoted the notion of purity of blood as a strategy to distinguish themselves from the Indian population. It is more likely, however, that Pérez, like most settlers of Baja California (her place of birth), was of mixed racial ancestry.

4. There is only one other well-known case of a mestiza holding the position of *llavera* in a Franciscan mission of Alta California: Apolinaria Lorenzana at Mission San Diego. Lorenzana's responsibilities were, for the most part, the same as Pérez', albeit on a smaller scale, given Mission San Diego's significantly smaller size.

5. Apolinaria Lorenzana, "Memorias de doña Apolinaria Lorenzana, 'La Beata,' dictadas por ella en Santa Bárbara en marzo de 1878 a Thomas Savage," BANC MSS C-D 116; translation from Beebe and Senkewicz, eds., *Testimonios,* 174–175.

6. Of the fifty-two men, women, and children included in the 1781 census report of the pueblo of Los Ángeles, only two adult males were identified as Span-

ish. The rest included "Indios," "mestizos," "Negros," "Mulattos," and their mixed-race progeny. See David Weber, *Foreigners in Their Native Land: Historical Roots of the Mexican Americans* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), 33–35.

7. Lorenzana, "Memorias de doña Apolinaria Lorenzana"; translation from Beebe and Senkewicz, eds., *Testimonios,* 170.

8. For an interesting study of the role of women in the building of colonial California, see Salomé Hernández, "No Settlement without Women: Three Spanish California Settlement Schemes, 1790–1800," *Southern California Quarterly* 72:3 (1990): 203–233.

9. Dorotea Valdez, "Reminiscences: Monterey, Calif.," BANC MSS C-E 65:8; translation from Beebe and Senkewicz, eds., *Testimonios,* 34–41, quotation on 36.

10. See Beebe and Senkewicz, eds., *Testimonios;* Marie E. Northrop, *Spanish-Mexican Families of Early California, 1769–1850,* vol. 1 (New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1976), and vol. 2 (Burbank: Southern California Genealogical Society, 1984); Matt S. Meier, *Mexican-American Biographies: A Historical Dictionary, 1836–1987* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1988).

11. Pérez, "Una vieja y sus recuerdos, dictado . . . a la edad de 139 años, San Gabriel, California, 1877," BANC MSS C-D 139; translation from Beebe and Senkewicz, eds., *Testimonios,* 109.

12. Angustias de la Guerra de Ord, "Ocurrencias en California, Relatadas a Thomas Savage en Santa Bárbara, 1878," BANC MSS C-D, 134; María Teresa de la Guerra de Hartnell, "Narrativa de la distinguida matrona Californiana Doña Teresa de la Guerra de Hartnell: Rancho del Alizal, 1875," BANC MSS C-E 67:2; translation from Beebe and Senkewicz eds., *Testimonios,* 49–57 and 193–270, respectively.

13. De la Guerra de Ord, "Ocurrencias en California"; translation from Beebe and Senkewicz, eds., *Testimonios,* 234.

14. De la Guerra de Hartnell, "Narrativa de la distinguida matrona Californiana"; translation from Beebe and Senkewicz, eds., *Testimonios,* 37–38.

15. Lorenzana, "Memorias de doña Apolinaria Lorenzana"; translation from Beebe and Senkewicz, eds., *Testimonios,* 172.

16. Juana de Dios Machado Alipaz de Ridington, "Los tiempos pasados de la Alta California, Recuerdos de la Sra. Doña Juana Machado de Ridington," BANC MSS C-D 119; translation from Beebe and Senkewicz, eds., *Testimonios,* 119–144.

17. Lorenzana, "Memorias de doña Apolinaria Lorenzana"; translation from Beebe and Senkewicz, eds., *Testimonios,* 171, 191.

18. Machado Alipaz de Ridington, "Los tiempos pasados de la Alta California"; translation from Beebe and Senkewicz, eds., *Testimonios,* 126.

19. María Inocenta Pico de Ávila, "Cosas de California contadas a Thomas Savage en Ávila y San Luis Obispo por Doña María Inocenta Pico, viuda de Don Miguel Ávila, 1878," MSS C–D 34; translation from Beebe and Senkewicz, eds., *Testimonios,* 301–317, quotation on 312s; my emphasis.

20. Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City,* 155–156, describes working women in Mexico City and the various struggles that they were involved in during this time. She points out that in the nineteenth century "Mexicans differentiated housework from activities that earned cash . . . Consequently the distinction between employment and housework in Mexico City was more complete than in the rural areas."

21. Valdez, "Reminiscences"; translation from Beebe and Senkewicz, eds., *Testimonios,* 34.

22. Cutter, *California in 1792,* 30.

23. Martha Ortega Soto, *Alta California: Una frontera olvidada del noroeste de México, 1769–1846* (Mexico City: Plaza y Valdés Editores, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, Unidad Iztapalapa, 2001), 202.

24. Informes del governador de Californias, Don Pedro Fages, sobre gobierno de las Californias, Vol. 46, Exp. 10, fs. 171–203, IIH-UABC [6.10, 53 fs.].

25. Informe de Rafael Arviña, presidente de las misiones de la Baja California, sobre inventarios, padrones de población y estado en que éstas se encontraban en 1801 y 1802, AGN, Misiones, Vol. 2, Exp. 16, fs. 189v–195, IIH-UABC [1.7]. By comparison, in 1799, José Joaquín de Arrillaga reported, a total of 253 Indians at Mission Santo Tomás, and a total of 268 (Indians and non-Indians) in 1803 (Informe de José Joaquín Arrillaga, [capitán del presidio de Loreto], sobre las misiones de la Baja California: inventarios, padrones de población y estado en que se encontraban en 1799 y 1800, Vol. 2, Exp. 9, fs. 144–149v, IIH-UABC [1.5]).

26. Sánchez, Pita, and Reyes, *Nineteenth Century Californio Testimonials,* 36.

27. Engelhardt, *San Gabriel Mission,* 152.

28. Cutter, *California in 1792,* 28, as quoted in Report by Pedro Fages, dated May 10, 1791. According to Cutter, the most populous colonial sites at the time were the presidial towns: Santa Bárbara, 230 people; San Diego, 212; Monterey, 202; and San Francisco, with 144 people.

29. Sánchez, Pita, and Reyes, *Nineteenth Century Californio Testimonials,* 36.

30. Pérez speaks of supervising over sixty Indian women in 1826 in the spinning and weaving projects.

31. Monroy, *Thrown among Strangers,* 33.

32. Pérez, "Una vieja y sus recuerdos"; translation from Beebe and Senkewicz, eds., *Testimonios,* 108–109.

33. Engelhardt, *San Gabriel Mission,* 152.

34. Ibid., 107.

35. Monroy, *Thrown among Strangers,* 43.

36. For more on this, see R. Sánchez, *Telling Identities.*

37. Jackson, *Indian Population Decline,* 135–139.

38. Pérez, "Una vieja y sus recuerdos"; translation from Beebe and Senkewicz, eds., *Testimonios,* 107.

39. Jackson, *Indian Population Decline,* 206. See also idem, "Patterns of Demographic Change in the Missions of Southern Baja California," *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 8 (1986): 273–279.

40. Jackson, *Indian Population Decline,* 132–133, 205.

41. Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities,* 27.

42. Pérez, "Una vieja y sus recuerdos"; translation from Beebe and Senkewicz, eds., *Testimonios,* 107.

43. "Era muy penoso" quoted in Sánchez, Pita, and Reyes, *Nineteenth Century Californio Testimonials,* 39. English translation from Beebe and Senkewicz, eds., *Testimonios,* 109. The Ley de Bayona consisted of tying a rifle across the back of a person's knees, binding the hands to it, and keeping him or her in that position for extended periods of time.

44. R. Sánchez, *Telling Identities,* 72.

45. Jackson, *Indian Population Decline*.

46. Lorenzana, "Memorias de doña Apolinaria Lorenzana"; translation from Beebe and Senkewicz, eds., *Testimonios,* 174–175.

47. R. Sánchez, *Telling Identities,* 76.

48. Pérez, "Una vieja y sus recuerdos"; translation from Beebe and Senkewicz, eds., *Testimonios,* 107.

49. Lorenzana, "Memorias de doña Apolinaria Lorenzana"; translation from Beebe and Senkewicz, eds., *Testimonios,* 178.

50. Pérez, "Una vieja y sus recuerdos"; translation from Beebe and Senkewicz, eds., *Testimonios,* 108.

51. Ibid.

52. R. Sánchez, *Telling Identities,* 77.

53. Engelhardt, *San Gabriel Mission,* 105.

54. John M. Faragher, *Women and Men on the Overland Trail* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1979), 59.

55. Ibid., 64–65.

56. Ibid., 65.

57. Faragher, 68; my emphasis.

58. For more on women in Mexico City in the early 1800s, see Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City.*

59. Pérez, "Una vieja y sus recuerdos"; translation from Beebe and Senkewicz, eds., *Testimonios,* 106, my emphasis.

60. Ibid.

Conclusion

1. Deena J. González, "A Regendered, Reracialized and Resituated West," in Clyde A. Milner, ed., *A New Significance: Re-Envisioning the History of the American West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 287.

2. DuBois and Ruiz, eds., *Unequal Sisters.*

Appendix I-A

1. In AGN, Provincias Internas, Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, fs. 22–28], dated November 26, 1803. Published with the permission of the Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Universidad Autónoma de Baja California, Tijuana, Baja California, Mexico.

Appendix I-C

1. In AGN, Provincias Internas, dated August 18, 1806. This document includes a note at the bottom with instructions to continue with the proceedings and signed by Governor Goycoechea, Loreto, September 6, 1806, AGN, Provincias Internas, Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, fs. 2–4]. A second copy of the

original is also included in the archive, dated Loreto, September 9, 1806, AGN, Provincias Internas, Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, fs. 68–70], and a third, slightly altered, version appears in [2.2, fs. 10–12]. This text is published with the permission of the Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Universidad Autónoma de Baja California, Tijuana, Baja California, Mexico.

Appendix II-A

1. Summary, from AGN, Provincias Internas, Vol. 120, Exp. 4, IIH-UABC [5.32 fs. 1–4]. Published with the permission of the Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Universidad Autónoma de Baja California, Tijuana, Baja California, Mexico.

Appendix II-B

1. Translation by Rose Marie Beebe, in Beebe and Senkewicz, *Lands of Promise and Despair,* 236–238. The 1789 date of the testimony in the translation is erroneous. Published with the permission of Heyday Books.

Appendix III-A

1. Extended excerpt. Published with the permission of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. For the entire *testimonio* in Spanish, see Sánchez, Pita, and Reyes, *Nineteenth Century Californio Testimonials,* 32–44. English translation from Beebe and Senkewicz, *Testimonios.*
2. Savage note 1: Michael White, her son-in-law, says Lucía Valenzuela.
3. Savage note 2: It must have been María de los Ángeles.

Appendix III-B

1. Savage note: Michael White, her son-in-law, says Lucía Valenzuela.
2. Savage note: It must have been María de los Ángeles.
3. Beebe and Senkewicz, eds., *Testimonios,* 435.
4. For the translation of the entire *testimonio,* see ibid., 98–117. Published with the permission of Heyday Books.

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Archives, Collections, and Manuscripts

Archivo General de la Nación (AGN), Acervo Documental del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Universidad Autónoma de Baja California, Tijuana, Baja California, Mexico (IIH-UABC).

Fondo Provincias Internas

Bárbara Gandiaga informed of death sentence for murder of F. Eudaldo Surroca. Signed José M. Ruiz, dated August 17, 1806. Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, f. 65].

Causa criminal formada contra Bárbara Gandiaga, Lázaro Rosales y Alexandro de la Cruz, a consequencia del sacrílego y aleboso homicidio perpetrado en la persona de su ministro el padre Fr. Eduardo [*sic*] Surroca. Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, fs. 56–58].

Causa en contra de Mariano Carrillo no procede por muerte del P. Miguel López, marzo, 1808. Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, fs. 80–82].

Causa formada contra Mariano Carrillo en la muerte del padre Miguel López. Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, fs. 13–15].

Constancia de la ejecución de los reos, separados de cabeza y mano derecha, Lázaro Rosales y Alexandro de la Cruz, fecha 24 julio 1806, Presidio Loreto, signed Escríbano Enrique Cota. Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, fs. 59–60].

Copy of proceedings, findings, and sentencing recommendation for Bárbara Gandiaga, Lázaro Rosales, and Alexandro de la Cruz, regarding the murder of Fr. Eudaldo Surroca, dated December 18, 1805. Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, f. 61].

Correspondence from Pedro Galindo Navarro to Nicolás Soler. Vol. 120, Exp. 4, IIH-UABC [5.32, fs. 14–16].

Demanda de divorcio presentado por Eulalia Callis, esposa de Pedro Fages, gobernador de las Californias, por adulterio. Vol. 120, Exp. 4, fs. 69–84v, IIH-UABC [5.32].

Determination of Mariano Carrillo's involvement in Fr. Miguel López' death, dated February 9, 1807. Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, fs. 7–9].

Dictámen de sentencia Mariano Carrillo 6 años de presidio en Loreto, por ser considerado cómplice en el homicidio del P. Miguel López. Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, f. 85].

Diligencia del auditor Dr. José del Cristo, consultando definitivamente la pena capital para los reos Bárbara Gandiaga, Lázaro Rosales y Alexandro de la Cruz por el homicidio que cometieron contra el P. Eudaldo Surroca, 11 junio 1806. Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, f. 54].

Diligencia proceda la ejecución, dated July 16, 1806, signed Felipe de Goycoechea. Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, f. 58].

Execution of Bárbara Gandiaga, August 19, 1806, shot four times in chest, 2 times in head. Head and hand severed from body. Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, fs. 65–66].

Fallecimiento del reo Juan Miguel Carrillo December 10, 1803. Report dated April 4, 1804. Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, fs. 50–51].

Fr. Rafael Arviña's correspondence to Fr. Fermín Lasuén, June 18, 1803. Vol. 18, IIH-UABC, fs. 407–457.

Interrogatorio de Bárbara Gandiaga sobre la muerte del padre misionero Eudaldo Surroca. 1803. Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, fs. 22–28].

Interrogatorio de Bárbara Gandiaga sobre la muerte del padre misionero Miguel López. 1806. Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, fs. 2–4].

Interrogation of Juan Miguel Carrillo regarding the death of Fr. Miguel López, dated December 6, 1803. Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, fs. 34–35].

Interrogation of Lázaro Rosales, 18 years old, mission cook, arrested for taking the life of Fr. Eudaldo Surroca, regarding what he knew of the death of Fr. Miguel López, dated January 26, 1804. Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, fs. 40–44].

Interrogation of Mariano Carrillo regarding the death of Fr. Miguel López. Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, fs. 36–37].

Judgment against Bárbara Gandiaga, Lázaro Rosales, and Alexandro de la Cruz and sentence decree, dated May 27, 1806. Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, fs. 56–58].

Letter from Bishop of Sonora to the Inspector General. Vol. 120, Exp. 4, IIH-UABC [5.32, fs. 22–26].

Letter from Fr. Rafael Arviña to Fr. Fermín Lasuén informing him about suspicions regarding the deaths of the missionaries at Misión Santo Tomás, dated June 18, 1803. Vol. 18, IIH-UABC, fs. 407–457.

Letter from Gov. José Joaquín Arrillaga to Viceroy José de Iturrigaray, dated January 9, 1807. Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, f. 1].

Oficio sobre causa formada contra Mariano Carrillo ordena su traslado a otra misión que lo exige la quietud pública, fecha 1° de agosto, 1805. Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, f. 19].

Orden de ejecución sentencia de Bárbara Gandiaga, Misión San Vicente, 17 agosto 1806, firmado por José M. Ruiz. Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, f. 64].

Proceso contra Lázaro Rosales, Alejandro [*sic*] de la Cruz, Bárbara Gandiaga y Mariano Carrillo, indígenas de la misión de Santo Tomás, Baja California, por

haber dado muerte a los misioneros Eduardo [*sic*] Surroca y Miguel López. Vol. 18, Exp. 13, fs. 407–457, IIH-UABC [2.2, fs. 1–86].
Protective decree issued by José Antonio Rengel, dated September 6, 1785. Vol. 120, Exp. 4, IIH-UABC [5.32, fs. 5–6].
Recomendación de sentencia por muerte del P. Eudaldo Surroca, Bárbara Gandiaga principal autora del atentado. Condenados a la horca (o por la tropa) a los tres homicidas B. Gandiaga, L. Rosales, A. de la Cruz. Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, fs. 56–58].
Reporte escrito por escríbano Francisco Amador sobre el cumplimiento del decreto de sentencia capital contra la india Bárbara Gandiaga, y disposición del cuerpo, por Don José Manuel Ruiz, Teniente de la Compañía de Loreto y Comandante de estas Fronteras, comisionado para la ejecución de esta sentencia, fechas 17–19 agosto de 1806. Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, fs. 64–67].
Report regarding disposal of Bárbara Gandiaga's severed body parts (head, right hand), taken to Santo Tomás Mission for display. Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, fs. 66–67].
Solicitud de Eulalia Callis, esposa de Pedro Fages, para que sea relevado del cargo de gobernador de las Californias y traslado a otro lugar. Gestiones para que la tercera parte del sueldo de Fages le sea descontado y destinado a su esposa. Vol. 78, Exp. 1, fs. 116, 131, 166, IIH-UABC [4.5].
Statement of Ildefonso [no last name] regarding death of Fr. Miguel López, dated December 5, 1803. Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, fs. 29–31].
Statement of Juan de Dios [no last name] regarding death of Fr. Miguel López, dated December 5, 1803. Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, fs. 28–29].
Statement of Miguel [no last name] regarding death of Fr. Miguel López, dated December 5, 1803. Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, fs. 31–32].
Statement of Thomas [*sic*] Arrillaga, dated December 7, 1803. Vol. 18, Exp. 13, IIH-UABC [2.2, fs. 37–38].

Fondo Californias

Causa criminal seguida a resultas de haberse encontrado muerto en su cama a R.P. Eudaldo Surroca, ministro de la Misión de Santo Tomás en la Antigua California, 1804. Vol. 59, Exp. 18, f. 3, IIH-UABC.
Causa criminal seguida sobre la muerte que dieron los indios de Misión Santo Tomás a su misionero Fr. Eduardo [*sic*] Surroca, 1804. Vol. 59, Exp. 18, fs. 372–464, IIH-UABC [8.11, fs. 1–161].
Don Pedro Fages, gobernador de California, solicita que se le abone su sueldo de coronel, adjunta su hoja de servicios y pide se le recomiende a S.M. se le otorgue otro destino. Agrega un estado general de las misiones y presidios y un amplio informe sobre el estado de gobierno y la población de aquellas provincias. Vol. 46, Exp. 10, fs. 171–203, IIH-UABC [6.10, 53 fs.].
Expediente formado sobre recíprocas quexas del Governador Pedro Fages y religiosos de aquellas misiones. Vol. 12, Exp. 1, fs. 1–11v., 1787, IIH-UABC [1.25, 23 fs.].

Informes del governador de Californias, Don Pedro Fages, sobre gobierno de las Californias. Vol. 46, Exp. 10, fs. 171–203, IIH-UABC [6.10, 53 fs.].
Interrogation of Alexandro de la Cruz. Vol. 59, Exp. 18, IIH-UABC [8.11, fs. 21–23].
Interrogation of Juan Miguel Carrillo. Vol. 59, Exp. 18, IIH-UABC [8.11, fs. 12–14].
Interrogation of Lázaro Rosales. Vol. 59, Exp. 18, IIH-UABC [8.11, fs. 18–21].
Letter from Pedro Fages to Brigadier Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola, dated December 4, 1789, asking to be relieved of duty. Vol. 70, Exp. 8, fs. 4–5, IIH-UABC [6.1].
Report by José Manuel Ruiz regarding Lázaro Rosales and Alejandro [*sic*] de la Cruz, who named Corporal José Francisco Osuna their guardian ad litem. Vol. 59, Exp. 18, f. 113, IIH-UABC.
Solicitud de Pedro Fages, gobernador de las Californias, para que se le releve [*sic*] de dicho cargo. Vol. 70, Exp. 8, fs. 70–84v, 1790–1791, IIH-UABC [6.1, 24 fs.].

Fondo Misiones

Informe de José Joaquín Arrillaga, [capitán del presidio de Loreto], sobre las misiones de la Baja California: inventarios, padrones de población y estado en que se encontraban en 1799 y 1800. Vol. 2, Exp. 9, fs. 144–149v, IIH-UABC [1.5].
Informe de José Joaquín Arrillaga, [gobernador interino de las Californias], sobre las misiones de la Baja California, padrones de población y estado en que se encontraban en 1801 y 1802. Vol. 2, Exp. 14, fs. 174–182, IIH-UABC [1.6].
Informe de Rafael Arviña, presidente de las misiones de la Baja California, sobre inventarios, padrones de población y estado en que éstas se encontraban en 1801 y 1802. AGN, Vol. 2, Exp. 16, fs. 189v–195, IIH-UABC [1.7].

Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley (BANC)

Letter from Pedro Fages to Rosa Callis regarding the reception by Californianos on the journey to Alta California. BANC, C-A 23: 129.
Letters from Pedro Fages to Comm. Felipe de Neve regarding his family's journey to Loreto and his wife's miscarriage, dated July 17, 1783, from Loreto, Baja California. BANC, C-A 23: 183.
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