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ENLIGHTENMENT IN THE SHADOWS: CALIFORNIOS ON THE
BORDERLANDS OF EXPERIENCE, 1697-1821

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ENLIGHTENMENT IN THE SHADOWS:
CALIFORNIOS ON THE BORDERLANDS OF
EXPERIENCE, 1697-1821

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation focuses on two subjects. Firstly, I examine the development of the Californio identity under Spanish imperial rule in Baja and Alta California. This occurred through repeated encounters, conflicts, reversals, resistance and negotiation between Native Americans in California and Hispanic colonists, some born in Mexico, “creoles” and some in Europe, “peninsulares.” I argue that this identity was at its essence a borderland identity: specifically, California was not New Spain, and after the coming of the Spanish, it was no longer “Indian country” either. Both Native and Hispanic Californios contributed to the development of Californio identity. This identity was derived from the ambiguous and syncretic nature of the borderlands: when neither Hispanic nor Native Californios fully recognized their land as the ordered home of their society’s worldview. The tumult of frontier life created a borderlands society that informed all members’ identities.

Secondly, I offer a method of interpreting life on the frontier and engaging in the conversation of borderlands historiography. What I term “the experiential borderlands” is an approach that emphasizes the individual routines and events unique to those residents of the borderlands society in question. While the attitudes, commands, funding, and social

engineering attempts of the metropolitan authorities were critical to the geopolitical advance of empires, it was the individual members living on and fighting over the frontier that gave the borderlands their social character.

When the Jesuits, Franciscans, soldiers and rancheros came to the Californias, they did so with the intention of saving souls, taming the wild, and converting the uncivilized. When they encountered the Native tribes and harsh realities of California, their designs were challenged, rebuked, or even thwarted. With their California entrada, the Spaniards conceived of a civilizing mission to create little Spaniards. Instead, their baptism by fire on the experiential borderlands made them Californios.

INTRODUCTION

“This [maize] I deem absolutely necessary for the Indian race.”

-Jaime Escudo, Franciscan Friar of Santa Cruz¹

“He could only, not knowing anything else, give a falsehood and flee to the hill, as is the custom of Indians.”

- Ramón Lasso de La Vega, Lawyer of San Francisco²

Introduction

While Denis Diderot was distilling the sum of human knowledge into his Encyclopedia, the California governor was at his wits' end. Rather than governing over the newest example of happily converted subjects, he had inherited an archipelago of small Christian islands in a sea of idolatry. He supervised a group of educated, intrepid soldiers and friars who claimed to have all the skills to turn ignorant sinners into faithful converts. With much labor and at great cost, they had succeeded in building missions with livestock, barracks for their converted pupils, and vineyards renowned throughout the north of Mexico. At least this phase of colonization had gone according to plan.³

Even combined, these missions represented only a few dozen square miles of Spanish control. Outside the missions, Native rules applied to Native land. Native traders engaged with

¹ Jayme Escude, “Letter to Alta California Governor Pablo Vicente de Solá from Jayme Escudo Regarding the Crop Failure at Mission Santa Cruz,” May 25, 1817, 2, Taylor Collection Box 4, Huntington Library.

² Ramón Lasso de la Vega, “Defense of Aurelio at the Tribunal by Don Ramón Lasso de la Vega” (Presidio San Francisco, Alta California, May 1806), No 37, 588-589, Archivo General de la Nación. Each of these quotes are meant to demonstrate the persistence of Native knowledge and lifeways, despite ongoing Spanish colonial presence in California. Whether through bigotry or scientific racial classifications, Spaniards hostile to Native ways still acknowledged the endurance of those numbers.

³ Francisco Palóu, *The Historical Account of the Life of and Apostolic Labors of the Venerable Father Fray Junípero Serra of the Regular Observance of Our Seraphic Father Saint Francis of the Province of Mallorca, Doctor and Ex-Professor of the Morning Class of the Sacred Theology at the Lullian University in the Island; Commissary of the Holy Office of the Entire New Spain and the near-by Islands; Apostolic Preacher of the College of Apostolic Missionaries of the Propaganda Fide of San Fernando in Mexico; President and Founder of the Missions and New Establishments of New and Upper California and Monterey* (Mexico City: Franciscan College of San Fernando, 1787); Francesco Saverio Clavigero, *The History of California, by Don Francisco Javier Clavigero*, S. J., ed. Sara E. Lake (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1937), 40–43.

merchant ships and trappers from enemy empires through kinship deals. Rather than embracing Christianity, many Indians continued their traditional religious practices. Where the Spanish praised God in solemn processions, Native people defied the Spanish through passive resistance or stealthy, lethal attacks.⁴

Living Native converts also had an inverted sense of holy ground. The governor's most recent headache was a repentant Native criminal. Captured, confessed, and repentant, he had nonetheless fled to an isolated hill rather than the nurturing walls of his mission. The governor could not explain why a convert would fear the church rather than seek it out. Only insanity could explain the fugitive's failure to come home and seek the Church's mercy.⁵

It had long ago become clear that the governor's attempt to enforce Spanish order in Native lands had not succeeded, and he was now struggling to keep pace with the quickly adapting Native diplomats, traders, and leaders. He wished he could describe California as a vineyard of God, it was in reality a vast Native garden in which Native beliefs, Native people, and Native religions held sway.

Not far away in San Ignacio, an outraged headmaster wrote to his superior about a case of duplicitous gift-giving. A case of sodomy had been discovered on his property. Until this incident, he thought his school had been the model of disciplined productivity. The headmaster and his staff had gone to great lengths to ensure the mental and physical rectitude of their charges, but their efforts were incomplete. Through illicit gift-giving and flirtations, two of their students had fallen into sin, he wrote. In letters to his superiors, the headmaster resolved to crack

⁴ Francisco Javier Uría, "Report by Francisco Javier Uría to Captain Franco Maria Ruiz, 'Of the Assault of the Missions of Santa Bárbara by the Indians.'" (Santa Barbara, April 7, 1824), HM 16595, California Files Box 7, Huntington Library; Ripoll Antonio, "Letter to Alta California Governor Pablo Vicente de Solá from Antonio Ripoll Costs of Cloth Trappings and the Russian Ship South of Mission Santa Barbara," May 9, 1817, Taylor Collection Box 4, Huntington Library.

⁵ Jose Joaquin de Arrillaga, "Second Letter to Don Jose de Antonio de Cristo y Conde," March 10, 1807, No 37, 585, Archivo General de la Nacion.

down on the ways his charges freely gave gifts to each other without the supervision of their tutors.⁶

While Carl Linnaeus was classifying animals and plants, a civil planner in Loreto, Baja California came to the end of his rope. The Native inhabitants of his town had been charged with establishing the rule of law, following an industrial work ethic, and upholding the public trust. Unfortunately, the civilians did not have the inclination, nor did the law enforcement have the strength to carry out any of these tasks. The men of the town were so preoccupied with sexual distractions that none of the public institutions could be expected to run on time or at full numbers. Townspeople were so brazen as to bring their sexual confederates into their workplace with them. The civil planner saw no choice but to segregate men and women entirely if he was to achieve the standards of organization and efficiency that enlightened social engineers were expected to produce.⁷

All across eighteenth-century California, Alta and Baja, Spanish priests and civil servants tried to impose order on the province's complicated peoples and landscapes. Inspired in varying degrees by the principles of Enlightenment science and government, these agents of Spanish power tried and most often failed to impose their will. A mission friar lamented that the same-sex courtships he had failed to understand resulted in intimacy he deplored. A presidio captain's quest to implement a regimented schedule was stymied by his men's preoccupation with local women. The teacher, missionary and commandant had tried and failed to socially engineer the New World in their own Enlightened image.

⁶ Joseph Francisco de Ortega, "'The Sodomy of an Indian Solicited with Gifts:' Joseph Francisco de Ortego to Jose Joaquin de Arillaga, Loreto," April 10, 1786, California Files Box 4, Huntington Library.

⁷ Felipe de Neve, "Inspection of Armored Men and General Directions to Joaquin Cañete, Loreto,," March 1, 1781, Aspectos Religiosos, Vol 12, Archivo Historico Pablo Martínez.

In the face of different people with different understandings of the world, the rationalism of the European bureaucrats and clerics reached the limits of its usefulness. These Enlightened men didn't just fail in their administrative duties; they were victims of culture shock amidst a population who had very different ways of living, thinking, and making sense of the world. These failures were not due to incompetence. The priests, aristocrats and soldiers were in most cases well-educated, with degrees from some of the finest universities in Europe. They believed in the inevitable triumph of their empirically-oriented bureaucracies. They went to the New World with every intention of bringing ordered, modernizing light to the colonial darkness. But for a great many reasons, their story of enlightened conquest most often ended in tepid compromises.

This quixotic rationalism played out on the edge of the world; the Rim of Christendom, as Herbert Eugene Bolton called it, in the shadows of the Enlightenment. This is the story of the haphazard and incomplete civilizing mission of the Californias. Enterprising frontier missionaries, primarily from the Jesuit and Franciscan Orders, volunteered to do their solemn paternal duty in preaching the Gospel to Native Californians. They thought that the Gospel would promote moral behavior, disciplined labor, and the structured way of life of agricultural communities. Alongside the friars came soldiers. In order to enforce their will, the Spanish required a permanent military presence that could protect both the missions and their charges and also expand the realm controlled by the Spanish. Over time, frontier soldiers became enlisted regulars, and their captains became provincial governors. It had been the plan to convert both Californias into the next provinces of the wealthy, creole, metropolitan New Spain. However, the unanticipated third faction also asserted their power and voice in the process of Enlightenment. Native Californios resisted in many ways, from violence to flight to conditional conversion.

Neophytes within California were the demographic majority of California. Underneath the colonial power of the Spanish clergy and military, the work and lives of Native peoples made Alta and Baja California a unique borderland. Their experiences ultimately determined the unique borderland identity that was not quite Enlightened, not quite Indigenous, but uniquely Californio.

California and Its Institutions

From 1697-1821, Baja and Alta California shared common foundational institutions: the Mission and the Presidio. They had related goals: evangelization, crown authority, and economic progress that were part and parcel of colonialism. Each institution in the California borderlands faced realities that transformed them outside imperial expectations. Through daily routines distinct to California events, the Jesuits, Franciscans, soldiers and neophytes all created a blended Native-Spanish paradigm and identity that existed distinctively in California.

Spanish explorers had known of the existence of the Californias for many years before colonization took root. The 18th century's Bourbon reforms, population growth in Mexico, and the looming competition from Russia and Britain all drew Spain's attention to frontier provinces like California. Jesuits had planted the seeds of what would become the lower half of the California province when they erected missions in Loreto on the coast of the Sea of Cortés in 1697. Over the next 120 years, crossings by supply ships across that gulf, journeys on the treacherous overland roads across the Devil's Highway, and the forced missionization of local peoples all filled in the settlements of Hispanic California with a sustainable settler population.

California received colonial sponsorship like the other far frontiers of New Spain: Texas, New Mexico, and Sonora. California Natives had not built urban hubs that had delighted and

enabled colonizing Spaniards in Mexico and Peru. The Ohlone, sometimes called Costeño or Costanoan, and Pericú and Guaycura people had no Teotihuacan or Cholula or Cuzco or Quito; so the Spanish built their towns from scratch. Imperial agents used Native labor and Enlightenment expertise to build colonial infrastructure in California from the ground up. Their building blocks were the missions and presidios that had served Spain so well throughout her empire. The climate and resources of California were ideal for ranching. Secular pueblos and ranchos slowly developed between the missions and with the protection of presidios. With enough enterprising missionary and secular agents and enough Native recruitment California was slowly incorporated into New Spain as the northwestern-most province.⁸

Borderland California

Despite the promising start, California never became fully integrated into the metropolitan heart of the viceroyalty. It was too far away, suffered too many setbacks, was settled too late, became cost-efficient too slowly, and did not receive enough support from the imperial core. In the Hispanic era, both Baja and Alta California were borderlands, connected to, but distinct and distant from Mexico City.

Californios themselves were descended from but not of New Spain. With California a borderland and frontier, the people who were born, relocated, converted and employed there

⁸ For a general history of the California settlement process as beginning in the south and expanding north, see Harry Crosby, *The King's Highway in Baja California: An Adventure into the History and Lore of a Forgotten Region* (Salt Lake City: Copley Books, 1974). For the conversion and in/effectiveness of Native collaboration on Spanish projects, see Steven W. Hackel, "The Staff of Leadership: Indian Authority in the Missions of Alta California," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 54, no. 2 (1997): 347–76; Steven W. Hackel, "Sources of Rebellion: Indian Testimony and the Mission San Gabriel Uprising of 1785," *Ethnohistory* 50, no. 4 (2003): 643–69. Oakah Jones' exploration of another theater of the frontier demonstrates that these limitations were applicable throughout New Spain: Jones, Oakah, *Nueva Vizcaya Heartland of the Spanish Frontier* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988).

developed a unique way of life that was not entirely Mexican and not entirely Native, and certainly not Peninsular Spanish.

Even with the enthusiastic rule of Enlightened Hispanic officials, the Native Californians, Mestizos, and Creoles who grew up on the Empire's edge became Californios. The industries that had made a colonial jewel of the rest of New Spain stalled partway through the colonial process in the Californias. What made Californios a people of their own was not racial mixing nor social standing granted by the King. A lord who owned land in California and his Mestizo ranch hands understood each other better than an aristocratic elite from urban Mexico who had the same Spanish lineage as the California rancher. As a result of California's borderland status, its colonial residents developed a unique Californio society based on their shared experience of borderland conditions.

This dissertation aims to explore this story in several stages. Firstly, this study examines the worldviews and mindsets of the agents who arrived in California with an Enlightenment mindset, particularly Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries. Their works demonstrate a systematic, rational intent to understand, quantify and regiment California into a schedule of their understanding.

Secondly, this study analyzes many aspects of California that challenged that Enlightenment understanding of the world and its processes. Novel experiences and local routine forced imperial operators to reevaluate the way they managed their missions and presidios.

Ultimately these institutions achieved a modest yet sustainable success on a municipal level. This research emphasizes daily life to show the experiences lived by people on the California borderlands. Specifically, the cumulative years of these shared experiences made the Californios into a borderlands people.

Sources

Early sources are rich with information on the routines that Californios experienced on the borderlands; later material is similarly rich in data on who the Californios became as a result of their experiences, and how they were represented and understood by their neighbors. Detailed diaries, expedition relaciones, bureaucratic correspondence and even the paleography of signatures build up an image of the personalities conducting the daily business of the colonial Californias. Rather than focusing on the “great men” of Spanish California, this dissertation considers materials that betray cultural patterns and demonstrate themes across the Spanish territories.

The two largest sources of written materials were the mission bureaucracy, first Jesuit, then Franciscan and Dominican, and the governor’s civil service, founded first in Baja California’s Loreto and later Monterrey in Alta California, around the local presidios and the viceroy and visitadores whose voices originated in Mexico City.⁹

Borderlands Scholarship

Scholarship on borderlands and ethnogenesis is deep and rich. Herbert Eugene Bolton pioneered the borderlands as a field of study, and described New Spain’s Californian frontier as “the Rim of Christendom.” Bolton’s biographies celebrated individual priests, particularly Francisco Eusebio Kino, and would-be conquistadors, most infamously Coronado, as pioneers

⁹ From the Huntington Library in San Marino, California, the collections that were most helpful were the California and Latin American collections of letters and ephemera. From the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley, the most helpful collection were the papers from the Herbert Eugene Bolton Collection. From the Pablo Martinez Archives in La Paz, Baja California Sur, the most helpful collection was the Ramo Colonial Estatal. From the General Archives of the Nation in Mexico City, the collections most helpful were the Ramos Californias, Ramos Criminales, Ramos Presidios, Ramos Carceles, Ramos Marinas and Ramos Jesuitas. I also drew from the Taylor Alexander Collection that was compiled and preserved through the Archives of the Diocese of Los Angeles.

and champions of a world and understanding that Bolton fundamentally recognized and understood as an ancestor of his own.¹⁰

Bolton's theory of the borderlands had a parallel in the works of a contemporary anthropologist. Prussian-American anthropologist Franz Boas, 1858-1942, was one of the first prominent scholars to reject biological essentialism in culture, rather asserting that cultural practices were adapted through the physical and emotional experiences of human development. Through these assertions, Boas made the fundamental case for historical and cultural relativism in the analysis of social behavior. In *Indigenous Visions*, Ned Blackhawk and Isaiah Lorado Wilner re-contextualize the work of Boas for a specifically Native American context. "Boas critiqued the idea of race, the master concept of colonialism. He shaped the modern notion of culture as an interactive process to which each of the world's peoples has contributed." Blackhawk further asserts while Boas deserves commendation for his breakthrough, the involvement and active knowledge formation of his Canadian Native study subjects were equally vital in the theory's formation through their give-and-take interview.¹¹

Boas' scholarship is applicable to the borderlands in two major ways. Firstly, Boas' theory of cultural relativism rejects the triumphal narrative of Bolton's scholarship. Given the many reversals and limitations of the European powers on American frontiers, Bolton's assessment of European supremacy is obviously incomplete, and Boas' intellectual descendants, like Blackhawk and Wilner, have demanded such acknowledgement. Secondly, Boas' anthropology emphasized regional cultures rather than a single Enlightened universalism. The

¹⁰ Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Rim of Christendom; a Biography of Eusebio Francisco Kino, Pacific Coast Pioneer* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1960). The collected scholarship of Hubert Bancroft contains a similar triumphalism that emphasized a (strained) continuity with Spanish Mexico.

¹¹ Ned Blackhawk and Isaiah Lorado Wilner, eds., *Indigenous Visions: Rediscovering the World of Franz Boas*, Henry Roe Cloud Series on American Indians and Modernity (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018), ix–xii. Alfred Kroeber, a California-focused anthropologist and Ishi biographer, was an intellectual descendant of Boas. His focus on geography and "culture areas" emphasized the geographical impacts on the culture of California tribes.

many borderlands of New Spain's interior provinces all had their own local circumstances. As a result, both European and Native inhabitants of the frontier developed locally-sourced and locally-understood experiences. I apply this locally-driven understanding to the Californios of Alta and Baja California.

The borderlands conversation has evolved since Bolton's day, taking in the consideration of Native agency and Native aims, as opposed to the one-sided frontier narrative of Bolton's generation, helps to better understand Native peoples as the other half of borderland stories. Spain's ambitions in the Southwest were stymied not only by practical conditions, but by Native peoples themselves. The push-and-pull of the colonial dialectic often developed in Natives' favor. Native agency on borderlands is a thorny topic in California. The "Mission Indians" did not have the same pitched battles as seen in the Great Plains or the Valley of Mexico. However, Native resistance and Euro-Native conflict is key to understanding the conflicts in settling California, as well as the rocky road to ethnogenesis by the Californios: On the Mexican borderlands where political ties were tenuous, kinship played an outsized role in sustaining society. Scholars have catalogued the importance of kinship networking, especially marriage, in the borderlands. Many of these works conclude that family structures either surpassed or mitigated the harshest implementations of racial castes that were implemented elsewhere in the Empire.¹²

However, the Spanish court was not content to let borderlands remain distant. The 18th century replaced the Habsburgs with the Bourbons, and with the Bourbons came the centralized,

¹² Franklin Folsom, *Red Power on the Rio Grande; the Native American Revolution of 1680* (Chicago: Follett, 1973); John L Kessell author, *Kiva, Cross, and Crown: The Pecos Indians and New Mexico, 1540-1840* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1979); David J. Weber, *Bárbaros: Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005). These sources present a rejection or a synthesis of Bolton's triumphant consensus narrative. Each narrative centralizes the concept of the borderlands wherein Native and Spaniard agents contested for power.

authoritarian Enlightened monarchy. David Brading asserts that the Bourbon Reforms re-invigorated the empire with a reformed and invigorated bureaucracy, and emphasis on sustainable expansion, conversion of subjugated peoples, and a growing culture of secularism among Spanish elites. This, in brief, was the exertion of the Spanish and Creole push to impose Enlightened order on the ambiguous borderlands.¹³

The literature on California and the Spanish Borderlands is vast. The narrative below is a chronological description of the most relevant literature with no pretension to comprehensiveness. Serious academic study of the borderlands began with Bolton and his school. As an intellectual protégé and critic of Frederick Jackson Turner, Bolton and his colleagues and students examined the West as a region that was dynamic and active well before the coming of Anglophone Westward Expansion.¹⁴

Compared to the increasingly bureaucratized European metropole and colonial centers, borderlands did not have the same copious paper trails or large literate class to leave documents. As a result, many borderlands successes come from the discovery and accurate translations of particularly informative reports or letters taken from sources found beyond the borderlands locations. Beginning with Bolton, the discovery of journals and documents both secular and sacred were the cornerstone of Spanish borderlands studies. The subsequent generations of scholars still make extensive use of the reference collections created by Bolton, Alexander Taylor, and Hubert Howe Bancroft. Contemporary scholarship both interrogates these collections

¹³ David A. Brading, “Bourbon Spain and Its American Empire,” in *The Cambridge History of Latin America. Volume I, Colonial Latin America*, ed. Leslie Bethell (Cambridge: University Press, 1984), 389–439.

¹⁴ For the foundational text of Anglophone frontier studies (and the inspiration from which Borderlands theory came), see Frederick Jackson Turner, “The Significance of the Frontier in American History” (American Historical Association, Chicago, 1894).

and opens borderlands studies to include anthropology, material history and Native oral history.¹⁵

At its heart, interpreting the borderlands of experience tells a social and economic story as much as a political and military story. Many social histories of gender, faith and power dynamics of the Spanish borderlands have influenced the social lenses in which I examine borderlands experiences. The ambiguous syncretism of the Spanish Borderlands had a mirrored ambiguity in the kinship and sexual dynamics of the frontier communities.

No figure of kinship and gender throughout the Hispanophone world is more syncretic than the Virgin of Guadalupe. As a figure both Native and Spanish, Catholic and pagan, veneration of Guadalupe is worldwide, representing sentiments ranging from the global to the national to the racial to the familial to the deeply personal. Interpretations of Guadalupe are as numerous as her adorers, but the most famous borderlands Marianist is Fray Angélico Chávez. As a Catholic priest and a Hispanic New Mexican, Chávez centered the role of Spanish Catholicism in the formation of New Mexico's syncretic sense of place and identity. Rather than the Native resistance of the 1680 Pueblo Revolt, Chávez centered his narrative around "La

¹⁵ While no means comprehensive, the published volumes translated and compiled by the founding generation of borderland scholars include Herbert Eugene Bolton and Francisco Palóu, *Palóu and His Writings* (Berkeley: University of California press, 1926); Eusebio Francisco Kino and Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta: A Contemporary Account of the Beginnings of California, Sonora, and Arizona, Spain in the West; a Series of Original Documents from Foreign Archives ;3-4* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1948); Alexander Smith Taylor, *The Indianology of California, or, Fragmentary Notes, Selected and Original, on the Indian Tribes of the Countries Formerly Called Alta and Baja California, in Four Series of 150 Separate Numbers, Published in from 1860 to 1863. By Alexander S. Taylor* (San Francisco: The California Farmer, 1863); Abigail Hetzel Fitch, *Junípero Serra; the Man and His Work* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1914). The emphasis of annotated journals and letters published in completion demonstrates the relative scarcity of borderlands sources in comparison to other regions of the Atlantic world. For a reevaluation and deconstruction of the Boltonian school, see John Francis Bannon, *Bolton and the Spanish Borderlands* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964); Russell M. Magnaghi, *Herbert E. Bolton and the Historiography of the Americas*, Studies in Historiography, No. 5 (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1998). For borderlands material history, see Michael T. Taussig, *The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980). For Native oral history and anthropology, see Jennifer Nez Denetdale, *Reclaiming Diné History: The Legacies of Navajo Chief Manuelito and Juanita* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2007).

Conquistadora,” an icon of the Virgin venerated at Santa Fe that was restored after Diego de Vargas re-conquered the city in 1692.¹⁶

Perhaps the best-known social history of the Hispanic borderlands is *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away*. Ramón Gutiérrez combined social and gendered analysis with statistically-driven analysis from Mexico City archives to demonstrate the intersection of labor, marriage and race in Spanish New Mexico.¹⁷

Albert Hurtado applied a similar combination of quantitative analysis to social and sexual dynamics in *Intimate Frontiers*. Much like Gutiérrez, Hurtado argued that “Old [Hispanic] California” had a double consciousness of libertine sexuality and repressive traditional hierarchy. This cognitive dissonance played out in unique and regional ways as social order conflicted and negotiated with personal and sexual drives.¹⁸

The methods of kinship creation were not always peaceful: the violence of slavery and hostage exchanges were small-scale but constant throughout the Southwest. In *Captives and Cousins*, James Brooks examines the methods in which captivity raids could “convert” outside individuals into members of Native or European communities.¹⁹

The frontier processes of scarcity, raiding and resource controls were social engines as well as material ones. In *The Indian Southwest*, Gary Anderson examines the factors of

¹⁶ Angelico Chavez, *La Conquistadora: The Autobiography of an Ancient Statue*. (Paterson: St Anthony Guild Press, 1954); Angelico Chavez, *My Penitente Land: Reflections on Spanish New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1974). The body of Angelico Chavez’ work is controversial for many of the same ways that the Boltonian scholars have been challenged. For a contemporary reassessment of the triumphal and unapologetically Catholic Chávez, see Ellen McCracken, *Fray Angélico Chávez: Poet, Priest, and Artist* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2012).

¹⁷ Ramón A. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846* (Stanford: University Press, 1991). For a critical Indigenous studies-oriented refutation of Gutiérrez’ work, see Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz, “The Corn Mothers Never Went Away,” ed. Ramon Gutierrez, *Latin American Perspectives* 23, no. 2 (1996): 143–49.

¹⁸ Albert L. Hurtado, *Intimate Frontiers: Sex, Gender, and Culture in Old California* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999).

¹⁹ James Brooks, *Captives & Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (Chapel Hill, 2002).

borderlands survival that necessitated cooperation in the harsh deserts and plains of the American Southwest. While these same factors stymied imperial colonization as hoped for by Mexico City, frontier realities created an ethnogenesis of a new community wherein Native and European inhabitants had a different and locally understood method of kinship and exchange.²⁰

Erika Pérez's *Colonial Intimacies* is a chronological examination of California's fluctuating understanding and deployment of marriage. Whether it was to navigate the hierarchal authority of the Missions' Catholic Church, protect Hispanic property rights under US law, or maintain social cohesion. Like other social histories of California, the long chronology of Pérez's work emphasizes the continuity of Hispanic California. Pérez begins her text with Native resistance to the Catholic hierarchy of the Spanish, and concludes with the community solidarity of Chicanos in 21st century Los Angeles. The dynamic and adapting identity of northern, trans-national New Spain is a theme that demonstrates the perpetual applicability of borderlands as scholarly approach to understanding identity and kinship in both Latin America and the American West.²¹

Ignacio Martínez argues that kinship was what kept the peripheries of New Spain cohesive. In *The Intimate Frontier*, Martínez argues that local kinship networks or friendship alliances were the social adhesive that could make or break borderlands societies. Comparing the success stories of rancheros and diplomatic failures like those that lead to the Yuma Revolt, Martínez uses the Sonora Desert as a microcosm of borderlands' social dynamics that were local,

²⁰ Gary Clayton Anderson, *The Indian Southwest, 1580-1830: Ethnogenesis and Reinvention* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009).

²¹ Erika Pérez, *Colonial Intimacies: Interethnic Kinship, Sexuality, and Marriage in Southern California, 1769-1885* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2018). I will address *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman* in another section.

personal, and contradictory to the metropolitan Enlightened expectations of Imperial Spanish authorities.²²

Many borderlands remained remote and isolated because of environmental factors. The experience of harsh conditions, scarcity, extraction economies, or geographical obstacles were definitive in making boundaries and identities of borderland regions. The parameters of success and failure on the peripheries of the colonial world were often determined by environmental factors. Europeans were either repelled or became dependent on Native and local methods of navigating nature.

One of the earliest influential texts on the ecological implications of colonizing the Atlantic world came from Alfred Crosby. *The Columbian Exchange* and *Ecological Imperialism* highlighted the consequences, many of them unintended, that wreaked havoc on the biological infrastructure of the New World. The borderlands across North America have become an exceptionally fruitful grounds of study for the history of epidemics, among the most significant of the environmental changes that rewrote Post-Columbian Native life. Crosby's idea continues to be discussed by historians of the entire hemisphere with increasing detail as archaeology and anthropology contribute more material to the discussion.²³

Extraction played a major role in the Spanish development of Latin America, and the northern frontier of New Spain was no different. Eduardo Galeano's foundational *Open Veins of Latin America* indicted the Spanish for both neo-feudalism and mass environmental degradation.

²² Ignacio Martínez, *The Intimate Frontier: Friendship and Civil Society in Northern New Spain* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2019).

²³ Charles C. Mann, *1493: Uncovering the New World Columbus Created* (New York: Knopf, 2011); Alfred W. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900*, Studies in Environment and History (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Alfred W. Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport: Greenwood, 1972). For one of the first texts to analytically discuss New World and Old World diseases as a historical phenomenon, see William Hardy McNeill, *Plagues and Peoples* (Garden City: Anchor Press, 1976).

While Alta California's quintessential extraction industry was gold (which did not meaningfully accelerate until after the American acquisition), ranching and the sea otter trade both had significant environmental impacts that in turn degraded the living conditions of Native and Hispanic Californians alike.²⁴

Borderlands regions have also been a source for environmental historians who seek to evaluate Native methods of environmental management. Contrary to the legend Native environmental stewardship, Native societies were regular cultivators and shapers of their environment. *The Ecological Indian*, while controversial, provoked conversation about the Native involvement in environmental modification.²⁵

The rapid changes of Gold Rush California opened many questions regarding the environmental situation of the Hispanic Era, and even the Pre-Hispanic Era was examined through available sources. While a natural consequence of such a dynamic regional history, it is worth contextualizing that many of the California Hispanic questions are asked as a prelude or an introduction the post-Gold Rush era.²⁶

As transdisciplinary studies became increasingly accepted as a method of studying historical periods that produced few written documents, scholars incorporated anthropology, oral history, and Native tradition into the assessment of Native resource management. Particularly

²⁴ Eduardo Galeano, *Open Veins of Latin America; Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent*, trans. Cedric Belfrage (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973). For the otter trade, see Adele Ogden, *The California Sea Otter Trade, 1784-1848* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1941); David J. Silverman, "Otters for Arms," in *Thundersticks: Firearms and the Violent Transformation of Native America* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2016).

²⁵ Shepard Krech, *The Ecological Indian: Myth and History* (New York: WW Norton & Company, 1999). For an additional borderlands discussion of Native hunters as cultivators that was ultimately refuted, see Calvin Martin, *Keepers of the Game: Indian-Animal Relationships and the Fur Trade* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978); Shepard Krech III, ed., *Indians, Animals, and the Fur Trade: A Critique of Keepers of the Game* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1981). The anthropological and commercial discussions of the fur trade in the Great Lakes and Great Plains can be applied in parallel discussion of the Russian and Spanish otter trades.

²⁶ Ramón A. Gutiérrez and Richard J. Orsi, eds., *Contested Eden: California before the Gold Rush* (Berkeley: California Historical Society by University of California Press, 1998); Carolyn Merchant, *Green versus Gold: Sources in California's Environmental History* (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 1998).

among California's semi-nomadic or seasonally mobile nations and clans, historians have gained an appreciation for the depth of active management of resources Native labor created as active cultivation. Whether it was acorn orchards, salmon runs, controlled burns or grassland cultivation, Native seasonal labor had a significant impact on the natural environment.²⁷

Richard Minnich studied both Native seasonal regulation and the colonial extraction and declension narration to the timber industry in Baja California. The perpetual drought on the peninsula made forestry a delicate business that easily risked irreparable deforestation. This fragility clashed with the rapid development that came with Spanish colonization. However, Minnich argued that the same ecozone has persisted in Baja, demonstrating that ecological regions are not easily dismantled, by even the most powerful capitalist investments. Wallace Smith made a similar distinction in *Garden of the Sun*. He argued that the trajectory of Central California beyond the Coastal Range into the Central Valley was geographically determinant. The wetlands climate first inhibited Spanish expansion and later facilitated the irrigated agricultural boom of the Anglophone California borderlands.²⁸

For good reason, the borderlands are not typically associated with urban development. The permanent settlement of ranches that orbited the presidios and the civil planning of the mission rule are the closest that Californio history comes to approaching urban studies. However, many chronological studies of California urbanization acknowledge the early Spanish towns and missions as the beginning of California super-cities. Deverell and Hise identify the urbanization

²⁷ Malcolm Margolin, *The Ohlone Way: Indian Life in the San Francisco-Monterey Bay Area* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1978); M. Kat Anderson, *Tending the Wild: Native American Knowledge and the Management of California's Natural Resources* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Kent G. Lightfoot, *California Indians and Their Environment: An Introduction*, California Natural History Guides 96 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009).

²⁸ Wallace Smith, *Garden of the Sun: A History of the San Joaquin Valley, 1772-1939*, ed. William B. Secrest (Fresno: Craven Street Books, 2004); Richard A. Minnich, *Land of Chamise and Pines: Historical Accounts and Current Status of Northern Baja California's Vegetation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

of Los Angeles as a fundamentally environmental issue, as does Phillip Dreyfus in his evaluation of San Francisco.²⁹

Bolton himself made the case for including the Caribbean Rim as part of the Spanish borderlands. Hurricanes and tropical diseases were endemic to Spanish expansion in the Gulf of Mexico. John McNeill's *Mosquito Empires* argues for a case of crippling environmental debilitation on the would-be colonials of the Enlightened Era Caribbean. Stuart Schwartz' *Sea of Storms* also studies the phenomenon of Caribbean hurricanes, demonstrating that tropical storms impacted every aspect of tropical borderlands life, from housing to scientific understanding to the implementation of charity and social aid. These studies demonstrate that the borderlands lens transcends frontier studies. The same place and population had to socially respond and materially articulate as their physical place became an urban borderland with rapidly changing experiences. The singular standard of an urban border land was Mexico City itself. The conquering Spanish forcibly transitioned Tenochtitlan, its people and its infrastructure from a Native metropolis to the colonial one. Barbara Mundy's exceptional use of maps demonstrates the many ecological issues of urban changes, from waste management to natural disasters of floods and fires.³⁰

Red Power and the American Indian Movement of the 60s and 70s inspired multiple re-evaluations of Southwestern and Mexican history. The new generation had high willingness to center Native stories as the focus of the American West or Spanish colonization. For many, this

²⁹ William Deverell and Greg Hise, *Land of Sunshine: An Environmental History of Metropolitan Los Angeles* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005); Philip J. Dreyfus, *Our Better Nature: Environment and the Making of San Francisco* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008).

³⁰ Stuart B. Schwartz, *Sea of Storms: A History of Hurricanes in the Greater Caribbean from Columbus to Katrina* (Princeton: University Press, 2015); Herbert Eugene Bolton, *The Spanish Borderlands: A Chronicle of Old Florida and the Southwest* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1921); John Robert McNeill, *Mosquito Empires: Ecology and War in the Greater Caribbean, 1620-1914* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Barbara E. Mundy, *The Death of Aztec Tenochtitlan, the Life of Mexico City*, Joe R. and Teresa Lozano Long Series in Latin American and Latino Art and Culture (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2015). For a Native story of articulation that turned maritime commerce and piracy into an experiential borderland, see Matthew R. Bahar, *Storm of the Sea: Indians and Empires in the Atlantic's Age of Sail* (Oxford: University Press, 2018).

came from a visible parallel or continuity between the colonial struggles of earlier centuries and the ongoing contemporary Civil Rights Movement. Native-oriented history and activism stated this directly. *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* and *Custer Died for Your Sins* evoked a nationwide Native community and identity that was distinct and on the defense from the European, colonial mainstream. The same year as the AIM-FBI standoff at Wounded Knee, Franklin Folsom released *Red Power on the Rio Grande*, which analyzed the Pueblo Revolt as a class struggle and a reassertion of Native sovereignty.³¹

A controversial and uniquely Californio topic of resistance revolves around the biography of Joaquin Murrieta. While ostensible a real-life Hispanic bandit during the Gold Rush era, Murrieta's real life was scantily documented and his legends were legion. According to the pulp memoirs or tall tales, Murrieta himself was a sensational freedom fighter and mestizo member of a dying race. Karl Jacoby invokes the trickster nature of Murietta's legend as he reconciles the ambiguous role of Hispanic and Native identities in the 19th-century Southwest as they relate to hierarchy and power.³²

Throughout the borderlands, scholarship has acknowledged the destruction brought down upon Native nations by colonial powers. Costo and Costo's volume states the accusation clearly. *The Missions of California: A Legacy of Genocide* argues that the Franciscans devastated the Native societies of California, culturally, physically and ecologically. This Alteño example is indicative of the larger contemporary historical movement towards truth and reconciliation in Native history and memory.³³

³¹ Folsom, *Red Power on the Rio Grande*.

³²For one of the more respected research works on Murieta, see Frank F. Latta, *Joaquín Murrieta and His Horse Gangs* (Santa Cruz, Calif.: Bear State Books, 1980). Karl Jacoby, *Shadows at Dawn: A Borderlands Massacre and the Violence of History* (New York: Penguin Press, 2008).

³³ Rupert Costo and Jeannette Henry Costo, *The Missions of California: A Legacy of Genocide* (San Francisco: American Indian Historical Society, 1987). The discourse of memory over missionary California became

While the triumphalism of the Boltonian generation is largely gone from public life, debate continues over the evaluation of the missionary element of colonization. In part due to the scholastic contributions of Franciscan and Jesuit clergy themselves, Alta and Baja histories are more nuanced in the evaluation of the missions than they are of the presidios. Both James Sandos and Steven Hackel analyze the complicated motives and actions of the missionaries whilst fully acknowledging the catastrophes experienced by Native peoples in Hispanic California, both immediate and long-term.³⁴

Long-term catastrophes on the borderlands are the subject of Ned Blackhawk's Paiute history. In 2008, Blackhawk argued that the primary experience of Paiutes living in colonized Nevada was one of violence. *Violence Over The Land* documented a series of violent acts committed by Europeans upon the Paiute, from slave trading to land seizure to boarding schools to voting disenfranchisement on 20th century reservations. Where other longue-durée histories have emphasized change in the borderlands, Blackhawk's primary argument is one of continuous violence done to Native society, albeit violence whose methods transformed along with the colonizers.³⁵

In contrast to Blackhawk's macrohistory and psycho-social analysis, the research presented in *Mesa of Sorrows* demonstrates that the methods of borderlands history can be just as applicable to a microhistory. James Brooks deeply analyzes a singular revolt on a Hopi Mesa against Spanish missionaries. The archaeological remains of the violence are permanently

particularly heated after the canonization of Junípero Serra. The historiography of chapters 3 and 4 deal with this dialogue in deeper detail.

³⁴ James A. Sandos, *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions*, Yale Western Americana Series (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004); Steven W. Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769-1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005).

³⁵ Ned Blackhawk, *Violence over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008).

unavailable due to the Hopi's protection over physical remains. Brooks' acknowledgement of scholarship's limits is an ongoing reminder of the limits to respectful investigation.³⁶

In addition to the academic contributions towards peace and reconciliation, contemporary borderlands history emphasizes Native agency and the ability of Indigenous actors to impact and even determine the course of events on the borderlands. Within one year, two books on the Comanche were released and epitomized two widely practiced methods of approaching this topic. Pekka Hämäläinen's *Comanche Empire* analyzed the diplomacy, trading and warfare of the Comanche clans as a nomadic empire. Hämäläinen argued the nature of the Great Plains economy and porous borders incentivized the Comanche to exert political and military power like an empire, comparing its power and authority to that of the Spanish, Mexican, and American empires. By contrast, Juliana Barr's *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman* examined the waxing agency and power of the same tribal nation through a series of smaller interactions. Through analyzing the minute particulars of the hostage negotiations suggested by the title, attempted conversions, exchanges of presents and even the naming of geographical landmarks, Barr's analysis demonstrates that individual Comanche agents had superior expertise and could navigate individual frontier situations to their advantage. Both scholars have received criticisms of their approach, and each have continued to modify and develop their analytical approaches. However, Hämäläinen's top-down analyses of power and Barr's bottom-up analysis of agency are clear examples of differing methods of analyzing the ambiguous state of control on the borderlands.³⁷

³⁶ James Brooks, *Mesa of Sorrows: A History of the Awat'ovi Massacre* (New York: WW Norton & Company, 2016).

³⁷ Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008); Juliana Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007). For an additional Finnish analysis of Southwestern mobile war nations, see Janne Lahti, *Wars for Empire: Apaches, the United States, and the Southwest Borderlands* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2017).

A third category of Native power navigation can be found in *Yaqui Empire*. Raphael Folsom's study of the Yaqui Nation in northwestern New Spain. In addition to exploiting individual encounters, like the intimate stories that comprise the majority of Barr's work, Folsom delineates the methods in which the Yaqui exploited Spanish institutions and understanding to accomplish Yaqui aims. Like Blackhawk's continuity of violence, Folsom illustrates a continuity of Yaqui independence and adaptability in the colonial period as they became useful allies, but not vassals or subjects. Whether it was the exchanging of hostages, politically leveraging the physical safety of the Jesuits missionaries, or the local assertion of the eight Yaqui townships, the Yaqui did not impose Native institutions on the Spanish or dismantle Spanish colonization. Rather, they exploited the weaknesses of Spanish institutions for their own ends, keeping Northwest Mexico an ambiguous borderland well into the 19th century and the brutal extermination campaigns of the Porfiriato.³⁸

Borderlands scholarship is transdisciplinary in its essence. Scholars use oral history, archival material, economic data, ecological understanding, literature and critical theory to understand both singular moments in history and the *longue-durée* of social syncretism. Borderlands analysis is simultaneously societally wide and individually deep. In a word, borderlands studies are syncretic.

The review above sketches the lineage of borderlands scholars from which this dissertation descends. I offer an additional point of perspective to contribute to my predecessors. Much of the scholarship on the Californias focuses on either Alta or Baja. I focus on both. Though there were important differences between the two provinces in the colonial period, their division between the two nation-states of the United States and Mexico in the mid-19th century

³⁸ Raphael Folsom, *The Yaquis and the Empire: Violence, Spanish Imperial Power, and Native Resilience in Colonial Mexico* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014).

obscured their many deep commonalities. Scholars have distorted our understanding of both Baja and Alta California by failing to study them together. Veronica Castillo Muñoz, a Californio historian born in Alta California, playfully referenced this artificial division in the title of her 2016 work when she called Baja *The Other California*.³⁹

Jesuit missionaries were the most important agents of the Spanish empire in eighteenth century Baja California, and produced the lion's share of the documents that have come down to us. Despite their expulsion in 1767 by the government of Bourbon King Charles III, the Jesuits left a deep imprint on the land and its peoples.

Franciscan priests founded an archipelago of missions along the Coast of Alta California, alternately competing and cooperating with ranchers, presidio soldiers, and freelance invaders from the Russian and British Empires. The Native population of the province was large, dense, diverse, and sophisticated, and its influence can be detected in all facets of the Spanish and Creole colonial subjects this dissertation focuses on.⁴⁰

Several realities tied Alta and Baja California together. Both were colonized under the authority of the Bourbon Monarchy and its agents. Both relied on the protection of the presidios and the support of the Spanish navy. Both were deeply influenced by missionaries who explored, founded settlements, and tried to subject Native peoples to what they thought of as the soft yoke of Christianity. In both regions, Native labor, both contractual and coerced, was the motor of the

³⁹ Verónica Castillo-Muñoz, *The Other California: Land, Identity and Politics on the Mexican Borderlands* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2017). Earlier, Americanist Gerald Haslam made the same reference to compare the missionary coast with the agricultural, post-Gold Rush interior. in Gerald W. Haslam, *The Other California: The Great Central Valley in Life and Letters* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1994).

⁴⁰ Estimates vary widely over Native California's size. Higher estimates include Benjamin Madley, *An American Genocide: The United States and the California Indian Catastrophe, 1846-1873* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016). For an in-depth explanation of the diverse region's fluctuation, see John Mack Faragher, "Chapter 1: A Country of Diversity," in *California: An American History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2022), 1–9; John Mack Faragher, "Chapter 2: Little Countries," in *California: An American History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2022), 10–20.

colonial economy. Both were under the legal jurisdiction of the Real Audiencia of Guadalajara. Finally, the founders and most influential colonists of both Californias were deeply influenced by Enlightenment thought. Whether working on the ground or engineering from afar, civil and clerical imperialists came from the same Enlightenment mindset. Enlightened Spaniards valued material observation and education. While they continued to practice Catholicism, its glorious mysteries were de-emphasized, and men of the faith were incorporated into the increasingly powerful imperial bureaucracy that was justified, through its civility, to colonize, civilize and convert the world.⁴¹

Borderlands of Experience and Science

What is and is not Enlightenment science is a loaded question. Broadly speaking, systems of knowledge, modes of understanding, social skills, and philosophy all belong to the milieu and methods in which humans understand and navigate the world, human and natural, that they inhabit. The scientific method is only one such method of understanding the world. In the following section, I acknowledge the many scholars who strongly influenced the formation of this thesis.

The historiography of science shows an ongoing reflection on the arrogance of some Enlightenment scientists. Mary Louise Pratt's *Imperial Eyes* analyzed travelogues that contributed to the othering and exotification of overseas territories through misinterpretation. Pratt asserted that travelogues followed the Hegelian dialectic in contact zones where outsiders brought their preconceptions and applied them to the visited colonial space. Pratt defined contact

⁴¹ For deeper explorations of the Spanish Enlightenment, also called Spanish Universalism, see Pedro Aullón de Haro, *Introduction to the Spanish Universalist School: Enlightened Culture and Education Versus Politics*, History of Early Modern Educational Thought (Boston: Brill, 2020).

zones as “social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination, such as colonialism and slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today.” Where Pratt’s contact zone experience produced travelogues by one writer’s experience, the borderlands of experiences were prolonged experiences of whole people groups that produced whole bodies of knowledge.⁴²

Jonathan Lamb builds on Pratt’s argument with his own term: minute particulars. Specifically, individual, seemingly small moments that loomed important in the narratives of first contact between indigenous and colonizer. Lamb argues that these moments, consciously or not, feature in the narrative to justify the imperial project. This is not far from the first “experience” on the borderland, one to become negotiated with repetition and time.⁴³

Anthropologists have studied the impact of particular geographical places as a point of knowledge. Keith Basso’s influential book *Wisdom Sits in Places* chronicled his experiences amongst the Apache of Cibecue, Arizona. As a long-time acquaintance who worked on the White Mountain Apache Reservation, Basso was privy to many landmarks, trails and physical features of the regional landscape as experienced by the Apache themselves, not strictly as a qualified elevation or coordinate. Basso’s time as a worker among the Apache earned the confidence of the Apache who shared the names for these places, the stories connected to them and the morals of those stories. Basso recorded these stories and their morals not as dry chronicles, but as very personal stories and experiences shared by workers with their coworkers. Because the stories were communally known and part of a system of knowledge, personal experiences and meanings could be expressed and understood by all members of the spatially

⁴² Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 7–10.

⁴³ Jonathan Lamb, “Minute Particulars and the Representation of South Pacific Discovery,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 28, no. 3 (1995): 281–94.

connected community, beyond and outside of the quantitative concepts of science derived from the neutral, metrically driven Enlightenment. Basso documented the ranch work and physical treks he undertook with local the Apache before he was able to fully appreciate and understand the stories that informed the Cibecue sense of place. Unlike archival research or geography data, Basso could only appreciate the temporal and spiritual borderlands situated on the Apache town after having undergone Apache experiences like ranching, travelling and storytelling with the locals. Basso's work combines orthodox anthropology with the Cibecue-specific experiences.⁴⁴

Neil Safier deconstructs the La Condamine expedition to South America that had many of the same foibles, hubris, and Eurocentrism as the more famous Alexander Von Humboldt's. In *Measuring the New World*, Safier argues that Enlightenment scientific expeditions were not solely academic ventures, but missions of the state for national pride, commercial gain and European patronage. La Condamine only mentioned servants and Indians peripherally, or not at all, even when conditions of labor or the continuity of documented events would necessitate their involvement. He dismissed the Native peasant workers who labored on construction of the pyramid memorials on the plain below Cotopaxi's volcanic peak, and he barely mentioned the hero whose navigation of the Orinoco saved not only La Condamine's documents, but La Condamine himself. More unscrupulously, La Condamine outmaneuvered Spanish nationals Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa in their pursuit of recognition as equal partners in the voyage, and snidely dismissed the research of contemporaries and predecessors in the Amazon: for Enlightenment celebrity researchers, the scientific was political.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Keith H. Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language among the Western Apache* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996).

⁴⁵ Neil Safier, *Measuring the New World: Enlightenment Science and South America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

In a full-length biography, Lisbeth Haas edited and translated the history and linguistic books of Pablo Tac, a Luiseño Californian who studied in Rome and became a Jesuit priest. Born on the Mission San Luis Rey, Tac grew up bilingual as the Spanish friars exerted more influence amongst the Luiseño peoples whose numbers had been decimated by disease. In his early twenties, Tac began his education for the clergy, first in San Luís, then in Mexico City after independence. In Rome, he wrote a Luiseño grammar and dictionary, along with his auto-ethnography. In his work, he included specific reflections of Indian experience within the grammatical examples. Haas emphasizes Tac's significance as the only Luiseño voice to exist in written sources before the twentieth century. While all of Tac's surviving scholarship was Enlightenment linguistics, natural history, and ethnographic descriptions of the Luiseño people, Tac's peculiar turns of phrase, elegant sarcasm, dry word-play, and detailed analyses of Luiseño ritual are in a style all to his own. Haas' specialized language skills demonstrate that while Tac was a singular case, his priesthood and education only amplified his Native voice, and it did not Hispanicize it.⁴⁶

Enlightenment natural historians tended to classify Native peoples as features of the environment. Daniela Bleichmar connects naturalists' taxonomy to imperial hegemony. In *Visible Empire*, she compares the physical classifications of the naturalists and the racial categories of the "casta" hierarchal system. Bleichmar emphasizes that both used visual metrics and "phenotypes" to analyze, and thus evaluate, botanical specimens. Both methods of classification sorted visible metrics and justified discrimination on the "rational" basis of scientific categorization. Bleichmar acknowledges many of the artists in the European scientific expeditions were anonymous, and so draws conclusions about naturalists in general rather than

⁴⁶ Lisbeth Haas, *Pablo Tac, Indigenous Scholar: Writing on Luiseño Language and Colonial History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

individual artists and visual workers. Despite the inherent difficulty of the sources, Bleichmar delivers a portrait of naturalists as a profession and their system of knowledge.⁴⁷

Andrea Wulf's *The Invention of Nature: Alexander von Humboldt's New World* is a straightforward celebratory biography of an accomplished and well-connected naturalist. Andrea Wulf praised him for his massive contributions to natural science, the romanticism of his language and philosophy, his celebrity during his life and his influence after death. Because the book chronologically discusses the life and times of one man, it is not so much critical theory as a nomination for Humboldt as the symbol of the age. As Wulf would have it, Humboldt was the main character who acted upon the world, rather than developing in it.⁴⁸

However, this was never the case. Even within the events enumerated by Wulf, there were problems with the worldview and conduct of Humboldt. Ecuadorian scholar Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra criticizes Wulf's praise of Humboldt as bordering on worship, asserting that Wulf's claims and the contemporary sources that echoed her praise of Humboldt were overplayed and overdramatized. Additionally, Cañizares cites local documents to demonstrate Humboldt's heavy reliance on American sources, Humboldt's incomplete assessment of many geographic features, and the favoritism Humboldt displayed when selecting students and associates, favoring aristocratic acolytes with high European pedigrees, ideally German.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Daniela Bleichmar, *Visible Empire: Botanical Expeditions & Visual Culture in the Hispanic Enlightenment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012). Pseudo-scientific justifications for policing colonial subjects extended to sex as well as race. For a story of colonized Native women being policed by eugenics (the Victorian descendant of the Enlightenment), see Brianna Theobald, *Reproduction on the Reservation: Pregnancy, Childbirth, and Colonialism in the Long Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019).

⁴⁸ Andrea Wulf, *The Invention of Nature: Alexander von Humboldt's New World* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2015). Her hagiography of Humboldt and invocation of Humboldt's emblematic language is reminiscence of John Ward, *Andrew Jackson: Symbol for an Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955). Through her written language and enthusiasm in interviews, Wulf demonstrates very little of the criticism that was central to Ward's deconstruction of Jacksonian democracy. A universal indication of hubris in a knowledge system is unwillingness to question or critique iconic figures- such as the Humboldt, founding father of the Enlightenment.

⁴⁹ Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, "Screwing in Two Positions," *Medium* (blog), September 27, 2019, <https://jorgecanizaresesguerra.medium.com/screwing-in-two-positions-82c2cc5b09db>.

In the present generation of historians, the strongest case for the concept of knowledge systems comes from Cameron Strang in his history of the Florida and Gulf Coast Native ways of knowing. Strang outlines a series of interactions and practices observed and practiced by both Europeans and Natives in Florida during the Spanish, British and American periods of occupation. Issues such as mapmaking, navigation, and natural philosophy were all practiced in unique styles derived both by Europeans and by Gulf Coast Tribes.⁵⁰ Throughout Strang's many case studies, a regular theme is that power, rather than factual knowledge, was what often ultimately won the battle of wits that accompanied colonization by force of arms. The rigorous demands of navigation and tracking in the Florida tropics initially greatly favored the tribes whose experience, knowledge and practice vastly outstripped the methodical cartography of Enlightenment Westerners.⁵¹ By contrast, during the Seminole and Creek wars that led to the region's absorption into the United States, combatants from both sides used scalping and corpse mutilation as a method of psychological warfare. As US settlers and soldiers exacted bloodier tolls on the Natives, Western anthropologists and early scientists justified Anglo trophy collecting as part of sample gathering. Meanwhile, Native scalping and coup-counting was condemned as a cruel barbarism, ultimately justifying the American practice and relegating Seminole fighters to savagery. In short: "The Second Seminole War was, to a great extent, fought over and against the bodies of the dead [corpses fallen on the field of battle]: spiritual, social, and political associations with human remains were inextricable from the war's cause, course, and outcomes." The white method of interring bodies was classified as clinical and

⁵⁰ Cameron B. Strang, "Indian Storytelling, Scientific Knowledge, and Power in the Florida Borderlands," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 70, no. 4 (2013): 671–700.

⁵¹ Cameron B. Strang, *Frontiers of Science: Imperialism and Natural Knowledge in the Gulf South Borderlands, 1500-1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018).

proper, while the Seminole process was condemned as the opposite.⁵² Fundamentally, Strang shows that knowledge, or what passed for knowledge, was tied to power in the colonial world. Science was as much about justification as it was about proof.

The Enlightened mind had its limits and foibles. The scientific and organizational triumphs of the Enlightenment empowered Western Europe to consolidate increasingly organized national governments. Yet blind faith in Enlightenment principles (secularism, materialism, elitism, scientific racism) could extend to all branches of the Western knowledge system. In *Frederic Edwin Church: Humboldt's Painter in the Andes*, Zinna examines the diary of one of Humboldt's artists on his South American expedition. The imperfect Spanish of the artist's diary revealed that some data was lost in translation. Additionally, Church's involvement demonstrated non-scientific interests in the expedition. He had volunteered to go on the expedition to raise his standing as an artist producing what Humboldt called "heroic landscape painting."⁵³ Zinna exposes the foibles of Enlightenment thinkers, underscoring their classism, "scientific" racism, byzantine quibbling over funding and recognition, a desire to maintain panache, and the inevitable nepotism and sycophancy involved in any aristocratic endeavor.

Even in fully Westernized institutions, Native civil servants in the employ of colonial authorities often incorporated Native elements within the mechanics that enabled empires to function. Edited by Gabriela Ramos and Yanna Yannakakis, *Indigenous Intellectuals* highlighted various roles held by Native and mestizo bureaucrats in the Spanish Empire. Ramos introduces the concept of an intellectual as a distinct member of society. Intellectuals commanded influence and prestige through "virtue of their directive, organizational or educative function in society.

⁵² Strang, 287.

⁵³ Mariana C Zinni, "Frederic Edwin Church: Humboldt's Painter in the Andes," *Iberoamericana (Madrid, Spain)* 19, no. 70 (2019): 89–112, <https://doi.org/10.18441/ibam.19.2019.70.89-112>.

Intellectuals not only lead, but also persuade, mediate and animate.”⁵⁴ Imperial state-building would not have been possible without the contributions of colonized peoples.⁵⁵ There is an increasing emphasis in scholarship around the Native bureaucrats that implemented and resisted the worst of colonialism. Many of these intellectuals already held a pre-conquest noble pedigree, and the houses that demonstrated their nobility to the Spaniards sustained their place in the aristocracy, and in some cases even lay claim to land holdings based on Native processes of inheritance. Just as the conquistadors needed guides, evangelical orders and educators needed translators and mediators to sustain the legal and ecclesiastical machines. In the process of translating and litigating Spanish edicts, Indigenous intellectuals preserved not only Amerindian languages but Native matrilineal genealogy. This deconstruction of the Spanish hierarchy is in conversation with global colonial studies.⁵⁶

Native peoples in the Americas had complex systems of science and knowledge. The ambivalence of power, especially in the borderlands, equated to the ambivalence of knowledge and reconnaissance about the physical boundaries of the colonial world. Portuguese and Spanish civil servants, missionaries, and rancheros all struggled to navigate around the Río de la Plata borderlands throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. Jeffrey Erbig argues that the limits of

⁵⁴ Gabriela Ramos and Yanna Yannakakis, eds., *Indigenous Intellectuals: Knowledge, Power, and Colonial Culture in Mexico and the Andes* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014). For additional exploration of state formation as informed by dialogue between intellectualism and Latin American/mestizo identity, see Julio Ramos, *Divergent Modernities: Culture and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Latin America*, trans. John D. Blanco, Post-Contemporary Interventions (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001). The continuity of Latin American *letrado* intellectuals (read: the Enlightenment) being informed by racial and ethnic identity in the republican era (Ramos begins with Sarmiento and Bello in Argentina and Chile) demonstrates a branch of Enlightenment thinking particular to the developing borderlands of the Atlantic world.

⁵⁵ For opposing sides of the discussion around voice and agency in global postcolonial studies, see Blackhawk, *Violence over the Land*; Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, “Can the Subaltern Speak?,” in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (London: MacMillan, 1988). For colonized participation in empire under duress, see Jacoby, *Shadows at Dawn*.

⁵⁶ Margarita R. Ochoa and Sara V. Guengerich, eds., *Cacicacas: The Indigenous Women Leaders of Spanish America, 1492-1825* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2021); Burke A. Hendrix and Deborah Baumgold, eds., *Colonial Exchanges: Political Theory and the Agency of the Colonized* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017).

cartography played into Native hands: because Spain and Portugal failed to fully chart the region without Indian knowledge, full colonization remained elusive for over a century.⁵⁷ In *Where Caciques and Mapmakers Met*, Erbig catalogues the regular political and geographical successes and occasional stalemates of the *tolderías*. The *toldería*, roughly an encampment, village or mobile extended family, is the central unit of analysis for Erbig's examination of Native border-making, and much of his thesis of fluid power and borders revolves around the *toldería*'s ability to cover large amounts of land. In fact, Erbig marks the Rio de la Plata's transition from a borderland to a centralized state when independent Uruguay rounded up and dispersed the remaining *toldería* Natives in 1831 in the Salsipuedes Massacre, long after the time of Royal Portuguese and Spanish border disputes.

Rather than Portuguese vs. Spanish, Erbig delineates a knowledge struggle between the fluidity of Native geographical borders and Europeans' desire to make them clear and unambiguous. He confirms this frustration when he finds it in the ineffectual maps of both the Portuguese and Spanish, charted to identify and contain the same *tolderías*. These *tolderías* held a superior knowledge and navigation of the Rio de la Plata region: within the Native chain of transmission, their knowledge was more detailed, more accessible, and more accurate than European maps. Without cartographic maps of their own, but with the geographical savvy to negotiate imperial boundaries, the *toldería* authorities proved there was a marked difference between territory "known by" Europeans and territory "controlled by," Europeans.⁵⁸ Drawing on Gramsci's idea of cultural hegemony, in which culture, and thus society as a whole, can be steered through top-down imposition of institutions like law and education, the characters in this

⁵⁷ In fact, a great many knowledge-producers in the Western colonial apparatus relied on Native expertise. For elaboration, see the discussion of knowledge and cultural syncretism below.

⁵⁸ Jeffrey Alan Erbig, *Where Caciques and Mapmakers Met: Border Making in Eighteenth-Century South America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2020).

volume ensured that Indian ideas and agency endured within the Spanish hierarchy, a hierarchy that did not remain as Spanish as the conquistadors who founded it.⁵⁹

In addition to the experience of a place, the experience of a divided place can profoundly inform a system of knowledge, and even bring about ethnogenesis. The Mexican-American crossing zone is an excellent example of this phenomenon. In a demarcation that has stayed stable for over 175 years, no longer a borderlands frontier, the dialectic of race relations, labor, politics and culture between black, white, Native and Hispanic citizens have continued to change and exchange long after the borderlands of colonization became irrelevant, the borderlands of experience between Mexico and the US remains the most important identity-forming boundary in the hemisphere, impacting conditions of race, class, the environment and labor.⁶⁰

Even an individual's survival within a borderland environment can impact the environment on the borderland. As borderlands residents labored on and adapted to their new environment, their experiences and their environment impacted one another. When colonizers ultimately overpowered their environment, both their self-image and environment had fundamentally changed.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Ramos and Yannakakis, *Indigenous Intellectuals*, 2. For additional documentation of Nahua (and Nahua language) bureaucracy that perpetuated the Spanish empire in Mexico City, see Camilla Townsend, *Annals of Native America: How the Nahuas of Colonial Mexico Kept Their History Alive* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017); Camilla Townsend and James Lockhart, eds., *Here in This Year: Seventeenth-Century Nahuatl Annals of the Tlaxcala-Puebla Valley* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010).

⁶⁰ The works of Mary Mendoza examine the US-Mexican border's implications on labor, environmental, and social concerns; Mary E. Mendoza, "Treacherous Terrain: Racial Exclusion and Environmental Control at the U.S.-Mexico Border," *Environmental History* 23, no. 1 (2018): 117–26; Mary E. Mendoza, "La Tierra Pica/The Soil Bites: Hazardous Environments and the Degeneration of Bracero Health, 1942-64," in *Disability Studies and the Environmental Humanities: Toward an Eco-Crip Theory*, ed. Sarah Ray Jaquette and JC Sibara (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2017); Mary E Mendoza, "Caging Out, Caging In: Building a Carceral State at the U.S-Mexico Divide," *Pacific Historical Review* 88, no. 1 (2019): 86-. For the northern parallel where Metis and Native peoples manipulated the US-Canadian border, see Beth LaDow, *The Medicine Line: Life and Death on a North American Borderland* (Philadelphia: Routledge, 2001); Frank Turner, *Across the Medicine Line* (Toronto: McCleod and Stewart, 1973). In cases of political ambiguity, an experiential borderlands can develop even faster. For a European case study, see Sydney Watts, "The Channel Islands as Borderlands History" (University of Oklahoma Borderlands Symposium, Norman, Oklahoma, January 25, 2024).

⁶¹ For a continent-wide survey of animal-predator interaction, see Jon T. Coleman, *Vicious: Wolves and Men in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004). For an early study of Mexican shepherding examines

Physical spaces are not the only tangible element of culture that is interpreted through personal lived experiences and familial oral history. Many Native expressions of knowledge vary depending on an individual's station in life or personal relationship to the practice. The use or taboo of physical objects, creation of artistic mediums or the use of spiritual medicine often varied from person to person. In some cases, these physical expressions survived through ethnogenesis. In other cases, European symbols were interpreted and understood through Native experiences.⁶²

One of the main tenants of Enlightenment science was that the conclusions of scientific analysis was neutral, ahistorical and apolitical. What an Enlightened scientist discovered was true or false based on quantitative metrics that were independent of the scientist's personal experience or the context of where and when the research took place. The scholarship above has refuted the Enlightenment conceit of a neutral and independent researcher. Factors from funding to Eurocentrism to personal prejudice to marketability impacted the creation and dissemination of knowledge in the Enlightenment. Scholars have emphasized social institutions, legal structure, and racial boundaries in the formation of Hispanic California and the implementation of Enlightened knowledge and bureaucracy.

This dissertation offers a different approach to the culture clash between the metropole's Enlightenment and the reality of the borderlands. In both knowledge and identity, I emphasize the importance of daily life and shared experiences as formative in the creation of California's

borderlands degradation, Elinor G. K. Melville, *A Plague of Sheep: Environmental Consequences of the Conquest of Mexico* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994). For an "urban" borderlands, see the environmental transformation of Tenochtitlan: Mundy, *The Death of Aztec Tenochtitlan, the Life of Mexico City*.

⁶² For an example of flexible material knowledge, see Marcy Norton, *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures: A History of Tobacco and Chocolate in the Atlantic World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008). For Native knowledge surviving through perpetuation in European symbolism, see Louise M. Burkhart, *Aztecs on Stage: Religious Theater in Colonial Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011); D. A. Brading, *Mexican Phoenix: Our Lady of Guadalupe: Image and Tradition across Five Centuries* (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

distinctive institutions, knowledge, and identities. California was remote from the centers of imperial power. What mattered to Californios was the routine and events they personally participated in with their syncretic neighbors. This is a summary of events and syncretic process that I call “the borderlands of experience.”⁶³

What is experience? Experiences described here are the day-to-day physical, mental and spiritual activities, shaping those who lived through them, their associates, and their society as a whole. Experiences are routines and norms understood as established and accepted by society.

Some experiences are practical. The experiences of securing water, food, shelter, and environmentally appropriate clothing differ vastly between a wage worker, a hunter-gatherer, and a sedentary farmer. Even with a shared language and faith, the three survival experiences would produce three very different understandings of the world; and they did vary between neophytes living in the barracks, vaqueros working in the extended Californio ranches, and the friendly Native peoples who traded with, but lived apart from the missions. Other experiences are more social and intellectual: determining labor roles, negotiating commerce, forming families, and maintaining order. The most intangible experiences are philosophical and spiritual. These community-binding and self-actualizing experiences can initiate rites of passage, affirm expectations of gender, reckon with the higher powers of the world and cope with inevitable mortality. Experiences can be entirely mental, such as prayers and manners. Some experiences are tied to environments and even places.⁶⁴

⁶³ Native Californians have been served well in the recent decades of scholarship. The controversies of Euro-Amerindian colonialism in California have been discussed extensively. I do reference to the lives and actions of Native Californians- specifically those who shared colonial spaces with Hispanics. This paper is, however, fundamentally a Hispanic story, not just a Native story. Ultimately, I focus on Native stories that took place within the institutions of Spain, developing underneath a Californio roof.

⁶⁴ It is worth acknowledging the foundational “alltagsgeschichte” school of history. A fruit of the social history of Marc Bloch’s *Annales* School and later the New Left, “every-day-life-history” gained traction with the works of Alf Ludtke. Alf Ludtke, *The History of Everyday Life: Reconstructing Historical Experiences and Ways of Life*, ed. William Templer (Princeton: University Press, 1995). The tradition’s microhistory approach processes every-day-

These traits and activities are often mundane, but the mundanity of the day-to-day constitutes the experiences that develop an individual's sense of who they are. When many individuals have an experience and reproduce it regularly, it becomes established as a defining feature of the broader society. Two brief examples will suffice to demonstrate uniquely Californio experiences.

Firstly, the omnipresence of mission architecture and mission bells in the artistic representation of Hispanic California. While monastic orders were omnipresent in Spanish America, the Jesuit and Franciscan missions in the Californias carried a special significance in their architectural impact on later development and in their distinction from Anglo and Native structures.⁶⁵

Secondly, daily life in Spanish California was defined by the unequal adaptations of both Spaniards and Natives as a result of borderlands living. Throughout the American era, both Hispanics and Anglo-Americans commemorated Californios as rugged yet elegant, a combination of vaquero and gentleman. Heroes like Zorro and damsels like Ramona, both Hispanic mestizos with the noble qualities of both Spanish and Native peoples, are quintessentially Californios in their semi-modernity and semi-indigeneity. The ambiguous Californio characters stand out from the rest of Manifest Destiny's mythologized memory.⁶⁶

life-history combined well with the subaltern and labor histories that were emerging simultaneously in the 1980s. Examining the routine of key identities makes for powerful case studies. For a compelling everyday life story of social mobilization and contested class identity, see Peter Winn, *Weavers of Revolution: The Yarrur Workers and Chile's Road to Socialism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

⁶⁵ For a primary source that speaks to an early beginning of the tradition of borderlands bells, see Eusebio Francisco Kino, "Letter to Father Baltasar de Mansilla, from Nuestra Señora de Dolores," June 30, 1687, New Spain, Huntington Library. Kino confidently asserted that the Pimans and other frontier tribes were delighted by the sound of bells, and the conversion process began through enticing their natural affinity for music.

⁶⁶ The romanticization of *Californios* and their land includes writers as far afield as Brigham Young and Mark Twain. For some of the most renowned, see Helen Hunt Jackson, *Ramona* (Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1884); Isabel Allende, *El Zorro: Comienzo La Leyenda*, trans. Margaret Sayers Peden (New York: Harper Collins, 2005). For fiction focused particularly in Baja California, see John Steinbeck, *The Pearl* (New York: Viking, 1947).

Defining Key Terms

I take this opportunity to explain some terms which I use extensively throughout this dissertation. None are controversial, but their use is so widespread in the following chapters it is crucial that I acknowledge my specific intentions with each term.

I use “Alteño” and “Bajeño” as shorthand references to elements of Californio identity and geography that relate specifically to Alta and Baja California respectively. Physically, these are divided north of San Diego in the US State of California and south of Tijuana in the Baja California Peninsula in the Mexican States of Baja California and Baja California Sur. Chapters 2 and 4 deal extensively with the borderland experience of each region. Many institutions and routines were shared between both halves of the province while others were held individually.

My use of the term “Mission Strip” refers to the axis of regular Spanish control up and down the Californio coastline in the Pacific Ocean. Bajeños also held an original, older Mission Strip along the Cape Region of the Baja Peninsula that stretched up to the Rio Colorado Delta south of modern-day Mexicali. As with many cases of frontier settlement, the majority of the Californio borderlands by area was never fully controlled by Spanish power. Native flight and autonomous rancherías, along with logistical limitations of the harsh environment hampered Spain’s full expansion into California. The sites for the missions and presidios were tactfully selected by Californios for the purposes of defensibility, self-sustainability, and accessibility to nearby Native population centers. While these were “islands” of Spanish rule, it is visible on a map that they were settled along a north-south axis dictated by accessibility to the sea. Either by their clinging to the navigable coast or their connection as links in a land chain, Spain’s hold

over “Mission Strip” of core territory was distinct from the broader outreach into the ambiguous borderlands of the mountains and hinterlands of Native California.⁶⁷

The “Enlightenment” was as much an era of history as it was an intellectual mindset. Intellectually, the Enlightenment emerged and overthrew the medieval tradition of scholasticism derived from Saint Thomas Aquinas and other medieval thinkers who practiced religious faith and academic pursuits with the ongoing intention of reconciling Biblical truths with the natural world. The challenge of Enlightenment, broadly speaking, involved first a separation and then a rejection of religious doctrine in the realm of academic and scientific pursuits. This is not to say that all Enlightenment thinkers were atheists or even agnostic. Rather, the separation of religious philosophy as a profession of faith was distinguished from the documentation of natural philosophy as an observation of data. Enlightenment thought was guided by a broad drive to measure, document and observe all of the natural world, with the expectation that a complete discovery would lead to complete understanding. In the eyes of Enlightened thinkers, what could be seen could be measured and understood, and ultimately controlled.⁶⁸

The Enlightened documentation and understanding of the natural world by researchers was accompanied with Enlightened documenting and controlling of human subjects by bureaucrats. When the political, absolutist, semi-secular, and bureaucratic elements of the

⁶⁷ One source that inspired my creation of this term came from the historical preservation of the Camino Real and the Old Spanish Trail. While neither California or the greater northwestern frontier was ever fully control by Imperial Spain, Native diplomacy and selective trades and raids did guarantee a reliable overland route, in New Mexico and California. See Joseph P. Sánchez, *El Camino Real de California: From Ancient Pathways to Modern Byways*, Querencias Series (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2019); Joseph P. Sánchez, *Explorers, Traders, and Slavers: Forging the Old Spanish Trail, 1678-1850* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1997).

⁶⁸ While incomplete, a shorthand understanding of the socio-political Enlightenment is in the strengthening of the state as a replacement of the church as a socially foundational institution. For the history of the increasingly secular and objectivist nature of early modern thought, see David Graeber and David Wengrow, *The Dawn of Everything: A New History of Humanity* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2021); Iris H. W. Engstrand, “The Enlightenment in Spain: Influences Upon New World Policy,” *The Americas* (Washington. 1944) 41, no. 4 (1985): 436–44; Darrin M. McMahon, *Enemies of the Enlightenment: The French Counter-Enlightenment and the Making of Modernity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

Enlightenment were applied in government and colonization rather than intellectual projects, they were best described through Voltaire's quip about Frederick William the Soldier King. "While some states have an army, the Prussian army has a state." For the purpose of the political Enlightenment of the Spanish Bourbons and their American colonies, the Enlightenment was a time of increased power for monarchs, increased documentation for bureaucrats, increased regulations for colonial agents and decreased faith and agency for Hispanic clergymen.⁶⁹

Both political and scientific aspects of the Enlightenment had significant consequences on colonial society in the Americas. Through their taxonomic approach to new life forms, European academics regularly treated Native American people as another form of flora and fauna to be documented and categorized by agents of research and royal rule. Racially, this resulted in a "scientifically vindicated" caste system that endured throughout Latin America. By aristocratic rank, the peninsulares often demeaned and dismissed the academic and administrative success of the American-born Hispanic criollos. Financial patronage, academic recognition or political promotions were still often selected by nepotism or factionalism rather than merit. Despite the Enlightened emphasis on observable and categorical metrics, Enlightened rulers and societies still held many prejudices.⁷⁰

While the Enlightenment had particular elements that were emphasized through the discovery and exploration of the ostensibly "New World" and its Native peoples, the intellectual and religious thinkers of Catholicism were radically reinvented by their activity in the early modern era throughout both hemispheres. "Spanish Universalism" was an intellectual branch of

⁶⁹ The Bourbon colonial story is best understood not only as a growth in Enlightenment but a departure from the absentee and sclerotic Habsburgs. See David A. Brading, "Bourbon Spain and Its American Empire," in *The Cambridge History of Latin America. Volume I, Colonial Latin America*, ed. Leslie Bethell (Cambridge: University Press, 1984), 389–439; Allan J. Kuethe and Kenneth J. Andrien, *The Spanish Atlantic World in the Eighteenth Century: War and the Bourbon Reforms, 1713–1796* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

⁷⁰ For the division between European and American academics, see Yari Pérez Marín, *Marvels of Medicine: Literature and Scientific Inquiry in Early Colonial Spanish America* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2021).

the Enlightenment most closely associated with Iberian Catholic intellectuals, especially Jesuits.⁷¹

“Universalism” carried great meaning for the Spanish religious thinkers. Some scholars refer to their work as the Spanish or Iberian Enlightenment, their operations and subject material were truly global. Portuguese and Spanish missionaries travelled the world for the purpose of evangelizing pagans and heretics. Wherever they preached, they also penned their academic and naturalist pursuits. Linguistics, medicine, geography and even applied chemistry were useful methods of making evangelism more effective, and missionary presence useful to the conversion targets. Matteo Ricci, for example, was allowed to preach in Beijing because of his utility as a gunpowder alchemist for the Ming Emperor.⁷²

The Spanish evangelical missionaries were eager to research, document and comprehend the new lands and people to whom they proselytized. This included an engagement with Native experts on some topics that the Universalists deemed relevant to the conversion project. This included the embrace, up to a point, of Native scientists and scholars themselves, provided their willingness to convert to Catholicism and accept Spain’s sovereignty. One such converted scholar was Pablo Tac from Mission San Luís.⁷³

⁷¹ Pedro Aullón de Haro, *Introduction to the Spanish Universalist School: Enlightened Culture and Education Versus Politics*, History of Early Modern Educational Thought (Boston: Brill, 2020). For a closer look into Mexican thinkers of the Universalist school, see Hugo Diaz-Thome and Ramon Iglesia, *Estudios de Historiografía de La Nueva España*, Colegio de Mexico. Centro de Estudios Historicos. Publicaciones (Mexico: Colegio de Mexico, Centro de Estudios Historicos y Publicaciones, 1945). Iglesia and Diaz-Thome argue that secular Enlightenment and religious Universalism were among the strongest threads of intellectual thought among their selected historians of New Spain, highlighting a common categorical drive and a difference in religious attitude.

⁷² For Matteo Ricci, see Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci 1552-1610* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). For the Universalists in Asia broadly, including the Portuguese, see Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540-1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

⁷³ Lisbeth Haas, *Pablo Tac, Indigenous Scholar: Writing on Luiseño Language and Colonial History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011). For the engagement of Spanish researchers with Native knowledge and expertise, see Edward O. Wilson, *Kingdom of Ants: José Celestino Mutis and the Dawn of Natural History in the New World* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010); Alida C. Metcalf, *Go-Betweens and the Colonization of Brazil, 1500-1600* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005); Yanna Yannakakis, *The Art of Being In-between: Native Intermediaries, Indian Identity, and Local Rule in Colonial Oaxaca* (Durham: Duke University

I use both “Enlightened” and “Spanish Universalism” in this thesis to reference two aspects of the Californio mindset. In the borderlands, as in intellectual history, the two are related, but I argue not identical. In the case of the Bourbons’ “Enlightened Absolutism,” the viceregal government attempted to bring objective, regulated, order throughout the colonial world with procedural, bureaucratic measures. Enlightened and broadly secular agents like José Gálvez tried and sometimes succeeded in using New Spain’s bureaucracy to organize conversion, defense and commerce in the Californias. Gálvez’ agents on the front lines of the borderlands were zealous, evangelical, Bible-bearing agents of the state who were both loyal to the Crown and ready to be martyred for the Cross. In an intellectual irony, the increasingly secular Enlightened state sponsored the outspokenly Catholic Universalists. The realities of the borderlands challenged the tenants of both.

Despite the Bourbon bureaucracy’s increasing secularism, their American project was done in no small part through the active participation of devoutly, indeed zealous, Christian academics. Californio priests and their followers saw the borderlands as another set of places and peoples created and designed by God. To understand God’s creation would aid in its settlement and conversion. Thus, for God and Spain, religious Californios did their best to understand the world, environment, language and culture of Native Californians in order to be better colonists and better evangelists.

Having defined terms regarding the history of the borderlands and the mindset of the incoming Spaniards, I turn to terms I use to describe the theory of borderlands identity building.

Press, 2008); Gabriela Ramos and Yanna Yannakakis, eds., *Indigenous Intellectuals: Knowledge, Power, and Colonial Culture in Mexico and the Andes* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014). In their own way, each of these works address the Universalist exploration of Native knowledge and the colonial recruitment of Native experts. Together, these works expand the narrow definition of “science.”

While the mindset of Spaniards in metropole was well established, experiences on the borderlands challenged that mindset and reshaped that identity.

“A system of knowledge” or knowledge system, or mindset is the sum of generations of experience made official. The sum of the experiences of gathering food, cooking and serving becomes “cuisine.” The sum experience of working in exchange for payment and exchanging labor and products for value becomes “microeconomics.” Every society has a system of knowledge that is compatible with their daily experience. Most California Natives brought a certain tranquility to their lives through elaborate and well understood networks of kinship that played a central role in conflict resolution. Systems of knowledge originate through repeated experiences that are refined and passed down over time, much as knowledge of cuisine passes from parents to children and chefs to apprentices.

What are the “borderlands of experience?” The borderlands are the points of contact in between multiple systems of knowledge. As individuals with two different knowledge systems interact, culture shock is a common outcome. The same occurrence is a different experience for each party. Over time, diverse people on the borderlands of experience begin to reckon with each other over repeated experiences. These experiences are negotiated over and over through enhanced communication, trading, compromise, or force. The conventional borderlands cease to be borderlands when settler colonialism eclipses and disperses the rival Native powers. A frontier town is no longer a frontier town after it is an established metropole. Just so, “borderlands of experience,” cease to be borderlands when there is only one system of knowledge: either through the disappearance of one system of assimilation or demographic decline, or more commonly, through syncretic ethnogenesis.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ Borderlands ethnogenesis is a massive topic that has been explored for decades, often with an emphasis on sexual, marital union and mixed families. Some foundational texts include Susan Sleeper-Smith, *Indian Women and French*

Chapter Outline

In each of the chapters to follow, I examine the mentality and worldview of the missionaries and colonists as they arrived in the Californias, armed with Enlightenment ideas and Catholic religious fervor. I examine the borderlands of experiences that challenged those Enlightenment sensibilities through practical difficulties and cultural negotiations. Finally, I examine in depth a specific case study that involved frontier justice, the failure of the civilizing mission, and the imposition of the metropolitan hierarchy.

In Baja California, Jesuits explored the land and extensively documented its people. The humanist priests treated their missions and flocks with the same scientific scrutiny as Enlightenment scientists gave to animals and volcanoes as they categorized and charted them. Their academic worldview met with resistance. Natives pushed back through exerting their own culture and negotiating Jesuit rule. Jesuits also struggled with the natural challenges of sustaining their mission outposts in an isolated and hostile wilderness.

In Alta California, the Franciscans established a rigorous regimen of labor, asceticism and piety for the neophytes, the Native and mixed Californians brought to live on the Mission Strip. The zealous faith of the friars was coupled with the same Enlightenment drill and discipline that sought to engineer the ideal soldier and the efficient bureaucrat. Contrary to the later images of serene and peaceful mission bells, Franciscan missions were regimented,

Men: Rethinking Cultural Encounter in the Western Great Lakes (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001); Anderson, *The Indian Southwest, 1580-1830*; Gary Clayton Anderson, *Kinsman of Another Kind: Dakota-White Relations in the Upper Mississippi Valley, 1650-1862* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984); Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away*; Pérez, *Colonial Intimacies*. Of particular interest to Bourbon New Spain is Hurtado, *Intimate Frontiers: Sex, Gender, and Culture in Old California*. Not to be confused with the similarly named, but also useful Martínez, *The Intimate Frontier*. While much of ethnogenesis rightly focuses on marriage and domestic negotiations, Martínez asserts that gift-giving and negotiating through flexible diplomacy was vital to the kinship ties that sustained colonial relations on the borderlands.

notarized, and overseen by state authorities. With their regimentation and governmental oversight, the padres ran operations less like medieval monasteries and more like an early-modern corporation operating on a thin margin.

Throughout both halves of the province, the one presidio in Baja and the four in Alta enforced the law and protected Spanish subjects. These frontier forts were also the connection to mainland Mexico's resources, funding, social validation and political oversight. Chronically understaffed, underfunded and overwhelmed, civil servants quickly reconciled themselves to their limited power. Captains and soldiers avoided desertion through shared misery and an understood flexibility with many regulations. Governors and friars cooperated by adapting each other's vocational language and honoring each other's co-dependent jurisdictional authority. Soldiers and Natives cohabitated and earned a living together by shared adaptation to work schedules, living spaces and family dynamics.

Chapter 1 discusses the Universalist mindset of the Jesuits and their methodological approach to understanding and ruling their Native charges in Baja California. This chapter also engages in greater detail with the historiography of the early Enlightenment. I specifically engage with the unique mindset of Catholic absolutism as it pertains to the Jesuits who held the potentially contradictory positions of zealous, dogmatic faith and curious, analytical scientific minds. This ultimately involves an examination of the Catholic "Spanish universalism" that characterized the Bourbon Era of American Spain.

Chapter 2 relates and analyzes a series of borderland experiences in Baja California that impacted the colonial arrivals to the region. Bringing the focus to the geographical parameters of the Baja California Peninsula, I take this chapter to reflect on the concept of the borderlands as a perpetually contested place, and as a place with ambiguous social and political expectations.

California, like most other remote colonial territories, negotiated a great many uncertainties over time and repeated exertions of power by both European and Native agents. Specifically, Baja California remained a remote periphery of New Spain, dependent on the mainland for support.

Chapter 3 discusses the coming of the zealous regiment of Franciscans into Alta California, and the bureaucratized relations they established with the neophytes and the secular government. The appearance of the Franciscans is my opportunity to engage the controversial and very dynamic historiography of the Alteño Franciscans, particularly in the Anglophone United States that classifies Junípero Serra's fraternity as uniquely reactionary and medieval.

Chapter 4 relates and analyzes a series of borderland experiences in Alta California, demonstrating how and why Alteños remained a distinct borderland people, despite the increased energy of the secular government. I argue that the combined experiences of intense isolation from the rest of Mexico by sea and desert, and perpetual vigilance from foreign threats and from Native rebellion, created a place-specific experience in Alta California that parallels the analysis of Native Californians put forth in *We Are The Land* by Damon Akins and William Bauer.⁷⁵

Chapter 5 relates a case study of a local trial that involved presidio soldiers executing their civic duty and the friars offering spiritual guidance. Like so many borderland stories, the final and life-changing decisions were made far away by an aristocrat wholly unconnected to the criminal act and its fallout. This chapter also examines and engages in the historiography of colonial criminal justice and sexual violence. Particularly, I make an attempt to both understand the female victim and Native perpetrator, neither of whom were not able to provide historical records of their own, and are only represented through the colonial apparatus that ruled and prosecuted them.

⁷⁵ Damon B. Akins and William J. Bauer, Jr, *We Are the Land: A History of Native California* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2021).

Each experience was recorded by a Californio member of an important colonial institution founded and staffed by thinkers and attitudes from the imperial metropole. Each institution, whether the Jesuit and Franciscan orders or the presidio military system, tried to implement the civic routine they had learned to cherish as leaders of colonization in an Enlightened nation-state. Each institute, in turn, experienced unexpected challenges on the borderlands that stymied their perfect implementation of their Enlightened model. Particular cases of frontier organization, troop discipline, Native relations and criminal procedures demonstrated a local cooperation that established the importance of local, and thus Californio, process.

*Chapter 1: Black Ink, Black Madonnas, and Black Robes: The Mindset of the
Californio Jesuits*

“[Let us] Go forth and set the world aflame.”

-Saint Ignatius of Loyola⁷⁶

“This Conquest may be lost.”

-Alejandro Romano, Jesuit Missionary in Loreto⁷⁷

Introduction

The first chapter of this dissertation will examine the mindset of the frontier Jesuits who explored Baja California. Explaining the apostolic and evangelical culture of borderland Jesuits is a fitting start for several reasons. The first reason is chronological. The Jesuits' arrival on the peninsula and their impact on Baja California Native peoples was the start of permanent European settlement in the Californias. The second reason is thematic. The order of the Jesuits operated in Europe, New Spain, and across the world. The order educated its members with Enlightened ideas of education and categorization in a way that set them apart from the mendicant orders who shared in the evangelization of New Spain. The Jesuits' faith in an Enlightened form of Catholicism impacted their process of evangelization with Native peoples of California. Enlightened Catholicism was the worldview that informed the identities of Californios of all ethnicities. Whether they were loyal to the crown, ambivalent, or hostile, all Californios after 1697 lived in a colony that was defined by its Catholic consecration to God and its Enlightened dependence on the King. The final reason to begin with the Jesuits is epistemological. The biographies of the California Jesuits offer the opportunity to explore in

⁷⁶ Robert Harvey, *Ignatius Loyola, A General in the Church Militant* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company, 1936).

⁷⁷ Alejandro Romano, “Alejandro Romano to the Viceroy Regarding the Situation of Loreto,” December 6, 1701, Transcribed Collections of the AGI, Bancroft Library.

more detail the concepts of the colonial Enlightenment. Enlightenment shaped missionary mindsets and contributed to the syncretic identities of California's diverse peoples.⁷⁸

Historians of early modern Europe and Counter-Reformation Catholicism broadly agree that the Jesuit order developed in a later generation than the contemplative monastics or the mendicant orders who arrived in the New Spain in the early sixteenth century. Early Jesuit thinkers were steeped in the experiences of the Renaissance and the nascent Enlightenment. In comparison to the Medieval origins of the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians, the Jesuit Order had its roots in the tumultuous era of religious redefinitions and national state formation of the Catholic Counter-Reformation. Ignatius of Loyola founded the Society of Jesus in 1540. The 16th century was the height of the Renaissance. The Neo-Aristotelianism of the era's thinkers fostered the rationalism that would ultimately engender the Enlightenment of the following centuries. Jesuits and their contemporaries prized rational thought and the systematic study of nature. At its broadest, this mindset can be understood through the historiography of the Spanish Universalist School of the Enlightenment. Historian John O'Malley categorizes the era between the Reformation and the Enlightenment as an era active scholarship. Catholic intellectual activity of the 17th and 18th century was both extroverted and introverted. Extroverted missionaries practiced an outward-focused evangelism while theologians introspectively challenged both spiritual and scholastic assumptions.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ *Californio* Jesuits' Universalism was fundamentally a dialectic between Catholic orthodoxy and Enlightened absolutism- a "double faith" between the spiritual Church and the practical State. "Double-faith" was a term coined by Russian historian and theologian Georgi Fedotov. His exploration of the Medieval Slavic peasantry (parallel to borderland *campesinos*) revealed devout Orthodoxy practiced and complemented by regional pagan practices that did not override the Orthodox worldview. On the societal level, John O'Malley argued that the Western world was of four minds- prophetic, academic, humanistic and artistic. I argue that the universal dogma of Catholicism composed one half of the *Californio* double-faith, the other half being the bureaucratic, categorizing Enlightened Absolutist. For a full comparison, see Georgii Petrovich Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind* (Belmont: Norland, 1955). The *Californio* Jesuits' mindset is best understood as a "double mindset" that accepts both Catholic spirituality and universalist praxis. John O'Malley, *Four Cultures of the West* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2004).

⁷⁹ John W. O'Malley, *Religious Culture in the Sixteenth Century: Preaching, Rhetoric, Spirituality, and Reform* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1993).

Spanish Universalism as Context for Enlightened Jesuit Californios

The intellectual culture of the Spanish enlightenment is useful to our understanding of the Jesuit missionary experience. Historians of the Hispanophone world have come to call this particular mindset the Spanish Universalist school. This is the primary lens of analysis that illuminates the Spanish civilizing mission, and the primary topic of this historiography.⁸⁰

Spanish Universalism began with Jesuit academics, particularly Juan Andrés. Juan Andrés y Morell (1740-1817), a Spanish-born Universalist Jesuit scholar, was a founding figure in the humanistic approach to literature, creating a globally-applicable method of analyzing literature through taxonomy. By Andrés' time, taxonomic methods had already begun to categorize the Enlightenment's procedural approach to science. Of Andrés' humanist approach to measuring culture, a study by the Jesuit Conference of European Provincials claimed, "It represents the creation of the modern Comparatistic [sic]. The Universalist School, consisting mainly of Jesuit intellectuals, openly raises the need to relate scientific progress to human nature and culture. This humanist and scientific illustration went further than political Enlightenment, and today offers clear instruments to successfully address the era of Globalization [sic]." Andrés' work in Spain and in Italian exile analyzed both geography and literature. Trailblazed by Andrés, the priestly class of thinkers had married objective classification to their celebration of humanity's divinely inspired beauty, goodness, and truth.⁸¹

⁸⁰ The best deconstruction of the Enlightened assumption of perpetual development comes from David Graeber and David Wengrow, *The Dawn of Everything: A New History of Humanity* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2021). They cite Native and religious ways of knowing that complicate and refute the increasingly secular and absolutism of the European Enlightenment, including Spanish Universalism and its colonial engagement.

⁸¹ Elena Rodríguez-Avial, "Juan Andrés, SJ, and the Spanish Universalist School," Jesuit Conference of European Provincials, February 28, 2017, <https://jesuits.eu/news/270-juan-andres-sj-and-the-spanish-universalist-school>. Moltó documented both Andrés' life and his literary achievements in Adolfo Domínguez Moltó, *El Abate D. Juan Andrés Morell: Un Erudito Del Siglo XVIII* (Alicante: Instituto de Estudios Alicantinos, 1978).

Of particular relevance to the proactive frontier Jesuits conducting borderlands evangelization was the linguistic works of Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro (1735-1809). The translation of the title of his multi-volume text on languages demonstrates an interest in both the civilized world of letters and the ostensibly uncivilized world of non-European languages. “A Catalogue of the tongues of the known nations and an enumeration of their variety according to their language and dialects,” reflects a series of Enlightenment thoughts. “Known” nations, races, or people groups included more groups than the civilized or Christian community. This was a declaration of Hervás y Panduro’s intention to catalogue the universal experience of humanity, not just the Christians or Europeans. Unlike Medieval scholars or the neoclassicists of the Renaissance, Hervás y Panduro’s interests stretched beyond the Holy languages of Hebrew, Latin and Greek of Antiquity. In keeping with the Universalism of the Enlightenment, Hervás y Panduro sought to document and learn the languages spoken by all of God’s children. Playing on the titles of Herás y Panduro’s work, José Manuel Díaz Martín refers to the philologist’s research as “cosmopolitan and revolutionary,” in the sense that he had Universalist “cosmopolitan” views that determined the majority of his linguistic scholarship until the tumult of the French revolution.⁸²

Spanish philologist Antonio Tovar analyzed the development of Hervás y Panduro’s linguistic scholarship. In exile in Italy, the Jesuit polyglot made groundbreaking developments in the taxonomy of Malay and Polynesian languages, derived from the dictionaries and grammars collected by missionaries from many origins, not just Iberian Jesuits. Tovar classified the

⁸² José Manuel Díaz Martín, “Cosmopolitismo y Revolución: Los Sueños de Hervás y Panduro,” *Pensamiento (Madrid)* 79, no. 303 (2023): 345–70. It was this same analytical approach to language that facilitated easy adaptation of hymns to borderlands sensibilities. Missionaries reported many Native worshippers engaging with music at mass. See Kristin Mann, *The Power of Song: Music and Dance in the Mission Communities of Northern New Spain, 1590-1810* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2022).

mindset of Hervás y Panduro as religiously and politically conservative. A loyal descendant of the Counter-Reformation, Hervás y Panduro supported both Catholic dogma and the pursuit of comparative linguistics. Tovar insists that Hervás y Panduro was at the same time intellectually forward-looking. “But notwithstanding his conservative position, undoubtedly Hervás y Panduro was, from his youth, more interested in modern knowledge than in the traditional studies.” To Tovar, this openness to exploration and desire to catalogue comprehensively contributed to Hervás y Panduro’s near-discovery of the Indo-European language family that would be crystalized in the work of William Jones and Jacob Grimm.⁸³

Knowing the languages of Indigenous peoples worldwide was a mission of the evangelical Universalist- for holy purpose the sake of saving souls and the intellectual purpose of documentary completionism. Hervás y Panduro never set foot in California- neither did Clavijero. However, both expressed a mix of orthodox faith, absolutist politics, and engaging intellectualism. Their academic works were indicative of the multiple motivations that energized the Jesuits’ mindset. Throughout the Enlightenment, the Society of Jesus attempted to discover, convert, and document everyone and everything in the world, past, present and future. It is worth noting that even the memoirs and biographies of the universalists were written in the form of histories. Rather than writing religious confessional tracts of pre-modern contemplatives, they committed their own memories into the format of an academic biography or a historical tract.⁸⁴

⁸³ Antonio Tovar, “The Spanish Linguist Lorenzo Hervás on the Eve of the Discovery of Indo-European,” in *Geschichte Der Sprachphilosophie Und Der Sprachwissenschaft*, ed. Jürgen Trabant (De Gruyter, 1981), 386. Hervás y Panduro began his philological studies in the early modern era when the Colombian and Magellan Exchanges connected Enlightened scholarship and proto-industrial enterprise with worldwide Indigenous peoples: he began studying languages at a time of booming pidgins and creole languages. For a broad exploration of exchange, syncretism and transformation on the linguistic borderlands, see John H. McWhorter, *The Power of Babel: A Natural History of Language* (New York: Times Books: Henry Holt, 2001).

⁸⁴ Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro, *Catálogo de Las Lenguas de Las Naciones Conocidas, y Numeracion, Division, y Clases de Estas Segun La Diversidad de Sus Idiomas y Dialectos. Volume 2* (Madrid: Ranz, 1801); Lorenzo Hervás, *Aritmetica Delle Nazioni e Divisione Del Tempo Fra l'Orientali: Opera Dell'abbate Don Lorenzo Hervas* (In Cesena: Per Gregorio Biasini all'Insegna di Pallade, 1785); Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro, *Viage Estatico al Mundo Planetario, en que se Observan el Mecanismo y los Principales Fenomenos del Cielo; se Indagan sus Causas*

In their colonial project, Spanish Universalists did their best to reconcile a mindset derived in Europe as intellectuals with their practice as missionaries educating and turning Native converts into imperial subjects. Brazilian scholar Beatriz Helena Domingues argues that the intellectual pursuits of the Jesuits and their on-the-ground impact in their missionary endeavors were two sides of the same coin. In “Política Missionária e Secular Em Escritos Jesuíticos Sobre a Baixa Califórnia No Século XVIII,” Domingues compares two of New Spain’s most prestigious scholars, Miguel Venegas and Francisco Clavijero. She refers to Venegas as a “missionary,” for his active role as a catechist on the frontier in Baja California. She labels Clavijero as an “educator,” for his documentation and scholarship in the Mexican metropole. Both evangelical and intellectual works were two aspects of the same Jesuit mindset that produced “a successful missionary enterprise and a rich intellectual production.” Jesuit catechism and Jesuit Enlightenment were mutually inextricable. Additionally, archivist and historian Alejandro Cienfuegos points out that Francisco Clavijero, while an esteemed historian of California, never himself set foot in Baja California. Despite this, Clavijero compiled sources and testimony from fellow Jesuits who had. His books’ success demonstrated the Enlightenment respect for published scholarship.⁸⁵

The Jesuit Enlightenment tried to be universal in geographical coverage, in topics, and in application. The universalism of the Iberian Catholic Enlightenment was applied to personal meditation, colonial evangelization, and taxonomic documentation. The same agents applied the same methodology to statecraft, particularly in the Bourbon Court. One such agent of both

Físicas, y se Demuestran la Existencia de Dios y Sus Admirables Atributos, Obras (Madrid: Imprenta de Aznar, 1793). The outlier to the Enlightened biographies is Palóu’s panegyric of Junípero Serra, discussed in chapter 3. Interestingly, the scholar named Panduro wrote no scholarship on financial austerity.

⁸⁵ Beatriz Helena Domingues, “Política Missionária e Secular Em Escritos Jesuíticos Sobre a Baixa Califórnia No Século XVIII,” *Revista Brasileira de História* 23, no. 45 (2003): 261–80. See also James Bland, Interview with Alejandro Telechea Cienfuegos on the Jesuits of Baja California, June 15, 2023.

church and state was Giulio Alberoni, a cardinal and statesman who served Phillip V during and after the War of the Spanish Succession. Alberoni's work ably married the interests of the Bourbon Court and the Vatican. Even some writers opposed to the Bourbons recognized his talent. The United Kingdom was an existential enemy of the Catholic Spanish in general and the Jesuits in particular.⁸⁶

Despite their rivalry, British scholars acknowledged the practical utility and the secular impact of such cunning, priestly, courtiers. Protestant Scot Thomas D. Gordon wrote a sarcastic pamphlet praising Alberoni, simultaneously parodying critics of the Church of England in his own country. His strawman, "A Modest Apology for Parson Alberoni," still acknowledged the importance that educated clergy held in executing Catholic Enlightened, bureaucratic governments and their Universalist interests. Despite his sarcastic disdain for Catholics and clergy, Gordon still acknowledged the importance of priests to the Spanish monarchy. The educated clergy were a capable arm of the Bourbon power through their Enlightened, Universalist application of the "flourishing trade of priestcraft." Even in areas without the support of a national Catholic Church, Jesuits served roles as educators, engineers and civil servants. In the New World, the roles of frontier missionaries and viceregal officers functioned as social engineers.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Hispanophone scholarship often references "Spanish" Universalism, some Anglophone writings use Iberian Universalism to include Portuguese and Lusophone scholars, or even Catholic Universalism as a whole. Portuguese Jesuits undertook similar missions in Africa, Brazil and the Far Orient. Likewise, many Jesuits like Hervás y Panduro and Clavijero retreated to Italy after the worldwide expulsion. For simplicity's sake, I continue to refer to Spanish Universalism. For Enlightened Universalist agents beyond Iberia, see María Eugenia Ponce Alcocer, ed., *Cartas desde India y China de los misioneros Jesuitas: siglos XVII-XVIII*, Palabra Viajera 2 (Ciudad de México: Universidad Iberoamericana, 2007).

⁸⁷ In many works of literature and rhetoric in the romantic and late Enlightenment era, the villains were Machiavellian statist clergymen like the Jesuits or Alberoni. No doubt the most famous of these was the Gallican Cardinal Richelieu of Alexandre Dumas' *The Three Musketeers*. For a British, Protestant, parallel depiction of mastermind Gallican villainy, see George Payne Rainsford James, *Richelieu a Tale of France*. (London: H. Colburn, 1829). The same villainy was applied to the Jesuits in service to the Spanish Bourbons. Gordon D. Thomas, *A Modest Apology for Parson Alberoni, Governor to King Philip, a Minor; and Universal Curate of the Spanish*

It is increasingly accepted that the Enlightenment in Spain was a series of structured programs implemented in reality, not only a system of knowledge that helped interpret the world. Luis Ramos argues that the Enlightenment of in Spain's colonies was fundamentally practical in its attempt to restore the continuity of Spain's imperial successes in the golden 16th century. In defining the colonial Enlightenment process in "Enemies of the Enlightened State," Ramos posits: "the Hispanic Enlightenment did not define itself as a moment of rupture with previous epistemologies as much as it came to be understood as part of a broader effort to renovate and restore Spain's former imperial prestige and grandeur. Devoid of the secular and progressive outlook of its French, British and German counterparts, enlightened authors from Spain and its colonies forged a strategic and conservative relation to metropolitan discourses of reason and progress." Ramos argues that Clavijero's writings and sermons became critical of Spain's Enlightened absolutism only after he was exiled from the jewel of the Spanish colonies. He became suspicious of colonization only after he was expelled from the Mexican colonial project.⁸⁸

In the 18th century, state political power collided with Papal authority to create the defining theological conflict of the Enlightenment Era. The social, political, and spiritual platforms of Gallicanism and Febronianism favored state royal power over Papal power in the Catholic Church. Meanwhile, the intellectual platform of Jansenism that favored Papal power over state power and combined free will and God's irresistible saving grace for salvation. For the Jesuits who opposed Jansenism, this combination was too close to Calvinist predestination.⁸⁹

Monarchy: The Whole Being a Short, but Unanswerable Defence of Priestcraft, and a New Confutation of the Bishop of Bangor. (London: J. Roberts of Oxford Arms in Warwick-Lane, 1719), 7.

⁸⁸ Luis Ramos, "Enemies of the Enlightened State: Francisco Clavijero on Exiled Jesuits, Sovereign Power and the Contested Futures of Spanish America," *Colonial Latin American Review* 30, no. 1 (2021): 79–80.

⁸⁹ Leszek Kołakowski, *God Owes Us Nothing: A Brief Remark on Pascal's Religion and on the Spirit of Jansenism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995). The involvement of non-clerical philosophers and thinkers like Blaise Pascal demonstrates the all-pervasive nature of Catholic Absolutism during the Enlightenment.

The Jesuits largely sided with state authorities and advocated for the intellectual cause of Gallicanism or Febronianism that bolstered the power and authority of the bureaucratic, absolutist patrons. In other words, as was apocryphally contributed to the Spanish Crown, “the Church is too important to be left in the hands of the Pope.” This was both politically expedient and intellectually consistent with the order’s emphasis on the individual man’s mind. This defanged the Jesuits and they were ultimately hoisted on their own Enlightened petard. The same royal authorities that they endorsed would eventually expel the Jesuits from their territory and cast them out from influential posts in court.⁹⁰

Nicolás Hernán Perrone connected Jesuits’ emphasis on the individual’s intellect with their service to the state and their pursuit of holiness. In his work, “‘Si No Eres Jesuita Serás Jansenista; y Si No Eres Jansenista Serás Jesuita’: El Problema Del Jansenismo En Causas de La Revolución de Francia de Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro,” Perrone highlighted the issue of Jansenism that conflicted with the Enlightened Absolutism of Catholic Europe. The Jesuits like the academic and bureaucratic Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro supported a strong centralized state. That same state was ordained by God to sponsor Jesuit research and shelter Jesuit evangelism. In France, this was called Gallicanism. Jesuits supported the powerful king of France rather than the Pope in faraway Rome. In the German-speaking Holy Roman Empire it was called Febronianism. Febronius was the pseudonym of German-speaking proponent of strong monarchical power. Simultaneously, Jesuit advocates for a strong state condemned the spiritual concepts of Jansenism that emphasized God’s saving grace and not the human mind’s exercise of free will. Jesuit thinking connected civil service and mental acuity with the free will to choose

⁹⁰ John W. O’Malley, “Renaissance Humanism and the Religious Culture of the First Jesuits,” *Heythrop Journal* 31, no. 4 (1990): 471–87; Xavier Tubau, ed., *Rethinking Catholicism in Renaissance Spain*, Early Modern Iberian History in Global Contexts (New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2023).

God and to individually meditate upon the spiritual exercises. Ultimately, Jansenist heretics would collude with the King of France to expel the Jesuits for political reasons, much as had already happened in Spain and Portugal.⁹¹

While acknowledging the intellectual creativity and scientific curiosity of the Jesuits, historians simultaneously argue that the Jesuits were profoundly religious and dogmatically proclaimed the Catholic faith. Throughout their writings, Jesuits never doubted the presence of miracles or the Trinity's active intervention in the world. Neither did the Jesuits express cynicism towards God's proactive divine plan for the world. Moreover, Jesuits deemed themselves instrumental in the execution of this plan.⁹²

Building on the personal correspondence of Californio Jesuits and their contemporary published writings, I argue that Jesuits saw themselves as members of a sacred and intellectual aristocracy. Their race, faith, intellect, and status justified their ranking amidst the secular colonial elites. This role was established in the Caribbean, reinforced in metropolitan Mexico, and carried into Baja California. Jesuits from all over Europe served foundational roles in Baja California. While international in origin, a shared frontier mindset was gradually shaped through borderlands experiences and purposeful adaptation of Old-World symbols and ideas. Jesuits deployed religious iconography to affirm their loyalty to the Church. They also maintained and justified their imperial sensibilities to affirm their loyalty to the Crown. The first Jesuits to land in California brought experiences from their homelands and tried to apply them to the harsh

⁹¹ Nicolás Hernán Perrone, "'Si No Eres Jesuita Serás Jansenista; y Si No Eres Jansenista Serás Jesuita': El Problema Del Jansenismo En Causas de La Revolución de Francia de Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro S.J..(1735-1809)," *Hispania Sacra* 65, no. 2 (2013): 203–30. While beyond the scope of this dissertation, "Bangorian" critics like Gordon Thomas of the Church of England would have shared the skepticism the Jansenists held toward the hierarchy of their own church.

⁹² For Jesuit religious paternalism as confirmed through aristocratic patronage, see Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *Noble Patronage and Jesuit Missions: Maria Theresia von Fugger-Wellenburg (1690-1762) and Jesuit Missionaries in China and Vietnam* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2006).

reality of the Californio borderlands. Even the passage through the Atlantic and Caribbean was a borderlands experience that impacted their Californio identity.

The California Jesuits were at once Enlightened intellectuals, mystical Christians, and borderlands pragmatists. Simultaneously, their writings regularly expressed unwavering belief in a Catholic universe that operated through the divine clockwork that ticked along through God's agents. The evangelical, wise, and educated Jesuits were God's chosen agents. This was not a case of cognitive dissonance. Rather than mysticism competing with objective analysis, the Jesuits saw divine authorship in the calculations of the Enlightenment. Jesuits believed they could become heroes of the church and state through hard work, intellectual rigor, and ultimately martyrdom.

Faith of the Black Robes: Historiography of Academic Faith

Californio Jesuits were as zealously Christian as they were Enlightened and bureaucratic. It was part of their faith to adore God as they simultaneously catalogued His creations and understood functioning of His world. Academic and methodical, Catholic thinkers in the Renaissance and the early modern Hispanic world were deeply mystical in outlook. Enlightenment society was not homogenously objective, or even entirely rational. The Jesuits saw themselves as emissaries from the Church to the world. They aimed to make deep connections with both elites and common people across the globe. Ronnie Po-chia Hsia centers the Jesuit order and globalizing mission at the center of the Counter-Reformation, absolutist nation-building, and the inter-continental expansionism of the Enlightenment. The global scope and the forward-looking mindset of the early modern Church is embodied in Hsia's title.

“Catholic Renewal” applied equally well to nationalizing Poland, bureaucratizing Portugal or the converting the world of Indigenous peoples beyond Christian Europe.⁹³

The comparative worldliness of the Jesuits was visible even in its early years after its 1540 establishment. The Society of Jesus was established at the height of the Renaissance, before the Enlightenment. However, the Counter-Reformation had begun an analytical and intellectual approach to Catholicism. The rational, observational methods of active meditation were quintessential to the Jesuit mindset in a way that was not the case for the mendicant orders. The Augustinians found God through communal living and asceticism. Franciscans found God through active service and dedication to the poor. The Dominicans found God through vigorous, orthodox preaching and hounding down heresy. By contrast, Jesuits rooted in the Counter-Reformation and Renaissance found God through introspective, intense self-examination. The spiritual exercises developed by Ignatius were analytical in nature; analytical self-examination with a drive to create objective changes in one’s emotional and psychological well-being. Furthermore, Jesuit Society ran a proactive, evangelical operation that was structured with the discipline of a military order. This came not only from Ignatius’ experience in the army, but also from the prevailing militarism of the Counter Reformation that encouraged both religious organization and nation-building. Less than a century after his death, Ignatius was canonized. This was rare speed among sanctifications, and gave testimony to his order’s impact on the Counter-Reformation.⁹⁴

⁹³ Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540-1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

⁹⁴ O’Malley, “Renaissance Humanism and the Religious Culture of the First Jesuits”; Ignatius Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius: Translation Based on Studies in the Language of the Autograph*, trans. Louis J. Puhl, Ignatian Spirituality (Chicago: Loyola Press, a Jesuit Ministry, 2020). For a translated and annotated copy of the rule of the society, see Ignatius Loyola, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, trans. George E Ganss (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1970).

The Jesuits shared much with their contemporaries in their approach to faith. This included their foundational double-faith in Catholicism and objective Universalism. The *Meditations* of Ignatius endured as part of Jesuit daily routine, and remain a mystical, rather than objective, element of the Jesuit regimen to the present day. Many theologians practiced introspective and analytical Catholic spirituality that laid the foundations for Enlightened Spanish Universalism. Carlos Eire published a history of the *Life of Saint Teresa of Ávila*, a contemporary of Ignatius and a foundational figure in early modern Spanish Catholicism. She was so influential she was recognized as a Doctor of the Church, an honor Ignatius never achieved. Saint Teresa's correspondence with figures throughout Spain and her reputation for holiness made her as famous as Ignatius in their time. Her publications emphasized the soul's natural fallen and lonely essence, longing for a completion with God that could never be fulfilled on Earth, complete rejection of the objective, rational Enlightenment. The Jesuits acknowledge this same divine absence as they experienced their daily meditative process. Simultaneously, Teresa's method of prayer was systematically categorized in *The Mansions, Or the Interior Castle*. She delineated seven stages of mental control. Teresa's prose was metaphorical in framework and held a mystical aim. However, *The Mansions* was a prototype of psychological analysis. Christina Mercer argued that Catholic thought in the Enlightenment, most visible in Descartes, was rooted in the analytics of Spain's early modern, Counter-Reformation mysticism, particularly Teresa of Ávila. The dual-mindset of the Spanish Universalists embraced a regular experience of religious piety and even mysticism whilst simultaneously practicing objective enlightenment analysis.⁹⁵

⁹⁵ Christia Mercer, "Descartes' Debt to Teresa of Ávila, or Why We Should Work on Women in the History of Philosophy," *Philosophical Studies* 174, no. 10 (2017): 2539–55; Carlos Eire, *The Life of Saint Teresa of Ávila: A Biography* (United States: Princeton University Press, 2019). For a deeper explanation of the relationship between Jesuit's rationalism and mysticism, see Velez' examination of the Santa Casa's multi-century impact as both a

Beyond the Church, there remained active countercurrents to rationalism during the Enlightenment. By exposing the eponymous *Dark Side of the Enlightenment*, John Fleming highlighted the persistence of spiritual and esoteric elements in Enlightened alchemy- still not fully developed into chemistry. While some monastic and contemplative orders declined during the Enlightenment, some semi-mystical societies like the Rosicrucians and the Freemasons replaced them. Furthermore, Darrin McMahon goes so far as to extend the Counter-Reformation to the Counter-Enlightenment. In *Enemies of the Enlightenment*, French Catholic thinkers were shown to have created a counterculture that challenged the prevailing secular ideas of Enlightened rationalism.⁹⁶

Aristocracy Through Enlightenment: Historiography of Enlightenment “Reason”

Californio Jesuits cannot be fully understood outside the context of their Enlightened world. Definitions of “Enlightenment” are many and varied. I do not aim to redefine the Enlightenment. Rather, I highlight case studies of the Spanish Universalists’ Enlightenment participation on the borderlands. However, it is crucial at the outset that the Hispanic, Bourbon Enlightenment was closely tied to royal patronage and state-building. For a definition both short and serviceable, the Enlightenment project in New Spain was the activity and philosophy that simultaneously colonized, categorized and Christianized Mexico for the statist, scientific and sacred empire of the Pope and King. Needless to say, seeming contradictions bloomed as the colonial elites simultaneously promoted a state religion and celebrated the rationality of the

source of miracles and a comparison for other regional and local sacred spaces that prompted mystical thought. Velez asks and answers: “Can miracles be used for history? Yes, if they are interpreted correctly.” Karin Velez, *The Miraculous Flying House of Loreto: Spreading Catholicism in the Early Modern World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018).

⁹⁶ Darrin M. McMahon, *Enemies of the Enlightenment: The French Counter-Enlightenment and the Making of Modernity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); John V. Fleming, *The Dark Side of the Enlightenment: Wizards, Alchemists, and Spiritual Seekers in the Age of Reason* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2013).

individual human mind. Historian Irina Yur'evna Veselova used the writings of Clavijero as a case study to analyze the crown-church dichotomy in the Jesuit mindset. Veselova ultimately argued that both practical concerns of collaboration with the viceroy and rational empiricism ultimately favored secular Enlightenment in New Spain.⁹⁷

Clerical elites of the New World like the Jesuits were also intellectual aristocrats of the Enlightenment. Through categorization, early modern European scientists “proved” their technological and racial supremacy over Native peoples and their lands. Historians have demonstrated this attitude not only through translating bureaucratic colonial paperwork, but in deconstructing scholastic published manuscripts that were circulated for their own inspiration and justification. Anthropologists Louise M. Burkhart tracks the genealogy of a written and pictorial exam that was used to test the catechesis of Native converts. By not only writing the exam that “proved” civility but by demanding literacy on their own terms, missionaries like the Jesuits were able to dictate the hierarchy on religious and education terms.⁹⁸

The European Enlightenment categorically justified its domination of subjects they classified as Native or Indigenous. This justification came through the newly-developed taxonomy illustrations. Swedish scientist Carl Linnaeus (1707-1778) pioneered biological categorization through taxonomy: classification and segregation through objective, observable metrics. Mass printing disseminated the illustrative works of an increasingly copious body of scientific artworks. Throughout the late 17th and especially 18th century, natural philosophers created charts, diagrams, pencil-and-charcoal sketches and fully-realism watercolor landscapes and portraits to portray new landscapes as Europeans explorers encountered them. As they

⁹⁷ Irina Yur'evna Veselova, “Collusion between the Rational and the Religious Outlook of Francisco Javier Clavijero,” *RUDN Journal of World History* 9, no. 2 (2017): 148–55.

⁹⁸ Louise M. Burkhart, “The ‘Little Doctrine’ And Indigenous Catechesis in New Spain,” *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 94, no. 2 (2014): 167–206.

captured new environments, Enlightened artists also depicted their animal and Native human inhabitants. Native peoples were classified and categorized like any other biological encounter. Daniela Bleichmar documented the explosion of artistic scientists in *Visible Empire*. Through artistic depiction and visible metrics, Enlightenment thinkers justified their racially stratified society on scientific grounds.⁹⁹

Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra has rejected the triumphalist historiographies of the Enlightenment that dwell on Protestant northern Europe. Cañizares-Esguerra challenged the celebration of German naturalist Alexander von Humboldt. He compared the biographies of European scientists to Great White Hunter narratives, making New World actors passive and minimalizing the contributions of Latin American scholars.¹⁰⁰

Cañizares-Esguerra's refutation of older scholarship on the European Enlightenment was two-fold: first, he argued that Latin American scholars had made great strides in scientific documentation well before European scholars arrived in the Amazon or the Andes or the Caribbean. Second, he denounced the lionization of European thinkers as uniquely benign and separate from the colonizing Empires they served, not unlike later treatment of the missionaries.¹⁰¹

While the colonial ivory tower was wealthy, esteemed, and educated, many Enlightenment scholars relied on local labor and knowledge. These locals endured the foibles of

⁹⁹ Daniela Bleichmar, *Visible Empire: Botanical Expeditions & Visual Culture in the Hispanic Enlightenment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012). Artistic emphasis on realism had artistic roots in the expression of idiosyncrasies in Renaissance portraits. For an exploration of casta portraits and the development of racial portraiture, see Ilona Katzew, *Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

¹⁰⁰ Andrea Wulf, *The Invention of Nature: Alexander von Humboldt's New World* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2015). Cañizares' critique of hubris holds greater symbolic weight given Wulf's implication that Humboldt- rather than Latin Americans- truly "invented" and "possessed" South America.

¹⁰¹ Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, "Screwing in Two Positions," *Medium* (blog), September 27, 2019, <https://jorgecanizaresesguerra.medium.com/screwing-in-two-positions-82c2cc5b09db>.

European supremacists. Gómez and Strang offered Caribbean case studies to show contested methods and motivations for scientific procedures between Afro-Native subjects and clerical and civic elites.¹⁰²

Geography's physical realities challenged Enlightened consensus. Centering the hurricane as a point of research, Schwartz proved that multiple imperial efforts had to re-evaluate or outright abandon the Caribbean due to the tropical storm's defiance of the global north's concept of civility. Gómez, Strang and Schwartz all demonstrate that the Enlightenment's self-congratulatory objectivism was severely challenged both by American thought and geography.¹⁰³

Even in optimal situations, European scholars had many foibles of hubris and miscalculation. Human error appeared in the ostensibly objective Enlightenment. Petty issues almost derailed international research expeditions. Niel Safier uses the Condamine expedition in South America to highlight the human and political comedy that was intrinsic in the profiteering motivations for Enlightenment research.¹⁰⁴

Historian Victoria Zorrilla Garza uses Francisco Clavijero (1731-1787) as a philosophical profile in his essay deconstructing the naturalist's conceptions of civilization and barbarism. In, "La Barbarie Y Su Superación en Francisco Javier Clavijero," Zorrilla argues that Clavijero used objective measurements to classify "barbarian Indians" by location, by region, limited diet, limited tools, and nomadism. Apart from the mestizos and laborers on encomiendas, Zorrilla

¹⁰² Pablo F. Gómez, *The Experiential Caribbean: Creating Knowledge and Healing in the Early Modern Atlantic* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2017); Cameron B. Strang, *Frontiers of Science: Imperialism and Natural Knowledge in the Gulf South Borderlands, 1500-1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018).

¹⁰³ Stuart B. Schwartz, *Sea of Storms: A History of Hurricanes in the Greater Caribbean from Columbus to Katrina* (Princeton: University Press, 2015). These texts emphasize knowledge was experienced and created differently on the borderlands. Peripheral knowledge will be discussed in Chapter 2 regarding Baja California as periphery to Mexico's mainland. For a deeper understanding of the Caribbean as an obstacle to and inspiration for scientific progress, see John Robert McNeill, *Mosquito Empires: Ecology and War in the Greater Caribbean, 1620-1914* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

¹⁰⁴ Neil Safier, *Measuring the New World: Enlightenment Science and South America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

observes Clavijero used “Indian” and “barbarian,” interchangeably. Within Clavijero’s writing on California, Zorrilla reads a medically-specific prescription to cure barbarism: economically-driven labor, childhood education, and missionary conversion. All of these “European, civilized” cures to “American barbarism” required the leadership of a manager who could be a bureaucrat, an instructor, and a priest. A borderlands Jesuit was all three in one person.¹⁰⁵

If Clavijero used enlightenment principles to vindicate the actions of the Church, many more state actors used the notion of Enlightened, European supremacy to justify the domination of the New World. David Weber details the growth of a bureaucratic, absolutist empire. In *Bárbaros: Spaniards and their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment*, Weber argues that the Spanish views of racial supremacy developed hand-in-hand with imperial authority. Where the Enlightenment met resistance, the uncompromising absolutism resulted in scientific categorization followed by paternal subjugation and colonial war.¹⁰⁶

Our Lady of the Borderlands: The Experience of Mary as Californio Imagery

The Jesuits were international in origin and language, but united by class, profession and loyalty. They shared in Old World experiences of elitism and in the baptism-by-fire of borderlands experiences. As they struggled with the new experiences of the borderlands, many Jesuits reinforced their identity through references and symbols that invoked the majesty and illumination of the Old World. One such powerful symbol was the invocation of the Virgin Mary. Regardless of national origin, all Jesuits could embrace Mary as a global and personal patron. With the language and context of their invocations of Mary, Californio Jesuits preserved

¹⁰⁵ Víctor Zorrilla Garza, “La Barbarie Y Su Superacion En Francisco Javier Clavijero,” *Nóesis (Ciudad Juárez, Mexico)* 26, no. 51 (2017): 84–93.

¹⁰⁶ David J. Weber, *Bárbaros: Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

their Old-World elite identity, brought Christianity into Californio contexts, and sanctified the borderlands experience. Much like the personal patron saints and apparitions derived from individual priests' homelands, the Jesuits as an order vindicated their ongoing mission with the continuity of Mary as both a historical constant and a progressive beacon forward. American Jesuit John Hardon identifies Mary as a simultaneously Biblical and Guadalupan figure, bilocating as an Old World and Mexican figure.¹⁰⁷

The first Jesuit to honor Mary in California was the very first permanent Californio Jesuit. Unlike Alta California, Baja California had only one permanent presidio, combined with the founding permanent mission of California, Our Lady of Loreto Conchó. Loreto's foundation in 1697 had been briefly preceded by a temporary mission founded by Eusebio Francisco Kino a decade earlier at San Bruno. Local tribes were so antagonistic they had chased off the missionaries. The Virgin Mary turned out to be a stronger patron than Saint Bruno.¹⁰⁸

Juan Maria Salvatierra (1648-1717) honored both the Virgin Mary and the Old World with the naming of Loreto. The capital of Baja California was the town of Loreto. Loreto was taken directly from a holy site in the Old World that was meaningful for the Jesuits. The name Loreto itself came from the Italian town of Loreto, Ancona. Ancona was part of the eastern Marche province, the Adriatic-facing half of the Papal States. The town of Loreto was and remains a sleepy pastoral site in between the shadows of Ancona and Urbino, two much more important Renaissance cities. Loreto was the site of the apparition of the Holy House, the dwelling in which the Virgin Mary received the Annunciation. This made Loreto a significant site of pilgrimage. The Holy House apparition was the inspiration for a unique icon named the

¹⁰⁷ John A. Hardon, "The Blessed Virgin Mary and the Catholic Discovery of America," *Inter Mirifica* (blog), 2003, https://www.therealpresence.org/archives/Christopher_Columbus/Christopher_Columbus_004.htm.

¹⁰⁸ For Kino's relación on the fall of San Bruno, see, Eusebio Francisco Kino, "Letter to Provincial Father Bernardo de Soto 'I Am in a Most Fertile Country,'" August 6, 1687, California Files Maggs Collection, Huntington Library.

Black Madonna of Loreto. The Black Madonna is a European phenomenon in art that predates colonialism. While not directly associated Native peoples, Icons like Our Lady of Kazan, Our Lady of Częstochowa, and the Black Madonna of Loreto provided precedence to Our Lady of Guadalupe in Mexico City, Our Lady of the Apparition in Minas Gerais, Our Lady of the Conquest in Santa Fe and Our Lady of Guidance and the Black Nazarene in Manila. All of these Marian icons appeared in the New World in locations that were contested borderlands at the time of their apparition.¹⁰⁹

The only reason Loreto gave its name to Loreto in Baja California was because Father Juan Maria Salvatierra (1648-1717) experienced the Virgin of Loreto in particular significance as his personal patron and as a Jesuit experience. Salvatierra held special affiliation for Loreto (and its Marian icon) before he ever set foot in New Spain. The Church of the Santa Casa had been a site of pilgrimage for European Christians since the 13th century miracle when Santa Casa apparated from Judaea into Loreto's city limits. Saint Ignatius (1491-1556) had planned to take a pilgrimage there in 1555 as an intercession for the Pope Marcellus' good health. He cancelled these plans when Marcellus went on to his "eternal pontificate." Later still, a college for the Jesuits was built in the same town. Born in Milan, the miracle of Loreto was a local point of pride and zeal for "Gianmaria" Salvatierra as a youth before he set sail for Mexico. Salvatierra gave Loreto, Baja California, the full name of Loreto Conchó in reference to the local word for red mangroves. Even so, this was a perfunctory distinction that never gained traction. For

¹⁰⁹ For borderlands and state significance of borderland Madonnas, see the conclusion of this chapter. For the continuity between European and New World Madonnas, see Małgorzata Oleszkiewicz-Peralba, *The Black Madonna in Latin America and Europe: Tradition and Transformation* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007).

Spaniards throughout New Spain, “Our Lady of Loreto” was a Californio icon on the West coast of the Sea of Cortés.¹¹⁰

California Jesuit Francisco Marica Picolo (1654–1729) invoked the Virgin Mary in his description of the pearl fields around the Loreto coastline. As he detailed his discovery to the Audiencia in Guadalajara, he was pursuing a very practical, and not a religious purpose. His aim was to seek civic support and funding. Loreto was the only permanent presidio and remained the seat of government throughout the long 18th century. Loreto was founded on the Bay of San Dionisio opposite the province of Sinaloa. Both sides of the Sea of Cortés were part of the extreme west of Nueva Vizcaya. The settlement was on a coast with valuable pearl beds, protected by islands beyond the mouth of a year-round river. The current naturally ran southbound to the port of San Blás in Nueva Galicia, in modern-day Nayarit. Between safe access to the sea and its resources, a favorable current back to the mainland by way of San Blás, and year-round fresh water, the fledgling holy site and martial barracks were as promising a site as could be hoped for in the desert borderlands.¹¹¹

Picolo shared Salvatierra’s Marian devotion. Faith in the Virgin sustained their optimism in the Bajeño project. Mary’s patronage gave “good hope of the reduction of this large kingdom to our holy faith.” More practically, Baja California could and would be colonized as a royal province with a religious rallying cry. “Since this glorious enterprise has been rather the work of Heaven than of earth, of most holy Mary than of some few poor religious [missionaries], it was

¹¹⁰ Ignatius Loyola, “Letter to Father Manuel Lopez, on the Happy Death of Pope Marcellus II and the Election of Pope Paul IV.,” June 17, 1555, Monumenta Ignatiana, Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu. For a more detailed explanation of Loyola’s networking, see Ignatius Loyola, *Letters of St. Ignatius of Loyola*, trans. William John Young (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1959), 393–95. For Salvatierra’s letters on the founding expedition and early Baja settlement, see Juan María de Salvatierra, *Selected Letters about Lower California, Translated and Annotated*, ed. Ernest J. Burrus (Los Angeles: Dawson’s Book Shop, 1971).

¹¹¹ Geographical factors were influential, but not decisive in the settlement of borderlands. For the frustration and overcoming of maritime challenges, see Andrew Lipman, *The Saltwater Frontier: Indians and the Contest for the American Coast* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015).

inevitable that felicity should attend it.” The Jesuits were convinced they could not fail when tasked with a mission by the Queen Mother of Heaven. “Supported by her powerful arm, we were able to serve as the instrument of her marvelous successes. For, trusting in her protection, we crossed the sea... and the North Star [sic] of our voyage was that Star of the Sea [another epithet of Mary] whom we took with us in the holy image of the Lady of Loreto. She it was who brought us safely to the port of our desire.” As she represented Europe, Mary was a symbol of Christian civilization. Mary was literally a symbol as the Jesuits carried the “icon” of Loreto to Baja. A replica of Loreto would have had multiple meanings to Italian Jesuits like Picolo and Salvatierra. Loreto’s Black Madonna was deeply personal and comforting to pilgrims far from their birthplace. Simultaneously, the banner of the Virgin Mary was a uniting image that rallied Spaniards, Milanese and Sicilian Catholics who revered Mary above their particular nationalities. As a guide across the Sea of Cortés, the light upon the path of Native Bajefios in need of salvation, and the guardian of the mission of Loreto, Mary was also uniquely a borderlands agent for Christian and Spanish victory.¹¹²

The selection of Loreto was a personal decision. Both Juan Maria Salvatierra and Francisco Maria Picolo were Italian. Their devotions to Mary did not dissipate with their New World assignment. Temporally, they answered in varying levels of deference to the Pope of

¹¹² Francisco Dominguez de Riezu and Francisco Maria Picolo, “Picolo’s Report on Baja California to the Audiencia of Guadalajara,” February 10, 1702, 2, Herbert Eugene Bolton Collection, Bancroft Library. In her introduction to *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman*, Barr emphasizes the unifying imagery of Mary as a woman outside and above politics. Babcock and Hämäläinen both note Mary’s appearance on Spanish peace medals and presents to the Apache in *Apache Adaptation to Hispanic Rule* and *Comanche Empire* respectively. Juliana Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007); Matthew Babcock, *Apache Adaptation to Hispanic Rule* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016); Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008). The difference in linguistic and religious experiences between southern and northern Italy should not be dismissed. Picolo and Salvatierra held a shared, but not identical collection of Italian experiences. For immediate comparison, consider the centuries of Spanish occupation of the southern, Sicilian-speaking Bourbon Italy compared to the Austrian and French north. Growing up in opposite ends of their homeland, Picolo and Salvatierra would have been as distinct as a Basque from an Andalusian who were both nominally Spanish nationals.

Rome, the King of Spain, the Viceroy of Mexico, the Father General of their Order, the Audiencia President, the prefect of the local Jesuit College, and even tribal leaders during impasses with their satellite rancherías. Spiritually, the Jesuits had no such confusion, because their Patroness presided equally over all these lower powers. Mary was the Bajeno advocate to Christ in Heaven and their guardian on earth. Picolo's exuberance demonstrated his sincere faith in his patroness, the same saint he had loved since his childhood in Sicily.¹¹³

Picolo depicted the Virgin Mary as a symbol of religious guidance and Enlightenment clarity. Mary represented both a Catholic and a Universalist optimism. His verbal testimony continued in exorbitant and theatrical detail. Unlike his letters, the preacher had no compunctions about waxing eloquent when Riezu, rather than himself, had to transcribe. The sermon invoked the Virgin Mary as a beautiful, brilliant, positive sign: a "beneficent sun," with guiding "resplendent rays," that would "illumine the understanding" of the inhabitants of the New World. Through her humble servants, Mary would dislodge "the Father of Darkness [...with] his ancient and undisturbed dominion over the souls of the wretched inhabitants." Satan had caused Native Californians "to be blinded yet more by the splendor of this radiant day, [persisting in] their reverence of the moon." This language was zealously Catholic, but the word choice surrounding "occlusion" and "illumination" delivered a double entendre to Picolo's secular audience. The "guiding Star of the Sea," the bright "sun" and the illuminating rays simultaneously referred to

¹¹³ Juan Antonio Baltasar, *Letter of Provincial Father Juan Antonio de Balthaffar, In Which Is Given News of the Exemplar Life, Religious Virtues and Apostolic Labors of the Ferverous Missionary the Venerable Fr. Francisco Maria Picolo* (Mexico: Unknown Publisher, 1752). For Mariology as a trend in other areas of New Spain, D. A. Brading, *Mexican Phoenix: Our Lady of Guadalupe: Image and Tradition across Five Centuries* (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Amara Solari, *Idolizing Mary: Maya-Catholic Icons in Yucatán, Mexico* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2019); Angelico Chavez, *La Conquistadora: The Autobiography of an Ancient Statue*. (Paterson: St Anthony Guild Press, 1954). Brading argues that reverence of Guadalupe at Tepeyac was an experience that built identity in metropolitan New Spain. On borderlands like Baja, the Yucatan, or Santa Fe, Loreto, Itzmal and La Conquistadora offered the experience of borderland-specific devotions. Each borderland Mary reflected the specific needs and identity of the local borderland identity. In the case of Loreto Conchó, Bajeño settlers held a reverence for their European, Italian homeland.

the eye-opening and elucidating Enlightenment. Throughout European language and art, intellect and expertise were represented by light. If Spain's agents traveled with reason's light, they were bringing it to the "wretched ignorant" who lived in "darkness" worshipping the moon, the opposite of the shining sun.¹¹⁴

The double-duty of darkness and light as representations of both ignorance and sin versus enlightenment and holiness is another demonstration of the double-faith of the Jesuit mindset of faith and education. While the sun and light were symbols of holiness and spiritual wisdom in Europe for centuries, the early modern period reinterpreted the same symbols of illumination and Enlightenment.

From Masonic eyes to the Sun King, European secular art frequently referenced light as a symbol of wisdom, civilization and knowing. This was emphasized with rays that guided the viewer's eye towards the intended focus. Historian James Schmidt identifies lamps and sunbeams as symbols of understanding frequently during the early modern period. Ivy Pratt tracks the changing use of sunbeams and light Western Europe, highlighting the Enlightenment Era Rococo as a point in which secular kings and bureaucratic agents were increasingly sunlit to conflate authority and intelligence. In the reverse, William Paulson argues that Enlightened physicians fought an uphill battle to demystify the blind as they culturally disassociated medical blindness from madness and mental irregularity. Tili Boon Cuille argues that artists of the 18th century equated discovery and new knowledge with the ecstasy of beauty, connecting the joy previously reserved for religious zeal to the Enlightened attention to detail. Amidst the cultural milieu of scholarly discovery portrayed as a shining beauty, the Jesuit Universalists associated

¹¹⁴ Dominguez de Riezu and Pico, "Pico's Report on Baja California to the Audiencia of Guadalajara," February 10, 1702, 2-4.

their timeless religious halos with the illuminating light of the contemporary Enlightenment zeitgeist.¹¹⁵

Thus, the Jesuits planned to begin their “harvest of pearls.” They intended to harvest not just the pearls on the beach, but the souls of Native Californios. Pearls carried a Biblical significance. In the Gospel of Matthew, Jesus compared self-denial to achieve the Kingdom of Heaven with austerity in order to buy a pearl of great price. Picolo emphasized that the souls and loyalty of Native Californians could serve the glory of the greatest pearl, Christ himself, housed inside the “Our Lady of Loreto, Mary the seashell.” Picolo had made a spiritually meaningful pun. By comparing the allusion to the region’s pearl fisheries may have been his attempt to get the government to invest in the Jesuits’ Baja missions. Many missions carried a local name in addition to the name of their patron. Conchó was the local name for the area Loreto occupied, and was also an identical cognate for the Spanish word for seashell.¹¹⁶

The Iberian experience tying shells to a religious experience is as old as the Medieval pilgrimage to the warrior-saint city of Compostela in Galicia on Spain’s northwest coast. Pilgrims who made the journey successfully would pin shells to their hats or cloaks, often painted with the red sword cross that symbolized Spanish chivalry. The plentitude of beautiful shells in western Mexico made for an easy continuum of the symbol. Across the sea from New Galicia, on the boardwalk of La Paz, Baja California Sur, a large bronze and copper statue memorializes a graceful woman with Native features. Her ankle-length veil rises and transforms

¹¹⁵ James Schmidt, “Images of Enlightenment: The Lamp and the Sun,” *Persistent Enlightenment* (blog), December 4, 2016, <https://persistentenlightenment.com/2016/12/04/lamp/>; Ivy Pratt, “A Brief Look at Sun Symbolism Through Art History,” *Art & Object*, April 5, 2024, <http://www.artandobject.com/slideshows/brief-look-sun-symbolism-through-art-history>; William R. Paulson, *Enlightenment, Romanticism, and the Blind in France* (Princeton: University Press, 2014); Tili Boon Cuille, *Divining Nature: Aesthetics of Enchantment in Enlightenment France*, 1st ed. (Stanford: University Press, 2021).

¹¹⁶ Matt. 13:45-46 NAB. Dominguez de Riezu and Picolo, “Picolo’s Report on Baja California to the Audiencia of Guadalajara,” February 10, 1702, 3, 4–5.

into a shell behind her body. Purposefully ambiguous, the statue is only referenced as the “Lady of the Sea,” but the image and its proximity to Consag Street makes a powerful inference towards the Virgin Mary as a syncretic Lady of the Borderlands, embracing the natural realities of the frontier environment and reinforcing Catholic identity. Beyond profitability, beyond right of intellectual superiority, beyond the will of God, Loreto truly belonged to Spain. It was in the name.¹¹⁷

Piccolo and Salvatierra, devotees of the Lady of Loreto, founded the town of Loreto in memory of the house God had miraculously summoned from the Holy Land to northeastern Italy. Through the Black Madonna of Loreto, they had summoned Europe into the New World. They used the same language in describing the civilizing power of Enlightenment as they did to reference the Holy guidance of the Virgin Mary. For the incoming Jesuits, Californio identity was the sum of what they brought to the borderlands and how their experiences transformed their mindset around the elements of their identity that they preserved. Very little was more important to Piccolo or Salvatierra’s Italian identity than their Marian patroness. The Californian landscape and Native names transformed their Marian experience only partly, resulting in a syncretic borderlands patron saint. Through its foundation as a Mexican outpost with a foreign name, the presidio and port of Nuestra Señora de Loreto Conchó became a Californio holy site through its experience as a borderlands settlement.

Marian reverence continued in future generations of Californio Jesuits. Miguel Venegas (1680-1764) was one of the order’s celebrated chroniclers. His *Noticia de la California*, or *Reports of California and its Spiritual and Physical Conquest up to the Present Time* was circulated with approval in Mexico and Europe. This was a broad natural history and

¹¹⁷ James Bland, Interview with Alejandro Telechea Cienfuegos on the Development of Baja California, June 17, 2023.

geographical survey of California. It also included a description of the first generation of Jesuit activity on the peninsula. Venegas also penned a biography of Loreto's founder, *The Marian Apostle as Embodied by Our Venerated Father Juan Maria de Salvatierra of the Jesuits of New Spain, the Conquistador and Missionary of the Californias*. This was a biography commending the Christian zeal, astute mind, and pioneering hardiness of Salvatierra in the context of his foundation of the first permanent settlement that would become Baja's capital.¹¹⁸

Venegas' works were the sum of not only his own research, but the extensive correspondence with his fellow Jesuits. The collaborative nature of Jesuit publications was not unique to Californio writers who borrowed material from each other when creating documents. Particularly after their expulsion from New Spain, Jesuits who had convened in Italy referenced each other's works extensively, thanks to their geographical accessibility and their increased time availability for scholarship. The best examples of the compilatory nature of Jesuit scholarship came in the final volumes of Clavijero's *Natural History of California*, which were completed in Italy. Fernando J. Silva Guerrero argues that Clavijero's writings were softened criticism of the Spanish crown while still arguing for the importance of the clergy to the salvation of California's native peoples. The collective nature of the Jesuits' writings complemented the Universalism of their topical interests. Historian Mónica Bolufer argued that during their exile in Italy, Jesuits had the time to utilize peer revision and documentation. This additional time to research, write, and revise produced the Universalists' most prolific intellectual accomplishments and their most vigorous defense of their civilizing mission and

¹¹⁸ Miguel Venegas, *El Apostol Mariano Representado En La Vida Del V. P. Juan Maria de Salvatierra, de La Compañia de Jesus* (Mexico City: College of San Andres, Imprenta de Doña Maria de Ribera, 1754); Miguel Venegas et al., *Noticia de la California, y de su conquista temporal y espiritual hasta el tiempo presente* (Madrid: En La Imprimadura de la Viuda de M Fernandez, 1757).

political contributions. Later versions of Venegas' writings were translated and distributed in this atmosphere of Jesuit apologia.¹¹⁹

Though a product of Enlightened academic study and a practitioner of natural science, Venegas was no radical. In van Groesen's edited volume *The Legacy of Dutch Brazil*, Enlightenment historian Neil Safier has examined a similar New World Enlightened volume that was informative throughout the trans-Atlantic world. Safier's work analyzed two Dutch natural philosophers. Willem Piso and Georg Marcgraf were secular authors and cartographers who wrote a comprehensive, Linnaeus-inspired taxonomical compendium of Brazilian natural life. In his examination of the Dutch naturalists, Safier evaluated the scientific volume of Marcgraf and Piso to have been an Enlightenment influence on Venegas, whose work was comparable in style and substance. He embraced crown and church while pursuing his scientific curiosities. He took joy in a cosmic, stately order. He dedicated the Salvatierra biography to "Most Holy Mary Mother of God, Queen of All Saints, Lady of our Armies, and *Conquistadora* of our Kingdoms through her Sacred Image at Loreto of Baja California." Venegas's dedication to Mary was not surprising. The Virgin was and is a central figure for Catholics, but her positions cited as Queen, Lady of our Armies, and Conquistadora were all titles that placed her at the top of Spain's imperial hierarchy. As Queen and Lady of the Army, Mary was a royal administrator. As a conquistadora, she was a conqueror. The Mary of Venegas' dedication was partially miraculous, partially Enlightened, and entirely colonial. Venegas' reverence for the Catholic clockwork of

¹¹⁹ The full extent of his authorship versus re-distribution remains contentious, but some material appears to have been shared between Venegas, Burriel, and Consag. For one such speculation, see the Huntington Library's metadata suggesting contributions were provided by Father Consag. Mónica Bolufer, "Cortesía Entre Fronteras. Los Jesuitas Expulsos y El Debate Sobre La Civilidad En El Siglo XVIII: Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro y Francisco Aznar," *Hispania Sacra* 71, no. 144 (2019): 603–18; Fernando J. Silva Guerrero, "Lealtad en el exilio: afiliaciones concéntricas y enunciación hispanista en la Historia antigua de México (1780) de Francisco Javier Clavijero (1731-1787)," *Lexis (Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. Departamento de Humanidades)* 39, no. 2 (2015): 363–92; Fernando Consag, "Additions to the Notices Contained in the Compiled Descriptions of the Discovery of California," June 1, 1760, California Collection HM 1295, Huntington Library.

the universe did not conflict with his loyalty to the Spanish Empire. Both church and locality were borderlands-specific as Venegas paid homage to the Californio icon of Mary of Loreto Conchó in Baja. As not only a Jesuit but a naturalist and scholar, Venegas saw no tension between his ardent faith and the analytical approach he took to understanding nature. Venegas clearly had no qualms about the alignment of the overtly Catholic heavens and the analytical approach he took on the earth. Clearly, Venegas prized his education, his Catholic dogma and his vision of colonial politics. In their own eyes, the Baja California Jesuits were both humanists and Catholics. They saw Mary as an inspiration for both halves of their mindset.¹²⁰

Jesuit Fernando Consag connected Mary to a domestic figure of authority, a miracle worker, and a borderlands agent of conversion. In 1748, Consag wrote a brief pamphlet praising his colleague the Jesuit Antonio Tempis, who had come with him to work on the Mission Santiago. Consag praised Tempis' dedication to Mary. "He never ignored, the devoted father, the principal Patroness of the glorious Order, and of his institute, MARIA Most Holy, he acted truly as her son, and made her the focus of his devotions, practicing so from the first years of life for the whole of his days." If Picolo's original proposal to the audiencia publicly conflated Mary as a state agent and a civilizing force, Consag expressed the same mindset towards his patroness in the dedication of his colleague.¹²¹

This "Magnet of tenderness," was a scientific description, as was the clinically observed schedule of prayers that Consag observed his colleague perform, as Consag observed the positive correlation in Tempis' bodily energy on the days of increased Marian devotion of fasting, early

¹²⁰ Venegas, *El Apostol Mariano Representado En La Vida Del V. P. Juan Maria de Salvatierra, de La Compañia de Jesus*, 8; Neil Safier, "The Editorial Itineraries of Marcgraf and Piso's 'Historia Naturalis Brasiliae,'" in *The Legacy of Dutch Brazil Michiel van Groesen*, by Michiel van Groesen (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

¹²¹ Fernando Consag, "Carta del P. Fernando Consag de la Compañia de Jesus, Visitador de las Misiones de Californias, à los Padres Superiores de esta Provincia de Nueva-España." (Mission Santiago, 1748), 36–37, The Wagner Collection, April 1922, Huntington Library.

meditation and sleep. When the Mission suffered from drought, Consag, Tempis and the neophytes organized a prayerful procession praying to “Mary of the LIGHT,” a new devotion of his, carrying the image of Mary before him. Soon, water rose in the lake and the rains returned. Later, when Tempis was sick and dying, Neophyte visitors came to pay their respects. “Many came into the house, some who were ignorant of the goings on, because upon leaving they later asked him again, ‘Father and Lord, do you not know the great blessing brought to us by the Holy Mother of the LIGHT [sic] that brought to us of the old Mission and the water of much abundance?’” Sick as he was, Father Antonio took the opportunity to preach to them, giving explanation of all the good blessings Mary could bring.¹²²

In Consag’s praise of Antonio’s Tempis’ pious dedication to Mary, the Jesuit highlighted Mary in three different ways. Firstly, the social role as queen and domestic family figure reinforced the paternal colonialism of the mission project. Mary of the “LIGHT” was an Enlightened patroness, under whose guidance Antonio Tempis created an order itinerary of diet and sleep that invigorated his body. Finally, the shining light and miraculous water of the icon visually symbolized the illuminating faith and reason that was brought to the Native peoples of Mission Santiago.¹²³

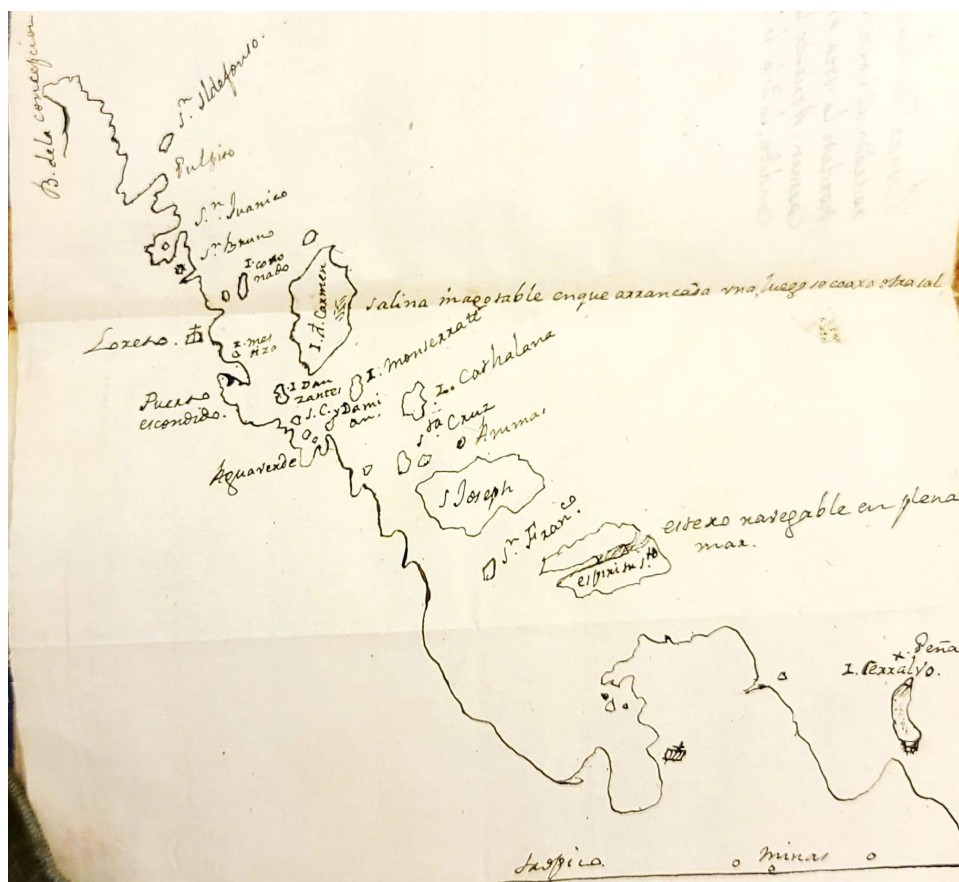
By the year 1751, Fernando Consag had already accepted Our Lady of Loreto as a uniquely Californian saint. Her patronage guided his expedition to the mouth of the Colorado River. In his diary, Consag detailed the military expedition in which he participated as scribe. “From this post of La Piedad, on the 22nd of May, 1751, under the patronage of Our Lady of

¹²² Fernando Consag, “Diary of the Colorado River Expedition,” 1751, 2, *Compendium of the Discoveries of California*, The British Museum; Consag, “Carta del P. Fernando Consag de la Compañía de Jesus, Visitador de las Misiones de Californias, à los Padres Superiores de esta Provincia de Nueva-España.,” 37–39.

¹²³ While a literary device, the emphasis of illuminating discovery and a guiding beacon were connected through the intellectual and religious double-symbol of light. See earlier references to Schmidt, Pratt, Boon, and Paulson.

Loreto, to whose marvelous guardianship the conversion of California is attributed, with five soldiers and a sufficient number of natives on foot, the journey was undertaken in the afternoon.” The expedition to find the Colorado’s source was clearly a military expedition authorized to further the reach of the empire. Nevertheless, Consag invoked the expedition’s “marvelous guardianship” as a localized patroness from the foundational Californio Presidio of Loreto. This religious dedication did not impact Consag’s voracious dedication to note-taking and observations. His hand-drawn maps, notes on the coastal flora and fauna and other measurements were distributed to other Jesuits and state involved agents as sensitive state material. Mary’s presence in Loreto and her guardianship over the Colorado did not conflict with King Ferdinand’s secular authority in the eyes of the Jesuit cartographer.¹²⁴

¹²⁴ The British Museum; Consag, “Carta del P. Fernando Consag de la Compañía de Jesus, Visitador de las Misiones de Californias, à los Padres Superiores de esta Provincia de Nueva-España.,” 37–39. For the compilation of notes and the hand-drawn map made on the voyage that is currently available in the United States, see Consag, “Additions to the Notices Contained in the Compiled Descriptions of the Discovery of California.”



Map of the eastern coast of Baja California and the islands of the Gulf of Cortés by Fernando Consag. Note the details within his depiction of the bays and islands nearby his coastline work, and the square and cross the crown the marker for Bajeno capital of Loreto in later pages, Consag detailed the Cape of San Lucas' maritime conditions and defensive sites that had been attacked during the Pericú Revolt. His details were simultaneously academically Universalist and colonially practical.¹²⁵

In the conclusion of the same diary, he invoked Mary of Loreto again, this time over concerns of scant support from the mainland. The expedition to the Rio Colorado had opened up many possibilities for conversion of new tribes and the growth of new ports for California. None of this seemed to interest the authorities across the gulf. Consag took his troubles to God's Mother who now lived in Baja: "The pity is, that it will be necessary to interrupt the conquest of this very poor and needy Peninsula on account of the lack of provisions necessary to maintain

¹²⁵ Fernando Consag, "Additions to the Notices Contained in the Compiled Descriptions of the Discovery of California," June 1, 1760, 27–29, California Collection HM 1295, Huntington Library.

here the evangelical Ministers... May Our Lady of Loreto, patroness of California, move the hearts of the devotees, in order that, with their wealth, they may supply the provisions that the ruggedness and sterility of this country denies them.” While she also protected Californio expeditions into the far north, Mary of Loreto also interceded for the Californios against the hard hearts of their viceregal sponsors. Mary’s patronage as a borderlands saint made her both an international agent of imperial expansion beyond the frontier and a local agent of solidarity against imperial neglect.¹²⁶

Catholics of all stripes invoked the Virgin Mary regularly before and after the Enlightenment. However, the language of the Californio Jesuits reflected a specific experience unique to intellectuals transitioning from comfortable, Enlightened Europe to harsh, colonial borderlands. Mary was the mother of Jesus and an intercessor for pilgrims and believers all over the world. Mary’s transformation from aristocratic Queen Mother to frontier guide and protector occurred throughout New World borderlands. This had heavy precedence in the Crusades and especially the Iberian Reconquista. However, the racial and spatial novelty of American borderlands called for unique adaptations in the Jesuits’ Marian reverence. Mary introduced Christ to the world, and the Jesuit’s depiction of Mary as a bringer of light to Native peoples in need of Enlightenment. In California, Mary aided the nostalgic longing for home and the uncertain expedition for expansion. As central Mexico became a metropole with its own Guadalupan patroness, the Californio borderlands synthesized new experiences of Mary that created a Loreto identity.¹²⁷

¹²⁶ Consag, “Diary of the Colorado River Expedition,” 51.

¹²⁷ For the European heritage and context, see Amy G. Remensnyder, *La Conquistadora: The Virgin Mary at War and Peace in the Old and New Worlds* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014). For mestizo syncretism tied to Indigenous resistance and the acquisition of contested territory, see the auto-ethnographical work of Chavez, *La Conquistadora*. For a Native-inspired reinterpretation of the same event, see Emmanuel Ortega, “The Virgin of the Macana and the Pueblo Revolution of 1680,” SmartHistory, October 16, 2020, <https://smarthistory.org/virgin-macana/>. Both the triumphal return of the original Conquistadora Mary of Santa Fe and the Native weaponry given

Fernando Consag's Borderlands Experience

Fernando Consag (1703-1759) was the closest that the Jesuits of Baja California came to matching the commanding historical figure of Junipero Serra. Born a Croatian and educated in Vienna, Fernando Consag was an early explorer of the peninsula. Historians and public memory have selected him among fellow Jesuits as an unofficial patron saint of Baja California. Consag was driven by both ardent faith and scientific curiosity. He shared many qualities with his distinguished predecessor, Eusebio Francisco Kino. Consag's trailblazing and mobile scholarship required tireless physical energy, intense faith, facility with languages, and physical bravery. Consag was largely remembered in Baja for his daring exploration. Arriving in Mexico after concluding his studies in Prague, Consag braved extended journeys beyond the established missions and visitas. At the head of a mixed Native and Filipino crew of sailors, Consag also captained an expedition that sailed up to the Colorado River, charting its navigability up to Yuma.¹²⁸

While Consag's personal achievements and impact in Baja California are worthy enough of exploration in and of themselves, it is also worth examining the trip he made from Europe across the Atlantic into the Caribbean. By the time he had landed in mainland Mexico, he had processed several New World experiences. While traveling, Consag wrote letters to the head of the Austrian chapter of the Jesuit order. Consag's transition to the borderlands exposed him to

to later New Mexican Madonnas demonstrate the powerful blending that can only exist through the experiences of a deeply contested borderland.

¹²⁸ This has remained the case up to the present day. Much the same as Eusebio Kino in the Sonora and Pimería, Fernando Consag is honored with statues and memorial streets in Baja California. Ray Cannon, *The Sea of Cortez* (Menlo Park: Lane Magazine & Book Company, 1966).

experiences that had already begun to influence his Enlightened, colonial Jesuit mindset before he had arrived in Baja California.

While en route, he studiously documented the natural life of Baja California and sketched new species. His precise and clinical drawings drew on Linnaeus' work. Into both his botanical sketches and his maps of Baja California, Consag put in a loving attention to detail and a discipline that was absent in his handwriting. He held a particular awareness of where detail and precision were needed. In private journals that he kept while on his travels, Consag made simple, sometimes almost crude sketches with only one or two strokes to evoke leaves or the trunks of pitaya trees. When he transferred his experiences into professional correspondence and reports, Consag included much more fine detail in his depictions of the same plants and overland routes.¹²⁹

Consag was as energetic and optimistic as Pícolo and Venegas. Consag poetically showed his enthusiasm to actively seek out the remote borderlands to preach to those still far distant from Hispanic society. "What I stated there [work in metropolitan Mexico] about the daily corporal and spiritual dangers... awaiting a missionary in these distant regions [borderlands] is not exaggerated." Consag readily acknowledged the dangers both in physical well-being and mental fortitude. "Experience teaches us that if a European apostle wished always to confine his zeal for souls only to the cities and parishes of this country, he would find a wide field where he could do much good... if he should dare to go out into the wild solitudes and was willing to lead into the sheepfold of Christ the pagan barbarians of whom there is an almost

¹²⁹ For the scrupulously drawn map of Baja California, see Fernando Consag, "Seno de California, y su costa oriental nuevamente descubierta, y registrada desde el Cabo et las Virgenes, hasta sutexmino, que es el Rio Colorado año 1747" (Madrid, 1757), Rare Books, Huntington Library. The lines between cartography, art and the bureaucratic regulation of land titles were not clearly discernible in the early modern period. For more, see Bleichmar, *Visible Empire*. For his private writings, see Consag, "Carta del P. Fernando Consag de la Compañía de Jesus, Visitador de las Misiones de Californias, à los Padres Superiores de esta Provincia de Nueva-España."

endless number.” Where there was much to risk, there was so much more to gain. Partly through a brave vocation and partly through Enlightened civilizational supremacy, Consag took up the calling to spread the Gospel to the edge of the world or at least as far as he could travel.¹³⁰

Consag was as energetic as he was ambitious. He emphasized the need for the best European missionaries to sally forth into the Mexican borderlands, the physical hardships, shortage of comforts and mortal dangers be damned. Simultaneously, Consag was well aware that his expectations of himself and the achievements of earlier Californio missionaries were not achievable for everyone. In the same letter back to fellow Jesuits in the Austrian Empire, Consag lamented that at best, half of the missionaries who arrived on the Caribbean coast of Mexico were fit for duty. Some knew little theology, and even a few were not educated in more practical matters like Native language or outdoorsmanship. Of the whole ship on which he travelled to New Spain, Consag estimated that only four passengers were adequately prepared to be missionaries. Upon arrival in the Caribbean, he noted that some passengers had fallen grievously ill. The trans-Atlantic crossing had shown Consag that colonial proselytizing would demand extraordinary physical and mental strength.¹³¹

Consag was deeply troubled both by the small number and the poor preparation of the missionaries arriving in the new world. The new arrivals were physically unprepared for the rigors of New World missionary work, knew no native languages and were psychologically unprepared for the frustrations of preaching in the wilderness. Consag’s ambition ran high for his

¹³⁰ Fernando Consag, “Letter to George Neumayer of the Austrian Province of the Order of the Jesuits, Written in Veracruz,” April 24, 1731, 15–23, *Compendium of the Discoveries of California*, The British Museum. One of the earliest English compilations of Consag’s work is exemplary. Monsignor Krmpotic gave Consag’s achievement the Latin, “*Nihil tam alta naturae constituit quo virtus non possit eniti*” (there is no height of nature that virtue cannot come equal to). While in memory, it corroborates the Jesuit optimism and marriage of spiritual and natural ambition. Ferdinand Consag, *Life and Works of the Reverend Ferdinand Konščak, S.J., 1703-1759, An Early Missionary in California*, trans. Martin Davorin Krmpotic (Boston: The Stratford company, 1923), vi.

¹³¹ Consag, “Letter to George Neumayer of the Austrian Province of the Order of the Jesuits, Written in Veracruz,” April 24, 1731, 15–17.

own vocation. He had similarly demanding expectations for every other missionary. He complained to his former superior in Austria of the weakness of his fellow passengers as he crossed the Atlantic. “Europe sends over new help from time to time it is true; but out of 20, 30 or even 40 men the superiors of this country can often send hardly one third or one fourth of them to cultivate the vineyard of the Lord right from the ship that brought them here.” In addition to the disparaging state of European missionary recruits, Consag also compared the New World to the Lord’s vineyard. This was obviously a religious reverence to Christ as the vine and Native converts as branches to be cultivated. However, Consag was also a botanist. His sketches and observations of Bajeño vegetation revealed a clinical and meticulous interest in categorization. The Croatian priest was also an Enlightened observer.¹³²

On the same voyage through the Caribbean, Consag lamented the slow death of a fellow passenger. A veteran colonial missionary, transplanted from the Society’s Bohemian chapter, slowly suffered from a hemorrhage while Consag kept vigil with him until the hour of his death. At the conclusion of an enthusiastic eulogy, Consag bore witness to Johann Klesinger’s passing “Father John became a corpse.” According to Consag, Klesinger held a crucifix tightly in one hand while his other hand gestured for a copy of the Bible to be brought to him. Placing it atop his chest with his other hand, he gave up his sweetly simple last words: “I love, I hope, I believe.” Consag eulogized that Klessinger had chosen right to die under the “mission cross” rather than to accept retirement in Europe. When the vessel moored in Cuba, Klessinger was offloaded and readied for burial. Like a dead nobleman, his body was escorted by officers of the fleet, fellow members of the Society, the local members of the Brothers of Mercy, and the whole congregation of the hosting parish in Havana. Consag wrote that most of the assembled men

¹³² Consag, 14–15.

“could not contain their tears.” Klessinger’s body was interred underneath the church’s main altar to the tolling of all the bells in Havana. Consag documented the experience of borderlands martyrdom in the Caribbean. The deprived conditions of marine travel and the hardships of illness made Johann Klessinger’s final weeks hellish. When he died, he died both as a martyr and a nobleman worthy of public commemoration.¹³³

Consag did not seem surprised by the respectful treatment his fellow Jesuit received in death. It was clear by his matter-of-fact recounting of Klessinger’s burial that Consag thought himself and his Jesuit brothers to be a cut above the normal parish priest. “Zealous sermons and official functions” were fitting for the monastic statesman they had trained and deserved to be.¹³⁴

Beyond the endorsement of his own performance, his fellow Jesuits’ peaceful deaths and the adulation of colonial society, Consag seemed to have the blessing of Divine Providence and the communion of saints. Departing Havana for Veracruz, the Croatian heard of an artistic treasure’s loss. A holy icon of Francis Xavier had been lost in transit from stormy seas. The loss seemed permanent until one day after Consag finally made ground on the mainland. Consag was unclear how much time had passed when a miracle occurred in the middle of the night. A disguised figure banged on the door of a local church. The stranger disappeared into the darkness, leaving behind only a damaged image of Saint Francis Xavier. Referring to the image as “he,” Consag regaled that Francis Xavier was received with joy and that he had become “at present a general consoler and helper in need to our men and outsiders.” Simultaneously an educated and analytical organizer, Consag’s faith was so personal and intimate he held no

¹³³ Consag, 14–16.

¹³⁴ Consag, 14–16.

reservations in treating an icon of his order's cofounder as a personal friend. While a Universalist autocrat, Consag was also emotionally devout.¹³⁵

Francis Xavier (1506-1552) was a Spanish Basque Jesuit priest that had helped Ignatius of Loyola found the Society of Jesus. Working through the trade routes of the Portuguese factory system, Xavier traveled to the Orient. He was the first missionary to preach in Japan and died on a mission to China. Francis Xavier's high in the early modern Church reached its apogee when he was canonized only 70 years after his death. Xavier utilized several names and languages to navigate the funding and recognition required in Europe: Basque, Latin, Spanish, French, and Portuguese. After leaving Europe, he endured the difficult life of a seafarer. From port to port across Asia, he dared the physical and linguistic challenges of frontier preaching. For his success in the far east he earned the honorific, "Apostle of the Indies." The co-founder of the Society of Jesus was a gold-standard role model for Jesuit missionary and academic achievements.¹³⁶

Like Francis Xavier, Fernando Consag was an international networker in Europe and an enthusiast in both academics and proselytization. Considering Consag's upbringing and colonial mission under the auspice of a foreign empire, he could have found no saint more tailor-made to be his patron than Xavier. The loss and reappearance of Francis Xavier's icon was miraculous. The experiences that Xavier represented were deeply personal. The patron saint of educated, international colonial Jesuits had accompanied Consag to Veracruz, fallen into the water and risen again. It was as if Consag's doubts had been assuaged by a personalized "consoler and a helper" who shared his mission.¹³⁷

¹³⁵ Consag, 22–23.

¹³⁶ Markus Friedrich, *The Jesuits: A History*, trans. John Noël Dillon (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2022), 430.

¹³⁷For a broader evaluation of Jesuit parallels between Asian and Latin America, see Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe, Volume II: A Century of Wonder*. (University of Chicago Press, 2012), 306, 350.

Consag's travels to Veracruz brought him several experiences that were at their essence a dialectic between his Enlightened aristocratic upbringing and the bizarre challenges of the New World's borderlands. His nauseous journey across the sea, the disparaging weak recruits, his dark vigil with the dying priest and the dead man's raucous funeral procession all lead to the shadowy figure who brought Francis Xavier up from the depths of the sea like Jonah was spat from the whale. Instead of Nineveh, the Croat Jesuit had come to Veracruz. He would proceed to California at the very end of the world. He was ordained by God to bring the same message of repentance and salvation that Jonah had brought to the Assyrians. Simultaneously he planned to catalogue and discover the new land. As a prophet and a pioneer, Consag's travels had prepared him to bring Baja California to light as much as he brought the Light to Baja California.¹³⁸

If the Virgin Mary's house could appear in Italy from the Holy Land, Francis Xavier could appear at Consag's door from the bottom of the sea. While clearly capable of detailed and critical analysis, Consag also devoutly believed in ancient and modern miracles. Consag was called to, and shaped by experiences on the borderlands.¹³⁹

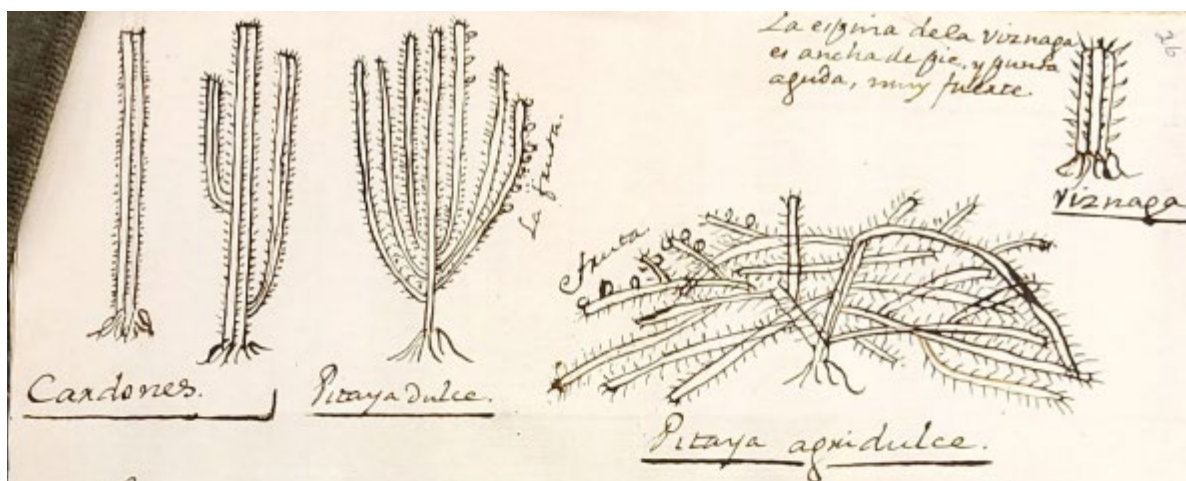
If Consag was transformed by the spiritual experiences of travelling into the borderlands, his Enlightenment analytical mind had its own process of transformation as he experienced a new kind of research on the frontier. Consag carried a journal on the road when he travelled, and many of these notes were passed on or copied to his fellow Jesuits. This appears to have been common practice, given the regular movement of Jesuits between missions and travelling to conduct business in and out of Loreto. From an archival point of view, the vague provenience of individual notes and the simplicity of many sketches make it difficult to pinpoint the original source of scholarship that was shared and copied amongst Baja's Jesuits. These particular notes

¹³⁸ For the full parallel story of Jonah's mission to the Assyrians at Nineveh, see Jon. 1:1-3:10, NAB.

¹³⁹ Consag, 23.

came from a compiled collection from the Huntington Library which were estimated to have been compiled in 1760, a year after Consag's death. Given the similarity of the handwriting, it is possible that these were copied by Miguel Venegas. I have not been able to confirm this.¹⁴⁰

On his travels, Consag created sketches and penned captions for the unique plants he observed on his travels. He portrayed versions of the cardones (saguaro), pitaya (dragonfruit), and bittersweet pitaya (organ pipe cactus), the visnaga (barrel cactus), and the garambullo (blue myrtle cactus). He included sketches of each and casual remarks on the development and uses of each plant. He included partial classifications of some of these plants. "All of the myrtle cacti and all of the barrel cacti each belong to a single species (although each individual specimen can distinguish itself). They are all corrugated and they all have spines." When Consag was unfamiliar with a whole family of plants, he was very willing to simplify and reduce them to a single category. The Jesuits understood and were willing to comprehend the many languages of Native Baja, but they were not willing to understand the subtle differences between different cultures of Native peoples, only "men of reason" and "barbarians." Just so, when encountering new families of plants, the Jesuits were not yet ready to appreciate the classifications.¹⁴¹



¹⁴⁰ Consag, "Additions to the Notices Contained in the Compiled Descriptions of the Discovery of California," 14.

¹⁴¹ Consag, 21.

*Sketch from left to right; saguaro, dragon fruit, collapsed organ pipe, and barrel cactus, ink drawing done presumed by Fernando Consag, circa 1760.*¹⁴²

While Consag's notes were impressively detailed, and all the more since they were briefly copied down as he travelled, it is worth pointing out two errors that demonstrated his incomplete analysis. Consag depicted the roots of each model to have a balled central mass. Sketches of the roots of each plant demonstrate a balled, centralized root. This is not how saguaros or organ pipes spread roots. At maturity, these cacti grow out thin, straight roots in a radial pattern for yards in all directions. The aim of these long, spindly roots is to gather as much rainfall as possible for the otherwise narrow trunk. Consag did not ever dig up or plant around such a saguaro, or this would have been evident to him. Secondly, his sketch of the organ pipe ("bittersweet pitaya") showed the collapsed arms falling back down to the ground. Naturally occurring, this rarely happens. Organ pipes arms grow upwards and outwards in order to catch more rain and to prevent grazers from eating the succulent cactus meat. If a young organ pipe is bent, however, the arms can be grown at a lower height to facilitate easier picking of the fruits that grow at the crown of the arms. Consag assumed that organ pipe arms drooped naturally, like grapevines or the ripened boughs of the sweet pitaya (dragonfruit). What Consag assumed to be naturally drooping branches were actually dutifully tended orchards. This was not a failure of his intelligence, it was a reliance on his own empirical observations, rather than consulting a Native horticulturalist for only a few minutes.¹⁴³

Amongst the botanical sketches and naturalist observations Consag also drew routes that offered the best routes and times of year to travel by land and sea. Consag had interest in

¹⁴² Consag, 22.

¹⁴³ Consag, 22.

charting the most efficient routes in between Spanish missions. These were purposefully included together with the naturalist materials by Consag himself or by his colleague who copied and compiled his work. This had a colonial implication. Where the Jesuits could travel to, they could understand and document. What they could document and understand, they could convert and rule. The same evangelical and analytical spirit that prompted Consag to convert the Native Bajeños was the same spirit that prompted him to analyze and document his new parish.

Californio Missionaries as Enlightened Civil Servants

The Jesuits were undeniably loyal colonial actors who served the interests of the empire. They used their powerful intellects and Enlightened educations to develop and execute imperial plans on the borderlands. While the priestly vows of ordination technically divided their loyalty between Rome and Madrid, the work done on the Californio frontier did not cause a rift in the Jesuit double-faith. The Bourbon monarch forced this division on the Jesuits through royal authority as Mexico City monitored the church through agents like José Gálvez who monitored the Bajeño missionaries. Much like the commercial and credit disputes from the Condamine research, Slukan-Altić argues that the creole Jesuits were obliged to compromise their scholarship for European consumers out of proximity to powerful European autocrats, limited resources and their reduced social status as colonial subjects. Once again, Enlightenment intrigue had complicated the theoretically rational production of knowledge.¹⁴⁴

Most of the civic cooperation the Jesuits engaged was not done through Mexico City but through proxies closer to the California borderlands. The Royal Audiencia of Guadalajara was

¹⁴⁴Mirela Slukan-Altić, “Changing the Discourse: Post-Expulsion Jesuit Cartography of Spanish America,” *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 6, no. 1 (2019): 99–114. For an additional Bajeño experience of the complexities of expulsion, see Benno Ducrue, *Ducrue’s Account of the Expulsion of the Jesuits from Lower California, 1767-1769*, ed. Ernest J Burrus ed (Rome & St. Louis: Jesuit Historical Institute; St. Louis University, 1967).

the main civil authority for most of the Jesuit tenure in Lower California. The Viceroy in Mexico City legally held full authority over the fate of the “provincias internas” of the remote northern frontiers. Viceregal “visitadores,” or subordinate inspector-generals, carried great administrative authority and oversight in his authority. However, it was clear from the start Mexico City’s agents were too geographically removed to do so efficiently and too occupied by other affairs to do so purposefully. This went double for California, which was effectively an island removed from the mainland by the Sea of Cortés. It was Guadalajara that supervised the safe passage of the Jesuits to and from the peninsula, recruited and promoted the soldiers of the presidio, and determined the supplies sent to the missions.¹⁴⁵

One such example of sacred-civic blending was the language in Francisco Maria Picolo’s report to the Audiencia in 1702. The Audiencia of Nueva Galicia, based in Guadalajara, was also the body that tasked the Jesuits with detailing the operations already undertaken in Loreto and an estimation of future support and funding that would be needed from the mainland.¹⁴⁶

The Audiencia had tasked Father Maria Picolo to create a written report of his findings and activities in Baja California. Fortunately, Picolo was “not only a great doer of deeds, but also a careful recorder of them;” and the Audiencia would not be disappointed. Born in Palermo, Picolo entered the Society of Jesus in his early twenties and went on to teach and study in Jesuit academies throughout Italy at a school for boys, at a Jesuit college. He ultimately became a master of letters and taught theology in Rome. Picolo volunteered for service abroad, which brought him to Mexico and ultimately California. As he arrived in New Spain, Picolo’s

¹⁴⁵ While the political divisions of Nueva Galicia changed over the long 18th century, the towns of colonial importance maintained their influence. The Nayarit port of San Blás remained the point of access to and from most of Alta and Baja California. San Blás’ role in developing Bajefeño’s peripheral experiences are detailed in the routine Chapters 2 and 4.

¹⁴⁶ Dominguez de Riezu and Picolo, “Picolo’s Report on Baja California to the Audiencia of Guadalajara,” February 10, 1702.

eloquence, practiced apologetics and teaching skills made him a model representative to the Audiencia's bureaucracy. He was nonetheless a novice in missionary work and had to learn as he went.¹⁴⁷

After one meeting, the cameral scribe Francisco de Riezu was debriefing Father Francisco Maria Picolo. "Debriefing" carried a specifically military tone, which demonstrated the Audiencia's underlying evaluation of the California missions as territorial conquest. The Sicilian Jesuit had just returned from a foray to Baja and had brought with him three Native Californians to demonstrate the potential in colonizing the peninsula.¹⁴⁸

After he swore his obedience to the command of the Audiencia, Picolo set to work on compiling his report. Picolo's initial noticia was brief, but optimistic. He cited the climate and geography of Baja California as "agreeable, though warm and arid. The small game was plentiful and delicious." The "mescal plant," grew in the hills year-round and hunting wildfowl was a relatively easy way to come by food. Picolo saw little difference between Baja and the rest of Mexico declaring most of the peninsula's natural life to be "as in New Spain." Picolo evaluated the Native peoples of Baja to be simple, but open to Catholicism and advancement. As "every family makes laws at pleasure, which is plainly the reason that they are so often at war with each other." An inconvenience, to be sure, but certainly it was not insurmountable to reduce a society that he declared to have no houses and lived in the shade of trees. Even "the jicama was bigger and crunchier in Baja" than in Mexico, he wrote. All that was needed to expand colonization into the peninsula was the license of the audiencia. In earlier writing, Picolo the priest had expressed his open adoration to God and the Virgin Mary when planning a new mission. When catering to

¹⁴⁷ E. J. Burrus, "Francesco Maria Piccolo (1654-1729), Pioneer of Lower California, in the Light of Roman Archives," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 35, no. 1 (1955): 63.

¹⁴⁸ Dominguez de Riezu and Picolo, "Picolo's Report on Baja California to the Audiencia of Guadalajara," February 10, 1702.

the Audiencia's practical expectations of reconnaissance, Picolo the scout gave details required from a military and engineering professional.¹⁴⁹

Picolo went into great detail about the logistics of settling Loreto and the potential returns from continued investment. However, what was of concern regarding bureaucratic methodology was the Jesuit's use of Enlightened taxonomy to marry state interests with missionary operations. This highlighted the religious mindset of even secular procedures. Un-converted Native subjects were referred to as "heathens," and "gentiles," and the audiencia's enumerated colonial castes were categorized along racial lines. Picolo used a taxonomic approach in analyzing new members of the Spanish casta system, in a manner similar but not identical to the biologists' *Natural System* of Carl Linnaeus' taxonomy. In addition to seeing Native peoples as souls to be saved through a missionary lens, Picolo assigned them to the secular categories within the Empire's caste system. They are discussed in the following paragraph.¹⁵⁰

The Jesuits' racial classification still included a few religious terms. Hispanics loyal to the crown were classified as "Christians," and converts with mixed black or Amerindian ancestry were classified as either a "baptized mulato" or a "baptized mestizo." Picolo and Salvatierra had not fully established a mission caste system of friars and neophytes in 1702. But even within five years of Loreto's establishment, Californios had been classified simultaneously by terms of race and religious conversion, rather than the monastic terms of labor like neophyte. While Picolo's *raison d'être* in California was religious, his patrons were specifically statist and bureaucratic, though not quite secular. Accordingly, so too were the terms Picolo used in order to describe his

¹⁴⁹Francisco Maria Picolo, "An Account of California, by Francis Maria Picolo, Philosophical Transact No 318," trans. C. C. Kummell (London, 1766), 4, Royal Society, Bound Volume, V., Huntington Library; Dominguez de Riezu, "Riezu Transmits to Picolo." Burrus, "Francesco Maria Piccolo (1654-1729), Pioneer of Lower California, in the Light of Roman Archives."

¹⁵⁰ Dominguez de Riezu, "Riezu Transmits to Picolo," 1–2.

mission. When the Jesuits used conversion status and race interchangeably in discussing the colonial process, they revealed a complete comfort collaborating with the state's agenda. The missionaries adopted the Enlightened taxonomy when discussing converts and framed their religious pilgrimages in terms of practical expenditures. When presenting the Jesuit works to the Audiencia, Picolo knew his audiencia well enough to depict the Californio operation as a productive, loyal province of the crown and not a charitable work for impoverished souls in need.¹⁵¹

Alejandro Romano (1664–1724) likewise married religious terms in the daily operations of his work for the state. In December of 1701, Romano wrote to the viceroy regarding a close shave that had almost destroyed Loreto. The dividends and financial support that Romano called “alms” had dried up in Loreto, and that “after more than half of the soldiers formerly stationed at the presidio of Our Lady of Loreto Concho had been dismissed, for the reason that the alms did not suffice to cover their pay.” Even before the Native surprise attack, the Jesuits had found themselves in dire straits, barely maintaining their own mission in working order without secular military protection.¹⁵²

The Native men who had not yet converted saw the decreased garrison and conspired to make a surprise attack. “To this they were led by their false priests, and even by the demons themselves, who appear to them in visible form and talk to them.” Contrary to the rational procedures that propelled the Spanish across the New World, these barbarians were on the dark side of reason. If the state failed to properly support the Jesuits, Native Californios could become possessed and hallucinate demons and be tempted to commit the civil crime of sedition against New Spain. The shamans, or “wicked priests,” compelled their warriors to surprise the Spanish

¹⁵¹ Dominguez de Riezu, 2.

¹⁵² Romano, “Alejandro Romano to the Viceroy Regarding the Situation of Loreto,” December 6, 1701, 1.

seeing their numbers reduced. “They planned a general conspiracy,” and only by luck did the Spaniards discover and foil the attack. While the attackers retreated and one conspirator was executed, Romano remained convinced that “this conquest may be lost.” The Jesuits’ scrape with demonic attacks was both a religious fear and a national security threat. Demons from Hell needed to be defeated. Souls and subjects could only be redeemed through a more responsible use of the bureaucratic funding apparatus. While fundamentally seeking to protect his “mission,” Romano called it a “conquest” when beseeching secular funds.¹⁵³

This dependent cooperation continued while the Jesuits managed the daily operations of Baja California until the Bourbon Court took action to expel them in 1767. The complete history of the New World Jesuit expulsion is too detailed a story to examine here in the discussion of the Californio mindset. However, Clavijero wrote about Madrid’s expulsion in his Italian exile. The Mexican-born creole scholar depicted the royal act as not only unfaithful, but unmerited and counterproductive. The Jesuit conceived of themselves as God’s servants willfully long-suffering self-sacrifice, but also agents of the Crown that had been loyal and wrongfully banished. The expulsion was a reversal of 70 years of, and flew in the face their established identity as Royal Californio colonizers alongside their priestly role.¹⁵⁴

Enlightened Hagiography: The Californio Mindset in Venegas and Clavijero

The texts of the two Jesuit authors, Miguel Venegas and Francisco Clavijero, are considered in detail here. Venegas based his writings on material obtained in the routine labor and missionary work he conducted in Baja California. Venegas died before the expulsion, and

¹⁵³ Romano, 1, 1–2.

¹⁵⁴ For an further explanation of Jesuit loyalties before and after expulsion, see John W. O’Malley, *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999); Friedrich, *The Jesuits*.

his work was disseminated in large part by his survivors. Clavijero was the most famous and brilliant of the Jesuits who wrote about California. Unlike most of his fellow Californio missionaries, Clavijero was born in New Spain, and was one of the youngest writers to pen a vindication for the California Jesuits. It bears emphasizing that Clavijero's work was unusual. Not only was it written well after he left Mexico for Italian exile, it had been written without ever having set foot in California. While Clavijero did not himself perform missionary service in California, he was active not only as a Jesuit but as a teacher of Native youths in Mexico City. His service never brought him to Baja California. In Italy after the Jesuit Expulsion, it was New Spain as a whole, not California, that he first dedicated his scholarship to. His work on Lower California was the last book Clavijero ever published.¹⁵⁵

Miguel Venegas (1680–1764) wrote a comprehensive volume on the geography and settlement of Baja California in the generation before Clavijero. Andrés Marcos Burriel y López (1719–1762) assisted and edited Venegas' work, to such an extent that some historians argue that Burriel was a co-author of the completed *Noticia de la California*. Venegas' work typifies the Jesuit mindset in Baja for two reasons. Firstly, the text was comprehensive, well researched and well received. Within a decade of Venegas' death, his book had been translated and republished in England, Holland, France, and Germany. This alone attests to how his Bajeño experience

¹⁵⁵ Wenceslaus Linck, *Wenceslaus Linck's Diary of His 1766 Expedition to Northern Baja California*, trans. Ernest J. Burrus, Baja California Travels Series, 5 (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1966). Linck was, for a Jesuit missionary, uncharacteristically pessimistic about Baja California. For a general summary of epistemology in New Spain, see Sergio Rivera-Ayala, *El Discurso Colonial En Textos Novohispanos: Espacio, Cuerpo y Poder*, Colección Tamesis. Serie A, Monografías (Martlesham-Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2009). Francesco Saverio Clavijero and Charles Cullen, Esq., *The History of Mexico, Collected from Spanish and Mexican Historians, from Manuscripts, and Ancient Paintings of the Indians. Illustrated by Charts, and Other Copper Plates By Abbé D. Francesco Saverio Clavijero. Translated from the Original Italian, by Charles Cullen, Esq. In Two Volumes*. (London: G. G. J. and J. Robinson, 1787).

resonated with European readers, and how his mindset was approachable, but intriguing to the rest of Enlightened Europe.¹⁵⁶

Secondly, on a level more restricted to Baja California, Miguel Venegas' career and writing took place at the apogee of Jesuit activity on the peninsula. Born in 1680, Venegas was a boy when Kino and Salvatierra were blazing the trails and establishing the first outposts on the coast. When the expulsion occurred in 1767, Venegas had already died. Simply put, Venegas was active and writing when the Jesuits were at the height of their power and influence, having expanded their dominions to their maximum extent. Venegas was able to commemorate the province's founder in a biography and assess the current state of the province before it was seized and transferred to another order.¹⁵⁷ Picolo, who died in 1729, was still writing to petition for grand projects still in development. Clavijero, who died in 1787, had been writing in exile with two decades' worth of nostalgia as he romanticized his persecuted order. Between them, Venegas' second generation of Bajefeño missionary work and Enlightened scholarship captured the Jesuits' fully operational missionary province.

The full name of Venegas's work demonstrated the Universalist interests of the Californio Jesuits: *A Natural and Civil History of California: Containing an Accurate Description of that Country, Its Soil, Mountains, Harbors, Lakes, Rivers, and Seas; Its Animals,*

¹⁵⁶ For one such claim examined in detail, see Bryan Green, "'Apostles and Men of Learning': Miguel Venegas, Andrés Marcos Burriel, and the Jesuit Vocation for Natural History," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 4, no. 1 (2017): 28–55. The Huntington Library also compiles the documents of both men into the single collection, "Venegas-Burriel Manuscripts." See Andrés Marcos Burriel and Miguel Venegas, "Letters, Documents, Etc., Regarding the Activities of the Jesuits in Lower California," Circa 1750, Venegas-Burriel Manuscripts, HM 22232-22246, Huntington Library. Respectively, these were published by James Rivington and James Fletcher (1759), Johannes Enschedé (1761-1762), Chez Durand (1766-1767) and Meyerschen Buchhandlung, (1769-1770). These have been digitally scanned and made available on Haithi Trust and other platforms. From the metadata I have been able to find, these publications, apart from their languages, are functionally the same. Using my English, Spanish and basic levels of French, I was able to confirm that the prefaces of the Rivington & Fletcher and Durand versions more or less match each other.

¹⁵⁷ Miguel Venegas, *Juan Maria de Salvatierra of the Company of Jesus; Missionary in the Province of New Spain, and Apostolic Conqueror of the Californias*, trans. Juan Antonio Oviedo and Marguerite Eyer Wilbur (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1929).

Vegetables, Minerals, and Famous Fishery for Pearls, The Customs of the Inhabitants, Their Religion, Government and Manner of Living, Before their Conversion to the Christian Religion by the Missionary Jesuits, Together with Accounts of the Several Voyagers and Attempts Made for Settling California, and Taking Actual Surveys of that Country, Its Gulf, and Coast of the South Seas. The document's title plate addressed the anthropological, religious, geostrategic and naturalist interests of a province as well as the guiding light of the mission: the conversion and colonization of the Bajeco tribes.

Venegas' prologue related the discovery of the Baja Peninsula, and dealt with the initial confusion of California as an island. The error was far faster discovered by Jesuit pilgrims exploring the frontier than it was corrected by European cartographers marketing their maps. "Thus, we see that old opinions, especially when they are grounded in matters of fact, are not to be hastily rejected, that inquisitive and even judicious men are capable of being misled; and that the authority of actual discoverers, in questions of this sort, is singly to be regarded." Venegas also admitted the limits of his knowledge, acknowledging that while California was known to extend far into the Pacific Northwest, how far he could not say. Whether it extended "very near to the north east of Tartary," or if it was cut off by the "Strait of Anián," Venegas could not confirm, but he did offer, "founded on facts... that Indians, converted to the christian [sic] faith by the Spaniards, have passed by land into China, the truth of which has been deservedly questioned." Venegas not only postulated the existence of the Bering Strait, but also a land bridge that provided a Native replacement for Prester John. "These... are no better than conjectures, upon which no great stress is laid, and therefore we must wait for the solution of the question till the same spirit of discovery that... acquainted us with the Indies... reveals to us... whether it is sea or land, or a mixture of both, that intervenes between those two mighty

continents.” Tactfully, Venegas was reserving the discovery, and thus settlement, of the far north of the continent to those same people who discovered the Indies. Conveniently, that was the Spanish. Cleverly, Venegas used both the certainty of knowledge and the ambiguity of the unknown to justify and expand Jesuit dominions.¹⁵⁸

Beyond setting the Bajeño stage, Venegas’s declarations on what was and was not known to be factual about California made three metaphysical observations. Firstly, he acknowledged, in full objective humility, that initial observations and conclusions, even those drawn by educated and intelligent scholars, could be wrong when provided with incorrect or incomplete data. Secondly, he emphasized the primacy of the objective records of the on-site, first-hand scholarship of primary-witness scholars. This was personally justifying for the Californio writer who lived on-site in the region that was his field of his research. The Jesuits willingness to deny themselves the luxuries of the world was a religious vocation. They sacrificed the luxuries of courtly prestige and scholarly comfort in order to serve the peoples inhabiting the ends of the Earth. Thirdly, in asserting what he did know of California’s boundaries, he was able to legitimize New Spain’s claim on the North American Pacific through the right of discovery and settlement. By his theoretical extension of California all the way to Siberia, he was applying a logical continuation of Spain’s claim to the North Pole, intellectually blocking the Russian and British competitors.¹⁵⁹

In his examination of Native tribes of California, Venegas showed his kindred thinking with Carl Linnaeus. The Swedish scientist first published his manual of taxonomy, *Natural*

¹⁵⁸ Miguel Venegas, *A Natural and Civil History of California: Containing an Accurate Description of That Country, Its Soil, Mountains, Harbors, Lakes, Rivers, and Seas; Its Animals, Vegetables, Minerals, and Famous Fishery for Pearls, The Customs of the Inhabitants, Their Religion, Government and Manner of Living, Before Their Conversion to the Christian Religion by the Missionary Jesuits, Together with Accounts of the Several Voyagers and Attempts Made for Settling California, and Taking Actual Surveys of That Country, Its Gulf, and Coast of the South Seas, Volume II*, ed. James Fletcher and James Rivington, vol. I (London: Rivington and Fletcher, 1759), 2, 1–5.

¹⁵⁹ Venegas, *A Natural and Civil History of California*, I:1–15.

Systems, in 1735, with many publications updating the classifications extensively. Linnaeus' approach to natural life was to empirically observe qualities, categorize them into increasingly precise groups, and file the research accordingly. Venegas sought to do the same with the Native peoples of California, but he had to establish some ground terms first. "The word nation generally speaking has a different import in America, from what it has in Europe," Venegas cautioned as he introduced Native societies. "In Europe, it is applied to those who inhabit a certain extent of country, or live under one government, whether their language be the same or not. In America, there being among the unconquered Indians neither distinction, limits of province, nor demarcation of divisions, as was found in the empires of Mexico and Peru." Venegas recognized that the standard methods of social taxonomy did not apply to Californian societies. In a faint anticipation of the borderlands, he recognized that Mexico and Peru, or rather the royal governments of the Aztecs and the Inca, were more easily understood by the Enlightened system of knowledge.¹⁶⁰

Venegas' experiences made it clear that neither Aztec organization nor European dichotomy usefully applied to the Baja nations. He thus had to apply a borderlands lens to categorize them. "[if they are] all using the same language, they account one nation; whether they live near one another, or are dispersed in different rancherias, or places of abode: or if there be any difference in the idiom, but very small, some languages being only dialects of another, so that they understand each other." Venegas admitted that kinship won through language was the primary knowledge of belonging for Baja Natives, and not loyalty to chiefs or kings. Equally

¹⁶⁰ Carl von Linné, *A General System of Nature, Through the Three Grand Kingdoms of Animals, Vegetables, and Minerals* (London: Lackington, Allen, and Co., 1806). Many intellectuals applied Linnaeus' natural system of knowledge to material within their own specialties. Venegas, *A Natural and Civil History of California*, I:73–75. For a rough contemporary of Venegas, see Carl von Linné and Thomas Pattinson Yeats, *Institutions of Entomology: Being a Translation of Linnæus's Ordines et Genera Insectorum; or, Systematic Arrangement of Insects. Collated with the Different Systems of Geoffroy, Schæffer and Scopoli* (London: R. Horsfield, 1773).

frustrating and foreign was the classification of their names. “Sometimes indeed the nations do not derive their name from the language they speak, but from the part of the country they inhabit, or some other circumstance of the same kind.” When Venegas’ Enlightened lens failed to assess the hunter-gatherer, cyclical living of Bajeno tribes, he had to adopt new language and reasoning into his mindset to comprehend his fellow Baja inhabitants whose lifestyle defied the Enlightened model of progress he had been trained to anticipate.¹⁶¹

As he described Native Californian religion, Venegas applied the state of nature to Baja’s tribal peoples. Swiss-French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) described the default state of mankind as simple but benign. While humanity in its pre-social nature, it was quickly corrupted by the destructive self-interest of abusive power hierarchies. With this mindset, it was clear that individuals in a cruel or violent society were not essentially malicious, but made bad through the detrimental structures of their society. As Bertram summarized Rousseau’s belief in the potential of social engineering, “As a believer in the plasticity of human nature, Rousseau holds that good laws make for good citizens.”¹⁶²

While not directly quoting Rousseau, Venegas applied the same primitivist analysis to the Baja tribes he deemed to be living almost in a state of nature. “He [Venegas in the third person] treats of their religion; in respect to which he observes, that those who resided on the continent, were, when the Spanish found them, entirely free from any idolatrous notions, had few or no ceremonies, and yet had some very singular speculative opinions, but that it was otherwise the islands, where, through the arts and frauds of a particular group of men [shamans] were grievously enthralled in superstitious slavery.” As Venegas’ summarized Native Californian

¹⁶¹ Venegas, *A Natural and Civil History of California*, I:73–75.

¹⁶² Christopher Bertram, “Jean Jacques Rousseau,” in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta and Uri Nodelman, Summer 2024 (Stanford: Metaphysics Research Lab, Stanford University, 2023), <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2024/entries/rousseau/>.

spirituality, he revealed two aspects of his zealously Enlightened mindset. Firstly, he revealed his narrow vision when he declared that the Native Californians had very few ceremonies. Venegas' Catholic preconceptions of the rituals that constituted ceremonies ignored many practices and rites that went over his head, despite his intention to be analytical and empirical. Secondly, Venegas' categorization of the Native shamans and medicine men as frauds and slavers demonstrated his reasoning for active intervention in Baja California. Innocent people who otherwise had not idolatrous inclinations had been enslaved by fraudulent liars. Rather than an entire race of condemned idolators, Venegas perceived California Native peoples to have been led astray by literal demons and sorcerers. As much as it was a colonizing mission for profit, Venegas was undertaking a rescue mission. In certain ways, Venegas' extensive knowledge and understanding of the California nations had been shaped by his experience on the peninsula, navigating on borderlands systems of knowledge, rather than the terms of his established Enlightened system. In other words, Venegas' Enlightened understandings fundamentally misinformed him about how the borderlands actually worked.¹⁶³

The physical harshness of the borderlands was an experience that retroactively worked its significance into Venegas' consciousness. In his *Salvatierra* biography, he lionized the pioneer's strength of will and physical determination. For Venegas' *Salvatierra* story, his strength of mind reinforced his moral fiber, which in turn bettered a strong and enduring body. True to the meticulous nature of Venegas as a writer, even the hagiography was packed with precise details, some vindicating and others gratuitous. It was understandable that Venegas celebrated that *Salvatierra* was a petty noble through his mother's side, but not so much the precise detail, "the [parents'] marriage was already fertile by the first moon, and finished with five sons." Venegas

¹⁶³ Venegas, *A Natural and Civil History of California*, I:9–10.

thought important to emphasize Salvatierra's ascetism and academic ken from early on. Even as a novitiate, Salvatierra was showing Jesuit qualifications. "We find our Brother Juan in the House of God free from the snares of the world, undertaking all endeavors to perfection." In one sentence, Venegas declared his subject a polymath. "To the laws of religion, he aligned himself, and of the customs, and the regimen of the novitiates, as if he was already very old." In the next sentence, Venegas declared Salvatierra's natural holiness. "As always in that century, having been so inclined to virtue, nothing could stop him from observing self-denial. With great fervor, he would scar himself whenever possible." Salvatierra obviously was not afraid of martyrdom by the warriors since he had mortifying himself before he was even ordained.¹⁶⁴

In addition to his biography of Juan Maria Salvatierra and his history of California, Venegas also authored a sacramental guidebook. These *confessionarios* were designed to be easy references in performing the sacraments of the Catholic Church. Venegas had specifically penned his as a guide for Bajeno missionaries in 1731. Juan Francisco López, his junior colleague was the one to annotate and republish it for distribution as a mass-printed document ready for general use after the elder man's death. The surviving copy used for this analysis was being used in New Mexico in 1839. Despite its later date and the ambiguity of the exact authorship, it revealed details about Venegas' mindset as a borderlands priest administering to a Native population.¹⁶⁵

The confessional was a relatively small document. The pocket-sized book only held 52 pages of quick instructions on the most regular procedures expected of a borderlands priest. Even

¹⁶⁴ Venegas, *El Apostol Mariano Representado En La Vida Del V. P. Juan Maria de Salvatierra, de La Compañia de Jesus*, 1–16.

¹⁶⁵ Miguel Venegas and Juan Francisco López, "Manualito de Párrocos: Para Los Autos Del Ministerio Mas Precisos, y Auxiliar á Los Enfermos" (Imprenta del Presbítero Antonio José Martínez á cargo de J.M. Baca, 1839), Early States Records Project, Vincent C. Immel Law Library, Saint Louis University.

the names of the sacraments had been changed to reflect borderlands work, including procedure to “Baptize a pagan youth,” “exorcising items of death,” and “how to bless a new source of baptismal water.” These actions were not the routine of a parish priest in a parochial town. Venegas had selected rituals and blessings specifically designed to deal with the maladies he encountered on the borderlands. Rather than the routines of parish life, Venegas’ frontier missions had prepared him for a world of possessed, ignorant converts who did not have their own water. Venegas even included a prayer of exorcism for newly converted baptismal founts.¹⁶⁶

As much as the confessional’s rituals catered to Native faithful, Venegas wrote his script for an educated elite. Many frontier pamphlets and booklets included sections of the catechism in regional Native languages. The ledgers of the book switched quickly back and forth between Spanish and Latin, with little consistency. For the “pagan children,” even the lines of the newly baptized were in Latin. No new catechist could hear the good news from the confessional unless he had already learned it. The only prayers that were consistently in Spanish were prayers that sought mercy for sins. Any prayer or section of rite that was authoritative, sacramental or not, was printed in Latin. Venegas divided authority and supplication on lines of language, and educated language at that. Eighty years after his death, he was still a language elitist.

Even in the New Mexican reprinting after the expulsion of the Jesuits and the Republic’s secularization, Venegas’ confessional still carried the blessing of Saint Ignatius. In fact, it was the words in the book’s body to be written in Spanish, rather than Latin. “And here, we place the blessing of the water of San Ignacio, from which beginning to end, having measure the worth of that saint, which can minister to the sick and quiet the storms.” In keeping with the orthodox

¹⁶⁶ Ibid, 44.

language of the Roman Church, the Catholic rite was in Latin. In keeping with the Bajeno and Jesuit identity, the borderlands experience of creating new relics was written in Spanish.¹⁶⁷

“Saint Ignatius water” is a uniquely Jesuit tradition that comes from unclear origins. In the 17th century, many Jesuits witnessed miracles through the invocation of blessing from water where a practitioner had dipped in relics of Saint Ignatius, or even copies or pages from his *Spiritual Exercises*. These miracles typically had to do with healing, often recovering from plague. The Society of Pope Pius X, a very traditional branch of the Catholic Church, records regular reports of St. Ignatius Water throughout Western Europe by the middle of the 17th century, establishing the Jesuit tradition a generation before Venegas was born in 1680.¹⁶⁸

Nothing in the European tradition of Saint Ignatius water connects the practice to the weather in any way, let alone “quiet the storms.” However, Venegas would have been keenly aware of the destructive power of monsoons and flash floods. Several California missions had been destroyed by mudslides and floods. In his book, he dedicated a chapter to the storm that destroyed a missions’ fish ships and drowned its priest. The doors and walls of many California missions included two curving lines, representing the “river of life,” which symbolized both baptism and the inevitable passage of time. Venegas’ Bajeno homeland alternated between agonizing drought and sudden, furious monsoons. If there was one element of Baja’s climate that was the most unmanageable, it was the rain of the sky and the storm of the sea. If Venegas had curated the rites of the Church to best minister to new converts on the borderlands, he had added

¹⁶⁷ Venegas and López, “Manualito de Párrocos,” 4.

¹⁶⁸ District of Asia, “St. Ignatius Water,” Society of Saint Pius X, July 29, 2024, 170, 296, <https://fsspx.asia/en/news/st-ignatius-water-46574>.

on top of his order's water blessing to help mitigate, even regulate the weather of the borderlands.¹⁶⁹

Between the hagiographic Salvatierra biography, taxonomic *Noticia de la California*, and his bureaucratic confessional manual, Venegas appeared to be of a mind divided. Latin American historian Bryan Green compares the final published version of Venegas' text with the post hoc correspondence of Andrés Burriel. Burriel survived Venegas by a few years and lived to become anxious about the order's future in the Spanish Empire. Nevertheless, Green asserts that Burriel and Venegas remained consistent in their convictions. The Jesuits' writing represented analytical evangelism over Native Californians and bureaucratic, documentary management over California nature. "Burriel believed that the Jesuits' dual vocation as 'apostles and men of learning' was most aptly embodied in the production of natural histories from Spain's overseas territories, and would best serve the order against its critics."¹⁷⁰

Clavijero's *A History of Baja California* was similarly focused on the expertise and piety of the Jesuits. In exile, the younger scholar divided his Californio treatise into four sections: the geography and pre-Christian inhabitants of California, the difficulties of the California entrada and the foundation of the first six missions, foundation of the next eight missions, and the final exploratory expeditions before the text concluded with the Jesuit expulsion. Ultimately, Clavijero was not very interested in California for its own sake: rather, California was the theater of operations for his lordly order to crusade for souls and catalogue for data. He undertook his due diligence and acknowledged the scholarship of contemporary naturalists, much to the dismay of the peers that he critiqued. But when his text was published, Clavijero's chapters focusing on

¹⁶⁹ Rexford Newcomb, *The Old Mission Churches and Historic Houses of California; Their History, Architecture, Art and Lore* (Pennsylvania: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1925), 170, 296; Venegas, *A Natural and Civil History of California*, I:393–425.

¹⁷⁰ Green, "Apostles and Men of Learning," 43–44.

California herself were cursory. His book's true aim was to celebrate his Jesuit brothers and vindicate their efforts in the New World. As he described California, he did so literally to "set the stage" for the heroes that were his fraternity of fellow Jesuits.¹⁷¹

Throughout the introduction to his text, Clavijero claimed that his scholarship drew directly from the eyewitness testimony and primary-source writings of the Jesuits. He systematically critiqued geographers of Europe, citing their errors and misinterpretations. Clavijero found that Europeans "painted California with colors that did not suit her," and many myths had taken root in the continent with no basis in reality. He argued that one contemporary author had, "As many errors as lines," and his text so riddled with errors the Jesuit dedicated a full five paragraphs enumerating all the errors found on pages 269, 271, 286 and 288. This was the analytic, detail-oriented, bureaucratic mindset of the Jesuit academia at its most exaggerated.¹⁷²

Clavijero's writings on Mexico and California were suffused with the indignant nostalgia brewed during his exile. He passionately defended the honor of the Jesuits and the lands they lived and preached in. His praise of Picolo also included pastoral depictions of a fertile and beautiful California. "And no man alive knew wine like Picolo," concluded a eulogy of Clavijero's predecessor, but it also waxed at length on the wild grapes that had been trimmed into warm, sweet grapes that the Jesuit had cultivated on his mission or more likely, had directed Native Bajeños to cultivate near the Baja missions.¹⁷³

Clavijero described California with the same clinical meticulousness as earlier writers, but with less passion. He estimated that the land was largely sterile, and the animals less

¹⁷¹ Francesco Saverio Clavigero, *The History of California, by Don Francisco Javier Clavigero, S. J.*, ed. Sara E. Lake (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1937), 15–118, 119–224, 225–312, 313–80.

¹⁷² Clavigero, 1–12, 6.

¹⁷³ Clavigero, 42.

impressive than those of Europe. He commented on the geological formations of Baja's mountains, which he believed were slowly growing, and listed numerous species of native plants and their uses by Native peoples. However, his interest was not captivated by the biome's rarity; the extreme aridity of Baja was determined to be a hazard to human life and very little else. When confronted with the opuntia's apparent complete lack of leaves, he commented only, "It may be conjectured that the Creator entirely denied leaves to those plants because he destined them to live in dry countries." He was even less concerned with the pre-mission lives of the tribes, who he broadly categorized as wanderers who gorged themselves in the harvest season and lazed about for the rest of the year. Despite his unwavering dedication to the proselytization of Native Californios, Clavijero saw nothing of interest in these empty vessels save what the Jesuits were able to fill with baptismal waters.¹⁷⁴

Where Clavijero did engage in biological speculation, he primarily followed the lead of thinkers like the younger contemporary Jean-Baptiste Lamarck. *Zoological Philosophy* premiered not long after Clavijero's published his Mexican scholarship in Italy. Lamarck encapsulated the Enlightenment's prevailing prototypical understanding of evolution. Lamarck declared that living things strove to biologically alter themselves to adapt within their environment. His work was supplanted by Charles Darwin less than a century later when he demonstrated that natural selection favors those specimens already fit for the environment. No direct evidence documented Clavijero engaged with Lamarck personally. However, both thinkers embodied similar understandings of natural regulation of biological entities.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁴ Clavijero, 38. Europeans' initial failure to grasp the intentioned patterns of nomad tribes is well documented. For a comparable story in the nearby Sonora, see Cynthia Radding Murrieta, *Landscapes of Power and Identity: Comparative Histories in the Sonoran Desert and the Forests of Amazonia from Colony to Republic* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005); Cynthia Radding Murrieta, *Entre El Desierto y La Sierra: Las Naciones O'odham y Tegüima de Sonora, 1530-1840* (México, Distrito Federal: CIESAS INI, 1995).

¹⁷⁵ For a scientific retrospective of "Lamarckism," see Jean Baptiste Pierre Antoine de Monet de Lamarck, *Zoological Philosophy: An Exposition with Regard to the Natural History of Animals* (England: Macmillan, 1914);

Clavijero drew on academic and clerical precedent even older than his Jesuits predecessors who had gone to California. Clavijero's platform of clerical advocacy referenced thinkers that had critiqued the imperial model in the first years of the Spanish colonization of the New World. His defense of Indian rights, while patronizing and Euro-centric and his defiance of Spanish authority made his writing comparable to the works of Montesinos and Bartolomé de las Casas. Their passionate defense of Native rights denounced the civic abuses of the colonies' secular colonists.¹⁷⁶

Clavijero ended the story of Baja California with the end of the Californio Jesuits. In 1768, as the sixteen Jesuits were rounded up and deported to San Blás on the first step of their exile, Clavijero reported that the Native Bajenos wept. "We do not know what these religious [friars] have done, but we hope that their zeal is efficiently aided to maintain the faith of Jesus Christ among the Californians and to spread it among those very numerous peoples who are to the north so that all may know, worship, and love their Creator." Clavijero could not remain entirely separated from the future of California. In his other texts pertaining to the civilizing mission, he wrote that he sensed some continuity with the advocacy and service of the earlier missionaries and remained enthusiastic about future expansions of Christendom into Alta California. With his mission work prematurely terminated and his sponsorship from the Bourbon

Snait B. Gissis et al., *Transformations of Lamarckism: From Subtle Fluids to Molecular Biology*, 1st ed., vol. 13, The Vienna Series in Theoretical Biology (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2011).

¹⁷⁶ Lawrence A. Clayton and David M. Lantigua, *Bartolomé de Las Casas and the Defense of Amerindian Rights: A Brief History with Documents*, Atlantic Crossings (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2020); Silke Jansen and Irene M. Weiss, eds., *Fray Antonio de Montesinos y su tiempo* (Madrid: Iberoamericana Editorial Vervuert, S.L., 2017). Many international scholars of California rank the Dominicans in parity to Franciscans in their influence- they acted across the Sea of Cortes throughout New Spain's lifetime, and they assumed the charter of Baja California after the Expulsion. However, a deep exploration of their monastic order's mindset during their tenure in Baja was out of the purview of this dissertation.

Court revoked, Clavijero's Californio double-mindset remained enthusiastic about the expansion of the Church and state into the northern frontier of the province.¹⁷⁷

Clavijero made references to the need of frontier hardiness in the friars who would administer the spiritual and civilizational works of mercy needed by Native subjects. It is likely that Clavijero held some confraternity with the Franciscan and later Dominican missionaries that replaced Jesuits comrades as the clergymen of the Bajefeño Californios.

Conclusion

The Jesuits who arrived in Baja California did not treat California as the Eden that future generations would retroactively declare it to be. Rather, the Jesuits demonstrated in their writings a clear and entrenched sense of identity as an order. They also expressed an academically imperial view of their world. They applied that pre-established worldview and their place at its top to Baja California. The Jesuits were the heroes and California was their stage. Baja was their puzzle to solve, their land to convert and to conquer.

As the international Jesuit scholars and aristocrats became Californio missionaries, their dogma and doctrine from Enlightened Europe syncretized with their New World borderland experiences. These Jesuits were men of the Holy Faith. God had made the whole world, including California. The Jesuits had been issued an evangelical calling to make disciples of all nations, even the pagans and the Protestants. These Jesuits were subjects of the Crown. Much like the

¹⁷⁷ Clavijero, *The History of California*, by Don Francisco Javier Clavijero, S. J., 386. For Clavijero's assessment of the arc of history in Mexico as a whole, see his other renowned tract, originally published in 1780. Francesco Saverio Clavijero, *Historia Antigua de México*, trans. J. Joaquin de Mora (Mexico City: Departamento Editorial de la Dirección General de las Bellas Artes, 1917). Aurora Díez-Canedo emphasizes that contrary to many contemporary analyses, Clavijero's assessment of Mexico's national spirit should *not* be viewed as a criollo internalized inferiority, but a leitmotif of national project (a larger scale of his assessment of the *Californio* project). See Aurora Díez-Canedo, "Francisco Javier Clavijero, Nationalist, Indigenist or Enlightened? Notes for a Contextualized Reading of His Ancient 'History of Mexico,'" *Nuevas de Indias* 2 (2017): 30–52.

Bourbons whom they served, these Jesuits held a humanist conviction that they could understand and triumph over the natural world, including the Native peoples living in the state of nature.

On the remote missions of California, the small circle of the edified, sanctified and hardened missionaries held tight bonds of respect. Both through their elite status and difficult borderlands experiences, Jesuits recognized themselves as a circle beyond national origin. On the borderlands, the Jesuits were God's elect and the King's chosen. By the time they had arrived in Baja and reported their findings back to the viceroy's agents on the mainland, the Jesuits had been vindicated in their unique purpose. Their experiences on the borderlands affirmed the Jesuits' mindset through the persistence of their Catholic dogma, their service to the royal bureaucracy, and the emergence of their Californio identity.

*Chapter 2: Attached Peripherally: Frontier Routines in a Dependent
Borderland in Baja California*

“We needn’t shoot firearms at each other.”

-Francisco Maria Picolo¹⁷⁸

“The people of the mainland republic did not notice Baja California until the Porfiriato.”

-Alejandro Telechea Cienfuegos, Director of the Archivos Historicos Pablo L. Martinez¹⁷⁹

Introduction

The most important experiential difference between Baja and Alta California was Baja’s long century of half-successful attempt to incorporate into mainland New Spain. Californios in Baja ultimately failed to fully incorporate Baja into the metropole and as a result continued to be defined by borderlands experiences. I argue that the root of the Californio’s experience and mindset in Baja California was the peripheral nature of the peninsula’s borderlands.

Just as their experience with the rest of New Spain was determined by Baja’s distance, Bajeños’ local experience was determined by their position on the frontier. Soldiers and missionaries had to uphold their vital colonial institutions whilst also contending with difficult challenges unique to the borderlands. Native Californians were able to exploit the peninsula’s geography to their advantage as they resisted the colonial process. Limited supplies, irregular reinforcements and chronically low manpower required Bajeños to re-evaluate the way they kept order operating out of the peninsula’s singular presidio. Even the weather itself made the act of evangelism a physical challenge, demanding the preachers to maintain a high level of corporeal

¹⁷⁸ Juan Antonio Baltasar, *Letter of Provincial Father Juan Antonio de Balthaffar, In Which Is Given News of the Exemplar Life, Religious Virtues and Apostolic Labors of the Ferverous Missionary the Venerable Fr. Francisco Maria Picolo* (Mexico: Unknown Publisher, 1752).

¹⁷⁹ This is paraphrased as close as I was able to record after the impromptu interview graciously granted to me, the main theme of which was the underappreciated history of mainland immigration to Baja California in the colonial and republican periods. James Bland, Interview with Alejandro Telechea Cienfuegos on the Development of Baja California, June 17, 2023.

rigor. These difficulties imparted distinctive experiences as the Bajeños tried, and often only halfway succeeded, to enlighten the Californio borderlands.

The physical, economic and cultural realities of Baja California were different than those of mainland and metropolitan New Spain. Baja California lay to the west across the Sea of Cortés, whose eastern shore was already a hinterland far from Mexico City separated by the Western Sierra Madres. Bajeños lived in a world that was both physically and culturally remote from the metropolitan core of the Valley of Mexico. The land of Baja California itself was attached peripherally to New Spain. Baja participated in the same systems as the rest of the viceroy's dominions, but with delayed and weakened connections. Through commerce, limited mainland communications, leadership and military adaptation, and victory in the Pericú Revolt, Bajeños experienced their borderlands province through the Californio filter of Spain's periphery.

Geographic and demographic areas of syncretism eventually created the borderlands of experience. Through distance, new borderlands adaptations to leadership and military styles, limited law enforcement, improvised social dynamics and ambivalent conversions, the institutions typical to New Spain's core did not take effect in the same way at the empire's periphery. Borderlands experience became the core of Californio identity.¹⁸⁰

Mexico City sent colonial institutions throughout the frontier, expecting the sword and cross to conquer and convert California in a similar manner to what had been done in central New Spain. Missionaries, primarily Jesuit and later Dominican, would cooperate with presidio soldiers to exert law and order over nominally converted Native populations. The process had succeeded in other borderlands of Mexico, and in the eyes of the Enlightened imperial

¹⁸⁰ Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" (American Historical Association, Chicago, 1894).

bureaucracy, California would convert and be colonized in the same manner. The peripheral position of the Peninsula stymied the full incorporation of Baja into New Spain. Distance, limited communication, and new borderlands challenges prompted new styles of leadership and military deployment. Californios were part of Enlightened New Spain, but distantly.

This chapter examines a selection of experiences that took place on the Baja California peninsula. These experiences occurred in between Bajeños themselves and with outsiders looking across the Sea of Cortés. The sources provided revealing stories that were indicative of broader experiences. These instances demonstrate experiences that endured for the length of Spain's colonial presence, starting from the arrival of Jesuit missionary Juan Maria Salvatierra in 1697 to the revolution of independence in 1821. The one major shift internal to the province was the transfer of mission administration from the Society of Jesus to the temporary custody of the Franciscans and Dominicans. In 1773, the Dominicans began operations in Baja California as the Franciscans had done in Alta. They continued to administer the surviving Jesuit missions and founded nine more of their own. Bajeño life did not fundamentally change: Californios continued to use neophyte labor to perpetuate local economies and Loreto's Presidio continued as Baja's defensive and administrative center.¹⁸¹

Sources

For Anglophone historians, the Progressive Era collections that illuminated the United States' Southwest were the same collections with materials pertaining to Baja California. 19th and early 20th century American documentary collectors like Alexander Smith Taylor, Hubert

¹⁸¹ For the Franciscan tenure in Baja California, see Luis Alberto Trasviña Moreno, *La Orden Franciscana y Su Representacion En Las Misiones de La Antigua California (1768-1773)* (La Paz: Instituto Sudcaliforniano de Cultura, Archivo Historico Pablo L. Martinez, 2022).

Howe Bancroft and Herbert Eugene Bolton, who pioneered the studies of the American west were the same historians to bring Baja California history into the Anglosphere. The collections organized by Bancroft, Bolton, and their students and associates were the testing grounds of research for much of the next century. Many of the same collections dedicated to the history of the US state of California also included collections of *Bajeño* materials. Baja materials appear in these US-oriented Anglophone collections as they connect to *Alteño* topics and characters, particularly for missionaries and conquistadors who traveled northward. In the twentieth century, other collections began to grow through individual finds and donations.

The two richest collections I used for this dissertation were the “Fondos Coloniales” of the Pablo Martínez Historical Archives in La Paz, Baja California Sur and the California Collection of the Huntington Library in San Marino, California. Correspondence was often relayed between the Presidio Captain and Provincial Administration in Loreto to provincial missions or to sites of mainland administrations through the port San Blas.¹⁸²

Additional resources from Mexico City and San Blas in Nueva Galicia address Baja California peripherally. In these seats of administration, Baja California was a lesser concern amongst many petitioners seeking redress of local grievances. Such petitions or edicts are found in collections like “Ramo de Misiones,” “Ramo de Jesuitas,” “Ramo de Carceles,” “Ramo de Presidios,” and “Ramo de Marina” in the General Archives of the Nation in Mexico City. Much of this material was created outside the peninsula through the marine administration of San Blas or the general administration of the Internal Provinces, or “Provincias Internas” managed by central authority. The sparse and wide distribution of *Bajeño* sources is typical of most

¹⁸² An extensive number of routine inspection papers and otherwise “non-issue” documentations demonstrate that San Blas had as much paperwork on California as Loreto did. The sheer number of Loreto-bound manifests documented in San Blas that are archived in *Ramos Marinas* in the AGN extensively documents this.

borderland sources. Baja California was recategorized several times within the administrations of Catholic dioceses, changing religious collegial chapters, and audiencia jurisdictions. Baja's peripheral status meant that these changes impacted daily life very little on the peninsula. I also use metadata created by archival databases for biographical data on the sources' creators.¹⁸³

It is worth pointing out that these sources were created across a century, in different eras of Bajeno development. I acknowledge this long-term sourcing and assert that the continuity furthers my argument. The peripheral experience, determined by distance and geography, never ended in colonial Baja. In spite of increased settlement and a strengthening military presence, Bajenos continued to struggle with their delayed and interrupted relationship with the mainland whose institutions still defined them. By showing the ongoing occurrence of peripheral experiences, I argue that it was characteristic of the Californio identity in Baja.

The Historiography of Baja California

The historiography of the Spanish colony of Baja California is situated in an interesting point between two larger frames of reference. On the one hand, United States borderlands scholars and historians of the American West will be discussed extensively in the Alta California Chapters 3 and 4. On the other hand, the Enlightened missionary mindset discussed in the previous chapter is applicable throughout all the borderlands of New Spain. Therefore, I highlight here only the mainline texts of Baja California history.

Baja California scholarship in the English-speaking world may be broadly argued to have begun with the resource gathering efforts of three historians: Alexander Smith Taylor, Hubert Howe Bancroft and Herbert Eugene Bolton. Bolton's role will be examined in Chapters 3 and 4.

¹⁸³ For a fine outline of changing administrative boundaries, see Peter Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain, Revised Edition* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993).

Alexander Smith Taylor, (1817-1876), grew up in antebellum North Carolina but died a Californio on a Santa Barbara ranch. After the Mexican-American War, he migrated to Santa Barbara and married into a Californio family. He spent the rest of his life as a scholar of leisure, participating both in natural philosophy and Spanish history. As a North Carolinian, the environmental and geographic exceptionalism of California was an extreme departure from normality.¹⁸⁴

Taylor was the first English-speaking historian and naturalist to give diligent attention to California. Taylor's collections, many of which were never fully published in his lifetime, became fundamental for not only the Bancroft Library in Berkeley, but also the Huntington Library in San Marino, and the recovered ecclesiastical records that are now housed in the Archives of the Diocese of Los Angeles in San Fernando. Taylor also examined contemporary tribal societies in California amidst the Gold Rush in 1860s, albeit in the shatter-zone of the Missions. This is arguably the first anthropological work on California in English. In another move that would establish Anglophone trends, Taylor acknowledged California's peninsula, but did so primarily as a periphery to Alta California, the regional emphasis of the majority of his work. He was the first English-speaking historian to give attention to Baja California, publishing a single manuscript on the history of Lower California in his lifetime. Hubert Howe Bancroft, born 1832, died 1918, continued Taylor's work in the greater context of the American West.¹⁸⁵

A significant volume to update the conversation on Spanish Baja was *Black Robes in Lower California*. Jesuit and historian Peter Masten Dunne (1889-1957) created a thorough chronological history that benefitted from additional source work from the first borderlands

¹⁸⁴ Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History."

¹⁸⁵ Alexander S. Taylor, *Discovery of California and Northwest America*, Early Encounters in North America (San Francisco: Le Count & Strong, 1853). For the continuity of early Anglophone Mexicanists, see Robert A. Potash, "Historiography of Mexico Since 1821," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 40, no. 3 (1960): 383–424.

scholars a generation before. Dunne also was more open about the social and demographic destruction the Jesuits inadvertently brought with them. An heir to borderlands scholars, Dunne was also an heir to Jesuit holistic education. He actively drew upon linguistic and anthropological work that had been developed over the early 20th century. Broadly, Dunne's work demonstrated the possibilities of an advanced methodology whilst still remaining broadly celebratory of the Jesuits' missionary project.¹⁸⁶

Historian and writer Harry W. Crosby (1926-2024) was unique in his approach to colonial Baja California. Having begun his research through Native topics rather than the Jesuits, Crosby encouraged a more critical and balanced assessment of the Jesuits, even as he deeply relied on their writings of Venegas, del Barco and Baegert for contemporary evidence. Crosby's extensive travel and engagement with the Bajeños of the peninsula's interior mountains provided his work with anthropological insights not available from the static and Eurocentric Jesuit writings. His assessment of the peninsula's insular culture as syncretic gave his epithet weight when he referred to the vanishing local culture as "The Last Californios." Crosby's inclusion of anthropological material distinguished his scholarship.¹⁸⁷

Difficult Geography and Distance Made Baja a Peripheral Borderlands

After a brief summary of Baja California's geography and immediately pertinent historiography, I will summarize primary sources both from the mainland and the peninsula.

¹⁸⁶ Peter Masten Dunne, *Black Robes in Lower California*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952). Several clerical historians had begun compilation projects for their order's heroes. What Omer Engelbert and Zephyrin Engelhardt did for the Franciscans, Martin Davorin Krmpotic did for the Jesuits, particularly Fernando Consag. Fernando Consag, *Life and Works of the Reverend Ferdinand Konščak, S.J., 1703-1759, an Early Missionary in California*, ed. Martin Davorin Krmpotic (Boston: The Stratford company, 1923).

¹⁸⁷ Harry Crosby, *The Cave Paintings of Baja California* (La Jolla: Copley Books, 1984); Harry Crosby, *Antigua California: Mission and Colony on the Peninsular Frontier, 1697-1768* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994); Harry W. Crosby, *Californio Portraits: Baja California's Vanishing Culture* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015).

These sources detail difficulties that complicated the execution of routine imperial obligations. These frustrations turned basic colonial functions into experiences acutely felt by Californios on their peripheral borderlands.

The Baja California Peninsula is removed from Mexico proper by the Sea of Cortes. Sparse and shallow bays, lack of navigable rivers and Baja's human geography exacerbated the situation. Few Spaniards, a small indigenous population and Native propensity for cyclical nomadism complicated and ultimately stymied the full settlement and integration of Baja during the Spanish Era. When the rare large uprisings occurred, Bajefios' distance was felt in every routine in the process of waging war, as in the Pericú Revolt explored below.

Baja California's geographic conditions were not as well-known as its younger northern counterpart, particularly during the colonial drama of the long eighteenth century. A series of mountain ranges that proceed in chains all the way from San Diego to Cabo San Lucas turn the peninsula into a series of coastal plains and interior valleys, each creating its own rain shadow. The mountains also impeded the flow of long rivers. Most of Baja's water is unnavigable, and no navigable river flows north-south except for the Colorado Delta at the peninsula's extreme arid and rocky north that is contiguous with California, Arizona and Sonora. The experience of Bajefio "periphery" begins with the very physical reality that Baja is removed from the rest of mainland New Spain. Running northwest to southeast, Baja California's peninsula is over 750 miles long, almost as long as the Alta California landmass. Ironically, the missions and settlements of Baja California were contiguous to each other and Mexico by land, but geology made this travel prohibitively difficult, effectively rendering Baja California an island. Paul Kreitman argues that colonial impositions on islands become far more complex. Natural barriers,

administration difficulties, and material changes all make islands a unique category within borderlands studies.¹⁸⁸

In many ways, Baja California's historiography is still peripheral in relation to U.S. California or mainland Mexico. Despite its own immigrants, regional culture and industries, Baja remains an historiographical colony. The study of Baja as a sovereign region is not nearly as large as the history of Alta. Mexican-American historian Veronica Castillo-Muñoz said it best in her Baja history titled *The Other California*. The histories of Mary Mendoza also mark Baja California as a transnational shatter zone.¹⁸⁹

One historiographical method to correct the perpetual marginalization of borderlands like Baja California and to restore their regional sovereignty has been the production of local history derived from regionally local archives as sources. The collaborative and solo publications of Historic Archives of Baja California Sur have sponsored many projects that focus on the regional actor with source work supplied through local institutions. One impact of their publications has been to reject the standard turning point dates of Jesuit Expulsion, Alta settlement, the Mexican Revolution, and so on. Rather, the peninsular events that took place on the ground drive their chronological orientations, focusing on changes in local administration like the temporary Franciscan administration of Baja and the rise of cattle ranching. These stories reject externally-

¹⁸⁸ Paul Kreitman, *Japan's Ocean Borderlands: Nature and Sovereignty* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2023). For the colonial Spanish projects that treated Baja like an island, see the policies implemented in response to whalers, smugglers and piracy in Peter Gerhard, *Pirates in Baja California* (Tlapalan: Editorial Tlilan, 1963).

¹⁸⁹ Verónica Castillo-Muñoz, *The Other California: Land, Identity and Politics on the Mexican Borderlands* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2017); Mary E. Mendoza, "Treacherous Terrain: Racial Exclusion and Environmental Control at the U.S.-Mexico Border," *Environmental History* 23, no. 1 (2018): 117–26. Americanists highlight Baja's position as geopolitical pawn between Pacific powers, even when US Californians viewed it as a legally relaxed, cost-effective, extension of "the Modern California Empire [sic]." David Tamayo, "The Perilous Borderlands: The Role of Anti-Japanese Hysteria in American Efforts to Annex Baja California, 1900–1942," *California History (San Francisco)* 97, no. 2 (2020): 59–87; Sara Fingal, "Paraíso 'for Sale': Visions of Baja California in the Modern California Empire," *California History (San Francisco)* 91, no. 2 (2014): 74–75.

applied chronological narratives and promote locally-derived stories with locally-developed methods of research and analysis.¹⁹⁰

Historian Harry W. Crosby trekked the King's Highway and evaluated the missions' physical isolation from each other, and the world. By traveling the imperial overland trail nicknamed "the devil's road," Crosby emphasized Baja's uniquely arid, hostile environment. Crosby's practical anthropology demonstrated the geographic separation and cultural distinction that continues to relegate Baja California to peripheral status, in relation to both the rest of Mexico and its own upper half.¹⁹¹

The peripheral status of Baja California was experienced by all institutions of New Spain, whether secular or clerical, military or commercial. Bishops, soldiers, and tax collectors all sought connection to, and were frustrated by the semi-distant peninsula. Bishop García of Michoacan wrote a letter to the Audiencia of Guadalajara explaining his geographic immobility. García Felipe de Legazpi y Velasco Altamirano y Albornoz, (1643-1706) was a diocesan priest who grew up in New Spain and held several episcopal positions in the church. García's letter complained about the inaccessibility of Bajeno missions, despite the borderlands peninsula being within his Diocesan jurisdiction. Despite their ostensible alliance with the metropolitan clergy, the Bajeno missionaries were only tenuously connected to New Spain's episcopal structure of the parish church.¹⁹²

¹⁹⁰W. Michael Mathes, *Cattle Brands of Baja California Sur, 1809-1885 Los Registros de Marcas de Baja California Sur* (Los Angeles: Archivo Historico de Baja California Sur Pablo L. Martinez, La Paz, by Dawson's Book Shop, 1978); Traviña Moreno, *La Orden Franciscana y Su Representacion En Las Misiones de La Antigua California (1768-1773)*.

¹⁹¹ Harry Crosby, *The King's Highway in Baja California: An Adventure into the History and Lore of a Forgotten Region* (Salt Lake City: Copley Books, 1974); Crosby, *Californio Portraits*; Crosby, *The Cave Paintings of Baja California*; Crosby, *Antigua California*.

¹⁹² Bishop Garcia, "Letter from Bishop Garcia of Michoacan to President Don Christoval de Palma y Meza Regarding His New Charge," March 11, 1702, Herbert Eugene Bolton Collection, Bancroft Library; Mark A. Burkholder, "Cristóbal de Palma y Mesa," Real Academia de la Historia, 2018, <https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/63603/cristobal-de-palma-y-mesa>. In the Mexican mainland, the bishopric and audiencia's collaboration between esteemed secular clergy and civil aristocracy was a dynamic that was distinct

Despite the vows of fealty to Christ and King, geography demanded obedience to the limits of reality. Even the highest ranks of society acknowledged California's impositions on his Majesty's imperial schedule. García Felipe de Legazpi y Velasco Altamirano y Albornoz, Bishop of Michoacan, had been called upon to assess the state of souls within Nueva Galicia, the vast northern province which included Baja California. Despite his authority, the bishop admitted he was unable to comply. "My infirmity and aches and the necessity to [embark on] the visitation of this cordillera [hills and mountains- difficult terrain to travel] have not permitted me to send information which [the Audiencia] president asked me to give him with regard to the missions of El Parral and Sonora." Despite active interest in, and accountability for the work of the missionaries and the state of their neophyte charges' souls, the wealthy and powerful Bishop Garcia was unable to travel the frontier of Sonora due to the formidable physical hardship and logistical difficulties of the lengthy journey. Even worse, the journey to Baja California was farther still than Sonora, across a sea into one of the driest parts of New Spain. If the trip was prohibitive for even one of the wealthy, privileged members of the clerical hierarchy, then Baja California's peripheral location was an obstacle guaranteed to keep the peninsula as a permanent borderland, and its Bajefios as perpetual others in contrast to the metropolitan society of mainland New Spain.¹⁹³

As a metropolitan man of rank, Bishop Garcia was not used to the kind of rugged travel needed to get from place to place in the north. Travelling the sweltering swaths of the northern frontier was no simple task for a man even in his prime. Many of the Jesuits who achieved the same feats complained in their official and unofficial writing: recall Consag's concerns about

from the Bajefio diarchy of missionary order and borderlands soldiers. Common Universalist sensibilities aside, religious orders were different from diocesan priests and presidio soldiers were different than bureaucratic elites.

¹⁹³ Garcia, "Letter from Bishop Garcia of Michoacan to President Don Christoval de Palma y Meza Regarding His New Charge," March 11, 1702.

new missionaries' abilities and Wenceslaus Linck's complaints of the climate. Likewise, the geographical challenge of moving throughout New Spain, particularly California, was not a simple matter. Particularly for the older officials who held the most authority to direct or supply the progress needed for colonization and conversion, strong administering over Californios was out of reach.¹⁹⁴

In the same letter, Bishop Garcia promised he would do his best to arrive in Guadalajara to present what information he had regarding the parochial state of the mainland, but he admitted that he could only obtain this information on the schedule of the incoming "paquebotes," dispatch and cargo boats that regularly navigated the Pacific Coast and the Gulf of California. Painfully, much of the Bajeños' material and military lifeblood flowed from a network of these same crafts. Much of the peninsula's archival sources survived not in Loreto, but from the port of San Blas on the eastern shore of the Gulf that sent and received the material from Baja. These boats delivered not only supplies, troops, missionaries, and livestock, but were also the only practical form of communication. With mainland elites either unable or unwilling to endure the discomforts of frontier travel, any news had to come from the correspondence of the Bajeños themselves. Proposals from the Jesuits and muster reports from captains amounted to Californio apologia, pleading for Baja's relevance as a territory in New Spain.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁴ Fernando Consag, "Carta del P. Fernando Consag de la Compañía de Jesus, Visitador de las Misiones de Californias, à los Padres Superiores de esta Provincia de Nueva-España." (Mission Santiago, 1748), The Wagner Collection, April 1922, Huntington Library; Fernando Consag, "Letter to George Neumayer of the Austrian Province of the Order of the Jesuits, Written in Veracruz," April 24, 1731, Compendium of the Discoveries of California, The British Museum. For Consag's and Linck's testimony of the extensive physicality of evangelism on the Bajeño periphery, see Fernando Consag, "Diary of the Colorado River Expedition," 1751, Compendium of the Discoveries of California, The British Museum; Wenceslaus Linck, *Wenceslaus Linck's Diary of His 1766 Expedition to Northern Baja California*, trans. Ernest J. Burrus, Baja California Travels Series, 5 (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1966).

¹⁹⁵ Garcia, I. Peninsular sources were also Bajeños' justifications for support. Missionaries who became political agents and presidio captains who acted partially autonomously justified their difficulties through their distance from New Spain. Simultaneously, they never abandoned their identity as colonial Spaniards.

Receiving information from Californios was just as difficult as visiting the peninsula itself. Sicilian Jesuit Francisco Maria Picolo (1654-1729) was a companion to Juan Maria Salvatierra (1648-1717) during the expeditions that founded Loreto and began Bajefio settlement. In 1702, Picolo reported to the Audiencia of Guadalajara. A full folio of material was created by Picolo and the Audiencia scribe, Francisco Dominguez de Riezu. The folio demonstrated how the Jesuits were both optimistic and naïve in their religious and colonial zeal in the Bajefio project. Vindicated as they were by their mindset, the first Bajefio generation was grievously unprepared for the costs and challenges of surviving borderlands experiences.¹⁹⁶

When Picolo was testifying before the audiencia in Guadalajara, he had no corroborating evidence beyond the witness of his own expedition. The audiencia was so limited in its resources they were willing to admit any coherent testimony, even from the lowest of ranks of the racial casta: “Furthermore, if any Spaniard, Mulatto, or Mestizo who has been in California, has come with the aforesaid father [Francisco Maria Picolo], or if the three [accompanying] native Indians, or any one of them, can speak Spanish, then from such persons depositions shall be taken under oath with regard to the foregoing. Similarly, depositions shall be taken from all persons who are reported to be passing through this city and who have lived in California.” It would be decades before Venegas or Consag would take down authoritative data on Baja California. The audiencia was so starved for intelligence on the limits of the remote province, they were willing to take the testimony of almost anyone. Without recourse to their usual methods of reconnaissance, the

¹⁹⁶ Francisco Dominguez de Riezu, “Missive of the Audiencia in Guadalajara,” April 29, 1702, Herbert Eugene Bolton Collection, Bancroft Library; Francisco Dominguez de Riezu, “Riezu Transmits to Picolo the Auto of the Royal Audiencia, Requesting a Report.” (Guadalajara, Nueva Galizia, February 7, 1702), University of California, Berkeley, Doc. 72, Bolton Collection Box 4, Bancroft Library; Dominguez de Riezu; Francisco Dominguez de Riezu, “Notarized Testimony of Luis Tortolero y Torres, Transcribed by Francisco Domingues de Riezu,” April 29, 1702, Herbert Eugene Bolton Collection, Bancroft Library.

mainland colonial officials were operating blind. When elites received their updates from the Bajeno Jesuits, whether they liked it or not, they simply had to take the Jesuits' word for it.¹⁹⁷

As far away as Guatemala, mariners in New Spain were experiencing difficulties with Baja California's peripheral status. José Juan de Estecharría Hernández (1729-1808) was Guatemala's governor. Guatemala was a General Captaincy administered under the Viceroyalty of New Spain. Estecharría wrote to Viceroy Matías de Gálvez (1717-1784) about constructed vessels to sail from Guatemala's Port Realejo to San Blas and on to California. This demonstrated a willingness and an interest to keep Baja California in the metropolitan circle, and also revealed the practical hurdles involved in reaching the Californio periphery.¹⁹⁸

Shipping lanes were limited by piratical, financial and regulatory concerns. Governor José Juan de Estecharría Hernández wrote to Viceroy Gálvez about the construction of a ship out of Realejo, a shipyard and port serving the Guatemalan Captaincy's Pacific Coast. Realejo is now on the northwest coast of Nicaragua. "My concerns rest on the barge that is destined for San Blas and then the Presidios of California to be constructed in the port of Realejo." The "paquebote" style of barge that crossed the Gulf of California operated up and down the western coast of New Spain. "I will give the swiftest orders for its construction, converging with the means and opportunity of Don Luís Fernandez who finds himself in this city in circumstances that serve satisfactorily to match up all the relevant points of this goal." For the construction of

¹⁹⁷ Dominguez de Riezu, "Missive of the Audiencia in Guadalajara," April 29, 1702. The standing of racial subordinates in colonial Latin America is complex. Generally, the closer to the metropolitan core, the stronger racial castas could be enforced. On borderlands, these limitations were often at least unofficially suspended like in this call for witnesses. For a foundational survey of race in Spanish society, see Magnus Mörner, *Race Mixture in the History of Latin America*. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1967); Stuart B. Schwartz, *Blood and Boundaries: The Limits of Religious and Racial Exclusion in Early Modern Latin America* (Chicago: Brandeis University Press, 2020).

¹⁹⁸ José Juan de Estecharría Hernández, "Don José Juan de Estecharría Hernández, Governor and Captain General of Guatemala to the Viceroy Don Matías de Gálvez, About the Construction of a Ship of the Port of Realejo That Is Destined for the Port of San Blas and the Presidios of California," June 14, 1784, Ramos Jesuitas, Legajo 1-13, Expediente 69, Archivo General de la Nación.

just one barge, the governor's personal enthusiasm was required, then the mobilization of Realejo as a port, and then the availability of sufficient talent at the specific geographical location. It was small wonder that Estecharría was enthusiastic so much had gone well at the start of the endeavor.¹⁹⁹

Bureaucracy, nevertheless, would have its way. Estecharría promised the Viceroy that that he would be compiling a list of expected costs to send in a second letter. Furthermore, he obediently petitioned a review by an accounts tribunal to authorize his "justified expenditures," and a further endorsement of the construction plans from the viceroy's circle of experts whose, "convenient instructions would avoid any additional recourses [letters, pleas] to you that you exhaust your excellency's attention." Amidst this balancing act of local labor, moving talent, and viceregal authorizations and compliances, Estecharría ultimately admitted, the "the goal's requirements and concerns will be later and later to execute." While Estecharría remained optimistic about the ship's construction and ultimate destination for California, the demands and delays in its processing showed that even the most enthusiastic connection from the mainland was distant in time and space from Baja California. Even at their most enthusiastic, mainlanders could not and did not reach Californios quickly, and Bajeno ports remained peripheral.²⁰⁰

Despite connections up and down the Pacific Coast, California remained peripheral. One such frustration came in 1776 over the price of salt. The staple was produced and consumed regionally amongst Bajenos, but its sale across the Gulf for empire-wide consumption affected every resident of the province. Salt taxes markedly affected provincial and viceregal revenue. Viceroy Antonio de Bucareli (1717-1779) was nominally in charge of interprovincial trade and

¹⁹⁹ Estecharría Hernández, "Don José Juan de Estecharría Hernández, Governor and Captain General of Guatemala to the Viceroy Don Matías de Gálvez, About the Construction of a Ship of the Port of Realejo That Is Destined for the Port of San Blas and the Presidios of California," 1–5.

²⁰⁰ Estecharría Hernández, 3–7.

wielded discretionary power over Bajeno imports to the mainland. His ineffectual and tardy decree regarding the declining trade deficit out of Bajeno salt mines demonstrated the legal difficulties in monitoring even the most crucial of Baja's exports.²⁰¹

On February 14, a message was handed down from Mexico City by the Viceroy himself. "I have commanded an examination into the declining revenue of the price of salt as revealed by the General Inspector Joseph de Gálvez who alerted me on the second of January last, and as such as it is determined to be convenient it is well to follow his alterations [solution] to the losses that he should deem to be available." Baja California had valuable commodities to offer the Mexican mainland. However, even though Baja's salt was vital, Baja's small size and peripheral attachment to the rest of Mexico meant that the borderland region did not have the full cast of bureaucrats expected of a standard viceregal province.²⁰²

It took four hundred and ten days for the Viceroy to authorize Gálvez to begin an inquiry into what solutions were possible. While lumbering bureaucracy was not uncommon throughout New Spain, this example demonstrated how extreme the problem was for Baja California. Furthermore, Gálvez' administration was renowned for its involved, determined intervention on the frontier. It was Gálvez who had seen the expulsion of the Jesuits from Baja with the intention of deeper integration into New Spain. Nearly a decade after the expulsion, critical industries still required over a year to be regulated. Fast-acting succor for Californios took months to manifest from the mainland. Even after increased attention from Mexico City, In all practical endeavors, Bajenos were on their own.

²⁰¹ Antonio de Bucareli a Felipe de Neve, "Communique by the Viceroy Antonio Bucareli a Felipe de Neve Commanding an Investigation over the Lowering of the Price of Salt," February 14, 1776, Fondo Colonia Aspecto Politico, Archivo Historico Pablo Martínez.

²⁰² Bucareli a Felipe de Neve, "Investigation of the Rebellion of the Indians of the Missions of San Borja, San Fernando."

Distance and geography were mutually reinforcing difficulties in peripheral Baja. Californios participated in viceregal and mainland functions, but their participation was diminished by difficult terrain and restricted through pivotal access points out of Loreto and the Cape of San Lucas. With the glaring exception of Francisco Clavijero, the missionaries who created the academic and administrative records of Baja California did so as part of field work in grueling conditions on small outposts. Nevertheless, Bajeño administration, intellectual life and identity building were all conducted with the Mexican role model far away. Californios' identity in the broader empire was only experienced peripherally. In the routine of daily experiences, Bajeños created their own administration inspired by the Enlightened bureaucracy and social planning.

Missionaries as Political Agents and Social Engineers

The scarcity of either Peninsular or Creole Spaniards in Baja California left a social vacuum. From below, the Jesuits had no soldiers apart from what the presidio could supply, and no labor except for those neophytes they could recruit onto the mission from the "rancherías," the recognized Native tribal territories nominally allied or associated with the Spanish Empire. From above, there was no nearby diocese or bishop or *encomienda*, and the nearest viceregal authority, the *audiencia* of Nueva Vizcaya, was across the water in Sinaloa. This was a double-edged sword for the missionaries. Evangelizing and settling required a great deal of work they could not delegate. However, they enjoyed a great deal of authority. Through the practical responsibilities that fell to them, Jesuits enjoyed broad unilateral power. They exerted this frontier authority across the peninsula, their Indian subjects, and the mainland arrivals lower than them in social rank. The missionaries operated like landed gentry with an active rule over their

subjects. Spanish Universalists were uniquely able to fill the leadership void on the borderlands through their holistic education.²⁰³

Californio political and social planning were full of errors and unintended consequences. Californio society depended on Bajefios' ability to coordinate with Native leadership. To cope with the periphery's shortage of Spanish power, borderlands missions relied on allied Native "alcaldes," or mayors, to keep order. Rancherías likewise sent regular representatives as spokesmen to the Spanish. Steven Hackel builds on this argument. "In... Baja California... many factors limited the full elaboration of Indian cabildos [agents/supervisors]: the loose organization of Indian settlements, the resistance of many Indians to Spanish intrusion, the waning of the encomienda and repartimiento, and the priorities of the Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries who oversaw the appointment and election of Indian officials." Hackel demonstrates that the metropole's pseudo-serfdom of Native mainland Mexicans on encomiendas could not function in California without profound negotiation with Native leadership. On their own missions, missionaries were diplomats to foreign leaders.²⁰⁴

Californio social engineering brought unintended endemic consequences to neophyte Bajefios. Western historian Sherburne Cook argued that Spanish-enforced changes in the lifestyle of neophytes that exacerbated new diseases. Changes in sleep, diet, and labor worsened epidemics on the peninsula. Disease and changes in diet mutually were exacerbated by the missionaries' reorganization of Native life. Californios experienced many of the challenges that

²⁰³ Clerical comfort with unilateral power is not a unique issue Marco Cabrera Gesserick has suggested that the newer contract of the Jesuits contributed to the mindset of colonial Jesuits' autonomy. Established well after the mendicants' relationship with Medieval Iberian royalty, Reformation Jesuits did not have the same fraternal restraint and deference. In speaking of missionaries on the Orthodox frontiers, Pavel Sigalov's practical approach is also worth considering: "I am here not because I am the best, but because nobody else wants to do it." Given the imperious attitude of the Bajefios and their regularly recorded exhaustion, the experiences probably included some of both.

²⁰⁴ Steven W. Hackel, "The Staff of Leadership: Indian Authority in the Missions of Alta California," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 54, no. 2 (1997): 355.

they did precisely because attempts to socially engineer the borderlands backfired unexpectedly.²⁰⁵

Bajeño social engineering was equal parts religious and Universalist implementation. Mexican historian Pedro P. Garcillán associates missionary zeal with bureaucratic administration while interpreting the Bajeño colonization. In the spirit of the “double faith” of Catholicism and Enlightenment, Garcillán invokes both a missionary and a civil servant as agents of knowledge conquering. He refers to both Jesuit missionary Eusebio Francisco Kino and secular naturalist José Longinos Martínez as “cartographers of life.” They shared a proactive, academic interest in the settlement and documentation of the unique living landscape of Baja. The breadth of time between these two categorical expeditions attest to Baja’s perpetual condition as a periphery, unknown yet attached to New Spain.²⁰⁶

Missionaries approached the financial administration of the missions with both Universalist detail and religious zeal. Pearls were the first major commodity extracted from Bajeños’ material wealth. Nydia Pineda de Ávila categorized the pearl fishing industry of Baja California as both a religious and commercial venture. “Generated within and for a bureaucratic culture obsessed with eye-witnessing, accountability, and, ultimately, propaganda, in these documents... [pearls] were understood and used as both spiritual and material expedients.” Missionaries who managed the extraction of the semiprecious products were both conducting a commercial success and a religious demonstration of the bounty God had set aside for His chosen agents.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁵ Sherburne Friend Cook, “Diseases of the Indians of Lower California in the Eighteenth Century,” *California and Western Medicine* 43, no. 6 (1935): 432–34.

²⁰⁶ Pedro P. Garcillán, Charlotte E. González Abraham, and Exequiel Ezcurra, “The Cartographers of Life: Two Centuries of Mapping the Natural History of Baja California,” *Journal of the Southwest* 52, no. 1 (2010): 1–40.

²⁰⁷ Nydia Pineda de Ávila, “Negotiating Pearls in the Early Jesuit Missions of California,” *Isis* 114, no. 3 (2023): 621. Recall Picolo’s description of both Baja as a province and Bajeño Natives as pearls of great price in his audiencia testimony.

In addition to the description of his expeditions and diplomacy with the tribes on the shores of Loreto, Francisco Maria Picolo also described the intricacies and difficulties of establishing a working mission. In his description of the Native work ethic before the Audiencia in 1702, Picolo's Enlightenment bias was revealed through his inability to accept the hunting and gathering of Native Californios as legitimate. Furthermore, he revealed the limitations of evangelical social engineering when he admitted his failure to convert hunter-gatherers into sedentary farmers and ranchers.²⁰⁸

The Jesuit's loose estimates of a mission's budget were sharply contrasted with the detailed work of Francisco Alfarez [sic] Osorio, a scribe who wrote the budget report of Loreto's expenses for 1774. Osorio categorized the expenses of salary, food, clothing, military equipment, practical tools, and small luxuries like coffee and cocoa, with each category of supplies bracketed by enlisted and officers. Furthermore, Osorio allotted additional costs in each category anticipating the needs of Native wives married to the Spanish, and "Indian gifts" for their in-laws and visiting caciques. Despite the soldier's practical intentions and secular occupation, Osorio's experience as an accountant was far more practical regarding the costs of missionary activity than the Jesuit's same funding request. Picolo's appraisal arrogantly underestimated the complexity of social conversion, and Osorio's detailed preparations proved it.²⁰⁹

Cape Region missionary Sigismundo Taraval made another diary. One passage here is relevant to the multidisciplinary nature of the role of Bajeno missionaries. Salt was a tradeable commodity, and its sale to the mainland would bolster the port economy of Loreto. However, the

²⁰⁸ Francisco Dominguez de Riezu and Francisco Maria Picolo, "Picolo's Report on Baja California to the Audiencia of Guadalajara," February 10, 1702, Herbert Eugene Bolton Collection, Bancroft Library.

²⁰⁹ Dominguez de Riezu and Picolo; Francisco Alfarez Osorio, "Inventory of the Costs of This Settlement of Loreto, Submitted by Don Antonio Joseph de Toledo Handed into His Excellency the Viceroy of New Spain in Conjunction with Don Francisco Alfarez Osorio," July 15, 1774, Ramos Carceles 1 Legajo 1, Expediente 1, Archivo General de la Nacion.

true exception to the region's resource poverty was Baja California's pearls. "All across the coast and particularly on the adjacent islands, there are so many oyster beds that they may be counted by the thousands. It is this abundance of pearls which has given California its fame throughout the world... and throngs have visited its shores... Whole ships can be laden with its salt, to be sent to these kingdoms [within New Spain, like Nueva Vizcaya and Nueva Galicia]; and the pearls, His Majesty, God spare him, will be able, if he so desires, to enrich the Royal Estate." The standard cash crops of tobacco, coconuts, cotton and sugar could not be cultivated through Bajefios' labor of extraction. The Jesuit pitch had to emphasize the financial viability of extractable resources. Pearls were a rare and precious luxury but salt was a necessity. Either could pay for the provincial upkeep as Bajefios rendered their taxes to the port authority at San Blas.²¹⁰

Piccolo forecasted that if Californios could industrialize the apparently unmotivated Native labor force, Baja could become a gold mine. "Of all the [potential wealth] ...the natives have no appreciation; for they are the sort who live content, if only they may eat." Mines, ranchos and farms needed dedicated, year-round labor to be functional. The hunter-gatherer, seasonal experiences of Native Bajefios were irreconcilable with the colonial extraction regimen.²¹¹

To their initial credit, the Jesuits lead by example rather than resorting to slavery. "Following my example, some of the [Native] Californians planted a little maize, with no cultivation whatever, and yet they gathered a crop." The spontaneous growth of corn was a good

²¹⁰ Taraval is described in depth in the Pericú Revolt section in which his diary is utilized in full. Sigismundo Taraval, "Taraval (Father Sigismundo) Journal, Lummis Transcription," trans. Charles F. Lummis (Braun Research Library Collection, 1909), Online Archive of California, Autry Museum of the American West.

²¹¹ Dominguez de Riezu and Piccolo, "Piccolo's Report on Baja California to the Audiencia of Guadalajara," February 10, 1702, 16, 16-17.

sign for Baja soil. When the Bajeño rancherías continued to apply the cyclical growth pattern of local vegetation to corn, it was not such a good sign for converting hunter-gatherer Bajeños into encomienda tenants. Even the less labor-intensive herding was not an immediate success. the Spanish and their allies ate most of the 1,000 head of goats that were an initial herd.²¹²

Even with limited success in mobilizing Native labor under the mission system, Bajeño missionaries were short on funding. The climate and soil could not sustain the commodities that enriched mainland encomenderos. Unable to raise cash crops, missionaries like Picolo continued to petition funding throughout the century as Bajeños continued to depend on supplies from donors, typically wealthy Mexican mainlanders or aristocratic Iberians. The Jesuit Order particularly received allowances from the administrators of the Pious Fund, a major trust fund set up by the Bourbon Court.²¹³

With a cavalier estimate, Picolo aimed the costs of establishing a mission chapel at 4,000 pesos. The priest had woefully undercounted. In a breakdown of the annual operating costs and salaries, Francisco Osorio's official report valued the Loreto Presidio and settlement to cost 8,457 pesos a year. Picolo's proposed founding costs on a single "visita," an irregular, unmanned chapel, was half that of Loreto Presidio's yearly budget, inventory and operating costs. Picolo's lackadaisical approach to money and his limited success in converting Native Bajeños

²¹² Dominguez de Riezu and Picolo, 16–20.

²¹³ The Bourbon seizure of the Pious Fund after Bajeño expulsion prompted a century of US-Mexican litigation intermediated by the Hague resulting in a multi-million payments to the Archdiocese of San Francisco and Monterey in addition to other settlement compromises. Francis J. Weber and Earl Warren, *The United States versus Mexico: The Final Settlement of the Pious Fund* (Los Angeles: Historical Society of Southern California, 1969). The Huntington Library includes much of the case's discovery documentation. John Thomas Doyle, "John Thomas Doyle Deposition on the Pious Fund, 1903," 1903, Archives and Manuscripts, California Collection, Huntington Library; John Thomas Doyle, "The Pious Fund Case: In the Matter of the Distribution of the Award," 1904, Wagner Collection, Huntington Library.

demonstrated both the missionary's power on the peninsula and their financial limitations and dependencies.²¹⁴

Missionary Bajenos had to be enterprising financial directors for Californio missions while simultaneously networking with Mexican and Iberian donors. Their financial management required frontier leadership and courtly networking. Without the donations brought in from the metropole, Baja would never have been economically feasible.

Esteban Rodríguez Lorenzo (circa 1670-1743), was a soldier and later captain of the Presidio. He authored and co-signed most of the paperwork in and out of the presidio in the early days of Loreto. One relevant document was a report that was created in collaboration with the Jesuit missionaries. Authored by Rodríguez Lorenzo and cosigned by Jaime Bravo it was a muster report detailing presidio troops and their salaries. It detailed the muster roll of the Loreto Presidio and reiterated the original agreement signed between Rodríguez and the first-generation Bajeno Jesuit Juan de Ugarte in 1718. Another relevant document that was created by Esteban Rodríguez Lorenzo and Jaime Bravo at the Presidio of Loreto was signed on June 23, 1735.²¹⁵

In addition to managing missionary funds while coordinating with nobility, missionaries also coordinated military funding with presidio authorities. Sources from the career of Esteban Rodríguez Lorenzo demonstrate the continuing missionary involvement in military spending. As a soldier, captain and finally supreme presidio authority, Rodríguez' three decades of military

²¹⁴ Dominguez de Riezu and Pico, "Pico's Report on Baja California to the Audiencia of Guadalajara," February 10, 1702, 17. Osorio, "Inventory of the Costs of This Settlement of Loreto, Submitted by Don Antonio Joseph de Toledo Handed into His Excellency the Viceroy of New Spain in Conjunction with Don Francisco Alfarez Osorio."

²¹⁵ Esteban Rodríguez Lorenzo and Jaime Bravo, "Lista de Soldados y Indios Que Sirvieron En La Sublevacion de Algunas Misiones de Californias," June 23, 1735, Ramos Californias, Legajo 80, 33-38, Archivo General de la Nacion; Esteban Rodríguez Lorenzo and Jaime Bravo, "Lista de Soldados y Indios Que Sirvieron En La Sublevacion de Algunas Misiones de Californias," December 11, 1733, Ramos Californias, Legajo 80, 19-14, Archivo General de la Nacion; Esteban Rodríguez Lorenzo, "Diary from Loreto," 1702, Herbert Eugene Bolton Collection, Bancroft Library.

experience witnessed multiple stages of the relationships with the priests. Rodríguez' experience showed the ongoing partnership that would ensure cohesion with the borderland military.

Funding problems predated the limited revenues of the missions and the dependency on metropolitan donors. Missionaries who lead the reconnaissance expeditions struggled to balance the budget between presents for potential converts and salaries for their soldiers. In 1702, Jesuit Juan de Ugarte lead a sortie into Baja's interior to contact previously unmet tribal nations. As part of their networking, missionaries broached negotiations with presents. The largesse of the Jesuits was recognized by secular Spaniards. Ugarte's Spanish soldiers and laboring auxiliaries had contracted by half as a result of the depleted funds. Rodríguez' soldiers and sailors who had followed the padre were in the precarious situation of watching their rations and pay rapidly disappear through repeated acts of gift-giving and material diplomacy. "So great was the charity of the venerable Father Juan Maria de Salvatierra [and Ugarte], in giving alms to the Indians, that within a little while we again found ourselves reduced to extreme necessity." Despite having no binding oath to the Jesuit Order or a clerical vow of obedience, secular soldiers like the young enlistee Rodríguez were paid and directed by padres. To abandon them was to commit desertion.²¹⁶

Ugarte also used funding to train Bajeno soldiers. In 1718, Ugarte and Rodríguez established the salaries of soldiers in Loreto's recently upgraded presidio. Ugarte was willing to match money to promote his religious aims of developing local Hispanic families. "Because of how useful married soldiers can be to this land through their good example, they are given 300 pesos and the rations for their wives, which costs much more than the 25 pesos added to the bachelors' pay." As Captain of Loreto, Rodríguez continued to adhere to the salary and marital

²¹⁶ Rodríguez Lorenzo, "Diary from Loreto."

bonuses he and Ugarte had set out for the length of his career. Rodríguez outlived Ugarte, but the Jesuit successors continued to cooperate with Rodríguez himself. During the combat of the Pericú Revolt, Ugarte's declaration was referenced verbatim in the current musters and cosigned by next generation Jesuit Jaime Bravo. For two generations of military budgeting, Jesuits participated as an equal cosigner with the commander in chief of Bajeno soldiers. As Californio enterprises continued to require both clerical intellectual direction and military enforcement, Bajeno priests continued to remain financially influential in military decisions. The founding Jesuit generation's policy became contractual precedent for mustering after their death.²¹⁷

At the earliest stages of Bajeno exploration and decades into the administration of royal presidios, missionaries proactively made decisions as commanders over soldiers and peers to captains. Californio missionaries vouched for social engineering policy that was inspired by both Catholic morals and Enlightened regulation.

Beyond economic development and social engineering, missionaries also had to conduct triage in times of crises. During fire and droughts, the mission could rely on the Native source of knowledge to mitigate the worst of the natural disasters. Outbreak of previously unknown diseases disrupted mission functions. Jesuit mission padre Sigismundo Taraval observed that "the missions at times like these, were full of the sick, dying and deceased... it was seldom that anyone could be found with sufficient strength to assist in looking after and feeding these invalids without number." No Native experiences had prepared the neophytes to assist Taraval with epidemic responses. "The result was that the missionary in charge frequently had to be father, mother, brother, son, servant, cook, doctor, confessor, gravedigger, and priest, at the cost

²¹⁷ Rodríguez Lorenzo and Bravo, "Lista de Soldados y Indios Que Sirvieron En La Sublevacion de Algunas Misiones de Californias," June 23, 1735; Rodríguez Lorenzo and Bravo, "Lista de Soldados y Indios Que Sirvieron En La Sublevacion de Algunas Misiones de Californias," December 11, 1733.

of almost superhuman effort.” While Bajefio mission outposts awarded individual peripheral missionaries with great power, it also conferred great responsibility when the borderlands demanded additional duties. If it was needed, it became both the missionary’s authority and duty to see it done, even if by his own hands.²¹⁸

The assessment of Californio clergy and their borderland roles here is not intended in any way to diminish or dismiss the role of missionaries or diocesan clergy in other regions of New Spain’s borderlands or the metropolitan core around Mexico City. The dialectic between church and central government was a foundational element of Iberian history and New World Catholicism continued to impact and compete with state authority. I explore here only the role of Bajefio missionaries as it appeared in the Baja California Peninsula and impacted Bajefio identity.

Due to distant, difficult geography and limited Spanish presence on the peninsula, Bajefio missionaries participated in political roles and the attempted social engineering of Native Californians into converted Spanish subjects. Particularly in the early stages of settlement, Bajefio missionaries made many practical errors such as naïve budgets or fool hardy selection of settlement sites. Californios reacted to the difficulties of implementing Spanish rule with the creation of an authoritarian bureaucracy upheld in cooperation with the military. To uphold that bureaucracy, Californio militarism adapted to borderlands challenges.

Mission and Military Adaptations to Peripheral Experiences of War

The narrative of missionaries as the leaders of the conquest and conversion of Baja California downplayed a crucially important detail. The padres never did it alone. Every

²¹⁸ Sigismundo Taraval, *The Indian Uprising in Lower California, 1734-1737*, ed. Marguerite Eyer Wilbur (Los Angeles: Quivira Society, 1931), 24.

missionary expedition included logisticians to arrange their supplies, sailors to carry them across the Sea of Cortés and soldiers to protect their every move.²¹⁹

The same difficulties that complicated social engineering also complicated the routine imposition and maintenance of Spanish power. The recruitment, regimented drill and bureaucracy that characterized successful armies were not available on the Bajeños' distant borderlands. Furthermore, the centrality of Loreto and its presidio's soldiers meant that the fighting men who enforced laws were constantly in demand throughout the peninsula. Californio missionaries and soldiers had to adhere to teamwork and adapt their martial tactics to keep order on the borderlands. Furthermore, I also argue that borderlands policing and law enforcement should be viewed through the same adaptive lens as warfare.

The military that reinforced New Spain's social order on the mainland was not tenable in Bajeño settlements. Because of limited funding and manpower, Spaniards were perpetually outnumbered on the borderlands. Extreme, vast, or rugged geography favored Native defenders. The peripheral nature of borderlands meant that violence, whether in conquest or in law enforcement, frequently took place on new ground. The Enlightenment sensibilities of line infantry, mass volleys and manuals of drill maneuvers simply did not match the peninsula's craggy hills and arid deserts. By contrast, the proportioned, mobile, stealthy methods of Baja's Native warfare were perceived by Spaniards as cowardly, deceitful, and generally dishonorable. Californio warfare was perpetually at a disadvantage on a periphery without straightforward operations with easily measured results. Such disparity in objectives and methods meant that

²¹⁹ Obviously, there were some exceptions, such as Kino's overland expedition to Baja on foot and the odyssey of Garcés into the interior of the northern tule. They are, however, the exception that proves the rule.

Enlightenment warfare held too much reliance on metropolitan logistics and could not adapt its mindset easily to the geographically alien frontier.²²⁰

In larger military columns, whether punitive or expeditionary, priests regularly traveled likely both as a chaplain and an auxiliary. Any missionary priest, no matter their training would be able and expected to do some camp work like cooking, basic medical work, etc. This would be natural for borderlands life, clerical or not. Ultimately, these sources revealed little definitive information as to how much actual fighting priests did, or were even expected to do. Practical living on the frontier required self-defense, a practical approach to arming Native allies or subjects and ready cooperation with soldiers. With their superior comfort in Native languages, friars served as the liaison between the Captain and the Native allied warriors and scouts. On the other hand, the esteemed role of priests, particularly missionary padres in a rural society, suggested that others, whether soldiers or neophytes, fought ahead of the clergy with the friars more as leaders from the rear.

Jesuit and historian John O'Malley discussed the militant character of the early modern Jesuits. He evaluated the command hierarchy of the Jesuits as uniquely authoritative amongst religious orders. Having already been elitists at the sides of absolutists in royal courts, the already militant and authoritative Jesuits aptly improvised the role of military captain and encomendero on the borderlands. O'Malley's research reveals a consistent pattern of Jesuit fraternity as a militant, top-down order that operated with the same rigor and hierarchy of a

²²⁰Wayne E. Lee examines the shortcomings of European strategy and logistics when dealing with borderlands violence, specifically emphasizing Native exploitation of geography and preying on vulnerable European supply lines. The asymmetric "skulking Indians" stymied Enlightened soldiers' orderly, procedure. Mathes argues similarly in Baja. Michael W. Mathes, "Violence in Eden: Warfare in Peninsular Baja California," *Pacific Coast Archaeology Quarterly* 45, no. 1 & 2 (2011): 1–12. For more analysis of the asymmetrical nature of Native-European war, see Wayne E. Lee, *The Cutting-Off Way: Indigenous Warfare in Eastern North America, 1500–1800* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2023); Armstrong Starkey, *European and Native American Warfare, 1675-1815* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998).

knighthood. Historian Ronnie Po-chia Hsia argues the same for Jesuits operating in China and Far East European colonies. Jesuit social engineering and militarism is thoroughly defended, yet greater context around Enlightenment missionaries demonstrate that many of the colonial orders throughout the early modern world shared in the Jesuits' aristocratic spirit of religious discovery and conversion. Historians of the Bajefio "longue dur  e" demonstrate that Franciscans and Dominicans also participated in the same peripheral regimen in their own missions. While O'Malley, Dunne and Hsia detail the Jesuits' mindset as militant, it is both regionally correct for Bajefios and chronologically correct within the Enlightenment to view such militant missionaries as characteristic of Spanish Universalism, not uniquely of the Society of Jesus.²²¹

Navigation was crucial in borderlands conquest. Bajefio Jesuits mapped the peninsula during their academic and military conquest. If a periphery could be mapped and understood, it could be colonized and converted. Cartographic historian Mirela Slukan-Alti   charted the cartography of New World Jesuits. Slukan-Alti   demonstrates that Jesuit mapmaking was an expression of both missionary art and of Enlightened civic planning. Connected to mapmaking was the academic conquest of Bajefio plants not found anywhere else. In *Land of Chamise and Pines*, Minnich argues that the Spanish understood Baja's wilderness the way that they

²²¹ John W. O'Malley, "The Distinctiveness of the Society of Jesus," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 3, no. 1 (2016): 1–16; Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *Noble Patronage and Jesuit Missions: Maria Theresia von Fugger-Wellenburg (1690-1762) and Jesuit Missionaries in China and Vietnam* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2006); Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci 1552-1610* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540-1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). Dominicans and Franciscans both administered Bajefio missions after the Jesuit's 1767 expulsion. For works examining social engineering amongst Californio missions, see Mario Alberto Maga  a Mancillas, *Indios, Soldados y Rancheros: Poblamiento, Memoria e Identidades En El   rea Central de Las Californias (1769-1870)* (La Paz: Instituto Sudcaliforniano de Cultura, Archivo Historico Pablo L. Martinez, 2017); Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, "What They Brought: The Alta California Franciscans before 1769," in *Alta California: Peoples in Motion, Identities in Formation, 1769-1850*, by Steven W. Hackel (Berkeley, San Marino: University of California Press and The Huntington Library, 2010); Tr  svi  a Moreno, *La Orden Franciscana y Su Representacion En Las Misiones de La Antigua California (1768-1773)*.

understood Native Bajefios. In awe, Jesuits documented the alien biological landscape. In so doing they classified Native Californians as foreign and alien, essentially hostile to Bajefios.²²²

Miguel León-Portilla published a letter written by Miguel Venegas from Loreto. Venegas compiled his text from his own research supported with dispatches from other Bajefios. Venegas originally inquired after the geography around San Ignacio, providing extensive details about water availability, tribal control, and language in each rancheria. The categorical, procedural language of the letter accommodated the Universalist drive for thoroughness and the military's need for practical logistics. By lining up the dates of Esteban Rodríguez Lorenzo's service, León-Portilla argues that the details of San Ignacio's geography were documented through a combination of missionary and military efforts.²²³

The Peripheral Experiences of War

Limited manpower and asymmetric war kept Baja California's martial mindset constantly peripheral compared to New Spain's conventional army. This was the case both before and after Jesuit expulsion and before and after the Pericú Revolt. Throughout the long 18th century, the same adaptive experiences remained core to the enduring Bajefio experience. The borderlands institutions and peripheral geography of Baja shaped decades of routine experiences that wrote the Californio identity. Due to their education and propensity for the written word, priests were often the scribes for these traditions, and sometimes also functioned as translators for Native languages. In this capacity, missionaries related military matters, but usually tangentially to the

²²² Richard A. Minnich, *Land of Chamise and Pines: Historical Accounts and Current Status of Northern Baja California's Vegetation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Mirela Slukan-Altić, *Encounters in the New World: Jesuit Cartography of the Americas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2022).

²²³ Miguel Leon-Portilla, "Indian Place Names of Baja California Sur: A Report Attributed to Esteban Rodríguez Lorenzo," *The Masterkey* 51, no. 1 (1977): 4–13; Unknown, "Inquiry About the Mission of San Ignacio by Father Miguel Venegas to Padre Juan Bautista Luyando, and the Responses Sent Thereto" (January 11, 1737), 4/60.1, Archivo Francisco Madero, Biblioteca Nacional.

greater purpose of describing the borderland's danger and the need for increased support, either through money or manpower.

Descriptions of combat and defense planning demonstrated that early Bajeños' Enlightened educations did not prepare them for California's borderland combat. Letters that Tyrolese Jesuit Eusebio Francisco Kino (1645-1711) wrote to his patrons in Europe and Mexico City followed this pattern, as did the reports to the Viceroy from Jesuit Alejandro Romano (1664-1724). Picolo and Ugarte's initial reports to the Audiencia demonstrated novice appraisals of Native fighting capacity. This folly was expanded by Jesuit Juan Antonio Baltassar (1697-1763), born in Lucerne, Switzerland. The Picolo biography was first written as a letter and later published as a pamphlet and reused in scholarship of later Jesuits like Venegas, Burriel and Clavijero. The first generations of Jesuits' Bajeño experiences showed that military displays were part of the evangelical outreach to Native communities.²²⁴

Soldiers in Baja also documented the particular demands of borderlands combat. Soldiers' records were less naïve and more explicit about military difficulties on Baja's arid, sparse combat fields. Budget reports to the Viceroy and combat reports to Loreto demonstrated that force was routine in maintaining law and order on the Bajeño periphery.²²⁵

Juan de Ugarte's evangelical preaching was integrated with borderland soldiering. He had "18 soldiers and their officers, two married with their wives and family." On the water, he also

²²⁴ Manuel Casado Arboniés, "Juan Antonio Baltasar," Real Academia de la Historia, 2018, <https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/63603/cristobal-de-palma-y-mesa>; Baltasar, *Letter of Provincial Father Juan Antonio de Balthaffar, In Which Is Given News of the Exemplar Life, Religious Virtues and Apostolic Labors of the Ferverous Missionary the Venerable Fr. Francisco Maria Picolo*. The version cited in this dissertation was published and bound in 1752 in Mexico City, within Baltasar's lifetime. Ignacio Maria Napoli also traveled with a military sortie and acted as a translator in the Cape of San Lucas, but he downplayed the military element in his testimony (see below).

²²⁵ Osorio, "Inventory of the Costs of This Settlement of Loreto, Submitted by Don Antonio Joseph de Toledo Handed into His Excellency the Viceroy of New Spain in Conjunction with Don Francisco Alfarez Osorio"; Joseph Francisco de Ortega, "'The Sodomy of an Indian Solicited with Gifts:' Joseph Francisco de Ortego to Jose Joaquin de Arillaga, Loreto," April 10, 1786, California Files Box 4, Huntington Library.

had, “eight chino and negro [sic] servants, twelve sailors on two cargo barges and another dozen on a full-sailed vessel.” This was beyond the procession of priest and his acolytes. With this many men under his direct leadership, Ugarte was the commanding officer of an expeditionary platoon. Regardless of race or class, all the members of the Californio expedition shared in the Spartan experiences of the trekking, mapping and negotiations that came with the physical journey, commanded by Ugarte the missionary.²²⁶

“Well disciplined” was the praise earned by Pícolo and Salvatierra’s escort. Shortly after they disembarked, they were attacked by “a great throng of well-armed barbarians.” Rather than numbers, it was the discipline and formation of Spaniards that carried the day. The Jesuits claimed their success came from their faith and Mary’s intercession. On the practical side, it likely had to do with squad tactics refined by Spanish musketeers after two centuries of modern military reform and the stopping power of a coordinated firing line. Enlightened, educated missionaries operated in tandem with Enlightened, regimented soldiers.

Both Salvatierra and Kino wrote that selecting a “well chosen,” “perfect site” for a mission and fort were vital to build up the borderland. Both Salvatierra and Kino emphasized a fort on level, sandy ground that was easily excavated, with a close access to flowing water be it the sea, the riverbank or an estuary. A flat beachhead would have been ideal for peaceful urban planning, but these foundations needed to be defenses as well as missions. Successful forts occupy high ground, command limited points of access and stand on firm soil. Despite their intelligence and education, Kino and Salvatierra missed all of these points. In Salvatierra’s case, the wooden palisade that ultimately became Loreto survived an attack of a hundred warriors only by the skin of the soldier’s teeth. Kino’s palisade of San Bruno had to be abandoned due to the

²²⁶ Dominguez de Riezu and Pícolo, “Pícolo’s Report on Baja California to the Audiencia of Guadalajara,” February 10, 1702, 14.

menace of the same type of attacks. None of the Jesuits were engineers, despite the society's militant hierarchy. "Forts" under missionary direction, rather than presidio supervision, did not endure. Early hasty constructions exposed the missionaries' limited practical defense expertise and forced collaboration with secular engineering expertise and cooperative Native labor. Bajefio mission building was defined by defensibility and a constant preoccupation with the delicate access to the sea. The balance between defensive ground and sea access defined peninsular settlement for a century. The only exceptions are the northern desert cities connected to Alta California and the Pimeria. Tecate, Mexicali, Tijuana were established well into the Republic Era and were attached to the water of the Colorado River aquifer rather than the Sea of Cortes. The settlement of southern Baja is still oriented according to the Californio's attempts to keep their peripheral borderland in reach of Mexico.²²⁷

Spanish and Native fighters alike knew the real threat came from close-quarter attacks. Even when they were ultimately driven off the field of battle, Bajefios utilized short-range fire to keep parity with more numerous attackers. On beachhead settlements, both Francisco Kino and Alejandro Romano observed that Bajefio soldiers withheld their fire until the Native skirmishers came close enough for lethal shots. Soldiers even hastily excavated a "trench" in the sand to bolster their position. "One of the troops of Indians entered our trench, and although our valiant soldiers held the barrel of their guns to the Indians' chests, and the Indians perchance unaware of the nature of our weapons feared them not and did not retreat, we did not fire on them..." Even

²²⁷ Eusebio Francisco Kino, "Letter to Father Baltasar de Mansilla, from Nuestra Señora de Dolores," June 30, 1687, New Spain, Huntington Library. Baltasar, *Letter of Provincial Father Juan Antonio de Balthaffar, In Which Is Given News of the Exemplar Life, Religious Virtues and Apostolic Labors of the Fervorous Missionary the Venerable Fr. Francisco Maria Picolo*. Dominguez de Riezu and Picolo, "Picolo's Report on Baja California to the Audiencia of Guadalajara," February 10, 1702, 8. Bourbon renovations coinciding with Californio settlement took military concerns seriously. Evaluations of the frontier lamented the fragile state of Spanish structural defenses and proposed various solutions, like proactive alliances with rancherias. See Janet R. Fireman, *The Spanish Royal Corps of Engineers in the Western Borderlands: Instrument of Bourbon Reform, 1764 to 1815*, Spain in the West 12 (Glendale: A. H. Clark Co., 1977).

with superior range and stopping power, the “troops of Indians” could have overwhelmed the Spanish in a charging furor, had the line not held resolute and compact on their dugout embankment. Bajeno gunmen required a different kind of drill than the regimented men-of-foot units of European mass warfare.²²⁸

Seashore combat got so close Spaniards would even wrestle attackers to the ground to take captives, which was how Romano’s troops were able to intimidate a warband that was preparing to attack Loreto en masse. Rather than a bloodbath, the Spanish soldiers executed one ringleader and dispersed the would-be raiders. Frustratingly but unsurprisingly, the elite aristocrat did not provide a detailed procedure of combat other than to emphasize a need for increased viceregal funds to pay more salaries for soldiers.²²⁹

In both Francisco Maria Picolo’s account of Salvatierra’s expedition and Juan Antonio Baltasar’s commemorative biography of Picolo’s diplomacy, there was an emphasis on the martial display of gunpowder. Firearms were instrumental to Spanish and Jesuit displays of military power. Members of the Spaniards’ diplomatic team engaged in friendly shooting matches. Presidio arms drills were a show of force that showed to potential rebels that pitched battles would be futile against superior firepower. In Picolo’s engagement with tribal envoys, Native athletes threw darts, spears, and stones at shields, while Spaniards fired at the same targets with bullets to see whose projectile would do most damage. The bullets always won. Baltasar remarked that Picolo was unique for letting the warriors hold his musket and test it out. One curious Bajeno Native pointed the firearms in various directions, not realizing it was still loaded

²²⁸ Eusebio Francisco Kino, “‘We Sighted This Country, California,’ Letter to Father Francisco Ximenez on the Landing in San Lucas,” March 25, 1683, California Collection, Huntington Library.

²²⁹ Alejandro Romano, “Letter from Alejandro Romano to the Viceroy of New Spain Regarding Shortage of Soldiers Around Loreto,” March 10, 1702, Pockstaller, Doc. 75, Bancroft Library; Alejandro Romano, “Alejandro Romano to the Viceroy Regarding the Situation of Loreto,” December 6, 1701, Transcribed Collections of the AGI, Bancroft Library.

and the matchlock ignition was still live. “Francisco [Maria Picolo] lowered the firearm and took it out of his [“the Indian’s”] hand, saying, ‘we needn’t shoot firearms at each other. Look friend, what do you think? Is it still charged [loaded]?’ Picolo then fired the jammed gun at the stretched canvas that had been the target. “At this came a fire, and two bullets came out, making two holes in the canvas. The [would-be] shooter had a great jump, as if the shots had gone through him, and our Francisco gave thanks to God for being delivered from the clear and present danger.” Through ready experience with firearms, Picolo was able to simultaneously present a game to build kinship, demonstrate Spanish firepower, and narrowly prevent his own accidental death.²³⁰

Bajeños’ choice in firearms reflected their status in the borderlands. Some presidio soldiers chose to stand guard with sabers and shotguns rather than muskets and bayonets. In the capital presidio of Loreto, an inventory report prepared by soldier Francisco Álvarez Osorio reported that many of the enlisted soldiers had requested as much ammunition for shotguns, “escopetas” as rifles, “fusiles.” Out of decorum and safety, military salutes and drills of the black powder era were conducted with single bullet muskets, and not shotguns. This meant that shotgun ammunition was being used in practical purposes. Given the close quarter fighting the padres described around camps and trenches, the stopping power and increased reliability of shotguns at close range gave the Bajeños an advantage against the Native warriors’ melee expertise. An additional borderlands advantage of shotguns was the ability to hunt. Shotguns would not stop the British or Russians, but they would enable *Bajeños* in hunting fowl and other small game that would feed a familial unit or provide a competitive advantage in local trade. Domestic dressing and curing of hunted game by Presidio wives, whether Native or Spanish,

²³⁰ Baltasar, *Letter of Provincial Father Juan Antonio de Balthaffar, In Which Is Given News of the Exemplar Life, Religious Virtues and Apostolic Labors of the Ferverous Missionary the Venerable Fr. Francisco Maria Picolo*, 6–7.

were recognized by Osorio and Rodríguez Lorenzo as an economic and domestic asset in their bureaucratic calculations. Shotguns offered Bajefios special advantages on the borderlands, offering parity in unusual combat and aiding self-sufficiency.²³¹

From the Mission San Ignacio in Baja California, on April 10, 1786, Loreto soldier José Francisco de Ortega (1734-1798) wrote to his commanding officer, Presidio Captain José Joaquín de Arrillaga (1750-1814). The letter recounted an investigation and apprehension of a neophyte who had fled from a Dominican mission. Ortega's routine testament is worthwhile for two reasons. Firstly, the procedural experience demonstrated that law enforcement was experienced as an extension of the military cooperation over the missionaries who were regularly and deeply involved with the bureaucratic officers, even after the Dominicans had taken custody of the peninsular missions following the Jesuit expulsion. Secondly, the fifty years between the Pericú Revolt and Ortega's investigation demonstrated that the peripheral state of Bajefio operations was a regular and permanent condition of the peninsula, and not the growing pains of the first generation. Despite the changes of the Pericú War, Baja remained a peripheral borderland, as did its presidio and missions, whether they were Jesuit or Dominican.²³²

In his letter to Captain Arrillaga, Ortega was seeking permission to be excused from duty in order to conclude his role as an investigator and punisher for neophytes accused of various crimes. As Ortega wrote his report, the arrested neophytes had been apprehended and jailed at their home missions of San Javier and San José and Purissima. The soldier had been obligated to intervene in the mission's law enforcement. "With respect to my lord I bring your attention to my obligations since the 22nd of the last [month]. I had to appear at the Missions of San Javier,

²³¹ Osorio, "Inventory of the Costs of This Settlement of Loreto, Submitted by Don Antonio Joseph de Toledo Handed into His Excellency the Viceroy of New Spain in Conjunction with Don Francisco Alfarez Osorio," 12.

²³² Joseph Francisco de Ortega, "'The Sodomy of an Indian Solicited with Gifts:' Joseph Francisco de Ortega to Jose Joaquin de Arillaga, Loreto," April 10, 1786, California Files Box 4, Huntington Library.

San José and Puríssima. There was no absolving the commitment.”²³³ Loreto remained the singular fortress, port and presidio of early Baja California. Soldiers and the law that they enforced had to be petitioned and awaited at the speed of horseback messengers. Bajeños remained obligatorily self-sufficient for decades after it took Napoli a year to return to the site of the Santiago killings. Thankfully for the three Missions, their cavalry arrived much faster, and Ortega’s routine inspections and whippings on the three missions only took twenty-one days.

Among the several cases Ortega had to preside over and punish, the highest profile investigation was, “a cursed Indian sodomy bought with stolen gifts.”²³⁴ He detailed the apprehension and interrogation of the suspect, and the follow-up interviews amongst the neophytes.

“In this said [mission] of Puríssima, there was a prisoner, an Indian on the run who had been caught on the road, he had been stopped from killing a boy on his mission, and what’s more a filly and a foal he had seized, both from the mission, and still more had committed the sin of sodomy with a young man [who was found] at his side.”²³⁵

The missions remained insular fortresses of order between long stretches of open, unpoliced desert. In order for a soldier to enforce the law, the mission authorities had to reach Loreto, wait for sufficient troops to become available and then lead the reinforcements back to the anticipated hideout of the fugitive. If the Pericú of Napoli’s days could claim the hills as a stronghold against the Spanish, their descendants could make similar use of the hills and desert as they fled mission rule.

Having found the horse thief and his younger lover, the soldiers prepared to escort him back to La Puríssima. “With 4 men I brought him to Father Francisco Antonio that he could be

²³³ Ortega, 1.

²³⁴ Ibid, 1.

²³⁵ Ibid, 1.

brought back onto the mission. He was confessed [received the sacrament of reconciliation] and absolved. He then declared the continuation of that sin with the youths, and so they as they desired [to be], so they were.”²³⁶ Ortega used polite language to describe the Native couple’s resumption of homosexual acts directly after their capture and confession. The efficacy of conversion had been challenged by the couple’s violation of Catholic sexual standards. The phrase that Ortega used offered no inner reflection on the Spanish failure to convert the couple. Rather, Ortega easily and categorically declared them to be criminals who had sinned. Their penance and their rehabilitation were to be brought back into the fold of their shepherds. As law enforcement and guardian, Ortega’s paperwork showed that he experienced a moral and legal superiority over the pair he perceived to be his racial, legal and religious inferiors.

When the retinue returned to the Mission, Ortega had more work to do amongst the neophytes tending to the mission’s grounds. “I also had to punish on this mission the disorganization the failures and disorganization in the gardens and stockyards, young and old, in the orchards. I rebuked the lazy and continued investigating.” As he interviewed the neophytes, it was discovered that the horse thief had also stolen and traded for some clothes, including a lady’s shawl and a hat. These had been some of the gifts he had presented to his lover. The shawl belonged to a woman who was “sleeping with the dead, so the returned shawl was buried with her.”²³⁷ Of the three interviewees Ortega identified, he only provided the name of one. The coincidental names of the neophytes did not seem to trouble the *Bajeños* once those names had been made official with baptism. Ultimately, Ortega decided that it was not worth the effort to send the graverobbing thief to stand trial in Loreto, and that the whipping on the Mission was enough punishment, unless Arillaga decided otherwise. Ortega decided to spend Easter at Santa

²³⁶ Ibid, 1-2.

²³⁷ Ibid, 3.

Gertrudis, and sent the letter with a lawyer named Carlos along with a detachment of cavalry bound for Loreto.²³⁸

Presidio soldier José Francisco de Ortega's arrest, interrogation and punishment of one neophyte criminal demonstrated that the Bajeño military of the Dominicans functioned much in the same way as it had under the Jesuits. This procedure was not a wartime experience like the massive Pericú Revolt that broke out the same year that Ortega was born. Nevertheless, the Bajeño soldier still exhibited a borderlands mindset as he executed his soldierly duties on behalf of the mission. Ortega identified his fellow Spaniards with names and honorifics, but did not bother himself with the names of the Native witnesses, criminals, posse members or victims. Furthermore, in the process of investigating a crime, Ortega was also hunting down a sinner. The criminal was apprehended for judgement, and simultaneously the sinner was shepherded towards repentance. Ortega was on a mission from God and executing orders from the Crown. Ortega was on personal terms with the Presidio's Captain as Arrillaga's "attentive and sincere servant." He was also the right hand of the mission's friar, reclaiming the lost sheep, rebuking the lazy neophytes and whipping the criminals for punishment. Despite his personal connections to the province's military and religious authority, Ortega was vulnerable to the province's vast distance and limited population. In the execution of his duties, the soldier had to regularly calculate travel in terms of weeks and consider his duties in terms of possible manpower.²³⁹

Across their Bajeño tenure, the presidio soldiers' aid in keeping orderly missions reinforced the mindset borderlands militarism that shaped a common Californio identity. Double

²³⁸ Ibid, 4.

²³⁹ George Harwood Phillips demonstrated a similar Native resistance through flight, and a similar perpetual borderlands method of militant law enforcement in Alta California. While the Alteño hinterland exacerbated the problem by a significant degree, Alta and Baja had the same institutions and experienced the experience as in Ortega's apprehension. George Harwood Phillips, *Chiefs and Challengers: Indian Resistance and Cooperation in Southern California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975).

agents of Cross and Crown were elites on the grounds of their race, class and creed. They took the subjugation of Native subjects for granted with an attitude of civilizational and classist supremacy. They employed Native assistance and knowledge regularly, and took it for granted. They were both constantly concerned with the harsh logistics of a land removed from support and supplies.²⁴⁰

In conclusion, the military experiences of Californios were equally a product of sparse Spanish resources and manpower as they were a response to the human and natural geography of Baja California itself. Bajeños placed a high value on reconnaissance and scouting. They had to adapt conventional Enlightenment warfare to the surprises of combat with Native Californian warriors. Adapted combat correlated to adapted diplomacy with neophyte alcaldes and rancheria chiefs. Finally, enforcement of the mission rule required a ready and mobile rotation of the soldiers who were ostensibly garrisoning the presidio at Loreto. Low intensity, low mortality warfare was characteristic of the hunter gatherer nomads that populated Baja California, and the Spanish response informed the Bajeños' collaboration between soldiers and clergy. When this borderlands routine was broken with the larger Pericú Revolt, the Californios experienced a shock to their identity that both reinforced and reformed the Bajeño system.

The Pericú Revolt:

The Pericú Revolt was a borderlands conflict that proved the Bajeños held a peripheral relationship with the Mexican mainland. Spanish-Native relations and the Bajeño war effort both demonstrated borderlands characteristics. The resolution and memory of the war on the peninsula contributed to the emerging Californio identity. The issues that caused the Pericú

²⁴⁰ Ortega, "The Sodomy of an Indian Solicited with Gifts," April 10, 1786, 1, 5.

Revolt were common throughout the Mexican borderlands. Misunderstandings between Native and Spanish people, the ravages of disease throughout the peninsula, harsh conditions on the missions, and hubris on the part of the Jesuits all pressured Native Bajefios towards the revolt. The revolt itself was fought in a way that demonstrated Baja was a peripheral colony, not entirely isolated from the mainland, the methods and metrics of the war were markedly different than those that defined the bureaucratic procedures of Enlightenment warfare.

Even before the war, limited reconnaissance over rancherias and the Enlightened arrogance of the colonials ensured the revolt to be almost a complete surprise to both military and clerical leadership. After the revolt was put down and the rebels dispersed, the same narrow mindset influenced the Jesuits to have a warped understanding of the war's experience. That peripheral mindset further developed the Bajefio identity as a borderlands Californio.

After a brief summary of the Pericu Revolt and immediately pertinent historiography, I will summarize primary sources from Sigismundo Tavaral and Ignacio Maria Napoli. Both Italians were Jesuit eyewitnesses to the war itself and to the aftermath of the conflict. Each of them expressed an arrogance derived from their Enlightened, colonial mindset. Their mindset adapted to the borderland experiences of the Pericu Revolt.

The Pericu Revolt began in 1734 with a surprise attack on the Jesuit Mission of Santiago. Until 1737, fighting continued between rebelling warriors and imperial agents and their Native allies. The belligerent Pericu and Guaycura utilized hit and run tactics, social pressure and the concealing geography of the hills to prolong the conflict and deny the Spanish a pitched, conventional battle. Ultimately, reinforcements from the mainland, disease and declining material caused the rebels to surrender. The dispersal of the rebels and the population decline caused by the war's spillovers essentially dissolved the Pericu as a tribal entity. After the

devastation, the Cape Region of the southern coast of Baja California became more densely settled and integrated into the maritime system of western New Spain.

The causes of the Revolt were many, no single one of which was universally recognized as the primary instigator. Relations between the Jesuits and the rancherías had soured. The Jesuits had continued to press the boundaries of the missions by preaching in the rancherías. To the curanderos of the Pericú, the missions were a threat to the tribal structure and the Jesuits themselves were a personal threat to the curanderos' position of tribal prestige and influence. However, it was documented that a particularly virulent disease had broken out across the whole region of the Cape of San Lucas, the tribal center of the Pericú and the southern edge of the Guaycura.²⁴¹

The methods of fighting and resolving the war characterized a uniquely peripheral experience. The reinforcements from the mainland were small in number and very intermittent. The majority of day-to-day functions and major operations were performed by the Bajeños. The goals and methods of the Cape region's warriors struck the Enlightened Californios as unconventional. Spanish procedurals were not prepared to fight in asymmetric, guerilla combat.

Spanish victory over the Pericú's sovereign rancherías strengthened colonial authority in the borderlands. The victory inspired hubris in the Californio identity as the Bajeños created memories of the war. Californios were "vindicated" in their perception of neophytes as subjects and auxiliaries to the Bajeño cause. Californios rejected not only the curanderos as parallel

²⁴¹ The term "curandero" is used here as a blanket term for Native performers of medical, spiritual and magical practices in the pre-Christian and ranchería societies throughout Latin America. The term both literally translates to "healer" and is broad enough to accommodate multiple tribes' combinations of spiritual and political leadership. The term is roughly parallel to the term "medicine man" used by Native Americans of the contemporary United States. For more on this, see Part of the necessity for a broad term comes from the Jesuits' use of "sorcerer" or "warlock" to refer to all Native leaders who held any spiritual authority. For ethnic Mexican, Spanish-speaking culture bearers' input on the term, see Alejandro Cienfuegos (Yaqui), director of Archivos Pablo L. Martinez, La Paz: James Bland, Interview with Alejandro Telechea Cienfuegos on the Jesuits of Baja California, June 15, 2023. I use the term "sorcerer," only in reference to Jesuit sources or in an explanation of the Californio mindset.

leaders in Bajeño society, but most Pericú and Guaycura social conventions. What the Jesuits rejected as barbarism and pettiness were actually the kinship bonds that had kept the peace for the missions' first decade.

Historian of Imperial Spain Michael W. Mathes demonstrated that the nonsedentary tribes of Southern Baja California made war with very different methods and goals than the national armies of Enlightened Spain, or even the Aztecs. The numerically small nomad societies of the peninsula did not have dedicated warrior castes, and so any wartime casualty was a loss to the other pillars that sustained the tribe. Consequentially, the Guaycura, Pericú and others adapted frequent, low-mortality conflicts like ambushes, bullying, thefts and hostage exchanges to assert dominance over rival tribes. Mathes makes the case that this was applied to interethnic and intertribal war, including the Spanish.²⁴²

Jesuit and historian Peter Dunne's work, *Black Robes in Lower California*, has five chapters dedicated to the Pericú Revolt from a total of thirty-two chapters for the whole Jesuit Era. The war is the single most deeply analyzed event in Dunne's chronological history of Jesuit Baja. Dunne uses the term "reconstruction," to emphasize the deep impact of the revolt and the extent of the colonial reform throughout the peninsula. Furthermore, Dunne emphasized that the Revolt increased the distant but dependent cooperation between Baja, the maritime fleet, the viceroy, and the king. Dunne's examination showed that the war's resolution, while comparatively cheap in lives and monies, was the definitive experience as the Baja borderland

²⁴² Mathes, "Violence in Eden." For a deeper examination of the "asymmetrical" method of Indian wars that used attacks beyond pitched infantry battles, see Lee, *The Cutting-Off Way*. Seizing respect and material wealth through nonlethal power gave nomadic men status without endangering the tribes' survival. For an autoethnographical approach to asymmetric war and masculine success, see Joseph Marshall III, *The Journey of Crazy Horse: A Lakota History* (New York: Viking, 2004).

remained peripheral but increased its dependency on the metropole through military support, commerce and immigration.²⁴³

Harry Crosby's treatment of the Revolt is much briefer. In *Antigua California: Mission and Colony on the Peninsular Frontier, 1697-1768*, Crosby emphasizes the rise and decline of Jesuits as the primary authority for land use in the Peninsula. He emphasized royal and commercial concerns for the Cape Region that the Jesuits originally ignored or downplayed. Crosby emphasizes the role of naval personnel, both as targets incoming from the Pacific and as reinforcement agents that controlled the coast and resupplied the peninsula through the Sea of Cortés. Provoked by the Pericú, both Loreto and Mexico intervened with military and political pressure to reduce the Cape region's Native population and increase Hispanic settlement. As Crosby concludes, "As a by-product [sic] of the rebellion, the South was opened up and proved attractive to the peninsular Hispanic population... By 1746, the California pioneers were dead." Crosby's focus on Jesuit decline reveals that the Pericú Revolt emphasized both the insular and maritime nature of Baja California, as well as the increasingly involved secular authorities.²⁴⁴

Most accounts of the revolt draw on rich stories authored by Sigismundo Taraval of Lodi, Lombardy (1700-1763) and Sicilian Ignacio Maria Napoli (1692-1744). These, and Belgian Jesuit Jacome Doye (1677-1749) recorded their fiery experiences of borderlands baptism. Taraval founded Baja missions in the Cape Region and his journal documented his survival and leadership during the Pericú Revolt.²⁴⁵

²⁴³ Peter Masten Dunne, *Pioneer Jesuits in Northern Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1944); Dunne, *Black Robes in Lower California*, 249–300.

²⁴⁴ Crosby, *Antigua California*, 108–9, 110–16, 117. 121-129.

²⁴⁵ Taraval's diary was discovered during the 20th-century boom of borderlands documentary work and was released and edited multiple times. Taraval, *The Indian Uprising in Lower California, 1734-1737*; Sigismundo Taraval, "Journal Recounting Indian Uprisings in Baja California, 1734-1737." (Indigenous Histories and Cultures in North America, 1737), Edward E. Ayer Collection, Newberry Library; Sigismundo Taraval and Eligio Moisés Coronado, *La Rebelión de Los Californios* (Aranjuez, Madrid: Doce Calles, 1996); Taraval, "Taraval (Father Sigismundo) Journal, Lummis Transcription."

Napoli was active on the northwestern frontier, documenting borderland tribes, proposing methods to better convert and socially engineer them, and participating in both the Pericú Revolt and the Yaqui Revolt across the Sea of Cortés. His “Relacion of the Cora Indians,” documented the Pericú people in this Spanish Universalist manner typical amongst colonial academics. A year after the initial raids, he reconnoitered at Santiago to search through ruins and interview nearby surviving neophytes.²⁴⁶

Doye was pastor at Mission Santa Victoria on the Rio Grande de Santiago in the rural north of the province of Nayarit, just north of San Blas. Like in Baja, Doye’s mission was isolated by land and connected to port by the same barges that supplied the Californios. He complained about Native nonlethal violence much like the Pericú Revolt, demonstrating that the Pericú’s asymmetric experiences were a feature of the borderlands, not an anomaly.²⁴⁷

Sigismundo Taraval was dispatched to Baja California during the Jesuits’ expansion into the Cape Region of the Peninsula. Due to ocean currents, the prevalence of whaling and the omnipresent threat of foreign piracy, the viceroy urged the Jesuits to expand their missionary circle South of the Bay of La Paz and convert the tribes around the Cape, also called Cabo San Lucas. Taraval, Napoli, Carranco and Tamaral were all members of the tiny fellowship of Jesuits tasked with this operation. Briefly escorted by presidio soldiers, the region was largely managed

²⁴⁶ “Biofile: Napoli, Ignacio Maria,” Biofile Repository, University of Arizona Institutional Repository, 2024, <https://www.uair.library.arizona.edu/item/232684>. Ignacio María Nápoli, *The Cora Indians of Baja California; the Relacion of Ignacio Maria Napoli, September 20, 1721*, ed. James R. Moriarty and Benjamin Francis Smith, Baja California Travels Series, 19 (Los Angeles: Dawson’s Book Shop, 1970); Ignacio Maria Napoli, “Testimony of Ignacio Maria Napoli, Testifying Towards the Martyrdom of the Padres of the Mission of Santiago,” February 5, 1738, California Files Box 1, Huntington Library. “Cora” was a broad exonym that referred to tribal peoples on both sides of the Gulf of California. In the 21st century, Cora is narrowly applied to nations indigenous to the state of Nayarit- the same state as San Blas and the Rio Santiago that peripherally connected that port to the Santa Victoria.

²⁴⁷ “Biofile: Doye, Jacome,” Biofile Repository, University of Arizona Institutional Repository, 2024, <https://www.uair.library.arizona.edu/item/232684>. Jacome Doye, “Letter from the Missions of Nayarit Directed to Padre Jose Del Rincon by Father Jacome Doye from the Mission of Santa Victoria of the Lagoon on the Calamities Suffered by the Missions of Those Territories,” March 12, 1746, Legajo 1-13, Expediente 69, Archivo General de la Nacion.

by Native caciques and overwhelmingly populated by Native residents on the mission grounds and the surrounding rancherias.²⁴⁸

Despite his analytical approach to assessing the Pericus' tribal characteristics and Baja's geography, Taraval explained the peninsula's history by reference to God and the Devil. When assessing the virulent disease that tore through the Cape Region just before the revolt, Taraval attributed the outbreak to the work of the Devil, turned loose by God to punish the Pericú for their laziness, manipulation and deceit. When troops were able to disembark on a day near a Marian feast, Taraval deemed it especially propitious. Taraval was procedural and nonplussed in his bureaucratic language of military procedure, but clearly believe the world's natural functions ran on a divine schedule.²⁴⁹

The Peninsula's geography was unequivocally in favor of the Pericú and stymied the Spanish attempts to quickly subdue the revolt. Whether it was the concealing hills, vulnerable long stretches between secure settlements, scarcity of fresh water, or temperamental winds that prohibited sailing, Spanish maneuverability and supplies were sluggish in comparison to the adeptly mobile and self-sufficient warriors. Taraval regularly noted that sailing in and out of certain bays was impossible with the winds and tides. He commented regularly about Californio vulnerability to ambushes. His diary constantly noted the days-long gaps between missions sending and receiving messages by foot, and even longer gaps between parties fleeing to safety northward. Despite the material and eventual numerical advantages for the imperial combatants,

²⁴⁸ Taraval, *The Indian Uprising in Lower California, 1734-1737*.

²⁴⁹ Taraval, 41, 148, 173, 175, 260. When negotiating, Taraval always framed his overtures as calls for the rebellious tribesmen to repent and be forgiven. He regularly remarked that friendly tribes could be trusted if they participated in Missal processions or sang hymns. Even diplomacy was simultaneously religious and anthropological.

geography placed the Pericú War at the far periphery of New Spain's reach and at the nadir of its logistical strength.²⁵⁰

Loyal Native soldiers and servants carried the very survival of the Californios. As porters, scouts, interpreters, canoe pilots, guards and even strategists, Native auxiliaries were crucial in every step of Bajeno operations. When Tavaral heard the news of the first raids, he heard it from Native runners, and used the same runners to alert the other Cape Region Spaniards as they fled first to La Paz and then to the safety of islands or to the Loreto Presidio. When Tavaral fled to the Island of Espíritu Santo and returned to the mainland in force, he relied on Native marine pilots. Translators made sense of the information interrogated from captives. As with the rest of his diary, Tavaral's descriptions of these events were procedural, and rarely included details of Native expertise to say nothing of naming Native individuals. Taraval was reluctant to acknowledge Native initiative. "I can scarcely understand how he [fellow Jesuit leader] endured such suffering... he domesticated the Indians, a task that could have been accomplished more easily and more promptly with wild beasts." Nevertheless, neophytes were partially blamed if a Jesuit was caught by surprise from raiders, as Taraval lamented of one comrade, "He had no friendly Indian there to warn him." Despite the Californios taking it for granted, the Pericú Revolt was a war fought between two Native armies.²⁵¹

²⁵⁰ Taraval, 112, 265, 108, 112. Taraval initially confused hit and run tactics with cowardice, but ceased to do so partway through his journal. Imperial bungles in hinterlands are universal. Scott demonstrated the dramatic effect of physical isolation in which lowland states like Han China or Vietnam were stymied in their attempts to colonize the heavily forested and logistically remote highlands of Laos and Cambodia. Consequently, the Hmong and other highland societies did not adapt many of the same hierarchal institutions of their lowland imperial neighbors. James C. Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia* (New Haven London: Yale University Press, 2010). On the California Peninsula, Crosby attributed Baja's dividing mountains as a disparity between the drier, steep highlands and the flatter, accessible lowlands that saw more Spanish settlement. Increased colonization on land adjacent to waterways lead to Crosby's observations of increased urbanization and Hispanicization. Crosby, *Californio Portraits*.

²⁵¹ Taraval, *The Indian Uprising in Lower California, 1734-1737*, 36, 148, 260, 280. The term "pilot" is applied here in reference to the navigators of canoes, piraguas and sloops. "Rower" does not do full justice to the technical expertise and familiarity with winds and tides required to operate small craft to service a military operation in bulk.

Ultimately the reinforcements and direction that came from the mainland demonstrated that Baja remained a territory connected to, incorporated with and dependent on the Viceroy of Mexico. After a year of revolt and the absence of decisive action, reinforcements came from Mexico proper. Spanish soldiers, Yaqui archers and veteran direction from mainland agents ultimately carried the day in favor of the Spanish. By the revolt's conclusion, the metropole had increased their military involvement and financial sponsorship of the war effort and completely realigned the Cape Region's settlement trajectory. Bajeños were fluent enough in borderland experiences to survive on their own, but to achieve colonial dominance on the peninsula they still required outside aid a generation after first contact.²⁵²

Sigismundo Taraval's diary was a lengthy, procedural account of the operations that made up the Spanish half of the Pericú Revolt. His descriptions of military operations demonstrated a familiarity, if not a relegated second interest in the daily efforts that sustained a prolonged campaign. Where Taraval expressed the most detail was his religious meditation of the Pericú as a subject people and his Enlightened analysis of them as an anthropological subject. While his academic and theological language proved his mindset as a Universalist Jesuit elite, his rote description of the war's process showed a familiarity and accommodation to many peripheral experiences Bajeños had internalized on the borderlands.

A 1738 testimony expressed the reverence Californios held for those who died in the Pericú War. Jesuit Ignacio Maria Napoli accompanied the Bajeño governor in the relief expedition to Mission Santiago. Napoli had founded Santiago a decade before the revolt. He had been replaced by two new friars, Nicolás Tamaral and Lorenzo Carranco. Napoli was both dogmatically zealous and a well-versed Universalist. As a scholar, his purportedly objective and

²⁵² Taraval, 112, 142, 282. Taraval exhorted the competency and moral caliber of both officers and bishops who intervened from the mainland. Mainland reinforcements also brought food along with seacraft, supplies and archers.

analytical mind was dedicated to the documentation of the Cora or Pericú lifeways in a metric and categorical manner. As a priest, he would be cursed with the burden of outliving the mission of his founding and burying his brother Jesuits and neophytes who had converted to Christianity under that mission's shelter.²⁵³

Tamaral and Carranco had entered the highland rancherías that had been reserved for the curanderos and their following. From what Napoli's interpreter could gather from the witnesses who remained nearby, the Pericú curanderos saw Jesuit presence as an existential threat to their own power and the status quo of precontact life. "[they killed them because] their sorcerers had revealed: 'I know that Padre Tamaral will not stop in his Mission, whether it will be hot or cold, in visiting the rancherías, or even visiting most of the year up in the mountains- Giving Confession, preaching, and administering to the sick, and harvesting for themselves more people.'" Napoli did not elaborate on the causes beyond this, and this may have made enough sense for him. How Tamaral and Carranco failed in their entrances into the rancherías where Picolo succeeded is simply not known, though it is possible that their "preaching" and "tending to the sick" usurped the expected role of the curanderos.²⁵⁴

Many neophytes had become hostile as a result of the conditions on the mission. As Napoli celebrated Tamaral and Carranco's willing deaths, he highlighted their superiority over their Native charges. "All the Indians [when] asked about the motives that they had to kill the padres said that it was because the pair stopped spoiling them after being baptized, the [ending of] the multiplicity of wives that they had been accustomed to, and their obligation to pray and to

²⁵³ "Biofile: Napoli, Ignacio Maria"; Nápoli, *The Cora Indians of Baja California; the Relacion of Ignacio Maria Napoli, September 20, 1721*; Napoli, "Testimony of Ignacio Maria Napoli, Testifying Towards the Martyrdom of the Padres of the Mission of Santiago."

²⁵⁴ Napoli, "Testimony of Ignacio Maria Napoli, Testifying Towards the Martyrdom of the Padres of the Mission of Santiago," 1–2.

come to Mass.” Napoli understood that the Pericú were angry at the ceasing of gifts and the harsh regimen of Christian experiences that Tamaral and Carranco imposed on neophytes.²⁵⁵

Much later, Napoli’s party arrived to pick up the pieces. The soldiers operating out of Loreto, half a province away, could not fully restore order for two years. Halfway through the ongoing revolt, the governor’s sortie arrived with Napoli at the charred skeleton of his mission. His first thought was for the remains of his comrades Tamaral and Carranco. “I having made diligent excavations to find the remains or bones of the Holy Martyrs [sic], that were burned (after killing them) by the barbarians. I could not find Padre Nicolas Tamaral [sic]- they had made ash of him, [left] with only a few white hollow bones. Of Padre Lorenzo Carranco I had the same bad luck. I saw some loaves of ash soaked and bloodied red.” Napoli’s expedition functioned not only as a military reconnaissance mission, but as a religious pilgrimage to recover and inter the remains of holy men.²⁵⁶

The raiders had murdered both Jesuits. From the remaining witnesses, Napoli related that the Pericú came to a widely shared understanding of the Jesuits as hostile interlopers. “Both Padres, having been seized and roughed up and dragged to be killed, they neither could flee, nor wanted to. As they sank down from the arrows and stones, they preached to the ones that fired at them.” Napoli’s description of the Jesuits’ last stand echoed a sense of purposeful suffering at the hands of pagans who held the advantage in forceful violence. Rather than beating a retreat to fight another day or defying death with bravado like masculine warriors were expected to do, the padres instead submitted to death, enacting what Native viewers would have perceived to be cowardly behavior. But in the eyes of the Christian Californio witnesses, the two preachers were struck down with God’s words on their lips, proving their iron will to die for their cause. The

²⁵⁵ Napoli, 2.

²⁵⁶ Napoli, 1, 2–3.

Bajeño missionaries rejected the experience of a warrior's death and chose the experience of martyrdom. The experience of martyrdom was a part of the borderlands life. Unlike the social consequences of ostracization or dismissal that occurred in metropolitan New Spain, Pericú ritual violence and the Jesuits' monastic willingness to die made martyrdom a borderlands experience that characterized the Californio dialectic between missionary authority and Native resistance.²⁵⁷

In addition to the two friars, the attackers also killed a neophyte named Chicuelo who had "cried bitterly" at the padres' execution. He refused to leave the doorway of Padre's house where they had been praying matins at the start of the attack. The raiders killed Chicuelo by bashing his head against the walls of the house. In addition to the Padres who represented everything anathema to the rebels, there was animosity against fellow Pericús who shared in the routine experiences of Spanish worship and family structure. Over and over again in his account, Napoli glorified his fellow Padres who died a good martyr's death, praising their dedication to the faith. Chicuelo did the same, but only received three sentences of description, and no praise. All three paid the ultimate price for Christ but only the Padres were ordained martyrs. Chicuelo was not awarded the same honor as his fellow Jesuit martyrs. He was, however, the only "Indian" to get a name. While unquestionably lesser in the categorizing evaluation of Napoli's account, Chicuelo's "second-class" martyrdom made him an honorary peer to the Jesuits in death, martyred for living the life of a Christian Californio.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁷ Napoli, 3.

²⁵⁸ Napoli, 4. Factions within Southwest Revolts are difficult to analyze for lack of culturally informed written sources. Splits between conservative and partially Hispanicized factions within the same tribal society seem to have occurred in other revolts. For examples, see Matthew Liebmann, *Revolt: An Archaeological History of Pueblo Resistance and Revitalization in 17th Century New Mexico* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2012); James Brooks, *Mesa of Sorrows: A History of the Awat'ovi Massacre* (New York: WW Norton & Company, 2016). Even in 20th century environments, anthropologists observed the conflicting dialectic between Hispanicized commodification and Indigenous forms of labor, see Michael T. Taussig, *The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980); Michael T. Taussig, *Shamanism, Colonialism, and the Wild Man: A Study in Terror and Healing*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).

Besides the three deaths, the raiders committed extensive vandalism and humiliating abuse. Since Santiago had become holy ground through the martyrdom of its Padres, Napoli began to search for relics, sacred or mundane. The “barbarians” had burned, smashed, or stolen nearly everything: the chalices, cups, books, icons, and saints [likely referring to wooden statues]. Only a psalter buried in the dirt had escaped the vandalization, along with a small bell that had been personal gift from Napoli. What walls and structures they could not burn they had pelted with stones “countless times.” Supposedly the aim was to destroy everything of the Padres and to deface and humiliate what couldn’t be destroyed. To do this, the attackers made dents in the mission walls. The attackers were merciful to the neophytes who remained faithful to the church. Monogamous women’s “venerable faces” were smeared with dirt while the men were bound up together “in stocks,” probably around palm trees. Kino, Lasuén and several other California missionaries commented on the Native love of music but distaste for bells, likely because of the bell’s connection to the schedule times of work and summons for Mass. Even with Native emphasis on percussion, bells seem to have been broadly rejected in the early generations of Native syncretism.²⁵⁹

Napoli’s Christian zeal quickly sanctified the Jesuits and condemned the raiders. As far as Napoli could interpret from their testimony, the Pericú confessed their own inferiority, first in clinging to their sins, and then in killing an innocent holy man. Tamaral made Christian service his routine amongst the Pericú, and the sorcerers ostensibly punished him for his good deeds. Religious scholar Adrian Christian Weimer has documented a continuity of “martyr language” in

²⁵⁹ For another analysis on the material rejections of bells as part of Indian Revolts, see Matthew Liebmann, “‘Burn the Churches, Break Up the Bells’: The Archaeology of the Pueblo Revolt Revitalization Movement in New Mexico, A.D. 1680-1696” (University of Pennsylvania, 2006), UMI. Kino commented directly on neophyte’s percussive affinity in Eusebio Francisco Kino, “Suplica de ayuda para las misiones de Baja California: Letter from Eusebio Francisco Kino to Maria de Guadalupe de Lancastre, Duquesa de Aveiro de Arco y Maqueda, Madrid,” February 15, 1687, HM: Madrid, Huntington Library.

North America, where religious individuals have attributed their suffering in the New World as a unique brand of suffering that brought the faithful closer to Christ through the abuses of ungodly oppressors. Weimer identifies the same experience of suffering from tortured missionaries through to those killed during the Civil Rights Movement. Martyrdom at the hands of the evil, barbaric or ignorant was another vindication of the civilizing mission. Not only did Tamaral die testifying to God in the service of Spain, he died with the last laugh having proved his point about Christ's sacrificial death.²⁶⁰

Napoli's testimony expressed a Hispanic tradition of borderlands martyrdom. Napoli dwelled at length on the horrors of Native violence against Jesuits, and on the extraordinary bravery and dedication of his Jesuit brothers. Christianity had celebrated dying in the name of Jesus since the Acts of the Apostles. Of the Apostles, only Judas and John were not martyred. Saint Joseph, husband of the Virgin Mary, was a role model and inspiration in this regard. In Catholic tradition, Joseph died with both Mary and Jesus Christ at his side with a peaceful conscience. To this day, prayers are said with Saint Joseph that God may grant the supplicant a "good death." In Spain, the collective experience of the Reconquista connected patriotic death with Catholic conviction. Saint Teresa de Jesus, a contemporary of Saint Ignatius of Loyola and fellow Doctor of the Church, embodied this death-seeking zeal at a young age. As a child, she ran away from her Spanish home seeking martyrdom by testifying amongst the Moors. Generations of migration from Spain to New Spain carried this national experience Westward. Bajeno Jesuits perpetuated the martyr's experience as part of their Californio identity.²⁶¹

²⁶⁰ Adrian Chastain Weimer, "Martyrdom and Religion in North America," *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Religion* (blog), February 27, 2027, <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199340378.013.433>.

²⁶¹ For an academic wrestling between biography, hagiography and apocrypha, see Pontius, *Early Christian Biographies*, ed. Roy J. Deferrari (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2001). The veracity of hagiographies are not relevant to this discussion. Whether Joseph did or did not die at Christ's side is less relevant than the fact that this was Church tradition in the lives of the Jesuits. Carlos Eire, *The Life of Saint Teresa of Avila:*

The Jesuits and the Pericú clearly had different understandings of the kinship and gift-giving that occurred in the lead up to the locals' baptism. Napoli's conception of submissive neophyte servitude expected a zero-sum status of Native *Bajeños* as converted, subjugated neophytes that he called "Indians," or unconverted "barbarians." He was unwilling or unable to understand gift negotiations in kinship relationships like those that sustained the Pericú. His mindset allowed for a narrow understanding of gifts' utility, and therefore miscategorized Native methods of diplomacy as "spoiled" greed and an insincere acceptance of baptism. For the Universalist missionaries, the sacrament of baptism was a transformative moment that began a convert's road to salvation and initiated the "uneducated" and "ignorant" Natives into subjects of the Spanish Empire. As with many Native societies, the Pericú seemed to have a far less binding interpretation of the baptism rite. Missionaries overoptimistically come to expect a committed, permanent conversion and residency within the mission grounds.²⁶² The mismatch evaluation of the baptism and gift-giving experiences caused Napoli to fundamentally overestimate the depth of the Pericú's supposed conversion. Rather than the direct and authoritative hierarchy of mission neophytes, rancherías Pericú expected a continuation of the gift-exchanged and the ongoing experiences as equals. Napoli misinterpreted this as indolently expecting to be "spoiled even after baptism." This suggested that the baptismal experience had less impact for the Pericú. Given the limited possible explanation between language and mindset, the sacrament likely had a similar impact to other experiences of early contact, such as Picolo's musket demonstration and

A Biography (United States: Princeton University Press, 2019). Teresa sought out martyrdom, Tamaral and Carranco ultimately found it.

²⁶² By examining primers that were developed specifically for a Native audience in the provincial regions of New Spain, Burkhart examines the ambitious expectations missionaries held for converts and the difficulties of catechesis for a mostly illiterate population. Louise M. Burkhart, "The 'Little Doctrine' And Indigenous Catechesis in New Spain," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 94, no. 2 (2014): 167–206.

friendly target shooting. Whatever the Pericú felt about the ceremony, the Jesuits neither knew nor cared what their kinship obligation had become.²⁶³

Napoli's testimony demonstrated that Californios boasted of their acceptance of the death that awaited many frontiersmen. If communications broke down and violence ensued, the missionary mindset was resigned to accept death, even a violent and painful end, as a final act of devotion to God and a final act of merciful forgiveness towards their ignorant charges. Furthermore, his Enlightened and Universalist bias demonstrated his ignorance of the Pericú's conventions regarding highland boundaries, kinship and gift-giving. The Pericú War brought out the extremes of the Californios. It stiffened their faith and cooperation while it emboldened their aristocracy and hubris.

The Californio experiences of non-lethal Native war was not an isolated case. Other peripheries experienced similar Native reactions that were met with similar borderlands functions. Spanish borderlands that were not incorporated into the metropole were forced to adopt gift-giving methods of kinship diplomacy at the risk of being nonlethal casualties of Native bullying.

²⁶³ Napoli, "Testimony of Ignacio Maria Napoli, Testifying Towards the Martyrdom of the Padres of the Mission of Santiago," 2–3; Baltasar, *Letter of Provincial Father Juan Antonio de Balthaffar, In Which Is Given News of the Exemplar Life, Religious Virtues and Apostolic Labors of the Ferverous Missionary the Venerable Fr. Francisco Maria Picolo*, 6–7. Historians have utilized anthropological approaches for gift giving to better understand Native-European relations. Mauss was among the first anthropologists to critically examine the diverse interpretations of gift-giving among indigenous cultures, specifically that many non-Western societies interpreted gifts as formal kinship and obligation, contrasting with contractual private property. Others reveal that New World European traders and diplomats were initially ignorant of the weight Native givers and receivers attached to the exchange of particular goods. Both *The Middle Ground* and *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures* argue that trading only reached a mutual understanding through many repeated renegotiations of commodity exchanges. Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Marcy Norton, *Sacred Gifts, Profane, Pleasures: A History of Tobacco and Chocolate in the Atlantic World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008). White would later argue commodity negotiation evolved into trade imbalances where some tribal economies were dependent on European trade goods and consumer markets in Richard White, *The Roots of Dependency: Subsistence, Environment, and Social Change among the Choctaws, Pawnees, and Navajos* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983).

Jayme Doye, a missionary in the riverside settlement of Santa Victoria, complained to his superiors in San Blas that Native warriors roamed his mission shaking down residents for tribute. “They have destroyed [emptied] most of the houses,” through their demands for tribute and food. Doye complained that his mission had been “infested” with “the savage types” of Indians, and he couldn’t make them go away. Despite superior firepower and materiel, the distance from military support and the padres’ tiny numbers gave leverage to hostiles. Unlike the European method of war that destroyed the enemy’s military capacity, nomadic warriors like the Pericú defeated their enemies through posturing. Their challenge was a brinksmanship game that ended with gift-giving tribute.²⁶⁴

The peripheral experiences of Baja California were not isolated incidents. Throughout peripheral Hispanic settlements and the vast syncretic borderlands that surrounded the metropole, peripheral experiences existed on a gradient. While Doye’s mission town was disrupted for a day, half of the province of Antigua California was derailed for multiple years. Doye’s smaller comparison demonstrates the intensity to which Californios’ borderlands of experiences were peripheral.

In conclusion, the causes of the Pericú Revolt and the Jesuits’ inability to detect them demonstrated that the Enlightenment method of bureaucratic social engineering was incomplete. Jesuits misunderstood important elements of Native Baja society. This misread also applied to the Jesuit understanding of Native warfare. Jesuits’ misinterpretations exacerbated the already tense situation between rancherías and the missions. The extreme conditions on the missions and the harsh work regimen were deeply dissatisfactory for many converts. Furthermore, Jesuits failed to perceive their gift-derived kinship obligations. As a result, the Jesuits “renege” on their

²⁶⁴ Doye, “José de Estacherría to the Viceroy Galvez,” March 12, 1746, 2.

obligations. Catholic zeal prohibited Californios from better negotiating with tribal leaders. Jesuits condemned curanderos rather than accepting them as social pillars of Native society. Jesuits refused to respect the social implications of physical boundaries between mission and rancheria territory. The Jesuits mistook Native warfare and condemned it for petty barbarism. Jesuits failed to see the destruction of material objects and physical humiliation as nomadic alternative to drastic population killings.

The way the Pericú and Spanish fought was indicative of Baja's peripheral status in viceregal New Spain. Most immediate was the limited number of casualties and numerically small participation. While the revolt consumed the Region from Loreto to Cabo San Lucas, the small number of combatants on both sides reflected the sparse population. The Bajefios relied on Native manpower. Despite the direction of the Jesuits and the provisions of the Loreto Presidio, neophytes comprised the majority of the Spanish manpower. Archers, scouts, messengers, and boat pilots sustained the Spanish war effort. Equally indispensable was the ken of Native diplomacy and reconnaissance. Despite their energy and intelligence, sparsely deployed Baja Jesuits had to delegate much of the networking and ground-level leadership to Native caciques or elders. Peripheral warfare was further characterized by the significant challenge of extreme distances in an arid, sparse landscape. Along with the increased likelihood of ambushes, the routine functions of supplies, reinforcements, allied communication, enemy reconnaissance, and foraging made conventional military operations cumbersome. As a result, Spaniards turned to the sea and emphasized their ongoing, yet strained, connection to the Mexican mainland. The Pericú Revolt was fought on Native terms. Hit and run tactics, hostage taking, ambushes, social bullying, and the physical destruction of enemy symbols defied the bureaucratic and orderly

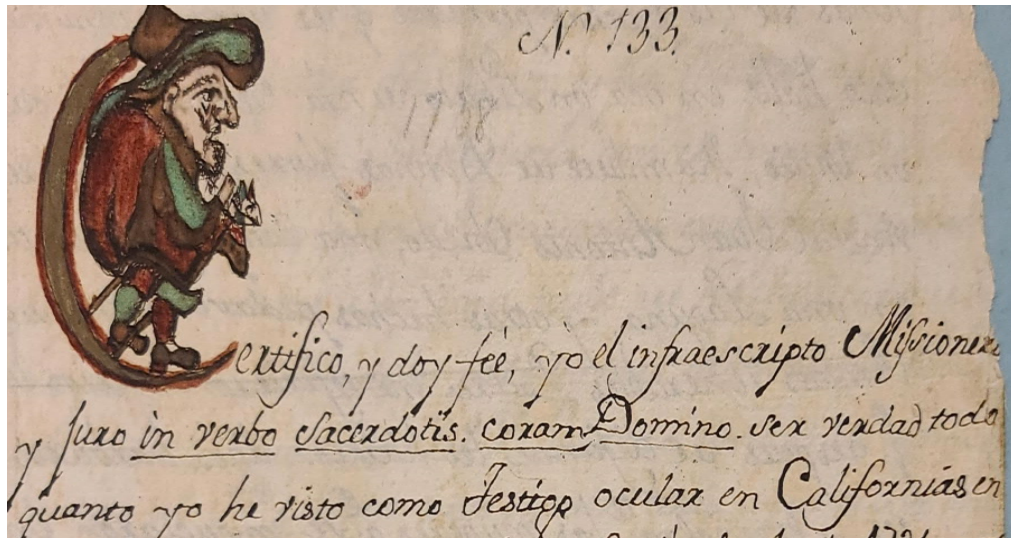
conventions of Enlightened warfare. Even in optimal conditions, the presidio soldiers could not fight and win a conventional battle against the rebels because the Pericú refused to engage.

Spain's victory reinforced the Californios' sense of community as a peripheral, intrepid, Spanish, mestizo borderlands society. Jesuits, soldiers, and loyal neophytes all cooperated to defeat the Pericú rebels and reassert the Californio establishment. Native, clerical and militant elements of the borderlands all experienced the struggle to keep Baja as a peripheral colony of Spanish Mexico.

Conclusion: A Sketch to Illuminate the Peripheries

In conclusion, Baja's peripheral experiences came from a number of borderlands phenomena. Distance and removal from the mainland complicated standard colonial routine and demanded new levels of competency for basic logistics. Bajeño missionaries adapted to the sparse Spanish settlement by assuming new borderlands leadership. The peripheral nature of Baja California and the nomadic, asymmetrical methods of Native War prompted the Bajeños to articulate new methods of peripheral military power. This collaborative adaption was tested and survived during the unique borderlands hostilities that came with the Pericú Revolt.

I conclude this chapter with one final indicative observation from Napoli's eyewitness account of the Santiago ruins after the Pericú raid. On his first page, painted with multicolored pigments, was an illumination of a man bent over with the weight of a gunnysack slung over his shoulder. The document begins with a square illustration about 4 lines of text deep. The letter "C" of the first "Certifico [I certify]" is incorporated into the illumination. It seems most likely that the illumination and Napoli's testimony were created at the same time.



*The illuminated title letter of Ignacio Maria Napoli's testimony on the attack of Mission Santiago, 1738.*²⁶⁵

The illustration depicted a wanderer. The clearly European man was drawn with a large and floppy-brimmed pilgrim hat. Sporting rough traveler's clothes and a pair of muddy boots, the man's back was bent with the weight of a massive gunnysack that is the same size as his chest and head. Supported only by a comically thin walking stick, his sunken eyes scowled through a scraggly, unkempt beard down towards hands coming together, either in the midst of clapping or folding hands to pray.

Based on his praise of their deaths and his willingness to dig for their remains, Napoli approved of the Jesuits and their colonial efforts that perished at Mission Santiago. He praised Tamaral and Carranco, commemorating their selfless work and their martyrdom. He even attended the funeral Mass, where "the requiem was convened with jubilation." With this obviously positive reception, why was the parchment of his testimony crowned with a caricature of a figure so oafish that it resembled a gnome? The sack and killings at Santiago struck Napoli close to his heart. The ground had been profaned by the same people he had come to save: "They

²⁶⁵ Napoli, "Testimony of Ignacio Maria Napoli, Testifying Towards the Martyrdom of the Padres of the Mission of Santiago," 1.

[his murdered companions] were admired by everyone. It all seemed so recent, now taken away.” For Bajefios, the martyrdom of the Pericú Revolt was a tragedy. Like all experiences of martyrdom, it was a call for inspiration, and endurance. If Tamaral and Carranco had died for the Pericú, their fellow Californios could live to continue their calling. As Napoli sang in jubilee at their funeral, he praised not only the Bajefio martyrs’ heroic death, but their difficult life.²⁶⁶

The Bajefios operated far from the material comforts or military security of the mainland. Despite forbidding geography, evangelizing Jesuits and intrepid civil servants brought expectations of grand, European Enlightenment to Baja California. Through distance, scarcity, danger, and tribal revolts, Baja California mocked, weakened and murdered those expectations. Enlightened, Universalist autocrats died little by little in California and became bent, burdened, and bearded frontiersmen. Baptized by the borderlands, Californios learned not only to be missionaries and bureaucrats, but civil managers and military commanders. Major operations in response to challenges like the Pericú Revolt sharpened their minds and reignited their faiths. The experiences on the Empire’s borderlands turned them into practical, adaptive, frontier Bajefios, suitable for life in Baja California’s peripheral colony.

²⁶⁶ Napoli, 5.

Chapter 3: Christian Zeal and Imperial Patriotism: The Mindset of the Californio Franciscans

“Always forward, never back.”

-Motto of Junípero Serra²⁶⁷

“Plus Ultra [further beyond].”

-Motto of Imperial Spain²⁶⁸

Introduction

This chapter seeks to understand the mindset of the Franciscans who began the colonization and Christianization of Alta California. Specifically, I examine the Alta California Franciscans and compare them with the Jesuits of Baja. Both orders had superiors in Mexico City and both juggled their secular and sacred duties as part of borderlands routine. The Franciscans were more exuberantly devout and zealous in their expression, prone to sacrifice and enthusiastic for martyrdom. Nevertheless, they were active and willing participants in the Enlightened, absolutist state.

While the Jesuits ultimately failed to avoid expulsion, the Franciscan system established wilderness missions that encouraged growth and ultimately outlasted New Spain itself. The Franciscans’ culture and their routine collaboration with secular powers suggests they may have been more enthusiastic about their cooperative position with the military and political authorities in their province. Nevertheless, the Californio orders of Enlightened, imperial priests, whether Franciscan or Jesuit, had more in common than they had differences. By the time they arrived in the New World, both orders had become evangelical agents of the Enlightenment. Because of their interest in successful conversion and management of Native subjects, both orders had colonial motivations to adopt the mindset of what scholars have described as Spanish

²⁶⁷ Regis J. Armstrong and Ingrid J. Peterson, *The Franciscan Tradition* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2010).

²⁶⁸ William D. Phillips and Carla Rahn Phillips, *A Concise History of Spain*, Cambridge Concise Histories (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Universalism. Through the protection of the presidio system, financial funding and the maintenance of the colony's connection through the San Blás maritime network, both orders depended on the same secular bureaucratic employer.

Fundamentally, both Jesuit and Franciscan friars were social engineers who designed new settlements and directed top-down managerial projects that intended to remake the landscape and demography of California and its population. By examining the Enlightened credentials of Junípero Serra himself, I argue that there are more similarities than meets the eye between the mendicant Franciscans and academic Jesuits. Finally, I emphasize in my analysis the usefulness of including more focus on later generations of Californio Franciscans, beyond the founding fathers of the province.

The Phases of Franciscan Californio Historiography

Anglophone scholarship on the Franciscans in California focuses overwhelmingly on the region that would later become part of the United States, despite commonalities between the development of the Franciscan enterprise in Baja and Alta California. More recent historians have begun to consider the two Californias together, but all scholarship on the region has been affected by the artificial separation of the two provinces.

Broadly speaking, the historiography of the Franciscans in California can be broken up into three periods. The Franciscans themselves documented their work extensively in the form of letters, journals, chronicles, travelers' accounts, and scientific treatises. A few such writings were purposeful commemorations of their monastic brothers' actions, the most famous example being Francisco Palóu's hagiography of his supervisor and comrade, Junípero Serra. Palóu wrote

these memoirs as a commemoration of a life that he considered praiseworthy and exemplary of a doggedly Christian soul, dedicated to self-denial and missionary conversion.²⁶⁹

Other journals and diaries have survived that are less hagiographic and more mundane. Both Franciscan friars Juan Crespí, 1721-1782 and Francisco Garcés, 1738-1782, kept journals in their expeditions, and both in turn have been used to understand the operations and mindset of the Franciscans. These sources did not have significant circulation until the nineteenth century, when historians began to incorporate them into larger historical works. On their own, however, these monastic writers set the assumptions for their own legacy for almost two hundred years. Until the revisionist era of the later 20th century, most Western American historians did not meaningfully challenge the religious integrity or legitimacy of the Franciscan enterprise in Alta California.²⁷⁰

Victorian and early twentieth-century historians wrote about Franciscans as founding fathers of the state of California, coinciding with the broader schools of frontier history, borderlands history, and the general consensus school of American triumphalism. In brief, the American consensus school of history was the historiographical wing of the Progressive Era. Broadly optimistic and triumphal, Consensus Americanists celebrated the United States and its history as an overwhelmingly positive story. Their histories were written with the tenets of American society being essentially good and constructive. In an introduction to a re-publication of American historian Richard Hofstadter's (1916-1970) work, Eric Foner described both the

²⁶⁹ Francisco Palóu, *The Founding of the First California Missions under the Spiritual Guidance of the Venerable Padre Fray Junípero Serra: An Historical Account of the Expeditions Sent by Land and Sea in the Year 1769*, trans. Thomas Workman Temple and Douglas S. Watson (San Francisco: Nueva California Press, 1934); Francisco Palóu, *Life of Fray Junípero Serra* (Washington: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955).

²⁷⁰ Juan Crespí, *Fray Juan Crespi, Missionary Explorer on the Pacific Coast, 1769-1774*, ed. Herbert Eugene Bolton and Robert Weldon Brower (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1927); Francisco Garcés, *On The Trails of a Spanish Pioneer: The Diary and Itinerary of Francisco Garcés, Missionary Priest, In His Travels Through Sonora, Arizona, And California 1775, 1776.*, ed. Elliott Coues (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1900).

liberal and conservative historians of the pre-World War II Era as generally having a consensus on the existential truths of American society, which in turn influenced their interpretation of history. Independent of party affiliation or material topic, Foner considered them to be, “characterized by broad agreement on fundamentals, particularly the virtues of individual liberty, private property, and capitalist enterprise.” In his intellectual history of Progressive timekeeping, American historian Michael O’Malley connects the optimism of general progress over time to the consensus intellectual tradition. O’Malley argues that the sensibilities of the consensus era were only shaken after the carnage and faith crisis of the World Wars.²⁷¹

Consensus history can be even better understood through its opposition and deconstruction by the New Left and social historians. The overall optimism of consensus history was in stark contrast to the new generation of historians. They emphasized class conflict and emphasized the collective history of previously marginalized groups. Richard Hofstadter was a transitional figure who emphasized economic and intellectual conflict as fundamental elements of understanding historical development. With his critique of both populism and leftism, Hofstadter did not fit cleanly into either the canon of consensus or New Left. Contemporary with Hofstadter’s transitional scholarship, American historian John William Ward (1922-1985) wrote a deconstructionist biography of Andrew Jackson that challenged the triumphal “great man” biographies that were common in the consensus era. Rather than celebrating Jackson as an influential figure, Ward challenged the notion of influential individuals as a whole. He concluded that rather than the political age being Jackson’s to trailblaze, Jackson came to prominence in an era of new political methods. The consensus school deserves special consideration in studies of the North American West because Turner and Bolton were both writers of this historiographical

²⁷¹ Eric Foner and Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992), xxi; Michael O’Malley, *Keeping Watch: A History of American Time* (New York: Viking, 1990).

era. Turner's frontier thesis in the 1890s and the final years of Bolton's scholarship in the 1950s make good bookends for the start and end of borderlands consensus studies. Both the earliest and latest scholarship of this generation celebrated the settlement of the Wild West.²⁷²

Herbert Eugene Bolton (1873-1953) founded the borderlands school of history, specifically in the context of the Spanish frontier in the American West and Florida. Unlike the Anglocentric and linear frontier thesis of his mentor Frederick Jackson Turner (1861-1932), Bolton argued that North America was best understood by examining the interactions of Native tribes and all the European powers. Both early schools tended to focus on the Franciscans as subjects of biography. Rather than members of a larger entity, or as harbingers of change, both good and bad, the Franciscans received either religious or patriotic adulation as men of virtue who brought civilization to a barbaric land.²⁷³

In addition to being recognized as a Native-Hispanic, Anglo-Hispanic borderland, post-Boltonian scholars placed Alta California at the center of the conversation around the subjugation and disappearance of Native people from their historical communities. For the greater context, Bolton was a University of California Berkeley professor roughly contemporary

²⁷² Richard Hofstadter, *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life* (New York: Knopf, 1963); Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform from Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York: Vintage Books, 1960). For his final book in which he partially separated himself from his understanding of consensus, see Richard Hofstadter, *The Progressive Historians: Turner, Beard, Parrington* (New York: Knopf, 1969). John Ward, *Andrew Jackson: Symbol for an Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955). The American consensus school is uniquely an Anglo-American phenomenon. However, the scholarship of Alta California brought consensus historians into the study of Mexico as a whole and especially Baja California. This is another example of the *Bajeño* story being experienced peripherally to a broader mainland core territory- in this case, the United States' metropole of Alta California.

²⁷³ Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" (American Historical Association, Chicago, 1894). For the Boltonian assessment of the Franciscans, see Francisco Palóu and Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Historical Memoirs of New California*. (Berkeley: University of California press, 1926); Pedro Fages and Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Expedition to San Francisco Bay in 1770, Diary of Pedro Fages*, Publications of the Academy of Pacific Coast History ;v. 2, No. 3 (Berkeley, Cal.: University of California, 1911). Bolton's colleague also contributed to the founding Franciscan discourse with Herbert Ingram Priestley, *José de Gálvez: Visitor-General of New Spain (1765-1771)*, University of California Publications in History ; v. 5 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1916); Pedro Fages, *The Colorado River Campaign, 1781-1782: The Diary of Pedro Fages*, Publications of the Academy of Pacific Coast History ; Vol. 3, No. 2 (Berkeley: University of California, 1913).

with Alfred Kroeber (1876-1960). Kroeber, a student of German anthropologist Franz Boaz (1858-1942), conducted research with California tribes that modernized anthropology at the start of the twentieth century. Kroeber was also the director of the studies of Ishi, the last survivor of the Yahi people. The Ishi phenomenon contributed to the romance and exceptionalism that was attributed to California by early 20th century historians. If the Franciscans were rugged, pious pioneers, the vanishing Native Californians were a mysterious but disappeared relic of Franciscans' obstacles and challenges.²⁷⁴

There was some double-consciousness involved in lionizing the same order of missionaries that advocated for royal absolutist rule over Native peoples. Elliot Coues argued Garcés was not malicious, but of a different time. "If some of the words I have deliberately chosen are obsolete, quaint, or otherwise objectionable, from a certain point of view -well, so is Garcés obsolete, and his figure a quaint one, and his appearance in the ragged robe he wore would be objectionable on the score of anachronism." The critique of the missionary ethic was essentially that Garcés acted with good intentions within a heavy-handed system. "It made him sick at heart to see so many of them going to hell for lack of the three drops of water he would sprinkle over them if they would let him do so. I repeat it: Garcés, like Jesus, so loved his fellow men that he was ready to die for them. What more could a man do...? This is true religion, of whatever sect or denomination, called by whatever name." Coues' era of Anglophone tradition had not reckoned with the Indian Removal or wars on the Great Plains. In a school where

²⁷⁴ For the republished material derived from Kroeber's time with Ishi, see Theodora Kroeber, *Ishi in Two Worlds: A Biography of the Last Wild Indian in North America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004). Kroeber's widow Theodora compiled further documentation of the Ishi phenomenon in Robert Fleming Heizer and Theodora Kroeber, *Ishi, the Last Yahi: A Documentary History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981).

Manifest Destiny was broadly embraced as a net positive development, the monastic, ostensibly non-violent and outspokenly compassionate wing of Spanish settlement was also embraced.²⁷⁵

In addition to the general praise for evangelical works and for borderlands heroism, early 20th century scholarship lent itself to the celebrating of the local stories of what had become American cities. California, especially the central and southern coasts, had steadily and significantly grown since the Civil War and accelerated after the First World War. Interstate immigration had quadrupled the antebellum population by 1920. Unlike other regions of the United States, the white English-speaking population of new Californians did not have a binding mutual heritage or shared regional history. The missions and their unique Western heritage served as a mutually (imagined) shared past, with local historians celebrating what element of the mission story originated locally.²⁷⁶

Writer Ardis Walker of the San Joaquín Valley styled his biography of Francisco Garcés as a biography of the “Pioneer Padre of the Tulares.” Walker’s writing and argument are standard material for the consensus school. Garcés was both a martyr by and a hero to the Native tribes of the San Joaquín. Between the locality emphasized in his narrative and the original poetry that began each chapter, Walker’s history read as much like a work of patriotism as it did a work of history.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁵ Francisco Tomás Hermenegildo Garcés and Elliott Coues, *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer; the Diary and Itinerary of Francisco Garcés Missionary Priest in His Travels through Sonora, Arizona, and California, 1775-1776*, vol. I (New York: Francis Harper, 1900), xx–xxiii. Coues’ argument came from the introduction of his translation of Garcés’ diary, cited here.

²⁷⁶ Kroeber was the first to hypothesize a statistically-driven estimate of Native Californians’ population sizes. The Native population of Spanish California is now understood to have declined for many reasons, both through violent conflict and un-anticipated disasters like earthquakes and soil decline: see Steven W. Hackel, “From Ahogado to Zorrillo: External Causes of Mortality in the California Missions,” *The History of the Family* 17, no. 1 (2012): 77–104. The development of US-occupied California is a story of immigration, agricultural development and irrigation. See John Mack Faragher, *California: An American History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2022); John Mack Faragher and Robert V. Hine, *Frontiers: A Short History of the American West* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

²⁷⁷ Ardis M. Walker, *Francisco Garcés: Pioneer Padre of the Tulares* (Visalia: Limited Editions of Visalia Press, 1946).

These monographs are all the more adulatory when compared to the rest of the Anglophone works of Spanish History, particularly in the United States after the Mexican-American War. The “Black Legend” of many Anglophone intellectuals dated all the way back to the English publications of Bartolomé de las Casas. Despite the generally low United States opinion of Iberian Catholicism in general and the Latin American republics in particular, Californios and Franciscans in particular broadly received positive evaluations from 19th and early 20th century writers. This was an unusually positive assessment amongst the generally dim histories of Iberian colonization written by Anglophone scholars. Why Californios escaped Anglophone condemnation with the rest of Latin America and were granted honorary company amongst United States stories merits some consideration.²⁷⁸

The timing of Anglophone California history was significant- Californios and their colonial process came to the attention of United States academics at the same time as Manifest Destiny had been fully realized through victories in war and unprecedented demographic and economic growth. California was the mineral and agricultural jewel of the West and the United States’ access to the Pacific world.²⁷⁹

The colonization of the Californias by Spaniards was perceived as comparable to the establishment of the United States. Manifest Destiny both vindicated Anglophone colonization and built a bridge to the ruling class of Californios whose cooperation allowed for a smooth incorporation of Californio settlements into the State of California. Social historians Hurtado and Pérez argue for a semi-continuity of Hispanic autonomy under the statehood in the United States.

²⁷⁸ For the negative context of Anglophone history, consider Lawrence A. Clayton and David M. Lantigua, *Bartolomé de Las Casas and the Defense of Amerindian Rights: A Brief History with Documents*, Atlantic Crossings (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2020).

²⁷⁹ For an exploration of the environmental and resource exploitation of Gold-Rush Era California, see John Ryan Fischer, *Cattle Colonialism: An Environmental History of the Conquest of California and Hawai’i* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015); Robert Glass Cleland, *The Cattle on a Thousand Hills: Southern California, 1850-1880*, Huntington Library Publications (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1951).

Simultaneously, it is important to acknowledge the violence exacted upon and expected of Mexican-American residents of the southwestern United States. In order to engage as citizens in the newly-occupied American West, Hispanics engaged in colonial action as junior partners to White Anglo settlers. Native and Hispanic studies scholars like Guidotti-Hernandez, Jacoby and even historians as early as Frank Latta acknowledge the underlying violence that came with Hispanic membership in the American contract of colonialism.²⁸⁰

Even when the Alteño missions received a negative assessment, the Franciscans themselves escaped criticism. Of Garcés, translator Elliot Coues wrote in 1899, “But it does not lessen our respect for the man, that he, like his Indians, was the victim of the most pernicious, most immoral, and most detestable system of iniquity the world has ever seen- that Spanish combination of misionero and conquistador [sic] which had for its avowed and vaunted end the reduction of Indian tribes to the catechism of the church and the vassalage of the throne.” Past and contemporary panegyrists of the friars avoided confronting the complex realities brought down on California by the government of New Spain. A biography of a holy friar rather than the colonial machine could be summarized as “a good man amongst bad times.” Christian apologists have long argued that the Church, especially the missionary orders, should be evaluated separately from the rest of the Spanish Empire on account of the orders’ advocacy for better treatment of Native peoples. This argument in part fairly challenges the Black Legend and in part unfairly dismisses the clearly evident paternal attitudes the friars held as they continued to

²⁸⁰ For Hispanic social participation in the US through kinship, see Albert L. Hurtado, *Intimate Frontiers: Sex, Gender, and Culture in Old California* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999); Erika Pérez, *Colonial Intimacies: Interethnic Kinship, Sexuality, and Marriage in Southern California, 1769-1885* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2018). For the suffering and inflicting of violence, see Nicole Marie Guidotti-Hernández, *Unspeakable Violence: Remapping U.S. and Mexican National Imaginaries* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011); Karl Jacoby, *Shadows at Dawn: A Borderlands Massacre and the Violence of History* (New York: Penguin Press, 2008); Frank Forrest Latta, *California Indian Folklore, as Told to F. F. Latta, by Wah-Nom-Kot, Wah-Huñ-Chah, Leé-Mee [and Others]* (Shafter: Shafter Press of California, 1936).

operate under the crown. In a dramatic instance of overstating the case, Weidenkopf argued “St. Serra cared for both the temporal and eternal well-being of indigenous peoples. [sic].”²⁸¹

In the eyes of United States consensus historians, California served as a favorable contrast to the majority of Spanish colonies or Latin American “banana republics.” The Black Legend had a specific list of Spanish shortcomings, most of which did not appear to be present in California. Home-grown American theologians and historians had already reinforced anti-Catholicism and anti-Spanish Black Legend scholarship even before the Mexican-American War. William Hickling Prescott, (1796-1859), was a Massachusetts Brahmin. His scholarship of the 1830’s and 1840’s covered Iberian conquests and demonstrated a disdain for the bureaucracy and decadence his generation perceived as characteristic of Iberian society. Traditionally among both the United States intelligentsia and working class, Spain and New Spain were perceived as corrupt, ponderously bureaucratic, and decadently top-heavy. The frontier society of California appeared to have more in common with the ostensibly pious and simple Anglo pioneers than the far-removed intrigues of Mexico City and doubly so from the Bourbon court in Madrid.²⁸²

In discussion of the United States’ understanding of Californios, it would be incomplete to omit the romantic yet influential work of Helen Hunt Jackson. *Ramona* was a wildly popular

²⁸¹ Steve Weidenkopf, “The Real Story of St. Junípero Serra,” *Catholic Answers* (blog), accessed September 30, 2024, <https://www.catholic.com/magazine/online-edition/the-real-story-of-st-junipero-serra>; Garcés, *On The Trails of a Spanish Pioneer: The Diary and Itinerary of Francisco Garcés, Missionary Priest, In His Travels Through Sonora, Arizona, And California 1775, 1776.*, xxviii.

²⁸² William Hickling Prescott, *The History of the Conquest of Mexico* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1843); William Hickling Prescott, *The History of the Conquest of Peru* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1847). Both Prescott’s works on the Spanish Conquest confirm the broadly accepted concepts of the Black Legend and colonial sensibilities of Pre-Colombian Native societies. Being topical to the Westward Expansion and the earlier publication, *Mexico* received a lot more attention in its time and later than *Peru*. For some analysis of the earliest American texts that have supported the Black Legend in the perceptions of the United States, see Matthew Restall, *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2003). For a more in-depth analysis of the Black Legend as a whole, see Antonio Juan Calvo Maturana author et al., *The Black Legend of Spain and Its Atlantic Empire in the Eighteenth Century: Constructing National Identities*, ed. author Catherine Marie Jaffe editor and author Karen Stolley editor, Oxford University Studies in the Enlightenment 2024 (Liverpool: University Press, on behalf of Voltaire Foundation, University of Oxford, 2024).

1884 melodramatic romance novel that both popularized and cemented several Californio stereotypes for many English-speaking readers. Jackson's novel included a romanticized Latin hacienda, an exotic, mixed-race "princess," a primordial Edenic Native tribe, and an exaggeratedly simple interpretation of Spanish colonization in contrast to United States Manifest Destiny. While clearly ahistorical, *Ramona*'s universal reception was so pervasive amongst progressive circles in America that it, and its nostalgic description of the *Californio* friars, was still the prevailing popular image of Hispanic California in the 1920's as D.W. Griffith adapted it into a blockbuster film. The romance of the Wild West and the triumphalism of the Boltonian generation of history were mutually-reinforcing.²⁸³

Both Bolton and Kroeber passed away in the years just before the counterculture of the mid-1960s. Their successors launched a third wave of Franciscan historiography beginning in the mid-1960's. In the era of both Chicano and Red Power movements, Californio stories were re-assessed through revisionism, the incorporation of subaltern and marginalized voices, the centering of Native stories and social history. Many thinkers identified the colonization of the Western United States as the direct instigating issues that precipitated the need for 20th century changes. Both Lakota activist and scholar Vine Deloria (1933-2005) and historian Dee Brown (1908-2002) argued for a continuity of violence and forced conversion as the colonial causes of 20th century Red Power issues. These values of revisionism, larger contextualization of the missions as a part of empire, search for Native voices, and the double-essence of Hispanic and

²⁸³ Many have commented on the intersection of Manifest Destiny and the idiosyncratic reinterpretations of femininity on the frontier of the America West. Generally speaking, many white United States settlers perceived non-Anglo-Saxon males as savage threats and non-Anglo-Saxon women as damsels in need of conversion (hence the friars) and domesticity (hence the interracial romance). For a well-resourced collection of case studies throughout the West, see Amy S. Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Native roots in Californio identity remain the guiding forces of Franciscan discussion to this day.²⁸⁴

Even in the revisionist dialogue, scholars engage with Mexico's northern provinces as a borderland. In "The Peculiarities of Mexican History," Alan Knight argues that for the first decades of the Mexican Republic, the nation as a whole was classified as "the sick man of the Americas," unable to incorporate peripheral territory into the central state- peripheries like California, that remained a borderland until it was absorbed by the United States.²⁸⁵

Steven Hackel deconstructed the logistics behind Mission rule. In *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis*, Hackel points out a series of factors that undermined the myth of the benevolence of the Franciscans and highlighted the desperate conditions of California Native peoples. Disease and environmental destruction forced Native tribelets to congregate closer to the Missions, and thus the Franciscans' regime and way of life, for caloric and material stability. The Franciscans inflicted draconian punishments on the neophytes, which Hackel demonstrates through documenting neophytes' declining birth rates, increasing death rates, and constant attempts to escape. Hackel referred to congregations around Mission San Carlos as "skeleton communities."²⁸⁶

²⁸⁴ For representational tracts of AIM and the Red Power causes, see Vine Deloria, *Custer Died for Your Sins*. (New York: Macmillan, 1969); Dee Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee; an Indian History of the American West* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1971). Both cite California as a "shatter zone" of settler violence. For a textbook example of US-Spanish revisionism, see Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States* (New York: Harper & Row, 1980). Zinn went so far as to accuse both the Spanish and the United States of intentional genocide. Many revisionist Latin American and colonial Spanish events have been interpreted through class struggle in complement with racial/colonial struggle. For example, see Franklin Folsom, *Red Power on the Rio Grande; the Native American Revolution of 1680* (Chicago: Follett, 1973). The condemnation of empire, both in New Spain and the United States, was a convergence of responses that directly invited a re-engagement with Franciscan California.

²⁸⁵ Alan Knight, "The Peculiarities of Mexican History: Mexico Compared to Latin America, 1821-1992," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 24 (1992): 99-144.

²⁸⁶ Steven W. Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769-1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 122.

James Sandos described the discourse between pro- and anti- Franciscans as “Christophilic triumphalism” and “Christophobic nihilism,” and suggested that the efficacy of Franciscan conversions should be challenged. By challenging the ostensible assumption that a baptism meant a genuine conversion, Sandos suggested that the rates of Native Christianization was even lower than estimates already suggested by the appearance of flights and revolts. Sandos continued to examine other methods of resistances such as pagan and Christian syncretism in rituals and burials.²⁸⁷

Scholars have expanded inquiries beyond the methods and justifications of the Franciscan religious rule. Some examinations have demonstrated a consistent and enthusiastic participation, both genuine and authoritarian. In his recent publication, Luis Alberto Trasviña Moreno makes the argument that the Franciscans who came to Alta California had already developed their frontier administration regimen through their five years of administering missions in Baja California before Dominicans assumed complete control of the peninsula’s missions after 1769.²⁸⁸

Franciscans have been included in the religious branch of the Enlightenment. In his survey of Spanish Universalism, the Iberian intellectual branch of the Enlightenment. Pedro Aullón de Haro includes Junipero Serra alongside Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro and José Celestino Mutis. Aullón de Haro argues for a broadly considered Spanish community of intellectuals, bound together by an emphasis of empirical observation and a consciousness of a globally applicable rule of order. Hackel’s recent edited volume, *The Worlds of Junipero Serra*, corroborates this. Through twelve essays, Hackel and his contributors “go beyond Serra’s

²⁸⁷ James A. Sandos, *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions*, Yale Western Americana Series (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

²⁸⁸ Luis Alberto Trasviña Moreno, *La Orden Franciscana y Su Representacion En Las Misiones de La Antigua California (1768-1773)* (La Paz: Instituto Sudcaliforniano de Cultura, Archivo Historico Pablo L. Martinez, 2022).

California years,” to demonstrate Serra truly was influenced by the interdisciplinary enlightenment and the increasing globalism of the Spanish Empire. Far from being a singularly “great man,” to emerge from sheer unique force of character, Serra was profoundly influenced by the academic and social Iberian Enlightenment, as was his presidency of the Alteño Missions.²⁸⁹

Franciscans and Jesuits

Alteño Franciscans have received so much more attention than the Bajeño Jesuits, and much of United States History treats the Franciscans as a separate enterprising exception from the other agents of Iberian Imperialism. This chapter complicates the story in three distinct ways.

Firstly, I suggest that the historical record has focused on the first generation of Franciscans at the expense of a deeper examination of the Franciscan mindset established by routine. In particular, scholarship on Father Serra, whether it praises or condemns him, pays insufficient attention to the textures of everyday life in the Spanish missions, the routines that governed them, and the changes in those routines over time.

Secondly, I argue that Alteño Franciscans cooperated with the provincial civil and military authorities more willingly than did the Jesuits. The expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767 set a precedent for all the northern missions, and made it necessary for the Franciscans to work hand-in-glove with a newly vigorous civil government.

Finally, although there were differences in monastic culture between the two orders, I argue that Californio Jesuits and Franciscans had more in common than most scholars realize. Despite the Jesuits’ internationalism, their academic prowess, and their political influence, they

²⁸⁹ Pedro Aullón de Haro, *Introduction to the Spanish Universalist School: Enlightened Culture and Education Versus Politics*, History of Early Modern Educational Thought (Boston: Brill, 2020); Steven W. Hackel, *The Worlds of Junípero Serra: Historical Contexts and Cultural Representations* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2018).

were agents of Hispanic settlement and Native conversion. Despite the Franciscans' religious zeal and emphasis on self-deprivation, they were elite members of an imperial ruling caste. Both Californio orders were men of the Enlightenment who combined their understanding of the natural world and their authority as priests to bring Spain to the corners of a world they aspired to rule.

While the missionary orders of the Franciscans and Jesuits had different histories in Europe and maintained their own ecclesiastical colleges in Mexico, they did function in the same role as *Californios*. Both orders served as the moral pillar of *Californio* society and acted as a counter-influence to the military. Nevertheless, the personalities of the order and individual affected the mindset of each missionary culture. Whether in favor of zeal, Enlightenment observation, compassion or fiery discipline. Readers can either emphasize the orders' differences too much or not enough. Elaborated below, I argue the chief difference between the Jesuits and Franciscans was the latter's more enthusiastic cooperation with civil and military authorities in Alta California. This was demonstrated through their regularly combined efforts on expeditions and their comfortable language in regular correspondence.²⁹⁰

This is very different language than how some of the Bajefio Jesuits spoke to the civil authorities on the mainland. As referenced in Chapter 2, Picolo, Clavijero, and Kino all wrote elegantly about the possibilities of wealth and conquest in Baja when reaching out to sponsors, whether viceregal aristocracy, the port authority at San Blas or the Audiencia in Guadalajara. Because of the periphery position of Baja and the limited control, the Bajefios and Jesuits particularly had more or less full control over the daily business of life on the peninsula. Like the

²⁹⁰ By no means do I suggest the Jesuits did not cooperate with civil forces, only that the Franciscans cooperated more and with enthusiasm. Compare the peripheral Bajefio experience of distance (Chapter 2) with the Alteños' vigilant experience of isolation (Chapter 4).

Bajeño Jesuits, the Franciscans deferred to the civil authority with courteous, obeisant, language. Above and beyond the Jesuits, Alteño Franciscans used fraternal language with their military and political neighbors.²⁹¹

To analyze the Franciscan tone and language used with the Alteño civil authorities, I make use of many brief letters written from the friars to the governor in Monterrey. In addition to their usefulness in affirming the consistent cooperation between the church and the governor, it demonstrates the missionary routine, both in written expression and in borderland experiences.

“Routine” is not a disparaging term when describing these archival sources. Firstly, routine experiences are crucial matters in the study of ethnogenesis, particularly on the borderlands where daily, self-sustaining stable communities were not guaranteed. Routine is an essential element of experiences. The borderlands regularly demanded different skills from the regular works of daily life. These distinct demands regularly impressed experiences on Californios that could only appear on the borderlands. Because their routine challenges were distinct, so too was the Franciscans’ correspondence. Secondly, the language of routine procedure made for mundane business-as-usual is quite different than the language used in purposefully commemorative documents such as diaries, testaments or bibliographies. While singularly revelatory documents like Paloú’s biography demonstrate that a new identity was created, routine documents reveal the experiences that made that identity come to be. I draw on the idea that documents of routine work can help study the subaltern and marginalized, and that documented “interruptions” or resistance to routine can show the exceptions to the normative

²⁹¹ These sources were discussed in depth in Chapters 1 and 2. Rather than retreading them here to tedium, I make only reference sufficient to compare to the Franciscans in the second half of Californio colonization. Alteño mindsets and experiences remain the focus of Chapters 3 and 4.

rule. Finally, many historians have found new arguments from meaning interpretations of mundane documentation or objects that have been reinterrogated.²⁹²

Baptismal records and other church documents emphasize what ran smoothly in the conversion process and where culture class subverted the expectation of the Franciscans. The routine letters of status reports sent to the governor were a staple of the material in the Taylor collection. These demonstrate not only the frequency of the state-church partnership between Californio elites, but also their comfort in expressing camaraderie and religious enthusiasm simultaneously with their practical operations of *communiqués*. Perhaps most surprisingly, the journals and notes kept by Franciscans in their role on exploratory expeditions demonstrate their active, willing and collaborative role with the government's military operations.²⁹³

The Franciscans and Civil-Missionary Cooperation

²⁹² For the study of work and routine to reveal the subaltern, see Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?," in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (London: MacMillan, 1988); Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society*. Translated by L. A. Manyon. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939); E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1964). For the study of interruptions in routine, see Asunción Lavrín, *Sexuality and Marriage in Colonial Latin America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989); Kristen Block, *Ordinary Lives in the Early Caribbean: Religion, Colonial Competition, and the Politics of Profit* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012). Like Pérez, many historians study the legal and religious establishment of marriage and its documented interruptions to better understand social dynamics that disappear in consensus history. For the interrogation of ostensibly mundane documents and objects revealing new interpretations, see Jennifer Nez Denetdale, *Reclaiming Diné History: The Legacies of Navajo Chief Manuelito and Juanita* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2007); Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785-1812* (New York: Knopf, Distributed by Random House, 1992).

²⁹³ To varying extents, the scholarship of Engelhardt, Bolton, Taylor, Burrus and Geiger all relied on personal and individual correspondence. The first two generations of English *Alteño* scholarship were in large part editing and compilation projects of the letters available to the scholars. Zephyrin Engelhardt, *The Missions and Missionaries of California, Volume II, Part I* (San Francisco, Calif.: James H. Barry, 1908); Maynard J. Geiger, *Mission San Luis Rey de Francia: The King of the Missions; an Historical Sketch* (Oceanside: San Luis Rey Mission, 1939); Juan María de Salvatierra, *Selected Letters about Lower California, Translated and Annotated*, ed. Ernest J. Burrus (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1971). Beyond California, borderlands scholarship regarding quotidian correspondence includes Steven W. Hackel, "Land, Labor, and Production: The Colonial Economy of Spanish and Mexican California," *California History* 76, no. 2/3 (1997): 111–46; Fred B. Glass, "On a Mission: How Work Destroyed Native California," in *From Mission to Microchip* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016), 2–22; Ignacio Martínez, *The Intimate Frontier: Friendship and Civil Society in Northern New Spain* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2019).

The Franciscans, like the Jesuits before them, were partners with the civil and military government in the colonization of California and the conversion and Hispanicization of its Native peoples. However, the Alteño friars not only cooperated more deeply and regularly with the civil government, they incorporated it more deeply into their identity as Californio founders and state-makers. Enlightenment experiences manifested through Franciscans' language in borderlands documents, both in expressions regarding military operations and the scientific bureaucracy.

Franciscan friar Francisco Hermenegildo Garcés (1738-1781) made several overland expeditions into the Sonora and Mojave deserts, finally making the overland journey along the future course of the Mission Strip on the Alta-Baja borderlands. In his journals, he referred to these expeditions as “entradas.” Garcés regularly framed his actions in evangelical terms regarding the tribes, but the specific choice of the “entrada” terms indicated a conceptualization of his work simultaneously as a religious venture and a military operation. His final entrada was literally both. He participated in the Anza Expedition that culminated in the founding of San Francisco. Garcés followed beyond the shelter of de Anza's military column past the Coastal Range into the interior of the San Joaquin Valley. The friar operated under the direction of the military captain. The advance scouting operation was also a personal crusade. If Garcés participated in planting borderlands missions, the same work advanced colonialism. While he traveled into the unknown proclaiming the Gospel, soon behind him followed the expanding absolutism of the King. Coues esteems that Garcés brought his good intentions but regretfully acknowledges that he also brought “his fanaticism, his bigotry, his ecclesiasticism” into the new territory. Despite the eulogies that attempted to separate the missionaries from their secular

sponsors, Garcés' religious convictions uninterruptedly connected to his secular faith in the state.²⁹⁴

One of the earliest re-printings of Garcés's papers was edited and introduced by the Dominican chronicler Juan Domingo Arricivita. As part of his 1792 chronicle of the renowned graduates of the Franciscan College of Santa Cruz, Arricivita praised Garcés' apostolic work as a missionary in the colonization of California. Arricivita's introduction used this similar church-and-state combined language while commemorating the explorer. In this Franciscan compilation of contemporary hagiographies, Garcés died, "a glorious death, crowned by his apostolic works, dying at the hands of the barbarians who had been conquered by his works so grand." By 1792, the Alteño missions were still being founded, and Garcés himself had been dead for less than thirty years. For the seminarian readers of this hagiography, Garcés was very much a contemporary figure whose life story offered model achievements and an exemplary death as a Christian martyr. That said, Garcés himself was never "crowned" with any commanding rank, nor did he himself personally fight in the "conquest" over Alteño tribes. Nevertheless, Father Arricivita honored a praiseworthy Franciscan with terms of the state for his contributions to the church's mission.²⁹⁵

Junípero Serra Ferrer (1713-1784) did not receive the same military adulation as Garcés, but his high education and status as a professor in a European College was regularly noted as a mark of dignity, particularly in places adjacent to nobility. In the copy of his diary of the Portolá expedition, where he acknowledged de Croix as Viceroy and, "The most illustrious Señor Don Joseph de Galvéz of the Council of his Majesty, and Inspector-General of the Kingdom," Serra

²⁹⁴ Garcés and Coues, *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer*, I:xiv, xx. Chapter Four examines further minute particulars of the Franciscans becoming accustomed to military cooperation.

²⁹⁵ Juan Domingo Arricivita, *Crónica Seráfica y Apostólica Del Colegio de Propaganda Fide de La Santa Cruz de Querétaro En La Nueva España* (Querétaro: Colegio de Santa Cruz, 1792).

announced himself as, “Reader and Ex-Professor of Theology of the University of Mallorca.”

Serra ranked himself last in the order of supervisors. He was certainly lower in the colonial hierarchy than the head of his college or the presidio captains directing the expedition.

Nonetheless, Serra included a signature and title that staked his authority as an educated dignitary of a European institution, as opposed to his immediate superiors, who drew authority from command of provincial forces. Serra’s more pertinent authority came from his presidency over the *Alteño* missions, but he took the extra effort to officialize the record of his academic status, despite its irrelevance in connection to the expedition exploring the overland desert wilderness.²⁹⁶

Serra was not alone in his regard for European academia as a source for his authority. In his biography of Serra, Francisco Palóu commemorated his old master as, “Doctor and ex - Professor of the morning class,” of the Mallorca University where he studied under Serra. This title built a hierarchy of identity in two ways. Firstly, doctor and even ex- “professor” were titles of education and authority. Secondly, the “morning class,” suggested a routine experience that Palóu shared, regularly attending a class held by Serra. Serra the doctor extended his title and educated significance to those with whom he shared his class, and his experience.²⁹⁷

The *Alteño* clergy extended their acknowledgement of the rank educated clergy beyond their own order. In a September letter of 1758 where he lamented the massacre at San Sabá, Serra commended his nephew on his ordination into the Capuchin Order of friars. Amidst his

²⁹⁶ Junipero Serra, *Diary of Fray Junipero Serra, O. F. M.; Being an Account of His Journey from Loreto to San Diego, March 28 to June 30, 1769* (North Providence: Franciscan Missionaries of Mary Press, 1936), 3.

²⁹⁷ Francisco Palóu, *The Historical Account of the Life of and Apostolic Labors of the Venerable Father Fray Junipero Serra of the Regular Observance of Our Seraphic Father Saint Francis of the Province of Mallorca, Doctor and Ex-Professor of the Morning Class of the Sacred Theology at the Lullian University in the Island; Commissary of the Holy Office of the Entire New Spain and the near-by Islands; Apostolic Preacher of the College of Apostolic Missionaries of the Propaganda Fide of San Fernando in Mexico; President and Founder of the Missions and New Establishments of New and Upper California and Monterey* (Mexico City: Franciscan College of San Fernando, 1787).

religious sentiments like “thanks be to God,” and “please pray for me,” Serra also commented on his nephew’s rising professionalism. “I give you a thousand happy days [congratulations] for your reception... of this important profession- be thankful to God for it, it is the greatest profession one can imagine.” Obviously, a monastic promotion was met with religiously-themed praise, but the ex-professor’s use of “profession” rather than “confession,” “consecration,” “sacrament” or “vocation” implied that the status of an ordained friar in a consecrated order carried social and political prestige, in Europe or on the borderlands.²⁹⁸

In addition to titles, ritual experiences married the clerical and political branches of Californio expansion. As part of the entrada in 1769 where Serra first came to Alta California, the Bajefios planned a maritime expedition from Loreto to San Francisco aboard the *San Carlos*. Rather than a galleon or large vessel, the missionary, engineer and volunteers were loaded onto a “paquebote.” This was a small cargo ship, a practical, vessel suited to the calm waters of the Sea of Cortés. Humble though it was, the Bajefio experience was fundamentally connected to these small freighters and their short cargo runs that exported salt, converts and livestock and returned to the peninsula with communiqués, supplies and new Californios. On the Feast Day of the Epiphany, the residents of Loreto and the members of the expedition joined Father Serra and the “Lord Inspector” José Gálvez. Serra began the shared experience of blessing and empowering the voyage. He “sang the Mass aboard her [the *San Carlos*], blessed the Standards; the Litany was sung, and other devotions to Our Lady.” In addition to the anticipated blessings and adoration of the Virgin Mary, Serra specifically blessed the standards, the military ensigns of the Spanish Royal Navy and the unit of volunteering soldiers. This was an acceptable and even

²⁹⁸ Junípero Serra, “Letter To Fray Miguel de Petra, Sending Congratulations to Fray Miguel on the Occasion of His Profession as a Capuchin; His Recall from the Sierra Gorda and Reassignment; the Martyrs of San Sabá; Etc.,” September 29, 1758, 1–3, Archivo de la Provincia de los Capucinos.

common practice among Catholics, but it should be contextualized: Serra had consecrated the civil servants. After the priest, the lead civil servant performed his half of the christening experience. Gálvez gave his own speech exhorting the crew and retainers: “And His Eminence made a fervent exhortation with which he kindled the spirits of those who were to go in that vessel to said Ports of San Diego and Monte Rey.” Historians have regularly categorized José [Joseph] Gálvez as anti-clerical. In the ritual that bolstered the crew and empowered their vessel, Gálvez’s civically-rooted authority was working literally side-by-side an ascetic priest who combined his zealous personal devotions with academic rigor.²⁹⁹

After the flagship *San Carlos* carried the naval expedition’s leadership, Serra performed the same series of Mass, prayers and hymns twice again for the expedition’s two other vessels the following day. After that, he busied himself preparing to depart to make the journey to Monterrey by foot. The overland expedition was to be directed by the commander of the Loreto Presidio, Captain Fernando Rivera y Moncado. The captain began commandeering supplies: “Two days later he, Rivera y Moncado, set forth from Loreto to the Mission of San Xavier, to commence his operation of taking out from it, and from the other Missions next to it, whatever he might choose of what was in them. Thus, he did; and although it was with a somewhat heavy hand, it was undergone for God and the King.” Serra’s assessment of the captain’s travels highlights a few things. Firstly, it showed the material cooperation between missionaries and civil actors on the local level that was required to carry out the Californio expansion. Secondly, it demonstrated the continuity between the established Bajeño actors and the emerging Alteño

²⁹⁹ Serra, *Diary of Fra Junipero Serra from Loreto to San Diego*, 4, 4–5. Lawrence Palmer Briggs, *A Pilgrimage to the Home of Joseph de Galvez: The Father of California*. (Oakland: Holmes Book Company, 1942). Additional scholarship attesting this was found in the provenience metadata of the Gálvez Collection in the Huntington Library. Galvés’ class of increasingly secular agents was a growing trend throughout the Bourbon 18th century- see also David A. Brading, “Bourbon Spain and Its American Empire,” in *The Cambridge History of Latin America. Volume I, Colonial Latin America*, ed. Leslie Bethell (Cambridge: University Press, 1984), 389–439.

settlements and identity as a generation of established Bajeños became the founding members of the Alteño settlements. Finally, it demonstrated that while the synchronization of clerical and military agents had its hiccups, both elements of the Spanish enterprise in California still fundamentally cooperated. While stressful enough to commit to ink, neither the captain's rudeness nor the clergy's reluctance stopped the expedition.³⁰⁰

The friars gave a passive-aggressive tone back towards the government as well. In 1817 on the Mission Santa Bárbara, Father Antonio Ripoll was replying to the governor's queries on the cost of manufacturing clothes for the neophytes. Ripoll's calculations showed everything was more expensive than anticipated, but there were other options if the governor would not provide. "I have just heard news that a Russian ship anchored, having a little bit of everything, and they are trading it all for seeds." Ripoll hit a nerve about the ever-present foreign danger that kept Alteños vigilant at all times. "Again, of those little mercies we poor southerners [south of Monterrey, the governor's seat] could not participate- perhaps we could beg of you some help, some usefulness, or at least a little thing for the new church- but we are patience." Polite, and still technically loyal, the friars of Santa Bárbara managed to complain, joke about treason with foreign powers, and chide the governor for being cheap. He did this while still remaining, "Available and dedicated to your service and captaincy." Despite the complaining and the obviously flippant hint of colluding with the Russians, the Franciscans and the governor remained active, participating members of the same team.³⁰¹

Moments of anger or frustration had their parallels of camaraderie. *Alteño* Franciscans treated their military counterparts as brothers and coworkers. Jesuit correspondence regularly

³⁰⁰ Serra, *Diary of Fra Junipero Serra from Loreto to San Diego*, 5.

³⁰¹ Ripoll Antonio, "Letter to Alta California Governor Pablo Vicente de Solá from Antonio Ripoll Costs of Cloth Trappings and the Russian Ship South of Mission Santa Barbara," May 9, 1817, Taylor Collection Box 4, Huntington Library.

began with, “My esteemed Sir,” and ended with, “May God keep and bless you many years.” These salutations and signatures were those of Enlightened bureaucratic gentlemen. The Jesuits imitated the same gentlemanly tone that they received from agents of the viceroy, the port of San Blás, or the local captaincy at the Loreto Presidio. At least on paper, the Jesuits were as formal as the civil counterparts. A generation later, the civil-military *Alteños* remained as formal as those in Baja. The Franciscans, however, were routinely expressive and enthusiastic about their faith. Counting the introduction to Paloú’s biography of Serra, every single document mentioned in this chapter that was created by *Alteño* Franciscans began with some variation of, “Long Live Jesus! [sic]” “Long Live Jesus, Mary and Joseph,” “JMJ” or a hand-drawn cross heading the top of the paper. As unfailingly as a Sello Real stamped on the top of documents commissioned by royal officers, the Franciscans in California made it routine to experience and have their readers experience a brief prayer before the conduct of business.³⁰² Likewise, greetings to figures no less esteemed than the governor of Las Californias were routinely greeted with, “I bless you, my friend,” “my beloved master and sir,” “my lord and servant of God,” or simply, “beloved in Christ.” The familiar language of the Franciscans was both a sign of comfortable cooperation with the civil government, and also a passive reminder that Franciscans served God as much as they served Charles III.³⁰³

Franciscan Attitudes toward Native Converts

If the Franciscans treated their civilian Spanish collaborators with fraternal amiability, they treated their neophyte Native subjects with paternal authority. While the *Alteño*

³⁰² I do not exaggerate to say that all transcribed and original documents bear some kind of slogan, initials or mark acknowledging Jesus, Mary, Madonna and Child or the Holy Family of Jesus, Mary and Joseph. They were either directly at the top of the page above all else or the first line of the text’s body.

³⁰³ Garcés and Coues, *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer*.

Franciscans' identity as educated friars and Enlightened scholars enabled them to conceptualize themselves as partnered Californios with civil state-building actors, the same identity justified their role over their Native subjects. The Franciscans justified their paternal and autocratic leadership on the missions over Native people through their conceptions as less civilized souls in need of both compassionate Christian salvation and Enlightened bureaucratic regimentation.³⁰⁴

The Franciscans believed the Native peoples in or around their missions were charged with a vocation. The friars had a civic duty to convert their neophytes through catechism and civic ethics into Catholic Californios. The friars believed this with such unwavering fervency they were encouraged and willing to die in the performance of their work. While strong in their convictions, Franciscan perceptions of race and civility became more ambiguous when it came to distinguishing allied Native Californios from the hostile "barbarians." Even if the neophytes under their care were rebellious or non-compliant, the Franciscans could comprehend their defiance in a Californio context, disturbances of the routines of Mass, mission labor, marriage and Hispanic routine; all aspects of borderlands experiences. Unlike subjugated Native Californios, hostile tribes and individuals stymied the Franciscan mindset by rejecting catechism and Hispanicization altogether and inverting the spatial experiences of mission boundaries and contesting the frontier's social stability.³⁰⁵

³⁰⁴ For a broader exploration of racial and religious justifications of Spanish power, see Jesús F. De la Teja and Ross Frank, eds., *Choice, Persuasion, and Coercion: Social Control on Spain's North American Frontiers* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005).

³⁰⁵ The term "shatter zone" is often applied in the Woodlands and Great Lakes regions to describe the pandemonium of Beaver Wars. Economies, social orders, and political relations all collapsed into anarchy, complicated by accelerated disease. While the term has not been broadly applied to *post-entrada* California, its applicability is certainly worth entertaining. For an eastern analogy, see Robbie Franklyn Ethridge and Sheri Marie Shuck-Hall, *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009). For a California analysis of regions beyond the Spanish grasp, see Wallace Smith, *Garden of the Sun: A History of the San Joaquin Valley, 1772-1939*, ed. William B. Secrest (Fresno: Craven Street Books, 2004).

Serra's experiences with race in Mexico demonstrated an emerging borderlands mindset even before he had come to California. In 1752, Serra complained to the government authorities in the "Most High" Inquisition in Mexico City about the witchcraft and paganism practice on his mission in the Sierra Madre. Locals of several different races engaged in routinely blasphemous experiences. "There is a great... gathering of them, and a great many Indians come with them, some are Indians and others are not, [sic]... flying around in the night through the air usually uniting in a cave on a little ridge near a ranch named Saucillo... wherein they adore and sacrifice to demons who appear in the form of rams and other things of that theme." Even before he had come to California, Serra was suffering through demonstrably borderlands experiences. Earlier in his letter, Serra identified the alleged witches by their races, classified as a "ladina Mexicana" and a "mulata," both married to Mexicans.³⁰⁶ He identified them as residential "members" of the mission, but lamented that they often disappeared. Unlike Spain or the Caribbean, the Enlightened cartographers and conquerors could not control the geography of the frontier, lacking knowledge of the landscape. Father Serra was outnumbered not only by his missionary charges, but by the "great many Indians [that] came with them," in reference to off-mission arrivals who joined the witches.³⁰⁷

Serra's frustration with porous missions was common throughout New Spain's frontier. In the same 1758 letter of congratulations to his nephew, Serra recounted the recent massacre at the Mission Santa Cruz of San Sabá, located on Llano Estacado of the Texan frontier. The mission's complete destruction began with the Comanche betrayal of the conversion experience. "A great band of Comanche came upon them, visiting each of the small chapels and huts where

³⁰⁶ Junípero Serra, "Report to the Inquisition of Mexico City, Reports Evidences of Witchcraft in the Sierra Gorda Missions," September 1, 1792, 1–3, Ramos Inquisiciones, Archivo General de la Nación.

³⁰⁷ Serra, "Report," 1.

the friars dwelled. They sold themselves as friends, and that they came in peace, so that they could become Christians.” The deceptive visitors were actually a war band of Comanche and other allied raiders. They ambushed, tortured and slaughtered the mission’s Franciscans and enslaved or scattered their Apache allies.³⁰⁸

The Comanche achieved surprise when they subverted the expectation of meeting visitors with gift and exercises of kinship, including token gifts, prayers and the offer of Christianity. This borderlands kinship had ultimately recruited the Lipan Apache into conversion and alliance with the Spaniards. As the Franciscans shared the experience of receiving a convert, the Comanches sprang their trap having deceived and lured their marks outside the protection of the fortified palisade. “After they [the Comanche] were assured they [the missionaries and converted] were defenseless, they jumped on them seizing the first one... they gave him a round of the rifle and cut off his head.” The Franciscans had been tricked into treating the Comanches like converts. They had regularly treated the friendly Lipan Apache in the same way, and as such did not fear being outnumbered. The ensuing massacre demonstrated to Serra and other Franciscans that any converso could manipulate the missionary rituals. The experiences that would recruit Californio neophytes had been revealed as very risky indeed.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁸ Serra, “Letter To Fray Miguel de Petra, Sending Congratulations to Fray Miguel on the Occasion of His Profession as a Capuchin; His Recall from the Sierra Gorda and Reassignment; the Martyrs of San Sabá; Etc.,” September 29, 1758. The massacre at San Sabá has been held up as a high-water mark for the New Spain’s northern interior expansion. It was catastrophic for the frontier. The attack interrupted almost $\frac{3}{4}$ of a century’s development since the reclamation of New Mexico. For military and diplomatic analyses of the San Sabá reversal, see Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008); Juliana Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007). For a breadth of Spain’s failures to expand into the continental interior, see Ralph H. Vigil, Frances W. Kaye, and John R. Wunder, eds., *Spain and the Plains: Myths and Realities of Spanish Exploration and Settlement on the Great Plains* (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1994).

³⁰⁹ Serra, “Letter To Fray Miguel de Petra, Sending Congratulations to Fray Miguel on the Occasion of His Profession as a Capuchin; His Recall from the Sierra Gorda and Reassignment; the Martyrs of San Sabá; Etc.,” September 29, 1758, 1. For a deeper study of Apache political and material articulation in New Spain’s borderlands, see Matthew Babcock, *Apache Adaptation to Hispanic Rule* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016). For a broader, anthropological assessment of the misunderstanding and misuse of anticipated encounters, see Jonathan Lamb, “Minute Particulars and the Representation of South Pacific Discovery,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 28, no.

Despite the risk posed by deceptive warriors, the Franciscan mindset was vindicated by miracles. “Several things occurred that were doubtless miracles- I omit some, but I do tell that after the barbarians withdrew from the field...” the Christians of San Sabá searched the area for their loved ones’ bodies for burial. One Franciscan’s decapitated body “after six days, was found with a pleasant smell still dispersing from his open, bleeding wounds. His head was found, distanced from his body in the same circumstance.” Without further examination, “they buried him that way, covered him with earth, and a little later, over him had sprung a trunk [developed, thick stalk] of maize.” Some details are worth examining for symbolism. In the miracle passage, Serra only referred to the Native attackers as “barbarians,” the dialectic opposite of the “civilized” neophytes and their saviors: himself and his borderland band of brothers. The process of burying the dead on the field was performed by the borderlands Hispanics as a grieving ritual, experiencing and mourning not only the deaths but ameliorating the violent sacrilegious mutilation of their comrades’ physical remains. Such an experience would make the miracle of an incorruptible body, already a tradition in Catholic belief, all the more meaningful as a borderlands experience. Such experiences not only strengthened the shared Hispanic borderlands identity but additionally condemned the hostile raiders as torturers of martyrs. Regarding the miraculous growth of the cornstalk over the Franciscan’s grave, there is room for skepticism about the how miraculous it would have been for corn to grow on the Great Plains in the middle of March. Whether or not readers accept these miracles is not important. What mattered was that

3 (1995): 281–94. Lamb argues that individual expressions and symbols in inter-cultural contact has regularly been misunderstood in history, calling for reassessment of meaning and agency in borderland encounters, particularly in violent episodes of first-contact encounters, like those of James Cook in Polynesia and Hawaii. Similar destruction of lives, material objects and sexual norms were analyzed in the destruction during the loss and recapture of Spanish settlements in the Pueblo Revolts of 1680 and 1692- see Michael V. Wilcox, *The Pueblo Revolt and the Mythology of Conquest: An Indigenous Archaeology of Contact* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009); Matthew Liebmann, ““Burn the Churches, Break Up the Bells’: The Archaeology of the Pueblo Revolt Revitalization Movement in New Mexico, A.D. 1680-1696” (University of Pennsylvania, 2006), UMI.

Serra accepted them. Furthermore, the presence of a New World native crop, maize, growing from the soil over the body of a European friar held symbolism. From the martyred gift of Christian, educated Europe, new Native subjects would grow. “A portent- so it seems,” Serra reflected. He took a religious inspiration in cultivating souls whilst also scientifically appreciating the New World particularity of the wild-growing, yet harvestable staple crop of maize.³¹⁰

Almost sixty years after Serra’s maize metaphor, Alteño Franciscans were still connecting maize with a Californio sense of place connected to the Native diet, and even the Native essence. At Santa Cruz, Jayme Escudo detailed the rationing conditions on the mission. The immediate response was “to harvest all maize, to feed this worthy troop, that is which [maize] I deem absolutely necessary for the Indian race.” More than a sufficient form of sustenance, maize was quintessential to the race of neophyte Californios.³¹¹

The regular disorder in Serra’s Sierra Gorda mission and the massacre at San Sabá demonstrated how precarious the Franciscans knew their position to be. In practical terms, borderlands settlements, even those within fortified palisades like San Sabá, were out-numbered and out-maneuvered by the tribal societies. Small numbers of imperial agents could only mete out military and political force in faltering steps over generations. Removed from reliable reinforcement and provisioned sparingly, these borderlands authority could not reach beyond their established strongholds without the cooperation of satellite allied villages. The secrecy of meeting in caves up on the hills was shield enough for Native ceremonies, with or without

³¹⁰ Serra, “Letter To Fray Miguel de Petra, Sending Congratulations to Fray Miguel on the Occasion of His Profession as a Capuchin; His Recall from the Sierra Gorda and Reassignment; the Martyrs of San Sabá; Etc.,” September 29, 1758, 2.

³¹¹ Jayme Escudo, “Letter to Alta California Governor Pablo Vicente de Solá from Jayme Escudo Regarding the Crop Failure at Mission Santa Cruz,” May 25, 1817, 2, Taylor Collection Box 4, Huntington Library.

demonic goats. Without the geographical knowledge of the borderlands, Serra's efforts to impose orthodox Christian praxis in the area was hopeless. He could not even insure it on his own mission. This sense of isolation contributed to the mindset of Alteño vigilance.

Even on a frontier of wonders that confronted him with demon goats, corpse corn and witches, the ex-professor stated his case in terms of Enlightenment knowledge. "These, then, are not comprehending Indians," he stressed to the Inquisition in Mexico City. This was a notable word choice, distinct from the standard evangelical term, "Indians of reason," "Indians of faith" or "friendly Indians." While Serra did list the races of the alleged witches, his primary concern was their Hispanic civility, their proper education, their Christian practice. In a word, their Enlightenment. "These and other indicators of the same degree I've already expressed [witchcraft, flight off the reservation], if not addressed will soon spread and infect those poor neophytes in our charge." Serra described his neophytes like a compassionate if overbearing shepherd. They were being seduced into sin by wicked (non-converted) Native actors. With words like "spread" and "infect," he was also diagnosing subjects like an Enlightened sociologist. In Serra's assessment, these were not exclusive views but the Franciscan rule was the common solution. Serra was preoccupied with the sins of the *genízaros* in the same way that he would be concerned with the illness of a quarantined man. His concern for Native public health was both moral and medical. Nonetheless, he remained dedicated to morally cultivate and socially engineer his neophytes with all the Christian energy and Enlightened regulation he could muster. "It seems to me that all of our labor will mean that one grain of wheat [the European staple, as opposed to the Native maize] that falls on this dead land will raise up much fruit in accomplishment through the souls of these so miserable- may it be so, Amen." As the

Enlightenment's regimented procedure had sharpened the Spanish army and aristocracy, so too would it civilize the Spaniards' neophytes. The missionaries just needed to keep the faith.³¹²

Religious scholar Matthew D. Lundberg argues that suffering derived from religious persecution or martyrdom has often influenced Christians' decision to go take up the sword and exert the faith by force. Given the Spaniards' regular condemnation of Native violence and "sorcery" in the New World, it is tempting to view much of the Church's attempts to exert control solely through the lens of dogmatic zeal. Given that Serra himself participated in the lamentations over fallen Spaniards. It is obvious that Serra was a religious friar concerned with the proper catechesis of souls. In his letter to fellow men of the cloth, his terminology fretted about keeping new sheep from straying off the mission into the wilderness of sin. Beyond his religious terminology, Serra exhibited the mindset of a social engineer that was a product of the civilizing Spanish Enlightenment. The grave demarcation was clear between civilized spaces under mission supervision and the unregulated areas of the mountains where soldiers could not prevent the pagan practices from taking place. Serra wrote of regimented borders that were beyond the delineated zones of labor and domesticity. These were not boundaries that were organically developed or spiritually determined. Serra and the other Franciscans had literally declared where the vineyard was to be and reshaped it using Neophyte labor. Native "recidivism" in the hills was not just a sin, it was a refutation of the procedural regimen that Serra had objectively designed. As a result of this violation of protocol, Serra wrote to the profession office of his superior administrations for the bureaucratic deliberation: that is, he alerted the Inquisition of the ongoing sin of his flock. To say the Serra was not Enlightened

³¹² Serra, "Letter To Fray Miguel de Petra, Sending Congratulations to Fray Miguel on the Occasion of His Profession as a Capuchin; His Recall from the Sierra Gorda and Reassignment; the Martyrs of San Sabá; Etc.," September 29, 1758, 2–3; Serra, "Report to the Inquisition of Mexico City," September 1, 1792, 1, 2.

because of his strong religious belief is a false dichotomy. It was his Enlightened mindset that gave frame to his religious energy.³¹³

Two Voyages: Serra and Consag

In mindset and language, Alteños and individual Franciscans differed from Bajefios and individual Jesuits. Despite the highlighted specific cases unique to individual people and the places they visited, Jesuits and Franciscans were both Californios of high social rank distinguished by their religious zeal and educational pedigree. However, it is important to not lose sight of their shared institutional role and Californio identity shaped on their borderlands experiences. Both were agents of an Enlightened absolutist government who saw signs in the natural world that affirmed their superior position. Missionaries of both orders came to the New World cut from the same cloth, entrenched in the sense of their own privileged station in imperial and academic society. As they arrived in the New World, both Jesuits and Franciscans expected and relied on cooperation from the locally established colonial elites, both from elites of the church and the laity. While en route to the frontier, the physical demands of missionary evangelizing became clear through the harsh reality of sea travel and logistics. Nonetheless, missionaries found fortitude through observations that they interpreted spiritually through their Catholic lens.

To illustrate this parallel, I compare the travel narrative in a letter from Junípero Serra and Fernando Consag's account of his travels. While recounting his journey to Mexico, Serra highlighted several themes that were similar to elements that Fernando Consag emphasized. Each of these missionaries arrived first in a Caribbean port province that the Spanish had

³¹³ Matthew D. Lundberg, *Christian Martyrdom and Christian Violence: On Suffering and Wielding the Sword* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021).

imposed regular stability on. They were not part of the frontier. Each arriving priest met and mingled with the diocesan clergy of the port they arrived in, being treated with hospitable deference. Each then preceded on to mainland Mexico and witnessed a miracle. Their story was relayed back in a private correspondence to a fellow priest back in Europe.³¹⁴

These travel accounts are worth examining in detail for several reasons. Firstly, the Californio credentials of both Serra and Consag are indisputable. Their exploration and conversions were foundational for the missionary pillar of Californio identity. Any documents that highlight their early New World experiences are important. Secondly, these arrival experiences demonstrate how and what the missionaries thought before the realities of borderlands routine. Their pre-frontier voices allow for a contrast to their thoughts and experiences that they recorded in the middle of the fray. Thirdly, the densely-developed Spanish Caribbean Rim, divided as it was between encomiendas and busy ports, was not a borderland comparable to that of the Californios. However, the passage narratives enumerated by both friars were certainly New World experiences. There were distinct expectations that were disillusioned and challenged in the process of leaving the academic and political surety of Europe. The transitional experiences in the Caribbean began the syncretic process of identity re-invention that would be finalized on the Californio borderlands.³¹⁵

³¹⁴ For the original source, see Fernando Consag, “Carta del P. Fernando Consag de la Compañía de Jesus, Visitador de las Misiones de Californias, à los Padres Superiores de esta Provincia de Nueva-España.” (Mission Santiago, 1748), The Wagner Collection, April 1922, Huntington Library. Consag’s passages are examined in detail in Chapter One. I mentioned his parallels here briefly for direct comparison.

³¹⁵ Borderlands of culture and experience certainly did exist in the Spanish Caribbean, especially in earlier centuries. For examinations of African-European borderlands in the experience of science and faith, see Pablo F. Gómez, *The Experiential Caribbean: Creating Knowledge and Healing in the Early Modern Atlantic* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2017). For a Native-European parallel, see Cameron B. Strang, *Frontiers of Science: Imperialism and Natural Knowledge in the Gulf South Borderlands, 1500-1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018).

Serra sailed for Mexico in August of 1749 from the port of Cádiz. There were many fellow Franciscans on the ship, and to Serra's delight, even a sailor who turned out to be a fellow native Majorcan. Serra and the other passengers were parched for most of the voyage, noting that not even chocolate could be drunk on the feast day of Our Lady of the Rosary for lack of water to boil. Rather than emphasizing the physical difficulties of sea travel like nausea, dysentery, cramped conditions, Serra highlighted the lack of a religious experience. As Consag assessed the novice missionaries, he disparaged their lack of sea legs and lamented their limited missionary zeal. They had limited vocabularies and dull charisma, unfit for the rigors of missionary preaching.³¹⁶

Amidst Serra's hardships on board, a fellow Majorcan sailor provided him with a little extra water: "Whether he saved some of his own rations, or maybe he stood well with the cook, I do not know. Most probably he skimped himself." Serra perceived this small sacrifice to be a detail worth recording. In a religious view, a Christian sacrificed a necessity of his own to help a brother in Christ. Self-denial and charity were intrinsic experiences of monastic clergy. In a hierarchal encounter, a lowly sailor deferred to an educated gentleman hand-picked for the King's mission. While grateful, Serra saw himself as deserving of this deference. Likewise, Consag thought it routine to be given special treatment on board the ship and in the streets of the Santiago.³¹⁷

When they arrived in Puerto Rico, Serra and the Franciscans stayed temporarily at the bishop's residence. What the new arrivals lacked in enthusiasm they made up for in endurance. They held a marathon of confessions for several days, beginning as early as 3 in the morning and

³¹⁶ Junipero Serra, "Personal Letter to Francisco Serra, Accounting the Voyage from Cádiz to Vera Cruz with a Description of Its Hardships, His Stay in Puerto Rico and the Storm Encountered off the Coast, Written in Veracruz," December 14, 1749, Barcelona, Spain, Archivo de la Provincia de los Capuchinos.

³¹⁷ Serra, 11.

concluding only at midnight. The parishioners were grateful: “The people were so moved by charity that the house where we stayed could not hold all the provisions they brought us.” In addition to gifts from grateful churchgoers, the keeper of a royal storehouse was convinced to donate supplies to the Franciscans: his uncle was “a priest with influence.” Serra’s reception by the parish priests, his marathon administration of the Sacrament of Reconciliation, and the generous donations by the parish members all demonstrate the Franciscan’s role as a de-facto noble willing to self-deny certain comforts for the sake of a congregation that revered him. By the letter of canon law, parochial funds and facilities were not obligated to host a clergyman. The reality of Spain was quite different. Both the missionary and the diocesan bishop of a Caribbean port city, like Serra’s San Juan in Puerto Rico or Consag’s Santiago in Cuba, were agents of the public trust and thus responsible for aiding the King’s men to maintain the social order of the colonies. The high-ranking bishop received Serra as a peer because he was. In turn, the common people of San Juan turned out to welcome the visitor through attendance of a key public civil function like attending Mass and bringing tithes or tribute to Serra. Serra enthusiastically reciprocated through the grueling stretches of confession. The lack of sleep and confinement in the confessional was certainly a discomfort and a religious sacrifice, but part of his status as a noble priest.³¹⁸

Similarly, Consag was treated as a visiting dignitary, and his reception, along with the funeral of the elderly Jesuit, was accorded with publicly observed decorum, despite the Jesuits’ status as interregional actors and not locally-rooted community members. Consag humbled

³¹⁸ Serra, 13.

himself through keeping vigil through the night at the dying man's side. He took note of his humble last testament: "I see, I hope, I love."³¹⁹

A month later, when the Franciscans were finally en route to Mexico by way of Veracruz, a storm came upon them. The ship began taking on water and the passengers lost sight of land. Terrified for their lives, Serra and his missionary companions gathered together to pray:

*"We decided that each should write, on a piece of paper, the name of his favorite saint, without telling anyone else. After putting the papers in a bowl, and invoking the Holy Spirit, we recited the prayer of All Saints, to know, by drawing lots, who would be our special patron and protector from among the saints. In honor of the one elected by lot, we agreed, all would have to assist at a solemn Mass and sermon, when safe on land. I wrote down Saint Francis Solano, and Professor Palóu, Saint Michael; but they did not win. Saint Barbara did, the choice of Father Ferrer of Valencia. As soon as the name was drawn we cried aloud: "Hail, Saint Barbara!" And it turned out that on her feast day, December 4, at night, the ship sailed back towards port, and we all felt happy and confident."*³²⁰

By playing a game of chance to determine a saint to pray for, Junípero Serra and including professor Palóu demonstrated both their faith and their relative inexperience with the colonial world. These comfortable Mediterranean scholars had no perspective on the natural world of the Caribbean. Late winter is past the end of hurricane season and Caribbean galleys were built for hardier voyages than the pacific waters of the Balearic Islands. Unlike their understanding of Spanish courtly life or academic theology, the European scholars had no point of reference to understand even a small tropical storm. When their Mediterranean and metropolitan experiences could not comprehend the incomprehensible storm, the frightened

³¹⁹ Consag, "Carta del P. Fernando Consag de la Compañía de Jesus, Visitador de las Misiones de Californias, à los Padres Superiores de esta Provincia de Nueva-España.," 28.

³²⁰ Serra, "Personal Letter to Francisco Serra, Accounting the Voyage from Cádiz to Vera Cruz with a Description of Its Hardships, His Stay in Puerto Rico and the Storm Encountered off the Coast, Written in Veracruz.," December 14, 1749, 17.

newcomers fervently appealed to the heavenly court of the divine watchmaker. Through familiar European saints, they prayed to God to turn the world's clockwork in favor of the righteous.³²¹

As the new Franciscans became borderlands preachers, their experiences of harsh American realities developed and they were able to tackle borderlands challenges through personal expertise and informed collaboration with secular agents. In their very first colonial days, however, their appeal to and rescue by the Saints deeply resonated with them. The arriving missionaries carried their reverence for these particular saints and brought them to Alta California where they were given additional meaning as borderland patrons.

These Saints continued to carry significance beyond their holiness in the Church. The rough voyage ended just before the Feast of Mary's Immaculate Conception, and in the same week as the apparitions of Guadalupe. Serra praised these specifically. "thanks to the help of the Blessed Mary, on whose feasts [the upcoming Conception and of Guadalupe] I usually experience some favor." Beyond Guadalupe's general symbol as an identity with New Spain, she became a Californio patron through the River, Pueblo and Mission of San José de Guadalupe. The celibate Saint Joseph, pledged as caretaker of the pure and innocent Guadalupe was a model paternal figure in the Franciscans' pastoral mindset over Native peoples.³²²

Santa Bárbara, whose stories prominently feature divine lightning, was the Saint credited with saving the Franciscans from the hurricane on her December 4 Feast Day. Both as a survivor of storms and a patroness of gunsmiths, their passage to the colonies gave a personal meaning to

³²¹ In fairness, these future Californios were neither the first nor the last Europeans to grossly miscalculate the extremes of the natural world in the Americas. Stuart Schwartz uses the hurricane as a Rorschach test for generations of imperials and entrepreneurs in the New World, arguing that settlers' response to Caribbean storms reveals more about foreigners' mindsets than the tropics. The vastness of California would provide a similar effect to the newly arrived Alteños, as discussed in Chapter 4. Stuart B. Schwartz, *Sea of Storms: A History of Hurricanes in the Greater Caribbean from Columbus to Katrina*, The Lawrence Stone Lectures (Princeton: University Press, 2015).

³²² Serra, "Personal Letter to Francisco Serra, Accounting the Voyage from Cádiz to Vera Cruz with a Description of Its Hardships, His Stay in Puerto Rico and the Storm Encountered off the Coast, Written in Veracruz,," December 14, 1749, 3, 17.

Santa Bárbara as they became new arrivals to the borderlands. Santa Bárbara was the last mission that Junípero Serra had planned, but died before construction began under his successor Fermín Lasúen.³²³

Junípero Serra's personal patron in his storm story was Saint Francis Solanus, or San Francisco Solano (1549-1610). For the Alteños, Solano was a contemporary saint, canonized only twenty years before with a very pertinent life. Solano was educated in Spain by Jesuits but ultimately chose the Franciscan habit and evangelized in South America. Mission San Francisco Solano was the last of the Missions, built in 1823.³²⁴

Patronal names demonstrated that Californio places names had both personal and imperial implications. These missions were isolated and rarely frequented by non-Alteños, and their names reflected personal significance to their founders' identity. Inspired with Christian meanings and personal experiences, the Franciscans held fast to meaningful saints to anchor their identity in the colonies. As they became increasingly adapted to borderlands routine, these names and meaning would be transferred into the roads, place names and institutions that would influence the Californio identity. Becoming both metropolitan and borderland, canonical and intimate, the trials of colonial travel made these saints and their stories ethnically Californios and nationally Spanish.³²⁵

³²³ Barbara Anne Morse, "The Mystical Vision of Saint Barbara: Seeing Through the Myth of Separation" (Pacifica Graduate Institute, 2020). Morse argues that the primary lens for understanding the Barbara story is her captivity and separation from society, but not God. For the Californios' dedication, her vindication by lightening was more relevant as a shield against tropical storms. In the modern era, flintlock sparks and firearms become Barbara's domain as well, to this day acknowledged by the US Army's Field Artillery with a December 4 Ball. "Legend of Saint Barbara - United States Field Artillery Association," accessed March 25, 2025, <https://www.fieldartillery.org/legend-of-saint-barbara>. While Santa Bárbara remained the same, her meaning and patronage changed as her followers' held new experiences on the borderland.

³²⁴ Franciscan Media, "Saint Francis Solano," Saint of the Day, July 17, 2022, <https://www.franciscanmedia.org/saint-of-the-day/saint-francis-solano/>.

³²⁵ The New World colonialism and Spanish Universalism prompted a reevaluation of many Saints of Antiquity. The conquest included repurposing of classic religious concepts. For multiple examples of reinventing classical Church tradition, see Linda Gregerson and Susan Juster, *Empires of God: Religious Encounters in the Early Modern Atlantic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011).

Consag bore testimony to an event he declared miraculous. An icon of Francis Xavier, a saint and fellow Jesuit, had been lost overboard in stormy weather. Later, Consag rested as the guest of a mainland Mexican church. Late at night, Francis Xavier's intact portrait was laid at the church's doorstep by a mysterious hooded men who then scurried away. As a founding member of the Jesuit Order and the namesake for an Arizona-Sonoran Mission, Saint Francis Xavier would have held a double meaning to Consag. The man and his icon's reappearance stamped the legitimacy of a European clerical aristocrat onto the personal voyage Consag undertook to New Spain. While Consag expressed concerns about new Jesuits' hardiness, he also rejoiced in the miracle of Xavier's survival of a borderland crossing.³²⁶

After invoking Saint Barbara's intercession, Serra's vessel finally made port at Veracruz. Beyond giving thanks to God, in a rare moment of open pride, Serra declared he alone amongst the friars had not gotten seasick. "My health is perfect, with nothing at all worth mentioning. I must have been the only one of all the religious- Franciscans as well as Dominicans and their servants -who did not get seasick." Both Serra and Consag commented on the physical endurance required of missionaries. Consag openly condemned his nauseated fellow passengers, declaring they lacked frontier mettle. Serra, on the other hand, quietly suggested his endurance was above those of the others. Physical endurance in travel was a frontier necessity, and these intentional comments reinforced the Californio requirement of endurance in the face of navigating distance.³²⁷

³²⁶ Consag, "Carta del P. Fernando Consag de la Compañía de Jesus, Visitador de las Misiones de Californias, à los Padres Superiores de esta Provincia de Nueva-España.," 27–28.

³²⁷ For a brief chronology of the founding of Santa Barbara, see David A. Bolton, "Santa Bárbara– Queen of the Missions," California Missions Foundations, January 1, 2016, <https://californiamissionsfoundation.org/mission-santa-barbara/>.

On the initial evaluation, both accounts appear formulaic but uniquely pious additions to the collection of Atlantic Crossing travel accounts. When read in search of early experiences of the Californio founders, these stories revealed the seeds of routines and mindsets that would bloom into a borderlands identity by the time of the friars' evangelism in the Californias. Both Consag and Serra held a high rank by virtue of being not only holy men but Europeans. Both experienced an event they and their fellows deemed miraculous through the witnessing, the re-discovery and delivery of a lost icon and the sudden dissipation of the storm after invoking the Saints. Each miracle was tied to a saint that held a special place in their order's canon through the appearance of the esteemed Jesuit Francis Xavier, already the namesake of a frontier mission, and the invocation of Santa Barbara, future mission of California.

Serra seemed most pleased in meeting people who either came from his native island and spoke his local dialect, which profoundly impacted his jargon and spelling, or with people who re-kindled his faith. The encounters he most enthusiastically detailed were generous givers like the Majorcan sailor who shared water and San Juan donors or the most energetic ecclesiastic servers like his fellow clergymen and confessors. Serra's acknowledgement of the aid and support he received every leg of his travels demonstrated a sense of humility, or at least awareness, in the face of his order's vulnerability.

Consag was most concerned with his associates' class. The Jesuit detailed the aristocratic birth, civilian prestige and military rank of those who received him and his fellow new arrivals. He also esteemed the mourners' deference in his fellow priest's funeral procession as natural praise due to a fellow high-ranking member of society. When it came to evaluate his fellow missionary passengers, Consag was equally high-minded. He discerned that few of his associates were worthy of being New World missionaries. Consag had high demands for his coworkers'

intelligence and familiarity with the scriptures and theology and Native languages, but also their physical hardiness and charisma. Consag's assessment of the services provided to him and the funding necessary for future endeavors demonstrated a matter-of-fact expectation of certain provisions being natural for his status and vocation.

Two pious and service-oriented men began their vocations in the borderlands with two similar entrada experiences. Consag had a different interpretation of similar events than the more communally-minded Serra. The Jesuit saw a campesino world ready and deferential to him. He saw this as correct and natural due to his superior rank and qualifications. Many among the unconverted could benefit from his order's tutelage and example. The Franciscan saw a community in need of spiritual leadership and eager for caring ministry. He was present and able to act. Together with his order's guidance, many could progress closer to God through good and holy living.

For the purposes of building an Enlightened empire, both agreed on the essential necessity of their calling and the fundamental process in evangelizing the frontier. Whether they admitted it or not, both were dependent on and in service to the imperial network that was established throughout New Spain before their arrival. Without the patronage of the Viceroy or the colonial institutions of New Spain, neither would have made it to California.

Agent of Enlightenment or Apostle of God?

This chapter analyzes the Alteño Franciscan mindset as it was exposed to the California borderlands. Natural comparisons arise between the mendicant Franciscans and the Bajeno Jesuits who were renowned for their intellectual accomplishments, deep loyalty to the colony's absolutist bureaucracy. Unlike the Jesuits, the Californio Franciscans produced a singular

exemplar whose biography became representative of their order within living memory. When examining the Alteño missionary mindset, the case study question becomes, was Junípero Serra an Enlightened agent or a reactionary with a mindset from the Middle Ages?

Addressing this question requires an additional acknowledgement of Serra as a firebrand Catholic. By all accounts, including his own, Serra prized his closeness with God and deemed the Trinity to be the source of all goodness, beauty, and truth. His religious enthusiasm, his hagiographic biography by his disciple Palóu, and his drawn-out canonization all reinforce his image as Saint Serra rather than Professor Serra. As a Franciscan, Serra's religious sincerity was never challenged either in the consensus or revisionist eras of scholarship. However, many other dogmatic Christians were celebrated for their academia and scholarship. An excellent example was the Jesuits' simultaneous adherence Catholic religiosity and Enlightened thought. When examining Serra's role as an agent of the Enlightenment, this inquiry neither challenges nor evaluates his faith. Serra's status as part of Spanish Universalism and the Enlightenment is examined through his participation in the bureaucratic state and objective analytical scholarship.³²⁸

When assessing Serra's role as an agent of the Spanish Enlightenment, the first question that must be addressed is, "Enlightened compared to what?" The immediate comparison of Alteño Franciscans is Bajéño Jesuits. At first blush, the Universalist question favors the Jesuits, as does their pedigree. The elitism of the Jesuits allied them closer to European Enlightened Absolutist courts than did the comparative simplicity of the Franciscans' mendicant worldview. However, I argue that the apparent simplicity of the grey robes ended with their humble

³²⁸ James Bland, Damon B. Akins on Evaluating California Missionary Intent, August 2, 2023. This point was illuminated clearly and directly by Damon B. Akins, who encouraged me to include two lenses of analysis in analyzing the Californio missionaries. Through my scholarship, Akins encouraged me to ask not only, "What did the Franciscans believe?" but also "What did the consequences of the Franciscans' actions demonstrate?"

appearance. When their stories are compared, the Californio Franciscans and the Jesuits had similar developments in the Old World and their experiences functioned very similarly as agents of the civilizing order in the colonial borderlands. By many reasonable metrics, Junípero Serra was exceptionally involved in the Enlightened apparatuses of the Spanish Empire. He was involved in state and civil bureaucracies his entire adult life.

Serra's analytical, humanistic education was rooted in Enlightenment ideas. Serra's graduate education reached apogee at the Lullian University in Palma. In the bureaucratic and intellectual capital of Serra's native Mallorca, Serra was trained not only to love and serve God, but to do so through the state-funded coursework of logic, humanities, and apologetics. That university was founded by the same early-modern nation-state that would employ Serra. As a teacher, he worked in a university funded by the Spanish crown. Serra's university was founded in 1483 by Ferdinand II, the Aragonese half of the Catholic Kings. The reign of Isabella and Ferdinand has been generally accepted by historians as the start of the bureaucratizing, nationalizing nation-state in Spain. While zealously Catholic, early-modern Spain promoted the institutions that would empower the Enlightened absolutist state of the Spanish Empire.³²⁹

Inspiration for Lullian University came from a Medieval academic who propagated a proto-universalist approach to apologetics. The namesake for the university was Ramon Llull. 1232-1315, a spiritual and intellectual predecessor to Serra's generation of Universalist, Franciscan missionaries. Ramon Llull used combinatorial operations and a massive series of "if, then" statements to classify how and what God was, and how the Christian conception of God

³²⁹ For a general history of the nationalizing bureaucracy of *Los Reyes Catolicos*, see William D. Phillips and Carla Rahn Phillips, "The Rise of Spain to International Prominence," in *A Concise History of Spain*, Cambridge Concise Histories (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

was the most logical. The Lullian “wheel” and “logic trees,” were both methods of charting theological principles.³³⁰

Llull’s disciples thought his epistemology and teachings were universally applicable. Llull served two missions to the Arab world. In the Balearic Islands and the Kingdom of Tunis, he peacefully engaged in interfaith dialogue with Muslim thinkers. His work engaged with the philosophy of the Islamic Golden Age. Llull accepted Muslim concepts of being and fundamental presuppositions as part of engaging with potential converts. In order to challenge Islamic theology, he remodeled his logic trees to reconcile and incorporate Islamic ways of knowing. This included Lull’s adoption of Arabic letters and numerals to reflect philosophical variables. Llull used mathematical expressions to prove theological concepts. There is a significant possibility that Llull also engaged with contemporary Jewish thought. Llull’s “logic trees” bear both artistic and taxonomic parallels to Kabbalah’s tree of life. Kabbalism was a mystical strain of Sephardic Jewish thought that was influential throughout Umayyad and Almohad Spain. The Kabbalah “tree of life” was drawn as a method of depicting the elevated levels of human consciousness simultaneous with states of matter.

Given his openness to interfaith dialogue with Muslims and his adaptation of Arabic methods of logical expression, it is possible to read Llull’s analysis as universal in its inspiration and not only its application. The Spanish Franciscan mindset that Serra inherited engaged with the experiences of Mediterranean Arabs and Jews before it was applied to the languages of California Native peoples. That Franciscan mindset was analytical and universalist even before

³³⁰ For an exploration of Llull’s incorporation of theology and combinatorial operations, see Alexander Fidora, “Combinatorics and Reciprocity: A Note on the Validity of Lullian Art: Alexander Fidora Institució Catalana de Recerca i Estudis Avançats, Barcelona, and Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona,” *European Institute of the Mediterranean* (blog), 2024, <https://www.iemed.org/publication/combinatorics-and-reciprocity-a-note-on-the-validity-of-lullian-art/>.

the Spanish nation-state fully embraced the same thought process in the bureaucratic Enlightenment.³³¹

Four centuries before Serra was born, his university and his order were both already entangled in the institutional mindset of the bureaucratic state. Llull's analytically-driven expressions were used for religious purposes. His thought contributed intellectual momentum to the movement that would ultimately build towards Spanish universalism. This was the same Spanish universalism that Serra learned and taught at the Lullian University.

Centuries after Llull's death, Llullism's dichotomized logic-trees continued to be republished in new and elaborated volumes outside of Catalonia. Pedro de Guevara was a Spanish philosopher of the 16th-century who printed two editions of his reinterpretation of Llull's work. In addition to original works of theology and philosophy, he also authored Latin grammar primers for the aristocracy's children to learn sophisticated language and rhetoric. Noel Blanco Mourelle argues that Guevara's use of "language wheels," was derived from Ramon Llull's methods of memory devices. The adaptation from Llull to Guevara and ultimately to Lullian University of Serra's age was a direct intellectual lineage. Spanish thinkers analytically and objectively developed Llull's methodologies. Simultaneously Thomistic and Neo-Aristotelian, the Medieval Franciscan directly fathered epistemologies that would be used in the analytical zeal of Spain's universalist Enlightenment.³³²

³³¹ For an engagement with Jewish rationalism and mysticism in Sephardic thinking, see Javier Roiz, *A Vigilant Society: Jewish Thought and the State in Medieval Spain*, trans. Selma L. Margaretten (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2013); Menachem Kellner, *Maimonides' Confrontation with Mysticism* (Portland: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2006).. For Llull's interfaith discussion, see his missions to the Muslims of Mallorca and Tunis, see Fatma Benhamamouche, "Ramon Llull and His Islamic Undertaking: Fatma Benhamamouche, Oran University, Algeria," *European Institute of the Mediterranean* (blog), 2024, <https://www.iemed.org/publication/ramon-llull-and-his-islamic-undertaking/>.

³³² Ramon Llull, *Arte General Para Todas Las Ciencias, En Dos Instrumentos. Recopilada Del Arte Magna y Arbor Scientiae Del Doctor Raymundo Llull: Nuevamente Sdicionada y Enmendada Por El Licienciado Pedro de Guevara, Natural de La Villa de Belborado, Dirigida a La CRM Del Rey Don Felipe Nuestro Señor*, ed. Pedro de Guevara (Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1586). Pedro de Guevara's publication was released 271 years after Ramon

Llull's influence resonated in the statist institution for centuries. Serra experienced Llull's mindset both through his influence as an evangelical Franciscan apologetic and as a pioneer of early taxonomy. In 1749, Serra obtained his theological doctorate and his scholarly talent carried him to the position of lecturer at his alma mater. It was in one of his university classes where Serra met Francisco Palóu as a student training for a professional degree. Throughout their shared missionary work in Alta California, the saint-to-be was employed by the state and reported to royal agents to enforce colonial policy. Whether it was the port authority that transported him from Seville to the Caribbean to Mexico, or the Inquisition who intervened in the worst cases of his flock's failures, or the army that helped to build and protect his colony, Serra was employed and protected by the state.

Many scholars have evaluated the Franciscan mindset as willfully separate from the broader Enlightenment of their society. Elliot Coues treated Francisco Garcés as quixotic in his own Enlightened time, lionizing the tule padre for having zealous faith, rather than a zeal for conquest. The Franciscan Californios and especially Serra have received similar treatment. Especially in comparison to the political and military figures on the Spanish frontier like Pedro Fages, Juan Bautista de Anza or Diego de Vargas. Even the Bajeno Jesuits receive recognition as Universalist scholars in the Enlightened world. Whether in comparison to their Enlightened Absolutist secular overlords or their Universalist Jesuit brothers, Franciscan Californios were perceived to be almost Medieval in zeal and focus. This comparison is best understood by looking at intellectual historians' treatment of the Francisco Clavijero. Whether called Enlightened or Universalist, the Jesuit is universally recognized as a scholar and thinker whose ideas matched his time, even when they conflicted with the King of Spain. No such adjustments

Llull's death. Noel Blanco Mourelle, "Reinventing the Wheel: Pedro de Guevara's 'Nueva y Sutil Invencion' as Pedagogical Technology," *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 21, no. 3 (July 2, 2020): 293–311.

were given the Franciscans. Alteño priests' disagreements with their secular colonial superiors were often seen as antithetical schisms rather than policy arguments.³³³

The Californio Franciscans received such special consideration in large part due to the Anglophone scholars' romanticization and later scrutinous deconstruction. In each generation of historiography, the Franciscans held special zeal and willingness to expand beyond the core territory of New Spain for the ostensibly sole reason of converting new Native peoples. Especially after the declining relations between the United States and Spain after the Louisiana Purchase and the Mexican-American War, Anglophone historians who were intellectually descended from Prescott disparaged the despotism of the absolutist that expelled missionaries from the land of their work. Amongst Americans, the Franciscans were uniquely Western pioneers and opponents of corrupt Latin tyrants, whether provincial governors or republican revolutionaries.³³⁴

Before I defend the Enlightened mindset of Junípero Serra the Alteño friars, I will examine the historiography that downplays the Franciscans' Universalism or Enlightenment and emphasizes their evangelicalism. Ramos interpreted the writings of Clavijero and Bajeno Jesuits to be anti-Enlightenment only after they were expelled, arguing Enlightenment and expansion

³³³ Luis Ramos, "Enemies of the Enlightened State: Francisco Clavijero on Exiled Jesuits, Sovereign Power and the Contested Futures of Spanish America," *Colonial Latin American Review* 30, no. 1 (2021): 79–108; Aurora Díez-Canedo, "Francisco Javier Clavijero, Nationalist, Indigenist or Enlightened? Notes for a Contextualized Reading of His Ancient 'History of Mexico,'" *Nuevas de Indias* 2 (2017): 30–52; Irina Yur'evna Veselova, "Collusion between the Rational and the Religious Outlook of Francisco Javier Clavijero," *RUDN Journal of World History* 9, no. 2 (2017): 148–55. Aullón de Haro, for further context, includes Junípero Serra as the only Franciscan amongst his pantheon of Universalists.

³³⁴ Prescott, *The History of the Conquest of Mexico*; Prescott, *The History of the Conquest of Peru*. For a summary of US myths about Spain's empire, see Restall, *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest*; Antonio Juan Calvo Maturana author et al., *The Black Legend of Spain and Its Atlantic Empire in the Eighteenth Century*. For an example of Franciscan triumphalism, see Omer Engelbert, *The Last of the Conquistadors, Junípero Serra, 1713-1784*, trans. Katherine Woods (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1956); John Anton Berger, *The Franciscan Missions of California* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1941). For deconstruction of the Mission System, see Rupert Costo and Jeannette Henry Costo, *The Missions of California: A Legacy of Genocide* (San Francisco: American Indian Historical Society, 1987); Teja and Frank, *Choice, Persuasion, and Coercion*.

were one and the same. Jesuits diverged from the Enlightenment only when their personal power was challenged by the Crown.³³⁵

Engstrand claims ambiguity. “The Enlightenment in Spain defies definition. In certain respects, it was a viable force opening up new vistas of knowledge and understanding, while in others it was a mild breeze rustling leaves of insight into the possibility of human equality.” Engstrand places Californio agency with visitador José Gálvez who led the Jesuit expulsion and supervised their replacements. The Enlightenment project was in the hands of the viceroy, a proactive government that used complacent preachers.³³⁶

Hackel’s first monograph focused on the Californio missionaries rule of Native peoples through control of gender relations, labor, and racial hierarchy. Serra was a zealous missionary first and a colonial agent second. The Franciscan mindset is understood to be a part of the greater colonial implementation, fueled primarily by conversion zeal. In another text, Hackel separates Californio identity by dividing Alteño society between missionary “Franciscan Identity,” neophyte “Indian Identity,” and the secular “Borderlands Identity of Soldiers and Settlers.” Missionaries and soldiers were separate identities with different goals, motivations and drives.³³⁷

Beebe and Senkewicz argue for a regional influence on Serra through reading his work for Mallorcan local faith and patriotism. His zeal was a product of his nostalgia for the Balearic Islands. Examples include the transfer of local saints to California like Buenaventura, Francisco Solano and Buen Año, in the Mallorcan ritual of invoking Mary’s blessing of the harvest, and the

³³⁵ Luis Ramos, “Enemies of the Enlightened State: Francisco Clavijero on Exiled Jesuits, Sovereign Power and the Contested Futures of Spanish America,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 30, no. 1 (2021): 79–108.

³³⁶ Iris H. W. Engstrand, “The Enlightenment in Spain: Influences Upon New World Policy,” *The Americas* (Washington. 1944) 41, no. 4 (1985): 436–43, 436–42, 444.

³³⁷ Steven W. Hackel, ed., *Alta California: Peoples in Motion, Identities in Formation, 1769-1850* (Berkeley, San Marino: University of California Press and The Huntington Library, 2010); Steven W. Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769-1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 67.

lionization of local figures like Ramon Llull. “Serra aimed to repeat the Reconquista, this time driving out non-Christian native religion out of Spanish California.” While a state agent under secular authorities, Serra’s mindset was argued to be backwards-facing, provincial and religious.³³⁸

The Bourbon Reforms were entwined with Enlightened Absolutism in Europe and the Americas. In “Franciscan Missionaries in Late Colonial Sonora,” Jose Refugio de la Torre Curiel illustrates the extensive legal apparatus that governed the relationship between the Franciscans and their secular handlers. The methods in which the Franciscans paid taxes to New Spain changed over time, increasingly resembling a business. Early methods of taxation involved every Native male on the mission contributing labor. This closely resembled the intended monastic community and inadvertently allowed the neophytes to preserve Native communal distributions of labor. As the Bourbon Reforms pervaded more aspects of Franciscans’ oversight, Natives were instead expected to pay taxes in the form of corn or metal specie. This effectively turned Franciscans into landlords and tax collectors. While later generations of friars accommodated to this change, the original Franciscans worked with their hands among the neophyte laborers. He gives examples of both Serra and Garcés who claimed to “preach with their hands.” Franciscans increasingly became Enlightened mission administrators, against the mindset of Serra’s generation.³³⁹

Hackel edited a new volume after Serra’s canonization in 2015. Serra’s high-profile sainthood prompted discourse over new elements of Serra’s life. Serra only arrived in Alta

³³⁸ Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, “What They Brought: The Alta California Franciscans before 1769,” in *Alta California: Peoples in Motion, Identities in Formation, 1769-1850*, by Steven W. Hackel (Berkeley, San Marino: University of California Press and The Huntington Library, 2010), 18, 28. I have made similar arguments when analyzing the international influence on the Bajeno mindset of the Jesuits in Chapters 1 and 2.

³³⁹ José Refugio de la Torre Curiel and Robert M. Senkewicz, “Franciscan Missionaries in Late Colonial Sonora: Five Decades of Change and Conflict,” in *Alta California: Peoples in Motion, Identities in Formation, 1769-1850*, by Steven W. Hackel (Berkeley, San Marino: University of California Press and The Huntington Library, 2010), 50.

California when he was in his late fifties. The majority of his life and mindset was already influenced before he ever set foot in Alta. The volume explores aspects of Serra's life that had earlier been overlooked by the California scholarship.³⁴⁰

Serra continued his studies as a theologian and humanist liberal arts. The practical emphasis on Native languages was only part of Serra's development in metropole. He studied through the curriculum of Antoni Llinás, a 17th-century Mallorcan Franciscan who wrote a missionary method emphasizing construction on commanding terrain, courting Native converts with presents, and early baptism followed by moving converts to missions and their satellites. At San Fernando, Serra campaigned for intervention against poverty, drunkenness, bullfights, fornication and Mexico City's other social ills. These projects were argued to be relevant for evangelism, with little emphasis on the Universalism inherent in the study or the Enlightenment inherent in social engineering. Serra was a Catholic fish swimming in Enlightened water.³⁴¹

Beebe and Senkewicz further claim that Serra's disagreements with governors' Native policy demonstrated a relationship of conflict rather than collaboration between church and state. Neophytes who attempted to flee missions were flogged, the military punishment for dereliction. Serra petitioned soldiers to administer the punishment instead of friars. Serra was fundamentally aware that his mindset was a paradox to believe in Christian love and punishment simultaneously. "The two aspects of Serra's approach... did not sit well with each other. We suspect that his continued call to found more and more missions, for which he was severely criticized... stemmed from a desire to keep himself busy enough so that he would not have the

³⁴⁰ Steven W. Hackel, *The Worlds of Junípero Serra: Historical Contexts and Cultural Representations* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2018).

³⁴¹ Antoni Picazo Muntaner, "Father Junípero Serra's Education and Ideology," in *The Worlds of Junípero Serra: Historical Contexts and Cultural Representations*, by Steven W. Hackel (Oakland: University of California Press, 2018).

time to confront these contradictions.” The accusation of hypocrisy holds if Enlightened thought and Christianity were fundamentally incompatible.³⁴²

In the age of colonial expansion, however, I argue that Serra and his whole Fraternity of California Franciscans held these beliefs simultaneously and felt no significant conflict. I return to Engstrand’s claim that the Spanish Enlightenment was contested by the Franciscans. As I have demonstrated, the division between the colonial institutions is overstated. Spaniards regularly debated the Native peoples’ spiritual and intellectual capacity. These debates never challenged New Spain’s extraction economy nor the racial casta system, both endured. While Engstrand’s assessment of Serra as a “father” to “adult children” is accurate, the clergy were as much dedicated to the colonial project as were the secular elites. Both gained by growing the Enlightened colony. Educated elites profited through amassing wealth, power, knowledge and prestige. Enlightened priests and bureaucrats shared the same metrics of success, aiming for a converted, regulated, industrious Alta California.³⁴³

In the following primary sources, I examine the words of Franciscans. While openly and zealously Christian with less rhetorical polish than their Jesuit contemporaries, I argue that the motivation and action behind these letters reflect a mindset loyal to the Enlightened Absolutism of the Bourbons and an openness to Universalist learning.

³⁴² Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, “Junípero Serra’s Approach to the Native Peoples of the Californias,” in *Alta California: Peoples in Motion, Identities in Formation, 1769-1850*, by Steven W. Hackel (Berkeley, San Marino: University of California Press and The Huntington Library, 2010), 154–56, 158–59.

³⁴³ The Valladolid debates in the early 16th century collaborate the point here. Sepúlveda and de las Casas argued vigorously over the humane status of Native peoples, but neither challenged Spain’s greater colonial mission. Through both dynasties, Spain’s colonial mission was endorsed while different authorities debated the methods. Lawrence A. Clayton and David M. Lantigua, *Bartolomé de Las Casas and the Defense of Amerindian Rights: A Brief History with Documents*, Atlantic Crossings (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2020); Joel W. Martin, Mark A. Nicholas, and Michelene E. Pesantubbee, eds., *Native Americans, Christianity, and the Reshaping of the American Religious Landscape* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

In his final months in his office as Viceroy of New Spain, Carlos Francisco de Croix (reigned 1766-1771), the First Marquess of Croix, received a letter from Junípero Serra. The letter was a response to the Viceroy's inquiry after the state of the Mission Strip. Serra's writing style indicated a clear religious exuberance. His very first sentence was, "Viva Jesus, Maria y José!" typical in the Franciscan method. His next full paragraph was a fawning praise of the viceroy, his "Most Excellent Sir, Most Revered and Excellent Sir," and his many qualities. As much as he was a mendicant Christian, Serra also regularly performed the courtly obeisances expected of a civil servant before an aristocrat.³⁴⁴

Serra never hid his convictions that the Franciscans were on a divine mission. He thanked the Viceroy for his interest in Mission Strip's development. "I praised God especially at seeing so much zeal and attention paid to every detail that may prove helpful to the happiness and progress of these spiritual conquests." As Serra gratefully acknowledged, the Viceroy was funding spiritual operations. Despite a clear gap in religious devotion, Serra viewed, or at least declared, that his and the Viceroy's mission were one and the same.³⁴⁵

When Serra addressed the arrival of new missionaries, he became procedural. "Mindful of the rules laid down... in the letters you have sent me... I have assigned and published the appointments of the ten new... [Franciscans]. The details are contained in the list I am enclosing, ...signed by the... [captain]... of the Royal Presidio... I am following the advice given me by the Most Illustrious Inspector General in his letter of instructions." Much like Jaime Bravo and Francisco Picolo had to collude with the Presidio quartermasters to carry out Bajeño logistics,

³⁴⁴ Junípero Serra, "Letter of Junípero Serra to Viceroy Francisco Carlos de Croix, Writing the Acknowledgement of Two Letters from the Viceroy; Arrival Missionaries; Gratitude to the Viceroy for Church Furnishings; Foundation of Missions Santa Clara and San Francisco Delayed; Account of Missions Already Founded; Plans for New Missions; Personnel Problems; Answers to Points Raised in the Viceroy's Letters; Need for More Soldiers and for Mission Bells.," June 18, 1771, 1, Ramos California No. 66, Folio 26-28, Archivo General de la Nación.

³⁴⁵ Serra, 1.

Serra had to gain the approval of presidio authorities before the Franciscans could deploy throughout the province. As much as Franciscans were pilgrims following their vocation, they were also bureaucrats with their marching orders.³⁴⁶

Acting as an Enlightened agent with a mind for civil planning, Serra also advised the Viceroy against the forcible relocation of Native Catalina Islanders into the Mission Strip. Rather than a religious purpose, Serra commented that the movement could not be done with the manpower available to the Alteños, and the fiscally responsible course was to continue courting Catalina visitors with presents and a receptive engagement on the mission. Serra promised, however, that the Franciscans would continue to gather intelligence and report back to Monterey and Mexico City. His final favor to the viceroy was to ask for more bells to supply the mission—the one in Monterey had cracked, so Serra had traded with the paquebote captain for his vessel’s undamaged bell. Even with Serra’s regular references to Biblical and sacramental phrases, his report was also a budget requisition and an intelligence dossier. Underneath his language, Serra was writing a bureaucratic administration report typical of Enlightened Absolutist agents.³⁴⁷

Serra spoke with the same bent for social engineering even amongst fellow Franciscans. When he wrote to his superior in the College of San Fernando in Mexico City, he again displayed religious fervor through language and civic planning through the deployment of manpower and resources. When writing to Father Guardian Verger, Serra reported that one sarcastic secular agent had asked if there was use in California for one hundred more Franciscans. Serra was enthusiastic beyond the implication of the spike in conversion rates among Native Californians. “Such a plan would mean... an almost uninterrupted chain of missions covering [Alta and Baja], and that is our principal aim—that the religious who have to

³⁴⁶ Serra, 2.

³⁴⁷ Serra, 4–5.

come would be saved the hardship of the ocean trip; the journey would be by land, even if they had to go as far as San Francisco. There would only be the short sea crossing from San Blas to Loreto.” When offered an army of fellow religious fanatics, Serra’s golden vision was the same one envisioned by the secular, agnostic visitador Gálvez and the Bajeño Jesuits. More than converted Native nations, Serra reveled in the fantasy of an Alta California less peripheral than the Baja California of Salvatierra’s generation. For understanding Serra’s Enlightenment mindset, it is not relevant that this greater mission chain ever materialized. What was relevant was Serra’s consistent zealous tone expressing bureaucratic and civil engineering concerns to both his secular and religious superiors. In Serra’s eyes, his religious and civic goals were the same.³⁴⁸

Serra’s zealousness is tempered even further when viewed from the context of other borderland missionary squabbles. Religious orders quarreled with secular authorities since Montesinos’ cry in Hispañiola condemned the encomienda’s cruelty without condemning colonialism. Franciscans in New Mexico quarreled with the aristocratic successors of Oñate whilst fighting together to return after the revolts of 1680 and 1692. Even cloistered social critics like Juana de la Cruz never challenged the authority of secular targets, only their morality. Some of these examples took place before the full effects of the Enlightenment, but they highlighted elites’ fundamental cohesion over Native subjects and subordinate classes. The American colonial elite depended on a modicum of unity in accepting the basic principles that justified

³⁴⁸ Junípero Serra, “Letter from Junípero Serra to Father Guardian Rafael Verger on the Advantages of a Residence at Guadalajara or Tepic and a Friary at Loreto or San Diego; Possibility of a Province of California; Need of Church Furnishings and Provisions; Good Disposition of the Indians; Memorandum of Goods Received.,” June 20, 1771, *Cartas de Junípero Serra*, folio 9-11, Biblioteca Nacional de Mexico.

their role. This went double for the borderlands institutions of church and presidio, who needed each other's support to function optimally.³⁴⁹

Even other Californio missionaries carried out similar collaborations between church and state despite the interior quarrels. José Joaquín de Arrillaga dispatched Diego Borica to the Bajeno Mission of San Borja to arbitrate the sentences of convicted neophytes who were to serve their punishment on that mission under the Dominican friars who had condemned the Native prisoners. Pedro Fages mediated complaints between Loreto's soldiers and San Borja's friars a decade before, and used his gubernatorial authority to collect debts from Bajeno missions who were slow to contribute to provincial upkeep. Ironically enough, Fages, the same man who was accused of serial infidelity with a Native mistress, complained to subordinates of disorder in the presidios because of the regular dalliances of Californio soldiers with Native women, and cried for an active increase of morality amongst the troops. Fundamentally, neither Serra's funding and operational disputes and shared purpose with his secular superiors were un-Enlightened or even atypical of borderlands missionaries. Despite regular experiences of jurisdiction crosses, Californio soldiers and friars needed each other to keep the precarious borderlands functional.³⁵⁰

³⁴⁹ Silke Jansen and Irene M. Weiss, eds., *Fray Antonio de Montesinos y su tiempo* (Madrid: Iberoamericana Editorial Vervuert, S.L., 2017); Martin Austin Nesvig, *Promiscuous Power: An Unorthodox History of New Spain* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2018); John L Kessell author, *Kiva, Cross, and Crown: The Pecos Indians and New Mexico, 1540-1840* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1979); Asunción Lavrín, *Brides of Christ: Conventual Life in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008).

³⁵⁰ Diego de Borica y Retegui, "Communique from Diego Borica to José Joaquín de Arrillaga Responding to the Border Commander Sentencing the Indians to the Mission of San Borja to Serve Their Sentence There.," March 16, 1797, Fondo Colonia, Aspecto Juridico, Ramo 1 Volumen 13, Folio 46, Archivo Historico Pablo Martínez; Pedro Fages, "Letter Regarding Mission Payment of Todos Santos to the Crown from Pedro Fages to Jose Joaquin Arrillaga," October 30, 1786, Ramo 1 Volumen 1, Fondo Colonia Aspecto Economico, Archivo Historico Pablo Martínez; Pedro Fages, "Letter of Mediation Between Baja California Soldiers and the Missionaries of Santa Gertudis and San Borja, From Pedro Fages to Joaquin Cañete," October 3, 1783, Ramo 1 Volumen 1, Fondo Colonia Aspecto Politico, Archivo Historico Pablo Martínez. Fages' infidelity and its relevance to Alteño identity is discussed in Chapter 4. Pedro Fages, "Report of Pedro Fages to Captain Jose Joaquin de Arrillaga on the 'Perfidious Disorder With the Indian Women and the Men of Reason.'" (Monterey, July 1, 1785), California Files Box 4, Huntington Library.

In a final point of comparison, the Franciscans' Universalist mindset and Enlightened operations was evident in the fruits of their labors. It is one thing to discuss the finer points of language and motivation in the words of individual friars on individual texts. It is a much broader thing to observe an ongoing trend carried out by multiple generations of Franciscans who accomplished the Absolutist goals of their Enlightened secular governors.

By deed, the Franciscans explored new territory, spoke as interpreters, and scribed the procedures of joint-operations expeditions involving soldiers and clerics. Narciso Durán, Juan Crespi, Junípero Serra and Francisco Palóu were all scribes and active navigators in expeditions jointly operated by military and evangelical institutions. Their journals detail bureaucratic procedures of manpower, supplies and funding. Likewise, their journals' daily routines include analyses of interactions with Native peoples and geographical observations that show Universalist attempts to document and understanding the new borderlands. Continuing the same mindset of his direct mentors Serra and Palóu, Fermín Lasuén regularly maintained coordinative contact with his secular superiors as missions were built in tactical areas to better expand and police the Mission Strip. These Franciscans filled comparable roles and kept comparable journals to Bajeno Jesuit Universalists Fernando Consag, Miguel Venegas and Andrés Burriel.³⁵¹

³⁵¹ Fermin Francisco Lasuén, "Fermín Francisco de Lasuén to José Joaquín Arrillaga: report and letter concerning the San Diego Missions," June 25, 1792, *Frontier Life: Borderlands, Settlement and Colonial Encounters*, California Historical Society; Fermin Francisco Lasuén, "Letter to Diego de Borica," June 13, 1798, Alexander Taylor Correspondence, San Francisco Herald; Juan Crespi, *Fray Juan Crespi, Missionary Explorer on the Pacific Coast, 1769-1774*, ed. Herbert Eugene Bolton and Robert Weldon Brower (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1927); Narciso Durán and Charles Edward Chapman, *Expedition on the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers in 1817: Diary of Fray Narciso Durán* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1911); Francisco Palóu and Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Historical Memoirs of New California*. (Berkeley: University of California press, 1926); Junipero Serra, *Diary of Fray Junipero Serra, O. F. M.; Being an Account of His Journey from Loreto to San Diego, March 28 to June 30, 1769* (North Providence: Franciscan Missionaries of Mary Press, 1936); Fernando Consag, "Diary of the Colorado River Expedition," 1751, *Compendium of the Discoveries of California*, The British Museum; Andrés Marcos Burriel and Miguel Venegas, "Letters, Documents, Etc., Regarding the Activities of the Jesuits in Lower California," Circa 1750, Venegas-Burriel Manuscripts, HM 22232-22246, Huntington Library; Miguel Venegas et al., *Noticia de la California, y de su conquista temporal y espiritual hasta el tiempo presente* (Madrid: En La Imprimadura de la Viuda de M Fernandez, 1757).

By their missionary rule, the Franciscans cultivated new subjects for the crown and contributed to their Europeanization, albeit with faltering impact. Narciso Durán was passionately engaged in promoting worship music at Mission San José. He rehearsed musical bands with Native performers, arranging hymns that continued to be performed well into the American period. Durán gave his documentation of Native singers and percussionists the same depth and seriousness that Juan Andrés Morell used when he began Universalist literary analysis. Kino recounted his similar successes in reaching Native hearts through music, and categorized Native tastes with comparable humanistic attention to the styles of percussion and singing.³⁵²

To the death, some Franciscans stood in battle and even perished at the hands of enemies of the state. Francisco Garcés died alongside secular Spaniards in a surprise attack by Yuma warriors. During the Chumash Revolt, Franciscans like Francisco Javier Uría armed themselves with spears and prepared to defend their fortified positions while the cavalry scouted the Chumash's escape into the hills. When pirate admiral Hipólito Bouchard attacked the Mission Strip, occupied Monterey, and pillaged the surrounding area, Gerónimo Boscana and José Barona rallied the neophytes of San Juan Capistrano and patrolled the mission grounds until Bouchard's raiders were confirmed to have withdrawn from the perimeter.³⁵³

When evaluating Junípero Serra and his role in Spain's early modern era of Enlightened Absolutism and Universalist thinking, it is foundational to recognize the increasing role of the

³⁵² For the comparison of Universalist interests in literary critique and musical scholarship, compare Eusebio Francisco Kino, "Suplica de ayuda para las misiones de Baja California: Letter from Eusebio Francisco Kino to Maria de Guadalupe de Lancastre, Duquesa de Aveiro de Arco y Maqueda, Madrid," February 15, 1687, HM: Madrid, Huntington Library; Craig H. Russell, *From Serra to Sancho: Music and Pageantry in the California Missions* (United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2009); Adolfo Domínguez Moltó, *El Abate D. Juan Andrés Morell: Un Erudito Del Siglo XVIII* (Alicante: Instituto de Estudios Alicantinos, 1978).

³⁵³ Mark Santiago, *Massacre at the Yuma Crossing: Spanish Relations with the Quechans, 1779-1782* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998); Francisco Javier Uría, "Report by Francisco Javier Uría to Captain Franco Maria Ruiz, 'Of the Assault of the Missions of Santa Bárbara by the Indians.'" (Santa Barbara, April 7, 1824), HM 16595, California Files Box 7, Huntington Library; Eric Plinkett, "The Saga of Orange County's 'Pirates,'" *Visions of California*, October 28, 2018, <https://visionsofcalifornia.blogspot.com/2018/10/the-saga-of-orange-countys-pirates-san.html>.

nation state and the blossoming of its bureaucratic mindset. Whether it was the unrealized state projects like Jeremy Bentham's panopticon prisons or the all-encompassing bureaucrats commissioned by reforming monarchies, the thinkers who propelled the Spanish Enlightenment went hand-in-hand with the state's mission. Serra was a member of Spain's elite educated civil servants. For Serra's missionaries and his secular peers, the Enlightenment reified their status. Spain required licensed, data-rich professionals who could officially implement statist projects onto the colonized Native peoples who lacked "civilizing education."

Junípero Serra was clearly influenced by Universalist thought. While Serra himself wrote no trailblazing texts and never made field-altering discoveries, he was nevertheless educated in bureaucratically funded schools that taught humanistic curriculum for universal applications. In provincial Palma, in metropolitan Spain, and in the colonial college of San Fernando, Serra was taught practical material on church planting, linguistics, and geography that prepared him to propagate his curriculum to the borderlands. What strange new world God had made for Serra to convert, God had also made for him to systematically categorize and understand, from Native languages to borderlands geography.

Serra's thoughts were as Universalist as his employment was Enlightened. After his doctorate, he propagated the same scholastic material as a certified and licensed professional. His alma mater's intellectual and spiritual founding father was a pan-Abrahamic apologist and pioneer in combinatory mathematics that historians label "the prophet of computer science." Serra served as a reconnaissance agent and intelligence specialist for Spain's imperial army as soldiers pushed imperial borders to their limit in California. As a supervisor over his Franciscan brothers, he toured missions and evaluated the performance of his subordinates. He reviewed and approved locations for new installments of the mission system for their feasibility as military and

economic projects. Through his active involvement in Alteño civic functions, he was perhaps a better visitador for California than José Gálvez.³⁵⁴

In the eyes of the government, it was Serra's pedigree that qualified him to be the President of the Franciscans, not his faith. Serra's professional education and his managerial experience made him a bureaucratic administrator. The arguments for Serra as a reactionary include zealous religious belief, the severity of the missions' monastic rule, the clothing of his order's medieval habit, and his enthusiastic religious expressions. Most of these apply equally to the Enlightened Jesuits. These arguments are essentially aesthetic, and do not address his mindset.

Ultimately, the notion of the Franciscans generally and Serra particularly as being remnants of a chivalric, medieval era is an effect of memory, broadly made by English speaking romantics who loved the Wild West and declared the Alteño presence to be exception to the Black Legend rule. As demonstrated, the Californio missionaries worked with and for the benefit of the state. As chroniclers, educators, military actors and messengers of the civilizing mission to neophytes, the missionaries were agents of Imperial Spain. This obviously never negated friars' agency nor their mendicant mindset. Franciscans could and did intervene on behalf of Native peoples when they saw fit, and disagreed with individual decisions as provincial governors tried to implement the Alteño project. Nevertheless, this never meant the Franciscans were dissident, rebellious or contrarian. Alteño Franciscans never took up arms against the Spanish government as did the Jesuits of Misiones in Argentina.

As the godfather of borderlands history stated himself said of Serra and Fages, "the din of battle was not a sure sign of personal hostility. Friars and officials might dispute principles

³⁵⁴ "Ramon Llull: Medieval Prophet of Computer Science," *Discovery* (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, December 23, 2019), BBC Sounds.

loudly, and yet be the best of compadres.” Bolton, despite his general romanticism towards Spain’s imperialism, kept the padres and presidios on the same side in the colonial story. If, to paraphrase Voltaire, the Bourbon Army had a Alteño colony, then the Franciscans were that army’s willing but outspoken Alteño chaplains.³⁵⁵

Conclusion

By the time the Franciscans had founded and stabilized the Alta California missions, their borderlands mindset had been reinforced through unique experiences that vindicated their Enlightened Catholic purpose. The Alteño clergy readily cooperated with, depended on, and created a common identity with the civil and military agents of Alta California. Most importantly, the Franciscans needed the help, protection, and material provisions that the civil-military government could provide. The laity helped the friars conduct exploratory operations, provision and protect the missions, and capture fleeing neophytes. Without help from civil authorities, the isolated Alteño borderland missions would have been unsustainable. Through this dependency and cooperation, the civil-military government exercised a greater control over the Franciscan missions. Law enforcement, coordination of supplies, and the civic engineering of the missions were all active realms of civil influence that Franciscans acknowledged.

The missions of Alta California were shaped both by the religiosity of the Franciscans and their collaboration with civil government animated by the ideals of the Spanish Enlightenment. The very existence of the missions was justified in part by Bourbon attempts to control the empire’s border regions. Both missionaries and government officials viewed racial hierarchy social order through the same enlightened lens.

³⁵⁵ Herbert Eugene Bolton and Francisco Palóu, *Palóu and His Writings* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1926), lxvii.

Rooted in the Medieval Era and oriented toward service of the poor, the mendicant Franciscans held fraternal traditions and expressed their zeal far more conservatively than the comparatively academic and baroque Jesuits. However, the difference in style and change in region belied the deep similarities between two Californio orders. As they answered to bureaucratic, absolutist superiors, both participated in the Enlightenment. As they studied new languages and charted new geographies and undertook social engineering, both held a Universalist mindset. As their experiences with the borderlands became increasingly peripheral and isolated from the metropolitan core that educated them, the Franciscans and Jesuits both became Californio missionaries.

*Chapter 4: Building 21 Jerusalems: The Pious Vigilance of Place-Bound Experience
in Isolated Alta California*

“California has been left [conclusively made] defensible against all the attacks that I can think of, thanks to your approval and the virtue of the Ministry of State, particularly tough men here have made the defense of the kingdom.”

-Captain Miguel José de Azanza in his report of California’s Presidios³⁵⁶

“The job of writing this is giving me a great pain.”

-Father Francisco Javier Uría on the Santa Barbara Indian Revolt³⁵⁷

Introduction

Alta and Baja California shared the same institutions and the same goals derived from the centrally planned and religiously endorsed Enlightened absolutism. As officers and missionaries, Californios of both provinces fueled their settlements with religious orthodoxy and a military bureaucracy. The Bajeños’ partial success on the peninsula created a partially Hispanicized, partially converted peripheral colony that was only distantly incorporated into the mainland’s metropole. As a result, the Bajeño borderland was experienced through the peripheral frustrations by Californios too distant from the mainland to ever become part of the metropole.

Alteños, on the other hand, were if anything even more peripheral. For the whole of the Colonial era and into the Republic, Alta California remained a continental island, vulnerable to threats from all sides. So unique and remote was the province of Alta California that the very experience of living on the isolated land created borderland experiences derived from the place itself. Alta California’s deep isolation impacted the daily experience of all Spanish subjects as

³⁵⁶ Miguel José de Azanza y Alegría, “Letter from Miguel José de Azanza y Alegría to Lord Viceroy of New Spain Marquis de Branciforte” (San Blas, January 22, 1796), California Files Box 4, Huntington Library.

³⁵⁷ Francisco Javier Uría, “Report by Francisco Javier Uría to Captain Franco Maria Ruiz, ‘Of the Assault of the Missions of Santa Bárbara by the Indians.’” (Santa Barbara, April 7, 1824), HM 16595, California Files Box 7, Huntington Library.

they maintained a steady vigilance to keep their colony financially solvent and militarily protected. Isolation and vigilance manifested in every aspect of Alteño life.

Even as a contiguous territory, Alta California was barely connected to the heartland of New Spain. The overland Camino del Diablo that passed through the deserts of the Sonora and Anza-Borrego was dangerous at the best of times. Hostile imperial borders with the Russians and the British made Alta's northern borderland a powder keg for regional attack and global war. The vast eastern lands of the Central Valley and Sierra Nevada Mountain Range were mostly uncharted and wholly uncolonized by Spanish authorities. Possible Native flight out of the mission strip was heavily monitored. The Pacific Coast was both a tenuous lifeline and another source of danger. The British Navy and pirates sailed the sea lanes off the Alteño Coast. Each threatened violent destruction through raids and attacks. Nonviolent offenses like smuggling and desertion were also possible through maritime capers. Even when being resupplied or raising revenue through trade, Californio commerce was at the mercy of traffic on a long, tempestuous voyage. For the many borderland threats, Alteños had to remain ever wary and vigilant. In their extreme isolation, the Alteños kept watch alone. Alta California's isolation was a serious and ongoing experience that persisted in the region even after Mexico became officially independent. Alta's isolation problems were local and not derived from the metropole.³⁵⁸

The daily experience of isolation and vigilant defense clearly manifested in the Alteño experience of religious zeal. The double mindset of observational Enlightenment and Catholic orthodoxy has already been examined in detail through the academic manuscripts of the Jesuits and of missionary correspondence. Through the padres' ministry to Native Californians and their

³⁵⁸ The overland route to Alta California, while possible, crossed through harsh deserts on the land of hostile Native tribes. Kino and Garcés both undertook this "Devil's Road," but the Camino was not an effective connection. See Jeremy Beer, *Beyond the Devil's Road: Francisco Garcés and the Spanish Encounter with the American Southwest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2024).

correspondence to each other and the civil authorities, Franciscans and their flock proved themselves just as pious as the Jesuits, if not as elegant in their prose.

Driven by pious vigilance, the isolated Alteños adapted an identity unique to their isolated land and the vigilance it demanded. Both militant and zealous, Alteños of the church and provincial government collaborated to protect themselves and to further the conversion of the Native Californians. Furthermore, this shared vigilance became a point of ethnogenesis. Borderland realities forced new adaptations upon the precarious Alteño institutions as they struggled to remain functional and safe. These changes became routine experiences for Californios, and eventually informed their provincial identity.³⁵⁹

This chapter examines experiences felt with distinctive intensity in the northern half of the California borderlands. Alta California was a borderland with such remote isolation and vulnerabilities that a series of experiences rooted in geographical place helped inform Californios' understanding of who they were.

The isolation of the Alteño borderlands was a difficulty that gave rise to an identity of place derived to an extent that was never present amongst the Bajeños who remained peripherally attached to the metropole. Along with the vigilant militarism of defense, Alteños were reinvigorated by the Catholic mandate of evangelical Universalism. The formation of Alteño experience and maintenance of Alta California and its citizens is best understood as an

³⁵⁹ Ethnogenesis is a complicated idea with foundational analyses across multiple disciplines. 19th-century nationalism popularized non-state identities throughout the Western world. In the context of the Native and Hispanic Borderlands, several texts influenced my analysis. Basso (see below) argued for place-based ethnic identity. Anderson and Weber both argued that kinship-driven interactions accelerated ethnic frontier-building. White and Taussig both argued that material dependency compromised and altered frontier development. Gary Clayton Anderson, *Kinsman of Another Kind: Dakota-White Relations in the Upper Mississippi Valley, 1650-1862* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984); David J. Weber, *The Taos Trappers; the Fur Trade in the Far Southwest, 1540-1846* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971); Richard White, *The Roots of Dependency: Subsistence, Environment, and Social Change among the Choctaws, Pawnees, and Navajos* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983); Michael T. Taussig, *The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980).

alliance between the Franciscan order's missions and the secular governor's presidios collaborating to manage a Native population. Alteños were so remote and their lives so precarious that the full cooperation of Franciscan zeal and secular state power were crucial. Alteños sustained four presidios and twenty-one missions through limited financial support and local Native labor. Despite loyalty to the Viceroy and to the Spanish Empire, it was the experience Alteños derived from their uniquely remote and precarious borderland position that contributed to their Californio identity. Alteños based their local identity on engineered defense, religious orthodoxy, and a racially-tiered society justified by Christian patronage and Enlightenment authority.³⁶⁰

I have improvised the phrase "Alteño" as an exonym that implies a Californio in the making specifically residing in the upper half of the California Province north of San Diego to the shores of San Francisco Bay. I apply the same logic as "Bajeño" in respect to Baja California. At its full extent in 1804, the Spanish province of Alta California included territory now within parts of Nevada, Arizona, Utah, Colorado, and Wyoming. European visitors to this deep interior were temporary, sparse and separated from the Pacific by a pilgrimage through territory of sovereign Native tribes or unconquered horseback raiders. This massive interior of Alta California was far removed from the coastal missions and settlements who shared a continuity with Baja California. Thus, these sparse areas of trade and transition are omitted from the consideration of Californio identity as regards the Alteño place identity.

Sources and Historiography

³⁶⁰ A special thank you to Both Dr. Duval and Dr. Anderson who encouraged me to examine racially-mixed mestizo identities from both sides of their identity, and to pursue the sources necessary to understand such standpoints.

Most archives with documents from colonial California have much more material relating to Alta than to Baja California for the simple reason that Alta is now part of the United States. This chapter is based on documents from the Huntington Library and from the edited volumes compiled by Franciscan historians. Of particular use was the Alexander Smith Taylor Collection. This special collection is housed in the archives of the Diocese of Los Angeles. Taylor collected correspondence sent to Monterey, the Alteño provincial capital, in the 19th century. Mostly written by friars, this material demonstrates both daily mission life and the collaboration between Californio religious and secular authorities.

The English-language historiography of Alta California is unsurprisingly much more extensive than that dealing with Baja. The Anglophone history of the future U.S. state focuses on the story of Alta California as an entity separate and distinct from Baja California. In US scholarship, Baja is usually depicted as Jesuit, Mexican, desolate, and arid, whereas Alta California usually carries the connotations of a western, Franciscan, frontier, Edenic, fruitful territory. 19th and early 20th century US historiography of Alta California depicts the territory as the final objective of Manifest Destiny and Westward expansion.

This is in part due to the Westward orientation of most American borderlands scholars. The Boltonian school of history treats the Spanish frontier as a part of United States history, challenging and complicating Turner's frontier thesis. This treats Alta California as an equal and parallel area of the United States, rather than the extension of New Spain that it was. This creates a skewed perspective of New Spain's North, emphasizing the independence or exceptionalism of the future American Southwest.³⁶¹

³⁶¹ John Francis Bannon, *Herbert Eugene Bolton: The Historian and the Man, 1870-1953* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1978).

Part of the Boltonian perspective came from the orientation of the material collected in the now foundational archives of American borderlands research. The Bancroft and Huntington Libraries have their material categorized in a way that emphasizes the frontier nature of California and the Southwest, rather than the continuity of Spanish institutions such as the classifications of the National Library and General Archives in Mexico. In the words of Albert Hurtado, the classification and orientation of libraries is purposeful and impactful. “There is nothing inevitable about libraries, especially the great research libraries that house aggregations of materials from around the world. In the Huntington and Bancroft libraries, some of the greatest treasures of the printer’s art, richly produced and bound in leather, coexist with lowly and common publications such as newspapers and pulp fiction.” The founding generation of Anglophone historians oriented New Spain’s borderlands into the greater story of Westward Expansion. Above the Rio Grande, New Spain was understood as the original chapter of the U.S. story of Manifest Destiny.³⁶²

Many later scholars of the Southwest, like Bannon and Hurtado, have deconstructed the Boltonian worldview.

Spanish settlers attempted to manipulate the Californian terrain in order to best re-create the conversion of New Spain on the borderlands. Mario Alberto Magaña Mancillas has emphasized the significance of Hispanic re-definition of boundaries in both Californias. In *Indios, Soldados y Rancheros*, he argues that meaningful development in California was locally driven. Ranching by missionaries and retired presidio soldiers shaped developing California communities. Moreover, the new Hispanic settlements established a sedentary year-round location on the ranch, the farm, the mission or the presidio. This was a marked departure from

³⁶² Albert L. Hurtado, “Professors and Tycoons: The Creation of Great Research Libraries in the American West,” *The Western Historical Quarterly* 41, no. 2 (2010): 150–51.

the seasonal and cyclically nomadic lifestyle of Native Californians. The permanent Hispanic settlements prompted acculturation through many fixed routine experiences like markets, Mass, property rights, and more.³⁶³

Wallace Smith's comprehensive history of the San Joaquin Valley *Garden of the Sun* covers the Estanislao Rebellion. Atypically, Estanislao's resistance primarily consisted of aiding fleeing Native Californians. Wallace highlights the Spaniards' un-realized fear that Estanislao's rebels would ally with the Russian, or English traders and ultimately gain access to European firearms. This was possible due to Alta California's size, Native Californians' mobility, and the limited spatial control of the Spanish around the Bay and Coastal Range.³⁶⁴

It is important to not overstate the impact of neophyte and Native agency in Spanish California. Many scholars, particularly those focusing on Native Studies, have made the case that the Mission project was genocidal. In their edited volume, *Missions of California: A Legacy of Genocide* Costo and Costo argued for the cultural, environmental, and demographic destruction of Native Alta Californians. Despite the resistance and articulation of many bands of "Mission Indians," it is difficult to fully calculate the losses experienced by Native California under New Spain.³⁶⁵

Beyond acknowledging the shortcomings of Bolton's generational prejudices, I point out here that recent generations of California scholarship have increasingly emphasized the Spanish

³⁶³ Mario Alberto Magaña Mancillas, *Indios, Soldados y Rancheros: Poblamiento, Memoria e Identidades En El Área Central de Las Californias (1769-1870)* (La Paz: Instituto Sudcaliforniano de Cultura, Archivo Historico Pablo L. Martinez, 2017).

³⁶⁴ Wallace Smith, *Garden of the Sun: A History of the San Joaquin Valley, 1772-1939*, ed. William B. Secrest (Fresno: Craven Street Books, 2004).

³⁶⁵ Rupert Costo and Jeannette Henry Costo, *The Missions of California: A Legacy of Genocide* (San Francisco: American Indian Historical Society, 1987). Castillo (Luiseno-Cahuilla) argues that California's Native heritage has been one of adaptation since European Contact, both in forms of cultural preservation and through "Rancheria" and "Mission Indian" bands surviving and regaining sovereignty as governments and economies change around them. Edward D. Castillo, "A Short Overview of California Indian History," *California Indian History – California Native American Heritage Commission* (blog), 2024, <https://nahc.ca.gov/native-americans/california-indian-history/>.

continuity of borderlands while deconstructing Californio exceptionalism. This chapter concurs with the inclusion of Alta in Spanish continuity, while I examine the effects of California's near isolation from the rest of the Hispanic New World.³⁶⁶

The Ambiguous Alta Chronology: Spanish or Mexican *Californios*?

This chapter includes sources that reference events that took place during and after the Mexican War of Independence (1810-1821). Franciscans were commissioned to begin the reconnaissance for the Alteño missions in 1769. The Mexican War of Independence that began in 1810 officially ended in 1821, and the Republic officially secularized the missions in 1833. Alta California would finally be transferred to the United States in 1848. The twilight of the padres and the advent of the United States created a new borderland in which Native and Hispanic Californios became "others" in contrast to the U.S. settlers and their Anglophone experiences. While this technically exceeds the Spanish colonial Era, I argue this material remains relevant for several reasons. Firstly, Alta California was generally a loyalist area and not nearly so Revolutionary as southern parts of New Spain. Secondly, many borderland scholars include the Republican Era in their study of Mexico's northern colonial frontier. Many scholars argue for the American acquisition of the northern territories to be the much more meaningful bookend for the colonial story. Thirdly, Alteño institutions and experiences were locally derived by place, institution and Californio ethnicity. The relationship of the local mission and the local presidio was not altered from beyond the Sea of Cortés by revolution. These borderlands experiences were local, as were the communities shaped by them.³⁶⁷

³⁶⁶ For a deconstruction of Boltonian ethics, see Albert L. Hurtado, *Herbert Eugene Bolton: Historian of the American Borderlands*, 1st ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012).

³⁶⁷ The Mexican War of Independence, 1810-1821 is sometimes casually referred to as the Mexican Revolution (against the Spanish Empire). This is not to be confused with the 1910-1920 Revolution against the Porfiriato. Some

However, the Revolution did not change the experience of Alta California as a borderland. Californios were still preoccupied with negotiating their lives on a frontier far more than they were involved in the debates and crises of the radicalizing metropole. Burrough, Stanford and Tomlinson argue that the Mexican national period was a time of centralizing federal authority and national cohesion around the administrative core of Mexico City at the cost of increasingly isolating the outer territories and peripheries. Mexico City not only lost the northern frontier to the Americans, but independent movements also distanced Central America and the Yucatan. In the meantime, California's mission and presidio institutions continued to operate locally. Until the Franciscans were forcibly secularized by federal decree, their Californio experiences continued on the frontier that remained a Hispanic and Native borderland. Lisbeth Haas documents Pablo Taac, a Luiseño neophyte born after Independence who was recruited by the friars to study first in Mexico City and then in Rome in order to become a priest and linguist. For his work as a priest and as a contributor to the Spanish Universalist corpus, Taac was a successor to both Junípero Serra and Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro. Taac's scholarship demonstrated the continuity of Alteño institutions and experiences even after New Spain ceased to exist.³⁶⁸

writers refer to the 1810-1821 movement as a revolution. Erika Pérez, Albert Hurtado, Ramón Gutiérrez, and George Harwood Phillips all stress the historiographical continuity in the Hispanic northwestern provinces. Whether marital, social, religious or labor history in turn, each demonstrates the local inertia of the borderlands institutes. For a variety of reasons, the social institutions of the borderlands were more continuous than interrupted in the era of Hispanic rule. I adhere to this as I examine the Californio experiences under the continuity of the dual institutions of mission and presidio. Erika Pérez, *Colonial Intimacies: Interethnic Kinship, Sexuality, and Marriage in Southern California, 1769-1885* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2018); Albert L. Hurtado, *Intimate Frontiers: Sex, Gender, and Culture in Old California* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999); Ramón A. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846* (Stanford: University Press, 1991); George Harwood Phillips, *Indians and Intruders in Central California, 1769-1849* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993).

³⁶⁸ Bryan Burrough, Chris Tomlinson, and Jason Stanford, *Forget the Alamo: The Rise and Fall of an American Myth* (New York: Penguin Press, 2021); Lisbeth Haas, *Pablo Tac, Indigenous Scholar: Writing on Luiseño Language and Colonial History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

That said, many of the borderlands experiences I discuss in this chapter continue past 1821. Borderlands events like the Chumash Revolt demonstrate a colonial, borderlands continuity. So too do the source materials. Documentation created after 1821, particularly the later correspondence of the Taylor Collection and the Huntington's California Collection. The Hispanic materials, be they letters, diaries or official paperwork, demonstrate a continuity of presidio soldiers and clergy who survived the transition from empire to republic.³⁶⁹

Given the thoroughly established historiography of Alta Californians and especially the Franciscans, I seek to point out experiences in Californio sources that point to otherwise underemphasized elements that defined the peculiar identity of the *Alteños*. Firstly, one of the experiences of *Alteños* was the spirit of vigilant defense in the face of isolation. Between the Russians, the British, pirates, the ever-present threat of mission revolts, and hostile raids from beyond the frontier, *Alteños* were in a state of vulnerability, too far from the metropole to receive help in an emergency. Their settlements' design and daily routines were shaped by the constant vigilance against threats from beyond the borderlands. Secondly, the military and evangelical branches of *Alteño* society operated more in cooperation than in competition. Despite the occasional spat between jurisdictions and the arguments over Native treatment, Franciscans and soldiers cooperated with each other. Regular friendly correspondence, routine joint operations and the mutual vulnerability made the secular and sacred *Alteño* agents brothers in arms in the face of the hostile frontier. Finally, I wish to apply the same concept of "place and idea," to *Alteños* as Akins and Bauer did to Native Californians. This is not meant to create competing

³⁶⁹ Individual case studies have demonstrated that *Alteño* Franciscans emphasized survival and continuity in the aftermath of the revolution. Both of these drives oriented their actions towards the routine, ground-level of operations, rather than nation-building agency on the state level. See Damian Bacich, "Surviving Secularization: A Mexican Franciscan in a Changing California, 1833–1851," *California History (San Francisco)* 94, no. 2 (2017): 41–57; Emmanuelle Perez Tisserant, "'Living Together in a Village, in Houses and Not Dispersed': Projects, Representations and Practices of Residency in the Franciscan Missions of Upper California, 1769–1833," *L'Ordinaire Des Amériques*, no. 231 (2023).

claims over land legitimacy. Rather, I suggest that the coastal mission strip and presidio jurisdiction marked a geographical reinforcement to the Californio identity (and by contrast, the Indigenous zone of control beyond the Coastal Range in Indian Country). The physical jurisdictions of the presidio military and the limited orbit of the missions' satellite villages marked a geographical constraint on the Alteños and their ranching, agriculture, herding, evangelization and settlement.³⁷⁰

The Alteño Identity of Place

The Californios of Alta California experienced their settlements and geographic conditions on a deeper and more fundamental level than other borderlands communities. I define “identity of place,” as the experiences and interactions specifically applied to geography. Whether it be the natural features of the land and waterscape or the manmade features of public institutions and community functions, geography influences all communities to some extent. However, Alta California's exceptional isolation and size overly impacted the conditions on the ground.

I draw my definition of “identity of place” from multidisciplinary scholarship conducted by historians, anthropologists and Native studies scholars. A foundational monograph was Keith Basso's *Wisdom Sits in Places*. By collaborating onsite with local ranchers, Basso only gained Apache understanding through the dual experience of receiving oral history and participating in the physical spaces where the Cibecue identity was constructed.³⁷¹

³⁷⁰ Damon B. Akins and William J. Bauer, Jr, *We Are the Land: A History of Native California* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2021).

³⁷¹ Keith H. Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language among the Western Apache* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996). For a larger collection of essays derived from Basso's original, see Steven Feld and Keith H. Basso, eds., *Senses of Place* (Santa Fe: University of Washington Press, 1996). Jacoby argued that sedentary, nomadic and cyclically nomadic nations varied in their possession and assessment of the same

My understanding of place identity emphasizes manmade geography, specifically structures built to reinforce public institutions like presidio fortresses and mission churches. Historians have established extensive precedents for this. Historians of memory argue that monuments and museums are part of social landscapes, even as monuments' meanings are disputed. In public history works, many historians argue that monuments are both material history and public expressions of community identity. Public Catholic structures were contested by neophytes, but the contestation in no way detracted from their meaningful contribution to the identity of a local place.³⁷²

In Spanish North America, the historiography of place identity is rich. Spain's manmade borderlands were defined by the construction of missions. William B. Taylor and Amara Solari have both made extensive case studies in the Indigenous Catholic Church of Mexico. Spiritual borderlands in and of themselves, the rural parishes exhibited a syncretic church not present in the Hispanicized metropole of Mexico City. Local characteristics of the structural and artistic essence of public churches demonstrate the influence of local places on religious identity, both in New Spain proper and California. The definitive Californio example of place identity is *We Are the Land*. Dakins and Bauer make a compelling case for the persistence of place-based identity over time and political subjugation. Beyond material subsistence or production, Dakins and Bauer make the case that land and place is quintessential and adaptive within the identity of Indigenous Californians.³⁷³

borderlands space. Karl Jacoby, *Shadows at Dawn: A Borderlands Massacre and the Violence of History* (New York: Penguin Press, 2008).

³⁷² For memory studies of physical monuments' impact on identity, see Erin L Thompson, *Smashing Statues: The Rise and Fall of America's Public Monuments* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2022); Thomas J. Brown, *Civil War Monuments and the Militarization of America*, Civil War America (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019).

³⁷³ Amara Solari, *Maya Ideologies of the Sacred: The Transfiguration of Space in Colonial Yucatan* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2013); William B. Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred: Priest and Parishioners in Eighteenth Century Mexico* (Stanford: University Press, 1996); William B. Taylor, *Theater of a Thousand Wonders:*

In order to succinctly apply the identity of place to Alta California, I invoke and focus on a particularly descriptive letter written by Fermín Francisco Lasuén, successor to Junípero Serra as the president of the Franciscan College of Alta California. The piece was collected by American historian Alexander Smith Taylor, who celebrated it as a founding document for the city of San Luís Rey. Lasuén wrote to Don Diego de Borica, then the governor of the Californias. In 1798, Baja and Alta were part of the same province of Las Californias. In his northbound description to his governor in Monterrey, Lasuén detailed the events of the celebration and its auspicious reception and prolific baptismal turnout. Lasuén's experience with the festivities showed Native and Hispanic Californios building a place. With both cultural and physical expressions, Californios came together and celebrated a meaningful location. The grounds and mission of San Luís Rey de Francia became an identity of place experienced through manmade and natural phenomena.³⁷⁴

In his letter's opening, Lasuén acknowledged the Alteños' two local superiors; the governor and Christ. "[Long] Live Jesus! Lord Governor, My Dear Sir..." even in personal correspondence, Alteños combined the authority of the divine and the secular. "At last I have the desired satisfaction to participate [share] with your Excellency, that on this date, the day of the Festivity of San Antonio de Padua, in this place, called by the natives Icayme, and by the first discoverers San Juan Capistrano, half way between the Missions of San Juan Capistrano and San

A History of Miraculous Images and Shrines in New Spain, Cambridge Latin American Studies 103 (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2016). For an architectural and material perspective on New Spain's mission construction, see George Kubler, *Mexican Architecture of the Sixteenth Century*, Yale Historical Publications. History of Art, 5 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948). Akins and Bauer, Jr, *We Are the Land*.

³⁷⁴ Fermín Francisco Lasuén, "Letter to Diego de Borica," June 13, 1798, 1, Alexander Taylor Correspondence, San Francisco Herald. Cited in Alexander S. Taylor, *The Proposed State University at San Luis Rey--- Foundation of the Mission Thereof, in 1798*, American Broad-sides and Ephemera. First Series No. 9044 (San Francisco: American Broad-sides and Ephemera. First Series No. 9044, 1854). "The King of the Missions" inspired reverence and memory as an architecturally and spatially commanding structure in a geographically central location at the meeting point between the two Californias on the King's Highway. Maynard J. Geiger, *Mission San Luis Rey de Francia: The King of the Missions; an Historical Sketch* (Oceanside: San Luis Rey Mission, 1939), 15–25, 31.

Diego...” This salutation’s language was procedural, but in routine greetings came a procedural experience that reaffirmed Alteños as Christian pilgrims newly arrived in an unconverted land. Lasuén credited the “first discoverers” of the land as missionaries from San Juan Capistrano, rather than the Native peoples. The questionably “new” land of San Luís Rey received purposefully “sanctified” names. As a King of France, Saint Louis the Martyr was a crusader who fought on Christendom’s borderlands and died a pious death. San Luís Rey’s patronage addressed the religious, political and immortal aspirations and anxieties of *Alteño* Christians. Multiple biographers referred to him as “The Most Christian King.” Because of his convergence as a religious, martial and political figure, San Luís Rey vindicated multiple mindsets as a namesake for settlement built by agents of “His Most Catholic Majesty,” the King of Spain. Through this invocation and the observation of religious meaning as a part of civic paperwork to the governor, Lasuén purposefully invoked religious meaning into local social planning. The Alteño’s invocation of sanctified names confirmed the new Californio place as a manmade holy site.³⁷⁵

The founding generations of Franciscans held personal association with certain patron saints whose meaning they transferred into the names of Californio places. As they travelled from San Juan, Puerto Rico bound for Veracruz, Junípero Serra and Francisco Palóu were caught in a tropical storm that threatened to sink their ship and the whole crew. As they cried out to Saint Barbara, the storm subsided miraculously and the pilgrims were saved. Before his death, Serra was planning to found Mission Santa Bárbara, and Lasuén finished the project in 1786.

³⁷⁵ Frederick Albertus Perry, *Saint Louis: Louis IX. of France, The Most Christian King* (New York: G.P. Putman & Sons, 1901). Medievalist David O’Connell argues that since his posthumous testimony being published, Christians have disputed the meaning and authenticity of Louis XI’s piety and devotion. David O’Connell, *The Teachings of Saint Louis: A Critical Text* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1971).

Through their stormy petition to Santa Barbara, Serra and Palóu had created a meaning in an Alteño mission's name even before its founding on Native Californian ground.³⁷⁶

Lasuén did acknowledge that San Luís Icayme was Native ground before it was a Spanish mission. "On this date, the day of the Festivity of San Antonio de Padua, in this place, called by the Natives Icayme..." Lasuén created a Californio place through the syncretic christening of a frontier settlement. He acknowledged its Native name as a foundation and anchored it in time with a Catholic feast day to connect it to neighboring missions for orientation. Founding a new Californio place with its own identity involved Native, local Hispanic and Old-World Christian experiences for reference. This was not entirely unique to Californios. Throughout the interior provinces, Native names existed alongside Spanish names in San Javier del "Bac," or San Cayetano de "Tumacácori" in Arizona whose Native names have persisted on top of Spanish settlements into the twenty-first century. The frontier also continued the tradition of Hispanicizing Native names like Tejas, Tucson, and even New Mexico. A great many frontier names came from the wilderness features of the local region, emphasizing the immediacy of the natural world in the borderlands. Lasuén perceived Native societies and Native names as a "natural state," that could be elevated through enrollment in the missions and adoption of Californio ways.³⁷⁷

Also noteworthy was the location of San Luís Rey's founding in 1798. The mission was raised in the south, far below the "frontier of the pagan peoples," as Palóu referred to unexplored

³⁷⁶ This was discussed in depth in Chapter 3. For deeper context, see Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society: From Mexican Pueblos to American Barrios in Santa Barbara and Southern California, 1848-1930* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), <https://openlibrary.org/books/OL4407497M>; David A. Bolton, "Santa Bárbara— Queen of the Missions," California Missions Foundations, January 1, 2016, <https://californiamissionsfoundation.org/mission-santa-barbara/>; Junipero Serra, "A Personal Letter to Francisco Serra, Bidding Farewell to His Parents, His Relatives, Fellow Franciscans, and Friends of His Native Town and of Palma, on the Eve of His Departure for Mexico From Veracruz," August 20, 1749, Barcelona, Spain, Archivo de la Provincia de los Capuchinos.

³⁷⁷ Lasuén, "Letter to Diego de Borica," June 13, 1798, 2.

and unclaimed territory. While San José and San Francisco had already been founded, these represented the northern fringe of Spanish reach, literally the “rim of Christendom,” as Bolton called it. Much of California, even along the mission strip, was empty of significant Spanish presence for years at a time. The founding of San Luís Rey was the Spanish attempt to expand the *Alteño* demographic and financial strength of the area. This illustrated how narrowly *Alteños* realistically defined their identity of place.³⁷⁸

The groundbreaking ceremony was performed, “in the presence and assistance of the Captain of the Cavalry, Antonio Grajera, and the Reverend fathers and apostolic Friar Juan Norbetto de Santiago, Minister of the Mission of San Juan Capistrano, and Friar Antonio Peyri...” Lasuén, like other *padres*, would almost always provide the Christian names of their military escorts. The personal connections of such a small province were meaningful. The writer also mentioned the accompanying friars and soldiers together, in the same breath. Like the exploratory columns, the soldiers and *padres* appeared together in the execution of public functions. For San Luís Rey, the simultaneous presence of clergy and military symbolically represented to all attendees that the agents of God and the governor were cooperating to uphold and grow the public trust. They were not just functional partners, the friars were... “destined for this; the soldiers destined to their guardianship...” As much as Lasuén believed in divine providence, the cooperation between the soldiers and the friars was a match made in heaven.³⁷⁹

Also present at the foundation celebration were, “a large number of neophytes who came from the Missions of San Juan Capistrano and San Diego, to commence the work here, and a great multitude of Gentiles of both sexes and of all ages, who manifested great satisfaction and

³⁷⁸ Francisco Palóu and Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Historical Memoirs of New California*. (Berkeley: University of California press, 1926), 298; Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Rim of Christendom; a Biography of Eusebio Francisco Kino, Pacific Coast Pioneer* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1960).

³⁷⁹ Lasuén, “Letter to Diego de Borica,” June 13, 1798, 2.

complacency.” Mass gatherings of Native Californios was always a potential risk for the mission elites. Whether being surrounded and outnumbered in a Native rancheria outside the mission like the conspiracy led by Toypurina at San Gabriel or being cautious of an unknown visiting band like the surprise revolts at Santa Barbara or Yuma, friars were constantly aware of the danger of being overwhelmed, even if they welcomed martyrdom. With the constant experience of vigilance amongst the subjugated Native Californios, Lasuén was thrilled to see a mass assembly of peaceful Native Californio families, especially when they had assembled for a Christian celebration with a king’s namesake.³⁸⁰

San Luís Rey was over thirty miles from San Diego. The visitors showed both sacrifice and interest in coming to the festivities. In imperial terms, the two missions were neighbors. Unlike the semi-peripheral connection held by Bajefios to metropolitan Mexico, in Alta California there was no consideration for Mexico City, Guadalajara, or even San Blas. Alteños were truly on their own. In their isolation, local events were magnified in importance and meaning because more missions reinforced the success of the Spanish missionizing project. The neophytes present both participated in celebrating the growing province state *and* demonstrated the province’s successful conversion project. The “gentiles” in attendance who had not yet been incorporated in the Alteño order also participated in the public recruitment. Native participation, expressed publicly and communally, was vital to maintain the Alteños’ sense of security amidst the vulnerable isolation of the northern frontier. Michel Foucault’s theory of power explains the ways in which institutional authority reifies and vindicates itself through public, visible demonstrations with interactive consent. Foucault argues that participatory public demonstrations

³⁸⁰ Lasuén, 2.

like missal processions, open air baptisms, and communally sung hymns certify the regime in physically open public and in internally mental understanding.³⁸¹

Lasuén's emphasis on the physical structure of the main church was understandable. Friars sought to celebrate Holy Mass regularly in the primary nave of the largest church possible. However, the father president's account does not fully portray the scope of Alteño place. Maps, grazing pastures, outposts and sedentary agricultural fields extended Californio experiences for miles past the mission building's fence. Emmanuelle Perez-Tisserant furthers this argument in her analysis of the mission structure as a "central quadrilateral (with the church as the center)" and the mission territory as the orbiting terrain, structures and boundaries erected and delineated through Spanish place-making. Native and Spanish workers alike could still recognize the control of the mission when passing through the broader territory "with pastures and facilities located several hours or even a day or two away." Perez-Tisserant acknowledges Native people's ability to adapt as both neophytes and "non-reduced" gentiles. However porous it was, she emphasizes that Spain was successfully able to assert control over a landscape as a recognizable Alteño place.³⁸²

Though most had not converted to Christianity, many of the Native attendants participated in a ritual of fealty to the *Californio* system. "After passing about an hour and a half the Gentiles, who were present assisting us, offered spontaneously 25 boys and 29 girls, asking me to have them baptized." Practically, the missions' barracks could not consistently house all the ranchers, herders and farmers who worked far afield from the church compound. Living next to or even near the mission was not the primary indicator of a "loyal Indian," as Serra found out

³⁸¹ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977).

³⁸² Perez Tisserant, "'Living Together in a Village, in Houses and Not Dispersed,'" 1–5.

through his sorcery practicing neophytes. Rather, receiving baptism was the borderlands action of fealty to the Franciscans. “This morning and part of the afternoon in the brush tent that we formed yesterday has served today for the Holy Mass, I have solemnly baptized in all 54 souls.” Luiseño converts were baptized in a temporary structure not unlike like their own grass lodges. The Native gentiles were willing to be baptized and to accept the Hispanic experience of fealty. However, the group of converts negotiated the experience. Rather than doing so inside the mission at the baptismal font, they did outside in the familiar terrain they called Icayme, the Native-named, Native ground. Unlike a city’s cathedral plaza or presidio’s parade grounds, the adobe walls of the church did not complete the whole of the borderlands place. The place of baptism experienced by new Luiseños was a Spanish church and the natural landscape that they called Icayme. The natural land around the Spanish mission was part of the Native Californios’ negotiated baptismal experience of place. “They likewise wished me to baptize another 7 young men and 12 girls; but I told them it was necessary that they should be first instructed, and they are now learning the catechism— thank God [sic].” Despite Native negotiating power, the Franciscans remained firm on the required catechism. Converts could not genuinely experience the saving power of baptism without learning the religious context. To do so would require church attendance and returning to the place of the mission. Both Hispanic and Natives were involved in negotiating the experiences of place at San Luís Rey Icayme.³⁸³

Lasuén performed religious patriotism. “I blessed the place and the water...” The soldiers’ exploration and neophyte construction made a settlement, the padre made holy ground. “... and adored a large cross we had erected.” Both the Enlightened Absolutist secular authorities

³⁸³ Consider the individual’s participation (and thus internalized endorsement] of state power through public functions as delineated in Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977). Lasuén, “Letter to Diego de Borica,” June 13, 1798, 2, 3.

and the missionaries acknowledged Catholicism as the central marker of the province's identity and order. "We then sung the Litany of the Saints and said High Mass. At the same time, I preached and exhorted them to co-operate in such a holy work, and we concluded the ceremony with singing..." the enjoyment of public music was a common theme throughout the Californias. Spanish and Native singers alike found nearly any excuse to sing. Be it in celebrating Mass, receiving a guest on the rancho, rancheria, or mission, or singing as part of a festival, public music was a rare opportunity for Californios of all stripes to convene together in an egalitarian context. The Franciscans loved hymns that praised the Lord. Hispanic civilians relished the carousing experience of a festival. Native singers loved music of all kinds, choral or accompanied. Every Californio shared in the experience of singing. As they celebrated a new place, they commemorated with one of the few egalitarian Californio experience of song.³⁸⁴

San Luís Rey was one of twenty-one Alteño missions protected by four presidios. However, its establishment at the very end of the 18th century demonstrated the routine and series of cooperative experiences that had consolidated Alteño Californios into one identity. Native, Hispanic, secular and clerical Californios, witnessed and participated in a series of identity-building rituals, spaces and symbols. Those active witnesses reinforced the collective experience of a multi-racial, Catholic, provincial borderland.

Like all Spaniards on the borderlands, Californios lived through routines different from the metropole around Mexico City, often dramatically different. The Alta landmass was so far removed from New Spain proper that the Alteños were more effectively isolated than an island. As a result, local Alteño experiences carried deep meaning. Neophyte's socially exhibited faith and civic participation, public deployment of provincial institutions, and even regional and holy

³⁸⁴ Kino, Consag, Serra, Durán and Palóu all commented on the enthusiasm in which Native musicians contributed to the mission's mass and festivals.

nomenclature reinforced the isolated loneliness that defined the Alteños' distinct identity of place.

Unlike Baja's orientation towards the all-important port, mission and presidio of Loreto, Alta California's settlements were distributed through a long, sparse strip of land along the coast. Rather than oriented towards a single access point towards the mainland, Alta's missions and presidios were built on opportune stretches of hospitable grounds. Alteño presidios and missions were stretched across multiple bays, mountain ranges, rivers and Indigenous natures. No single Alteño settlement was sufficiently central or accessible to the mainland to become Alta's center as Loreto had become for Baja California. Rather, the Alteños networked with the nearest and most convenient presidio and the missionaries that were nearby. Without a convenient and standardized access port to reliably appeal to the mainland, local Alteño missions collaborated with the nearest presidio and neighboring missions- San Luís Rey celebrated not with all Californios, but with the neighbors within travelling distance.

The clergy and military collaborated meaningfully and publicly. The Franciscans needed the protection of the presidios while labor from the missionaries generated revenue and grew the Christian population of the province. The public and visible partnership between friars and soldiers reinforced the experience of an authoritative government who managed both moral and practical guidance. Alteños deployed Old World and New World names over their experiences in California. Through public outdoor Baptism, Spaniards invited Indigenous neophytes to participate in a Californio experience with European, Christian names. Simultaneously, Native languages continued to be spoken aloud and Native names continued to define natural landmarks, crops and water sources. As much as San Luís Rey invoked and petitioned a

sanctified, martial, Catholic monarch, Icayme was a reminder of where, by whom and for whom the mission was built.³⁸⁵

The stronger, isolated sense of place among the Alteños is better understood when compared to the peripheral identity of Bajeños. While Baja's geography and separation by the Sea of Cortés physically separate Baja, Californios on the peninsula still regularly participated, albeit slowly and delayed, with regular functions of the viceregal government. Pack boats carried livestock to and from the mainland, and much of Bajeño sales and customs processing took place in San Blas. The Pericú Revolt was only fully resolved with the active funding and reinforcements of the metropole. When viewed from the 1690's to the 1760's, maps reveal that Bajeño settlements were clustered tightly around the peninsula's southeastern coast. Only after the subjugation of the Pericú and the Jesuit expulsion did Spanish settlement grow throughout the peninsula. Even so, many interior and northern Bajeño missions shut down from lack of water, supplies or neophytes. Despite the geographical borderlands, Baja settlement consistently oriented itself towards the mainland. Alta California's isolation could not enable such codependent urban planning. In their settlements isolated by desert, mountains, and the Pacific, the Alteños were forced to create their identity through local experiences far afield from metropolitan interactions.³⁸⁶

Lasuén's expression of identity of place came from the mass participation of Alteños founding a new mission. All aspects of Californio society participated, from the secular soldiers to the sacred missionaries, from the Hispanicized Europeans to the converted neophytes, using

³⁸⁵ Despite the regular use of Latin in Mass and Spanish in correspondence, spoken language amongst Native Californians was never fully Hispanicized. Friars accepted the practical need to master Native linguistics, which included the Enlightenment study and documentation of Indigenous languages by the Franciscans.

³⁸⁶ Mancillas demonstrates a connection between Baja's ranching and the stock trade of the mainland via regular cargo barges via San Blas. By numbers, the largest single category of documents in the Fondos Coloniales in the Archivos Pablo Martinez in Baja California Sur are trade receipts and contracts in and out of Loreto.

names from the local Native civilization and Old-World Christendom. Through his narration of events, Lasuén acknowledged a sacred site meshed with state participation to form a single borderlands place-driven identity.

In a private, intimate personal conversation that was later recorded, Francisco Palóu and Junípero Serra applied sacred language to the secular presidio of Monterey to reinforce their own Alteño place-driven identity. The conversation was recorded as part of Palóu's memorial of his mentor after Serra had become president of the California Franciscans. Palóu praised Serra's dogged self-denial in the pursuit of evangelical work and pastoral advocacy for his neophyte charges. Palóu's writings were published through the Franciscan College of San Fernando in urban, aristocratic Mexico City. Like Garcés and the Bajeno Jesuits, the most popular Californio texts participated in the metropolitan audience beyond California's isolated and peripheral borderlands. Palóu emphasized particular narratives and sayings he recalled from his mentor to celebrate the Franciscan experience of triumphing on Californio borderlands. While Palóu did regale his readers with uniquely Alteño experiences, he did so in the context of a loyal padre serving the King's Mission.³⁸⁷

Whilst serving the metropolitan King, the Alteño Franciscans developed a spiritual vigilance and a religious sense of place as they traveled up and down the Alteño borderlands. Even more than Baja's Californio Jesuits who had to travel, work and fight to maintain Spanish institutions, Alteño Franciscans had rigorous demands through their ministry and civil maintenance. Alta's long, sparse and isolated Mission strip demanded physical hardiness for

³⁸⁷ Francisco Palóu, *The Historical Account of the Life of and Apostolic Labors of the Venerable Father Fray Junípero Serra of the Regular Observance of Our Seraphic Father Saint Francis of the Province of Mallorca, Doctor and Ex-Professor of the Morning Class of the Sacred Theology at the Lullian University in the Island; Commissary of the Holy Office of the Entire New Spain and the near-by Islands; Apostolic Preacher of the College of Apostolic Missionaries of the Propaganda Fide of San Fernando in Mexico; President and Founder of the Missions and New Establishments of New and Upper California and Monterey* (Mexico City: Franciscan College of San Fernando, 1787).

regular travel. Communication, supply chains and law enforcement required regular mule and foot traffic from friars. While recalling Serra's journeys to and from the provincial capital, Palóu wrote of a night when he hosted his tutor at the Los Angeles mission. While northbound to Monterey, Serra visited Palóu and rested his swollen and bruised foot. Alarmed at his master's injury, Palóu urged Serra to recuperate and better equip himself for the next leg of his journey. The missionary president declined: he preferred to walk in humble sandals. "His last words of farewell were: 'Good-by until we meet in Monterey, where I hope we shall see each other in order to labor in that vineyard of the Lord.'" Serra's dogged, long-suffering exertion and Palóu's reverence of it made sense considering the mindset of the Franciscans and their location in Alta California. Both through Serra's initial comment and Palóu's reverent recording, the Franciscans equated physical labor and pilgrimage with the colonial capital and state authority. Travelling on the borderland imparted the experience of pain and ruggedness, both as a moral good and civic participation.³⁸⁸

Serra and Palóu became mendicants rather than secular priests out of dedication to extroverted service and material deprivation. The mendicant experience of poverty and evangelism complimented the Alteño vigilance. Franciscans declined comfortable posts in metropolitan New Spain and risked their physical and spiritual wellbeing on the desert, isolated frontier. California challenged the austerity and enthusiasm of the Franciscans through rebellious neophytes, contrarian military commanders and a lonely, hostile wilderness. Trailblazing Alta was undertaken by foot or by mule with small engineering crews like those on the Moraga expedition. In his journal recounting his 1808 expedition into Alta's interior San Joaquin Valley, Captain Gabriel Moraga emphasized the difficulties that stymied overland ambitions and

³⁸⁸ Francisco Palóu, *Palóu's Life of Fray Junípero Serra* (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955), 61–63.

logistically confined Alteños to the mission strip. Malaria, treacherous river crossings, drought and limited foraging, seasonal floodings, and Native language barriers were constant challenges for Alteño movement. Secular and clerical Californios regularly experienced grueling difficulties in Alteño travel.³⁸⁹

Dangerous as the borderlands were, Alteño Franciscans felt blessed with a unique opportunity to build a new Jerusalem on the edge of the world. Both practically and spiritually, the Alteño missions found their purpose in labor that produced material for local consumption. In addition to Native cowherds, tanners and farmers, they also tended grapes. Serra's choice to title Monterey as a vineyard carried multiple meanings. Alteños celebrated nearly all public social functions with the Mass which intrinsically involves communion wine. The Gospels frequently compare a vineyard owned by God the Father, to the Kingdom of Heaven, wherein laborers served God and grew from His wisdom. Simultaneously, Catholic orders cultivated wine for profit and spiritual use. Wine translated well onto the Californio mission strip. The Mediterranean climate of coastal California was ideal for vineyard cultivation. Viticulture was practiced extensively throughout the Alteño missions, and remains an attraction for some in the present. For friars who were not responsible for martial order and simply enjoyed its protection, cultivating a vineyard out of pagan land presented a placed-based experience of conversion. Secularly, the Franciscans and their neophytes labored to turn Native California into a vineyard that produced a profitable good. Spiritually, the conversion of the land with a sacred European crop became meaningfully Christian and Spanish. In new monasteries, Christians lived lives and

³⁸⁹ When it was finally charted, the safety concerns of the Old Spanish Trail from California to New Mexico led mules hundreds of miles around hostile Yuma and Apache territory into favorable territory that was still watered and gently sloped. Joseph P. Sánchez, *Explorers, Traders, and Slavers: Forging the Old Spanish Trail, 1678-1850* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1997). For a primary account of the Moraga expedition detailing the physical hardship and limited combat, see Gabriel Moraga, *The Diary of Ensign Gabriel Moraga's Expedition of Discovery in the Sacramento Valley, 1808*, ed. Donald C. Cutter (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1957).

labored to replicate Christian experiences: the enforced monastic life in medieval buildings with Old World crops were enacted by New World Californios. Labor historian Fred Glass compares the workload required for hunter-gatherer sufficiency and the daily routine of a mission neophyte. Glass concludes that the Franciscans imposed conditions on the neophytes that were both Spartan in austerity and monastic in solemnity.³⁹⁰

The twenty-one new Jerusalems did not operate alone, and required networks of support, material and logistics. Serra and his Franciscans travelled extensively: a Californio mission was not a place experienced through a single parish church and congregation. Even a friar confined to one mission experienced a collection of borderlands spaces as he navigated neophyte barracks and satellite villages while moving through the farmland and neighboring rancherias to minister to his flock of multiple bodies and chapels. Travel was foundational in borderlands vocations as a pre-requisite to evangelical work. Alteño missionaries made sense of their daily borderlands challenges through a pious spirit of self-sacrifice. It was this mindset that they imposed in the monastic regimen for neophytes. The rest of this chapter examines the larger society of Alta California. This section emphasizes that the identity of place was not only province-wide, but mission-narrow. Mission Californios found identity rooted in the place of their frontier missions, through the extensive travel required to reach them, through the labor and products created upon them, and the internal, spiritual mindset they provoked.

Both Serra's personal actions and his language reaffirmed the Alteño mindset as an identity of place. By regularly participating in trips to and from the provincial capital, Serra

³⁹⁰ Fred B Glass, "On a Mission: How Work Destroyed Native California," in *From Mission to Microchip* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016), 2–22. Costo and Costo also emphasized the cultural death of Mission Indian bands, who adopted Franciscan and Catholic elements of labor through coercion. For more on coercion as a method of conversion, see Jesús F. De la Teja and Ross Frank, eds., *Choice, Persuasion, and Coercion: Social Control on Spain's North American Frontiers* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005).

performed a secular duty that reinforced Californio cooperation on the local level while coping with Alta's isolation. By using language that combined the secular capital with a spiritual garden to cultivate souls. In delivering his colonial messages to "the Garden of the Lord," Serra equated Alteño production with Franciscan piety and borderlands travel with religious pilgrimages.³⁹¹

While priests' and soldiers' experiences with travel, language and Native settlements have been completely rewritten throughout the modern territory of Alta California, significant experiences persist to reinforce an Alteño identity of place. The missions themselves became names of metropolises, the Camino Real became the Pacific Coast Highway, and the routes of the Old Spanish Trail transferred into the Interstate Highway. Throughout the Colonial, Republican and American eras of rule, interpretation of physical places continues to resonate as experiences that continue to inform Alteño identity and memory.³⁹²

One such example of a preserved place experience is the persistent maintenance of the perpetual vineyard in Mission San Gabriel. Founded in 1771, the surviving grapevine is over two centuries old and continues to bear fruit. Cuttings of the vine have been grown into an additional vineyard that continues to sell a luxury wine marketed as a vintage continuous with that of the Franciscans. Additionally, Hispanic southern California was the site of fortifying sweet grapes with a branding to make a dessert wine. This genre of fortified dessert wine first made with Alteño Mission grapes is labelled as "Angelica," in honor of the pueblo of Los Angeles. Napa Vineyard Jamieson Ranch labeled their Angelica liquor "Brother Duran," in honor of Narciso Duran, one of the Franciscans who designed it. They label honors the priest's original creation as

³⁹¹ Palóu, *Palóu's Life of Fray Junípero Serra*, 63.

³⁹² The Mission Revival and preservation of Californio experiences in memory is beyond the scope of this dissertation, but has been considered as a resistance to Anglophone segregation and a controversial romanticization of colonialism. For one monograph, see William Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe: The Rise of Los Angeles and the Remaking of Its Mexican Past* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

"double distilled and twice as strong as the good brother's faith." Alteño identity of place is permanently preserved through sommelier classification and the cultivation of the living monument that is the Gabrieleño Mother Vine.³⁹³



*James Bland: Photograph of elder grape Mother Vine at Mission San Gabriel, Metropolitan Los Angeles. This grapevine has been tended for almost two and a half centuries. Note the vine's trunk is wider around the base than a man's encircled arms.*³⁹⁴

³⁹³ Garret Snyder, "Wine from the 'Mother Vine': A Trio of L.A. Winemakers Are Harvesting Historic Grapes at San Gabriel Mission," Los Angeles Times, October 9, 2020, <https://www.latimes.com/food/story/2020-10-09/san-gabriel-mission-wine>; David Schuemann, "Brother Duran," CF Napa Brand Design, July 26, 2022, <https://cfnapa.com/work/brother-duran/>, <https://cfnapa.com/work/brother-duran/>.

³⁹⁴ James Bland, *Figure 1: Photograph of Elder Grapevine in Mission San Gabriel*, July 29, 2023, July 29, 2023, American Philosophical Society, Photograph by Author for Phillips Collection.



*James Bland: Photograph of elder grape Mother Vine at Mission San Gabriel, Metropolitan Los Angeles. Note the shading provided to the patio by the extensive coverage of the vine's extended branches.*³⁹⁵

Through both Alteños' language and the experiences they described, I suggest that the Californio identity at its most isolated was most strongly influenced through the local experiences that were both geographically and institutionally local. While identities of place occurred throughout the borderlands, Alta California's isolation was so extreme that the Alteños experienced their place identity with particularly deep resonance. Both secular and clerical

³⁹⁵ James Bland, *Figure 2: Photograph of Elder Grapevine in Mission San Gabriel*, July 29, 2023, July 29, 2023, American Philosophical Society, Photograph by Author for Phillips Collection.

Californios anchored their local place in understanding to the experiences that enforced their borderlands identity.

Alteño Isolation and Californio Vigilance

All borderlands regions are distant or removed from the incoming settlers' homeland. This section of my chapter argues that the extent of Alta California's isolation merits special consideration. With the use of the term "isolation," I intend to invoke three difficult impositions that weighed on all Alteño decisions. First, Alta California was far removed from the metropolitan core of New Spain. Secondly, the Alta's natural geography was distinct from much of the desert north, uniquely favoring the Indigenous tribes who had mastered California's terrain and seasonal yield. Thirdly, the Alteño settlements abutted up against both imperial encroachments of the Russian and British powers and nonstate pirates.

All three of these concerns accelerated the Alteños' isolation and identity distinct from New Spain's mainstream. Through the port of San Blas and with a delay, Bajefeño Californios participated in some mainland functions like regular seasonal trade, audits of taxation legislation and military dependence. By comparison to their southern counterparts, the frontier isolation is all the more pronounced in the Alteño experience.

The vastness of Alta California is a consistent theme in the secondary literature, as are its geographical divisions, the difficulties of travel, and the ensuing failures of provincial cohesion. While the Spanish project of presidio, mission, and rancho was implemented with nominal success on the coast, the interior of the Alteño province remained a hard barrier on Spanish ambitions. In *California: An American History*, John Mack Faragher makes the case for a plethora of "little countries" within the state, divided by strong geographical regional boundaries:

bays, hills, tule savannahs, rivers, mountains, and valleys. As a result of small village populations and strong geographical demarcations, Faragher argues that California “tribelets” exercised a degree of localism stronger than in most of Indian Country. As a result, particular tribelets or regional inhabitants developed specific habits of seasonal migration, resource cultivation, and food harvesting. Faragher draws on the population estimates of Kroeber and Cook, who estimated pre-Hispanic California populations between 100,000 and 350,000, and argued that the 18th and 19th centuries saw a steady decline in the Native population to the nadir of 30,000 at the end of the Civil War. Both concluded their estimates were compromised by the insular nature of California tribelets.³⁹⁶

The same argument was put forth in Malcolm Margolin’s *Ohlone Way*, which focused on the tribes of northern coastal California. Margolin actively rebutted the midcentury tropes of the Edenic Pre-Colombian world and the ecological “noble savage.” Rather than a primordial pristine landscape, the environment of pre-Hispanic California was the result of generations of cyclically pruning, carefully timed from season to season. From acorn orchards to grub cultivation to the timing of deer hunts to the measured intensity of salmon traps, tribes in California maximized resources from the limited territory through pro-actively scheduling cultivation and fluctuating with cycles of rainfall and varying productivity in the land. Ecological anthropologist M. Kat Anderson referred to these Native agricultural practices as “tending the wild.”³⁹⁷

³⁹⁶ John Mack Faragher, *California: An American History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2022), 10.

³⁹⁷ Malcolm Margolin, *The Ohlone Way: Indian Life in the San Francisco-Monterey Bay Area* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1978); M. Kat Anderson, *Tending the Wild: Native American Knowledge and the Management of California’s Natural Resources* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005). Anderson, Faragher, and Margolin all partake in the debate over pre-Columbian Native impact on the environment. Ranging from the 19th-century myth of the pristine wilderness to the advocacy of heavily-impacting tribes, this is a discussion of much controversy. See Shepard Krech, *The Ecological Indian: Myth and History* (New York: WW Norton & Company, 1999).

The arrival of the Franciscans and the ensuing imposition of year-round ranching and agriculture is acknowledged as an imperial act both in geopolitics and in racialized labor. Alta California's rapid colonization is broadly understood as Pacific colonial competition with the Russians and the British. The closest California ever came to military conflict with the British was the Nootka Crisis on Vancouver Island that was resolved diplomatically in favor of the British in 1798. Outside of that year, the British and Californios had tensions and frustrations with customs, but no serious conflict. The omnipresent threat of the British, however, did add to the existential vigilance of the *Alteño* identity.³⁹⁸

Russian incursion into Spanish territory proved to be even less disruptive than that of the British. Below the Marin Hills north of San Francisco Bay, a Russian fur-trapping station operated at Fort Ross between 1812 and 1838. In the Rezanov affair a Russian fur trading captain Nikolai Rezanov requested emergency aid from the Spanish Presidio at Monterey and fell in love with a Californio debutante. He proposed to her and was preparing to take her to Sitka, but died before they could get married. While these local and even personal incidents make for interesting anecdotes, historians ultimately do not attribute significant Russian impact to the development of California or *Alteño* identity.³⁹⁹

³⁹⁸For the Nootka Crisis from a military perspective, see Nicholas A. M. Rodger et al., "The Offensive Strategy of the Spanish Navy, 1763–1808," in *Strategy and the Sea* (Martlesham, United Kingdom: Boydell & Brewer, Incorporated, 2016), 98–108. For a biographical perspective for Spain in the far north, see Freeman M. Tovell, *At the Far Reaches of Empire: The Life of Juan Francisco de La Bodega y Quadra* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2008). Contemporary scholarship has expressed interest in local agency's impact on international frontier crises: Anne Hyde and William Devereaux, "New Worlds for All: Conquest and Accommodation in the Eighteenth Century," in *Shaped by the West, Volume I: A History of North America to 1877* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2018), 61–81.

³⁹⁹ The Rezanov incident's limited historical impact is evident by the emphasis on the romance in the story's narrative. Rather than deep analysis, the Rezanov affair is usually retold through melodrama. A Soviet rock opera, *Juno and Avos*, was released in 1981: Nancy Leek, "Nikolai and Conchita: The Opera," *Goldfields* (blog), January 12, 2002, <https://goldfieldsbooks.com/2020/01/11/10171/>. For the English-language debut of the story, see Hector Chevigny, *Lost Empire: The Life of Nikolai Rezanov* (Portland: Binford & Mort, 1965).

Though imperial warfare never came to Alta California, the possibility was ever present and that ominousness experience bred a particular type of militant civil engineering amid leadership. Both clerical and secular authorities were impacted by this experience. Certain biographies emphasize this civil-military hybrid of Californio leadership. Most Alta governors and civilian leaders had military backgrounds, either in the Alteño presidios or in Baja at the start of their careers. Gabriel Moraga, Gaspar de Portola, Pedro Fages and Juan Bautista de Anza were all examples of such military experiences that were applied to civil and Enlightened settlement. All of these Captains have featured in the historiography through their administrations or leadership of expeditions. These Enlightened soldiers employed Machiavellian politics and professional force to recruit and extort Native Californians. As engineers and administrators, they provided their subjects, Hispanic and Native, with material goods and protection against rival tribes while simultaneously keeping order through Cross and sword. These borderlands captains drew their successes from control over the mission strip and a ready defense from Native and colonial threats beyond the frontier. Biographies of provincial leaders show that Alteño captains remained militantly and diplomatically vigilant against Native Californians and foreigners to ensure regimented order kept pace in Californio settlements.⁴⁰⁰

The mobility of Native Californians worked to their advantage when they played multiple European settlers against each other. The most significant example of this was the otter fur trade. Like the bison and beaver trades of the plains and eastern woodlands, the otter trade of the coast

⁴⁰⁰ Amongst other biographies, see Donald T. Garate, *Juan Bautista de Anza: Basque Explorer in the New World* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2003); Carlos R. Herrera, *Juan Bautista de Anza: The King's Governor in New Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015); Pedro Fages and Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Expedition to San Francisco Bay in 1770, Diary of Pedro Fages*, Publications of the Academy of Pacific Coast History ;v. 2, No. 3 (Berkeley, Cal.: University of California, 1911); Vicente Vila and R. Selden Rose, *The Portola Expedition of 1769-1770: Diary of Vincente Villa*, Publications of the Academy of Pacific Coast History ;Vol. 2, No. 1 (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California, 1911), <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/102214745>; Moraga, *The Diary of Ensign Gabriel Moraga's Expedition of Discovery in the Sacramento Valley, 1808*. For a materially-driven evaluation of de Anza's career, see Pekka Hämmäläinen, *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).

avored Native Californians who were capable of navigating large environmental spaces and courting multiple trading partners. In *The California Sea Otter Trade*, Adele Ogden argues that the sedentary Spanish who were anchored to the Bays of Monterrey and San Francisco were distinctively at a disadvantage when Natives could take their pelts elsewhere. Historians have broadly concluded that Native Californians' articulation in trade negotiations outmaneuvered Alta California's attempt to regulate Indigenous commerce.⁴⁰¹

Alteños were acutely aware that they lived on the edge of a hostile borderlands, whether against hostile tribes, the British or the Russians. There was much to fear ahead, and little help to rely upon from behind. Californios themselves expressed concerns about foreign European threats, particularly the British. Miguel de Godoy [spelling alternated between Godoy and Goday] documented "frequent arrivals of British disembarking in our California ports." Far from simple smugglers or trading ships, these were warships that were en route to Canada. While no shots were fired, Godoy "feared, along with the rest of the population, that they had come close enough to harass us." Even ships passing along the California coast represented a threat to Alteños. According to Godoy, it was a threat that could not easily be countered by the *Alteños* on their own. "In this case we must think of the Presidio Garrison, it is very costly and difficult to raise [muster recruits] the population with the families of the retired veterans." For an additional two pages, Godoy argued that Alta California was in desperate need of viceregal support. Not only was support needed for defense, but Alta California was worth the expense on account of its "fertile terrain, precious fruits and advantageous proportions." Godoy's report was fastidiously noted and reported back to the royal authorities. However, the naval command post where these reports were received was situated in Havana on the island of Cuba. By the time the report had

⁴⁰¹ Adele Ogden, *The California Sea Otter Trade, 1784-1848* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1941).

reached Cuba, it had been in transit for six months. Despite Godoy's pleas for help, his reference to recruiting the descendants of older soldiers held the ugly truth. Practically, Alteños needed to function independently from outside support. Rightly fearing British sea power, Russian trading competition, and hostile tribes, Alteños experienced genuine threats from sea and land. Frontier Californios were isolated from New Spain's help by distance and by bureaucracy.⁴⁰²

Despite the paranoia, there was also a sense of pride that came from the baptism by dread. While the materials were slow in coming to support the presidios, the stalwart Californios who received the materiel and munitions expressed a resilient identity that came from the shared acts of defense. A letter from Miguel José de Azanza y Alegría written to the viceroy of New Spain attested to the pride that Californios took in the admittedly limited defense that they could muster with the sponsorship from the metropole. In regards to the supplies sent to the Alteños for the defense of California, Azanza wrote, "California has been left [conclusively made] defensible against all the attacks that I can think of, thanks to your approval and the virtue of the Ministry of State, particularly tough men here have made the defense of the kingdom." Rather than a pious profession directed towards God or a patriotic statement directed towards the King, the Alteño character was expressed as hardy.⁴⁰³

Nevertheless, there was an ongoing sense of isolation experienced by the Californios despite their vigilance. This isolation was confirmed through the indifference showed by the metropolitan authorities towards Alta's daily business and administration. From no lesser authority than Viceroy Miguel de la Gria Branciforte y Talamanca, Alta California was

⁴⁰² Manuel de Godoy, "Letter from Manuel de Godoy to Miguel de La Gria Talamanca y Branciforte, Marques de Branciforte, Complaining of Frequent English Disembarkments in California." (Cadiz, March 3, 1796), 1, 1-2, 4, California Files Box 5, Huntington Library.

⁴⁰³ Azanza y Alegría, "Letter from Miguel José de Azanza y Alegría to Lord Viceroy of New Spain Marquis de Branciforte," 2.

dismissed as a “province without a population, very wide and empty, where there was total license to do anything.” That is, there was no rule of law, and supplies brought in from the south would help garrison and bolster the few stalwart Spaniards willing and able to stay there.⁴⁰⁴

Even Mexico City could tell that the isolation of Alta California presented problems. The Viceroy of New Spain complained of the difficulty of enforcing tax laws from the missions. Branciforte’s complaint went to Bernardo José Benítez, port authority in San Blas. He referenced several earlier orders from “Us, New Spain,” that had not been carried out to his satisfaction regarding the collection of import taxes from Alta California. Tallow and salt beef were valuable commodities, but they were imports nonetheless and still subject to the “alcabala” or sales tax. Interestingly, the viceroy’s bureaucratic language seemed to suggest that Alta California was a foreign country, isolated and distinct from Mexico. Californios were designated to be from California, but the authority in San Blas to whom they were to pay the alcabala was designated as a part of New Spain. Furthermore, Branciforte all but dismissed Californio civility and comprehension of enlightenment. “The tallow sent from the missions of California to this port for sale are a good thing for those Indians- the fruit of their labor and industry, thus they earn clothes to cover their nakedness; and consequently, they must pay their import taxes in conformity with the laws, as previously ordered on Royal Orders issued on 26th September, 25 of March of 1783 and further still for another from last April.” The inability to enforcing consistent legal compliance with sales or even the receipt of communications demonstrated the practical isolation of Alteños. Furthermore, Mexico City’s brazen disparaging of the missions as naked tax evaders proved again that Californios were not quite recognized as civilized, Enlightened

⁴⁰⁴ Miguel de la Gria Branciforte y Talamanca, “Letter from Miguel de La Gria, Marquis de Branciforte y Talamanca [Sic] to Senor Commisario de San Blas” (San Blas, August 25, 1805), 1–3, California Files Box 4, Huntington Library.

Spaniards. The only measure of California's success in New Spain was the inflow of salted meat and tallow with the concurrent import tax. In words directly from the highest authority in New Spain, Mexico City cared more about Californio beef products than Californio safety.⁴⁰⁵

All Californios held borderlands experiences in common, but not to the same intensity. Whether as an appendage of Baja California, as a united province, or as a sovereign provincial government, Alta's vulnerability was always greater than that of the California Peninsula. Through hindsight, the dangers of foreign invasion never manifested, but their threat was ever present. Whether through black market trading by the Russians or the overwhelming power of the British Navy, Alteños operated knowing they would be the first struck when the hammer fell. Even amongst their colonial subjects, the troops and supplies needed to enforce order and to buy loyalty were tenuous. Even worse, Alteños were denied the delayed, but proven patronage enjoyed by the Bajeños through commerce and triage in their times of need. Removed by the depths of the Pacific and the hostility of the Mojave and Sonora Deserts, human and material reinforcements were scant. Furthermore, Mexico City's administrations held little interest in these frontier problems. The routine troubles of the isolated borderland grabbed no attention in the metropole beyond those of the imported tallow and beef from the missions. Alta's precarious position had the potential to erupt into imperial and even global problems, but the daily experience of that isolated threat rested solely on the local shoulders of the province's Californios.

Vigilant Adaptation

Like in Baja California, the dramatic realities of the Alta California frontier accelerated the adaptations that Alteños experienced as they maintained vigilant control of their province.

⁴⁰⁵ Branciforte y Talamanca, 1, 1–3, 4.

The exaggerated isolation and elevated danger in Alta required Californio missionaries and soldiers to cooperate with each other and flexibly accommodate the demands felt especially hard on the borderlands. These changes manifested in both the practical experiences and regional identity of the Alteños.

Biographies of controversial figures helpfully illustrate adaptative nature of Alteño borderlands. Pedro Fages (1734-1794) was a civic leader with a military background. In addition to leading expeditions in the province, Fages was the governor of Alta California at Monterrey for 13 years. As governor, he regularly debated with Junípero Serra and the other outspoken Franciscans as settlers and clerics argued over the fate of colonized Native Californians. The local Ohlones primarily resisted the soldiers' violence and sexual brutality through clerical intercession. The Franciscans campaigned for better Native conditions. Fages half-heartedly complied, with his focus not on Native souls and dignity, but on keeping the peace. Isolated on Monterey Bay and vulnerable to naval attack, the governor could scarce afford not to be vigilant over his troops, whose maltreatment of the Ohlone could provoke a compromising revolt. As early as the first generation of borderlands scholars, Fages' diaries and military reports were utilized for primary scholarship. Bolton and Priestly both created translations of his papers. Despite the arguments between Serra and Fages, their ongoing cooperation and shared colonial project demonstrated Californio collaboration even in times of interdepartmental discord.⁴⁰⁶

Like many Alteño officers, Pedro Fages began his Californio career on a lower rung of the colonial ladder through Bajeño functions before seniority and northward expansion brought him into authority in the upper half of the province. Before he became a governor and military supervisor, Fages was a petty officer working under the supervision of Loreto as Baja California

⁴⁰⁶ John Walton, *Storied Land: Community and Memory in Monterey* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

prepared to expand. His descriptions of soldierly budgets and incoming materials reflect unsurprising experiences. As a borderlands soldier, Fages concerned himself with the presidio's upkeep and the maintenance of the peripheral link to the mainland. Rather than an exceptional frontiersman with unique experiences, Fages' adherence to borderlands routine personified the slow bureaucratic ascent of a loyal colonial servant.⁴⁰⁷

As a Lieutenant, Pedro Fages participated in the series of expeditions that brought Juan Crespi and Gaspar de Portolá from Baja California to the limits of what would become the Alteño coastal Mission strip. Blessed by Junípero Serra and authorized by no less than José Gálvez, the Portolá Expedition blazed the delicate pathways into the isolated Alteño borderlands. Through the naval and overland columns travelling in tandem towards the bays of Monterey and San Francisco, Fages served as a Lieutenant and a chronicler as his marines scouted the area that would become the northern rim of New Spain. He would later command other Alteño expeditions. Fages' language of geography and measurements in his campaign journals were clinically scholastic about places, devoid of the identity that would later be built into Alta California. Fages' military activity exhibited a cautious approach to Native diplomacy, was optimistic about colonial prospects and took clerical-secular cooperation for granted. This was

⁴⁰⁷ Fages' interaction with Bajeno experiences continued into his tenure as an Alteño manager. For material focusing on peripheral mainland connection and policy centered on Loreto. For procedural documentation expressing a continuity in Californio borderlands experiences, see Fages' procedural documentations from both provinces. For the supplies needed to keep Bajeno mining functional, see Pedro Fages, "Letter From Pedro Fages to Jose Joaquin Arrillaga Regarding the Quicksilver Supplies on the Baja Peninsula," April 1, 1784, Ramo 1 Volumen 9, Fondo Colonia Aspecto Economico, Archivo Historico Pablo Martínez. For mediation between missionaries and soldiers, see Pedro Fages, "Letter of Mediation Between Baja California Soldiers and the Missionaries of Santa Gertudis and San Borja, From Pedro Fages to Joaquin Cañete," October 3, 1783, Ramo 1 Volumen 1, Fondo Colonia Aspecto Politico, Archivo Historico Pablo Martínez. For Presidio collection of friars' tax to the crown, see Pedro Fages, "Letter Regarding Mission Payment of Todos Santos to the Crown from Pedro Fages to Jose Joaquin Arrillaga," October 30, 1786, Ramo 1 Volumen 1, Fondo Colonia Aspecto Economico, Archivo Historico Pablo Martínez. For the ongoing ambiguity of Native women's relationships with Californio soldiers, see Pedro Fages, "Report of Pedro Fages to Captain Jose Joaquin de Arrillaga on the 'Perfidious Disorder With the Indian Women and the Men of Reason.'" (Monterey, July 1, 1785), California Files Box 4, Huntington Library. While mundane, these documents highlight an ongoing, routine and borderlands experience particular to Californios across both halves of the province and across multiple generations of settlers.

very similar to the enterprising attitude of Baja's first generation of settlers like Francisco Picolo and Alejandro Romano. In later roles as Monterey Captain and Alta Governor, Fages' language would recapture a tone of function and borderlands elitist camaraderie that echoed the later Bajeño generations of Jaime Bravo, Sigismundo Tavaral and Esteban Lorenzo Rodriguez. Fages' procedural expedition journals showed the transition from a Bajeño operative to a frontier trailblazer to a founding father of Alteño society.⁴⁰⁸

The house of Pedro Fages offered a unique situation amongst Californio biographies in that the Governor, his wife, his children and his mistress all found themselves entangled into provincial politics. According to the testimony of no less an authority than Father Palóu, the most immediate Alteño chronicler of contemporary Californio experiences, Fages' role as Captain of Monterey and later Alteño governor were compromised due to the scandal of his dysfunctional family life. The Franciscan could attest to this because of the friars' regular interaction with the presidio aristocracy. Officers and priests were fellow colonial elites. Palóu's Mission Dolores in San Francisco was a regular site of Mass attendance for presidio members, and the friar even hosted the governor's family for multiple months as guest and personally baptized their newest daughter Maria. The Franciscans documented the intimate details of the Fages family because the Alteño ruling class was inextricable from the Alteño priestly class.⁴⁰⁹

Fages and his wife Eulalia were marred by public spats and accusations of infidelity with a Native maid. Furthermore, Eulalia publicly declared her distaste for the remote San Francisco and regularly requested to be escorted either to Monterey or back to the mainland. While this

⁴⁰⁸ Pedro Fages, *A Historical, Political, and Natural Description of California*, by Pedro Fages, *Soldier of Spain*, Newly Translated into English from the Original Spanish by Herbert Ingram Priestley, trans. Herbert Ingram Priestley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1937); Pedro Fages, *The Colorado River Campaign, 1781-1782: The Diary of Pedro Fages*, Publications of the Academy of Pacific Coast History ; Vol. 3, No. 2 (Berkeley: University of California, 1913); Fages and Bolton, *Expedition to San Francisco Bay in 1770, Diary of Pedro Fages*.

⁴⁰⁹ Palóu, *Palóu's Life of Fray Junípero Serra*, lxiiv, 63.

was a public and moral dispute, Fages continued to navigate political and financial issues of provincial government with the same friars ostensibly charged with the moral arbitration of his marriage. The dispute over the domiciling of Fages' wife, alleged Costeño mistress and his domestic disputes were a source of provincial turmoil that caused discord between Native and Spaniard, gentleman and lady, and soldier and priest.⁴¹⁰

Between Fages' roles as a provincial administer that was rooted in Monterey and a military guardian who was rooted in San Francisco Bay, the Captain and Governor had to walk a balance as he improvised his new role. Likewise, his alleged sexual engagement with a local Native woman over his established Spanish, yet distant wife was a balance between frontier sexual negotiations and the metropolitan moralities established by the Church and his fellow colonial aristocrats. Even more complicated was his role as a resident of the Presidio who regularly attended Mass at missions. Like other Bajeno Captains who rose up the ranks in Alta, Fages' career demonstrates the development of the Californio project. Equally so, his tumultuous personal life and ambiguous role in Alteño society demonstrate the California' provinces' perpetual borderlands status within the Viceroyalty of New Spain.⁴¹¹

The borderlands cooperation extended beyond casual language and involved jurisdictional changes between the Alteño governor and the missions. With the repossession of the Bajeno Jesuits' missions after their expulsion, missions in Alta California began their construction under the much more active supervision of their nearby presidio. Presidio Captains provided administrative records independently from the friars of the individual missions. These

⁴¹⁰ Bárbara O. Reyes, "Appendix II-B: Petition by Doña Eulalia Callis, Wife of Don Pedro Fages, Governor of the Californias, That Her Case Be Heard," in *Private Women, Public Lives* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010), 146–49.

⁴¹¹ In historical fiction and memory, Fages' marital drama was a point of speculation beyond his military and political contentions. For an intimate yet melodramatic romanticization of Fages' difficult marriage (and its interaction with the Franciscans' arbitration of Californio morality) see Virginia Stivers Bartlett, *Mistress of Monterrey: A Story of Lost Romance in Eighteenth Century California* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1933).

military records were official state documentation, created by civil servants of the royal government. The distinction between civil and religious origin is important to appreciate the consistent language between different branches of the Alteño institutions.

In 1798, Felipe Goycochea was the Captain of the Santa Barbara Presidio. Under his authority he administered not only the garrison but the citizens of the Los Angeles Pueblo and the neophytes of Missions San Buenaventura, Santa Barbara, Purísima Concepción, and San Fernando Rey de España (Santa Inés would not be completed for another 6 years). Goycochea's report counted the number of "souls" in each division of his captaincy, using the language of his evangelical subordinates. As he wrote, the secular captain used this religious term most often, despite the presence of "population" and "people" as terminology in his documented table of figures. Goycochea had adopted the religious language of the missions for his official, secular documents.⁴¹²

As a military captain, Goycochea fixated on the supplies needed and produced by the missions. "They have many branches of industry [produce], from breeding livestock, cattle, sheep, goats, horses, donkeys and their hides, and also sowing wheat, beans, corn, and other such ministries." He assessed the likelihood of starvation. "Santa Barbara risks a wheat shortage, their [harvest] season is brief." The military captain also assessed each district's defensibility, noting which settlement possessed brick buildings, "strong foundations," and adobe walls. The captain also assessed the threat to Alteño rule from the Neophytes. "The [tribal] nations of these regions, from their origin to the present day have no distinguishing names [affiliation] besides

⁴¹² Felipe Goycochea, "Felipe Goycochea's Report of Those Religious of the College of San Fernando of Mexico under the Jurisdiction of the Presidio State, Also Table Showing Number of Men, Women and Children (Indians and Men of Reason) at Presidio Santa Barbara, Pueblo of Los Angeles, and Mission Purissima, Santa Barbara, San Buenaventura and San Fernando" (Santa Barbara, December 31, 1798), 1, 2, California Files Box 5, Huntington Library.

those [given to them] from their dependent parties [Los Angeles or the missions). After short distances, their languages are differentiated, and they are willingly inclined towards Castilian, which they are learning with ease.” Later generations have certainly deflated Goycochea’s claims on Native inclinations towards Spanish, but his language reflects the collaboration and eager adaptation present in the Alteños’ borderland administration. Rather than religious pride or colonial expansion, the Enlightened Alteño administrators spent most of their words vigilantly considering starvation or defense. Their concern for converted Native peoples was not their behavior or acculturation, but their willingness to work and integrate into the Spanish language. These were experiences derived from local vigilance rather than colonial ambition. His paperwork barely reflected the administration of Spanish or the Viceroy. Goycochea only mentioned “royal” once in reference to his presidio, and even omitted “King of Spain,” in the mission named for San Fernando. In their royal paperwork, Alteños knew and wrote as local operators who could rely only on each other.⁴¹³

Just as the Presidio captain jealousy monitored the missions’ supplies, so too did expeditionary captains jealously guard their supply trains. Under any circumstances, trusting Native peoples with horses was a dangerous proposition for the Spanish. Flight was a singular challenge for chronically understaffed friars, and those neophytes who worked on the mission ranches were trusted with a high expense. In his expedition into the tule interior of the Sacramento and San Joaquín Valleys, Moraga was adamant to keep the columns horses far away from curious Native visitors. “They were greatly amazed by our horses, and many of them gave us their weapons so that we would allow them to look at our horses. I didn’t permit such payment, but I did allow them their pleasure in looking at our horses.” The acceptance of

⁴¹³ Goycochea, 2.

neophytes as horseback ranchers was a slow process for the wary Spanish, but Native access to horses was always vigilantly monitored, in and out of the missions. Even in the rare occasion when the Spanish outnumbered Native outsiders, they remained at peak vigilance out of paranoid experience of horse theft and Native flight. Alteño Spaniards jealously monitored supplies, particularly weapons and horses, when dealing with neophytes and especially nonconverted Native peoples.⁴¹⁴

As Captain Goycochea adapted to borderlands administration, his soldiers adapted to the hostile and uniquely difficult frontier. Californio soldiers had to adopt their equipment to the unanticipated challenges of the frontier. By the time José de Gálvez ordered the exploration and settlement of San Diego by land, the Spanish military was well-rehearsed with the dangers of the arid northern borderlands. The Alteños had perfected the deployment of a frontier column. In 1768, Loreto was the point of security, logistics and coordination for the expeditions into Alta California, then still the northern, mostly unorganized half of the united Las Californias province.

As Junípero Serra and Gaspar de Portolá prepared for the journey ahead, Palóu recorded the experience of mustering for the expedition. He would later include this in the published hagiography of his friend and mentor. Portolá's right-hand man was selected from the presidio barracks at Loreto. "He [Portolá] ordered the captain to choose from the company of leather-jackets the number of soldiers he considered necessary... and to recruit others if there was a need; also, the necessary number of muleteers... while traveling toward the frontier and passing through the [Franciscans' Bajeño] missions, would have to obtain all the mules and horses which could be spared." Franciscans not only accompanied the expedition as scouts and scribes, their

⁴¹⁴ Moraga, *The Diary of Ensign Gabriel Moraga's Expedition of Discovery in the Sacramento Valley, 1808*, 20.

missions acted as supply depots for the materiel required by passing expeditions. Individually pacifist, Franciscans militarily participated in the borderlands' presidio institution and soldierly operations.⁴¹⁵

Palóu's description of preparation by both the governor and padre was a rote description of the preparations in an expedition. This was not the controversial or wondrous part of the departure from Loreto. For Palóu, the noteworthy event was that the column arrived at Los Angeles on Spy Wednesday of Holy Week, Serra personally heard the confessions of all the soldiers, auxiliaries, and town folk in a single night, and that the column left for San Diego on Good Friday. While not surprising, it is noteworthy that so many people continued to practice (and keep the calendar adhering to) the rituals of Holy Week even on the edge of the world when time was of the essence: February, March, and April were the most forgiving months of California, before the tule fog and damp of spring drenched the travelers or the heat of summer parched them. Even as the Spanish hastened to make good time, too much material weighed down their pack trains: "Although the mules were somewhat recuperated, it was necessary, in order to make it possible for them to reach their destination, to make the daily journeys short and to halt on some days, especially in the places which were best supplied with pasture and water." Any travel or movement to resupply the northern missions brought *Alteños* farther from Spain and deeper into the void. Any operational movement, even a logistical resupply, was done as a race against time and at the mercy of hostile warriors and powers. With such speed a concern, as many mules were needed as possible. The image of a self-denying Franciscan walking alongside a burro rather than riding came from truth. Rather than an act of ascetism, walking alongside

⁴¹⁵ Francisco Palóu, *Life of Fray Junípero Serra*, trans. Maynard J. Geiger (Washington, DC: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955), 59.

already burdened pack mules gave already undersupplied Californios more space for lifesaving material.⁴¹⁶

Palóu's description of the column was brief and formulaic. What the padre took for granted revealed a great deal about the Alteño society he was helping to build. The expedition was logistically dependent on the missions of Baja California. Then run by the Franciscans, the peninsular missions stretched in a road almost 800 miles long to function as supply depots when Portolá's column needed food, mules, horses, and teamsters. Palóu had commented that "While traveling toward the frontier, the missions would have to obtain all the mules and horses which could be spared." The captain would have to recruit, not summon or draft, but recruit local laborers to muster sufficient manpower for the expedition in the form of mules and their muleteers. Even within the municipal limits of Loreto, the muster was made up of enlisted soldiers and enterprising settlers that participated in the province building, but were not mandated by the state. The absolute authority that was claimed in the viceroy's metropolitan was laughably untenable on the borderlands. The small population and limited coercive legal force made the column and its operation a Californio prospect as much as a visitador's decree made it a geopolitical maneuver of New Spain.⁴¹⁷

Finally, Palóu mentioned that the men of the column were muleteers and leather-jackets. Muleteers were a ubiquitous presence on the frontier. Tougher, smaller and less thirsty than horses, mules made for more reliable and economic transportation than horses on the desert

⁴¹⁶ Palóu and Bolton, *Historical Memoirs of New California*, 300. For an ecological analysis of the now-vanishing California wetlands, see Philip Garone, *The Fall and Rise of the Wetlands of California's Great Central Valley* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

⁴¹⁷ Palóu, *Life of Fray Junípero Serra*, 60–61. The National Mule Museum is in Bishop, California. Historian David Babb argues that mules were the most commonly used beast of burden in the West, in Spanish and US eras. Mules were naturally more enduring and heat-resistant than horses, and their smaller stature required less grazing, making them ideal for the arid conditions of Alteño missions. Babb also argues that the Biblical implications of Kings like David and Christ riding mules appealed to the missionaries as well. David Babb, "History of the Mule," American Mule Museum, 2023, <https://www.mulemuseum.org/history-of-the-mule.html>.

frontier. Franciscans typically would have either ridden a mule or led one by the nose. Palóu also commented that the muleteers had “a group of neophyte Indians, Natives of Old [Baja] California, who were going as scouts and assistants... for whatever emergencies might occur. All these were armed with bows and arrows.” Alta California was being settled by Bajeños, both Native and Spanish. The Californio column relied on the practical experience of pre-Hispanic scouting and hunting knowledge and recruited through the regimented logistics of an Enlightened Nation-state army.⁴¹⁸

The practical experiences of law enforcement and war on the northern frontier had synthesized a unique type of soldier. He rode on horseback with a single-handed pistol and short-barreled musket similar to a dragoon’s carbine, yet also carrying a jousting-size lance and braced a leather buckler that carried medieval heraldry. For armor, he was clad in buckskin, and sported a bandana and broad-brimmed hat. He was at once a medieval anachronism and a sophisticated Enlightenment officer invented in response to the borderlands’ novel and extreme demands. The “*dragones de cuero*” were presidio soldiers who personified the military experiences of the *Californio* borderlands.⁴¹⁹

“Leather-jackets” was the casual nickname for the dragoons that emerged from the proving grounds of the northern presidios. The hit-and-run tactics of Native skirmishers that fired projectiles on foot could only be outpaced by a mounted combatant. The Enlightened standard of rifles en masse, regiments of foot that fought the massive battles of absolutist European war, were too slow and large in number to fit the presidio model. Traditional lines of musketry were incapable of enforcing law against a small, mobile enemy. Regimental drills could not out-

⁴¹⁸ Palóu, *Palóu’s Life of Fray Junípero Serra*, 60–61.

⁴¹⁹ Descriptions for presidio soldiers can be found in Raymundo Murillo, “Plan de Ramón de Murillo Para Reformar Las Defensas de La Frontera Norte de La Nueva España” (Santo Domingo, 1804), Expediente 3, Legajo 2599, Archivo General de las Indias, Seville. This source will be examined and quoted from in the next page.

maneuver guerilla fighters, so the leather dragoons would have to fight in platoons or even individually, on-and-off horseback as the terrain required. Neither was the long-barreled, heavy rifle viable. Unlike the trappers of the Appalachian East who operated on foot, the four-foot length of an infantryman's rifle was prohibitive in mounted travel and unwieldy in combat. The rough riders on presidio borderlands required a paired single-handed pistol and short-barreled carbine that could be loaded, aimed and fired without blowback from the saddle.⁴²⁰

Any hostile encounter against Native warriors required hard steel to reliably overpower melee weapons of wood, stone or copper. The primary melee weapon was a long spear with a heavy point that could be wielded as a jousting lance or a double-handed pike on foot. The dragoon also carried a thick, slashing sword that doubled as a machete for bushwhacking. The “broadsword” of borderlands issue was far more useful and far less elegant than the piercing saber of a standard cavalry officer. The thicker, shorter “*espada de ancho*,” literally a “sword of width,” was regimented and standardized with the widespread adaptation of the Spanish *tercio* that included a triple life of musketeers, spearmen and swordsmen that also carried shields. The thicker, heavier swords of *tercero* allowed him to hack through the wooden hafts of enemy spears and even slice through leather armor. The efficiency of this deployment allowed Spanish units to engage the enemy at range, in middle-distance and point-blank range. Advances in rifled firearms made swords and shield obsolete in line formations of infantry on pitched, mass battles. On the frontier, however, all three ranges of combat remained necessary in face of experiencing Native ambushes. Many of the soldiers and mercenaries who served Spain's European military

⁴²⁰ Jesús F. de la Teja, “El Plan de Ramón de Murillo Para Reformar Las Defensas de La Frontera Norte de La Nueva España,” in *De Las Navas de Tolosa a La Constitución de Cádiz: El Ejército y La Guerra En La Construcción Del Estado*, ed. Leandro Martínez Peñas and Manuela Fernández Rodríguez (Valladolid: Asociación Veritas para el estudio de la Historia, el Derecho y las Instituciones e Instituto de Historia de la Intolerancia, 2012). For the increasing availability of rifles on the Mexican frontier, see Thomas Frank Schilz and Donald E. Worcester, “The Spread of Firearms among the Indian Tribes on the Northern Frontier of New Spain,” *American Indian Quarterly* 11, no. 1 (1987): 1–10.

went on to serve as rangers on the frontier. Their martial experiences of Enlightened armies influenced the mindset these soldiers brought to the borderlands.⁴²¹

By the era of the Enlightenment, the velocity and caliber of rifled musketry and artillery had made most armor obsolete in Europe, but not in California. Only an armored defender could withstand the arrows, spears, and rocks deployed in Native ambushes. The men also needed protection against the heavy blows of close-quarter weaponry and the heavy lances of horse raiders. With a leather buckler affixed between the wrist and fore-arm, leather dragoons could joust and fight hand-to-hand on even terms with Native attackers. Apart from the broad-brimmed rider's hat and bandana, the dragoon was covered from shoulders to ankles in leather. A long buckskin vest went from the soldier's shoulders down past his waist. His legs were encased in chaps of the same material. Between his deer hide armor and shield "leather jacket" made perfect sense for Palóu to use as a nickname.⁴²²



*José Cardero, "Soldado de Monterey," assumed to be of Gabriel Moraga. Painted during the Malaspinas expedition, 1791.*⁴²³

⁴²¹ For two studies that bookend the rise of terceros from Enlightened European battle fields to their relegation to the borderlands, see Eduardo de Mesa, *The Irish in the Spanish Armies in the Seventeenth Century* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2014); Mark Santiago, *The Red Captain: The Life of Hugo O'Connor, Commandant Inspector of the Interior Provinces of New Spain* (Tucson: The Arizona Historical Society, 1994).

⁴²² Palóu, *Palóu's Life of Fray Junípero Serra*, 60–61. For one Boltonian debunking of New Spain's allegedly "medieval" cavalry, see F. S. Curtis, "Spanish Arms and Armor in the Southwest," *New Mexico Historical Review* 2, no. 2 (1927).

⁴²³ José Cardero, *Soldado de Monterey*, 1791, 1791, Museo Naval, Madrid.

The full-length watercolor portrait above presents a full image of the eponymous leather-jacket soldier. Elements of his uniform were clearly functional, like the additional protection for the legs, the broad hat for protection of the sun, and the bandana for sweat. However, Cardero employed very little elegance in his depiction and had already captured the panache of a frontier soldier. The soldier's visible identity invoked the experience of a borderlands ranger, derived from practical adaptations to service in the field.

What Palóu may not have appreciated was the distinction of these presidio leather-jacket dragoons compared to the mainstream army of New Spain. One visitor to the frontier, Raymundo de Murillo, wrote to the Viceroy regarding proposals to reform the frontier and its operations. "I hope your most excellent majesty reads the following content with the attention it deserves." In 1804, Murillo's plea demonstrated with how isolated Alta California truly was, and the immediacy with which Alteños conducted their diplomacy, both towards their frontier enemies and their metropolitan superiors. Unfortunately, the attention that earlier imperial agents had given to California was declining in the decades before the revolution. After the partial resolution of the Pacific frontier through the Nootka Crisis (1791), newer problems in Europe and the Atlantic had come to occupy the Bourbon Court. The American Revolution had completely redrawn the map of the Eastern Seaboard and discombobulated the balance of North Atlantic power. The slave revolt of Toussaint Louverture on Saint Domingue was turning the plantation island into free Haiti, and threatened to capitulate the whole of the sugar-exporting Caribbean. The worsening French Revolution threatened to devour continental Europe, and Bourbon Spain with it.⁴²⁴ With all of these problems closer to home, it was difficult to argue for

⁴²⁴ Murillo, "Plan de Ramón de Murillo Para Reformar Las Defensas de La Frontera Norte de La Nueva España," 2. Nootka has long been seen as the end of Spanish growth in the Pacific. See Oakah L. Jones, "The Spanish Occupation of Nootka Sound, 1790-1795" (Thesis M.A.--University of Oklahoma., 1960). Spain's ownership of

increased funding and attention to be given to the ostensibly sleepy Pacific Coast or the silent interior provinces.

A detailed watercolor of the leather soldiers sketched by Murillo in the General Archives of the Indies gave an impression of these frontiersman and their leather jackets. Furthermore, the dragoon was one wing of a triptych that included cavaliers of other parts of New Spain's army. The Texan Hussar was painted in a posture and format in conformity with the European standards of chivalry motifs and Enlightenment era calvary, curved saber raised over the shoulder, fringed epaulets, short-waisted jacket and ornamentally-plumed hat. The horse was positioned in the rampant style, mid-leap for maximal heroic imagery.⁴²⁵

The "Hunters of Nueva Vizcaya" was similarly dressed, sporting a leopard or jaguar-skinned cavalry blanket. Furs were a common trapping for high-ranking cavalry, particularly in armies where regiments were recruited regionally. Both riders from Nueva Vizcaya and Texas were depicted as thin, muscular and sharply groomed and rigidly postured.⁴²⁶

Louisiana after the Seven Year's War brought it into uncomfortable proximity with Anglophone powers: Frances Kolb Turnbull, *Spanish Louisiana: Contest for Borderlands, 1763-1803* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2024); J. C. A. Stagg, *Borderlines in Borderlands: James Madison and the Spanish-American Frontier, 1776-1821* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009). For the general decline of Spain's North American frontier against rival powers, see Abraham Phineas Nasatir, *Borderland in Retreat: From Spanish Louisiana to the Far Southwest* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1976). Octavio Garcia, "African Slavery and the Impact of the Haitian Revolution in Bourbon New Spain: Empire-Building in the Atlantic Age of Revolution, 1750-1808" (PhD Thesis, Tucson, The University of Arizona, 2015). Richard Herr argues that because Spain's Enlightened Bourbon aristocracy was imported from France, so too was Jansenism and an increasingly isolated secular ruling class from the conservative citizenry of everyday Spaniards. Thus, Herr claims the French's "Eighteenth-Century Revolution" was an ideological Civil War well before Napoleon began the Peninsular War. Richard Herr, *The Eighteenth-Century Revolution in Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015).

⁴²⁵ Raymundo Murillo, "Design of the Uniform of the 'Hussars of Texas in Times of War'" (Watercolor, 1804), Sección Mapas y Planos, Uniformes no. 57, Archivo General de las Indias, Seville.

⁴²⁶ Raymundo Murillo, "Design of the Uniform of the 'Hunters of Nueva Vizcaya'" (Watercolor, 1804), Sección Mapas y Planos, Uniformes no. 89, Archivo General de las Indias, Seville.



Raymundo Murillo's Watercolor of the Texan Hussars.⁴²⁷



Raymundo Murillo's Watercolor of the Hunters of Nueva Vizcaya.⁴²⁸

⁴²⁷ Murillo, "Design of the Uniform of the 'Hussars of Texas in Times of War.'"

⁴²⁸ Murillo, "Design of the Uniform of the 'Hunters of Nueva Vizcaya.'"



*Raymundo Murillo's Watercolor of the Leather Jacket Californio.*⁴²⁹

The depiction of the leather dragoon presented a strong contrast. To begin with, he was not even given a regimental or specialist name- rather, he was described as a “garrison member” of the presidios. While technically true, garrison almost universally carried a connotation of enlisted men or conscripts, a dramatic demotion in status from a typical cavalier, even from borderlands regiments like the Texas Hussars or the Hunters of Nueva Vizcaya.

The rider himself sagged his shoulders, the lance drooping down lazily below the saddle. His browned and unkempt head slouched forward, with drooping shoulders. His leather vest ballooned out around his torso and made his chest swell to comical size in proportion to his lazy limbs. His horse's hooves barely lifted off the ground. Murillo painted the dragoon to be plodding, not galloping or leaping from the earth. Even the grounding line itself was different. Unlike the hussar or the hunter, the dragoon's sandy ground line had weeds growing from it.

⁴²⁹ Raymundo Murillo, “Design of the Kit of Cavalry Forces of the Garrison of the Frontier's Border in the Internal Provinces of New Spain” (Watercolor, n.d.), Sección Mapas y Planos, Uniformes no. 81, Archivo General de las Indias, Seville.

Murillo clearly viewed leather-jacketed Alteños as lesser, unimposing buffoons in comparison to the more conventional cavalrymen of other regions of New Spain.⁴³⁰

The uniform of these leather-jackets, and especially the jackets themselves, remain the symbol of frontier soldiery in Spain's northwestern provinces. The specific demands, specific equipment and the specific appearance of the leather dragoon gave the Californios a regionally unique borderlands knight. However, the Californios of the presidios were recognized as a peripheral other even at the height of California's development. Despite their successful adaptations to the demanding borderlands, the rest of New Spain frowned on their countrymen that had been so impacted by the Borderlands. The visual identity of the leather-jacket soldiers demonstrated the distinct experiences of Californio soldiers as they adapted to frontier demands.

When the worst happened and neophytes rebelled against Alteño order, Californio identity fell out of place rapidly. Francisco Javier Uría, a Franciscan friar at Mission Santa Bárbara was a survivor of the 1824 Chumash Rebellion. He wrote a letter to Captain Franco Maria Ruiz detailing the attack. Uría's first line was emblematic of the existential panic that gripped the Santa Bárbara survivors. "Writing this is giving me a great pain." Reporting this, even two months later, was a harrowing experience.⁴³¹

Uría was at prayer when his sacristan approached him. In Catholicism, a sacristan is a role that maintains the upkeep of the sacristy and vestibule, the area of the church that contains the holy equipment in celebrating the Mass. Typically the sacristan is a deacon or even an esteemed altar server, lower in rank than a priest. The sacristan was joined by two *alcaldes*, or "mayors," that functioned as elders or chiefs amongst the Native neophytes. Through the

⁴³⁰ Murillo.

⁴³¹ Uría, "Of the Assault of the Missions of Santa Barbara by the Indians," 1. It is worth noting here that Uría's handwriting was singularly the worst of all semi-legible sources in this thesis. Basic articles and abbreviations are regularly misspelled and scrawled differently.

sacristan interpreter, “they told me that the Neophytes had captured the soldiers.” Aside from the guardians stationed directly amongst the neophyte barracks, Mission Santa Bárbara was within the same town as the presidio. A single message to the presidio could avert a crisis. While the alcaldes had already sent runners, no aid had come. Uría the padre was already undercut in authority by those who were nominally underneath him in the clerical and racial hierarchy.⁴³²

Uria could not even understand the event without help. “Through the translation of the sacristan, the alcalde told me that the warriors wanted to kill me. I tried idea after idea, but they told me to hide in the sacristy.” Panicking too much to decide what to do, Uría had to be told to hide. Uría and a few other refugees hid inside the church, bellies to the ground. Whilst hiding, the attackers “screeched at us throughout the windows” as they tried to force entrance into Uría’s quarters. Pulling at the door with ropes, they threw spears through the small openings, one of which almost hit Uría. The besieged Spanish stayed hidden until the coming of dawn, and with it came the cavalry. “We only came out six and a half hours later, when we heard at least five rounds of rifle fire from My Lord Martinez [Presidio Captain of Santa Bárbara].” By the time the cavalry arrived in full and Uría resurfaced, the Chumash had retreated into the mountains above Santa Bárbara and were nowhere to be seen. “Only an old drunk was there, and he fell over with one shot.” Rather than a place of sanctity, the attack showed how vulnerable the mission was without constant vigilance. Santa Bárbara was luckily close to the presidio. For the other missions, the emergency could go on for weeks or even months.⁴³³

⁴³² Uría, 1.

⁴³³ Uría, 2–4. The casualty count remains unclear given the number of fleeing neophytes who may or may not have participated alongside the raiders, or even came into the battle from another mission. Beebe and Senkewicz analyze different testimony. Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, “The End of the 1824 Chumash Revolt in Alta California: Father Vicente Sarria’s Account,” *The Americas (Washington)* 53, no. 2 (1996): 273–83.

What the Chumash had left behind was not many casualties, but a great deal of destruction. In the hours that Uría and his retinue hid, “They had succeeded to find Father Ripoll’s belongings and his room, and they gave it all to the fire.” The raiders also burned down the mission’s mill and attacked a nearby ranch before they had completely disappeared into hills. What Uría called the real “destruction” was the nave of the church. Every holy item had been broken, thrown about or stolen. “From corner to corner it was ash, where only the padres should be by policy.” Martinez ordered for spears to be brought immediately to the mission so that the padres, alcaldes and remaining neophytes could defend themselves. Despite the very low casualties, the Chumash warriors had succeeded in violating everything the padres held dear. By entering and profaning the holy of holies, the warriors had struck a coup at the very source of Alteño identity. Furthermore, the church was no longer a sanctuary. The Chumash’s retreating standoff with the presidio soldiers was inconclusive, and nothing could stop them from coming back. Ever vigilant, the padres were guarding the rear and had become their own guards.⁴³⁴

The dread that Francisco Javier Uría felt during his time of crisis was the inverse of the regional patriotism Lasuén reported. Allowing for the possibility that Uría was panicking and misremembered details, the experiences of revolt systematically undercut the cooperative identity that gave Spanish Alta its identity of place. The teamwork between presidio and mission was stress tested by their own neophyte subjects. The Franciscans’ dependence on translators was at its most vulnerable when hostilities boiled over and the Spanish could not understand or perceive the warning signs whispered in words they did not know. The soldiers who were meant to defend the mission had been taken by surprise and could not utilize the superior firepower and steel that was their only advantage against the stealthier, more numerous enemies.

⁴³⁴ Uría, “Of the Assault of the Missions of Santa Barbara by the Indians,” 4, 4–6.

Reinforcements were far away and arrived late. The honored titles of captain and mission president became crosshairs for the Native rebels' anger. Rather than solemnly filing in procession behind the priests, the rebels were storming through the church, yanking down doors and throwing spears and darts through windows on the hunt for their spiritual fathers. A Native revolt like what the Barbareños had done was the reversal of the Alteños' identity. Failures of those borderlands institutions meant the failure of the Alteño ethnicity as a whole.

In conclusion, the borderlands adaptation undertaken by Alteños was visible in their paperwork, their supplies and equipment, and the threats they survived. Mules, horses and other precious supplies were guarded, and kept from the hands of potentially resistant Native peoples. The language of official paperwork was shared between religious and civil authorities, as were the immediate practical concerns of a tenuous borderland outside the reliable reach of viceregal assistance. In order to survive the violence that came with policing the frontier, presidio soldiers modified Enlightened professional soldiering to become the hybrid leather jackets. Violence like the Chumash Revolt was dealt with on a regional level with friendly neophytes and the local presidio rather than auxiliaries and reinforcements shipped in from halfway across New Spain.

The siege of Santa Bárbara in the Chumash revolt bookended the founding of San Luís Rey thematically and chronologically. Santa Bárbara was attacked 26 years after San Luís Rey was founded. A full generation had passed, and New Spain's viceregal hierarchy had already been toppled by revolution back in the Mexican heartland. Nevertheless, Alta California, isolated as it was, continued in the same processes that had enabled Santa Bárbara and San Luís Rey to be founded in the first place. Soldiers uniquely equipped for the borderlands collaborated with the Franciscan missionaries to keep religious, hierarchical order in the province. Even after the Mexican Republic was recognized as fully victorious and independent from Spain, Alta

California remained dependent on the same colonial institutions. It was neither external invasion nor internal collapse that put an end to Alta California's cohesion. Rather, the institutions were simply discontinued by the Mexican government through secularization and a reduction of funds. Ironically, the experiences that made the Alteños a borderlands ethnicity lasted longer than the institutions that gave structure to those experiences.

Conclusion

The social, military, religious and political experiences of Californio identity in Alta and Baja both came from the same roots. Both Alteños and Bajeños understood their experiences within the socially constructed windows of the rational Enlightenment and zealous Christian evangelism. The Franciscans' Catholic Church and the soldier's presidio supervised and imposed partial order over all Californios. That said, colonial Alta California deserves special consideration for its extreme isolation. Utterly remote by land and sea, Alteños were deeply vulnerable from hostile Native tribes, revolting neophytes, aggressing foreign powers and dwindling supplies. This created vigilance, an increased interdependence between friars and soldiers, with the governor of the colony as a uniquely respected comrade.

The extreme vigilance and spirit of isolated defense in Alta California created a place-based local identity. Both emotionally and physically, Californios aimed to create the Hispanic land shaped in the image of Catholic, Enlightened, metropolitan, New Spain. Bajeños were aware of their peripheral rank amongst Mexican regions, but remained attached via routine maritime connection. By contrast, Alteños experienced isolation and required vigilance to remain resolute as a society. Alteño struggles and reversals that came with "tending the wilderness" so it could be remade into the "rim of Christendom" were a profound experience, a mix of pride and

pain in different measures for different Alteños. Such an experience marked the identity of both Californio peoples and their land. Two centuries later, Native and Hispanic expressions of culture and even material symbols like bells and adobe, and agricultural labors, like vineyards and rancheros, are still immediately identified as Alteño experiences in the same land where they were made.

*Chapter 5: “Righteous Judgement:” Indigeneity on Trial by a Californio Jury,
1805-1806*

“Having murdered Guadalupe and raped the same girl, he clearly deserves the punishment of death.”

-Luis Peralta, Local Justice in San Francisco⁴³⁵

“Separate the Indians and Castilians for the benefit of both.”

- Juan Ignacio Vicuna and Pedro Alontesedro, Superior Court of Mexico City⁴³⁶

Introduction

This chapter deals with the investigation and prosecution of a court case of a rape and murder that occurred in the spring of 1805 and the eighteen-month investigation and litigation that followed the act. Both crime and trial took place in the province of Alta California and were investigated by the members of the Presidio San Francisco. The case was compiled by the provincial clerks in Alta California for review in New Spain. The sentencing was sent to Mexico City for the auditor’s assent. Participants in the investigation discussed issues that were stress points in Californio society. The trial dealt with crimes that concerned the local daily life in the borderlands. I explore the stresses of borderlands experience that occurred during the development of Alta California into a well-established province of New Spain.

Race was a central issue of the trial. Witnesses and clerks regularly identified the neophytes and presidio allies as Indios in contrast to the soldiers and their wives (who were more often only categorized by rank, age, and surname). References to gentiles for tribes outside of the Spanish circle of influence further demonstrated the alienation of Native people. In the trial,

⁴³⁵ Luis Peralta and Jose Joaquin de Arrillaga, “Luis Peralta’s Initial Conclusion of the Case” (Presidio San Francisco, Alta California, May 11, 1805), Ramos California No 37, 580, Archivo General de la Nacion.

⁴³⁶ Juan Ignacio Vicuna and Pedro Alontesedro, “Deliberations from the Superior Court of Mexico City” (Mexico City, May 10, 1806), No 37, 602-608, Archivo General de la Nacion.

Californios saw Native people, even loyal Indian subordinates, as a lesser category, both in reason and in physiology.⁴³⁷

The trial affirmed the hierarchy of imperial authority. The clergy, despite its influence, was shown to be a subordinate dependent of the state. The province's authorities often did double duty as both civil servants and as military officers. Officials in Mexico City had the final say in the case, as the cover letters of the case file indicate. In practice, the immediate demands of upholding the law fell to local sergeants and clerks, and not auditors or viceroys.

The trial exposed Californios' concern for Spanish femininity, both in contrast to what they saw as a less desirable, less civilized Native femininity, and for general compatibility with the unexpected dangers of the frontier. If Hispanic women were not safe to raise their children and conduct the simplest outing beyond fortress walls, the borderlands were not worth integrating.⁴³⁸

The case cast the efficacy of the civilizing Franciscan missions into doubt. While under Franciscan supervision, a Native man committed a heinous crime and showed signs of insanity. In the eyes of many, the Franciscans had failed to instill Christian morals and values in the local Native population.⁴³⁹

⁴³⁷ The story of race as an element of both legal and scientific grounding predates the Enlightenment. However, the scholastic conception of race was an inevitable byproduct of the classifications of early naturalists and absolutist legalists. For an era-wide treatment of race as a quantifiable commodity, see the early chapters of Gary Taylor, *Buying Whiteness: Race, Culture, and Identity from Columbus to Hip Hop* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005). For the pre-Enlightenment origins of race in Europe, see Jean E. Feerick, *Strangers in Blood: Relocating Race in the Renaissance* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010).

⁴³⁸ Nicole Marie Guidotti-Hernandez asserts that colonial violence upon minority groups and sexual violence against women are two sides of the same imperial coin. In the same region of the American southwest, she argues that the Hispanic and Chicano identity was formed (in part) through survival of, and participation in, colonial and sexual violence. Nicole Marie Guidotti-Hernández, *Unspeakable Violence: Remapping U.S. and Mexican National Imaginaries* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011). For a broader survey of legal prosecution of rape in the colonial world, see Sharon Block, *Rape and Sexual Power in Early America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

⁴³⁹ In the public debate over colonial Spain's memory, the triumph of California hinges on the (il)legitimacy of the Franciscans' missionary project. Both for Hispanic and later United States residents. Junipero Serra's legacy and canonization became the "great man," battlefield most representative to the general public. For a state of the field,

Furthermore, the method of justice carried out by members of the presidio community exhibited a sense of both familiarity and casualness that would only have been possible in a frontier province. The traditional colonial hierarchy of governor, civil servant and soldier was clearly present. California was a loyal province of New Spain. However, so small and remote were the presidios, and so quickly were relationships forged, that the camaraderie of the Californios was of a different, more familiar nature than in the wealthy and secure regions of New Spain.⁴⁴⁰

Sources

The provincial courts of Alta California produced eyewitness testimonies, judicial statements, and a proposed sentence before compiling the documents for each case and forwarding them to Mexico City. There, Mexico City judges rendered a final verdict, and then condensed the documents into a single file, which has since been collected in the AGN, Ramo Californias.

The majority of the materials written for the dossier were produced in California, by Californios- only a final verdict or appeal was handed down by the viceregal authorities in Mexico City. For all intents and purposes, this case was tried in California, carried out by Californio professionals with the help of Californio witnesses known to each other socially, in order to vindicate a Californio victim who had been wronged by a perpetrator who had failed to

see Baron L. Pineda, “‘First Hispanic Pope, First Hispanic Saint’: Whiteness, Founding Fathers and the Canonization of Friar Junípero Serra,” *Latino Studies* 16, no. 3 (2018): 286–309.

⁴⁴⁰ For a brief comparison, consider the theatrics and absurdities as described by Martin Nesvig. The opulence and leisure of the emerging metropolitan elites did not exist anywhere in the Californias. Secular or sacred, no person could rise to the luxury available to the bourgeoisie center of New Spain. Martin Austin Nesvig, *Promiscuous Power: An Unorthodox History of New Spain* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2018).

become a proper Californio. The process did, of course, end with the obligatory final judgment in Mexico City.

The Background of the Aurelio Case

The year was 1805. It was mid-October, and the Governor of Alta California had an unpleasant duty to perform. Lieutenant Colonel José Joaquín de Arrillaga was already overwhelmed with provincial business, and he probably felt some relief as he was at last able to hand this thorny local issue off to the viceroy in Mexico City. Despite his good reputation and the respect in which he was held throughout the Californias, Arrillaga made sure that he would not pass down the final verdict in this troubling case.

A Spanish girl was dead. Her rapist and murderer had confessed. Her mother was devastated and disillusioned with her Native neighbors and had lost faith in the government. The victim's father, a soldier, had apprehended the criminal and had barely been restrained from beating him to death. His fellow soldiers called for blood. They insisted that the killer's confession was evidence of his full culpability. The friars insisted that the man was feeble-minded and unable to fully discern right from wrong. While the convict howled like a man possessed in his chains, the priests called for mercy, asking that the man be imprisoned, not executed.⁴⁴¹

The town, mission and people of San Francisco were scandalized by the crime and divided on the proper response. They looked to their governor to decide the next step. Removed from the tumult of San Francisco, Arrillaga was still uncertain of what to do. A few months after the crime had occurred in San Francisco, he filed the disposition and testimonies from the relative calm of Mission San Vicente Ferrer in Baja California. San Vicente was one of the

⁴⁴¹ Luis Peralta, Matías Guerro, and Ignacio Lascano, "Proceedings of the Aurelio Tribunal," October 19, 1805, No. 37, 571-586, Archivo General de la Nación.

Dominicans' northernmost missions in Baja California. The mission sat elevated and inland from the coast more than its Franciscan sister missions to the north. It also had seen battles as a fortress against rebellious war bands- despite the clamor in San Francisco, Arrillaga had constant duties, civil and military, across the colony.⁴⁴²

The Galindo-Aurelio case came at an inconvenient time. Above and beyond the inspection duties of a lifelong Californio soldier, Arrillaga had an organizational mess that kept him away from his seat of office in Monterey. Earlier that year, it had been decreed that Alta California had grown to such a size that it could no longer be governed effectively from Loreto. In addition to his regular movements and administration, Arrillaga was to direct the separation of the province. The appalling case and the controversy over its judgement had come at a most inopportune time.

The situation in California was imperiled from the delicate internal social balance, foreign vulnerabilities and dependency on the metropole. The Franciscans were on the verge of achieving the provincial hegemony that the Jesuits had enjoyed for over half a century. Europe was engulfed in Napoleon's wars. Spain's ally had antagonized the concert of Europe. France's aggression threatened to drag American colonies into their European masters' fights. In order to open up new theaters against Napoleon's revolutionary onslaught, belligerent England could invade California from Canada with the next tide. There might not even be a California left to defend- multiple Alta California missions had suffered mass neophyte desertions in recent years.

⁴⁴² While there were Indian revolts and raids in Alta California, none of the Ohlone Costeño warriors ever laid siege to a Franciscan mission as had happened in the Pericú Revolt in Baja California or the Pima Revolt in Sonora. Rather, uprisings like Estanislao's and subversions like Toypurina's relied on stealth and surprise whilst *avoiding* pitched battles. For descriptions of Alta California conflict, see George Harwood Phillips, *Chiefs and Challengers: Indian Resistance and Cooperation in Southern California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975). For a comparison of warfare between Alta and Baja Native braves, see Malcolm Margolin, *The Ohlone Way: Indian Life in the San Francisco-Monterey Bay Area* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1978); Michael W. Mathes, "Violence in Eden: Warfare in Peninsular Baja California," *Pacific Coast Archaeology Quarterly* 45, no. 1 & 2 (2011): 1–12.

The mission project had failed to turn any significant profit and the presidios were operating with limited funds and materiel shipped in from Mexico proper. All the while, the Basque frontiersman-turned-governor could remember his adolescence when the Jesuits were expelled from Baja.

The voices of church and crown clashed again over the case and the question of punishment. Alta California's ability to dispense proper justice to a Native criminal would indicate much about the newly created province. The viceregal authorities in Mexico City were concerned with the outward growth of the Alta California. Foreign navies and hunters threatened to pressure the Californios from abroad. While Arrillaga kept watch over his realm, he worried about another authority. The Franciscans had consistently called for better treatment of Native Californios, citing the responsibility of Christian paternalism. The defense counsel argued that there was reasonable ambiguity in the case and called for leniency for the self-confessed child-rapist and murderer, calling him mentally deficient and insane.⁴⁴³

Arrillaga had to satisfy multiple pressures from different Californio factions to keep the province stable. On the one hand, Arrillaga had to worry about the Franciscans dominating Alta California in the same way the Jesuits had once done in Baja. On the other, Arrillaga had to draw on every source of strength and unity the province could offer to deal with the challenges assailing the border of New Spain. The same year of the Aurelio crime, Alta California would become its own province.

The clamor around the Aurelio case demonstrated serious issues around Alteños' military vulnerability, frailty of the rule of law, limited conversion results and the ever-delicate secular-

⁴⁴³ Ramón Lasso de la Vega, "Defense of Aurelio at the Tribunal by Don Ramón Lasso de la Vega" (Presidio San Francisco, Alta California, May 1806), No 37, 588-589, Archivo General de la Nación. De la Vega referenced both the mercy of God and the biological deficiency of Native consciousness in his defense- the role of the Church as a (self-interested) advocate for Native concerns has been documented in Chapter 4.

sacred relationship. The sentencing of the case could have destabilized the province. The trial included no direct reference to the newly-formed province, nor was any document sent first to Monterey (the capital of Alta California) before being sent to Mexico City. The case's complexities in the areas of criminal justice, tenuous control over neophytes, physical distance from legal authority and reliance on the friars for moral direction all attest to sociopolitical anxieties that applied all the stronger to the challenges of Monterey's administration over Alta California.⁴⁴⁴

While brooding amidst the Dominicans at San Vicente, the governor found a way to pass the pressure off to a higher power. In the crisp autumn of the California coast, Arrillaga washed his hands of the matter. His clerk began to draw up the materials and copied the testimony of the witnesses. Finally, he topped off the packet with the case's disposition. It was titled "A Case formed against Aurelio, Indian Neophyte of the Mission of San Francisco, for murder and Rape committed against the girl Guadalupe Galindo of the age of eight years on the morning of May 9 of this year." By December, the case briefing finally made it to the hands of Audiencia Judge José de Cristo for review.⁴⁴⁵

"It is attached the criminal case against [the] Neophyte Indian Aurelio of San Francisco," he began. "I have directed it to your honor for the purpose of using your esteemed discernment, having done the same at present, to see if this [neophyte] did not have righteous judgement."

⁴⁴⁴ The apauage of provincial status to Monterey was a part of the expansionary process of New Spain. Through cartographical evidence, Peter Gerhardt illustrated that New Spain frequently implemented new provincial boundaries to align with missionary territories (and vice versa). With the Dominicans having replaced the *Bajeño* Jesuits and the Franciscans having firmly established a uniquely vigilant and isolated *Alteño* community, the two Californias were experiencing two different administrative trajectories. See Peter Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain, Revised Edition* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993).

⁴⁴⁵ Luis Peralta, José Berreyea, and Matias Guererro, "Notarized Introduction to Testimony of the Criminal Case Formed against Aurelio, Indian Neophyte of the Mission of San Francisco, for murder and Rape committed against the girl Guadalupe Galindo of the age of eight years on the morning of May 9 of this year." (Presidio San Francisco, Alta California, October 19, 1805), 565, No 37, 567, Archivo General de la Nacion.

While the letter was ostensibly addressed to the Viceroy Don Jose Iturrigaray, the text itself spoke directly to the Audiencia Judge José de Cristo, likely the highest authority to take active involvement in the case.⁴⁴⁶

Arrillaga's petition for the Viceregal auditor to consider the convict's "righteous judgement" was a carefully selected term that would have annoyed the Franciscan friars who were Aurelio's purported guardians. The phrase implied the utilization of conscience to determine good from evil. The nineteenth-century world of criminal justice operated without the benefit of secular medical science. This question was not an issue of temporary insanity. In his testimony, Aurelio confessed to have full control over his actions with "righteous judgement." This, on the contrary, was an issue closer to the modern concept of "the age of reason," when children are able to recognize moral transgression and discern right from wrong. Arrillaga and the Franciscans struggled to determine if the Native adult male had the same reasoning expected of a European child of 7 years, younger than the nine-year-old victim.⁴⁴⁷

Well before the governor had sent the dossier to Mexico City, local San Francisco authorities had already completed the investigation in its entirety, including a recommended sentence of execution. It was not Lieutenant Colonel Arrillaga, but his subordinate Ensign Luis

⁴⁴⁶ José Joaquín de Arrillaga, "Letter to José De Cristo Requesting An Evaluation of the Accused," December 5, 1805, 562, No 17, 565, Archivo General de la Nación. While de Cristo's name and signature were the highest-ranking authority committed in writing to the case, it is possible that other officials in Mexico City were involved through intrigue- the case was in Mexico City for months. It is just as likely, however, that the case languished in obscurity while de Cristo and his staff attended to other matters.

⁴⁴⁷ The two procedures that best interrogated Aurelio's state of mind and challenged his mental faculties were the taking of his confession and his cross examination by his defense, Ramon Lasso de la Vega. Both shall be discussed per their chronological appearance. Luis Peralta, José Berreyea, and Matias Guerro, "Notarized Confession of Aurelio the Neophyte" (Presidio San Francisco, Alta California, October 19, 1805), No 37, 575, Archivo General de la Nación; Ramón Lasso de la Vega, "Behavioral Interview Regarding Aurelio With Ramón Lasso de la Vega" (Presidio San Francisco, Alta California, May 18, 1806), No 37, 593-599, Archivo General de la Nación. Catholic pedagogues traditionally placed the "Age of Reason" at 7, where children could comprehend good, evil, and the fundamentals of doctrine. The current Catechism of the Catholic Church that was revised in the 19th century does not place a specific year on this mental capacity. For the chronology of Catechism edits, see Kevin Knight and Tony Camele, "The Age of Reason," New Advent, 2023, <https://www.newadvent.org/cathen/01209a.htm>.

Argüello who had presided over the trial. From supervising the investigators to transcribing the local judicial hearing, the case was processed by soldiers of the Presidio. These were the same soldiers who found Guadalupe's corpse and apprehended her killer.

By chance, Argüello had been touring and inspecting the troops of San Francisco presidio on the same day of the crime, the ninth of May, 1805. The body of an eight-year-old girl had been found raped, mutilated, and murdered. Argüello had confined Aurelio, the suspect, in prison. The same day, he sent a letter of commission to Sergeant Luís Peralta, a regular soldier stationed at Presidio San Francisco. Peralta was entrusted to investigate the case with a firm statement: "If this is any kind of a city, the case will stay in my hands," Argüello wrote. There was a message beneath the message: *stay in your place and follow my orders, it is the governor's place to execute this man, not yours.*⁴⁴⁸

Argüello's choice of words was telling. Alta California was on the road to becoming an independent province. San Francisco was the northernmost presidio and second-most important city in the province after the capital at Monterey. Whether it was to be against the Russians, British or hostile Native peoples, San Francisco was the first line of defense. The missions San Jose, San Rafael and Solano were the most remote in the province, and depended on the presidio on the bay, as would whalers from the north and trade ships from the Orient. Argüello chose not to appeal to Peralta's honor or his duty as a soldier. Perhaps it was because he sympathized with the anger, or perhaps because he had full confidence in the character of Peralta and his men. If the Californios had confidence in each other, they had many uncertainties about the future. San Francisco stood literally at the frontier of the province, and metaphorically, so too did the city's ability to enforce law and order. Before the victim's body could even be buried, Argüello had

⁴⁴⁸ José Argüello, "Letter to Snr. Sergeant Luis Peralta," May 9, 1805, No 17, 567, Archivo General de la Nacion.

challenged the soldiers to follow an Enlightened legal process, not to avenge the honor of a grieving father.⁴⁴⁹

It was easy for Argüello to say: the victim, Guadalupe Galindo, was the eldest daughter of Venancio Galindo, Peralta's direct subordinate and an enlisted regular soldier of the presidio. Rather than taking action against the criminal, they were drawing up paperwork and collecting testimonies to send off to their commander's commander in Baja. Meanwhile, the rapist-murderer sat in their prison, eating their bread. Nonetheless, orders were orders. San Francisco's enlisted men began compiling and notarizing the statements they had collected from witnesses at the presidio on the day of the crime.

Each witness had raised their hand before God and swore. Such was the trust between San Franciscans that no signatures were demanded. The only notarization that was given was the signatures of Peralta and his assistants Matías Guerrero and Jose Berreyeza.⁴⁵⁰

There is something to consider in the method in which the witnesses themselves gave their testimony. In the small town of San Francisco, the inquiring sergeants would know all the witnesses well, or at least be acquainted with them. Nevertheless, in their statements, each witness was asked "to swear to God and to promise to the King to tell the truth," with their hand raised. This was ceremonial, but not all of these swearing ceremonies were done in a court room or chapel. The sergeants went where the witnesses were able to provide their statements. The inquiry was official and done by the books, but senior friends were interviewing junior acquaintances in a time of mourning. These were social bonds being reaffirmed with ritual oaths to God and King. As the two pillars of justification for Californios, these gave them strength in

⁴⁴⁹ José Argüello, "Commandante Jose Argüello's Authorization to Begin the Tribunal," May 11, 1805, No 37, 581, Archivo General de la Nacion.

⁴⁵⁰ Peralta, Berreyeza, and Guererro, "Notarized Introduction to Testimony of the Criminal Case," 567.

their time of need, and on these two pillars the mourning Californios leaned together. Peralta affirmed it in his own words with his own reputation; “to this [inquiry], I give my faith.”⁴⁵¹

Historiography: The Tyranny of the Archives and the Critical Fabulation of the Victim

It is here, after the initial facts of the case, that it is appropriate to mention particular works of historiography specifically dealing with rape in the colonial area. This requires a reckoning with commentary on rape and sexual violence in particular and the harsh colonial response to illicit sexuality more broadly.

Joan Scott established a framework in women’s history when she suggested that femininity was a fluid concept that could and did change across era and society. Particular communities held certain traits in high esteem for women, and established certain roles and functions in society as optimal for women. The idea of gender as a category for analysis rather than a rigid sexual dichotomy lent itself especially well to borderlands studies and the frontier, where both men and women coped with their challenging new environment by articulating and adapting new gendered expectations, and the ideals of masculinity and femininity were invoked to maintain social consensus on the borderlands.⁴⁵²

The methodological trouble comes when a role imposed on a subjugated demographic is deemed “unimportant” or “insignificant” by the written archives. Such was the concern of

⁴⁵¹ Peralta, Berreyea, and Guerro, “Notarized Introduction to Testimony of the Criminal Case.”

⁴⁵² Joan W. Scott, “Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis,” *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (1986): 1053–75. For an interrogation into frontier masculinity, see Susan Lee Johnson, “‘A Memory Sweet to Soldiers’: The Significance of Gender in the History of the ‘American West,’” *The Western Historical Quarterly* 24, no. 4 (1993): 495–517. For examples of (European) femininity as an ideal being invoked for frontier cohesion, see Laurel Clark Shire, *The Threshold of Manifest Destiny: Gender and National Expansion in Florida* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016). For examples of ideal femininity contested in the religious and racially syncretic Hispanic borderlands, see Ramón A. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846* (Stanford: University Press, 1991); Amy G. Remensnyder, *La Conquistadora: The Virgin Mary at War and Peace in the Old and New Worlds* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014); Emmanuel Ortega, “The Virgin of the Macana and the Pueblo Revolution of 1680,” SmartHistory, October 16, 2020, <https://smarthistory.org/virgin-macana/>.

Marisa J. Fuentes in *Dispossessed Lives*. Fuentes searched for social values through minute archival details and instead found an absence of details. She argued that whole sections of colonial society were ignored and their sufferings dismissed. Fuentes argued that African slaves, and particularly women, were omitted by the slave society's written records. This documentary silence contributing to their unperson status and social death under chattel slavery. Fuentes called this process "the tyranny of the archives."⁴⁵³

Particularly among the historians of the post-colonial era, there was a concern that subaltern populations were being represented and interpreted through the colonial written record specifically to vindicate the imperial process and further justify the action of the colonizing agents. Formative in this debate was citizen and historian of India Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. In the first of many works on the question of subalterns given proper attention and understanding, Spivak asked eponymously, "*Can the Subaltern Speak?*" Spivak's initial case study was the Hindu act of "sati," immolating a dead man's widow in his own funeral pyre. The British outlawed the practice and enforced it with gusto. Spivak emphasized that while she did not condone sati, she did definitively assert that the British rationalized the banning of *sati* as justification for British rule. Rather than a genuine moral outrage, Spivak interpreted the British as European saviors who colonized Indian men to save Indian women. Female agency disappeared in the shadow of the British Raj.⁴⁵⁴

Similar interpretations were applied to the New World. Historians of the Atlantic World have often interpreted rape and sexuality more broadly and its policing as functions of the

⁴⁵³ Marisa J Fuentes author, *Dispossessed Lives: Enslaved Women, Violence, and the Archive* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016). For Fuentes' commentary on the generational consequences of archival tyranny, see Marisa J. Fuentes, "Slavery's Archive and the Matter of Black Atlantic Lives," *English Language Notes* 59, no. 1 (2021): 229–31.

⁴⁵⁴ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?," in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (London: MacMillan, 1988).

colonies and later revolutionary republics. In her pre- and post-revolutionary study, *Rape and Sexual Power in Early America*, Sharon Block argues that the politics of criminal justice punished rape with legislated authority. In doing so, the Anglo-American state of the colonial and federal eras enforced the elite policymakers' conceptions of gender and sexuality across race and class. This applied broadly throughout centralizing colonial powers.⁴⁵⁵

These analyses present a grim interpretation of an even grimmer subject. Horrors suffered by rape victims seem to be largely lost to the void and ignored by the archival record. What is known was created as a means of political enforcement of the status quo. What was and is amongst the most deeply personal traumas is acknowledged by scholars to broadly be amongst the most difficult to analyze deeply and personally. In the recent collection of case studies, however, Katrina Jagodinsky offers a glimmer of empowerment. Throughout *Legal Codes and Talking Trees: Indigenous Women's Sovereignty in the Sonoran and Puget Sound Borderlands, 1854-1946*, Jagodinsky connects feminine survival after rape with Indigenous survivance through colonialism, particularly through adaptation to and use of the state's judicial system. Jagodinsky asserts that in the face of rape and statist indifference, individual women and their families achieve survival while Indigenous communities achieve survivance.⁴⁵⁶

While many features of sexual transgressions and sexual litigation were shared throughout the Atlantic world, historians of Latin America have examined universal human traits within the context of Colonial Spain. In *Promiscuous Power*, Martin Nesvig also covers several cases of absurdity, corruption and debauchery amongst the colonial elite of Mexico. Despite the condemnation of promiscuity by the Church and the lip service given to purity in polite Hispanic

⁴⁵⁵ Block, *Rape and Sexual Power in Early America*.

⁴⁵⁶ Katrina Jagodinsky, *Legal Codes and Talking Trees: Indigenous Women's Sovereignty in the Sonoran and Puget Sound Borderlands 1854-1946* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016).

society, Nesvig's uproarious adventurers demonstrate regular extra-marital and interracial sexual activity in the earliest stages of New Spanish settlement. Illicit sexuality was not a uniquely racial or colonial affair, despite elite pretensions.⁴⁵⁷

Expectations and reality remained mismatched throughout the Habsburg and Bourbon eras of metropolitan Mexico. In her social history of colonial Mexico, Nicole von Germeten argued that prostitution was common across social class and region of New Spain. Prostitution was a method of financial survival for urban lower-class women, despite the vice-royal attempts to limit the business and conceal the practice from public view. For a few elite courtesans, prostitution was a vehicle for social ascension, while for most others it was a labor of sustenance. Spanish attempts to monopolize sexuality within Catholic marriage failed for both church and state. Consequentially, non-marital sex of any kind by any class was viewed as a transgressive affront to the colonial order.⁴⁵⁸

The prostitutes that Von Germeten detailed in *Profit and Passion* should be distinguished from Native women who used marriage as a way of legitimizing their rank in the Spanish system. The regimentation of marriage (within the Church, beneath the sanction of the state) went hand-in-hand with the regulation of race. The works of Schwarz, Ochoa and Guengerich, emphasized the importance of legitimizing marriage and racial recognition as methods of integration into New Spanish society. A favorable marital and racial status was crucial for the marginalized subjects within Mexico. Native and mixed-race women achieved recognition within the colonial hierarchy by conforming to the confines of Catholic marriage. Any transgression outside these confines was both a violation of sexuality and the local social order.

⁴⁵⁷ Nesvig, *Promiscuous Power*.

⁴⁵⁸ Nicole von Germeten, *Profit and Passion: Transactional Sex in Colonial Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2018).

The stability of the New Spanish consensus depended on the colony's ability to regulate Native sexuality and female chastity.⁴⁵⁹

Saidiya Hartman offers an additional method of understanding victims of both bodily violence and the tyranny of the archives. While studying female survivors of the Atlantic slave trade, Hartman created the process of "critical fabulation." Through this process, Hartman draws upon the intellectual process of critical theory and the lived experience of oral history subjects to critically fabulate a credible narrative to fill in the archival gaps and give some recognition to the women silenced by the archives whilst also acknowledging their limitations. In the attempt to better understand trafficked victims of the Triangle Trade, Hartman first applied the critical fabulation framework to two short cases in which slavers' sexual abuse and the abolitionists' white savior complex marginalized African women in their own story.⁴⁶⁰

Hartman's theoretical practice of critical fabulation brings the story back to the Presidio of San Francisco jail. Tragically, yet unsurprisingly, both Guadalupe Galindo and Aurelio have no significant voice or representation in this story. While it was her blood spilled and his life on the line, the soldiers, lieutenant governor and fiscal argued over the limits of Native mental capacity and the extent that Enlightenment science explained barbarism among non-civilized races.

⁴⁵⁹ Stuart B. Schwartz, *Blood and Boundaries: The Limits of Religious and Racial Exclusion in Early Modern Latin America* (Chicago: Brandeis University Press, 2020); Margarita R. Ochoa and Sara V. Guengerich, eds., *Cacicas: The Indigenous Women Leaders of Spanish America, 1492-1825* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2021). Recall the California-specific work that has already been discussed- Erika Pérez, *Colonial Intimacies: Interethnic Kinship, Sexuality, and Marriage in Southern California, 1769-1885* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2018). Articulation of Western marriage by Native colonial subjects is a story all on its own. For two borderlands examples, see Gary Clayton Anderson, *Kinsman of Another Kind: Dakota-White Relations in the Upper Mississippi Valley, 1650-1862* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984); Susan Sleeper-Smith, *Indian Women and French Men: Rethinking Cultural Encounter in the Western Great Lakes* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001).

⁴⁶⁰ Saidiya Hartman, "Venus in Two Acts," *Small Axe* 12, no. 2 (2008): 1-14. For an example of using lived experience and critical theory to explain anthropological history, see Frank McCourt, *Angela's Ashes: A Memoir* (New York: Scribner, 1996); Saidiya V. Hartman, *Lose Your Mother: A Journey along the Atlantic Slave Route* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007).

Guadalupe's World

Guadalupe, at the age of nine, would have grown up surrounded by her father's comrades-in-arms and her mother's neighbors. Living either within the walls of the presidio or directly adjacent to the fort, Galindo's childhood would have been one of assumed safety. Even as a child, Guadalupe daily witnessed signs of Spanish power. Her father's firearms, the commanding position of the Presidio, the drills within its square, and the displays of obeisance by Native neophytes would have suggested to Guadalupe she lived in a world that was ordered by her father and his adult associates. The farthest away from home Guadalupe could have been able to comprehend would likely have been Monterey, where the governor and other men similar to her papa ran Alta California. The province of presidios and churches could have appeared like a bigger version of her home town of San Francisco. The Mission of San Francisco would likely have been a semi-regular extension of her daily routine at the presidio. Less than a day's walk from her home, the Mission was the site of Guadalupe's Baptism and the most majestic monument to God, the paternal figure whose bells began and ended each of her days.⁴⁶¹

The Galindo-Aurelio Case demonstrates several things about Californio society. Firstly, the daily experience of a subjugated and allied Native population was crucial to the Californio self-image of success: if "friendly Indians" sinned against God and committed crimes against the crown, Californios had failed in their primary directives of bringing about Spain's kingdom and God's will.

⁴⁶¹ This brief narration is extrapolated from the documented material I delineate throughout the rest of the following chapter. A special thank-you is in order to both Dr. Lauren Duval and to Dr. Melissa Stockdale. Both encouraged me to apply critical thinking and fabulation to the available documentation regarding this case.

Secondly, the language of the legal proceedings suggested a worldview influenced by devout religiosity and racial categorization. Mentions of both evil actions and mental incapacity demonstrated that the Californio civil servants sought out both divine justice and observed the mental limitations of a Native defendant. According to the verdict, both concepts vindicated Native Californios' need for imperial order.

Thirdly, the long physical distance between Alta California and Mexico City demonstrated that Californios were very much a borderlands people. The intimate and profoundly painful investigation gave Californios personal experiences of grief and failure as they processed the case. These were experiences that the authorities in Mexico City did not fully comprehend, removed as they were from the fragile borderlands. The delicate balance of the Californios' world was part of what fueled their experience pursuing frontier justice.

The Investigation and Testimonies

Venancio Galindo, Guadalupe's father, was the first witness. He testified that he had sent his wife with his "big girl" out to play in the glen just outside the presidio at six or seven in the morning. Over the course of the day, Guadalupe was separated from her mother, who searched for her and then raised the alarm. "The whole troop" of soldiers began the search. Soldiers Ramon Linares and Nazario Berreyza found Guadalupe's body, and at the sight of it they "lost their voices."⁴⁶²

⁴⁶² Luis Peralta, José Berreyza, and Matias Guererro, "Notarized Testimony of Venancio Galindo" (Presidio San Francisco, Alta California, October 19, 1805), No 37, 567, Archivo General de la Nacion. Note the phrase "grandecita" for eldest daughter is an informal, diminutive term, unlike "hija mayor," or "prma [sic]," like other abbreviations that Peralta used in his shorthand throughout the dossier. Not only did Venancio invoke this term as a father, Peralta copied it as acknowledging Guadalupe's emotional rank in the eyes of the presidio.

Her body had sustained wounds all over. Her face had been covered, and her mouth had been filled with sand, as had “the rest of her body.” Everyone was struck mute and motionless until one soldier lifted her up and the troop “escorted her” to Galindo’s house. Not much later, Galindo’s wife, Maria, sounded another alarm: Aurelio, a mission neophyte, had fled from the same glen and was heading for the hills. The troops pursued, and he was captured and imprisoned.⁴⁶³

For his final line of questioning, Venancio was asked by what signs or marks he could tell that Guadalupe had been assaulted and raped and that her murder was not an accidental death. He mentioned the “reddening of her natural part,” and that he could not give more details, other than that he knew what had occurred under his oath to God. Not being able to read or write, Venancio put the sign of the Cross on the paper underneath his summarized testimony. Judging by the scrawl, his hand was shaking as he signed what amounted to his daughter’s certificate of death.⁴⁶⁴

Even through initial statements, the Californio professionals showed they were dedicated first to their local sense of place and neighbor and only secondly to the Spanish Empire. Firstly, it is worth noting that Christian modesty still covered the “natural part” of what would otherwise have been an Enlightened documental analysis of anatomical wounds with forensic words. Secondly, it was Luís Peralta’s hand, and not Venancio’s, that copied down the material. Luís could have easily summarized or specified Venancio’s vague remarks, but he left the father’s shocked remarks as they were initially reported. Thirdly, the inclusion of, “being a young man of age just thirty years, not yet educated to write,” was a tender addition to include with the explanation Galindo’s illiteracy. That was not fitting to be included in the brisk, efficient work of

⁴⁶³ Peralta, Berreyea, and Guerro, 568.

⁴⁶⁴ Peralta, Berreyea, and Guerro, 569.

a bureaucrat, but entirely in keeping with the pitying support of an older friend in shock over a tragedy. Peralta was an officer and steadfastly did his duty, but he did not hide that he was working with companions.⁴⁶⁵

The next testimony suggested how Aurelio gained, and then betrayed his victim's trust. Guadalupe's mother and Galindo's wife, Maria Romano Sánchez, was the next witness to be questioned. She testified that she had often trusted her oldest daughter to go play in the glen outside the presidio and had twice seen her climbing trees with Aurelio. Once, Guadalupe had received a small cup or "chacual," of cream from Aurelio. A chacual is a small drinking cup either hollowed from the shell of a fruit or gourd or alternately hardened from leather. While he was a mission neophyte, it seems that Aurelio and other Natives like him moved throughout the area with enough frequency that Maria Romano was not surprised to see him there. So regular was the interaction between neophytes and pedestrian Spaniards the mother was not concerned to see him playing with her daughter, or bringing her gifts.⁴⁶⁶

On the fateful day, Maria was in the glen, searching for Guadalupe. She encountered Aurelio, who was passing through the same area, heading for the west coast: the grounds of San Francisco de Asís stand south and west of the Presidio. María asked Aurelio if he had seen her daughter. Aurelio purportedly responded that he had been busy chasing after a lost cow, and while he had seen Guadalupe early in the morning, he had barely spent time with her. Instead, he had encouraged her to go gather some branches for a wreath. These were the same fronds and

⁴⁶⁵ In later testimonies, Peralta simply commented that an illiterate witness, "affirmed their words with the sign of the cross," or "gave the cross" in a much simpler method, suggesting Venancio's interview impacted him differently.

⁴⁶⁶ The testimony's exact word is ambiguous. *Chacual* can also refer to the ball-throwing scoop used in Native games in northern Mexico more commonly called a "chistera." Given Aurelio's profession as a cowherd/ranchero, it would not be unlikely that he owned multiple cheap and portable drinking vessels or that some were made from reeds or thatch. California basketry is legendary, and baskets were a common token in gift-giving. It seems that either he engaged with Guadalupe by playing catch with her, or by bringing her gifts of food or drink. Coincidentally, a chacual is another word for the treacherous wild animal jackal. See Leandro Alegsa, "Chacual (chacoal)," Definiciones-de.com, September 2, 2017, <https://www.definiciones-de.com/Definicion/de/chacual.php>.

reeds by which her body had been found. María admitted that under her oath to God, she couldn't determine with proof who had committed these "disgraces," but her instincts said it was Aurelio. Furthermore, she charged Peralta and his sergeants to discover and prove who had done it. This was another unprofessional, but thoroughly familial expression, especially from a twenty-three-year-old soldier's wife. Her affirmative sign of the Cross was even shakier than her husband's.⁴⁶⁷

In the later notarized documents, the investigators referred to the investigation as "Venancio Galindo's Case," a further indication that they investigators were friends of the victim's father. When two other soldiers' wives were questioned, they confirmed from their examination of the body that the girl had been raped and had died from strangulation by the bruises on her body and around her neck. This analysis was deemed credible since the two women had much experience and knowledge of medicine, primarily as midwives. It seems unlikely that an officer's wife in urban Mexico would have been subject to such ugliness, either as double-duty midwives or as forensic witnesses in a heinous crime. Guadalupe's clothes had been torn and her face stained black, possibly with ash from the nearby smoldering fire, and her left leg had been ripped from its socket. Her mouth had also been "drowned in sand."⁴⁶⁸

The same two soldiers who found Guadalupe's body testified that Aurelio had been found holed up amid a copse of trees on a hill overlooking the path back towards the Mission. In addition to the proximity, he was found with the same reeds and sticks found near the body.

⁴⁶⁷ Luis Peralta, José Berreyea, and Matias Guererro, "Notarized Testimony of Maria Romano Sanchez, the wife of Venancio Galindo" (Presidio San Francisco, Alta California, October 19, 1805), 570, No 37, 569, Archivo General de la Nacion.

⁴⁶⁸ Luis Peralta, José Berreyea, and Matias Guererro, "Notarized Testimony of Maria Santos Gutiérrez and Maria Josefa Sanchez, wives of Alejo Miranda (aide-de-campe) and Joaquin Bernal (solder)" (Presidio San Francisco, Alta California, October 19, 1805), 572, No 37, 571, Archivo General de la Nacion.

When the Aurelio was found, the soldiers said to have seen him raising both his hands to cover his face- even as he was squatting in the foliage of the tree line.⁴⁶⁹

Two patterns in the Californios' testimony stand out about their perception of Aurelio himself and his place in their world. The descriptions of Aurelio showed a stooped, stealthy figure who was hiding, absconding, covering himself, and crawling to a copse of trees. These indicated a sense of disgust for Aurelio's posture and his person in addition to his crimes. Even outside the context of his attack on Guadalupe, his physical movement and posture relayed the impression of a skulking and stunted creature rather than a full person. This would have matched the Californio image of a threatening Ohlone Native, particularly after the surprise attack on the Mission Santa Barbara. Secondly, witnesses seemed shocked that the crime took place in a space they thought was safe.⁴⁷⁰

Witnesses' anxiousness about the crime's proximity to the Presidio revealed the fragility about the Alteños' identity of place. Barely outside the walls, Aurelio's danger put claustrophobia into the witnesses. The phrases they invoked to describe "the road directly between the presidio and mission," "the glen immediately outside the presidio," and, "this very presidio," were repeated over and over. The crime seemed to underscore the fragility of Spanish control on the borderlands. Even as they made their signs of the cross, the witnesses' words betrayed just how deeply their civilized ground had been profaned. One soldier testified that

⁴⁶⁹ Luis Peralta, José Berreyea, and Matias Guerro, "Notarized Testimony of Ramón Linares" (Presidio San Francisco, Alta California, October 19, 1805), No 37, 572, Archivo General de la Nación; Luis Peralta, José Berreyea, and Matias Guerro, "Notarized Testimony of Nazario Berreyza" (Presidio San Francisco, Alta California, October 19, 1805), No 37, 573, Archivo General de la Nación.

⁴⁷⁰ A phenomenon common throughout the Atlantic world was the European soldier's condemnation of Native stealthiness, in and out of battle. To soldiers of the line, the "skulking Indian" was an embodiment of cowardice and treachery. For Natives, it was a method of hunting and asymmetric warfare. For a deeper examination of this double-understanding, see Wayne E. Lee, *The Cutting-Off Way: Indigenous Warfare in Eastern North America, 1500–1800* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2023).

even before being summoned, he had come out of his presidio quarters into the plaza upon hearing his companions' screams of dismay from beyond the walls.⁴⁷¹

Finally, Sergeant Peralta interrogated Aurelio himself in the prison. The neophyte openly admitted his guilt. Peralta recorded the extensive interactions Aurelio related as he approached the girl. Aurelio admitted that he had forced himself on Guadalupe and that he had only gagged her so she wouldn't make any noise. He insisted her death was accidental. Aurelio related the same conversation as Maria Romano Sanchez. He was searching for a cow, gave misleading directions as to Guadalupe's whereabouts, and made off towards the mission. He made no explanation of filling her mouth with sand or smearing her face black. Aurelio swore his statement and in the process of notarizing, Peralta commented, "We do not know his age, as they baptized him as a little gentile, but by our count [he is] eighteen or twenty years old." Aurelio's status as both an adult and a lifelong neophyte was an indictment to the success of the Franciscans' conversion process.⁴⁷²

The next day, May tenth, Peralta, the witnesses were summoned to confirm their testimonies again. One by one, The victim's parents, Venancio and Maria, soldiers Ramón Linares and Nazario Berreyza and medical examiners Maria Santos Gutiérrez and Maria Josefa Sanchez all confirmed under oath and signature that they had nothing to add and nothing to take away. Venancio's affirmation was steadier than the cross he had scrawled the day before, but Maria's had become even shakier.⁴⁷³

⁴⁷¹ Luis Peralta, José Berreyea, and Matias Guererro, "Notarized Testimony of Jose Aceves" (Presidio San Francisco, Alta California, October 19, 1805), No 37, 574, Archivo General de la Nacion.

⁴⁷² Peralta, Berreyea, and Guererro, "Confession of Aurelio the Neophyte."

⁴⁷³ Luis Peralta, "Behavioral Interview Regarding Aurelio With Nazaro Berreyza" (Presidio San Francisco, Alta California, May 11, 1805), No 37, 593, Archivo General de la Nacion. There are several possible explanations for why Guadalupe's face was "blackened," "covered" or "dirtied black," from bruises to ash from the extinguished fire charcoal or some sort of ritual. Various records, some more reliable than others, indicate versions of Native warriors altering the bodies of the dead. In addition to the controversial historiography of scalping, sensational accounts from the Great Plains referenced the mouths of slain enemies being stuffed with grass or severed body parts. Note that

The Tribunal

The tribunal was authorized immediately after Peralta concluded his report. Presidio commander José de Argüello authorized Luis Peralta to stand as acting judge. Had Aurelio not confessed, the verdict may have been compromised since there were such obvious conflicts of interest involved: the interconnectedness of the Presidio's company all but guaranteed Aurelio's conviction. The limited number of educated professionals in San Francisco showed how tight the *Californio* circle really was.⁴⁷⁴

The Franciscans were aghast at the neophyte's act and disgusted by the notion that the crime had taken place so near the church built for the benefit of Native people like him. The witnesses' disgust came through even in their notarized testimony, and in his initial summary Luis Peralta did not mince words when discussing what Aurelio deserved: "Having murdered Guadalupe and raped the same girl, he clearly deserves the punishment of death." Keeping in mind Argüello's warning to not usurp gubernatorial authority, Peralta's next line was cautious. "Though I am not to say, having not been instructed in the laws of the judiciary, for which I leave the decision to my superiors who have convened for this matter." For his signature in this summary, he did not give his faith and esteemed feeling, only his name and posting along with the date. When this disposition was included in the dossier bound for Mexico City, Arrillaga echoed Peralta's assessment in his addendum: "turning this in to the commanding officer of the

most sources came from colonists with every reason to tar their opponents. This may explain why Guadalupe's mouth was found "drowned" with sand. With the limited and Eurocentric testimony in this particular case and the extreme outlier that was Aurelio himself, there is not enough material to say. For cursory references to Plains body desecration, see treatments of Little Crow's War and the Black Hills Wars in Gary Clayton Anderson, *Massacre in Minnesota: The Dakota War of 1862, the Most Violent Ethnic Conflict in American History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2019); Thomas Powers, *The Killing of Crazy Horse* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2010). The question of physical mutilations is a topic that deserves a full and nuanced exploration. It was mentioned here only to further explain the horror of the Spanish and their reaction.

⁴⁷⁴ Argüello, "Notarized Introduction to Testimony of the Criminal Case."

Presidio after the testimonies have been sworn and put together, he will provide what is needed before it is put before our superiors.” Peralta, Argüello and Arrillaga had each bitten their tongue in turn, each passing the hammer of vengeance to their superior. Despite their shared experience of wrath, they tempered their borderlands justice in favor of Enlightened procedure.⁴⁷⁵

Ramón Lasso de la Vega, a retired ensign, was commissioned to act as Aurelio’s defense. Lasso de la Vega had played no part in the original investigation, and did not have a stated connection to deceased or the accused. Argüello and Peralta were both brief in their nomination, so the reason for de la Vega’s role in the defense is unclear. His age may have factored into his sufficient education and esteem in the community in order to represent such an abominable defendant. However, de La Vega was very clear about his own motivations. He resolved that he would defend Aurelio, “for the sake of his own [Vega’s] virtue and honor, to defend the side of Aurelio with the truth as much as could be possible.”⁴⁷⁶

Starting on September 10, 1805, Peralta repeated the motions of summoning witnesses and affirming their testimony once again. Once again, the witnesses were read their statements and again they swore to God that their testimony was true, complete, and unchanged. This formal process reached the same conclusion as the original investigation. Aurelio was conscious and intent in his act. Unlike the local investigation done for truth, this trial was done for propriety. Peralta and de la Vega had both emphasized their adherence to legal protocol for the scrutinous eyes of Mexico City judges. Also adapting elegance to accommodate the aristocrats of Mexico City, Arrillaga reached out to José de Cristo with a much more elaborate tone. “Having confirmed with His Excellency Lord Viceroy in the decree of last 23rd of February with the extended consideration of this captaincy’s auditor Don Jose Antonio de Cristo y Conde, in the

⁴⁷⁵ Peralta and Arrillaga, “Notarized Introduction to Testimony of the Criminal Case.”

⁴⁷⁶ Peralta, Guerro, and Lascano, “Proceedings of the Aurelio Tribunal.”

criminal case of Aurelio... [etc.]... I submit again a copy of the proceedings that he, as a delegate of His Lord Excellency will be able to dispel his punctual completion.” Here in one page-long baroque sentence was Arrillaga as his most Enlightened and bureaucratic as opposed to the practical and personal tone that he employed amidst fellow Californios who shared his place and identity. Passive-aggressive and polite, Arrillaga urged de Cristo again to hasten a verdict on the issue. The governor used the language of court, not the frontier. While Peralta and Argüello wrote and spoke casually amongst themselves in the local procedures, the dossier bound for Mexico City was made elegantly bureaucratic in its presentation.⁴⁷⁷

After two days of depositions, Peralta wrote his conclusion with an air of formal humility, “having been commanded to prosecute this commission through my esteemed Captain Don Jose Argüello, with my limited ability, due to my small intelligence and lack of instruction in jurisprudence.” Peralta admitted to being unfamiliar with the procedure of the trial and called for a different and higher authority than his own. He declared Aurelio guilty and deserving of the death sentence, but officially left the sentencing to his superiors. Note the difference in tone between the recommendation of the bureaucracy’s judge and the original conclusion of the presidio’s sergeant who confidently asserted the death penalty.⁴⁷⁸

Ramón Lasso de la Vega’s role as Aurelio’s defense was a thankless one, but he argued at full tilt with great eloquence and dramatic flair. He even took the time to contribute his speech in long form to the dossier with his own handwriting that matched his signature’s elegance. He argued that even a neophyte like Aurelio could not have intended to kill such a “tender, defenseless” innocent girl as Maria Guadalupe, “who had no bad thoughts.” In a very long-

⁴⁷⁷ Jose Joaquin de Arrillaga, “Second Letter to Don Jose de Antonio de Cristo y Conde,” March 10, 1807, No 37, 585, Archivo General de la Nacion.

⁴⁷⁸ Luis Peralta, “Conclusion of the Tribunal” (Presidio San Francisco, Alta California, September 13, 1805), No 37, 587, Archivo General de la Nacion.

winded defense, Lasso de la Vega argued that Aurelio's confession should be taken at face value: namely, that the death was accidental. Furthermore, de la Vega argued Aurelio's status as a neophyte, a Native convert, and a gentile, was why he was not as morally developed as was expected of a Spaniard or Creole. In addressing his lies to Maria Romano Sanchez, Lasso argued "he could only, not knowing anything else, give a false [alibi] and flee to the hill, as is the custom of Indians." The defense pled that while he wished that no such attack took place, and he condemned it wholeheartedly, Aurelio should beseech mercy "from the viceroy, voice of the KING [sic] (may heaven prolong his life), and the fatherly love he holds for his neophytes, and hope that he is inclined towards clemency." The unenviable position of the defense put an esteemed and respected member of the company in defense of a confessed rapist and killer. The only argument he could offer was to appeal to the combined religious and scientific disdain that Spain had for Native peoples. Lasso de la Vega's defense was akin to a modern-day insanity plea, but rather than a mental illness, the defense attributed it to Aurelio's race. Through his theatrics, Lasso de la Vega depicted his client as both culturally and biologically disadvantaged. Having established Aurelio as an inferior and "other," in need of patronizing restraint, de la Vega threw him on the mercy of the viceroy.⁴⁷⁹

Deliberation

Joaquín de Arrillaga included his own letter to the viceroy, where he lamented both the trauma inflicted on his community and the difficulty he faced in mitigating the blowback. Behind the elegance he saved for outside the province, he was strikingly direct with the viceroy: "The more I see of this case the more I see what this execrable treason and barbaric cruelty deserves...

⁴⁷⁹ Lasso de la Vega, "Defense of Aurelio at the Tribunal." While his handwriting was elegant, the paper he placed it on was not, and the translation was very difficult.

whose horrible circumstances now have the vindictive public demanding satisfaction: they cannot, nevertheless, dispense it in such issues of gravity as this: the essential formalities [due process] are what makes it [justice] complete, and they must be practiced.” Arrillaga was as disgusted with Aurelio’s crimes as his subordinate soldiers. As an enlightened provincial governor, his drive for bureaucratic procedure reined in his wrath. Arrillaga’s desire for “complete” justice mandated a thoroughly reviewed, viceregal-endorsed verdict. While very much a Californio of the frontier with borderlands concerns forefront in his mind, Governor Arrillaga’s faith in the state’s Enlightenment mission kept him loyal to the metropole far to the south.⁴⁸⁰

Arrillaga included additional information that did not come out in the trial. As a Christian, Aurelio was offered confession by a priest, who attempted to gather more information about Aurelio’s state of mind and intentions regarding the crime: that is, the friar used spiritual guidance as a way to assess Aurelio’s righteous judgement and additionally assess a possible madness, “to see if he was fleeing towards the hill or going directly to the church- if he was, he was conscious of the enormity of his crime and deserves the death penalty for which they’ll make all urgent demands, showing his answers prove his malice.” Despite Arrillaga’s condemnation of Aurelio as a barbarian, it seemed a given to the governor that anyone suffering guilt would seek out a church. Thus, a Native running to the hills or woods did not have the fully developed conscience like Californios. Like other fugitive neophytes did before and after him, Aurelio shirked the mission and fled for the hills directly rejecting the place of Alteño society and identity. Despite his visible distress and his confession, Californios deemed that Aurelio’s indigeneity and his full moral culpability were mutually exclusive. By Arrillaga’s estimation, a

⁴⁸⁰ José Joaquín de Arrillaga, “Letter of Reflection by Joaquín José Arrillaga to José Antonio de Cristo” (Monterey, December 16, 1805), No 37, 586-593, Archivo General de la Nación.

fully-formed or converted Californio would by definition seek the succor of the church if in distress.⁴⁸¹

Furthermore, Arrillaga had the friars examine the additional possibility of “dementia,” to see if the defense’s claims of mental instability or insanity were accurate. He desired to see, “if any [of the friars] attempting [the examinations of conscience] were familiar with demanding clear specifications of figures and symbols, and having knowledge of such concepts, to see whether such clarity was transitory or permanent.” Arrillaga also declared said friars would interview Aurelio’s jailors to better understand his behavior over time. Essentially, Aurelio was given an aptitude test, his behavioral patterns were monitored, and he was put on a suicide watch. In addition to the Enlightened racism driven by biological assessment, Arrillaga’s use of priests to interrogate a suspect was a notable move only imaginable in an absolutist bureaucracy. Ostensibly, a faithful Catholic priest is unable to speak details revealed through the sacrament of Reconciliation because breaking the “seal of Confession” is a violation of canon law. While not explicitly ordered, Arrillaga’s intention to use the Franciscans as agents in a criminal investigation under the guise of spiritual succor suggests a willing expediency to shade over clerical restraints in the ongoing cooperation between Church and Crown.⁴⁸²

Judging Aurelio to be less than rational due to his racial features, Arrillaga evaluated the convict’s faith and mental capacity to be limited. Arrillaga called for the early modern equivalent of psychological exam. True to local conventions, it would be priests conducting the evaluation of character, with regular reports from the soldiers. To conclude his evaluation, Arrillaga referenced morality again: “this will finally show if his processes [consistent behaviors] will surmount to purify his malice, which seems to be perpetual.” In a postscript that followed his

⁴⁸¹ Arrillaga, 593.

⁴⁸² Arrillaga, 593.

governor's report, Presidio Captain Jose Argüello resolved the exams would take place under the supervision of Sergeant Peralta, and implored the auditor to move quickly for the sake of everyone at the Presidio. Local cries for justice were beginning to conflict with colonial jurisprudence as the litigation lumbered towards the capital.⁴⁸³

Meanwhile, Peralta continued the evaluation of Aurelio's mental capacity. In his interview with Ramón Linares, Peralta recorded an episode that took place when Aurelio was being escorted outside the presidio jail. In the middle of speaking to some sailors, Aurelio was struck as if frozen, with no response to outer stimuli for several moments. Other than this instance, Aurelio had seemed a mentally competent adult, apart from a persistent stutter. He had occasionally attempted to hide and escape during walks outside the walls, after which he was not permitted outside the main plaza of the presidio. Peralta's investigations with the presidio soldiers failed to produce any conclusive evidence that Aurelio was, or had been crazy. In discussion, Aurelio had become "The Indian Neophyte who had killed Venancio's girl." For the enlisted men, the case had fully reverted to the familial level of grief and vengeance. The responses to Peralta's sanity questions were brusque and unengaged. When he was questioned, Aurelio maintained the same story again. He insisted had acted on carnal instinct, accidentally killed Guadalupe, and that he held regret for his actions.⁴⁸⁴

Even so, Ramón Lasso de la Vega clung to his defense. Aurelio's ability to intentionally commit murder was an "evident paradox," derived from his Native nature, intention of presenting Guadalupe with gifts, and being "naturally consumed with satiating his carnal

⁴⁸³ Arrillaga, 593.

⁴⁸⁴ Jose Viaden and Ramón Abella, "Notarized Baptismal and Burial Certificates of Guadalupe Galindo" (Presidio San Francisco, Alta California, May 10, 1806), No 37, 600-601, Archivo General de la Nacion; Luis Peralta, "Behavioral Interview Regarding Aurelio With Ramón Linares" (Presidio San Francisco, Alta California, May 10, 1806), No 37, 592, Archivo General de la Nacion; Peralta, "Behavioral Interview With Berreyza," May 11, 1805; Luis Peralta, "Behavioral Interview With Aurelio" (Presidio San Francisco, Alta California, May 10, 1806), No 37, 594, Behavioral Interview With Aurelio.

appetite.” Drawing again on the naturalist Californio sensibility, rather than religious, Lasso de la Vega asserted the need for a medical expert in the case to affirm Aurelio’s simple and carnal nature. Concluding his evaluation with the religious and dutiful half of Californio sensibility by pleading with the authorities of Mexico City to “still [show] the act of piety and charity, but I remain entirely faithful in conforming myself to the disposition of my superiors.” Perhaps this was a way that the retired alferez could separate himself yet again from the loathsomeness of his client whilst still giving him the full effort of a legal defense.⁴⁸⁵

The contribution of Californio clergy continued to be tepid. As Peralta compiled the materials of the case, he included a certificate from the Mission of Santa Clara. The friars Jose Viadez and Ramón Abella confirmed that Guadalupe Galindo was baptized at his mission, and nine years later, she was buried there. The girl’s killer received no judgement or call for punishment from the Franciscans.⁴⁸⁶

Such was the complete folder of documents compiled in San Francisco and passed onto the legal hierarchy of the Auditor in Mexico City. Ultimately, the Viceroy’s staff sided with de la Vega, citing that Aurelio had the “nature of a tributary Indian,” and was “a younger man of less than twenty and five years,” with “the concurring circumstance of Aurelio as a recently-baptized neophyte...and thus without divine protection [guidance]” as mitigating circumstances for a “more moderated punishment.” Furthermore, the testimonies of Maria Santos Gutiérrez and Maria Josefa Sanchez were dismissed as “not having expert instruction and not able to recognize the full signs of rape.” Ultimately, after additional paperwork, Mexico City recommended a treatment of “piety and pity,” with 200 lashes and ten years of labor. There was an additional

⁴⁸⁵ Lasso de la Vega, “Behavioral Interview With Lasso de la Vega.”

⁴⁸⁶ Viaden and Abella, “Notarized Baptismal and Burial Certificates.”

admonition from Mexico that Californios would do well to “separate Indians and Castilians for the benefit of both.”⁴⁸⁷

Conclusion

Guadalupe’s death did not change the trajectory of California. If anything, how little the case impacted Californio society showed how 19th-century Californios’ identity had entrenched itself as being both frontier and Hispanic. The functions of justice were performed locally by regional agents like the soldiers of the local presidio, the forensic and legal experts trained through practical frontier experience and the mission friars familiar with the local Native Ohlones’ customs and languages. The faith and public trust that maintained order and prevented lynching came from the personally forged connections. From the soldiers under Peralta to his Captain Argüello to his commander the governor Arrillaga, there were only four links of command. Compared to the local concerns, connections, experiences and deliberation of Alteños, Mexico City’s bureaucracy, aristocracy, inaction and dismissal were a world away.

After his sentencing, Aurelio disappeared from the historical record. It is easy to speculate that “frontier justice” was administered to Aurelio by a lynch mob of Alteños. Equally possible, he may have fled inland like many other neophytes had in the chaos of earlier revolts, or as an act of personal resistance. Unlike the more renowned court cases in history, the primary focus of the drama was not Aurelio himself. The accusations were fundamentally true and undisputed. he committed the acts for which he stood trial, and he himself confessed to them. Rather, the passion and energy around the trial came from the response of the mainstream society of Californios. Agents of both the Church and the Crown were indicted by these trials, that a

⁴⁸⁷ Ignacio Vicuna and Alontesedro, “Deliberations from the Superior Court.”

neophyte would murder and rape inside the walls meant to protect and uplift him was an indictment that the Hispanic mission in California had failed. While the accused was tried and found guilty, Spanish California itself sat behind him in docks. In the fallout, the uncomfortable sentencing and rehabilitation of the accused became the penance of the province.

There is a monument to Governor Arrillaga in the Monterrey, the colonial capital of Alta California. It reads, “Jose Joaquin de Arrillaga: Known affectionately as ‘Papa’ by his soldiers, companions and friends, he served twice as governor of California under Spanish rule. Upon his death in 1814 he was, at his request, garbed in the Franciscan habit and buried in the mission church.” In his adopted homeland, Arrillaga lived surrounded by indios, mestizos and genizaros. They, like he, were far more culturally Spanish than the Russian and English enemies to the north. At home on the borderlands, his foreign enemies were much closer than the Mexicans in the capital to whom he was ostensibly subordinate. As he ruled over both missionaries and soldiers as a bureaucrat and as a social manager, he proved that what happened in California had much less to do with Mexico City than it did with the connections he could create and maintain with his fellow borderland residents. Success on those borderlands required Arrillaga to play the paradoxical roles of an Enlightened man of bureaucracy and a paternal head of a Christian colony. His whole life’s experiences, up to his grave, were rooted in the borderlands. In life and death, Arrillaga was quintessentially a Californio.⁴⁸⁸

⁴⁸⁸ Barry Swackhamer, “José Joaquin de Arrillaga Burial Historical Marker, Soledad, Monterrey County California,” The Historical Marker Database, March 20, 2013, <https://www.hmdb.org/m.asp?m=64313>.

CONCLUSION

Don But Not Forgotten: Californios' Enduring Identity, Memory, and Place in the United States and Mexico

*"San Xavier del Bac of Kino's days
Arose from desert earth to bless his toil.
It stained the borders of Apache soil
With Martyred blood. It crowned the distant haze
Of Christendom's horizon. Down its ways
Passed padres, penitents, -processions royal
To northward where they perished in the coil
Of wilderness, or fled the desert maze."*

*"Then Garcés came, alone and unafraid,
With heart and soul and service in his hands.
He wandered forth beyond the last dim trail
That Kino knew. He stood where lost winds played
Among the nameless peaks. Down desert strands
Unknown, he trod the course of his Most Holy Grail."*

-Ardis M. Walker, Historian and Biographer of Francisco Garcés⁴⁸⁹

Introduction

The mindset of colonial Spain was well established when the first settlers arrived in Baja California. The Enlightenment had invigorated the bureaucracy and strengthened the new Bourbon monarchy's will to regulate and rule their American subjects. As both soldiers and priests survived increasingly challenging and complex borderlands experiences, this mindset was challenged and forced to adapt. Either as a permanent periphery to the metropole or as an isolated outpost, Californios on the Mission Strip increasingly embraced a socially engineering church with an involved soldier class of peacekeepers to convert and control their neophyte population.

⁴⁸⁹ Ardis M. Walker, *Francisco Garcés: Pioneer Padre of the Tulares* (Visalia: Limited Editions of Visalia Press, 1946), 13. Each of the major sections Walker's work begins with a sonnet, giving the biography of the Franciscan missionary a chorus introduction in the literary framework of a one of Shakespeare's historical dramas and made reference to the apotheosis of Arthurian knighthood with "the Most Holy Grail."

This conclusion reviews the foundational mindset of both Jesuits and Franciscans as they spearheaded the colonization of both Alta and Baja California. It reviews the Enlightened, Universalist mindset that adapted to borderland frontier experiences that shaped Hispanic, Catholic Californios into a borderlands ethnicity. This section further offers a cursory comparison between Alteño and Bajeño Californios after the conquest of Alta California by the United States in 1848. Postwar history in Mexico and the United States perceived Las Californias to be a distinct borderland, and understood that Hispanic peoples of the many races within California held a regional Californio identity.

Finally, this thesis concludes with a reflection on the importance of experience-driven borderlands and the formation of borderlands identities. Ethnogenesis is an ongoing practice, in California and throughout the world. As newcomers interchange experiences and negotiate routines, original borderlands are prompting novel experiences that syncretize novel identities.

Alta and Baja Experiences Compared and Contrasted

One of the main purposes of this paper was to emphasize the experiences and routines held in common between the Alta and Baja Provinces of the California borderlands. It is worth emphasizing again that the secular and sacred “founding fathers” of Alta California were themselves Bajeños before they traveled and settled beyond the Rio Colorado. Here it is worth emphasizing the common experiences.

Alteños and Bajeños were foundationally New Spaniards. Whether by birth, immigration from Europe, or conversion in their Native homelands, Californios were members of the Spanish Empire. Through their common subjugation, Bajeños and Alteños of all races shared the experience of a regulated, absolutist, bureaucratic empire. The military, secular government and

attempted mercantile economy were all decreed to run like mechanized clockwork. The attempt to regiment an objective, material order into the natural world went hand-in-hand with the colonizing and conversion project. Not only was the colonial mission divinely ordained, it was societally engineered by experts with the highest possible pedigrees. Bureaucrats and missionaries both exhorted the workings of the natural world as part of their justification, and part of their arsenal, in categorizing, converting and colonizing the wild borderlands.

The passage of time between the start of settlement in Baja (1697) and Alta (1769) marked a significant change from the open reign of the Jesuit pioneers to the Franciscans regimented into the colonial project under the governor. The exploration and settlement of Baja California began in the twilight of the Habsburg Dynasty. Within the context of Spain's colonies, there was far less intervention from royal authority. Through their comparative autonomy and personal patronage, the Jesuits had some financial support and less oversight under the Habsburgs. The frail and aging dynasty did not have the political will to become involved in the routine affairs of the American borderlands. Furthermore, they lacked the centralized power to implement any such will beyond the collection of taxes. In the words of Western historian Marco Geserick from Northern Arizona University, the European and New World possessions of the Habsburgs could be considered a Holy Roman Empire with Romance languages.⁴⁹⁰

The death of Charles "The Cursed" and the failures in the War of the Spanish Succession ended the loose and semi-feudal Habsburg Spain. In its stead came the rejuvenated Bourbon Dynasty and its Enlightened absolutist bureaucracy. Increasingly secular and increasingly absolutist, the Bourbons exerted their American influence by subordinating the church and invigorating the regulatory bureaucracy. This mindset of Enlightened absolutism was the

⁴⁹⁰ Marco Cabrera Geserick, On the Nature of Spanish-American Borderlands of the Habsburg Era, Interview by author, February 28, 2024.

motivation behind the expulsion of the Jesuits. This resulted in increased spending, increased taxation, and a newly militant expansion on the northern frontier into Alta California.

Despite varying levels of personal confession, all Californios, Jesuits and their Dominican replacements, Franciscans and civilians, were all fundamentally products of the Catholic Church. The role of Catholicism in California is a profound question that will never be completely settled. To paraphrase Georgi Fedotov's assessment of the hierarchical and colonial Church, the Enlightened, Universalist "double faith" of the Californios was the ongoing result of Spanish faithful attempting to rationalize an illogical, tumultuous world. The Church both vindicated colonialism and advocated for Native rights and interests. It was the same Church that educated Francisco Maria Picolo and Bartolomeo de las Casas. While one petitioned for more colonial funding to sponsor pearl harvesting and the other blew the whistle on Spanish abuses of Native subjects, they were both invoking the same Virgin and documenting tribal societies with the same observational lens. When the Crown in Madrid ultimately favored both friars' petitions, state action was justified in the name of the Catholic Church and its defender the King. As state actors and as local citizens, the Church motivated, moderated and aided in the ongoing development of Alta and Baja California.⁴⁹¹

Alta and Baja California at their essence were both borderlands. Compared to the core territories of metropolitan New Spain, the California borderlands were sparsely populated, with limited infrastructure, critically dependent on Native labor and characterized by Native resistance, both through subtle and reactionary methods. Both vulnerable to Native revolts by land and piracy by sea, Alta California was uniquely vulnerable to foreign threat, both from

⁴⁹¹ Autocracies that have vindicated their authority *through* established faith inevitably create a spiritual borderland when their political bounds exceed their ethnic boundaries. While an old history, an excellent demonstration of this is found in Georgii Petrovich Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind* (Belmont: Norland, 1955).

uniformed fleets and from semi-official Russian trappers and British smugglers. To maintain order at home and abroad, both Alta and Baja protected themselves through the implementation of missions and presidios. The state paid for these and neither became financially profitable for years.

In Alta California, the distance from the metropole was so vast that Alteños experienced de facto isolation. Any significant threat would have to be dealt with by Californios on the ground. the Mexican mainland could not send funds, materiel or reinforcements fast enough to matter in a crisis. Whether it was Russian outposts at Fort Ross, a standoff with the British at Nootka or a Revolt at Santa Bárbara or Yuma, Alteños had to remain vigilant, for they always remained on their own.

The mental experiences of Alteño vigilance and isolation combined with the physical experiences of Alta California's geography. At a rapid pace, Alteños developed a Californio identity with experiences specifically rooted in the Alta place of their colonization. The establishment of Spanish roads, ranchos, and farms created a Spanish grid over fundamentally Native terrain. The land was demarcated and enforced by the presidios and their soldiers. These physical experiences in a Hispanic and Native place formed an identity uniquely tied to place. The Alteños' remote experiences gave significance to the colonial achievements they could maintain. The mission's vineyard became the garden of the Lord, cultivated corn became the essence of "the Indian race," and leather-jacket dragoons with Native mistresses became Zorro.

There were some different Californio experiences in Baja. As a periphery to the mainland, Baja California enjoyed a limited connection of support, first through the Audiencia of Guadalajara and then through the viceroy's office in Mexico City. Alta California's isolation provoked experiences and demanded routines that developed an Alteño sense of vigilance. While

physically separated from New Spain via the Sea of Cortés, maritime travel across the Pacific Gulf was manageable, regulated, and safe with the exception of occasional pirates and illicit whaler-smugglers. Thanks to the Port of San Blas and the regular traffic of paquebotes, the Bajeño borderland remained peripherally attached to the mainland at a distance still cohesive. Metropolitan exchange was reliable but slow enough to encourage local sufficiency, particularly in ranching. Those industries that ultimately did become markedly profitable, like the extraction of salt, pearls and gold, developed through trade with the metropolitan across the Sea of Cortés. Despite the logistical problems intrinsic to a borderland, Baja enjoyed a stable colonial situation. The capital, port and presidio of Loreto remained the Bajeño seat of civil, religious, commercial and military administration and activity throughout the entire colonial period. This allowed Bajeños an increased sense of connection and security. In their relationship to the motherland of metropolitan Mexico, Bajeños experienced a provincial, peripheral distance while Alteños experienced a militant, vigilant isolation.

American Memory of the Californio Identity

Californios retained their particular identity rooted in borderlands experience even after Alta California was conquered by the United States and Baja California became a member state of the Mexican Republic. Here, I briefly offer a few indications of United States and Mexican recognition of Californio exceptionalism.

The 1848 Mexican Cession was the legal recognition of the United States' westward expansion that was already underway. The Anglo-American steamroller collided into and supplanted many peoples and ethnicities on its way to the Pacific Coast. The Pueblos were absorbed. Texians happily joined the Southern Kingdom of Cotton while Tejanos were

persecuted or expelled. The horse tribes of the Great Plains were corralled into reservations. The metís were begrudgingly granted second-tier status amongst whites and black freedmen were condemned to wrestle with Jim Crow for another century after the Civil War.

The available methods of resistance or persistence for these peoples were limited. Many case studies argue for local articulation, either through establishing kinship alliances, being an economic utility, or some combination of both. Neither of these, ultimately, resulted in the legal recognition afforded to white, Christian, Anglophone citizens.⁴⁹²

Unique amongst all the ethnicities of the American West, the Californios held a particular standing in the eyes of Anglo-American that afforded them both social and legal recognition beyond the other casualties of Manifest Destiny. Ardis Walker, the self-styled “sage of the Kern River” explained the romance of California whilst also defending the dramatic emotion in his biography of Francisco Garcés: “If this brief story should leave an impression of sentiment not usually associated with historical research, it does so because the good padre was found to be most lovable.” For their rugged, frontier experiences shared with United States westbound pioneers, Anglophone memory admitted the Californios friars and by honorary extension, their devout followers, into the pantheon of the Wild West.⁴⁹³

Because the Anglo-American mindset was so central to Alteño historiography, it is worth an additional moment to compare the missions’ consensus history with a contemporary and quintessential theme of exceptionalist history. The Lost Cause narrative of the antebellum South was championed by defeated Southerners and Northerners apathetic to the aims of the Radical

⁴⁹² Katrina Jagodinsky, *Legal Codes and Talking Trees: Indigenous Women’s Sovereignty in the Sonoran and Puget Sound Borderlands 1854-1946* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016).

⁴⁹³ Walker, *Francisco Garcés: Pioneer Padre of the Tulares*, v–ix. This in no ways suggests that Californios never suffered discrimination, segregation or racial abuse from Anglo-Americans. For deeper Californio prejudice in the US, see Nicole Marie Guidotti-Hernández, *Unspeakable Violence: Remapping U.S. and Mexican National Imaginaries* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011).

Reconstruction and the early Civil Rights movement. The Lost Cause romanticized the racially divided labor of a patriarchal caste system. Public memory and popular culture sensationalized and sanitized the uncomfortable reality of plantation life into a patriotic antebellum narrative.⁴⁹⁴

The triumphant narrative of the mission days was championed by Anglo-Saxon and Hispanic Californians hostile to new waves of immigrants and tribal claims to ancestral territory. Mission consensus romanticized the racially divided labor of a patriarchal caste system. Public memory and popular culture sensationalized and sanitized the uncomfortable reality of neophyte living conditions life into a patriotic Wild Western narrative. The patriarchal and Eurocentric sensibilities of consensus writers were throughout the United States at the turn of the century whether in the South or Southwest.

The ongoing controversy around Confederate monuments has a parallel with the polarity of Junipero Serra's canonization by the Catholic Church in 2015. While emblematic of a Hispanic continuity in America for many Chicanos and Christians, Serra's canonization also represents an endorsement of colonial rule to many other Hispanics and Native Americans.⁴⁹⁵

The Old Missions story and the Lost Cause share a similar argument in the present popular argument over memory. The early 21st century has witnessed the removal or demolition of monuments and the renaming of commemorative references to both Mission and Confederate. The remnants of both the Lost Cause and the triumphalist interpretation of the Alteño Missions

⁴⁹⁴The comparison between The Lost Cause and the California Missions story deserves a fully explored discourse beyond the scope of this historiographical review. However, for a comprehensive state-of-the-field survey and historiography of the Lost Cause, see Gary W. Gallagher and Alan T. Nolan, eds., *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000).

⁴⁹⁵ A similar but less well-known canonization campaign is ongoing for the sainthood of Francisco Eusebio Kino, particularly in the Diocese of Tucson.

remain questions of public memory into the 21st century, despite both narratives being 19th, century celebrations of racial and imperial power.⁴⁹⁶

Mexican Memory of the Californio Identity

The Californios were recognized as distinct in Mexico as well. Germán Madrid y Ormaechea edited the 1864 version of Plancy's 1851 *Histoire Chrétienne de la Californie*—"Translated in Spanish, for Sundays." The text itself was an orthodox rendition of Spanish missionaries in New Spain. It was in his introduction that the translator brought out a novel, fiery perspective: "It seems that in reality, Milton, the bard of the things of Hell, had prophetic intuition of all the things that happen today in California, wherein Mammon the demon of gold brings forth these energetic thoughts [of greed]..." Ormaechea quoted *Paradise Lost* in melodically translated Spanish, lamenting the secular fate of Anglo-occupied Alta California. First through the Gold Rush and second through the Civil War, the United States first invaded, and then corrupted California from the straight and narrow: "It seems to us, when such moribund avarice presents us with a crucifix of silver, that when we take it in our fallen hand, we ask what value such a metal should have. Our daily experiences of the universal necessities of life and of public thought offers us support. Those same [experiences] highlight the bloody seditions of capitalists, mortal havoc of cholera, and the painted seductresses that are to be found in the New El Dorado that they call California."⁴⁹⁷

⁴⁹⁶For a reckoning between Southern American identity and the ongoing disintegration of the Lost Cause, see auto-ethnography Ty Seidule, *Robert E. Lee and Me: A Southerner's Reckoning with the Myth of the Lost Cause* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2020).

⁴⁹⁷ Germán Madrid y Ormaechea, *Historia Cristiana de La California Obra Traducida al Español Para El Domingo* (Mexico City: Impenta de Pedro Murguía, 1864), 5–6.

Both Hispanic and Catholic, Ormaechea was anti-Anglo-American. In his eyes, the catastrophe of the Mexican-American War finalized the secularization of the Missions, and introduced sexuality and unimpeded greed to Hispanic Alta California. The rapid debauchery of Anglophone California all enraged him to his core. To show the depth of his disgust, the conservative appealed to visceral intuition. The gringos' lifestyle disgusted him to the same degree that his established traditions sustained him. Essentially, the Yankees were everything opposed to the routine of his day-to-day righteous living, his established experiences. Furthermore, he was not alone: he shared these pious experiences with the Californios that had been ousted by the impious invaders. "For those righteous of spirit and well-born hearts, there is an ineffable attraction towards the story- with lots of variety, of course- of those pilgrim Christians who risked their lives to all dangers only for the sake of God's love and for the salvation of the masses [of Native Californians]." The declaration was clear. Californios were a people set apart by virtue of their experience.⁴⁹⁸

Californios had experiences far removed from those of mainland Mexico. Catholicism, ruggedness, patronage over Native subjects and isolation in a hostile frontier were all transformed by the borderlands. Their remoteness was a pilgrimage, their colony was a monastery and their sanctifying experiences were unique to the California borderlands.

For better or for worse, no Californio stands taller in Mexican memory than Saint Junípero Serra. While his monuments and canonization were controversial in the United States, he received a unique honor among United States figures in Mexico. On Tepeyac Hill, the home of Our Lady of Guadalupe, a statue was erected on the slope directly behind the 19th-century Guadalupan chapel. Serra stands at the foot of the footpath that leads to the peak of the Basilica

⁴⁹⁸ Madrid y Ormaechea, 6.

complex. In the statue's arms is a small replica of an adobe church. In Christian iconography, a figure holding a church in their arms represents a foundational figure who broke ground in a specific region. The message is clear in Serra's statue on Tepeyac Hill. Alta California may be a US state, but it was built by a Mexican priest.



This statue of Junípero Serra stands near the heights of Tepeyac hill, not far from the original shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe. Note the simple cross and tonsure that leaves the figure vague and simple, almost like a subject of social realist hero of muralism. However, the twin symmetric towers with a crowning arch in the middle is detailed and uniquely indicates Mission Santa Barbara. The only mission to continually operate as a Franciscan Mission, it was doubly symbolic as Serra's final planned mission.⁴⁹⁹

In historiography and memory, Serra stands larger than life not because he was necessarily was, but because all the Mexican commemoration placed him as an heir and

⁴⁹⁹ Bland, James *Figure 3: Photograph of Junípero Serra Statue in Tepeyac, Mexico City*. August 6, 2023. American Philosophical Society. Photograph by Author for Phillips Collection.

perpetuator of the national project that was born with Guadalupe in Mexico City, a project that he personally brought to the soon-to-be Californios on the edge of Mexican Christendom.

Conclusion

The Spanish Universalist, Enlightened and mixed-race ethnogenesis of Alteños and Bajeños explained the identity of the most important borderlands in the North American West. The emergence of the Californio identity demonstrated the limits of Spanish imperial ambition and debunked the United States claims of frontier exceptionalism. Simultaneously, the study of borderlands as a sharing and negotiation of experiences has the potential to be a useful category analysis, both in historical research and in making sense of the mountingy complicated 21st-century.

As long as individuals can articulate and adapt within their shared society, economy and geographic place, new borderlands and experiences and will always be a part of the human condition. Over time, only regular and repeated experiences can create an identity. These experiences have greater impact than the sum of commonly examined contributed factors. Race does not, on its own, make an identity. Obviously, racial categories impact individual and social experiences, but race is interpreted differently over time and space. Religion does not, on its own, make an identity. Faith and its actions are informed and modified by minute, particular circumstances influenced by an individual's rank in society, material conditions and geographical place. Place does not, on its own, make an identity. The very concept of the borderlands suggest that locations and boundaries change over time from insular to borderland to metropole. Material conditions do not, on their own, make an identity. Sociologists from Plato to Gramsci to Taussig have dispelled material determinism. Race, religion, physical place, and

material conditions all greatly impact the human condition, but they are not identities in and of themselves. Rather, they are factors that inform.⁵⁰⁰

The Experiences in response to these factors build a common identity in a common place through commonly shared experiences repeated in a common routine. Through complimentary labor, an established hierarchy, trade, lawfare, worship, ways of knowing and even violent force, neighboring strangers negotiate a mutually understood world of experiences.

The acceleration of the digital frontier and global migration has created more borderlands in the last decades than were seen in many centuries. As more and more people from cultures farther and farther apart attempt to work together, it is increasingly important to understand the creation of shared experiences that make strangers recognize each other.

⁵⁰⁰ For a religious-based factor in the articulated creation of identity in Latin America and Native America respectively, see D. A. Brading, *Mexican Phoenix: Our Lady of Guadalupe: Image and Tradition across Five Centuries* (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Ramón A. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846* (Stanford: University Press, 1991). For a place-based factor in the articulated creation of identity, see Keith H. Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language among the Western Apache* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996); Amara Solari, *Maya Ideologies of the Sacred: The Transfiguration of Space in Colonial Yucatan* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2013). For a material-based factor in the articulated creation of identity in Latin America and Native America respectively, see Michael T. Taussig, *The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980); Jennifer Nez Denetdale, *Reclaiming Diné History: The Legacies of Navajo Chief Manuelito and Juanita* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2007). For a race-based factor in the articulated creation of identity, see Gary Taylor, *Buying Whiteness: Race, Culture, and Identity from Columbus to Hip Hop* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

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- . *Figure 1: Photograph of Elder Grapevine in Mission San Gabriel*. July 29, 2023. American Philosophical Society. Photograph by Author for Phillips Collection.
- . *Figure 2: Photograph of Elder Grapevine in Mission San Gabriel*. July 29, 2023. American Philosophical Society. Photograph by Author for Phillips Collection.
- . *Figure 3: Photograph of Junípero Serra Statue in Tepeyac, Mexico City*. August 6, 2023. American Philosophical Society. Photograph by Author for Phillips Collection.
- . Interview with Alejandro Telechea Cienfuegos on the Development of Baja California, June 17, 2023.
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