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The Spanish Missions of Florida, New Mexico, and California - 1559-1784

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THE SPANISH MISSIONS
OF FLORIDA, NEW MEXICO, AND CALIFORNIA:
1559-1784

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by

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The first movement of missionary expansion to take place in Christendom after the Middle Ages was that which coincided with the discovery and exploration of the New World at the end of the fifteenth century. At the time when European monarchs and adventurers were finding new worlds to conquer and add to their dominions, the church was also finding new worlds. The Spanish church, as did others, sent missionaries to the Americas as soon as there were places to land them, both for the spiritual care of Spaniards and for the evangelizing of native peoples.

The importance of this missionary work in the Caribbean and in New Spain (done by the religious orders only) as the first such activity in the modern period, preceding even Xavier's travels in the Orient, is one reason for which this thesis topic was chosen. Although the work in the territory which is now the United States did not begin until the end of the sixteenth century, it is in a direct line with the work done early in the century. It is of course also of particular interest as a part of the history of the United States.

One other purpose, even more important, was to determine something of the attitude which was held by the Spaniards toward the Indians and toward slavery. The problem

of the relationship between races is an especially important one today, and it is the intent of this study to determine what the earliest missionaries of America may have contributed to its understanding--and to the improvement of race relations in their day.

The period of Spanish Roman Catholic missions in what is now the United States extended from the sixteenth century up until the mid-nineteenth. Since this is a vast area to cover, the last period at least has been eliminated (about 1750-1850) and three "samples" taken to give a cross-section of the work. The Florida missions have been considered chiefly after 1573 when sustained work began, and until the high point about 1675; included also is a brief discussion of the decline toward the end of the seventeenth century. The study of New Mexican missions begins with the first sustained work in 1598, and continues until 1680, the year of the Pueblo Revolt. There is also a brief section which considers the situation as it had developed by the mid-eighteenth century. The California work was not begun until 1769 and only the first period was considered, 1769-1784, during which Junípero Serra was Fr. Presidente of the missions. This should suffice to give a picture of the friars' work among the American Indians during the Spanish era. For the purposes of this paper the above delimitation seemed to be as narrow as was possible.

Florida Missions: Sources

The most important collection of documents in existence which relates to the history of Spanish America is undoubtedly the Archivo General de Indias, located in Seville, Spain. The originals of nearly all documents which relate to America are deposited there. There are also important collections in other archives, in Spain, in Havana, and in Mexico City. Most of the scholarly works written concerning this history are based on these documents themselves or on transcript and photostat collections (such as the Stetson collection, the Lanning collection, and the Florida State Historical Society photostat collection).

There are also such sources as the various collections of unedited documents and a number of early histories, written in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. One of the most important of the latter for the history of Florida is Don Andreas Gonzales Barcia's Ensayo Cronologico para la Historia General de la Florida (first published in 1723), which could not be located. There is a translation (University of Florida Press, 1951), but this was not located either.

The only primary source which was used was Luís Gerónimo de Oré, The Martyrs of Florida, translated by Maynard Geiger (New York: Joseph F. Wagner, 1936). This was first published about 1617-1620, shortly after Oré's

visit to Florida on behalf of the Franciscan Order. An important source for the earliest period of Florida history is Woodbury Lowery, The Spanish Settlements . . . 1562-1574 (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905). This is a scholarly, well-annotated work, with a useful index. For the period in which the missions were begun and firmly established, a useful source is Maynard Geiger, The Franciscan Conquest of Florida (Washington: Catholic University of America, 1937). There is a good bibliographical essay included. A fairly well documented general history of the Spanish missions is John Tate Lanning, The Spanish Missions of Georgia (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1935). One of the chief mission areas in Spanish Florida was Guale, now the Georgia coast, north of St. Augustine. The period of decline is only briefly treated, but one good source for this era is a collection of documents describing the end of the missions in the Apalache territory in West Florida. This is M. F. Boyd, H. G. Smith, and J. W. Griffin, Here They Once Stood (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1951). A valuable reference work, with statistical appendices is Maynard Geiger, Biographical Dictionary of the Franciscans in Spanish Florida and Cuba (Paterson, New Jersey: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1940). For an important work on the later period of Florida history one could read Michael J. Curley, Church and State in the Spanish Floridas (1783-1822) (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1946).

New Mexico Missions: Sources

There is an abundance of material available on New Mexico's history; everything ever written, done or said seems to have been recorded. A great deal of sifting and searching is necessary, however, to find something which relates to one's subject. Besides the Seville archives just mentioned there is an important collection of documents in Mexico City, the Archivo General y Público de Mexico.

One of the most important collections of documents, which relates to New Mexico, as well as to the rest of Spanish America, is Pacheco and Cardenas, Colección de Documentos inéditos, Relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista y Colonización de las Posesiones Españoles (1864-1884), forty-two volumes. This is one of the most frequently mentioned sources. Two of the important early histories relating to New Mexico (though not only New Mexico) are Augustín de Vetancurt, Chronica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelico de Mexico (Mexico, 1697), and Juan de Torquemada, Primera (segunda, tercera) parte de los veinte i un libros rituales y monarchía Indiana (Madrid, 1723), three volumes. These are mentioned because of their importance, though they were not available.

The works found most valuable for this section were about five in number. An excellent bibliographical study, based on José Toríbio Medina's very complete work, and

which gave considerable information on many published works relating to the Spanish Southwest, is Henry R. Wagner, The Spanish Southwest, 1542-1794 (Albuquerque: The Quivira Society, 1937), volume VII of Quivira Society Publications, in two parts. For the early period of settlement in New Mexico a good source is George P. Hammond, Don Juan de Oñate and the Founding of New Mexico (Santa Fe: El Palacio Press, 1927); this covers the period from about 1598-1610. It is a brief work, yet very complete, with good notes and documentation. The best work on the developments of the first half of the seventeenth century is France V. Scholes, Church and State in New Mexico 1610-1650 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1937). The same author has published other works on the period up to the revolt of 1680, but this particular one is sufficient to give a good idea as to the causes and the nature of the church-state clashes in New Mexico during this time.

One of the most valuable of primary sources was that edited by Frederick W. Hodge, G. P. Hammond, and Agapito Rey, Fray Alonzo de Benavides' Revised Memorial of 1634 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1945), a report to Spain and to Pope Urban VIII on the conditions in New Mexico. The first report, on which this is based, was written in 1630, and was widely published, in French, Dutch, Latin, German, and English editions during the 1630's. The other source which proved to be quite useful was that edited

by Charles W. Hackett, Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermín's Attempted Reconquest 1680-1682 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1942). These two volumes contained a detailed account of the revolt, together with a collection of the important records.

One other source, which gives a collection of documents from the mid-eighteenth century is the work of Fr. Francisco Atanasio Dominguez, translated and edited by Eleanor B. Adams and Fr. Angelico Chavez, The Missions of New Mexico, 1776 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1956).

According to personal correspondence with Friar Chavez, these works mentioned above are sufficient to give a good picture of the mission history of New Mexico.

Concerning the work of Spanish missions in Texas, which was not included in this thesis, there are two works which would be important. A primary source is Fray Juan Augustín Morfi (who died in 1783), History of Texas 1673-1779 (Albuquerque: The Quivira Society, 1935), and a comprehensive modern study is Carlos E. Castañeda, Our Catholic Heritage in Texas (seven volumes).

California Missions: Sources

A great bulk of material, documents and transcripts, on this history can be found in this country, as well as in the Spanish and Mexican archives. The most important collections are the Santa Barbara Mission Archives and the Bancroft

collection at Berkeley. A relatively small portion of these documents have been thoroughly worked through. Fray Engelhardt gives a good survey of these available materials, and mentions also records of administrative acts, records and circulars of the Franciscan Order, and parish records of the various missions.

There are two secondary histories of the California missions and settlements which are quite thorough and quite helpful. One is Charles E. Chapman, A History of California: The Spanish Period (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1930), which gives a broader view and considers all of the important civil, political, and military aspects of the colonization. Devoted more to the missions themselves is Fray Zephyrin Engelhardt, The Missions and Missionaries of California (Santa Barbara: Mission Santa Barbara, 1930). This massive work consists of four volumes and covers the entire era, from the period of Lower California missions to the end of the mission period. Volume II deals with the beginning of Upper California work, from about 1769-1800.

The two chief primary sources used were the writings of the men who were probably the most important in founding California's missions. Fray Francisco Palou, Historical Memoirs of New California (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1926), four volumes, is regarded by many as being even today the best history of the early period in California (1769-1785). Equally important is the collection

of Fray Serra's letters, edited by Antonine Tibesar, Writings of Junípero Serra (Washington: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955, 1956), three volumes. Most of the letters are given in Spanish and English, on verso and recto.

The mission work in Arizona, Lower or Baja California, and the provinces of northwest Mexico was not considered. This work, done by the Jesuits, was most extensive in the territory which is now Mexico, and was rather limited in United States territory. However, for a good picture of this work, one could read the biography of the man who was probably most important, Fray Kino, written by a leading authority on Spanish America, Herbert E. Bolton. The work is Rim of Christendom: A Biography of Eusebio Francisco Kino, Pacific Coast Pioneer (New York: Macmillan Co., 1936).

There are a number of terms which might be profitably defined, and which occur frequently in this study. Some geographical terms especially need explanation. New Spain generally refers to the area which today is Mexico (possibly including Central America). Florida in most cases includes the entire southeastern part of the present United States, at least all of the area which Spain claimed and explored. Timucua was the central part of present-day Florida; Apalache was present-day western Florida. The Rio del Norte was the old Spanish name for the northernmost part of the Rio Grande, and was the area in which most of the New Mexico missions

were located. California during the Spanish era referred usually to Lower, or Baja California. The modern state of California was then called Monterey, or sometimes New California.

Also commonly found are terms connected with the Spanish settlements. A presidio was a major military and governmental outpost. A convent was the residence of one or more friars. A doctrina was a preaching or teaching station in Indian territory. A rancherí́a was a small settlement, farm, or group of dwellings--sometimes Indian, sometimes Spanish. An estufa was a meeting room, usually underground, or partly underground, in which pagan religious ceremonies were held; the term was used in New Mexico.

Lastly, there are several frequently-found titles. A cacique was an Indian king or chief. A cabildo seems to have been a type of town council. An alcalde was a mayor of a town or pueblo. An adelantado was a commander-in-chief of an expedition and settlement in one of the Spanish provinces.

CHAPTER II

SPAIN IN AMERICA: THE PATRONATO AND THE ENCOMIENDA

Spain's purpose in America as the sixteenth century began is of course no complex matter. Vast new territories were waiting for her to conquer and to inhabit; and vast sources of wealth were waiting for her to take, to add to the splendor of the Crown. The ruling power of Spain was itself extremely interested in the potential of the Americas, but possibly even more interested were the adventurers, military officers, and noblemen who envisioned their own kingdoms and their own riches. This fundamental aspect of Spain in America is everywhere quite obvious.

It is, however, not the whole picture. The Spanish people were a religious people, and their fierce Catholicism entered into practically every area of their life. This, together with their equally strong independence (of which the Popes very well knew), comprised the other chief factor which played such an important part in the Spanish colonial enterprise. This seems to be a strange combination, a desire for wealth and an expanded empire on one hand, and a desire to be worthy of the title "Most Catholic," to undertake everything in a manner which accorded with Christian teaching, on the other hand. Nevertheless it is a fact that

both of these factors are very much in evidence during the period of conquest and colonization in the New World.

The thought had been suggested very early that perhaps there was something questionable in the practice of forcibly occupying a new land, and appropriating its goods and wealth, particularly when it was necessary to fight and kill those who defended it. Of course, no one on this account felt that the New World should be abandoned, but it was a very general feeling in Spain that conquests should be made in an honorable and Christian manner.

Part of the difficulty was taken care of by papal grants. F. V. Scholes summarizes three most important bulls and their concessions:

> The bulls of Alexander VI, May 4, 1493, gave the Spanish monarchy (1) title over the Indies, with the conditional obligation of carrying on the conversion of the aboriginal population, and (2) all the concessions, privileges, rights, etc. that former popes had conceded to the kings of Portugal in lands discovered beyond the seas, of which the most important was the right of presenting to ecclesiastical office. Eight years later, November 16, 1501, the same pope granted to the Crown the right to collect the tithes in the American colonies with the condition that the Crown should provide revenues for the establishment of churches and missions. On July 28, 1508, Pope Julius conceded to the Crown universal patronage over the Church in the Indies.[1]

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[1]France V. Scholes, Church and State in New Mexico 1610-1650 (Albuquerque; University of New Mexico Press, 1937), pp. 3f. Scholes continues: "On the basis of these concessions, which were clarified by later papal decrees, the Crown established an unparalleled control over ecclesiastical organization in America. The tithes were collected by the officials of the royal treasury and expended by them according to instructions from the Crown.

If the pope was regarded by anyone as having a supreme authority, such a grant would be sufficient to justify a conquest of another land. But for Spain and Spaniards this was insufficient, not only because many denied the pope's temporal power, but also on religious and moral grounds.[2]

It was very early in the century when the controversy was begun, chiefly by the sermons of a Dominican friar on the island of Hispaniola, Fray Antonio de Montesinos, in 1511.[3] Soon the storm which he had aroused among his berated parishioners spread to Spain, where a council was

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The consent of civil authority was required for the establishment of every cathedral, parish church, monastic house, hospital, and pious foundation in the Indies. Appointment to all sees and benefices was reserved to the king or his representatives. The establishment and delimitation of dioceses were made by royal authority. The emigration of clergy to the New World was controlled by royal license, and the movements of those who went to the Indies were supervised by the civil officers in the several provinces. The meetings of provincial and diocesan councils and the publication of their decrees were subjected to supervision by the State. Papal bulls and letters directed to the Church in America were examined and certified by the Council of the Indies. It is not surprising, therefore, that these powers were jealously guarded, that the viceroys and lesser colonial officials were instructed to resist any encroachment on the patronage, or that bishops were required to take an oath not to violate the rights of the Crown under the patronage." His source for this material is a standard work in this area, F. J. Hernáez, Coleccion de bulas, breves, y otros documentos relativos a la iglesia de America y Filipinos (Brussels: n.p., 1879).

[2]Many Spaniards undoubtedly were content to continue with the conquests as they had begun, but there very soon was a widespread interest in the matter on the part of the Crown, the Spanish church, and the people.

[3]For the substance of Montesinos' sermon, see Appendix A.

appointed to study the matter. The chief problem was the treatment which the Indians were receiving from the Spaniards, but Montesinos opposed the very theory of conquest and enslavement. However, the only result of the meeting of officials and theologians was a partial measure (partial at least to Montesinos), the Laws of Burgos, December 27, 1512. Many statements and directions were given as to the proper treatment and kindness which should be accorded the Indians, but the encomienda system was upheld as being "in agreement with divine and human law."[4]

The opposition to any kind of enslavement was strong. Montesinos was soon superceded by his famed brother Dominican, Bartolomé de las Casas, whose influence during this time and in this situation, can hardly be estimated. Not long after the Laws of Burgos Las Casas became, and for half a century remained, the notable advocate of freedom for the Indians of America.

For a time, however, the official pronouncements from Spain continued to support the practical slavery which had been begun almost as soon as the American shores were reached. The next important document was the requerimiento,

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[4]Lewis Hanke, The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949), pp. 23f. The encomienda was a system of virtual slavery, whereby the Indians of a conquered area were distributed amongst the landholding conquistadores, or encomenderos, in perpetuity.

or Requirement, of 1514. This was the curious statement, based on the Old Testament relationship between the Chosen People and the heathen idolaters, which was to be read and explained to the Indians before the Spaniards took possession.

The Requirement was written by a member of an expedition to the Indies, Martín Fernández de Enciso (together with another writer on the problems of conquest, Juan López de Palacios Rubios), who held that

> the king might very justly send men to require those idolatrous Indians to hand over their land to him, for it was given him by the pope. If the Indians would not do this, he might justly wage war against them, kill them and enslave those captured in war, precisely as Joshua treated the inhabitants of the land of Canaan.[5]

According to the Requirement, the Indians were to be required to acknowledge the pope and the Crown of Spain as rulers and superiors and to allow the faith to be preached amongst them. If they should fail to do this, then the Spaniards would be forced to punish and subjugate them.

> We shall take you and your wives and your children, and shall make slaves of them, and as such shall sell and dispose of them as their Highnesses may command; and we shall take away your goods, and shall do all the harm and damage that we can, as to vassals who do not obey, and refuse to receive their lord, and resist and contradict him; and we protest that the deaths and losses which shall accrue from this are your fault. . . . And that we have said this to you and made this

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[5] Ibid., p. 32; quoted by Hanke from Enciso memorial.

> Requirement, we request the notary here present to give us his testimony in writing.[6]

One can easily imagine this proclamation being read in the Castilian language to the unsuspecting Indians; and Hanke understandably says that if all such proclamations were described, it would surely "tax the reader's patience and credulity,"

> for the Requirement was read to trees and empty huts when no Indians were to be found. Captains muttered its theological phrases into their beards on the edge of sleeping Indian settlements, or even a league away before starting the formal attack, and at times some leather-lunged Spanish notary hurled its sonorous phrases after the Indians as they fled into the mountains. Once it was read in camp before the soldiers to the beat of the drum. Ship captains would sometimes have the document read from the deck as they approached an island. . . . Sometimes Indian messengers were sent to "require" other Indians.[7]

It is also easy to understand why Las Casas, when he learned of these things, said that he did not know whether to laugh or cry.

Las Casas not only believed in freedom of the Indians from slavery, but he also held that there were rightful lords, kings, and princes among these peoples, even if they had never heard of Christ. It was simply natural law and human justice that gave them the right to such dignity and

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[6] Ibid., p. 33; from the Requirement.

[7] Ibid., p. 34.

sovereignty.[8]

With great persistence Las Casas and his followers set forth these views and voiced much opposition to the practices of the conquistadores, and not at all without effect. Hanke speaks of four experiments which were permitted and supported by the Crown, all of which were enactments of Las Casas' principles. One of these was to free enslaved Indians in certain places and observe them to see if they could live like Christians and Spaniards.[9] Naturally, in each case the result was failure. The second was Las Casas' own project of colonizing the coast of Tierra Firme (Venezuela) with farmers "who would till the soil, treat the Indians kindly, and thus lay the basis for an ideal Christian community in the New World." This experiment also failed, and it was shortly after this that he entered the Dominican order.[10]

The third experiment was also Las Casas' own; in 1537 he attempted to convert the Guatemala Indians by peaceful means alone, his method being based on his own treatise of the same year, The Only Method of Attracting All People to the True Faith. He said that it was the devil who spread the ideas that the Indians are to be "treated as dumb brutes

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[8]Silvio Zavala, New Viewpoints on the Spanish Colonization of America (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1943), p. 15.

[9]Hanke, op. cit., p. 43.

[10]Ibid., p. 54.

created for our service" and that they are "incapable of receiving the Catholic faith."[11] The work in Guatemala proved quite successful for a while, but after a period of conflict between colonists and religious, the Indians revolted and this venture ended.

That Las Casas' influence continued even after a number of experiments had failed is clear from the last of the experiments. As Hanke says, on November 20, 1542, Charles V disregarded some of his most important advisers, and trusted Las Casas, putting into effect the New Laws of the Indies, which in effect abolished the encomienda system.

> The audiencias were commanded "to enquire continually into the excesses and ill treatment which are or shall be done to them by governors or private persons, and how the ordinances and instructions which have been given to them and are made for the good treatment of the said Indians, have been observed." It was further commanded "that henceforward, for no cause of war nor any other cause whatsoever, though it be under title of rebellion, nor by ransom nor in any other manner can an Indian be made a slave, and we desire that they be treated as of the Crown of Castile, since such they are." Indians "who until now have been enslaved against all reason and right," were to be put at liberty. Indians were not to carry loads unless absolutely necessary and then only "in such a manner that no risk of life or health of the said Indians may ensue."

The heart of the New Laws was the provision which removed the ownership of Indians from all but those who held them by

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[11] Ibid., pp. 72f. This volume represents what was probably the central doctrine in Las Casas' life work (only three chapters of it are extant, but they run to 577 pages). The other important works by him are History of the Indies, Brief Relation of the Destruction of the West Indies, and Apologetic History.

proper legal title and were not guilty of mistreatment, and which prohibited further grants of encomienda after those who had them had died.[12]

The opposition to the New Laws was violent, in Peru and in Mexico especially, and very soon the Emperor was submerged in protests. What Hanke says was the most important objection of all was that of many of the friars, from all the orders.

> Indeed, the provincials of the Augustinians, Dominicans, and Franciscans made the long journey from Mexico to Spain to inform the King on "necessary remedies," and to demonstrate that the highest dignitaries of the missionary orders in closest contact with the Indians were solidly behind the conquistadores.[13]

The Dominican provincial from Mexico, Fray Domingo de la Cruz explained that the encomienda was necessary so that the work of the friars would not be "interrupted by the departure of the Spaniards." He felt that if the Indians were freed they would not work, and might even rebel, since they no longer feared horses. Besides this, the poor Spaniards were supported by the encomenderos and would have no place to go if the New Laws were enforced. Other Dominicans advocated the medieval, feudalistic view of society as best

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[12] Ibid., pp. 91f.

[13] Ibid., p. 91.

for New Spain.[14]

> in a well-ordered commonwealth, it is necessary that there be rich men who can resist the enemy and in order that the poor of the earth may be able to live under their guardianship . . . if this land is to perdure, it is a great error to think that all of its inhabitants shall be equal.[15]

The pressure was too great. In April 1546, at Ratisbon, the Viceroy of Mexico was asked to carefully survey the needs of all conquistadores in Mexico and to make grants of Indians to them, fairly and in accord with these needs. With this the encomienda was permanently established in the Spanish colonies.

Las Casas continued to fight until his death, but he was unsuccessful; his way had been tried and had proved unsatisfactory to the general Spanish interests. He had fought with his people when he was bishop of Chiapa, and ended up by excommunicating them; he had carried the fight to the highest academic level when he debated with Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda (1550-1551) and tried to show "that Aristotle's dictum that some men were by nature slaves could not be applied to the Indians." While all this was going on, though, the New Laws were in essence revoked; and "Spaniards

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[14] Ibid., p. 98. It must be remembered that opposed to this feudalism there were many advocates of the regalist viewpoint in Spain, who undoubtedly supported Las Casas. These maintained that all Indians should be subject only to the King and not to any underlords. See Zavala, op. cit., p. 73.

[15] Zavala, op. cit., p. 71.

continued to hold Indians and wage war against them, despite the fulminations of the Bishop of Chiapa."[16]

These policies formed during the first half of the sixteenth century were to have a profound effect upon the colonization and mission enterprises in the territories which now are a part of the United States. The two important establishments mentioned above and their effects can be seen again and again throughout the history of the missions and settlements. The Patronato Real or royal patronage, was at the base, and acted as a catalyst of the church-state struggles which were such a continual plague to the colonies, and in which the Indians usually suffered the most. The encomienda, in the areas which practiced it, was usually the excuse for much exploitation of the Indians.

A great deal could be said by way of introduction concerning the first explorations in United States territories, from the first in Florida by Ponce de Léon, by Ayllon, and by Narváez, to the travels of De Soto across the southeastern quarter of the United States, and to the wanderings of Coronado in the Southwest. On all of these expeditions there were members of the religious orders accompanying the conquistadores, who made the first contacts with the American Indians. The effects of many of these contacts was in

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[16]Lewis Hanke, Bartolomé de Las Casas: Bookman, Scholar and Propagandist (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952), p. 71.

many cases important to the later colonization. However, the purpose of this paper is to consider the later period and the actual establishment of permanent missions amongst the Indians, as well as the nature of these missions, and the resulting state of the native peoples.[17]

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[17]Two good references for the early period of exploration are Herbert E. Bolton, The Spanish Borderlands (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921), and Woodbury Lowery, The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States 1513-1561 (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, The Knickerbocker Press, 1901). The first is a good summary of all Spanish activity in the United States. It is written on a more popular level, but the author was a leading authority in the field and the work is reliable. The second is concerned with only the early period, but is more scholarly and seems to be a standard reference for a number of other writers. It has copious notes and a very useful index.

CHAPTER III

THE FLORIDA MISSIONS

Early Activity, About 1559-1570; Dominicans and Jesuits

Although the sight of Florida's sun-bathed white beaches and green coastal foliage was a pleasant thing to the eyes of Spanish seamen, explorers, soldiers, and friars as their ships stood off at the distance of a league or two, the thought of the not-always-hospitable natives was not so pleasant. As mentioned above, there were nearly a half dozen major explorations in the Floridas during the first half of the sixteenth century, which had provided sufficient opportunity for the Spaniards to acquaint themselves with these Indians. It will be seen, however, that the hostility which the Spanish were met with was not always unrequited.

The religious who accompanied the various expeditions usually had as one of their chief goals friendly contacts with the aborigines, and, as much as was possible on such marches through the wilderness, to teach them something of Christianity. Frequent skirmishes and even pitched battles made this all but impossible. The best that could be done was to add an occasional Indian to the expedition (peacefully or by force) and teach him as they traveled.

During a colonization attempt in 1560 under the command

of Tristán de Luna[1] contacts were made under more favorable circumstances with the Coosa Indians (Coça), near the present coast of Alabama. The Dominican friars Anunciación and Salazar were the religious on this expedition. It was decided to wait for a more favorable situation, however, and no real mission work was done. The fathers felt it was "not the time."

The foundations for Spanish mission work were finally laid in 1565, when the first permanent settlement in this country was made, on the east coast of Florida, below the juncture of the peninsula with the mainland; this was St. Augustine.[2]

The key figure during this period of Spanish activity in Florida was one Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, holder of the King's patent for the establishment of a settlement in Florida, and commander-in-chief of the entire expedition.[3] Recognized by most historians of this period as an extremely capable commander and brilliant strategist, Avilés was chiefly responsible for the Spanish success in Florida, for the establishment of St. Augustine, and for making possible

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[1]Woodbury Lowery, The Spanish Settlements Within the Present Limits of the United States, 1513-1561 (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1901), I, 351-380.

[2]Woodbury Lowery, The Spanish Settlements Within the Present Limits of the United States, 1562-1574 (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905), II, 158f., 252.

[3]Ibid., p. 120.

the missionary work which continued for nearly two centuries. This was also the man named by Philip II to command the Spanish Armada, and whose death in 1574 probably contributed greatly to the disaster of 1588.

Before Spain could be secure in the Floridas, there was one obstacle to overcome. This was France, also active during this same period, and in the same areas. From 1562-1565 attempts were made by the French to found a permanent settlement, under Coligny, Laudonnière and Ribaut. By 1565 there was a successful Huguenot settlement, Fort Caroline, a little more than twenty leagues from St. Augustine. Neither French nor Spanish had any intention of permitting the other to remain, however, and soon only the Spanish were left.

The frequently-told story of the major Spanish-French clash begins at Ft. Caroline, from which place Jean Ribaut took his troops by ship to attack St. Augustine, leaving the women and children colonists with an insignificant military defense. Avilés soon received word of the departure of this force. Apparently he was convinced that a storm was approaching from the south which would keep Ribaut at sea, because he made a quick, bold march overland to Ft. Caroline, and destroyed the settlement, the defenders, and captured the women and children (who were later freed). Simultaneously the storm materialized, driving Ribaut and his force far north, and giving Avilés sufficient time to return to

St. Augustine and prepare for them. Finally the French made a landing south of the Spanish settlement; the party was met by Avilés, and easily captured. Then followed the massacre of all but a handful of Frenchmen (who professed to be Catholics). The place is called Matanzas (slaughter) to this day.[4] Following this episode, the Spanish were not seriously challenged in Florida until later French explorations and the growth of the English colonies.

With St. Augustine settled, and no Frenchmen to worry about, the situation was more favorable for establishing missions among the Indians. This was actually the main goal, and the reason for all Spanish activity in Florida, at least according to the royal cedulas and according to the statements of such men as Avilés. Naturally, the friars who accompanied all expeditions had this as their goal. But with all the obstacles arising during the establishment of a colony and such obstacles as have been mentioned, no work was actually begun until 1567.

It was during this year that Francis Borgia sent the first Jesuits to Florida: Father Pedro Martínez, Father Juan Rogel, and Brother Francisco Villareal. Among others following them were Frays Segura, Alamo, Sedeño, and

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[4]It was on this occasion that the familiar though unsubstantiated statement of Aviles was supposedly made: "I do this not as to Frenchmen, but as to Lutherans." Lowery gives a well-documented account of the Huguenot settlement. Ibid., pp. 3-210.

Brothers Carrera, Linares, and Báez, who came in 1568; in 1570 came Fray Quiros, and Brothers Gómez and Zeballos.

Of these, Fray Martínez never reached St. Augustine. His ship missed the harbor, and encountered storms which gave a great deal of trouble. Spending some time ashore with a party from the ship, the father was killed by Indians. With this, his previously-expressed desire for martyrdom was accomplished, with the very first group of Indians he met.[5]

It was near the southern extremity of the Florida peninsula that the first missions were undertaken by these Jesuits. Fray Rogel began work among the Calcosas, on the southwest section of the peninsula, where he met with little success. Because of his difficulty with the language an interpreter was necessary for preaching and instructing in the chief articles of the Christian religion. Lowery says that instruction

> probably consisted in teaching them to recite the Pater Noster, the Ave Maria, the Credo, the Salve, and the Commandments. Together with this the attempt was made to inculcate into their savage hearts the first principles of Christian morals.[6]

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[5]Lowery gives the words of Martínez as a Spanish writer on distinguished Jesuits has them: "Fr. Martinez . . . exclaimed one day to Fray Lobo, a distinguished Franciscan, 'Oh! Father Lobo, how I long to pour out my blood at the hands of the savages, and wash those Florida shores in defence of the faith!'" Ibid., p. 270. In practically all writings on the Spanish missions these expressed longings for martyrdom on the part of the religious recur.

[6]Ibid., p. 339.

The language barrier being such a problem, particularly with so many Indian tongues spoken throughout the country, it was simplest for the friars to teach such prayers and creeds, which could be memorized; to teach by dialog, or questions and answers would have been more difficult.

Another approach which was commonly used in the Spanish missions is described by Lowery:

> He [Fr. Rogel] succeeded in gathering about him a great number of the children on whom he hoped to make some impression, using every effort to attract them, and distributing among them for a time the corn-meal which Fr. Francisco de Toral, the Franciscan Bishop of Yucatan, had sent him, when he learned of his missionary labors. But "the children who assembled to chant the doctrine recited only the call of hunger," and their interest ceased when the corn-meal became exhausted.[7]

Fray Rogel's success was no better with the adults, who seemed to be looking for an excuse to kill him. In a quarrel with an Indian leader over a matter of idols, an occasion arose. As was nearly always the case in Spanish missions, there was present with the father a number of soldiers, for protection. This kept the incident from proceeding any farther.

Brother Villareal at this time was working in another area, with the Tegesta Indians, near the present Miami, and finding less opposition.

> At Tegesta Brother Villareal found the natives far more docile. He made much progress with their language,

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[7] Ibid.

> confirmed many of the adults in the faith, baptised some of the children and even a few of the older people, among others an old chieftainess on the point of death. Large crosses were also erected, around which the natives gathered for instruction.[8]

The work here seemed good only by comparison, though, since even at Tegesta the older converts soon lost interest and fell back to their old religion.

Work continued in these places for several years, but the intractability and deceit of the Indians, coupled with the conquistadore approach of the Spaniards, permitted no peaceful settlement or mission work at this time. Lowery gives a good picture of the situation:

> The settlement at San Antonio was likewise doomed. The crafty Don Felipe had easily imposed upon the missionaries, whom he allowed to destroy his venerated idols, while he showed a ready compliance with their teaching. But (capt.) Reynoso was not so easily deceived, and, another plot being soon discovered, Don Felipe and fourteen of the chief accomplices were all put to death by order of Pedro Menéndez Marqués. The execution of so many of their principal men struck a final blow at any further understanding between the Spaniards and the Calcosas. The Indians suddenly rose, burned their village, and fled to the forest. The Spaniards, who had largely depended upon the natives for their subsistence, now found themselves utterly helpless; the attempt to maintain the settlement was finally abandoned, the mission was withdrawn, the fort destroyed, and the garrison transferred to St. Augustine.[9]

In 1569 Fray Rogel went to work at Santa Elena, located on the coast of present-day South Carolina; his immediate

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[8] Ibid., p. 340. Other sources say that there were no baptisms except for the old woman. Nevertheless the work here was less difficult.

[9] Ibid., p. 346.

area of labor was a place called Orista. After six months he had learned enough of the language to converse and also preach. He began his instruction by teaching these Indians

> the unity of God, His power and Majesty; that He was the Cause and Creator of all things; His love of the good; His horror of evil . . . the rewards and punishment of the next life, the immortality of the soul, and the resurrection of the dead.[10]

Here Fray Rogel found the natives "far more tractable and moral" than the Caloosas.[11]

> After three months spent at Orista he enthusiastically exclaims that "their manner of living was so well ordered and regulated that there was not a single thing to touch or to change among them even if they become Christians." Each Indian had but one wife, worked hard at his planting, and the children were carefully trained. They were neither cruel nor thievish, and unnatural crimes were entirely unknown. They were great traders, expert at barter, carrying their merchandise into the interior . . . the affairs of the tribe were ordered. The Indians were truthful, dwelt peaceably among themselves, and were given to but one vice,--they were great gamblers.

This would seem to be the ideal place for the friars to do mission work. It was not long, however, before their opinion changed. There was some attention paid the father's instructions, some questions asked, but he seems not to have been taken too seriously. Lowery characterizes their attitude as "a constantly growing spirit of mockery." Fray Rogel taught them about hell, and said "that I have seen

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[10] Ibid., p. 348. Lowery quotes a letter from Rogel to a Fray Hinestrosa, dated December, 1569.

[11] Ibid., pp. 348f.

them shed tears at the terrors of hell, when they were told that their souls would burn in hell like a firebrand if they did not die Christians."[12] But even this had no lasting effect.

One important factor which greatly hindered this work, perhaps more seriously in Florida than in other mission areas, was the continual moving of the Indians, usually in search of food, or better lands. In the case of the Guales, it seems to have been seasonal moving, but in many other places a village would be left permanently, at any time, and the tribe would settle somewhere else.[13] During the absence, undoubtedly most of what the fathers said was forgotten, or its impact lost, if there had been any in the first place.

At any rate, Fray Rogel had led them to the belief in the Trinity, and an understanding of the Roman Catholic veneration of the Cross, after eight months of labor. By this time he felt that he had the Indians' good will and love, so he said,

> I began to declare to them how, in order to be the sons of God, it was needful for them to be enemies of

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[12] Ibid., p. 350, quoting a letter from Rogel to Hinestrosa.

[13] For this reason it is extremely difficult to establish the exact location of many of these missions, which would often follow the tribes. As a result, names have been given to certain places, moved with the population, then perhaps remained in another place. Thus names of mission areas are usually very general.

> the devil, for the devil is evil, and loves all evil things; and God is good and loves all good things. . . . When I began to treat of this . . . so great was the vexation and hatred which they conceived at my words, that never again would they come to listen to me; and they said to my people that they were very angry and did not believe a thing I said, since I spoke ill of the devil.[14]

The general conclusion of historians and ethnologists is that Fray Rogel was a victim of his imperfect understanding of the language of Orista. His mistake was very serious though, and further damaged the already strained relationship.

With these results occurring in nearly every mission area, the Jesuit work was nearly over in Florida. The fact has also been mentioned that the religious and the soldiers at the outlying missions were largely dependent on the Indians for sustenance, and when these grew less friendly and in some cases menacing, there was obviously nothing to do but withdraw. There may have been a little in the way of supplies coming from the presidio at St. Augustine, but this would have been insignificant. It was to be many years before even this town was self-supporting, and at the early date of 1570 practically all food and supplies were shipped in. This year marked one of the lowest points in the history of Spanish Florida, as soldiers, friars, civilians were left nearly destitute, without food, clothing or equipment. This

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[14]Michael Kenny, Romance of the Floridas (New York: Bruce Publishing Co., 1934), p. 253.

year marked the abandonment of Florida except for 150 soldiers at St. Augustine (left with food and ammunition for only a few months).

The Jesuits made one more attempt, however, a move which was planned even when Guale and Florida outposts were being abandoned. The new enterprise was to be among the people of Jacán (or Axacan); this was almost certainly the Chesapeake Bay area.

Eight Jesuits prepared to go ashore here, and perhaps with more hope than some of them had when they started out in Florida a few years before, because with them was an Indian, Don Luis, who had been taken from this very province in 1559 by the Dominicans to Spain. He seems to have been intelligent and agreeable, and had "ingratiated himself to such an extent into the good-will of Philip II" that he had been supported by the king during his stay in Spain. His eleven years with the Spaniards, receiving an education, and his living in the company of the religious all served to fit him to serve the mission as interpreter and as a link with the Indians of this province, his own people.

For a while this is what happened, but very soon Don Luis left the mission and would not return. Either his tribe's entreaties to return to the old ways were too great for him to resist, or else he had harbored resentment against the Spanish since his kidnaping. In any case, his action was the first step in events that led to the killing

of all the missionaries before they had worked five months.

The following year a ship returned, to see how the mission was progressing. The only survivor, a boy named Alonso de Lora, told what had happened. The Spanish did their best to persuade several Indians to turn Don Luis over to them but with no success. A number of captured Indians were put to death, says Oré, though not before they were asked if they wanted to die as Christians; this they willingly accepted. "A religious [Fr. Rogel] instructed them and exhorted them as was fitting. Then they were hung from the yardarms."[15] This ended Jesuit work in the Floridas. Perhaps the only accomplishment worth mentioning was a school for Indian boys from Florida, established in 1568 in Havana, under Fray Rogel and Brother Villareal.[16] Even the grammars of the Timucuan and Tegestean languages, and the catechism, written in verse, by Brother Domingo Agustín Báez were lost, and it was not until Fray Pareja's work fifty years later that such material was available. As for converts, Fray Oré says that no one was seen fit to be baptized during the Jesuits' tenure, though a few were being taught. Geiger says that there were a total of seven

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[15]Luís Gerónimo de Oré, The Martyrs of Florida, translated by Maynard Geiger (New York: Joseph F. Wagner, Inc., 1936), p. 30.

[16]John Tate Lanning, The Spanish Missions of Georgia (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1935), p. 43.

baptisms during this period, in Guale; four of them were infants, and the others at the point of death.[17] Next came the Franciscans.

The Early Franciscan Period: 1573-1610

As Maynard Geiger notes, the activities of the Order of Friars Minor were extremely limited at first, from the arrival of a few at Santa Elena in 1573 until about 1595, when the number of friars had increased and conversions were being recorded in most parts of Spanish-occupied Florida. These first ones, incidentally, were sent from Spain through the efforts of Avilés to replace the religious who had just recently left.

By 1578 there were only two friars working in the whole territory, and these were serving as chaplains at the forts, St. Augustine and Santa Elena. There was considerably more progress made during the next ten years, however; in 1583 a concerted mission effort was begun, and according to a report of the Province of the Holy Cross of Santa Elena, there were seven convents which had been established by 1587 in Florida: the Convents of the Immaculate Conception, St. Augustine; St. Catherine, Guale, Georgia; St. Peter, Cumberland Island, Georgia; St. Bonaventure, Guadelquini, Georgia;

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[17] Maynard Geiger, The Franciscan Conquest of Florida (Washington: Catholic University of America, 1937), p. 26, note 6. Hereafter this work will be referred to as Franciscan Conquest.

St. Dominic, Asao, Georgia; St. Anthony, Aguadulce, Florida; and St. Ann, Potano, Florida. This was nearly one-third of the Franciscan province of Santa Elena, the other fifteen convents being located on the islands of Santo Domingo, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and on the South American mainland in Venezuela.[18] Working in these places were a total of at least eleven friars.

It is difficult to establish clearly what the actual results were of the Franciscans' work during this period, as far as the Indians' attitude toward Roman Catholic Christianity is concerned, but Geiger says that by 1595 there were about 1400 to 1500 Christianized Indians throughout the area (instructed, professing and baptized). Many friars had come and gone, with only Frays Lopez, Corpa and a lay brother remaining on continual service from 1587 on. Fray Reinoso was connected with the Florida missions continually but he spent most of his time traveling to, from, and in Spain, recruiting men to evangelize Florida's Indians.

Father Oré tells of the change in attitude which took place in many areas of mission work during this period. While Reinoso and the others worked there were some Christians, but always a minority.

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[18] Maynard Geiger, Biographical Dictionary of the Franciscans in Spanish Florida and Cuba, No. 21 of Franciscan Studies (Paterson, N. J.: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1940), p. 119. Hereafter this work will be referred to as Franciscan Dictionary.

> These infidels persecuted the Christian Indians and held them as outcasts among them, offering them a thousand injurious affronts, which they suffered and which were turned into precious pearls for them. This persecution lasted twenty years. During this same period there were always Indian ambuscades about the town, for when a soldier carelessly went out for wood, or to fish or hunt, or for some other reason, the Indians immediately killed him.

But after years of patient work there came a change:

> God wished, however, that this difficult situation be gradually straightened out and be changed to the desirable state of affairs that now obtains, namely that the Indians consider it an honor to be Christians; they even persecute those who are not and offer them affronts in such a manner that we religious find it necessary to become the defenders and protectors of the Hanopiras.[19]

The change from a minority to a majority of Christians was of course only in those limited areas or towns in which work was being done, but it nevertheless was a change, and indicates quite a change when compared with the Jesuit period.

In all, by 1596 there was a friary at St. Augustine, and ten Indian missions, located at Nombre de Dios (near St. Augustine); at San Juan de Puerto (mouth of St. John's River, Florida); San Pedro, Cumberland Island, Georgia; Tolomato, Georgia; St. Catherine Island, Guale; Tupiqui, Georgia; Ospo, Georgia; Asao, Georgia; Ibi (a new mission), Georgia or Florida; and Timucua (central Florida, about fifty leagues inland).[20] By 1597 there were fourteen friars

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[19]Oré, op. cit., p. 43. Hanopiras meant "painted ones," heathen.

[20]Geiger, Franciscan Dictionary, p. 120.

in these places.

This year also marked a serious setback, though a temporary one. In all of the Spanish missions among American Indians (as in the work of most other groups elsewhere) there existed the continuous threat of revolt. The position of the missionaries never was secure or without the danger that the Indians being instructed and evangelized would become tired of the friars' interference and disturbance of the old way of life. Although their resentment was not by any means unjustified on many occasions, it must be emphasized that they were very often unpredictable in their own right.

The setback was the Guale revolt of 1597. As a result of this uprising five of the ten above mentioned missions were abandoned, those on the Georgia coast (Guale), as well as the one newly established at Ibi. The only Guale mission and fort that held out was that on Cumberland Island, San Pedro.

Frays Blas Rodriguez, Auñon, and Badajoz were the first killed, the last two on the island of Guale. Fray Corpa had been warned of the uprising by a cacique of Guale, but paid no attention, and was found dead when a party from St. Augustine reached the area of revolt. Apparently one of the first to arrive, before the military party, was Fray Verascola, who was returning to his station from the presidio; he, too, was killed by his rebellious converts.

An indication of the feeling, the hatred which the Guales had for the friars' religion, and for the religious themselves, can be seen in the capture and torture of Fray Ávila. Ávila was wounded several times when his mission was attacked, but managed to escape for a short time; when he was discovered, unconscious, by the Indians, he was taken captive. During his captivity he was victim of numerous beatings and was always met with great mockery wherever he was taken. Many records tell of his being tied to a cross, and forced to watch a mock mass, of his brave refusal of marriage, of his resistance to Indian laws, and especially of his miraculous healing. Although he had received many wounds from arrows and from other weapons, it is reported that he was healed with no medical treatment of any kind. How much of this abuse was due to a natural barbarism is difficult to say, but it is at least plain that these Guales had little affection for the likes of Fray Ávila.

There was no desire on the part of the rebellious Indians to press the matter any further when the Spanish began making reprisals. At first several Indian towns were burned. Then the soldiers returned to St. Augustine with the remaining friars. After several years of losing crops to Spanish torches, the Guales sued for peace; they were hungry. The surrender seems to have been impossible, however, until after the rebel leader, one Juanillo, had been killed by some of his fellows. In the meantime, already in

1598, the friars had gone back to their posts, working in what must have been a precarious situation.

There seem to have been several important causes of this Guale revolt of 1597. It is difficult to say how much the particular temperament or inclination of the Guales had to do with it (there was an earlier revolt amongst these same people during the period 1570-1580), but the investigation which followed seemed to show a direct relationship between the friars' methods or missionary approach and the revolt.

Probably one of the greatest obstacles to the religious' efforts and to the Indians' acceptance of Christian teaching was the friars' disciplinary approach. Apparently one of the first steps toward converting these people was to persuade them to change their ways of living, particularly to abandon such practices as polygamy. This came out early in the investigation.

> Various Indians who testified at the trial held at St. Augustine in 1598 stated that the friars specifically commanded the Indians to live with but one wife. That the religious died because they upheld the Christian law of monogamy is clear. . . . Although the Indians did not martyr the friars for the faith, it is certain that they martyred them because of the law of God which the religious taught them.[21]

Although it seems unlikely that the Indians' attitude even in the space of fifteen years would change so completely, a

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[21] Oré, op. cit., p. 83, note 43.

report of the Custody of the Order indicates that regarding this problem of polygamy, the attitude of the former rebels had changed and that the problem was solved.

> This is the reason they gave and which they attest to today, since they realize their sin. . . . It is known in this land that since the death of these holy religious this people has become docile and mild-mannered attaining the point (of subjection) they show today.[22]

Rather than point with such emphasis to the problem of polygamy, however, it seems more logical to regard the disciplinary approach of the friars as a whole as being a prime cause for the revolt. Father Ávila's treatment during his captivity shows more of his converts' feeling toward him and his teaching.

> Great was the persecution he sustained at the hands of the boys who many times came short of killing or hanging him in view of the fact that when the religious had taught them Christian doctrine and reading, he had sometimes struck them.[23]

"At the trial held at St. Augustine the Indians testified that Fr. Ávila was the butt of ridicule at the hands of the Indian boys."[24]

> The cacique convoked all the boys and women, saying to them: Come kiss the hand of your father; receive his blessing. Since we had taught them this good custom and mark of good breeding, the cacique commanded that

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[22] Ibid., from "The Definitors of the Custody of Santa Elena to the King," October 16, 1612.

[23] Ibid., p. 77.

[24] Ibid., p. 96, note 6.

they practice this custom on me in mockery.[25]

Examples of this disciplinary method of conversion can be found in many places. The following is from the Jesuit period but in most respects it is typical of the Franciscans as well.

> The Spaniards had been settled for a year at San Antonio when it was discovered that Carlos was plotting their death, and, their patience being exhausted, he was killed to make place for his successor, Don Felipe. The new chieftain showed himself so friendly to the Spaniards that hopes were entertained that on the return of Avilés he and his family would submit to baptism and that he would carry the entire tribe with him. But again Father Rogel came into conflict with rooted custom, which put his teachings at defiance. Don Felipe wished to marry his sister, and when the Father sought to impress upon him the enormity of such a sin committed on the very verge of his baptism, the Indian coldly replied that when he should be baptised he would repudiate his sister, but that in the meantime he was compelled to conform to the customs of his country, the laws of which not only countenanced such a marriage, but even considered it necessary.[26]

Other practices of the Indians which were prohibited by the friars were such things as sorcery, unsanitary diets, and warlike dances.

There is one other matter which must be mentioned, very important in connection with the revolt, and of great

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[25] Ibid., p. 87.

[26] Lowery, op. cit., pp. 340f. It seems that the need for disciplinary measures was regarded as an integral part of teaching Christianity. Lowery tells of Fray Rogel living at Orista with three boys as companions, "one of them was a little boy named Juan, of so sweet and obedient a disposition that the Father was at a loss to find an occasion to whip him 'in order that he should not forget the wholesome fear of the discipline.'" Ibid., p. 348.

consequence throughout the period of mission work and colonization, both in Florida and in the other areas of Spanish America. This was the conflict between the friars and the civil governors and officials. (As mentioned before the source of this problem was largely the patronato real.) In connection with the Guale trouble there came into prominence a number of accusations made by the friars against the governors, and by the governors against the friars; the investigations and trials especially brought these out.

Governor Canzo wrote to Spain saying that the friars interfered in politics, in cacique-making, and the like. Lanning says that a contributing cause of the revolt was possibly the removal of Don Juan (Juanillo) from the exercise of his office of cacique because of his unchristian living.[27] Since discipline was such an important factor in the religious' approach, it would seem that all possible measures would be used by them, even "king-making."

The friars on the other hand complained that Governor Canzo made war without provocation, imprisoned and fettered Indian caciques and delegates who came to him, that he scandalized the Indians with tales about the friars, and perhaps more important, that the governor only could discipline the Indians, and not even the caciques were permitted to do this. For a time it was also complained that the

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[27]Geiger, Franciscan Conquest, p. 105.

Christian Indians received no discipline at all. And so the fight continued, with very few periods of harmony.

The only direct results of the investigation and trial at St. Augustine were some disciplinary measures against the Indians, as the hanging of one named Lucas, and lesser measures against others. As far as the friars' controversy with the government was concerned, letters were sent, loud complaints were made, the superiors of both the religious and the civil officials heard about the situation and made their statements, and possibly minor modifications were made in the colonial establishment. But the conditions which followed were very much the same as before. Two powerful arms, of the Church and of the State, with a hazy line of power division were too large a problem for a small Indian revolt, with a trial and investigation, to settle. Throughout the period of Spanish occupation in America it was never settled.

The period after the revolt

Pedro de Ybarra, governor of Florida from 1603 to 1609, was one of the many in that position who normally were found in opposition to the friars, for one reason or another. But on one occasion, in 1605, he took a position which was more on their side than against them. This was in objection to a proposition of the king, Philip III, that the Florida colony be abandoned.

To the Spanish kings throughout the period of colonization the problem which undoubtedly was always in the forefront was the unproductiveness of the Florida settlements, especially as compared with those in New Spain and in South America. The treasury of Spain, as well as those of England and France, could testify to the wealth which came from the latter places, but it was continually spending money just to keep the Florida colonies going, and the civilian, military, and religious subjects alive. Part of the problem was the distaste which the Spaniards in Florida had for any great amount of agricultural development. From across the Atlantic came many recommendations and directions that more work be done to make the Florida settlements self-sustaining as least as far as food and clothing were concerned. The only answers which such directives got, however, were requests for more supplies. The chief problem was that Florida simply was not rich and productive, as were the rest of Spain's possessions in the New World.

Whatever Governor Ybarra's motives or reasons may have been, he opposed Philip III's proposition, and fought to keep the settlement in Florida going and the friars at their mission work. He had done a great deal to settle and pacify the colony, and seemed concerned for the Indians there, frequently becoming involved in settling disputes among them. Finally, his efforts to convince the king were successful, and the development of Florida continued. This may have

been helped by the thought of the fairly recent struggle with France in America and also by the rapidly-increasing power of England just about everywhere. It must not be supposed, however, that Philip III was not greatly concerned with the Church's mission work; throughout the period of Spanish missions there were many occasions on which the friars could (and did) receive help only from the king himself when certain governors were especially oppressive.

During this controversy the friars themselves were naturally very much opposed to abandoning the Florida settlements and missions. This was especially true since they had just weathered an uprising, and, as will be seen below, were again making some progress. Strongly opposed by these religious were the royal suggestions that the Christian Indians be removed to Española.[28]

Also during this period there continued the difficulties between the friars and the governors. Though Ybarra fought to enable the missionaries to remain at their work, he did not refrain from making complaints about their usurping civil authority in the missions. Possibly some added substance is given to his statements by another voice, which came out in agreement with Ybarra, and from a churchman. In 1606 Bishop Cabazas de Altamirano made the first episcopal visit to the Florida missions, and after seeing the situation

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[28] Ibid., pp. 208-213.

there, also said that the friars were usurping civil authority in their mission discipline. But the bishop went farther, and made a statement which indicates that part of the problem of Ybarra and his settlements, and a problem of the missions as well, was the presence of a number of friars who were lacking in character or in suitability for their work.

> The labors and hardships of the fathers in their parishes are indeed very great; and it is much to their credit to have produced the fruits that I have seen in several of their charges here. Beyond a doubt they eat their bread in sorrow in these places. But all this is tarnished by the superiors of the Order sending to these places religious who are young, hot-tempered and not hardened to toil. These instead of serving your Majesty and obliging us all to invoke a blessing upon the others, rather prevent us by their neglect of duty from seeing the things that are good.
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> The religious suited to these provinces are those who have reached the age of forty, and are humble rather than learned--those who have been brought up in Spanish goodness and piety, trained in the austerities of their institute, and have, to use the expression common in the Orders, trampled worldly wealth under foot. . . .[29]

Altamirano continues, opposing the sending of young religious from Spain or New Spain (who are often too hardened, too coarse, and vulgar); these were too easily dissatisfied in Florida.

Such men being the church's and Christianity's representatives to the heathen Indians (and Christian Indians), would certainly do the work very little good, and could easily be regarded as a contributing factor to the

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[29] Ibid., p. 203.

difficulties which kept arising between the government and the religious. Following Altamirano's visit, Ybarra brought a Fray Carrançe from Cuba to help control the friars. This and other measures must have been successful, for in a letter of May 5, 1609 Ybarra writes about the new, peaceful relations.[30]

As far as the conditions in the missions and among the Christians were themselves concerned, the problems of polygamy and exchanging of wives continued as before, despite Oré's conviction that Divine Providence intervened to settle the chaotic marital situation which the fathers found after their period of separation.

> the religious were not able to remedy the situation, for it was grave and onerous. They became discouraged. Then they turned to God in prayer beseeching Him to remedy the affair. He favored them, so that He gradually brought them back and on His part evened out the difficulty, taking some out of this world to the other. Thus the partners became free of their former alliance and were able to contract anew.[31]

The Indians were also kept subject to the Spanish order, and years passed before any more serious uprisings took place, but this was not due to any change in policy as far as the missionaries were concerned. After their return to the mission stations they immediately took steps to return the communities to a moral way of life, in one case beginning

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[30] Ibid., p. 220.

[31] Ibid., p. 224.

with the cacique, who was now married to his sister-in-law.

> Take them (cacique's children) to our house and there we shall take care of them for you in exchange for your turning from sin. . . . You have not desired to leave off sin nor to take the advice we have given you. It would be better if you had never been a Christian, because in hell, being pagan, you would not have to endure so many pains and torments as you will have to endure, being a Christian. But I tell you in the name of God, that if you do not repent, I shall have to bury you or this woman within thirty days.[32]

Geiger then continues and says, "According to the narrative, the cacique's sister-in-law died with twenty days. . . ." The cacique then admitted guilt and was punished, and warned others with success. How reliable these accounts of the friars' wielding of God's wrath and punishment actually are it is impossible to say, but at least there is ample evidence that their attitude and mission methods continued as before. It will be seen that throughout the following years their aim remained the same: Indian submission--to the church, to salvation, and to Spain.

A good indication of the redevelopment of the Florida mission areas following the 1597 revolt can be had by comparing the number of areas in which preaching and teaching were being carried on. After the revolt there were only three stations remaining; but by 1602 there were in addition to St. Augustine three major mission centers, with from two to nine surrounding villages in which work was carried on,

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[32] Ibid., p. 226.

and five smaller stations. Nombre de Dios was one, with three towns subject; San Juan del Puerto was another, with nine towns (all together ten towns regarded as Christian, with a population of five thousand; four districts in this area were asking for missionaries). The third center was San Pedro, with two towns, Santo Domingo and Santa Maria de Sena (together with nearly three hundred Christians). In addition to these there were San Antonio, Chicafayo, Coticyini, Yca Potano and Potano, with from three to forty Christians in each, and others desiring Christianity. This was within five years of the uprising.[33]

That this growth continued can be seen from a report of 1606, following Bishop Altamirano's visit and confirmation tour. He visited at least seven centers: St. Augustine, Nombre de Dios, San Pedro, Talaxe, St. Catherine Island, San Juan del Puerto, and Potano, with its six towns. During this tour he confirmed 2,074 Indians and 370 whites.

It was also around this time that Fray Martin Prieto was especially active, founding three new missions and doctrinas in the Potano area, introducing Christianity into Timucua, and making the first contacts with the Apalaches, in what is now west Florida. This same report states that in 1607 the total number of Christian Indians in Florida and

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[33]Geiger, Franciscan Dictionary, pp. 121f.

Georgia was about four thousand.[34] The work of the Franciscan friars was well under way.

The Period of Growth: 1610-1674

Compared with the early and late periods of Franciscan missions in Florida, this middle and most flourishing time seems to have had less written about it; at least the materials are more scarce. There is more than enough to establish the fact that the first three quarters of the seventeenth century were the most productive for the Franciscans, however. This has been called the "golden age" of the Florida missions. According to several historians, the high point was reached by 1674, when Bishop Gabriél Diáz Vara Calderón made an episcopal visit, for by this time the very difficult area of Apalache had been Christianized, and work had been begun with some success in the next Indian province of Apalachicola.

The work was by no means easy during these decades, particularly on such occasions as when Fray Prieto and his teaching was strongly resisted by a village whose cacique (or former cacique) remembered De Soto and understandably harbored a great hatred for the conquistadores. The work of conversion was hindered here for a short while, at least until a miraculous event was said to have taken place,

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[34] Ibid., p. 123.

which Oré records:

> When I arrived at the end of three days, they notified me that a child of four or five years of age was dying. The cacique took me thither so that I could baptize it, and at that almost in spite of its parents. The child was already dying and while the parents and relatives were crying over it, according to the custom of the Indians, with great screams, the child raised itself and said: "Do not cry for me, rather sing, for I am the first from this town who am going to enjoy God and have rest. Cry over the wretched ones who have died without seeing this time and who are suffering." I told them to consider these words of the child; that the child itself did not say them, but some angel. These words made such an impression on its parents and on those who heard the words that they did not leave me alone for a moment, asking me to make them Christians. Its parents have ever shown themselves as such since that time and have led a virtuous life.[35]

Aside from its being interesting, perhaps the most that can be learned from a statement such as this is that after this time mission work in the area was more successful. This apparently was the case, for doctrinas were established there soon.

Timucua was the first large area to be cultivated during this period and a considerable number of conversions were made there by 1608, so that around that time Fray Prieto was able to make a tour of the entire province with its chief cacique. The greatest problem which these people were having was with the wars being continually waged by Gran Apalache, and it was this that gave the father occasion to go on a peace mission to the latter country. He was confident that since in Timucua the people had submitted to the

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[35]Oré, op. cit., pp. 115f.

king and since the faith of Christ was being planted, "God would permit, since He had died for all men, that things would turn out well in Apalache, if I should go there, and they would be saved."[36] His belief was correct, though somewhat premature, since it was not until about 1633 that the conversions began in that area.

Occurring from time to time in letters and reports of the period are indications by the friars that many of the Indians desired Christianity, and would come and request missionaries. Oré quotes Fray Pareja on this:

> It has happened that pagans have come (as they do every day from their towns to those of the Christians) and receive the blessing of the religious. The latter ask the Indians: "What are you looking for here?" To which they answer: "We came to see the church and your house and that of our relatives. . . ." After a lapse of time they come and say: "Father, we have a house for you and a church; come and instruct us for the Christians have already told us it is of prime importance for us to go and see the Utinama[37] who is in heaven above; besides the caciques there, who are most orobisi, which means learned, tell us that they have become Christians. We also desire to become such and to be guided by that which they say, instructed by you.[38]

From such reports as this it is easy to see the striking contrast which this period (about 1610-1620) provides with that

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[36] Ibid., p. 116.

[37] Dr. John R. Swanton says that this word signifies "the powerful one" or "the all-powerful one." "It was a term applied to some of the native chiefs and it is interesting to find that it was used for 'God.'" Ibid., p. 110, note 14.

[38] Ibid., p. 106.

of the Jesuits, and also in what respects this was coming to be the "golden age" of the Franciscan missions.

There is another indication of Franciscan accomplishment which should be added. When Fray Oré made his visits to Florida in 1614 and 1616 he observed that the Indians

> knew their doctrine and catechism. Moreover there were some Indian men and women who knew how to read and write, being already thirty or forty years of age. They have learned these things within four years.[39]

And earlier he had made mention of the work which had made this possible, namely the linguistic projects of Fray Francisco Pareja,[40] the first of which had been published

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[39] Ibid., p. 129.

[40] Concerning Fray Pareja, Geiger says: "Born at Auñon, Spain. Was a member of the Province of Castile and came to Florida with Fr. Juan de Silva and companions in 1595. In Florida he spent most of his missionary years at San Juan de Puerto and became the scholar par excellence of the Timucuan language. He made many expeditions into the interior of Florida. From about 1609 to 1612, he was custodio of the friars in Florida and at the Chapter of San Buenaventura de Quadalquini, Georgia, he was elected provincial of the Province of Santa Elena, December, 1616." Geiger, Franciscan Dictionary, p. 85. He reduced the Timucuan language to writing, and left a detailed knowledge of that language. His works are Catechismo en Lengua Castellana y Timuquana (Mexico, 1612); Cathecismo [sic] y Breve Exposicion de la Doctrina Christiana (Mexico, 1612); Confessionario en Lengua Castellana y Timuquana (Mexico, 1613); Cathecismo y Examen para los que comulgan en Lengua Castellan y Timuquana (Mexico, 1627); and Arte y Pronunciacion en Lengua Timuquana y Castellana (Mexico, 1614). In addition to these he wrote a number of pamphlets. Oré, op. cit., p. 109, note 5. The only one of these titles which could be located was the last. According to correspondence from Fray Matthew Connolly, Director of Mission of Nombre de Dios, St. Augustine, Florida, this particular work of Pareja was published in Bibliotheque Linguistique Americaine (Paris: Maisonneuve Freres et Ch. Leclerq Editeurs, 1886), XI.

in 1612. Concerning these books and devotional tracts Oré says:

> They are always in the hands of the Indians. With ease many Indian men and women have learned to read in less than two months, and they write letters to one another in their own language.[41]

Among the difficulties which were encountered during this period, probably the most persistent and troublesome was that offered by the Apalaches in the friars' attempts to convert them.[42] As was mentioned, the first contact with them failed to make any opening, and the second, in 1633, though it marked the beginning of a permanent mission, was marked with difficulties, such as several instances of treason (as the Spanish called it). This was followed by a repentance, however. The trouble in this area continued until 1647 when in an uprising three priests were killed. There was also a Timucuan revolt in 1656, which had some Apalache support. From these instances it can be seen that the rosy picture painted by some writers and observers was not without its dark spots.

In addition to the above-mentioned indications of the growth of the missions in Florida during the seventeenth century a few figures can be cited as substantiation. Around 1609 there were said to be twenty-two friars at work throughout the settlements (Florida and Georgia); when Fray Luís Oré

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[41] Oré, op. cit., p. 103.

[42] Geiger, Franciscan Conquest, p. 244.

came to see the situation in 1614 he brought twenty-one more with him; then in a report from 1618, during the time of Governor Juan de Salinas, it is stated that thirty-eight friars were doing mission work, indicating that only a few had left. This was a rapid increase in the mission force, a doubling in ten years. Then from a report of 1655 it is stated that seventy friars were working in Florida, besides five secular clerics at St. Augustine; in this same report the interesting statement is made that up to that time some 26,000 Indians had been Christianized.

As far as the current Christian Indian population was concerned, the report which was given just after the episcopal visit by Bishop Calderon (the visit in 1674; report from 1675), after listing thirty-seven major missions, states that there were 13,152 native Christians in Florida, most of whom were confirmed by Calderon.[43]

Indications of the growth of the Franciscan work in Florida can also be seen by the fact that the position of Florida in the Order was raised very early in the century. In 1587, the convents there formed a third of the Province of the Holy Cross of Santa Elena, the rest of them being located in the Caribbean Islands, and in Venezuela. By 1611 the growth was great enough to warrant a division of the province; Florida and Cuba became a single custody, with a

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[43]Geiger, Franciscan Dictionary, pp. 127f.

local prelate, the custodio. Finally, in 1612, the custody was raised to a province; this was what occasioned the visit of Oré two years later. During his second visit to Florida in 1616 the Order of Friars Minor held a chapter meeting, at which Fray Pareja was elected Provincial.

The increased importance of the Florida friars in their order did not mean that their difficulties with government officials ended, however; problems still occurred and caused such ill feeling as Pareja expresses. He says that the religious must do without some of their food, drink, and clothing which was provided by the king so that they might "adorn the altars." He tells of himself and Fray Ruíz making chalices out of lead, and of each one being forced to go without saying mass for a time while the other was using the vestments, and continuing in this way "until we provided ourselves with the necessaries of the sacred ministry by the sacrifice of our meals." He then emphasizes that while they were sacrificing, the governor and others had no regard for them at all:

> The lead out of which the chalices were made, and the stones for the altars, we obtained by contributing to the common cause from the meagre ration that was given us or from the alms which Your Majesty commands to be given to us. Often it appears that they [the government officials] throw it to the dogs, since it seems to them that the soldiers are the necessary ones here and that we are of no use; but we are the ones who bear the burden and heats, and we are the ones who are subduing and conquering the land.[44]

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[44]Oré, op. cit., p. 107.

To be held in such low regard by the officials was bad enough, but there was a much more serious difficulty, which the friars especially protested because it interfered with their work. Fray Lopez asks that the governor perform his duty and provide protection for religious working inland, there being sometimes difficulty because of their great distance from St. Augustine. He also asks that certain Christian Indians be disciplined, "who are fugitives in the interior," and this especially so that the proper "father image" may be presented to the Indians, "for it belongs to him who governs to punish and threaten, while it is the part of the religious to be kind fathers to the natives in order to win their love."[45] Whether or not this attitude shows any change in the missionary approach of the friars it is difficult to say. Perhaps the protests and the remedial measures of civil governors forced them to relinquish some of the disciplinary measures. The picture is further illuminated by Fray Ruíz:

> The natives are to be thanked for the love they show us and for the way they attend to the things of Christianity. And all this without the governor having shown any favor in regard to it; rather, he showed just the opposite. He discredited us and allowed the Indians to have their own way as much as they pleased. Things are going topsy-turvy here. When we see the Indians doing any excess worthy of punishment which we cannot remedy, if we ask the governor to correct it, he connives, with the result that the Indians look upon him

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[45] Geiger, Franciscan Conquest, p. 151, from "Declaración del p. Fr. Baltazar Lopez."

> as their father and upon us as accusers. This is just the contrary of what it should be; since the governor's duty is to punish them while we are to do the supplicating for mercy, and thus they would hold us for their true fathers and the governor for a just judge.[46]

The tone and content of this statement appear to indicate a certain outward calm on the Florida scene resulting from the civil government's having the upper hand. At the same time it plainly shows the inner tension which still persisted.

In order to add a little more to the understanding of the type of missionary work which the friars did, as well as the results which they had, and in order to give an indication of the spirit of the Christian Indians (at least as some of the religious saw it), some of Oré's investigations into the state of the church in Florida might be examined. Since the investigations were made in the period prior to 1620, and since the flourishing period of the missions in Florida continued until about 1675, the condition which Oré found should fairly well hold true for the entire period.

During Oré's visit, many questions were directed toward Fray Pareja, who had examined Indians from various sections of Florida "in order to ascertain if Communion could be given to them." When asked if the Indians confessed as

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[46] Ibid., p. 154, from "Declaración del P. Fr. Pedro Ruíz."

Christians,

> I answer yes, if they are sufficiently instructed. As a person who has visited this custody, I have looked carefully into this matter, to see that they had that sufficiency to receive Holy Communion, and I have found no reason why they should be denied this Sacrament. Many persons are found, men and women, who confess and who receive (Holy Communion) with tears, and who show up advantageously with many Spaniards. And I shall make bold to say and sustain my contention by what I have learned by experience that with regard to the mysteries of faith, many of them answer better than the Spaniards because the latter are careless in these matters. The religious never cease to instruct them and repeat to them the Word of God daily. What pertains to faith and belief, God is the One who can judge. We can judge only by a person's exterior manifestations, who by the actions he performs presumably shows forth the workings of faith.[47]

The fact that there appear to have been many of these people capable of receiving communion does indicate something of their spiritual state, since the Franciscan friars did not always permit their Indian converts to have this privilege. For example, in the California missions during the eighteenth century there was only a small minority who were granted the actual reception of the Sacrament.

There also seems to have been a very great desire on the part of these Indians to confess, and a fear of becoming ill and in danger of death without a confession. Fray Pareja said that "When someone is ill, they immediately send one of the runners of the town for the priest in order that he might hear the person's confession and administer

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[47]Oré, op. cit., p. 106.

extreme unction." Or, "Others, when they are ill, have themselves brought in canoes to where the priest is in order to confess, and after they have done this they return to their houses or huts."[48] Even when a religious leaves his convent, on business, or for medical treatment, "many Indian men and women ask him to hear their confessions, saying, 'perhaps I shall die before your reverence returns.'"[49]

A third significant fact concerning the spiritual development of these Indians is that they no longer hold to the ancient superstitions. Pareja says:

> I have never found a trace of idolatry or witchcraft or superstition. For instance they never say: "By means of this you will be healed; if you do not cure yourself with this herb, you will die"; or, "if the owl hoots, it is a sign that some disgrace must overtake me"; . . . or "do not eat maize of the cultivated land where lightning struck for you will be sick with such a sickness. . . ."
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> All these things and others has the word of the Gospel extirpated so much so that the Indians do not even remember them. Furthermore, the younger generation which has been nourished on the milk of the Gospel makes fun of and laughs at some old men and women who carelessly have recourse to these abuses.[50]

It is difficult to know how general this condition was, and how much the prelate's statement was affected by his desire to represent his territory in a favorable light before his superior. If this was a general condition, then

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[48] Ibid., p. 105.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Ibid., p. 106.

there certainly had been a great deal accomplished in forty or fifty years of mission work.

The Period of Decline: 1675-1763

During the period following Bishop Calderon's visit, and most noticeably during the last quarter of the seventeenth century, the state of the Franciscan missions went steadily downward. As has been mentioned, the Indians were never settled for any length of time, as the friars always desired them to be, but their restlessness increased still more during these next years, for several important reasons. A primary one was the international struggle in America. France was again causing Spain considerable anxiety, with explorations in the Mississippi area (as Lasalle, about 1682) and along the Gulf coast. This latter activity especially affected Florida, and caused Spain to establish a post at Pensacola, just edging out the French, who set up theirs a little farther west, at Mobile.

The other half of the international problem was the rapidly-increasing English threat to the north of Florida. This proved to be the most serious for the Spanish colony. In addition to the threat of the English themselves was the great influence that they seemed to have on the Indians in the territories surrounding and separating the English and Spanish settlements. In many ways the English seemed to act as a catalyst to the always-unstable Indian population.

The result was that the Spanish found an ever-increasing difficulty in retaining the Indians as allies. From about 1680 there took place frequent transfers of allegiance by Indian tribes especially for purposes of trade with the English. Besides this, there were difficulties with the Indians themselves, such as the Apalachian rebellion and the accompanying depopulation of the Apalache mission area. Altogether there were a number of destructive influences at work, which wiped out many of the missions--and also weakened the hold of Spain in America.

The success of the missions during this century was not achieved without opposition from the Spanish themselves, as has been indicated. And the same handicaps which the fathers had to overcome served further to alienate the Indians during this later period of difficulty. The influence here referred to is the treatment of Indians by the Spanish colonists, civilian and military. On the whole, the treatment by the clergy was relatively good, but that of the non-religious made for a "slumbering resentment" as Boyd calls it. The hostile relationship which was established from the first contacts in the sixteenth century continued apparently without much change until the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A number of documents in Boyd's volume give a clear picture of the brutality and mistreatment of Indians which so often prevailed, things which the

government representatives took no action to correct.[51] There were such things as forced labor, with no pay, or attacks made on pagan Indians who came peacefully to the settlements to trade. The very attitude of the Spaniards, one of arrogance and contempt, which prompted them to do such things as keep their cattle in the villages, wandering on the property of the Indians, instead of on their own ranches, very understandably evoked hostility from the Indians. Often the Spaniards would take Indian land and building sites for themselves.[52]

Such an attitude as this, together with the activity and the very different attitude of the English, should make the radical change in the Spanish situation in Florida quite understandable. When the Spanish continually oppressed the resentful Indians, and the English gave them up-to-date weapons (which the Spaniards had always refused to do) and seemed to liberate them from restraint with which they had been living for so long, it is not surprising that the situation turned out as it did.

Thus the Spanish power and the missionaries' influence steadily and rapidly decreased in Florida, and Indian uprisings

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[51] M. F. Boyd, H. G. Smith, and J. W. Griffin, Here They Once Stood (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1951), pp. 24, 26, from letters of complaint by Indian caciques to Spanish colonial officials, dated February 12 and April 10, 1699.

[52] Ibid., pp. 27f., Document 8.

and hostilities increased, with greater frequency and greater violence.

The beginning of the end came soon after the turn of the century, when Colonel James Moore of South Carolina made his invasion of Florida, with his army of some seventy or eighty Englishmen, and about one thousand Indian allies. His attempt to capture St. Augustine failed, but south and west of that place, at Ayubale, Moore was successful. The Indians there, the few Spaniards, and the priest who fought beside them held out for a short while, but soon were overcome by Moore's force. After this, most of the towns gave up with little or no resistance. The king of Ivitachuco made peace immediately, and offered to Moore the church plate from the mission; most other villages gave up peacefully.[53]

The only real opposition offered was at the Spanish garrison at Fort San Luis, but it was overcome by Moore, and a successful expedition was completed, except for the return march with (according to Moore) more than five thousand captive and "liberated" Indians. Moore regarded it as a success because the Apalache territory was now unable to supply St. Augustine or "disturb, damage or frighten our Indians living between us (Carolinas) and Apalachee" (as Moore put

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[53] Ibid., pp. 91f., Document 44.

it).[54] This was a safe judgment, since some thirteen villages were destroyed in Apalache, besides the fort and settlement as San Luis.

The Spanish did not simply give up at this point, but they were unable to reverse the trend. There were a few Indian uprisings against the English (Creeks, Yamasses); there were several more missions founded, by Spanish and Indians. But Spain was simply unable to cope with the new situation, and so the Franciscan settlements and work continued to decline. A very interesting indication of the change which had taken place since 1675 is a report of 1738, listing the missions in existence at that date; there were eight and all together they had 104 families and 354 persons. This was the change that some sixty-four years had brought.[55]

The situation until 1763 and the end of the Florida missions is described by Geiger:

> From 1702 to 1763 the mission field was a mere skeleton of its former self. Finally in 1763 Florida became English territory and the Franciscan missions were no more. At that date only a handful of friars were in Florida and the remnant of the mission Indians lived within the shadow of the great Fort San Marcos, at St. Augustine.[56]

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[54] Ibid., pp. 93f., Document 45.

[55] Geiger, Franciscan Dictionary, p. 139, from a report of Don Manuel de Montiano, December 31, 1738.

[56] Ibid., p. 11.

CHAPTER IV

THE NEW MEXICO MISSIONS

The Founding of New Mexico and Its Missions: 1598

Following Coronado's disillusioning expeditions in 1540-1542, there were no attempts made to enter New Mexico until 1581, when a small party of soldiers, Mexican Indians, and two friars went under the leadership of a third friar, Agustín Rodriguez. A great deal of country was explored, but before a year had passed, the ones who were still alive returned to Santa Barbara in northern Mexico; two of the religious had died at the hands of Indians. A second expedition left during the same year, to further explore the country, to make more contacts with the Indians, and to determine the fate of the two friars. Their reports, including much information on the country around the Rio del Norte and far to the east, and also indicating the possibilities for gold and silver mining, stirred a great deal of interest when they returned. For the next ten or twelve years a number of Spanish nobles, officers, and adventurers fought to get the contract for a major expedition to the "other" Mexico, and for the founding of a settlement there. Several unauthorized--and unsuccessful--attempts were made about 1590. Nothing happened of importance until 1595-1598, when

a contract was finally given by the king, and an expedition begun.

The conquest of Mexico three-quarters of a century earlier had proved a very fruitful venture, both from the king's viewpoint and from that of the conquistadores. They had sought wealth and they had found it, along with the advanced civilization of the Aztecs. Much of the myth of New Mexico had by the last decade of the sixteenth century been dispelled, especially by Rodriguez and Espejo (in 1581-1582), but the hope of discovering rich mines was still strong. And so toward the end of this century the major conquest was begun, with the chief goal being, as always, the discovery of wealth for Spain and for the conquerors.

This is not to say that the desire for precious metals was the only desire which anyone had, or that the friars which always accompanied expeditions were the only ones interested in converting the Indians. To assume that the declarations of the king, or the petitions of many Spanish adventurers (both concerning settlement and pacification) were meaningless when they expressed desires that the Indians be converted, would be going too far. Nevertheless, the desire for new wealth was the most important motive.

The man who was finally to receive permission to go into New Mexico was a descendant of a family of distinction in New Spain, Don Juan de Oñate. He first received the contract in 1595, but met with about three years of red tape,

disappointments, and postponements. There was a conditional approval, there were appeals to the king, new grants of limited and modified contracts, and opposition from others who wanted to go to New Mexico themselves, such as Pedro Ponce de León (who attempted to leave with his own company). Oñate's army started, was halted, received two inspections, and at last started from San Gerónimo in January of 1598.

Some of the details of Oñate's original contract were that he was to recruit and equip two hundred men as his military force, at his own expense, as well as to supply the entire force for the trip and for a long period in New Mexico. Royal aid to be given was a salary of six thousand ducats, a loan of six thousand pesos (for six years), rights of encomienda for three generations, the right to establish the government, appoint officials, begin operating mines, construct buildings, and make laws, all subject to approval by the Council of the Indies and the king. He would also be allowed to recruit his army anywhere, and to be free from a number of taxes and duties for a stated length of time. In addition to this, five priests and a lay brother were to go along at the expense of the king.[1]

As matters turned out, Oñate started with 129 soldiers, thirty or forty non-military, some servants, some wives and

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[1]George P. Hammond, Don Juan de Oñate and the Founding of New Mexico (Santa Fe: El Palacio Press, 1927), pp. 19-22.

children of soldiers, ten padres, and some seven thousand head of livestock.

The trip was made in the same way and under the same conditions as most of the others had been. The first contacts in New Mexico territory found the Indians apprehensive, and the pueblos deserted when the Spaniards reached them. As always, gifts of trinkets served to somewhat calm the Indians. Again exploration was made of each area reached by the entourage, although without finding much in the way of gold or silver ore.

In July the first settlement was made, at San Juan (de los Caballeros); this was for a short while the capital. Before the settlement had been made, the surrounding Indians were gathered, with seven chiefs, other native leaders and the Spanish officers and missionaries. Through interpreters Oñate explained to the Indians that the king of Spain desired them all to be his subjects. "If they submitted they would be protected from their enemies. But he was especially eager for the salvation of their souls." The chiefs listened to Oñate explain the doctrine of salvation, and tell of the fate which all would receive who were not baptized, and "willingly agreed to accept the God and king of the Spaniards, and as a sign of their submission kneeled and kissed the hands of the father commissary and the governor." As Hammond says, they may not have understood much of what was taking place, but very likely they understood

plainly the punishment and damnation which was in store for them if they refused.[2]

About one month after the founding of San Juan, the first church in New Mexico was built, San Juan Bautista, and dedicated on September 8, complete with a celebration.

Aside from minor skirmishes, there were no real difficulties with the Indians during these first months of settlement and exploration. The captain, Oñate, and his soldiers explored far to the east and along both banks of the Rio del Norte, which runs through the center of New Mexico (of the state of New Mexico, as it is today); buildings were erected at San Juan; and the friars attempted to win some of the surrounding Indian tribes.

But in December of the same year, 1598, there took place a sudden outburst of violence. Juan de Zaldívar, *maestre de campo*, with twelve of his men had stopped to ask for food at the fortress-like pueblo of Ácoma,[3] where they were attacked and killed. This action was regarded by Oñate and his officers as just cause for war, and an expedition was sent to receive the surrender of Ácoma or to punish it. The Indians

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[2] *Ibid.*, p. 99. See also Frederick W. Hodge, G. P. Hammond, and Agapito Rey, editors, *Fray Alonso de Benavides' Revised Memorial of 1634* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1945), p. 59.

[3] Probably the best known of the New Mexico pueblos, Ácoma, is located on the top of a mesa which is at least a mile across, and whose nearly vertical sides rise about five hundred feet from the surrounding area.

were extremely defiant and shouted ridicule at the small force of about seventy men which intended to defeat them. Villagrá, a captain who was a part of this force, colorfully tells of the battle which followed and which lasted several days.[4] By a rather skillful strategy of deployment of forces, by relentless fighting, with the aid of two field pieces (and of course their other firearms) brought to the top of the mesa, and with a greater organization, the Spaniards soundly defeated the Ácomans, who suffered six hundred to eight hundred casualties, seventy to eighty taken captive, and also about five hundred women and children captured with the pueblo; apparently very few Spaniards were lost.

In the trial that followed, Oñate sentenced every last member of the pueblo of Ácoma. Hammond describes the sentence:

> Onate ordered that all males over twenty-five years of age be condemned to have one foot cut off and to give twenty years of personal service. The men between twelve and twenty-five years escaped with twenty years of service. All the women above twelve years of age

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[4]Gaspar Pérez de Villagrá tells of the expedition from Mexico and the entire period of Oñate's rule in an epic poem, first printed in Alcalá in 1610. It is quite interesting as an example of a popular form of memoir-writing of the period, but it is considered by many historians of the Southwest to be more valuable as history than as poetry. A fairly recent translation of this work is History of New Mexico (Los Angeles: The Quivira Society, 1933). It was also printed under the original title Historia de la Nueva Mexico (Mexico: n.p., 1900), I and II. The English translation is not in verse.

> were likewise doomed to twenty years of servitude. Two Moqui natives captured at Ácoma were condemned to lose the right hand and to be sent home as a warning to the others. The boys and girls below twelve years escaped punishment, but they were to be subject to the Spaniards, the girls being made the special charges of Father Martínez and the boys of Vicente de Zaldívar. The sentence was executed as decreed.[5]

This first revolt, or violence, begun by the Indians in the history of the permanent settlement of New Mexico was also the last major one--until the episode of 1680. The punishment of Ácoma was apparently quite effective, and the "province of New Mexico was cowed into obedience."

The "pacification" of the natives may have been accomplished by this action, but the many troubles of the settlement were just beginning. The most important problem (certainly one of the most important, at least) was one which was to continue indefinitely, as it did in all of the Spanish colonies. This trouble was that which the friars had with the Spaniards (civilian and military) and their attitude toward the Indians, and it was serious enough that the friars, as well as most of the civilians and soldiers, petitioned that the settlement in New Mexico be deserted. In the inquiry held by lieutenant-governor Peñalosa the vice-commissary, Fray San Miguel charged (and Hammond regards it as well-grounded) that

> instead of finding a spirit of kindliness toward the natives they were treated with utter disregard. The

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[5]Hammond, op. cit., pp. 122f.

> result was that the Word of God was blasphemed and not blessed. He had begun to learn four of the native languages and had worked hard to secure converts. In these efforts he had experienced the greatest difficulty because the soldiers "leave them nothing in their houses, no wheat, nothing to eat, nothing is alive."[6]

Certainly the shortage of food, and the poor land and the general poverty were all important factors in bringing about such a situation as Fray San Miguel describes, but the action of the soldiers was not unusual in spite of that. It was an old problem and one that obviously interfered with the work of the religious. This same priest also said in the testimony that on occasions the Indian chiefs had been tortured and many killed in order to make them tell where their maize was concealed. There had been thousands of Indians who had starved, and many driven to eat branches of trees, earth, charcoal and ashes.

This being the condition of the whole province, it is not too surprising that the majority of the Spanish colonists were in favor of deserting. Nor is it surprising that lieutenant-governor Peñalosa could sanction their action, as he did. This was the situation in the fall of 1601 when the majority of the people left San Gabriel (the capital since 1600) to return to Mexico, leaving only Peñalosa, the father-commissary, and twenty-five soldiers. Repercussions were severe when Oñate discovered what had happened, at least as

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[6] Ibid., p. 144.

far as he himself was concerned; his protests were strong and immediate. In Mexico, however, the viceroy and several theologians gave their opinion on the matter, and though not recommending that the province be abandoned, they supported the action of the deserters to a considerable extent. Oñate never got his colonists back.

For the next few years New Mexico was on the verge of abandonment. Oñate was recalled, and resigned in 1607; one of his captains, Juan Martínez de Montoya, succeeded him briefly as governor. During this uncertain time, the order came that if work were to continue, methods were to be somewhat different than before. Very few arms and soldiers were to be permitted, only enough for the protection of the religious, and this consideration was made only in the light of the ever-present Apache danger.

The mission situation after nearly ten years of work was summarized by Fray Lázaro Ximénez, who had been working in New Mexico, and who was sent by his confreres and the rest of the colonists to give to the viceroy the reasons for abandoning the work there. He said that

> the harvest of souls had been small and was likely to continue thus because of the hostility of the natives. The religious had shown little disposition to learn the numerous native languages. It was not only difficult, but practically impossible, to bring supplies from Mexico because of the distance and the expense. Soldiers would not serve voluntarily in New Mexico, for there was no hope of gain. Consequently it cost between 450 and 500 pesos each to maintain them there. No gold

or silver mines had been discovered, it was a barren land altogether.[7]

It seems that the Council of the Indies would have recommended abandoning New Mexico if it had not been for one matter--the Christian Indians there. The recommendation was that if some friars would voluntarily remain, then the province should not be abandoned. Otherwise, the Christian Indians would have to be removed, or left by themselves to revert to heathenism. Which would be best would have to be decided by jurists and theologians.

The end of the year 1608 saw the picture change, however, when Fray Ximénes returned to Mexico with news of a fruitful summer and a total of seven thousand converts (as opposed to four hundred before). Not unimportant were the samples of silver ore which the father also brought.

The next year saw new life in New Mexico, with Don Pedro Peralta as governor; it was also in this year or soon after that the capital was moved from San Gabriel to Santa Fe.

The Missionaries' Approach

In Fray Alonso de Benavides' history of the first thirty years of New Mexico mission work certain statements and incidents are given relating to this work. Many of these

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[7] Ibid., pp. 175f.

must be considered with a certain amount of reservation for various reasons, but in spite of this there can be seen something of the way in which the friars approached the Indians to win them to the church and salvation.

The mysticism, the reverence for holy objects, and the liking for pious-appearing actions and gestures which were so much a part of the religion of the Franciscans were characteristics that were well-suited to such a situation as they found in New Mexico. Being unable to speak with the Indians with any facility for at least many years, the friars had to rely on sign language to communicate, unless there was an interpreter around. Fray Benavides tells of his own use of this approach on one occasion when he was passing through an unconverted nation. After some preliminary exchanges,

> I made a cross the length of a lance and set it up from the center of the rancheria. Then, as best as I could, I explained to them that if they worshiped this holy symbol with all their hearts they would find therein the aid for all their needs. Falling on my knees, I kissed it. They all did the same. With this my soul was comforted greatly, for it was the first cross that they adored in this place.[8]

Although such a lesson as this one taught by Benavides could hardly accomplish anything for the Indians as far as their conversion is concerned (Benavides of course does not say this), it certainly made use of the most obvious and logical

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[8]Hodge, Hammond, and Rey, op. cit., p. 53.

approach to these superstitious people. It would not take long to teach them many of these similar forms, and even make them appear outwardly to be Christians. Of course it must not be assumed that the friars' only desire was for outward manifestations.

Like all the other missionaries, Benavides was a believer in miracles. Nearly every friar who ever wrote anything about this mission work had some wonderful accounts of miracles to relate, miracles which served to win many converts among the Indians. This same cross of Benavides was said by him to be responsible for several minor miracles:

> Among others, there came an Indian woman with a toothache; with much devotion she held open her mouth with her hands and put her teeth close to the holy cross. Another, in the pains of childbirth, touched the holy tree with her body. From the comfort and joy with which they departed, I have great faith in the divine majesty who would work there His miracles in confirmation of His divine word, without considering the unworthiness of the minister who preached it.[9]

Besides teaching the Indians such practices as the veneration of the cross there was much done in the way of formal education; much was attempted at least. It was a difficult thing usually to persuade the Indians to settle permanently in pueblos, where the friars could teach them, and where they could practice their religion, but gradually this was done, and convents and churches were built at each of the pueblos. It was in this situation that knowledge

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[9] Ibid., p. 53. See also Appendix B.

and skills were imparted to the Indians, especially to the young. In addition to learning how to read and write, they were taught how to sing and play musical instruments, and also how to work with certain crafts. Fray Escobar seems to have been quite successful, for

> besides teaching the Christian doctrine by his excellent example, he also taught the Indians to make musical instruments, and how to play them, with which they now celebrate the divine service with great solemnity.[10]

And Fray Carrasco, besides having constructed a church with "fine architecture," and besides teaching the usual subjects, developed an outstanding boys' choir.[11]

There were also other duties which the friars assumed as they became established in a place. They served as arbiters of quarrels between Indians, and mediated land disputes. They also saw to it that grain and meat were available for the poor. All of these charitable acts were done by the friars so that they might train the Indians to look upon them as fathers, and so that they might actually live the part of fathers to the Indians. F. W. Hodge does not feel, however, that the contribution of the friars on these matters was so great; he says what they did was to merely revise the distribution of food. No one was actually better off; no Indian had ever starved before the religious came

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[10] Ibid., p. 61.

[11] Ibid., p. 71.

(at least not from poverty or neglect).[12] The same thing was true with orphans, whom the friars often tried to take care of, or provide for; amongst the Indians they were always well taken care of by relatives.

Frequently appearing in statements by the fathers are indications of a kind of optimism with regard to the future of Christianity in New Mexico. Unless they found themselves in the middle of an uprising, many of the fathers seemed to feel that at any time the whole section of the country might at any time become Christian. Benavides reveals this in telling about an old sorcerer who on one occasion opposed him. The friar was preaching to a crowd in the plaza, and the sorcerer said to him (seeing the effectiveness of his arguments), "You Christians are crazy; and you desire and pretend that this pueblo also shall be crazy." Benavides then surmises that the old man is referring to the self-flagellating in procession which takes place during Holy Week, and which he regards as a madness.

> When he saw that I laughed, as did those around me, he rushed out of the pueblo, saying that he did not wish to be crazy. When I explained to the people the reason why we scourged ourselves, they laughed all the more at the old man and were more confirmed in their desire to become Christians.[13]

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[12]Frederick W. Hodge, Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States, 1528-1543 (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1953), p. 320, note 150.

[13]Hodge, Hammond, and Rey, op. cit., p. 66.

It is the tone of Benavides' words that suggests this optimism. How correct his observations or conclusions were in this situation is not important, but it is of interest to see his own attitude, his belief in the propensity of these Indians toward Christianity.

This optimism is also evident in connection with an occasion on which there were contacts with certain Apaches. On one occasion, a captain Sanaba of the Gila Apaches, whom Benavides says he converted, came to him with a drawing on a deerskin, showing a sun and a moon, with a cross above them. The friar regarded this as a "fruit of the divine word"; Hodge says it was Apache "soft soap." Whatever the truth was, here was another instance of the optimistic outlook--especially so since the Apaches were such notorious deceivers and perennial enemies.

One other indication of the same attitude is stated plainly as Benavides describes the way in which the baptized Indians of New Mexico observe the Catholic faith. He says that they become quite domestic after baptism, and live with great propriety. As soon as they hear the bell, they hurry to church; they pray with devotion and reverently attend mass; they come to confession with their sins well studied, and on a knotted string; they perform many penances during Lent, and flagellate themselves during Holy Week. They are also careful to bring children for baptism and the sick for confession and the laying of hands by the priest. And they

respond wherever they are to the bell tolling for the Ave Maria or prayers for the dead; they willingly help in building of churches, and they give of their first fruits.

> Lastly they are all very happy and recognize the blindness of idolatry from which they have emerged and the blessings they enjoy in being the children of the church. This they often admit.[14]

Exactly how much Benavides exaggerated the situation in New Mexico is not easy to say. He most certainly wanted a good report to go back to Spain and to Rome, since his purpose was to promote the work of this field and to attract more religious. The number of conversions which he gives is probably close to one hundred times the actual figure. But in spite of these facts his description of the New Mexican piety is characteristic of the optimistic manner in which many of these friars wrote. This attitude, together with such things as their frequent mention of miracles, and their desire to be looked upon as father by the Indians as well as their common desire for martyrdom all form a part of their Franciscan piety, by which they wanted to be remembered, and by which they hoped to conquer New Mexico.

The Long Struggle: 1610-1680

The problem which was inherent in the church-state relationship because of the Patronato Real in effect in New

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[14] Ibid., pp. 99f.

Spain was anticipated by the friars assigned to New Mexico even before the expedition of Oñate had left New Spain. They prepared a memorial which was sent to the viceroy through the commissary-general of the order in which they attempted to "delimit the activities of the religious and temporal authorities." They asked the viceroy

> to prohibit the governor and royal officials from interfering with the establishment of churches or schools wherever the friars might desire to locate them; to have the governor assemble the Indians in towns that they might be more easily reached by the fathers; to permit trips into the interior by the padres without military escort (which the viceroy objected to, since they might simply be seeking martyrdom) . . . to reserve to the religious freedom of communication with the viceroy and their superiors; to guarantee the natives freedom from serving the Spaniards in order not to incite their hostility; to insure the governor's leniency in making a census of the province which was to be used in apportioning tribute.[15]

Hammond in this place mentions only the conflicting interests which would exist when the soldiers and friars would reach New Mexico, but it seems that the latter would definitely have had in mind the weakness (from their viewpoint) of the Spanish colonial system when they wrote their memorial and made their requests.

Of course it was necessary for the conflicts of interest to arise in order to concretize or bring to a focus the inherent problems of the Patronato. These conflicts were not long in arising. "The maintenance of empire, the

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[15]Hammond, op. cit., pp. 78f.

establishment of colonies of Spanish immigrants, and the exploitation of the resources" together brought one force into operation opposing that exerted by the missionaries in their desire to convert the Indians. Very soon there was an open rivalry as the two powers struggled for supremacy. As far as the crown was concerned in all of this, there was issued "a mass of legislation that was inevitably confused and contradictory."[16]

In addition to the conflict of interests, the conflict of powers and the contradictory legislation there was a problem which Scholes mentions--"the conflict between the general humanitarian principles of the Crown and the hard facts of colonial life and administration" which so frequently came up in different phases of Spanish colonial policy. He uses as an illustration the legislation on burden-bearing, the use of Indians as carriers of cargo. The policy of the Crown here was prohibition of such uses, even when the Indians would do this work for pay. In many parts of the Indies exceptions were made, however, because there were too few pack animals and too few trails and roads suitable for the purpose.[17] Thus there were a great many

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[16]France V. Scholes, Church and State in New Mexico 1610-1650 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1937), p. 12.

[17]Ibid., p. 94, note 19. Here Scholes adds that the "laws of 1601 and 1609 on personal service definitely prohibited burden-bearing."

sources of conflict in the New Mexico situation; and it seems that they all came into play during the seventeenth century.

Further complicating the situation were the personal characteristics of the various governors and friar-prelates. It seems that at all times at least one of the heads, of church or of government, was excessive in some way. When Fray Ordoñez was prelate, he caused a great deal of trouble; a few years later it was governor Eulate who became unbearable. Time after time the prelate would excommunicate the governor for some reason, and a feud would result when the governor would demand absolution, and perhaps take some punitive measures of his own.

Always a great problem for the religious was the thought of submission to the state, especially in affairs which might in any way relate to things spiritual. Benavides in about 1630 complained that there was not even permitted the right of sanctuary for anyone; if a person were to seek the protection of the church, it would have to be done on the governor's authority. Because of this and other abuses the conversions were disturbed and hindered. The governor even issued proclamations,

> telling the people not to obey the friars in anything, except that those who want to may hear mass, that the friars have no other powers, that the governor alone is the one who has authority as a judge there.[18]

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[18]Hodge, Hammond, and Rey, op. cit., pp. 172f.

Such a situation would certainly be a difficult one for any churchman to take; and not all of them did submit to the state, as in the case of Fray Isidro Ordoñez, prelate during the governorship of Pedro Peralta.

According to the only source available on the period, the "True Account of Fr. Perez Guerta,"[19] the trouble began when the prelacy was taken by Fray Ordoñez on the basis of--Guerta contends--a forged letter. Not long after this there appeared a document, a Royal Provision, which permitted any soldier or colonist to return to New Spain if he so desired. This was in 1612, and at this date there was certainly no great attraction in New Mexico. The settlement had received help and reinforcement since the critical years before 1608, but many would have been glad to leave. The result was that many did leave and the colony was weakened. Ordoñez had the upper hand and Peralta did not know quite how to handle the problem.

Ordoñez then raised complaints about the treatment Indians were getting, and told Peralta to feed and care for

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[19]Scholes gives this work as the chief source for the first major controversy between church and state in New Mexico: "Relacion Verdadera q. el pe predicador fr. Franco Perez guerta de la orden de St franco guardian del conuento de galisteo hiço al Rmo Comisso Genl de la dha orden de la nueba espa de las cosas succedidas en el nuebo Mexco por los encuentros que tubieron do Pedro de Peralta gor de la dha prouya y fr fr ysidro ordonez Commisso de los frailes de la dicha orden de St Frco q. residen en ella (1617?), Archivo General y Público de las Nacion, Mexico." Scholes, op. cit., p. 50.

them. Peralta reluctantly made a few moves, tried to modify some of the abuse, and gave them some food (which came from the Indian tribute); but too little was available.

With the next major incident the conflict between these two developed into a feud. Peralta sent a party of soldiers to Taos to collect tribute from them. But Ordonez heard of this, intercepted the party, and countermanded Peralta's order on the basis of a new innovation--his claim to Inquisitorial powers. When Peralta again sent the soldiers off to Taos Ordonez excommunicated him[20] and threatened to do the same to any who took his side in the affair. Fray Tirado of Santa Fe by this time had switched to the prelate's side, as did most of the Spanish population. The governor's attempts at reprisal were met by threats of force, and a victory was won; absolution was granted.

Soon a series of incidents started things off again, however--a fight between a servant and a Spaniard, a difference over inclusion of certain Indians in a levy of workers, and a "personal protest to Mexico City" by Peralta, in connection with which Ordonez received an insult. After this, on the following Sunday, Peralta's chair was put outside the church, and Ordonez directed his sermon at the

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[20]Terms of Peralta's absolution were payment of fifty pesos, performance of miserere at the church door, a promise of obedience, and observance by Peralta of the penitential mass, barefoot and with a lighted candle in his hand.

governor (who had the chair quickly replaced inside the church). In this sermon it seemed as though for a short while the medieval papacy had been reestablished in New Mexico.

> Do not be deceived. Let no one persuade you with vain words that I do not have the same power and authority that the Pope in Rome has, or that if his Holiness were (here) in New Mexico he could do more than I. Believe (ye) that I can arrest, cast into irons, and punish as seems fitting to me any person without any exception who is not obedient to the commandments of the Church and mine. What I have told you, I say for the benefit of a certain person who is listening to me who perhaps raises his eyebrows. May God grant that affairs may not come to this extremity.[21]

Another controversy soon came up concerning the way in which tithes were to be collected, and Peralta ordered Ordoñez to return to his church at Santo Domingo. A melee followed, in which a pistol was fired and a friar and an armorer were wounded. But by this time, the governor could do nothing with Ordoñez; his power was decreasing and the prelate's was increasing. Just before he was replaced as governor, Peralta was imprisoned in one of the convents by Ordoñez, who was in complete control of the province, and engaging in such things as sending military expeditions, punishing lawbreakers (he had an Indian murderer hanged), and imprisoning friars who opposed him. Governor Ceballos (Zaballos) replaced Peralta, and though he was not as pliable as his predecessor, he was soon intimidated by Ordoñez,

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[21]Scholes, op. cit., p. 31.

and relations between the two quickly descended to the former level.

The friars who opposed Ordoñez were having their own trouble just in getting a message out of the country without the prelate's knowledge. When they finally succeeded, this was discovered and they were forced to send a second one which disclaimed the statements of the first. By this time these religious had concluded that Ordoñez's patent as prelate was forged. Soon, however, Fray Guerta managed to escape from New Mexico and reached Mexico City with his Relación. By 1618 the Fray Ordoñez was removed from the province and disciplined in Mexico City. He was released but nothing is known of what became of him.

Whether or not Guerta's account is reliable in its details is debatable, but the fact remains that the friar-prelate Ordoñez took virtual control of the province, imprisoned the governor, and assumed the authority of the Inquisition unlawfully. The "Peralta incident was never forgotten. It poisoned relations between Church and State at a time when friendly cooperation was so essential." This was the turbulent beginning of a turbulent era, and as damaging as it was to the life and health of the colony, it was even more damaging to the mission work of the Franciscans. Obviously the Indians would not be inclined toward the preaching and teaching of the fathers when such rampant violence filled the friars' own community.

The bad example given to the Indians by the Spaniards' feuds was not the worst hindrance to mission work, however. There were more direct obstacles than that, such as the poor treatment of the Indians by the Spanish, governors and others. The man who succeeded Ceballos was Juan de Eulate, who (according to the friars) was strongly anti-clerical in attitude and denounced, derided and opposed the church's work.[22] He refused to aid the friars in controlling the Indians, and rather encouraged the Indians in their paganism, promising freedom to follow the "old order" of witchcraft and sorcery, and he generally opposed mission discipline. The prelate at this time was Fray Ésteban Perea. Perea gathered evidence against Eulate and called for a formal investigation, charging him with unorthodoxy, mistreating Indians' religious and social life, exploiting the Indians, and enslaving unconverted tribes (which the Spanish were supposed to leave entirely alone until after their conversion).

Apparently Eulate was required to change some policies, at least to a certain extent (as even the friars admitted).[23] But another result of Perea's petition was his own replacement by Fray Miguel de Chavarría, who immediately tried to smooth out the relations.

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[22] Ibid., p. 69.

[23] Ibid., p. 80.

Nevertheless, the exploitation of the Indians by Eulate and by the soldiers and other Spanish settlers continued. Scholes says that the governor's liberality with regard to native customs was inspired only with the purpose of "attracting the natives to the side of civil authority" so as to make their exploitation easier. Then he goes on and tells of ways in which this was done. The Indians were forced to work on the farms of colonists without pay, being often rounded up in groups of forty or even one hundred; they were used in carrying wood, cargo, and tributes, in opposition to the royal policy and in spite of the availability of horses; slave raids were made on some nomadic tribes which were unconverted but peaceful, and the slaves were used as day laborers or sold in New Spain; vales (permits) were given by Eulate which authorized soldiers to take orphans from converted pueblos to serve in Spanish homes; and frequently the soldiers' rancherías were located so close to the pueblos "that they encroached on the fields and grazing land of the Indians."[24]

In many ways it is amazing that any work at all could be done amongst the Indians, with such conditions prevailing. Also, there is little wonder that the friars protested so loudly.

The viceroy did not feel perfectly sympathetic with

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[24] Ibid., pp. 72f.

such statements as Perea made, however, and may have been suspicious of the complaints, in view of the Ordonez affair not long past. In his letter to Perea he says that the prelates have often been "imprudent" and have exceeded their authority. The substance of the letter is that Perea and his brothers are to concern themselves with ecclesiastical matters--and only ecclesiastical punishments of lay people. The viceroy had at least received reports that the friars were overstepping their boundaries again.[25]

Then the viceroy sent the Instructions of 1621 to the New Mexican settlement. These were in part clearly aimed at the friars, but their purpose was to generally relieve tensions.

1. In the first of the Instructions the order was given that when local pueblo officials were elected there should be no one present either from the state or from the clergy. This at least indicates that the Indians were permitted some rights; they were able to choose their local governors and fiscals. But given in this way the regulation also indicates that even that was not without pressures from one party or another. The countercharges which made this regulation necessary were that "the clergy had complained that the governor tried to impose his will in such elections in order to further his own selfish ends." On the other

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[25] Ibid.

hand, the civil leaders had charged "that the custodian and other friars had given the Indians to understand that their authority was superior to that of the governor."

2. The next contained the implication that perhaps the friars were too involved in secular affairs, or at least that they were somewhat remiss in seeing to their duties. It was stated that on Sundays and on feast days the friars should go to the pueblos in which there were churches, "so that the Indians would be spared the trouble of going to distant pueblos to hear mass."

3. From the third "Instruction" something can be seen of the friars' objection to the encomienda. Their continual opposition to the tribute requirement, apparently was not only in words or on paper, but in more concrete forms. Here they are directed "not to impede the collection of such tribute." The stipulation is added, however, that this only applies to pueblos already subject to tribute, and that future conversions of pueblos were to be subject to tribute only after governor, custodian and guardian of the convent had submitted reports to the viceroy. (Also, there was to be no tribute taken from the Hopi and Zuni pueblos, still unconverted. Very likely this had been tried.)

4. Military escort was to be provided by the encomenderos for mission supply trains and for missionaries' travels.

5 and 6. Objections were frequently made to the

governor's herds of livestock, since he received a regular salary; the Instructions forbade this. And in view of the complaints that the Spaniards' livestock roamed up to the very edge of the pueblo, and trampled the Indians' crops, they were by these regulations ordered to keep livestock at least three leagues from the pueblos.

7. This regulation was to oppose the common abuses of Indian labor, such as unlimited levies of laborers for all imaginable kinds of work, and often without pay. Hereafter the governor and custodian were to see that levies of laborers were to be only for sowing and planting, with limited numbers taken from each pueblo, and with wages given to all. The Spaniards were forbidden to take Indian women "unless 'they go with their husbands (and) voluntarily.'" And one of the loudest objections of governors and encomenderos was recognized by this regulation which stated that the custodian's use of Indian labor was to be limited; "Indian labor at the missions should be used only 'for things necessary for the church and the convenience of the living quarters,' and then only 'with the greatest moderation.'"

8. The last regulation shows some of the disciplinary measures used by the friars to bring the Indians into submission to "the church and salvation." For "errors and light faults" the friars had made a practice of cutting the hair of the guilty Indians. This was a terrible insult to them and had caused some of them "to live in the unconverted

pueblo of Ácoma, 'returning to idolatry.'"[26]

From the content of this document some of the most important complaints of both parties can be deduced, as well as an idea of some of the treatment which the "pacified" Indian nations were receiving.

Such measures as the Instructions were the result of civil action; it was the viceroy who sent them to New Mexico and said that they must be followed. However, the church was not inactive in all this, and though Perea had been relieved of his position as prelate, his complaints were not ignored. Finally, in 1623, Fray Benavides was sent to New Mexico by the Holy Office of the Inquisition to hold an investigation; he succeeded Fray Chavarría as prelate as well, thus combining the two offices. After being received by the governor, Benavides held some hearings, and listened to many complaints. The result was that a strong case was built against former governor Eulate, and Fray Perea was supported. Eulate's only punishment, though, seems to have been a fine for bringing Indians to New Spain to be sold as slaves (and for bringing cargo in the government's wagons, free of duty). He was also required to pay for their return to New Mexico. Perea, having reached Mexico City, was reinstated, and sent back as Commissary of the Holy Office.

During Benavides' stay in New Mexico as missionary and

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[26] Ibid., pp. 78f. Scholes summarizes the Instructions.

custodian of the order he had sufficient opportunity to become familiar with all of the practices of the authorities and the encomenderos, and the resulting condition of the natives. Included in his Memorial of 1634 were statements relating to the New Mexico situation and petitions to the king to relieve some of the pains and trials of the Indians. In one of his petitions he begins by saying that the answer most often given by the Indians when asked why they do not become Christians is that "when they do become Christians they are at once compelled to pay tribute and render personal service." Naturally they find it much more to their advantage to remain pagan. For this reason, Benavides asks

> that they may not in any way be compelled to render any personal service or pay any tribute until ten years after completion of the baptism of the converted nation, as has been ordered in many royal cedulas . . . exempting . . . from the said personal service and tribute all the caciques and principal people, together with their households, and likewise all the Indians engaged in divine service in the churches and convents, and all the ministers of justice engaged in the service of your Majesty and of their republic. . . .

and that the encomenderos be forced to comply with this and to treat well the natives in their service and in collection of tribute.[27]

The results of this petition were direct and immediate. In 1635 the viceroy and other government officials received a cedula from the king which restated Benavides' requests

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[27]Hodge, Hammond, and Rey, op. cit., pp. 176f.

and granted them. The king's "wish and aim being, above all things, the conversion of the said natives," he ordered that Indians who are converted and submit to the Spanish crown are not to be

> required to pay any tribute or be asked to give any other personal service for a period of ten years, and that the caciques and leaders, together with their families, and other Indians employed in the churches for the divine cult . . . are to be relieved for life of the said tributes or services.[28]

Spain was far away, though, and New Spain and Mexico City were months of travel away from Santa Fe. It was not at all difficult therefore to find ways of getting around even royal cedulas; and sometimes these may have been easier to circumvent, frequently being very general in nature.

There were other ways of making a profit in New Mexico, however, without even directly opposing royal cedulas. Francisco Martínez de Baeza, governor from November 1634 to April 1637, was imaginative enough that he soon was "organizing trading ventures and exploiting Indian labor" according to reports of the clergy. Scholes describes some of Baeza's methods:

> He imposed a heavy burden of labor on the Indians, for which they received only a fraction of the wage due.

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[28] Ibid., p. 187, from "The King to the Viceroy of New Spain Concerning Payment of Tribute by Converted Indians, 30 January, 1635," and "The King . . . Marquis of Cerralvo, my kinsman, viceroy, governor and captain general of New Spain, or to the person or persons in charge of its government."

> Some were forced to gather pinon, which they carried in on their own backs to Baeza's warehouse; others were sent out to trade for hides; in all of the pueblos the Indians were forced to weave and paint great quantities of mantas, bunting, and hangings, and some of the pueblos that did not raise enough cotton "to cover their own nakedness" were obliged to barter with other villages for the cotton needed. The prices paid for the finished goods represented only one-sixth or one-eighth of the current local values. By the end of 1636 Baeza had accumulated such large quantities of pinon, hides, and locally manufactured goods that nine wagon loads were made ready for transportation to New Spain.[29]

Thus the New Mexico settlements continued, in tension and conflict, with the clergy on one side, the civil officials on the other, and the Indians usually in between, definitely the most seriously afflicted in all of this.

The opposition of the clergy to such abuses did more harm than it did good, in respect to the local reaction among Spanish officials. When such officials were criticized, they very quickly retorted with complaints about the way in which the friars used the Indians to build convents and churches, to service and maintain them, to tend livestock, and in general to perform chores which seemed quite unspiritual. After such complaints, the Spanish officials then felt better about taking advantage of the Indians. A formal complaint was made on such an occasion by the Spanish cabildo of Santa Fe, in which he became quite specific. For one thing, the friars had thousands of head of stock on pueblo ranges, and according to this official, this was many

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[29]Scholes, op. cit., pp. 106f.

more than private citizens had. Here the same suggestion was made as the friars had made earlier concerning the governor's stock: since the clergy was supported by the Crown, it was unnecessary and unwise that they keep cattle. The suggestion was made that their herds be divided among the poor. The friars were criticized for using Indians to cook, carry wood, grind corn, or herd cattle. They were criticized for possessing too many horses and too many weapons (shields, swords, arquebuses, pistols). They were said to have far more of the latter than even the soldiers. The cabildo's suggestion was that such unnecessary possessions of the friars be deposited in the Royal House.[30]

The cabildo's complaint does more than point up some excesses of the fathers, or give an excuse for civilian and military exploitation. It reflects some of the power which the church had in the colonies, in spite of the handicap that it received when the Spanish civil government was given its jurisdiction over certain areas of the church. The clergy were able to exert a great amount of pressure upon all the Spanish inhabitants, particularly by two weapons, the power of excommunication, and the power of the Inquisition. The church was also controlled by only one order, and the people had no place to appeal except to the church in "far-off Mexico" or to the governor, as Scholes points

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[30] Ibid., pp. 130f.

out. (And the governors had their own problems with the Inquisition and threats of excommunication.)[31]

Whatever the other results of this clerical power may have been, it seems certain that it did not free the Indians from the effects of the Spanish greed. Perhaps there were even ways in which the clergy, with their sometimes effective opposition of the governors and the resulting battles and scandals, greatly hindered their own work.

The Indians figured in the next major clash in much the same way as before. In 1637 the governorship of Luis de Rosas, which in about four years led up to a virtual civil war in 1641, complete with intrigue, an assassination, and a multiple execution.

Rosas continued the exploitation policies of his predecessor, with an Indian workshop at Santa Fe, and trading posts at the frontier pueblos, and with Indian labor used everywhere. The clergy as usual made their complaints but they were not alone; many of the military sided with them. Captain Francisco de Salazar accused Rosas of making unjust

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[31]There were actually three independent powers in New Mexico to uphold the church's interests in the feud with the government. The custodian had powers of local prelate (excommunication, absolution, the sacraments, ecclesiastical process, and passing of sentence). The Commissary of the Holy Office of the Inquisition had powers of investigation, searching for heresy or related sins, and summoning witnesses for almost any distance. In addition to these was the Crusade, with independent authority, subject only to the Tribunal at Mexico City. Ibid., p. 129.

war against the Utacas, who had not bothered either pueblos or Spaniards; some of these were killed, some captured and put to forced labor.[32] There were complaints also about Rosas' failure to punish some Apaches who had been troubling the pueblos, and also about his treachery against certain peaceful Apaches.

There is a description of Rosas' action in a mission trip to an unconverted area:

> As soon as the party arrived in the Ipotlapigua area he [Rosas] forgot his duty toward the friars and the mission and made all sorts of unjust demands on the Indians. He forced them to bring in feathers and hides, robbed them of their clothing, even the garments that covered their nakedness, and threatened to burn their villages if they did not comply with his demands. The protests of the friars were without avail. Rosas continued to follow his policy of extortion, and the Indians, who had seemed willing enough to listen to the teachings of the friars, fled to the mountains when they realized the nature of Rosas' motives.[33]

During the four years of Rosas' governorship, the situation developed to the point of breaking, with a strong anti-Rosas party consisting of friars, soldiers, encomenderos, and civilians. Finally, in 1641 Rosas was killed by a soldier called Ortiz, who returned from Mexico to find his wife at Rosas' place. Rosas had been excommunicated and was buried in a field; Ortiz was tried, freed at Santa Fe, then sentenced at Parral (near the later El Paso) by governor

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[32] Ibid., p. 118, from "Petition of Salazar, July 5, 1641.

[33] Ibid., pp. 119f.

Valdez; he escaped, but was eventually captured and put to death. Scholes goes into the matter of whether or not Ortiz's wife was a part of a plot to kill Rosas, and gives strong evidence to support this view.

The situation was temporarily calmed when Pacheco y Heredia, the governor from 1642 to 1650, took matters in hand. He seems to have been quite shrewd, and also persuasive; he successfully appeased both factions. Rosas' bones were even absolved by the clergy, and given military burial. Immediately after this, however, strong measures were taken on July 21, 1643 when after a secret investigation the above-mentioned Salazar, and seven others were tried and beheaded; others involved were pardoned. Perhaps not too surprisingly, everyone acknowledged the justice and appropriateness of Pacheco's action; especially the Indians were impressed with this swift justice. For a while, New Mexico was settled and quiet; the custodian's sermon promised loyalty even to taking up arms for royal service. Probably Pacheco's upholding the Franciscans despite their record of opposition to Rosas brought this about; he claimed that the friars were intimidated by the soldiers.[34]

With the struggles of the past forty years still fresh in most minds, however, and the basic issues still quite unresolved, peace could not last long; and it did not. On

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[34] Ibid., pp. 180f.

August 18, 1643 several soldiers, one a captain, called together the Indians of Santo Domingo (not very far from Santa Fe) and read an order "forbidding any Indian, on pain of death, to do anything commanded by the custodian and other friars of the convent." This was done by command of governor Pacheco. Fray Covarrubias describes the rather pitiable state which followed:

> This caused such scandal and fear in these wretched Indians, men and women, boys and girls, that they walked about as if dazed, and they withdrew to their cornfields, and other places. Not a single person was to be seen in the plazas and houses; and when they came, it was with great secrecy, as if it were a matter of life and death to be seen by the friars. . . .[35]

Any success in preaching to Indians who were in such a state would be quite miraculous; it is not surprising that the church was not actually taking hold in New Mexico. And again, the feud was renewed.

There were still other abuses perpetrated against the Indians, which Benavides brings up in some of his petitions to the king. One of these was the practice of the encomenderos of requiring tribute from their Indians on an individual basis, instead of on the basis of their dwellings. With this arrangement, the Indians were required to pay even if for one reason or another they lost their houses.[36]

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[35] Ibid., p. 184, Covarrubias to Salvatierra.

[36] Hodge, Hammond, and Rey, op. cit., Appendix XVI A, p. 170.

In another petition, Benavides asks that the Indians be free to live where they please, and not be forced by the encomendero to live where he wishes.[37]

A common abuse in New Mexico apparently was the practice of granting land for grazing or farming to the Spanish; the way in which it was done amounted to simple stealing from the Indians.

> These grants are made secretly so that when the poor Indians want to return to their lands the Spaniards are already in possession of them, and from there they expand and add to their lands more than was given to them. They force the Indians, by evil treatment and by losses to their cattle, to abandon their lands and to leave their possessions to the Spaniards.[38]

A complaint was also made about the governor's taking the best lands, and selling the cattle, which were so necessary for the colony, in New Spain.

Finally, in regard to captured Indians from unconverted tribes Benavides asks that these "not be given as slaves or sentenced to personal service outside New Mexico." Much better would be to place them in the convents for a time, that they could return to their people and tell them of good treatment, and of Christianity.

He also asked

> that the Spanish governors be forbidden from depriving any native Indian chief of his post or authority, because of the fact that the Indians greatly resent

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[37] Ibid., p. 170.

[38] Ibid., p. 172.

seeing their leaders and chieftains mistreated.[39]

The Pueblo Revolt of 1680

It must not be assumed that during the ten decades of intra-colonial rivalry and exploitation of the Indians there was nothing but quiet submission on the part of the native population. There were fairly frequent outbreaks and several attempts at revolt on a larger-than-local scale. But in each case the Spanish military force was able to keep things in hand and effectively to punish the offenders quite promptly.

In 1680, however, the rebellious pueblo nations could not be controlled. Their uprising was, for these people, amazingly well organized, and of such strength and extent that the Spanish military were unable to do any more than protect themselves and most of their fellow colonists.

According to most reports, the chief instigator of the revolt was an Indian called Popé, a medicine man who had very recently been released from captivity and punishment by the Spanish government. He claimed to be directed by three infernal spirits and moved by supernatural powers; in this he was readily believed and his plans met with an eager acceptance.

Preparations for the revolt were very secretly made and

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[39] Ibid., p. 171.

information was quickly spread from pueblo to pueblo throughout the province at regular intervals. The revolt was first set for August 13, but information leaked out to the Spanish and on the night of the 9th the final word was sent to all the nations that daybreak on the 10th was the new time. And so it happened. Beginning at Taos, and nearly simultaneously in surrounding areas, the Indians attacked the missions and rancherías. The revolt spread to Santa Fe--where the Tewas, Taos and Picurís began a siege and were soon joined by other war parties. After the first day of revolt thirty leagues of the center of the province, along both sides of the Rio del Norte, were held by the Indians, with two groups of Spanish refugees fortified at either end. Governor Otermín with about one thousand people was located at Santa Fe and lieutenant governor Garcia, with about fifteen hundred refugees, was situated in the south at Isleta. It is estimated that at the time of the revolt there were from twenty-eight hundred to three thousand Spanish (including Mexicans, Mestizos, etc.) in New Mexico. Of these about 380 were said to have been killed, during the first stages of the revolt. In addition, the friars numbered about thirty-three; and twenty-one of these were killed. The outlying pueblos, and those in the part of the province where the uprising began, were the most severely hit; at Taos sixty-eight of seventy Spaniards were killed during the early hours of August 10.

After the colonists reached the fortifications at Santa Fe and Isleta, however, there were hardly any losses. Many Indians were killed during the siege of Santa Fe, but not more than five Spaniards died. As was so often the case in fighting between Spanish and Indians, the lack of organization on the part of the Indians kept them from bringing about the complete massacre which they desired. This possibly had as much effect as their lack of firearms.

A great deal of description could be given of the siege of Santa Fe, its abandonment and the march down the river toward Mexico, but this is not necessary for the purposes of this paper. The two groups of refugees were completely cut off from one another, and the Indians spread rumors at Santa Fe and at Isleta, saying to each group that the other had been completely wiped out. Independently the refugee columns moved down the river, constantly harrassed by Indians, until they made contact and finally met a short distance north of El Paso del Norte. Troubles of all kinds plagued them during the next months and years, as some deserted to Mexico, some planned to return to New Mexico, and a majority settled at the pass of the Rio Grande. The intention was that this be temporary, but it turned out that the settlement, near the present El Paso, was permanent.

An attempt was made the following year by Otermín to recapture New Mexico, but after a few very short-lived peace treaties, and after the burning of many empty pueblos, the

small Spanish army retreated to El Paso. Threatening rumors followed them all the way.[40]

After eighty-two years of occupation and mission work, and with an estimated sixteen thousand Christian Indians (until the revolt) in 1680 in New Mexico, the Spaniards left the country for some twelve years, with something less than five hundred Indians in their company, who either chose to remain friends of the Spanish or perhaps who simply did not feel like fighting.

The attitude of the Spanish, both government and clergy, toward the matter of governing and pacifying the Indians was basically this: simple force, always present and applied at the right time, with quick punishments for all insubordination. This was the complete answer to all

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[40]Charles Wilson Hackett, editor, Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermín's Attempted Reconquest, 1680-1682, in Coronado Historical Series (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1942), VIII, 1ff. The documents translated and published in this work by Hackett are the basic and most important primary sources for the pueblo revolt. Hackett's work was based on a transcript in his own possession, but the original documents are located in Mexico City, in two sections. The documents on the revolt are Auttos tocantes al Alsamiento de Los Yndios de la Provincia de la Nueba Mexico, Archivo General y Público, Mexico, Seccion de Provincias Internas, Tomo 37. Hackett, op. cit., VIII, 3, note 1. The documents on the first attempt at reconquest are Autos Pertenecientes a el alcamiento [sic] de los Yndios de La Provincia del Nuebo Mexico Y la entrada, Y subcesos de ella se hico para su recuperacion, Archivo General y Público, Mexico, Seccion de Provincias Internas, Tomo 34. Charles Wilson Hackett, editor, Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermín's Attempted Reconquest, 1680-1682, in Coronado Historical Series (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1942), IX, 183, note 1.

problems. After the revolt the attitude was the same, and everyone felt that by sending the army back, and making reprisals in the proper places, the province could be returned to Spanish power, and the Indians to their former place. On the first attempt at reconquest, Otermín was more than willing to have the priests grant absolution to any repentant Indians; he was also willing to limit punishments to a relative few Indian leaders. But the important thing was that the Spanish government and arms be once more established as the controlling force in the province, and the Indians made subservient.

What Otermín found was quite different. Except for a few stray Indians and an occasional war party in the distance, the entire country and all the pueblos were deserted. Spanish power was definitely not in control of New Mexico, but the Indians still fled. They were content to have as little to do with this power, and with the Spaniards themselves, as possible.

Occasionally, as Otermín moved from one deserted pueblo to another, an Indian would join the group, or would be captured. It was from these that much of the information on the revolt was received, at the investigations and court sessions which Otermín held. One of the common reactions from these captives was to give some sort of excuse or explanation of their particular position. One, for example, excused himself and others, saying

> that what he knows concerning this question is that not all of them joined the said rebellion willingly; that the chief mover of it is an Indian who is a native of the pueblo of San Juan, named El Popé, and that from fear of this Indian all of them joined in the plot that he made.[41]

Another one was asked why he ran away from his Spanish master, and went to live with the rebels. He answered that he was hungry where he was and so when urged by a friend to leave for a while, "so as to find out how matters stood with the Indians and to give warning to the Spaniards of any treason," he did so. He carefully explained that it was not his intention to stay with the apostates. When they killed his companion, he stayed, until he saw the Spaniards return; then he came to warn the Spaniards to be careful with their horses, so that the rebels did not steal them.[42] It seems safe to assume that this Indian, Josephe, was a spy, as were others who wandered up to the Spanish camps during this expedition; the contrivances and loopholes in his story together with the fact that he later disappeared support this.

Yet another story along the same line was told by a captured Indian, who said that he had left the casas reales and joined with the rebels because he felt that the

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[41] Ibid., IX, 233, from "Declaration of the Indian, Juan. (Place on the Rio del Norte, 18 December, 1681)."

[42] Ibid., p. 238, from "Declaration of Josephe, Spanish-speaking Indian (Place of the Rio del Norte, December 19, 1681)."

Spaniards would be killed; and if "they should happen not to be defeated, they would probably take him to some other country, and he did not wish to leave this one." Then, likely to give himself a more favorable position, he told some things about the revolt, who were some of the important tribes, and what their plans were for the Spanish.[43]

There were not only excuses such as these given at the investigations conducted by Otermín, however. Some of the Indians spoke out concerning the treatment which they had received in the past, and told why everyone had revolted. Josephe, for one, said that the leaders of the insurrection had so acted because of "ill treatment and injuries" from certain officials, "because they beat them, took what they had, and made them work without pay."[44]

Another Indian, Pedro Garcia, testified that the treason and rebellion had been plotted

> because they were tired of the work they had to do for the Spaniards and the religious, because they did not allow them to plant or do other things for their own needs; and that, being weary, they had rebelled.[45]

Resentment and hatred for the Spanish was also held because of their treatment of Indian beliefs and practices.

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[43] Ibid., VIII, 20, from "Declaration of an Indian rebel (Place of the Arroyo de San Marcos, August 23, 1680)."

[44] Ibid., IX, 239, from "Declaration of Josephe."

[45] Ibid., VIII, 23f., from "Declaration of Pedro Garcia, an Indian of the Tagno nation, a nation of Las Salinas (Near the estancia of Cristóbal de Anaya, August 25, 1680)."

Another native New Mexican, Pedro Nanboa said

> that the resentment which all the Indians have in their hearts has been so strong, from the time this kingdom was discovered, because the religious and the Spaniards took away their idols and forbade their sorceries and idolatries; that they have inherited successively from their old men the things pertaining to their ancient customs; and that he has heard this resentment spoken of since he was of an age to understand.[46]

Perhaps the best indication of the long-repressed feelings of these people can be seen in connection with their treatment of the Spanish churches, convents, and religious objects. Everywhere Otermín's party went, they found evidences of desecrations of religious articles and places and signs of the Indians' immediate return to the old ways (masks, ornaments, trinkets, rock-piles, and newly-built estufas).

The statement by Josephe contains much information as to what the Indians did and said even while the villa at Santa Fe was being besieged.

> the rebellious traitors burned the church and shouted in loud voices, "Now the God of the Spaniards, who was their father, is dead, and Santa Maria, who was their mother, and the saints, who were pieces of rotten wood," saying that only their own god lived. Thus they ordered all the temples and images, crosses and rosaries burned, and this function being over, they all went to bathe in the rivers, saying that they thereby washed away the water of baptism. For their churches, they placed on the four sides and in the center of the plaza some small circular enclosures of stone where they went

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[46] Ibid., pp. 60f., from "Declaration of one of the rebellious Christian Indians who was captured on the road (Place of El Alamillo, September 6, 1680)."

> to offer flour, feathers, and the seed of maguey, maize, and tobacco, and performed other superstitious rites, giving the children to understand that they must all do this in the future. The captains and chiefs ordered that the names of Jesus and of Mary should nowhere be uttered, and that they should discard their baptismal names, and abandon the wives whom God had given them in matrimony, and take the ones that they pleased. He saw that as soon as the remaining Spaniards had left, they ordered all the estufas erected, which are their houses of idolatry, and danced throughout the kingdom the dance of the cazina, making many masks for it in the image of the devil. Thus he replied to this question.[47]

An earlier statement, made by the cabildo of Santa Fe, just after the escape from New Mexico, also shows some of the Indians' contempt for the Spaniards' religion. In this statement he says that they went to such extremes that at Sandia pueblo there were images of saints found among excrement, two chalices found in a basket of manure, a carved crucifix with paint and varnish taken off by lashes, and excrement at the main altar near the holy communion table.[48]

Any thought of the Spanish that the Indians might repent and settle down once more in their pueblos was very wrong. Not only did they completely abandon their pueblos when Otermín returned in the fall of 1681, but they remained in the mountains, freezing and nearly starving, through the extremely hard winter that followed. To return

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[47] Ibid., IX, 239f., from "Declaration of Josephe."

[48] Ibid., VIII, 177f., from "Opinion of the cabildo of Santa Fe. La Salineta, October 3, 1680."

and live under their conquerors again was unthinkable.[49]

There were attempts to deceive Otermín's force by a feigned repentance, but information escaped to the Spanish and nothing came of the Indians' plans. When Mendoza, the governor's lieutenant, was on an inspection of some of the pueblos, there took place a shouted council of peace. (The Indians refused to come close.) The sargento mayor shouted, "Praised be the most holy sacrament!" At this it is said that

> the apostates shouted three times in reply, many of them in tears, "Forever!" At this moment a Pecurie Indian and others, dropping their arms, came down without them to embrace the said Diego Lucero and two or three other Spaniards who were with him. . . .

The rejoicing and displays of affection spread and a reconciliation seemed to be taking place. The leaders, such as Alonso Catití only expressed fears that the Spaniards would be unforgiving. Then these leaders left, saying that they were going to bring their people back from the mountains.[50]

But it seemed that nothing that was said ever happened, and an air of uncertainty continued to build wherever the Spanish parties went. Then various reports and rumors reached the camps, such as Catití's plan to send women to

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[49] Ibid., IX, 302, from "(Declaration) of Diego Lopez (Sambrano. Hacienda of Luis de Carbajal, December 22, 1681)."

[50] Ibid., pp. 272f., from "Declaration of the Sargento mayor Sebastian de Herrera (Place of Rio del Norte, December 21, 1681)."

the soldiers, and then attack them during the night, or other rumors that the Indians were waiting to catch the Spanish offguard so as to capture their horses, and then watch them starve trying to escape. Events such as these before long revealed to Otermín and his men just how repentant these Indians were.

There were differences of opinion as to what steps should next be taken, but most of Otermín's officers felt that the situation was beyond their control at that time, and that retreat to Mexico was the only logical move. Even the once-optimistic friars felt that nothing could be accomplished by remaining. Father Ayeta, who had not been working in New Mexico, but who had covered the whole territory along with the army on this reconquest attempt, held a rather hopeless view. He submitted a lengthy report (eight folios) saying that he did not believe that there could be any more punishment given and that all the initial hopes which Otermín had held were unfounded. Hackett summarizes Ayeta's report, which reveals the reasons for which this immediate reconquest had been attempted.

> The Apaches had not destroyed a single pueblo nor done the apostates notable damage, notwithstanding that the two tribes were then at war. [2] The Pueblos had not been found desirous of deserting their own domineering chieftains, and "This hope remains disintegrated and seems uncertain." [3] They had not experienced stings of conscience as repentant Christians, for, "at the date of this writing it has not been possible to perceive action, trace, or the slightest cause" from which it might be inferred that the apostates were not devoted "to blind idolatry, giving worship to the devil,

> and living according to and in the same manner as in their paganism." [4] On the other hand, they were found to be so completely dominated by the devil that they had been willing to sacrifice all the conveniences of a settled and semi-civilized people, and in desperation had deserted their homes and fled to the mountains. If up to that time, after fourteen days of snowing, the Indians, with no more shelter than some poor hides with which they cover themselves and their weeping women and children, were still obstinate, it was Ayeta's opinion that they were determined to die rather than yield to the Spaniards. Fifth and last, the apostates had not been influenced by the good treatment accorded the Isleta Indians whom Otermin had quickly defeated and protected, and most of whom came out of New Mexico on the final retreat , for it could not be denied that they were aware of the extreme mercy and clemency with which his lordship had pardoned all those of Isleta. . . .[51]

Thus ended the Spanish occupation of New Mexico and the work of the Spanish missions until the next decade. If there were any doubt concerning the Indians' attitude toward their conquerors, or the nature of their "Christianity," then the events of 1680-1681 can quickly end them.

After 1692: Coexistence

During 1691 some preliminary movements were made, including warfare conducted against a number of the southern tribes, toward the reconquest of New Mexico. But not until May of 1692 did permission come from the viceroy to the governor at El Paso and second conqueror of the other Mexico, Diego de Vargas.

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[51]Summary by Hackett of "Opinion of Fray Francisco de Ayeta. Hacienda of Luis de Carbajal, December 23, 1681 (II, 305-318)," ibid., VIII, clxxxii-iii.

The first expedition saw many near-battles, but no blood was shed, and through Vargas' diplomacy and the friars' exhortations twenty-three pueblos were visited peacefully, seventy-four captives freed, and 2,214 Indians were baptized. When Vargas returned to El Paso there seemed to be good reason for optimism.

But the constantly unpredictable Pueblos changed their minds by 1693 when the second expedition came, and a fight was necessary to take Santa Fe. After seventy Indian leaders had been executed, the Spanish had another revolt on their hands. This time the rebellion was not as general or widespread, but it took many months to bring any sizable number of pueblos into submission. Eleven months after Vargas arrived all but Picurís, Taos, Ácoma, Zuñi, and Moqui pueblos were under Spain--permanently. Settlers arrived again, and the old rancherías and missions were reestablished. By 1695 eleven missions were in operation.

At least one more uprising took place, in 1696 (the Teguas chiefly), in which five missionaries and twenty-one Spaniard settlers were killed, and some churches again desecrated. The Indians were quickly forced to sue for peace after this, and no serious outbreaks occurred again.[52]

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[52]Manuel Espinosa, editor and translator, The First Expedition of Vargas into New Mexico, 1692 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940). This is a summary of several points of Espinosa's introduction.

After the various pueblo tribes of New Mexico had finally been forced into submission, there seemed to develop among them a pattern of living, in which they accepted what they had to of Spanish culture and religion, but inwardly resented it. Thus the end result of 150 and more years of Franciscan mission work was nothing more than a coexistence of pagan and Catholic religion.

An idea of the state of the Indians' Christianity can be had from an account of Fray Francisco Atanasio Dominguez, written in 1776. "Even at the end of so many years since their reconquest, the specious title or name of neophyte is still applied to them," he says. Their valuing of such things as their Christian names is such that they never mention it among themselves, but always used their traditional tribal and pagan names. Many do not even know their saints' names; and if a friar calls one of them by his Christian name "they usually have their joke among themselves, repeating the saint's name to each other as if in ridicule."[53]

As far as Christian acts of devotion are concerned, the Indians have nothing but a repugnance and a resistance to all kinds. If they on occasion "invoke God and His saints or pray or pay for Masses, it is in a confused manner," or just to comply with what they are taught. In the case of

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[53]Fray Francisco Atanasio Dominguez, The Missions of New Mexico, 1776 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1956), pp. 254f.

paying for a mass, if the priest asks them in simple terms what their intention is,

> they reply: You know, that saint what more good, more big, him you make Mass. I not know, maybe him Virgin, maybe St. Anthony, etc., not to weary ourselves by more. And the father applies it with a good direct intention, as he knows that he must do.[54]

Dominguez says that confession is not made annually. And the fathers seem rarely to find anyone who can make a proper confession. Also there is "rarely anyone capable of receiving communion." Only when in danger of dying do they confess, and this is through interpreters, since few of the pueblos knew Spanish.[55]

Also described is one of their favorite practices, a dance which was done when they have scalped one of their pagan enemies, an obscene sort of celebration. At one point in the dance and procession, the entire group throws the scalp away, as if discarding it, and enters the church. They remain about the length of three Credos. Then they go back outside, and continue the festivities, with the scalp.

> the fathers are unable to abolish this custom and many others, because excuses are immediately made on the ground that (the Indians) are neophytes, minors, etc.
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> Under such pretexts they will always be neophytes and minors with the result that our Holy Faith will not take root and their malice will increase. . . .[56]

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[54] Ibid., p. 255.

[55] Ibid., pp. 255f.

[56] Ibid., pp. 257f.

Dominguez also tells how the Indians are unwilling to give charity or lodging to a Spaniard; if they see one, they hide; and if he happens to be a friar, "they are as terrified as if they were to see Lucifer himself and they would like to make themselves invisible." And as far as worship or study is concerned:

> it is necessary for the fiscales to order them to come to Mass or catechism by the town crier's voice. And if there is no such summons, the bell may break (with ringing for all the attention they pay to it). On their way to church, whether they be old or young, they go mincing along one by one, but when they leave, first comes first, because they fall over one another like sheep leaving the corral for pasture.[57]

Almost 175 years had passed since the Spanish first came to New Mexico, and this was the extent of the Christianity of the Indians. It was a sad situation, but in view of the chaotic history of that century and three-quarters, hardly surprising.

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[57] Ibid., pp. 258f.

CHAPTER V

THE CALIFORNIA MISSIONS

Upper California, 1769: The Last Extension of New Spain

Two hundred and fifty years after Spaniards had first set foot on the shores of what is now the United States the last venture of colonization was begun. During the first years hopes had been high as many adventurers, soldiers, and conquistadores envisioned a wealthy new land, similar to those conquered farther south in the hemisphere. But two and a half long centuries of bitter labor--and vast expense--had given Spain a considerably more realistic and mature view than she had had in those early days. When the first ships and overland expeditions set out for San Diego and Monterey in 1769 everyone knew that their purpose was to occupy the Northwest country for Spain, and prevent foreign intrusion. By this time even the letters and documents from the government to the colonists were fairly honest and did not claim that the chief or only purpose of the enterprise was the conversion of the local natives. Fray Engelhardt quotes a letter from the Viceroy to an officer of the first expedition, which, after directing that five missions be founded, says:

"Then, as soon as possible, you will by land and by

> sea, examine the port of San Francisco, situated much to the north of Monterey. You will place yourself in accord with the Fr. Presidents of the missions to the end that a mission may be established there, so that the said important locality may not be exposed to foreign occupation."[1]

Chapman also quotes a letter from a Viceroy of a few years later in which he more plainly states Spain's purpose and also points to the foreign power which posed the threat.

> "I deem it well that any establishment of the Russians in this continent or of any other foreign power ought to be guarded against . . . not that the king needs any extension of territory, when there is much more in his own dominions than can be settled for centuries, but rather to avoid the consequences which would follow from having other neighbors than the Indians."[2]

The religious did have a place in the whole scheme, and it was at least as important a place as is indicated in a letter of 1774 to the Viceroy:

> "But as the preparations against them [the Russians] serve many other purposes, especially in that they conduce to missionary work and the extension of the gospel,--the more land we gain by discoveries,--I am very well satisfied with all that has been done, for in this manner, by sea and land, we may proceed with our conquests to one place after another."[3]

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[1]Fray Zephyrin Engelhardt, The Missions and Missionaries of California (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Mission Santa Barbara, 1930), pp. 107f. This is from a letter, Viceroy De Croix to Fages, November 12, 1770.

[2]Charles E. Chapman, A History of California: The Spanish Period (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1930), p. 272, Viceroy Bucareli to Arriaga, July 27, 1773.

[3]Ibid., Arriaga to Bucareli, January 24, 1774.

Colonization begins

Under the general command of José de Gálvez the two sea and two land parties left Baja California during the first part of 1769. The packet San Carlos sailed from La Paz on the tenth of January and the San Antonio from San Bernabé on the fifteenth of February. The two land expeditions made their long and difficult trips to the chosen meeting place of San Diego Bay shortly after, the first party arriving on May 13 and the second on June 29. The hardship of travel can be seen when it is considered that the entire number on both ships were afflicted with scurvy and barely able to exist as they waited for the land parties; the latter arrived also depleted in number from a total of 219 down to 119 through desertion, sickness, and death. Fray Crespi, traveling with the first expedition, writes that of the fifty-one Christian Indians who started, many became sick, five he buried, and "almost all the rest absconded on the road."[4]

With such conditions prevailing, spirits were certainly not high as preparations were made for establishing a settlement and beginning explorations, but on July 16 (Feast of the Triumph of the Holy Cross) Fray Serra (who

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[4]Fray Francisco Palou, Historical Memoirs of New California, translated by Herbert E. Bolton (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1926), IV, 257, Fray Juan Crespi to Fray Francisco Palou, San Diego, June 9, 1769.

came with the second expedition, under Governor Portolá) founded Mission San Diego. As in the case of every mission established in California, a chapel was built, a cross put up, both were blessed, a mass was sung, and an address was given by Fray Serra. It was a disappointing beginning as far as any mission work was concerned; no natives were present for the first mass. About a month later, however, the Indians did get around to making an attack, but they were quickly routed by the Spanish weapons. This at least was in keeping with later experiences with San Diego area Indians, who seem to have given more trouble than any others. During these first months Fray Serra was also disappointed when his first baptism of an Indian was prevented by the parent's sudden seizing of the child before the water could be applied.[5]

The first year at San Diego was a hard one, especially because of widespread sickness. By January of 1770, many had died, no Indians had been converted or baptized, and the majority were ready to go back to Baja California.

San Diego was only one of the two places at which a presidio was to be located; the other was Monterey. On July 14 the first of two expeditions left for the north, Governor Portolá in command, Fray Crespi observing the land and the latitudes. By July 18 the valley of San Juan

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[5]Engelhardt, op. cit., pp. 44ff.

Capistrano was reached. There was a little preaching the next morning to curious Indians, and the Spanish tried to get them to venerate a cross, but were refused; the fathers attributed it to ignorance. Farther on the friar was able to baptize two dying infants, and the soldiers name the spot Los Cristionos. By July 28 the party was nearing the Los Angeles area, and since they experienced the first of many earthquakes in this general area, they gave the name of "El Dulcísimo Nombre de Jesus de los Temblores." Several days later the place was reached which they named "Nuestra Señora de los Angeles de Porciúncula."

The march continued; on August 21 they reached San Luís Obispo, by October 3 or 4 they reached the Monterey Bay area, and by October 31 the party arrived at the Golden Gate. At this time neither San Francisco Bay nor Monterey Bay was found (although explorations were made in both places), and the entire group returned to San Diego. The second trip was begun the following April and this time Monterey was found, the settlement begun, and San Francisco Bay itself discovered.

Pentecost Sunday, June 3, was the day of the first mass at Monterey, the day of taking possession, and the establishment of the mission San Carlos Boromeo. Fray Serra had arrived by ship and officiated at the services. The usual ceremonies were observed, blessing of water, sprinkling of the surrounding area, the blessing of the great cross, and

the celebration of High Mass, accompanied by salutes of cannon and muskets (serving in place of musical instruments).[6] Later the mission was moved from Monterey to its permanent location on the banks of the Carmelo River.

The two years which followed saw the slow growth of Monterey and San Diego presidios and of the missions in those places. In 1771 two more missions were founded, San Antonio and San Gabriel Arcángel. The first was located some twenty to thirty leagues south of Monterey, the second near the present Los Angeles.[7] San Luís Obispo mission was established on September 1, 1772. After this, four difficult years passed before any more missions were begun.

There are a multitude of details which could be given concerning the many explorations of California,[8] the usually friendly contacts with the Indians, and work which was involved in firmly establishing the government, military, and religious settlements, but it will perhaps be sufficient to generalize here and give only some of the more significant and some of the more characteristic developments.

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[6] Ibid., pp. 106-110.

[7] Fray Francisco Palou, Historical Memoirs of New California, translated by Herbert E. Bolton (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1926), II, 316.

[8] There is a volume dealing entirely with the part played by the friars in early explorations, Herbert Ingram Priestley, Franciscan Explorations in California (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1946).

The greatest problem during the first four or five years of occupation was the very common one of supplies. There seems to have been perennial hunger and want, and on at least three occasions nearly everyone would have been very willing to give up California to the Russians. As Chapman says, it was very possible for the Indians to live on acorns, and possibly wild seeds and fish, but not for the Spanish (although from summer 1773 to spring 1774 they lived chiefly on what milk they had from their few animals, supplemented by wild herbs). For them nearly everything had to be shipped in from their chief supply port, San Blas, on the west coast of New Spain.[9] Chapman mentions the times of near-disaster.

> Alta California had been saved by a narrow margin in 1770, when the dutiful Portolá held out against starvation until relief came. In 1772 Fages had averted failure by his successful bear hunt. The greatest peril of all, perhaps, came in 1774, when Alta California was in the midst of the worst famine it ever experienced. This time . . . the viceroy, Bucareli . . . saved the situation by his good . . . judgement, for in spite of reports . . . to the effect that Alta California was well supplied with provisions, he resolved to "play the game safely" and send off an extra ship. . . .[10]

With such conditions prevailing, it is no wonder that the government could not easily find anyone to go to California. Apparently the only inhabitants of the

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[9]Chapman, op. cit., pp. 282-283.

[10]Ibid.

presidios and missions were the soldiers, friars, a few officers, possibly some men from the supply ships, and a few Christian Indians. As late as October 29, 1775 this was the case, according to a letter of Father Serra:

> As to the families, I can positively state that, until now, we have not even one which, properly speaking, can be described as coming under the term "settler." According to the conditions laid down by the Commandant, I would find it pretty hard ever to discover one.[11]

In order to remedy the situation in the colony and at the missions, Fray Serra went to Mexico City in 1773, presenting his case to his superior at San Fernando and to the viceroy.[12] In the Reglamento Provisional of 1773 most of Serra's requests were granted, but as usual, such statements of policy did not always immediately affect the situation in the colony (sometimes there never was much effect).

As a part of the reglamento was the provision that anyone wishing to go to California was to be taken there free of charge, be given rations for five years, and receive a sailor's wage for two years; his part in the bargain was to assist in raising crops. In addition to this, Bucareli gave the newly appointed governor of Monterey, Don Fernando Rivera, instructions to "recruit some soldier-settlers with their families to take to Alta California." In the light

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[11] Antonine Tibesar, editor, Writings of Junípero Serra (Washington: n.p., n.d.), II, 375, letter to Bucareli, October 29, 1775.

[12] Infra, pp. 140ff.

of these facts Fray Serra's statement about there being no real settlers even two years later gives some indication of what the California situation was like.[13]

Complicating the situation further were the obstacles which faced some soldiers who married Indian women. Fray Serra, writing on behalf of these three men, tells how they wished to leave the service, and to have a plot of land on which they may settle and raise their crops, and also the salary and rations promised in the reglamento. "The first three declare that, if the Officer had not given them assurances to this effect, they would not have married," says Serra. Continuing, he describes the hardships they must face:

> They say that as soldiers, be they good or bad, they have always to be in readiness, without any chance of refusal, to be transferred by the Captain, and put to escort duty at more than a hundred leagues away--it is that distance and more to San Gabriel, and much more to San Diego--forcing the poor Indian wife to go where they have no house to put her in, until they build one, and no interpreter to understand her, and leaving behind them all they have built or put under cultivation. Over and above their discontent at the thought of all the trouble such a change would cause their poor Indian wives, who without being tied down, might be induced to follow them, such a prospect must be a considerable deterrent to the wives themselves, and all their relatives, for reasons that are easy to understand. And surely, the slow intelligences of these poor people will fasten on the thought that many of our men came to provide themselves with women, and take them, if they can, to their own country.[14]

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[13]Chapman, op. cit., pp. 290f.

[14]Tibesar, op. cit., pp. 149f., to Bucareli, August 24, 1775.

Serra then states his opinion that any progress either in the settlements or in the missions will be impossible unless such men as these remain as settlers. "These three families," he says, "form, as it were, the beginnings of a town. . . ." The father's concern in this matter was of course more for the mission than anything else, and he closes by saying that the settlers, by their diligence at work, and by their economy "even without doing anything for the service of the mission . . . are very useful." And, "If tomorrow . . . they are transferred . . . then all my efforts in this direction are brought to ruin."[15]

Although the conditions in California at this time were far from bright, it must not be assumed that nothing at all had been accomplished there by the friars. They had made no great conversions or conquests of Indian tribes, but they had made a beginning. Fray Palou includes in his Historical Memoirs a concise summary of the situation, physical and spiritual, at each mission in his Report Made in the Month of December, 1773, to His Excellency the Viceroy, of the State of the Five Missions of Monterey.

San Diego de Alcalá

This mission was founded July 16, 1769. Twenty large villages were located within ten leagues. The Indians were

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[15]Ibid.

hostile at first, and stayed away from the mission for some time after several were killed. By the time of this report there had been eighty-three baptized, children and adults, twelve marriages, and seven burials. The catechumens were very punctual, and especially enjoyed the music and the singing of the neophytes.

There was a stockade where soldiers, friars, and all Spaniards lived. The neophytes built the church. Seasonal crops were raised from 1771, but there was little water for irrigating; pastures were good.[16]

San Gabriel Arcángel

The mission was founded December 8, 1771, forty-four leagues northwest of San Diego. Here the Indians received the Spaniards well, until an incident took place between a soldier and an Indian woman which resulted in the killing of one of their men. With this the village was abandoned. Soon afterward the Indians returned, and at the date of the report seventy-three had been baptized and others were being catechized.

Within the stockade there was built a church, convent, offices, and granaries, and a place for the soldiers; in addition there were built ten houses for the new Christian

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[16]Fray Francisco Palou, Historical Memoirs of New California, translated by Herbert E. Bolton (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1926), III, 214-217.

Indians; five families and six unmarried were living there.

This mission prospered largely because of the good crops; the food attracted heathen and fed the new Christians.

The entire plain from San Gabriel to the beach eight leagues away was well populated with villages; many of these were hostile, however.[17]

San Luís Obispo de Tolosa

The mission was founded September 1, 1772, seventy leagues from San Gabriel. It was located in a well-populated area (all directions from the mission), though there were no permanent villages close to the mission.

After thirteen months twelve children had been baptized, and several adults were being catechized. Some difficulty was encountered in inducing the Indians to live at the mission since they were so successful in growing wild seed and in catching fish and game. Their practice was to take their houses and move to where the seeds were best. "Hence it will be only through their interest in clothing, which they like and desire very much, that they can be reached," said Fray Palou.

Crops here were good. Four married couples from Lower California lived here.[18]

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[17] Ibid., pp. 217-221.

[18] Ibid., pp. 221-224.

San Antonio de Pádua

The mission was founded July 14, 1771 on the bank of San Antonio River in the valley of Los Robles, twenty-three leagues north of San Luis.

There was an adobe church and convent, a guard house, and three small houses for leatherjacket soldiers with Indian wives from the mission. An Indian village of log and tule houses was close by.

Crops were fairly successful, and it was predicted that there would be good success with the Indians if the mission could support and clothe them.

Up to 1773 there were 158 baptisms, eighteen marriages, and eight burials.[19]

San Carlos de Monterey

This mission was founded June 3, 1770, and moved in December 1771 to the bank of the Carmelo River. Buildings were similar to the other missions.

Of thirty-two marriages performed, twenty-eight were between Indian men and recently converted Indian women, three were Indian neophytes and volunteer Catalonian soldiers, and one an Indian girl to a servant of the mission.

The land was good for seasonal crops, but at the time

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[19] Ibid., pp. 224-228.

of the report the results, because of irregular rains, had been poor. For this reason no catechumens could stay at the mission permanently; there was not even enough food for the Christians.[20]

Royal Presidio of Monterey

The presidio was founded June 3, 1770, twenty-five leagues from San Antonio on a place two gunshots distant from the harbor.

Buildings here were a wood stockade, an adobe church and convent, an adobe dwelling for the captain and buildings for jail, granary, soldiers' quarters, and rooms for muleteers and servants.[21]

That the missions continued to slowly grow is indicated by a report of Fray Serra of the following year, in which everything was listed and numbered, from baptisms to donkeys to beans harvested. San Diego had increased from eighty-three to 116 baptisms; San Gabriel from seventy-three to 148; San Luís Obispo from twelve to 108; San Antonio from 158 to 194; and San Carlos from 165 to 267. The total increase in baptisms was from 491 to 833; subtracting the deaths, the increase was from 462 to 759. San Gabriel had had no marriages at the end of 1773, nor had San Luís; but

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[20] Ibid., pp. 229-238.

[21] Ibid., pp. 228f.

by the year following there had been nineteen at San Gabriel and twenty-eight at San Luís.[22]

Such gains, although not significant in numbers, do show an apparently healthy progress of the friars' work amongst the Indians. A good crop during the season of 1774 of course may have won a large number of the converts.

Fall and winter, 1775-1776: A setback and a boost

There had been a continued growth at San Diego, as at other missions, during the year 1775. On October 3 there were some sixty Indians baptized at the new mission, recently moved about three leagues from the presidio to a better location. Plans had been made for beginning a new mission, between this place and San Gabriel, at San Juan Capistrano, twenty leagues from San Gabriel. Two friars, Lazuén and Amurrio, had been assigned and work had begun with Indians helping with "manifestations of pleasure."[23]

All of this was temporarily cut off, however, when an uprising of Christian and heathen Indians occurred at San Diego (the only major incident of the kind in the history of the coast missions). Two apostates "a long time baptized" went from village to village, inciting rebellion against the fathers ("who wished to make an end of heathenism by making

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[22] Ibid., p. 239. Cf. Tibesar, op. cit., p. 249.

[23] Palou, op. cit., IV, 55-60.

them all Christians") and the soldiers (who "defended the fathers"), according to the account by Fray Palou. At one o'clock in the morning on November 4, 1775 the attack by some eight hundred Indians began, and caught the entire population of both presidio and mission by surprise. As it turned out, only the mission was attacked; the band which was heading for the presidio lost heart and turned back when they saw that the first party had already attacked and was setting fires. The assumption was that these would be seen from the presidio, which would undoubtedly have happened if the sentinels had been awake.

The attacking Indians set fires, robbed the sacristy, wounded several men, and killed two--José Romero the blacksmith, and one of the missionaries, Fray Luís Jayme. Before many days had passed another had died from wounds.

By December 13 the news had reached Monterey; prayers and twenty masses each were said by the missionaries for the soul of Fray Luís. Captain Rivera immediately set out for San Diego.

The friar who survived the attack, Vicente Fuster, was grieved by the loss of his friend, "whose martyrdom he envied," but also saddened by the punishment which he knew would be inflicted on the Indians. Palou notes the father's show of compassion toward the Dieguenos; he regarded their lack of understanding and the activity of the Enemy as the

causes for the whole uprising.[24]

In the midst of such difficult times as these, any sign of hope must certainly have been welcome, and such a sign was the arrival on January 4 of the first overland expedition of settlers under Juan Bautista Anza.[25] Rivera had arrived from Monterey the day preceding to see the situation at San Diego and to take steps to subdue the Indians; Anza at once offered his military force to aid in this. Even with a total force of sixty soldiers, however, Rivera for some reason undertook no punitive action. Anza was somewhat disgusted with the waste of his time, according to Palou, and soon withdrew his men to proceed on his mission, which was to lead his colonists to San Francisco and to establish a settlement.[26]

Anza spent some time at Monterey, but by early summer they left for San Francisco Bay, arriving on June 27, 1776. The party consisted of about thirty-five families, mostly soldiers, with wives and children, but there were also about five or six non-military men with their families.[27] On

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[24] Ibid., pp. 61-72.

[25] Anza was especially important during this period of exploration, discovering the first overland trail to California from Sonora and the Colorado River.

[26] Palou, op. cit., IV, 73-79.

[27] Herbert E. Bolton, editor, Font's Complete Diary (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1933), pp. 424-428.

September 17 formal possession was taken (with Mass, Te Deum, bell ringing, and cannon-firing, all of which frightened the natives into hiding for several days), and on October 3 a chapel was blessed. This was contrary to the direction of Captain Rivera, who had wanted the mission to wait until there were enough soldiers to guard both it and the presidio, but Fray Palou and Fray Cambón as well as Captain Moraga, left in charge by Anza, all felt that this was the time for the mission as well.[28] The fact that this was in keeping with Bucareli's orders undoubtedly also encouraged them.[29]

1776-1784: continued growth

There was no lack of problems and controversies of one kind or another during the succeeding years, as will be evident, but the missions continued to grow, nevertheless, and new ones were founded. San Diego was rebuilt within a year after it had been destroyed, and the project of San Juan Capistrano was also completed; the first mass was said there on November 1, 1776.[30] During this time plans were made for the Santa Barbara Channel missions, where it was estimated some twenty thousand souls lived.

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[28]Palou, op. cit., IV, 123-134.

[29]Engelhardt, op. cit., p. 230.

[30]Palou, op. cit., IV, 139-145.

The problem which prevented the friars from beginning more missions was the lack of soldiers for the new locations. In most cases it was thought that six soldiers were necessary for each mission, and in areas where the Indians had shown hostility it was felt that more were required. The friars found many opportunities for complaint about the way the governor and officers were using and deploying the men available, but they accomplished little; soldiers were ordered to the missions when and where the commander saw fit. Such problems as funds for the missionaries, and the need for more missionaries also had to be contended with.

There were however two more missions founded before Fray Serra's death in 1784. Santa Clara, at the southernmost point of San Francisco Bay, was founded on January 12, 1777, possibly because not too many soldiers were needed. The Indians were friendly, though thieving. When they were punished (some killed in a skirmish, others flogged) they had no interest in the mission, but after an epidemic began to spread, the fathers were able to baptize about fifty children before they died.

On the Santa Barbara Channel only San Buenaventura, long planned, could be founded. This was on March 31, 1782. Missions Purísima Concepción and Santa Barbara had to wait.

Missions and the Government: More Difficulties

The situation in California differed from that in New

Mexico in that the difficulties between church and state did not relate so directly to the Indians. The chief causes seem to have been the differences of viewpoint, the differences in interests, and to a great extent, personal antagonism.

In Palou's account of the first years of the missions in California there is no mention of any problems until several years had passed, but suddenly the first occurs when the Fray president and the captain discussed the founding of Mission San Buenaventura.

> They discussed the number of soldiers that would have to remain and the manner in which the mission was to be run, for the captain had now thrust himself into the government of the missions, and he insisted that he and not the fathers had full authority.

The same problems started again. And it was for this reason that the above-mentioned trip to Mexico City was made by Fray Serra in 1773, as Fray Palou tells.

> On this account the missions, instead of making progress, were being hindered, and if this state of affairs were to continue the reduction would become impossible. Seeing this, the father president moved by zeal for the conversion of souls, decided to go to Mexico and try to obtain from his excellency better measures for the welfare of the reductions, not that the captain accomplished nothing but interference and annoyances, a sorrow to the religious and of no benefit to the missions.[31]

In Mexico Fray Serra presented to his father superior and to the viceroy a statement of requests, in which

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[31] Ibid., III, 364ff.

thirty-two grievances and possible corrections were listed. It is not necessary to consider many of these, but several will serve to give an indication of some of the pressing problems during the early years in New California.

One of the problems was apparently the interference of the captain with the receipt of certain funds and gifts from Mexico. Number four is a request that alms which may be given by people in Mexico to be used by the friars for the new Christians be noted in invoices as belonging to the mission and as being "not subject to the officer of the presidio." Also in this place was a request that the viceroy make a statement that there was no ground for the charge made by Governor Don Felipe Barry, of Baja California, that the Franciscans had stolen utensils from those Old California missions when they left. Invoices were requested in the future for every item coming into possession of the missions. All of this was granted by his excellency.[32]

Number six concerned the same trouble mentioned by Palou above, that of the attitude of commander of the presidio, Don Pedro Fages. Although Serra mentions that "the hindrance that his conduct has always caused to the missions," if he were to tell of it, "would be a long discourse," the chief complaint which he gives is on behalf of the soldiers. If Fages is not removed, there will continue

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[32] Ibid., p. 7.

the many desertions and the great dissatisfaction because of the "ill-treatment and bad manners of that officer," and the "oppression and subjection" which he forces upon them. Serra asks that, if his reasons given to the viceroy be sufficient, Fages be removed; he concludes however, "I beg your Excellency to let him retire with honor and without disgrace, and may God bless him."[33]

Request number eight revealed another perennial problem which the fathers had with the soldiers' behavior toward the Indians, and naturally toward the women in particular. Here the Fray President asked for permission to have a soldier removed from a mission merely on the friar's request, with no explanation necessary.

> Your Excellency should strictly order this officer that on the first request by the missionary father of any of the missions, he must remove any soldier or soldiers who set a bad example, especially in matters of chastity, and return them to the presidio and send in their places others who are not noted as lascivious and scandalous. And even though the father may not expose the offense of the soldier when he asks that they remove him, let it be attended to, for wisdom dictates that in some cases it would be best not to give the reason. . . . The father will take care not to ask for the removal of any soldier who does no wrong to the mission, and so if he makes such a request it will be a sign that there is a very good reason, and, consequently, it is just that his petition should be granted.[34]

The next request indicates that the military often

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[33] Ibid., pp. 8f.

[34] Ibid., p. 14.

"disciplined" the Indians on their own, whenever it seemed necessary to them. Fray Serra asked that this practice also be ended.

> Your Excellency should make known to each officer and to the soldiers that the management, chastisement, and education of the baptized Indians, and those that may be baptized, shall pertain privately to the missionary fathers, except in crimes of blood; and therefore, that no chastisement or ill-treatment shall be inflicted upon any of them, either by the officer or any of the soldiers, without consulting the missionary father, for this is the immemorial custom of the kingdom since its conquest. It is in complete [accord] with the natural law concerning the education of children, and an essential condition for the proper education of the poor neophytes.[35]

All of these requests were immediately granted by the viceroy, except that concerning Captain Fages. The following year, however, he was replaced at Monterey by Captain Don Fernando Rivera.

Number fifteen indicates a trouble which was related to Number four. Here it was asked that all supplies for the mission be marked and labeled plainly so that they might be received directly from the ship captain, and not from the commander, who Serra said "does as he pleases." Fages had apparently even refused bells to the friars, and food for Christian boys and girls given "to augment Christianity."[36]

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[35] Ibid., p. 15.

[36] Ibid., p. 20. Fray Serra once said that if it rained mules from heaven on Monterey, the missionaries would be without them, unless they were expressly labeled for the mission.

Serra also complained that Fages often interfered with his communication with the College of San Fernando and his superior, and with that of the other friars as well. Letters would be opened, or sent astray. Request Number twenty-two asked that this be ended, and that letters be delivered free of charge.[37]

These, too, were granted by the viceroy, as well as numerous other petitions--for blacksmiths, carpenters, iron to work with (and items necessary to teach Indians such trades), for full weights in mission supplies, and for added benefits for the soldiers, to encourage them to marry and settle in California.[38]

Fray Serra returned to his little chain of missions, and perhaps some of the problems and difficulties were relieved; but Captain Rivera, who came to Monterey in 1774, turned out to be no better than Fages had been. There were more obstacles to the friars' work besides many of the old ones.

Fages had been persuaded to give a soldier as major-domo for missions, but when Rivera took over he refused this. One corporal (who had served for a time as a major-domo) had been dismissed at San Antonio for concubinage; Don Fernando immediately appointed him corporal at San Luís; the fathers

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[37] Ibid., p. 28.

[38] Ibid., pp. 32f.; Engelhardt, op. cit., pp. 140-142.

protested, but to no effect. Food had been arriving from San Blas, und was filling the storehouses, but the captain would allow the people to have only small rations, so that "the soldiers themselves say that they had more food in times of famine than now in times of abundance."[39]

Another occasion gave the fathers ample cause for objecting to Rivera's manner. This was when one of the new Christians from San Diego who had taken part in the uprising took refuge in the church with the father. When the commander asked for him and was refused, he marched into the sanctuary with a sword in one hand and a candle in the other, and forcibly removed the Indian, putting him in stocks. On the next day all who had taken part in Rivera's action were asked to leave the church before mass could be said; and the captain was excommunicated. Five fathers agreed that this was the proper action.[40] Rivera did not seem to be too concerned, and even when he asked for absolution, he insisted that he had not been wrong.[41]

It is impossible to know precisely the situation, and precisely whose the fault actually was in such cases as

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[39]Tibesar, op. cit., pp. 107, 109, to the Father Guardian [Francisco Pangua] and Discretorium, Monterey, July 18, 1774.

[40]Engelhardt, op. cit., p. 210; Palou, op. cit., IV, 97-112.

[41]Palou, op. cit., IV, 105f.

these, without having statements from the viewpoint of the officers and governors with whom Serra and his friars fought.[42] The purpose here, however, is to give something of the conditions which existed during those early years of the colony and the missions, and from these instances perhaps this can be done.

Rivera soon left Monterey when, toward the end of 1776, the governor of the Californias moved from Loreto in Baja California to Monterey; the captain went to Loreto. Viceroy Bucareli had high hopes for this change, since there had been so much difficulty,[43] but it did not take long before conflicts began to arise again.

Probably the most objectionable act of the governor Don Felipe de Neve was his proposal of 1779 that in the establishment of missions in the future, on the Santa Barbara Channel and inland, the friars have only a spiritual authority and jurisdiction. The plan was to have the natives live in their own towns and earn or make their living in their own way. In addition, the number of friars was to be reduced from two to one at each mission. The intent of Neve's reglamento was to reduce the missions to purely spiritual institutions, which would be to remove all of the

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[42]For an interesting example of the clashes between Serra and Rivera, see Appendix C.

[43]Chapman, op. cit., pp. 291f.

agricultural and craft-learning activities.[44]

Needless to say this was violently opposed by the Franciscans, both in California and in Mexico, where the issue was fought out.[45] The Fray guardian at San Fernando was fortunately (for the friars) able to out-argue the governor and his cohort in the matter, the commandant of Interior Provinces.[46]

If such an attempt as this were not sufficient to build up a definite hostility toward Neve on the part of Serra, another action which also took place in 1779 was sufficient. According to a papal brief, the powers of confirmation were to be specially granted for a limited period to a Franciscan friar, since it was a difficult thing for a bishop to make a trip to as remote a place as California. In 1778 Fray Serra received this power and began immediately to dispense this sacrament and this blessing to his neophytes. By the summer of 1779 he had traveled throughout California and prepared

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[44] Ibid., pp. 362, 375.

[45] The friars might have had a good arguing point two years later, in 1781. At this time an uprising occurred among the Yumas on the Colorado, where this plan had been followed. The entire Spanish colony, except for women and children, were massacred, including four friars and Don Fernando Rivera. Palou, op. cit., IV, 199-201.

[46] Engelhardt, op. cit., p. 402. The Commandant-General of the Interior Provinces was a post created in 1776, independent of the viceroy of Mexico. The Spanish borderlands of the United States were included in this jurisdiction.

and confirmed some 2,007 (the vast majority of which were Indians). Neve then issued an order forbidding Serra to confirm any more, claiming that he had not received the pase, or permission, of either the viceroy or himself (which of course was necessary under the patronato). As it turned out, the fact that the original grant had been legally made and approved before Neve had come to office made the whole commotion quite pointless. The only result was that the friars were convinced that Neve's only purpose was to destroy the missions.[47]

Even without considering any statements by Neve on these matters, it appears that he harbored some sort of hostility toward the friars or toward Serra. Certainly for him to object so strenuously to Serra's mere administering of confirmation indicates this. Chapman also says that

> Felipe de Neve was an able governor, but one cannot help feeling that judgement should be given in favor of Serra in most of the disputes that they had. Indeed, the governor not infrequently displayed that vindictive spirit which at a later time . . . characterized his relations with Anza.[48]

It was unfortunate that there could not have been more smoothness and good relations between the friars and the civil authorities, especially since many other conditions

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[47]This entire "power of Confirmation" episode is well covered, with documentary quotations, in Engelhardt, op. cit., pp. 319-340.

[48]Chapman, op. cit., p. 361.

were better in California than elsewhere. It was unfortunate that there could not have been more of the harmony and cooperation that existed between Serra and Viceroy Bucareli. But again the inherent cleavage in the Spanish colonial-mission system was the dominant factor; aided by human nature it produced another example of colonial strife.

The Franciscans' Missionary Method in California

The California Indians

One of the most notable differences which existed between the conditions in California and those in the other Spanish colonial territories was the attitude and nature of the Indian inhabitants. In most areas in which the Spaniards traveled and settled they met with an amazingly friendly reception. It is true that there was a somewhat less warlike attitude on the part of the Spanish as they marched into California than there had been about two hundred years earlier, but by itself this cannot account for the Indians' different attitude.

There were of course different attitudes in different areas of California; the San Diego area seems to have been less amicable than the San Francisco Bay territory. But the general situation was such that the viceroy in a statement made about 1770 said that in California there were "numerous and very docile heathen people," with whom "our

Spaniards are as safe at Monterey as though they were in the heart of this capital."[49]

Such a statement is quite understandable in view of many of the reports which the viceroy received, such as perhaps one from the second San Francisco Bay exploration. The Indians here on this occasion were full of desire to communicate, to help, and to welcome the Spaniards. They would carry firewood and water for the Spaniards' use, and give them food. The exploring parties turned down many invitations to visit Indian villages.[50] During this same early period Fray Crespi described the reception they met with at San Gabriel:

> On the first river . . . Dulcísimo Nombre de Jesus de los Temblores . . . there is a very large village of very friendly, gentle, peaceful natives, who offered us all their land if we would remain with them, saying that the Serranos wished to leave their mountains, that they would build us houses, and protect us. We told them that if we returned we would stay with them, and that we would make a house for God and afterwards one for ourselves, and that we would clothe them and plant for them, and also defend them from their enemies. When we said this to the one who was captain of them all, he shed tears of happiness and joy.
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> From here on in all the towns and villages that we came to they brought out trays of very good pinoles, atoles and tamales, not just once, but three times a day, in the morning, at noon and in the afternoon.[51]

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[49]Palou, op. cit., III, 301.

[50]Ibid., p. 307.

[51]Ibid., IV, 280f., Fray Crespi to Fray Palou, San Diego, February 6, 1770.

There were occasions on which hostility was shown as well, but usually it was not unprovoked. In the same area near San Gabriel, somewhat later, the Indians attacked several Spanish soldiers; in the battle they lost their chief, whose head the soldiers displayed as a warning. Fray Palou explains, however, that "They afterwards told the fathers that the reason for the attack had been that a soldier had assaulted an Indian woman of the village." The outcome was that they were partly pacified by the fathers, after which they "gradually forgot the affair and once more came to visit the mission."[52]

As a general description then it may be said that the natives of California were unwarlike, often friendly, and quite amenable to the Spanish institutions, especially the missions, when there was no glaring mistreatment. Fages gives a description of the Carmelo Indians which could be applied to other areas:

> they are of feeble spirit. This apparently is attributable to their condition and the kind of life they lead, always fearful and unable to retire or make excursions of more than four or five leagues from the port of the Punta de Pinos, lest they come into conflict with their opponents, who resist and persecute them on all sides. They love the Spaniards very much, and recognize in them a shelter and protection of which they were in absolute need.[53]

This is just about the best that can be said about the

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[52] Ibid., III, 326.

[53] Font, op. cit., p. 302, footnote.

California aborigines, however. As for the general state of these people, their physical, mental, and emotional characteristics, everyone seems to be united in stating that they were about as primitive and lifeless as was humanly possible. Engelhardt quotes a number of sources to this effect, such as a description by the Englishman, Vancouver:

> Describing the converts at San Francisco and San Jose, Vancouver, and eye-witness, writes: "The same horrid state of uncleanness and laziness seemed to pervade the whole population. There was scarcely any sign in their general deportment of their being at all benefited . . . by the . . . exertions of their religious instructors."

They were a people

> "who appeared to be in compound of stupidity and innocence. All the operations and functions both of the body and mind appeared to be carried on with a mechanical, lifeless, careless indifference. . . ." In their savage state "hunger alone compelled them to make some sort of exertion in search of food; but they labored no more than was necessary to secure a supply of anything that would sustain life, without much reference as to its quality."[54]

Engelhardt quotes Tuthill as voicing the impressions of

> all the early navigators, explorers, and travelers when he says that "of all wretchedly debased and utterly brutal beings, the Indians of California were the farthest fallen below the average Indian type. They were neither brave nor bold, neither generous nor spirited. We hear of no orators among them, no bold braves terribly resenting and contesting the usurpation of the whites."[55]

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[54]Engelhardt, op. cit., p. 253.

[55]Ibid., p. 245.

And the prolific writer and historian, Bancroft, writes:

> "It is not until we reach Central California from the north that we find whole tribes subsisting on roots, herbs, and insects; having no boats, no clothing, no laws, no God. . . . Naturally pusillanimous, weak in development, sunk below the common baser passions of the savage, more improvident than birds, more beastly than beasts, it may be possible to conceive of a lower phase of humanity, but I confess my inability to do so."[56]

It is unnecessary to go into many details of their culture to establish or illustrate their low state, though Engelhardt gives a great deal of this information (telling of their primitive dwellings, lack of weapons, their rude diet, lack of government, even their lack of legends, etc.).[57] But a few facts may throw some light on the Indians' relationship to the missions.

Even after the friars had been in California for some time, and had learned some of the language, they very regularly met with difficulty in communicating even after traveling only a short distance. When the missions were established, there were often Indians from different neighboring villages who could not understand each other. Just how diverse these languages were can be seen in a statement by Professor Kroeber of the University of California, who says that these Indians

belonged to as many as twenty-one distinct linguistic

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[56] Ibid., p. 246. Fray Font, op. cit., p. 204 indicates the same thing.

[57] Ibid., pp. 245-257.

> families, being a fourth of the total found in all North America, and, as compared with the area of the State, so large that California must probably be regarded as the region of the greatest aboriginal linguistic diversity in the world.[58]

Little need be said as to how difficult it was for the friars to communicate Catholic doctrine, or even fundamental principles of life, to these people, who "had words for scarecely anything that could not be seen, heard, touched, or tasted."[59]

As for the religion of the California natives, Engelhardt says that until the missionaries came, there was none; the fathers had no real idolatry to combat, only a few superstitions, from which "they were easily disillusioned." He describes their state as a "negative infidelity." Death was regarded as a real but invisible entity. Some thought it meant the end of existence, some believed in a kind of afterlife, others believed that the chiefs in some vague way "took their places among the stars."[60]

Their morality need not be described, except to say that it at least gave the fathers something to work with. At that they seemed to have less difficulty in California than in

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[58]Frederick W. Hodge, editor, Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico (Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin No. 30; New York: Pageant Books, Inc., 1959), p. 191.

[59]Engelhardt, op. cit., p. 248.

[60]Ibid., pp. 258f.

other places.

In all of this it can be seen that such a race as the Spanish encountered in New California would not be likely to cause any great trouble, or impede the Spanish purpose of establishing a colonial outpost. This was a very considerable problem in the other provinces. As far as the missions were concerned there was some difficulty, but again not serious or as extreme as in New Mexico or Florida. Engelhardt says that of the chief Indian vices untruthfulness was the worst. "In his grave, humble, and retired manner, the Indian conceals a hypocritical and treacherous disposition. He will deceive the most minute observer . . . until time has revealed to them the true qualities."

About all that could be said on the favorable side was that these Indians showed "love for their children, submissiveness, patience in sickness, and a certain shamefacedness or modesty on the part of females who had not been entirely corrupted."[61]

The Franciscan method

The approach which the friars in California used seems to be in many ways a most effective one, in view of these particular cultural and racial characteristics of the California Indians.

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[61] Ibid., pp. 261f.

The purpose of the friars was religious of course, to preach the "one thing necessary," the Gospel, as Engelhardt says. However, since the California natives had such a low state of civilization and culture, it was necessary to instruct them in other things. "The savages had . . . to be taught that they were incomparably superior to brutes."[62] For this reason the friars' approach consisted in gathering the Indians in settlements or communities around the mission, and teaching them how to take care of themselves and how to develop many basic skills, as well as teaching them the fundamentals of Christianity.[63]

The first task which the friars had was to attract the Indians to the missions. In the first stages of establishing a mission many were drawn by curiosity; they would gather to watch the ceremonies, such as planting the cross, and holding masses. Often they were persuaded to help in preparing timbers, clearing land, and putting up temporary huts. With this there were rewards given, clothing, trinkets, and especially meals, with good food.

> As every little assistance on their part was appreciated and rewarded, the Indian concluded that after all

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[62] Ibid., p. 263.

[63] Ibid., p. 266. This system was proposed by Rt. Rev. Juan de Quevedo, O. F. M., bishop of Santa Maria de Antigua, Isthmus of Panama, in 1519. The Indians of America seem to be a race, he said, "whom it would be impossible to instruct or improve, unless they were collected in villages and kept under continual supervision."

> it was better to live with the kind missionaries, and have plenty to eat, than to have to be everlastingly on the lookout for something eatable in the mountains and valleys.

The result of this was of course that

> They were now disposed to listen to what the strange white men would try to convey through interpreters or by means of signs. This usually caused a few to make their permanent abode under the shadow of the Cross.[64]

In this way, the mission and the Indian settlement developed. As long as there was food and the attentions of the fathers, the Indians stayed. And as long as they stayed, they were taught.

Once this has begun, other pagans see the advantages which their converted relatives have. Fray Serra tells how they came in from distant rancherías every day, and told the fathers how much they would like to have such missions in their own country.

> They see the church, and how nice it looks; they see the cornfields which appear wonderful in their eyes; they see the throngs of children and all the rest of the people, how they are all clothed, and sing and eat in plenty, even though they have to work. All of this, together with the workings of Our Lord God in their souls--who doubts but this entices them?[65]

After visiting the missions, "lodging in houses near the stockade in which live the relatives of the Christians, who have finally become permanent residents," they often become

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[64] Ibid., pp. 268f.; also Font, op. cit., p. 180.

[65] Tibesar, op. cit., p. 141, to Bucareli, Monterey, August 24, 1774.

interested, and receive instruction. As more and more become baptized "they will go on building houses to form a town."[66]

From this it can be seen that the heart of the friars' missionary method was the settling of Indians around the missions, and undoubtedly the chief inducement was the food which they were given. As Fray Font puts it, they were "attracted by the pozole, which they like better than their herbs and the foods of the mountain; and so these Indians are usually caught by the mouth."

Further evidence for this conclusion is also given by Font in his mention of the poor state of the San Diego mission. This place has no good facilities for raising crops, no common fields, and no pozole is distributed. There the Indians must be permitted to live in their rancherías, and only be obliged to come to mass on Sundays.

> As a result the Christians were such only in name, and were more or less the same as the heathen, being so new in Christianity, living in such liberty, and being so little instructed, because the fathers were unable to do any more.[67]

According to the letters and diaries of the friars, there was no kind of compulsion about their attempts to win the Indians; only those were permitted to join the settlement who voluntarily came. Once they had begun to be

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[66] Palou, op. cit., III, 223.

[67] Font, op. cit., pp. 180, 182, 197.

instructed in Christianity and in skills, however, they were not permitted to live in the forest or mountains, but only at the mission. If anyone left the mission without permission, he was searched out and punished. Those who desired catechization were taught "to make the sign of the cross and other things necessary," and if they continued for two or three months without changing their mind, they were baptized. Apparently they were permitted to decide after a time if they wanted to continue and become baptized. If either they or the fathers decided that it was not the thing to do, the Indians might leave the mission. But if they decided to stay, and then later deserted, they were to be treated as military deserters.[68]

Once the Indians were baptized they were fully members of the community and subject to mission discipline as an important part of their training. All converts were separated from their unconverted tribesmen and from the whites, and all unmarried girls were separated from relatives and others during the night. This was to protect the neophytes from all contact with heathen, just as the Israelites were separated from other nations in early times.[69]

In cases of disorders and excesses the friars had

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[68]Engelhardt, op. cit., p. 285. Cf. also Font, op. cit., p. 179, and Tibesar, op. cit., pp. 285f.

[69]Engelhardt, op. cit., p. 271.

"police regulations" to handle the converts. Instructing, warning, admonishing were the first measures used. If this failed the offender was sometimes locked up--although he often sought this so that he might escape some work. Sometimes visits to relatives in the mountains was forbidden, or participation in festivities. In cases of extreme and continued sins, however, such as "stealing, persistent indolence, stubbornness, desertion, immoralities," more severe punishments were given. Stocks, pillories, chains, and extra work were employed, or in the worst cases, the lash.[70]

So that everyone was regularly present at mass on Sundays and feast days a method of keeping attendance was devised. After mass, one of the missionaries called all the names from the Padron (which contained all vital statistics on all members of the community), and one by one they approached to kiss the priest's hand. It was a very simple thing to see who was missing.[71]

One of the most important aspects of the missions was the practical education which the friars attempted to give to these primitive people. There seem to have been fairly good results in many places. Four years after the founding of San Carlos, Fray Serra wrote:

Our adult new Christians in this mission, inspired by

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[70] Ibid., pp. 297f.

[71] Ibid., p. 276.

> the example of the few workmen I have thus far succeeded in getting, are beginning to apply themselves diligently to work; some with hoes in hand, levelling the ground to increase our crops, others digging in the garden, others making adobe bricks, others again sawing. These last weeks all have been busy with the wheat harvest, carrying the sacks to the storehouse, and doing anything they are told.[72]

Naturally, agriculture was the most important thing which the Indians learned to do, but many other occupations were also taught, such as brick-making, tile- and pottery-making, bricklaying, carpentry, masonry, making of shoes (also saddles, hats, clothing, candles, soap), hide tanning, wool-spinning, sheep shearing, smithing, and, very important, weaving cloth and blankets from the mission's own wool.

With all of this, however, they were not overworked. Engelhardt quotes one writer who said, "Their labor is light and they have much leisure to spend in their beloved inaction."[73]

The way in which all of this was carried out was apparently very much like a communal system, at least as Fray Engelhardt describes it:

> The product of the field was garnered in granaries, and the goods produced in the shops were stored in the mission warehouse for the benefit of the community. All, Indians and missionaries, shared alike in what was produced. No one received wages, because the wants of all were supplied from the common property. The missionary himself received no more. When there was an opportunity,

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[72]Tibesar, op. cit., pp. 143f., to Bucareli, Monterey, August 24, 1774.

[73]Engelhardt, op. cit., pp. 279-284.

> the missionary would sell to foreign merchants what could be spared, and in turn he purchased groceries, dry goods, and especially iron and iron ware. Most wearing apparel was manufactured by the Indians, so that no other expenditure was necessary.[74]

The more important teaching which the Indians received was of course their catechization and religious instruction, which was conducted in as simple a way as was possible. Most likely the friars knew the importance of reading and writing in this instruction, but they did not think that the Indians would respond to such an approach. A few were taught these things, but most were simply taught Christian truths by word of mouth, an approach much more agreeable to the Indians. They hated mental exertion much more than even manual labor.

This sounds at first as if it might have worked out fairly well, and might have taught the Indians something of Christianity, but unfortunately the instruction was not carried on in their own languages. Instead it was done in Castilian. Perhaps it is understandable that the friars did this, considering the above mentioned language problems, but for the catechumens to have learned anything with such a hindrance must have been impossible.[75]

Whatever the Indians did learn of the Catholic faith had to come in another way, by visible means. The fathers always insisted on celebrating the Divine Mysteries "with

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[74] Ibid., p. 284.

[75] Ibid., pp. 272, 295.

all the pomp available," and on requiring the most complete reverence at all times within the church. The church calendar was always used to explain the ceremonies. And all of the instructions began with "outward devotional practices," as the sign of the cross, genuflections, etc.

Probably the most useful of visual aids to learning were the pictures found in all the churches.

> In order to help the dull minds of the Indians to grasp the significance of the doctrinal points, and to excite the neophytes to practice virtue or avoid evil habits, the missionaries lined and decorated the walls of the chapels and corridors with statues and pictures of Christ, the Blessed Virgin, angels and saints, especially of the mission's patron saint. There were also pictures representing heaven, hell, death, judgement, purgatory, etc.; and the fourteen Stations of the Cross were to be found in every mission.

Religious processions were also an important part of the missions' life, and an aid to teaching the natives something about Christianity.[76]

Considering the problems involved in communicating to these Indians, however, their primitive state and limited vocabulary, their vast language differences--and considering that the fathers felt it necessary to teach in Spanish, it is no wonder that there never was much spiritual progress made among them. Engelhardt says that

> comparatively few comprehended the full significance of the Holy Eucharist. Notwithstanding the zeal of the friars, who would repeat the lessons over and over again, in order that the Indians might understand the

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[76] Ibid., pp. 271-276. See also Appendix D.

> divine truths to some degree . . . a large number remained incapable of receiving Holy Communion, just as they failed to grasp the full significance of citizenship.[77]

In view of this, perhaps the most satisfying aspect of the friars' work was their success in establishing a paternal relationship with the Indians. The natives were peaceful, lived always at the missions, learned a little about religion, learned how to ply a trade, and looked upon the religious as the benevolent father. This is perhaps too idealistic, and the actual situation in each of the missions no doubt was lacking in one way or another, but probably in a general way this was the nature of the California missions.

There are certainly many ways in which the approach of the Franciscan fathers might be criticized, and there were certainly ways in which they could have been more effective. However, it must be admitted that they met a unique situation with a fitting missionary approach, and did achieve an amazing success. There was not much freedom on the part of the Indians; their entire lives were closely regulated. But there is evidence that, undeveloped and uncivilized as they were, a greater freedom might have been harmful, or at least hindered their development. The frequent difficulties which the Spanish had with Indian alcaldes may support this thought.[78] The results of the nineteenth century secularize-

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[77] Ibid., p. 274. See also Appendix E.

[78] Tibesar, op. cit., pp. 365f.

tion of the missions (about 1834) also definitely point in this direction.

> By this step the property of the missions was divided among the Indians, and they were freed from the restraint and authority of their former masters. In a very few years, as might have been expected and as was predicted by the fathers, the Indians had been either deprived of their lands and property or had squandered them, and were living in a hopeless condition.[79]

This was the most successful of the Franciscan mission fields in the areas which now comprise the United States. It is unfortunate that it ended so soon. This was probably the highest point that the native peoples of California ever reached.

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[79]Hodge, op. cit., p. 191. Kroeber estimates the number of Indians in California before white men came as about 150,000. By early in the twentieth century the number had dropped to about 15,000.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The first and most important conclusion made from this study of Spanish settlements and mission endeavors in the United States borderlands is probably that concerning the failure which seems to have characterized the whole venture. In most cases these endeavors began and were continued only with great difficulty, and ended with practically nothing to show for all the effort expended.

One difficulty which from the very beginning worked toward the ultimate failure was probably inherent in the very situation. It was the difficulty which is always present when a country is invaded and conquered by a foreign power. It is true that the Indians of America did not always meet the Spaniards with hostility, but when they did it was in most cases quite understandable. It was even more understandable when one considers the frequent arrogance, and conquistadore-attitude with which the Spaniards came.

After the conquerors were somewhat settled in a place, they began to take disciplinary measures whenever they felt the occasion demanded it, and the punishments dealt the Indians were often severe. Obviously this still further alienated them. Of course it was unlikely that these Spaniards of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries would have done anything else in their situation. When, for example,

the Indians of Acoma killed a number of soldiers, it is unlikely that anything but a reprisal could have taken place. To force a twentieth-century attitude upon that situation can not be done. But the fact remains that these basic conflicts from the very beginning worked against any successful colonization or missionary work.

A second major problem and cause of Spanish failure in North America was the exploitation of the Indians, which seems to have been the rule. Unlike the rest of Spanish America, there was no encomienda either in Florida or in California, but the Spaniards--especially the non-religious--found many ways to use the Indians for their own purposes. The friars made protests continually against these practices, but usually with little success. Unfortunately, they themselves in many ways used the Indians to perform services, which the soldiers, civilians, and government officials were quick to point out.

It is difficult to say exactly what the relationship was between the practice of encomienda and the success which Spain had in settling a territory, but at least it is a fact that the greatest difficulty was found in New Mexico, where the encomienda was in force, while the greatest success was had in California, where it was not in force. Of course, the more peaceful and tractable nature of the California Indians played an important part in the success there, while the great hostility of New Mexico Indians greatly hindered that

work. But whether or not there was encomienda in an area, there were many abuses and restrictions placed upon the Indians. In every case this was one of the major causes of the Spanish failure.

The third problem was pointed up in Chapter II, where mention was made of the Royal Patronage or patronato. The grants of power over the church which were made to the Crown were the source of immeasurable strife and conflict between the civil officials in the colonies and the missionaries there.

The Church-State struggles were not at all one-sided. Governors and prelates, civil officials and friars, all made charges against each other. Sometimes they were justified, sometimes not. Sometimes they revealed conflicts in principles and in interests, sometimes they were based purely on personal animosities and a jealousy of each other's power. Here, too, is a very complex, and often utterly confused picture. About the only clear conclusion which can be drawn is that the general result of the strife was a severe hampering of missionary work among the Indians, and a frequent harm to the Indians themselves.

Probably the only major constructive influence in the colonies was the work of the missionaries among the Indians. They often approached the Indians in the wrong way, and often appealed to the wrong motives (as when they attracted the natives with food), but these friars did attempt to raise the

state of their converts' lives. They did teach some to read and write; they did encourage better habits of living; and they did teach skills and crafts to a great many Indians.

However, there was a negative side even to the missionaries' activity. An important part of bringing the Indians into the Catholic church was the severe discipline which was necessary to keep them in line. If an Indian was guilty of an offense against the church, or against morality, or against the friars he was punished, often bodily. It is not difficult to see how the Indians would feel toward their conquerors' religion after they had been whipped or humiliated in some way. The torture and abuse inflicted upon Fray Ávila during the Guale revolt in Florida is quite understandable in the light of the practice of mission discipline.

All of these factors are important in the failure of the Franciscans and of Spain in the United States borderlands; but they are not the most important. The chief failure in Spanish America was the failure to bring the Gospel to the Indians. The friars taught them much of Catholicism. They also tried to teach certain aspects of the Christian Gospel. But on the whole, they were unable to bring the natives of America to a real understanding of Christianity.

Probably the most dominant aspect of the Franciscans' religion was their own brand of pietism. They were profuse in exclamations of zeal and spiritual concern for the Indians. They were always concerned for proper outward actions

and pious appearances. They were staunch advocates of self-discipline, even self-flagellation. (Even one as level-headed as Fray Serra practiced this, at least during his early years in New Spain.) And most common with these friars were their repeatedly expressed desires for martyrdom. It cannot be said that the friars had no real concern for the Indians, but there does seem to be a self-interest connected with all of this piety, which would not seem to help them in converting the Indians. In addition, even if they were able to teach their catechumens some of the outward forms, the genuflecting, the veneration of the cross, there could hardly be any genuine understanding of Christianity from that.

Another hindrance to any actual conversions in the colonies was the friars' preoccupation with matters other than the Word of the Gospel. They certainly believed in salvation through Christ, but their concern was usually elsewhere. As with so many others in the Roman church, the Franciscans' faith was usually focused on nonessentials, such as the outward forms just mentioned. They often had a strong belief that the Indians were longing for Christianity, and would soon eagerly take it to themselves and become strong Catholics. They were frequently preoccupied with imagined miracles; according to historical accounts written by many friars there were miracles occurring very regularly, bringing about many conversions. The religious had a strong

faith, but it was usually misdirected.

It must be admitted that many of the friars had a genuine concern for the Indians, and worked hard to settle them, elevate them, and make of them good Catholics. In certain areas (especially California) and for a certain length of time this may have been achieved. On the whole, however, the obstacles were too great and the amount of Gospel too insignificant to work an actual conversion. In many cases even an outward Christianity was too much for the Indians to accept. Thus one of the most common occurrences in these Spanish colonies was the revolt of mission Indians. The one which occurred in New Mexico in 1680, together with the desecration of everything connected with the missions, was a vivid example of the feeling which many Indians had toward the Spaniards and the missionaries.

A great deal of effort and expense were put into the colonies and missions of our Spanish borderlands, and for very little return. In Florida and New Mexico especially the support of the missions was by the charity of the Crown. (In California, the friars were supported largely by a fund of contributions of lay people--the Pious Fund.) But the final result was nothing but a forceful pacification of relatively backward peoples, and even this was temporary. Today Spain is totally absent from the western hemisphere, and Roman Catholic Christianity is of little importance among the remaining Indian population of the United States.

APPENDIX A

Excerpts from a sermon preached on the Sunday before Christmas, 1511, on the island of Hispaniola, by Fray Antonio de Montesinos, O.P.

> In order to make your sins against the Indians known to you I have come up on this pulpit, I who am a voice of Christ crying in the wilderness of this island, and therefore it behooves you to listen, not with careless attention, but will [sic] all your heart and senses, so that you may hear it; for this is going to be the strangest voice that ever you heard, and harshest and hardest and most awful and most dangerous that ever you expected to hear. . . . This voice says that you are in mortal sin, that you live and die in it, for the cruelty and tyranny you use in dealing with these innocent people. Tell me, by what right or justice do you keep these Indians in such a cruel and horrible servitude? On what authority have you waged a detestable war against these people, who dwelt quietly and peacefully in their own land?. . . . Why do you keep them so oppressed and weary, not giving them enough to eat nor taking care of them in their illness? For with the excessive work you demand of them they fall ill and die, or rather you kill them with your desire to extract and acquire gold every day. And what care do you take that they should be instructed in religion?. . . . Are these not men? Have they not rational souls? Are you not bound to love them as you love yourselves?. . . . Be certain that, in such a state as this, you can no more be saved than the Moors or Turks.[1]

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[1]Taken from Lewis Hanke, The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949), p. 17. Hanke quotes Bartolomé de las Casas, History of the Indies.

APPENDIX B

Fray Alonso de Benavides' Account of Sister María de Jésus de Agréda's Miraculous Visits to the Indians of America.

> Among other virtues that God granted this blessed mother is the eagerness for salvation of souls. From childhood she felt great grief for those who are damned, and particularly for the heathen, who, because of the lack of light and preachers, do not know God, our Lord. His Majesty revealed to her all the savage nations in the world that do not know Him, and she was transported by the aid of the angels that she has as guardians. Her wings are Saint Michael and our father, Saint Francis. She has preached in person our holy Catholic faith in every nation, particularly in our New Mexico, where she was carried in the same manner. The custodian angels of its provinces also came in person to get her by command of God, our Lord. The habit she wore most frequently was that of our father, Saint Francis; on other occasions it was that of La Concepcion, together with the veil. . . . The first time that she went was in the year 1620, and she has continued these visits so often that there were days when she appeared three and four times in less than twenty-four hours. This has continued without interruption until 1631.
>
> My dear fathers, I do not know how to express to your paternities the impulses and great force of my spirit when this blessed Mother told me that she had been present with me at the baptism of the Pizos (Piros) and that she recognized me as the one she had seen there. Likewise she had helped Father Fray Cristobal Quiros with some baptisms, giving a minute description of his person and face, even saying that although he was old he did not show any gray hair, but that he was long-faced and ruddy; that once when the father was in his church baptizing, many Indians came in and all crowded around the door and that she with her own hands pushed them on, getting them to their places so that they would not hinder him; that they looked to see who was pushing them and they laughed . . . when they were unable to see who did it. . . .
>
> She also told me all we know that has happened to our

brothers and fathers, Fray Juan de Salas and Fray Diego López, in the journeys to the Jumanas, and that she asked the latter and instructed them to go and call the fathers as they did. She gave me all their descriptions, adding that she assisted them. She knows Captain Tuerto very well, giving a detailed description of him and of the others. She herself sent the emissaries from Quivira to call the fathers. The Indians themselves will testify to all of this, as she speaks to them in person. She described to me also the trip of Father Ortega, who was so fortunate as to save his life through the signs he found, all of which she mentioned to me. When she turned from the north to the east, she set out from a region of intense cold until reaching a warm and pleasant climate, and in that direction onward, although very far off, are those magnificent kingdoms, but that our father, Saint Francis, is conquering it all. She told me so many details of this country that I did not even remember them myself, and she brought them back to my mind. I asked her why she did not allow us to see her when she granted this bliss to the Indians. She replied that they needed it and we did not, and that her blessed angels arranged everything. However, I trust in divine providence that by the time this letter reaches the hands of your paternities some of you will have succeeded in seeing her, for I asked it of her most earnestly, and she promised she would ask God, and that if He granted it, she would do it most willingly.[1]

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[1]Taken from Benavides' Revised Memorial of 1634, edited by Hodge, Hammond, and Rey (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1945), Appendix XI, pp. 140f.

APPENDIX C

A Letter to Captain Don Fernando Rivera y Moncada

Captain Commandant Don Fernando.

My very dear Sir:

May God forgive you for what you have given me to do with two such brief letters at the time of the couriers or boats and other sufficient worries; but if my work should be of some value, the loss of some comfort will be so too.

Already I know, and you shall know, that both of us are performing our duty.

May God, Our Lord, grant us His grace that this may be accomplished without the least disagreement between us.

May His Divine Majesty guard you many years in His holy grace.

From this Mission of San Carlos. October 25, 1775

Fr. Junípero Serra

Answer of D. Fernando de Rivera y Moncada

Very Reverend Father President Fr. Junípero Serra

My dear Sir:

Your Reverence writes that may God forgive me for what I have given you to do with two such brief letters, etc.

I am of a different opinion in that I even hope for glory because I am doing what I can and I pay attention only to my duty, and to obviate that which can happen I express my thoughts clearly. Your Reverence tells me what I fail to do, what I do and say. You do not speak only of my thoughts, because I believe you do not discern them. I will begin at the beginning.

May God pardon Your Reverence the doctrine which the children are not learning and the training they are not

receiving. May God pardon Your Reverence the sermons and the Masses which we, both old and young, do not hear. May God pardon you the confessions which perhaps will not be made, because Your Reverence has taken Father Fermin from here. Indeed, there is cause to worry that it concerns the salvation of your neighbor and, God knows, if all this is not due to his removal, done without even the least excuse that there were not enough Fathers, since there was a surplus and will this not be noted in the treasury . . . in Mexico, as Your Reverence once reminded me on a certain occasion?

Less noise and more deeds may win love and confidence and not words is a saying, my very dear Sir, which means and presupposes not a little.

May Our Lord guard Your Reverence for many years for your Glory.

Monterey, October 26, 1775.

Fernando de Rivera y Moncada[1]

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[1]These are taken from Writings of Junípero Serra (Washington: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1956), II, 369, 448.

APPENDIX D

A List of Additions Made to Church and Sacristy at Mission San Carlos, Between December 1773 and December 1774.

First, a chasuble of damask, black, trimmed with silver braid, together with all the accessories.
An antependium and cope of the same material.
A new Missal with Masses for the saints of our Order.
A silver cross with its pedestal of the same metal, more than the third of a vara ca. 1 yard with its lignum crucis . . . and paper of authenticity and crystals in the form of a little cross. Its weight is three marcos.
Two paintings, a vara in height, with a rod at the back to reinforce the frame of Saint Charles and Saint Bonaventure.
Another, two varas in height, with its rod across the middle, of Saint Louis, Bishop.
Two other large ones with their reinforcing rods: one depicting the Glory of Heaven, and the other the Horrors of Hell; the work of a good painter, as are also the others.
Another, half a vara in height, of the death of Saint Joseph with its rod across the middle.
A bronze engraving of Our Lady of Sorrows, the workmanship of Evano, with the corner plates and fastenings of silver.
Another one like it of the Crucifixion about half a vara in height with its middle rod and its lace curtains.
An engraved Tree of our Seraphic Order, more than two varas in height.
A collection of prints on fine paper of all the saints of our Seraphic Order.
Another collection of the Popes and Cardinals of the Order.
Another collection of the Most Reverend Generals of our Order.
Item a niche more than two varas high with its central cupola of redwood for the holy image of Saint Joseph.
. . . . . .
A processional cross with the figure of Our Divine Lord attached.[1]

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[1]Taken from Writings of Junípero Serra (Washington: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1956), II, 241f.

APPENDIX E

Table of California Missions and Conversions, 1769-1823

Mission	Founded	Total Conversions	Maximum Population	In Year
1. San Diego de Alcalá	July 16, 1769	6638	1829	1824
2. San Carlos Borromeo	June 3, 1770	3957	876	1795
3. San Antonio de Padua	July 14, 1771	4456	1296	1805
4. San Gabriel Arcángel	Sept. 8, 1771	7854	1701	1817
5. San Luís Obispo de Tolosa	Sept. 1, 1772	2657	832	1804
6. San Francisco de Asís	June 29, 1776	6998	1252	1820
7. San Juan Capistrano	Nov. 1, 1776	4404	1361	1812
8. Santa Clara de Asís	Jan. 12, 1777	8640	1464	1827
9. San Buenaventura	March 31, 1782	3924	1328	1816
10. Santa Barbara	Dec. 4, 1786	5679	1792	1803
11. La Purísima Concepción	Dec. 8, 1787	3314	1520	1804
12. Santa Cruz	Aug. 28, 1791	2466	523	1796
13. Nuestra Señora de la Soledad	Oct. 9, 1791	2222	688	1805
14. San José de Guadalupe	June 11, 1797	6737	1886	1831
15. San Juan Bautista	June 24, 1797	4100	1248	1823
16. San Miguel Arcángel	July 25, 1797	2588	1076	1814
17. San Fernando Rey de España	Sept. 8, 1797	2839	1081	1811
18. San Luís Rey de Francia	June 13, 1798	5591	2869	1826
19. Santa Inés, Virgin y Martyr	Sept. 17, 1804	1411	768	1816
20. San Rafael Arcángel	Dec. 14, 1817	1873	1140	1828
21. San Francisco Solano	July 4, 1823	1315	996	1832

Maximum Mission Population	
Under Spanish Regime	20,355 in 1806
Under Mexican Regime	21,066 in 1824

(From John A. Berger, The Franciscan Missions of California (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, c.1941), p. 380.)

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