

MAINS'L HAUL

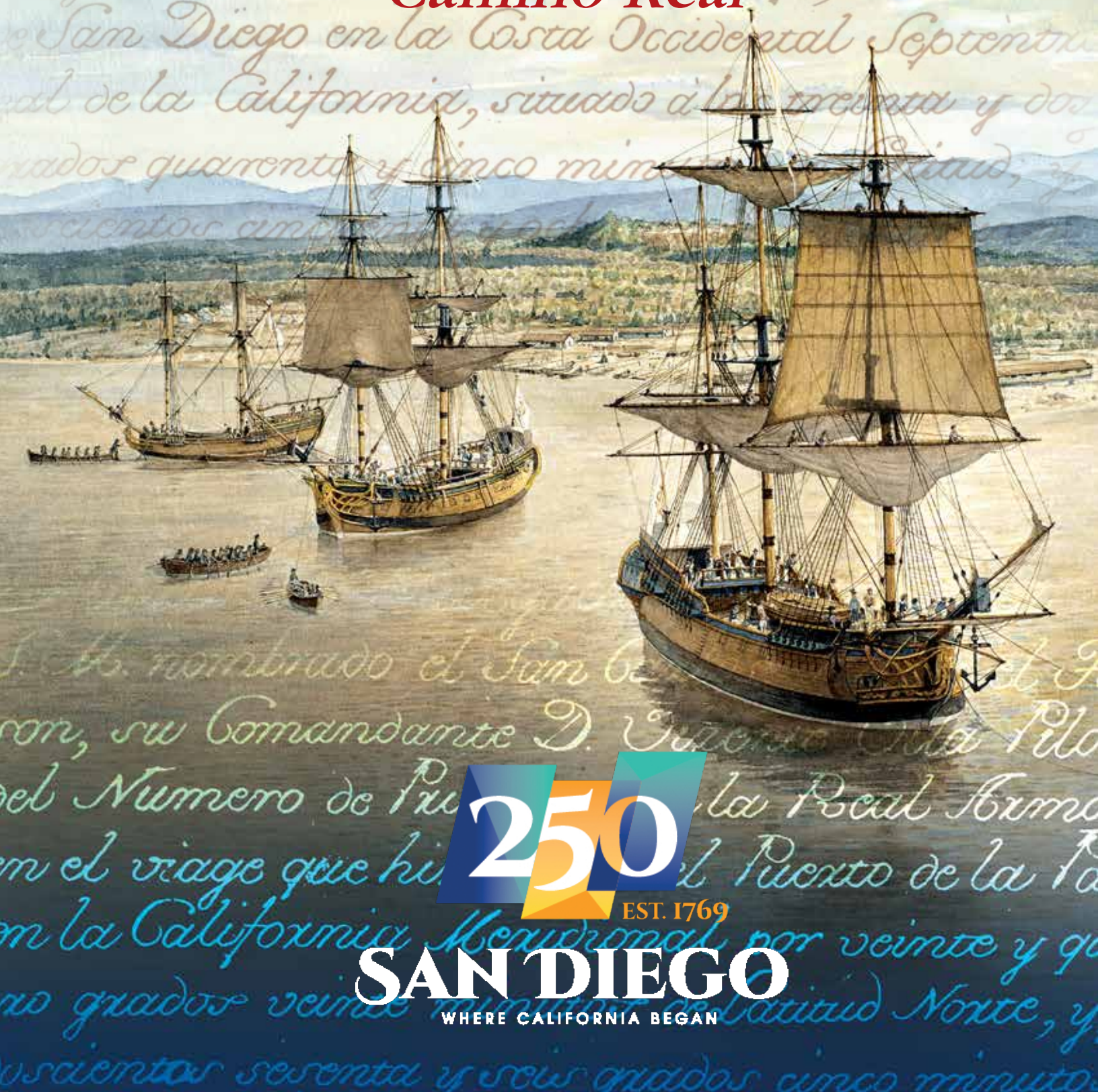
MARITIME MUSEUM of SAN DIEGO

Vol. 54: 1-4 Winter/Spring/Summer/Fall 2018

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A Journal of Pacific Maritime History

California's Maritime *Camino Real*



250
EST. 1769

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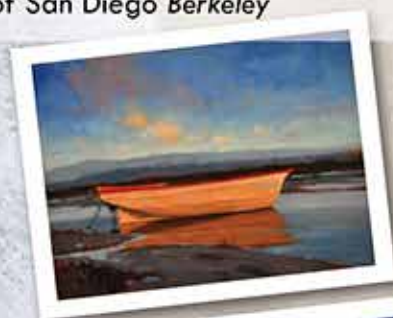
Painting the essence of San Diego, whose
very identity is uniquely defined by the sea

Compass Gallery

Front Cover: San Carlos, Sonora II
and Santiago leaving San Blas,
March 19, 1775. Artist Gordon Miller.



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MAINSAIL HAUL—An order in tacking
ship bidding, "Swing the main yards."

MARITIME MUSEUM of SAN DIEGO MAINS'L HAUL

Vol. 54: 1-4
Winter/Spring/Summer/Fall 2018

A Journal of Pacific Maritime History

Maritime Camino Real



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Most of us have come to our understanding of what *El Camino Real* was in driving California's scenic costal highway and counting the endless succession of bells along the roadside. As intended, they evoke visions of an earlier California in which the missions, presidios, and ports were linked by a more sedate highway following an identical route, where instead of autos and trucks, everything moved up and down the coast in similar but slower fashion by foot, horse, and oxcart. Of course, that *El Camino Real* has never existed, except in our imaginations.

There *was* a highway for transport and communication however. It existed long before the Spaniards ever arrived and it persists still. It's just that you can't drive a car along it.

FROM THE HELM

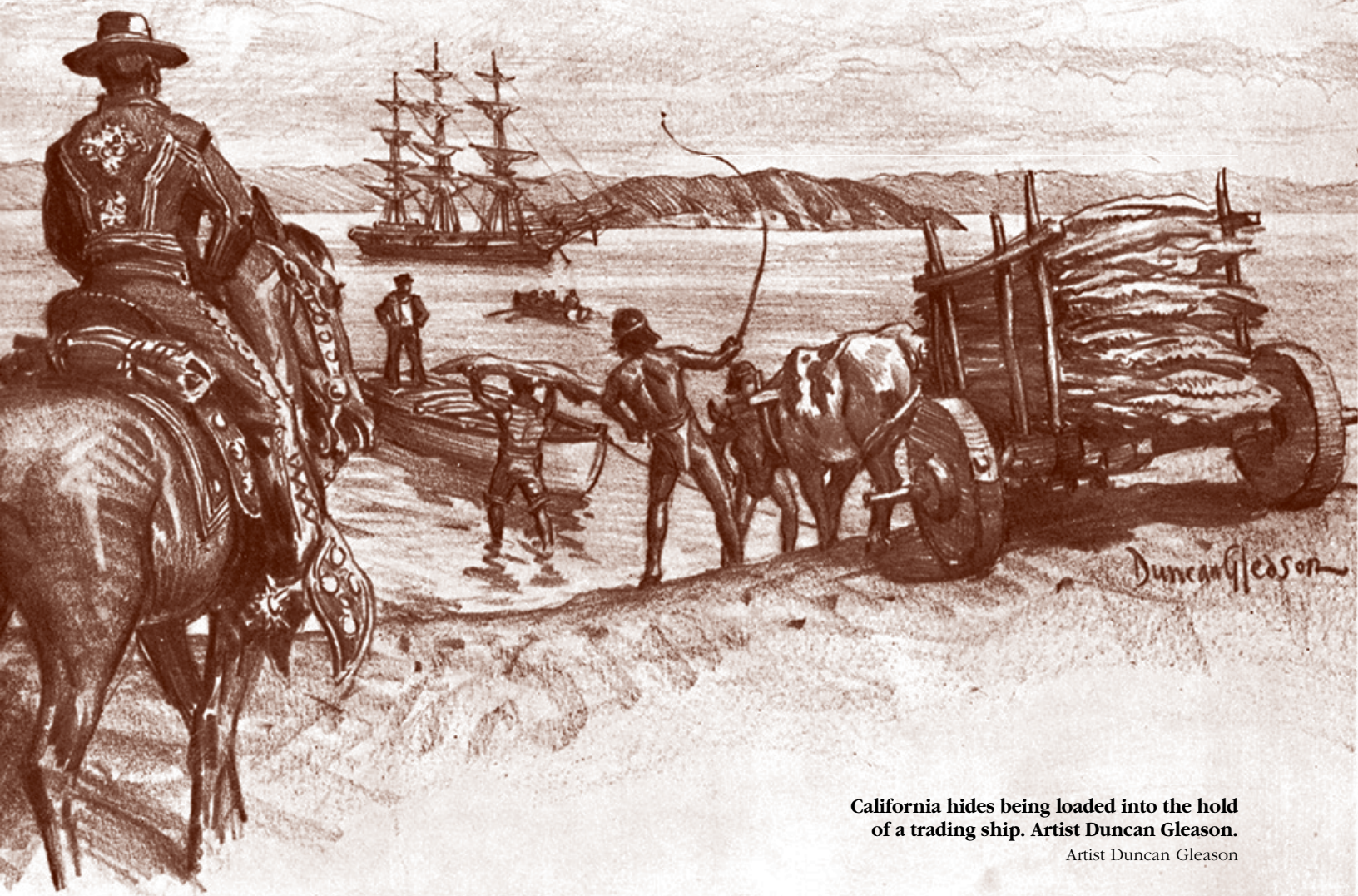
By Ray Ashley, Ph.D., K.C.I.

President/CEO
Maritime Museum of San Diego

If you want to see where the *Camino Real* actually was, look out to sea. Almost everything that had to move a significant distance up and down the coast moved by sea.

It's easy to see why. Let's examine the *Camino Real*

simply as an artery for economic throughput. In our analysis, bearers and oxcarts become the primary means of conveying cargo. Our common unit of measuring the capacity and efficiency of



California hides being loaded into the hold of a trading ship. Artist Duncan Gleason.

Artist Duncan Gleason

moving this cargo is arrived at by multiplying the number of tons able to be moved by the distance travelled in nautical miles in one day. This gives us a common unit of analysis to gauge the delivery capacity of the pipeline. A healthy and ambitious bearer might manage half-a-ton-mile per day. A cart pulled by a single powerful ox with one driver is a far more efficient delivery platform with a capacity of eighteen-ton-miles per day. That is about where an overland road in eighteenth-century California maxes out.

In contrast, using our same unit of measurement, sailing vessels produce a far more economic method of transportation. For example, a moderately sized sailing vessel of 200 tons burden with a crew of thirty (about the size of the *San Salvador*) was capable of 670 ton-miles per man each day. This is roughly thirty-seven times the efficiency of the hypothetical oxcart and 1,340 times the capability of a strong person carrying a load. Because of prevailing winds, the sailing ship average did tend to change to about half the capacity sailing northbound but rose to about 1,000 ton-miles per man each day when southbound (assuming equal numbers of voyages each way, the average comes out at 670 units). Larger ships were relatively more efficient and smaller vessels less so, but technological evolution over time does not seem to alter these factors much until well into the nineteenth century.

What these numbers suggest is that the missions and presidios were not stopping points along a land route, but nodes for collection or distribution of materials, commodities, people, and information delivered mostly by sea. They were annexes and appendages to ports. Thus, it should be no surprise that the event we often celebrate as the “founding” of San Diego in the form of a religious ceremony on the site of a future mission shortly after Europeans arrived, actually took place weeks after the establishment of San Diego as modern California’s

first seaport with the arrival of the packet ship *San Antonio* on April 11, 1769.

Moreover, as you will read in these pages, the seaborne networks of transportation and communication that linked the emerging nodal system of European settlement was simply the continuation of an *existing system* utilized by the indigenous peoples of California for hundreds and even thousands of years prior to the arrival

of European settlers.

The conveyances in this case were a spectrum of highly specialized and sophisticated watercraft that, despite being propelled by paddles rather than sail or oar, were vastly more efficient than anything which could move by land.

**If you want to see where
the *Camino Real* actually
was, look out to sea.
Almost everything that
had to move a significant
distance up and down the
coast moved by sea.**

Furthermore, as is clearly argued in this journal, the pre-existing indigenous maritime culture and technology may well have contributed to the survival of the eighteenth-century Spanish expeditions. Had indigenous first impressions of Europeans not been of their sailing ships, with a perceived difference in relative power due to technical prowess, Serra and Portolá might not have received the benign welcome afforded them. Seafaring peoples, it is argued, constantly regard ships, whether their own or others, with critical eyes. The indigenous seafaring peoples of California were certainly more than competent to make such assessments about European maritime technology and capabilities and communicate their impressions far and wide.

So to come back to the experience of our drive along California’s US 101, if the *El Camino Real* that runs beside the sea reminds us that we are as dependent on the sea as ever, it becomes a window to discovery. If it also reminds us that the blue economy is not something we just invented, propelling us into the future by virtue of our own recent accomplishments, but that it has been there for thousands of years, then it also enfolds us within a rich narrative that is more a story than a highway.

1769-2019: The 250th Anniversary

San Diego: Marking 250 and Beyond

Kevin L. Faulconer
Mayor

As we mark a tremendous milestone in our city's history, I am reminded of the defining themes of our region as the first port and the first city of our great state. It is the waters of our bays and beaches that we still enjoy today that originally provided sustenance for San Diego's native inhabitants, attracted the first European explorers, and marked the beginning of what would become America's Finest City.

From those humble beginnings, a small city with lofty ambitions emerged. Working together, a city of roughly 30,000 people hosted the 1915 Panama-California Exposition that drew more than three million visitors from across the globe – making San Diego a world-famous tourist destination. Soon San Diego became a bustling military town and helped change the course of history when more than 30,000 pilots trained at the new Naval Air Station before heading to World War II, starting a rich military tradition that continues to this day. In the 1950s, city leaders and UC San Diego created along the coast one of the country's leading research institutions and launched what became a thriving innovation economy that is the envy of the world. Those are some of the moments that shaped the San Diego we know today – a beautiful, thriving metropolis that leads the world.

Not only has our climate and environment defined our past, it shapes our future. Every day our waterfront draws new individuals and inspires all of us to ignite the excellent academic, maritime and biotech sectors that drive our city forward.

Our city has accomplished so much in its first two-and-a-half centuries and now we're moving forward with the next 250 years. This year we'll celebrate our culture, heritage and diversity – and continue building a better future for all. San Diego has and always will be a city of opportunity.

San Diego, California, and the Ocean Economy

Toni Atkins
President pro Tempore. California State Senate.

District 39 Representative (*including San Diego, Coronado, Del Mar and Solana Beach*)

California is the fifth largest economy in the world, and San Diego is one of the key engines driving the explosive growth of our state. San Diego is a hub of innovation, and much of that innovation is directly related to this region's relationship to the sea and the history and evolution of the maritime economy.

The genesis of the "California" that we know today is directly related to those maritime technological innovations hundreds of years ago that facilitated relatively rapid, long-distance oceanic travel. Wind-powered ships made it possible first to access and map the coastal lands of our Pacific region and ultimately to create a thriving commerce between peoples living hundreds of miles apart.

Today, San Diego is home to a maritime industry that includes approximately 1,500 companies employing tens of thousands of residents and generating billions of dollars annually. While the maritime industry continues to incorporate what we might describe as traditional maritime endeavors here – including commercial fishing, ship building and repair, and construction related to port development and enhancement – the San Diego maritime sector exhibits both tremendous differentiation and innovation.

Among the sub-sectors of San Diego's maritime industry, we now can include biomedicine, desalination and water treatment, ocean energy and minerals initiatives, ocean science and observation, robotics and climate science.

The Navy's innovation in underwater robotics and vehicles has driven the growth of a sector that has developed a variety of underwater vehicles. Since the original patenting of desalination and reverse-osmosis technology by San Diegans in the 1960s, our region has become a leader in the development of these technologies. San Diego is currently the largest ocean-technologies innovation cluster in the United States.

And San Diego is a contributor to a California ocean economy that employs nearly 500,000 people, generates close to \$700 billion in wages and represents 12 percent of California's gross domestic product. While the terrestrial *Camino Real* of the

continued



of the Founding of San Diego



18th century has been effaced by the tremendous growth in population and commerce along the whole of California, the maritime *Camino Real* – that oceanic “highway” responsible for much of California’s growth and development – is, if anything, even more visible today by virtue of the trade, tourism, transportation and innovation that it facilitates. The maritime *Camino Real* connects San Diego to the world today no less than it did hundreds of years ago.

The Port of San Diego: Gateway to the World

Rafael Castellanos

Commissioner, Board of Port Commissioners

While the Port of San Diego is now in its sixth decade of service, people have launched watercraft on the waters of San Diego Bay for millennia. The Kumeyaay fished here and collected shells that were used as trade goods. When, in 1542, Cabrillo laid anchor off the shores of what is today Point Loma, and made the first contact with the Kumeyaay, neither group could have imagined that 227 years hence Spaniards arriving by land and sea would develop the first European settlement here, a settlement that ultimately would become the City of San Diego, the place where California, and America’s Pacific presence, were born.

This year we are recognizing and celebrating our City’s 250th birthday. In reflecting on this anniversary, and the tremendous growth we have witnessed in this region, I am moved to highlight the unparalleled role that the maritime enterprise has played in this genesis. While all schoolchildren in California learn about the Spanish colonization of California as a function of the development of *El Camino Real* – the Royal Road – and the creation of the mission system along that pathway, historians know that the development of the maritime *Camino Real* was of equal or greater importance. This oceanic pathway from “New Spain” – today, Mexico – supported the mission settlements before they could become self-sustaining, and promoted Spanish coastal exploration and trade in the eighteenth century well north of Vancouver.

By the 1850s San Diego enjoyed regular steamship service with San Francisco and points in between, and service from Panama twice a month. One might say that the maritime *Camino Real* had become routinized. In the early twentieth century San Diego boomed as the bay witnessed the rise of a major commercial fishing industry and the development of America’s Pacific Naval presence.

Today, we describe the Port as the place where San Diego greets the world. As one of the most thriving ports in the United States, the Port of San Diego serves both to regulate and promote that complex of maritime enterprises that are doing much to support this region’s economic growth and development, with an eye to sustainability and environmental stewardship. The Port of San Diego’s robust shipbuilding, cruise, and cargo businesses have long established the port as an economic champion and catalyst in the San Diego region, and the port continues to play a role in the development of new enterprises and initiatives that will support our region’s growth and economic development for many years to come.

San Diego Bay has been this region’s pathway to the world for hundreds of years. It is my hope that, with continued stewardship and an eye to nurturing our oceanic resources for the long-term, the next 250 years will find our region continuing to play a leading role both in the international maritime economy and in the oceanographic sciences.

The San Diego Region and its Ocean Connections

Greg Cox

County of San Diego Supervisor

As the Supervisor representing the First District in the County of San Diego, which encompasses all the communities around San Diego Bay, it is impossible to ignore the importance of our region’s rich maritime history as we observe San Diego’s 250th anniversary. For over two centuries, San Diego has held a unique relationship with the sea. San Diego’s climate, ocean and our beaches and bays allow our region to play a vital role as a hub for our nation’s academic, maritime, and biotech sectors.

What started as the first mission settlement in Alta California quickly grew as an oceanic gateway to the Pacific, promoting commerce and travel across the globe. Today, San Diego’s Blue Economy is responsible for thousands of local jobs and billions of dollars in annual revenue. From aquafarming and oceanography, to robotics and our Naval defense industries, San Diego’s diverse waterfront holds the same strategic significance, potential for opportunity, and unique splendor as it did 250 years ago.

Star Sail 2018

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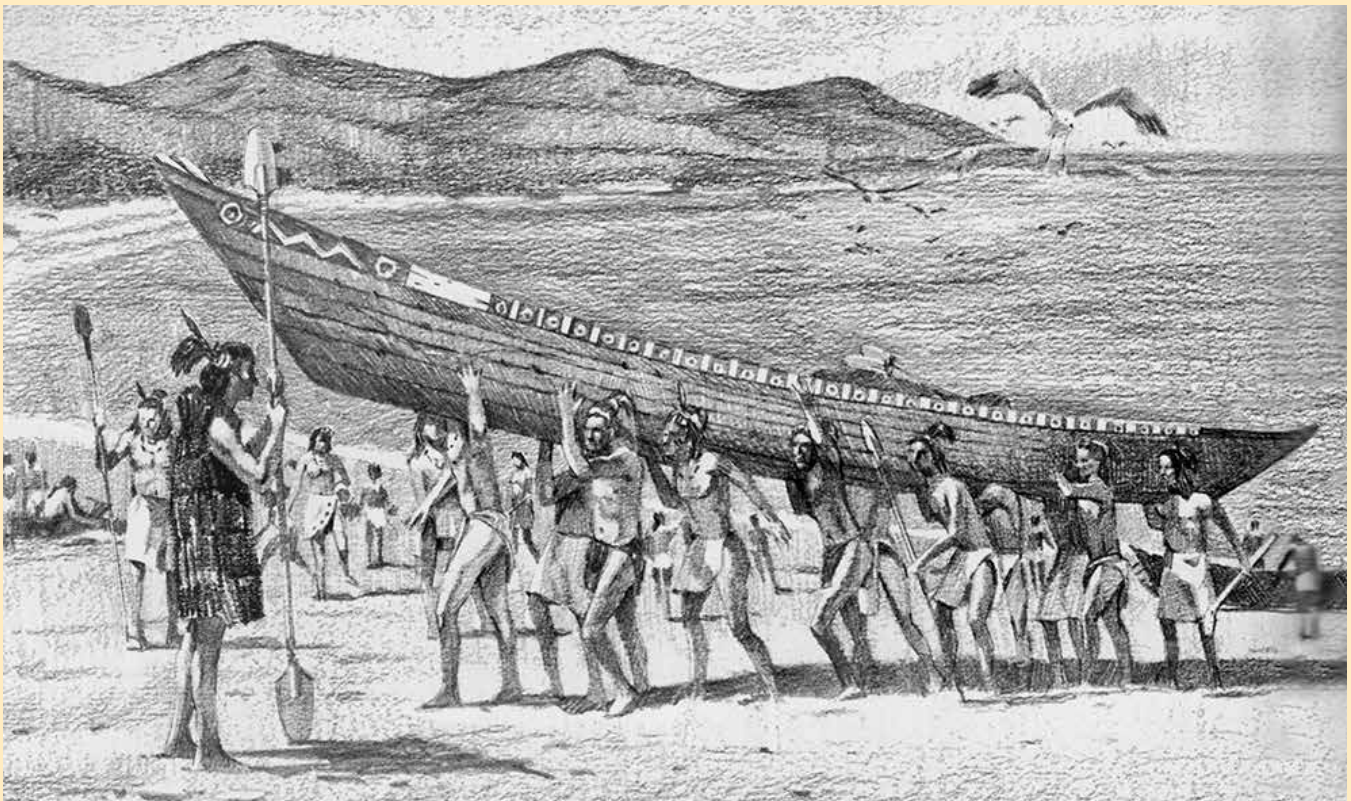
California's First Highways: 12,000 Years of Maritime Exchange in Southern California

Mikael Fauvelle

With one of the largest economies in the world, modern California is an undisputed center for trade and innovation in North America. The region's reputation as an economic powerhouse, however, has a history that extends far beyond its incorporation as the thirty-first state in the United States, or its colonization under the Spanish mission system. For thousands of years prior to the Spanish occupation, the islands and coasts of Southern California were home to one of the most intensive exchange systems north of Mesoamerica. Millions

of shell beads and thousands of laboriously crafted soapstone bowls were made by specialized artisans on California's Channel Islands and transported via innovative watercraft to the mainland coast (Arnold 1995; Gamble 2002). From there, goods produced

Prior to European contact, the peoples of the California coast developed complex and efficient methods to access maritime resources and facilitate coastal communication and trade. The Chumash *Tomol* and Tongva *Ti'at* and their associated cultural phenomena became the pinnacle of this achievement. The Pourade Collection, Archive of the Maritime Museum of San Diego.



Mikael Fauvelle is an anthropological archaeologist whose research focuses on the role that regional and long-distance connections played in the development of complex political systems. He examines this subject on two levels, studying both hunter-gatherer societies from pre-colonial California as well as archaic states in Mesoamerica. In California, Fauvelle has focused on exchange systems in the Santa Barbara channel region, examining the role played by trade in plant, shell, and mineral resources on the development of coastal chiefdoms. He has argued that California and adjacent areas of North America were connected through intensive trade networks that played important roles in the area's historical development. Recently, he has been interested in the role of prestige exchange and feasting in promoting the formation of robust maritime trade networks among California's Channel Islands. In Mesoamerica, Fauvelle has worked on projects in Guatemala, Belize, and Mexico. Since 2015 he has been the director of investigations at the site of Fracción Mujular, located on the pacific coast of Mexico in the state of Chiapas. At Fracción Mujular, Fauvelle is studying how coastal trade routes shifted following the collapse of the ancient center of Teotihuacan in Central Mexico. Fauvelle has published his work in journals such as *American Anthropologist*, *American Antiquity*, and the *Journal of Archaeological Science*.

on California's islands were exchanged over great distances, reaching as far as the modern states of Utah and New Mexico (Bennyhoff and Hughes 1987; Smith and Fauvelle 2015). After about 500 C.E., Californian shell beads from the Channel Islands formed a medium of exchange throughout much of this region, cementing the islands' importance in macro-regional economic systems (Bettinger 2015; Smith and Fauvelle 2015; Smith 2002). In order to carry goods to distant markets, Native American traders traveled along well-worn trade routes. Many of these formed the basis for later Spanish trails and modern interstate highways (Earle 2005; Zappia 2014). Tracing the rich history of exchange across California's early waterways can thus inform us about the entire span of the region's past, from its earliest settlers to its more recent history.

When the first people arrived in what is today known as California, it is likely they were already skilled at exploiting maritime environments. Following the discovery of Terminal Pleistocene (circa 14,500 BP) archaeological sites at Paisley Caves in Oregon (Jenkins, et al. 2012), and Monte Verde in Chile (Dillehay, et al. 2008), it is increasingly apparent that some of America's earliest explorers followed a coastal route into the continent. Supporting this model, Erlandson and colleagues (2007) have argued that similarities in marine resources

found in near-shore ecosystems across the Pacific Rim would have provided a "kelp highway" facilitating the movement of maritime-adapted peoples up and down the Pacific Coast. California would have been integral

In order to carry goods to distant markets, Native American traders traveled along well-worn trade routes. Many of these formed the basis for later Spanish trails and modern interstate highways.

to this coastal migration route, and numerous early coastal sites have been found in the state. Human remains from Arlington Springs on Santa Rosa Island date to around 13,000 years ago (Johnson, et al. 2002), while many other Early Holocene (post 12,000 BP) sites can be found on the northern Channel Islands

(Erlandson, et al. 2008). Further south, archaeological deposits on Isla Cedros in Baja California have also been dated to 12,000 years ago (Des Lauriers 2006; Des Lauriers 2010). These early Californians practiced maritime-focused subsistence activities such as fishing and shellfish collecting. They also engaged in extensive maritime exchange. Obsidian was imported across the Santa Barbara channel at least 12,000 years ago (Erlandson, et al. 2011), and Early Holocene shell beads found in the Mojave Desert indicate that long-distance shell trade started in the earliest stages of California's occupation (Fitzgerald, et al. 2005). Olivella Grooved Rectangular beads originated on the southern California Channel Islands approximately 5000 years ago and have been found in sites throughout the Great Plains and into central Oregon.

How would ancient Californians have navigated the waterways between the islands and the mainland coast? Since both Santarosae and Isla Cedros would have been separated from the mainland by at least 10,000 years ago (Des Lauriers 2006; Erlandson, et al. 2011), it is clear that the Early Holocene inhabitants of those islands needed some form of reliable watercraft. Unfortunately, relatively little is known about the earliest forms of canoes used to reach the islands.

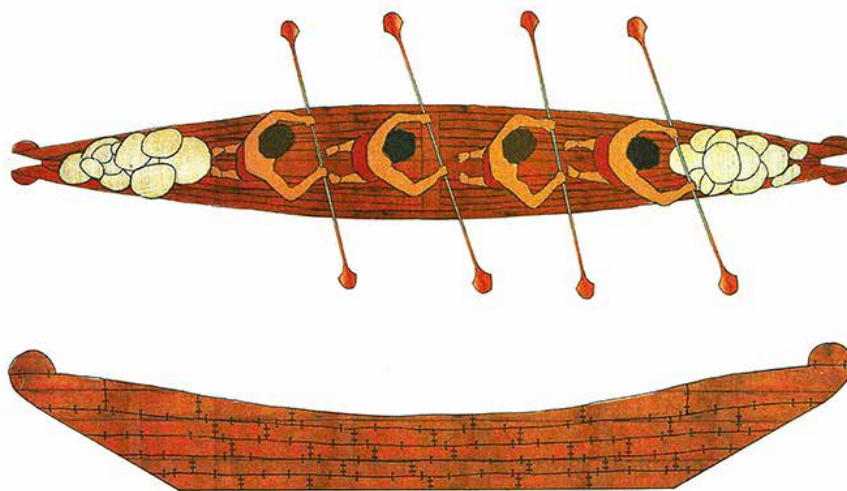
It is likely that early inhabitants would have known how to lash together *tule* balsa craft and make log dugouts, both of which are widely used cross-culturally and were common in historic times (Hudson, et al. 1978). It is also possible that Early Holocene mariners used a form of

composite craft, combining logs, planks, and perhaps *tule* bundles into a single vessel. Evidence of early innovation in watercraft construction has been found at Eel Point on San Clemente Island, where Cassidy and colleagues (2004) have identified flake drills, reamers, wood splitting wedges and sandstone abraders that may have been used to build boats during the Early Holocene. An analog for such composite craft might be the contact period composite boats used on Isla Cedros, which incorporated reed bundle gunwales lashed alongside a worked redwood hull to form a sturdy and seaworthy vessel (Des Lauriers 2005).

Although *tule* balsas, dugout canoes, and the composite craft of Isla Cedros are all seaworthy vessels, none are particularly fast. Speed would have been an important component for cross-channel and inter-island journeys, where travel distances can exceed

30 kilometers in the open ocean. Being able to make such journeys quickly was a major advantage of the plank canoe, one of the most advanced watercraft ever developed in pre-Columbian North America. Called the *Ti'at* by the Tongva and the *Tomol* by the Chumash, the plank canoe was constructed from redwood planks, lashed together with milkweed string and calked with high quality tar mixed with pine pitch (Hudson, et al. 1978). This plank canoe's V-shaped hull was able

to rapidly cut through the waves. With a four-person crew the canoe could easily make the crossing from the mainland to Santa Cruz Island in half a day, greatly facilitating maritime exchange and decreasing the possibility that the crew would be caught in the open ocean during



**Drawing of a Cumash *Tomol* laden with cargo.
Line drawing by Mikael Fauvelle, colorized by Jaymee Ngernwichit.**

adverse weather conditions (Fauvelle 2011). Despite its advantages, however, the plank canoe was costly to construct, both in terms of the raw materials it was built from and the labor time needed for construction. Among the Chumash, the knowledge involved in the construction of the plank canoe was also restricted to the esoteric Brotherhood of the *Tomol*, membership in which was limited to the elite (Hudson, et al. 1978). Increasing use of the plank canoe, therefore, was likely associated with the control of trade and exchange by individuals of high status.

Shell beads were by far the most important pre-Columbian trade items exchanged across California's waterways. Although Californian islanders were producing and exchanging shell beads since the Early Holocene (Fitzgerald, et al. 2005), there was a major increase in shell bead production starting around 900 C.E., likely corresponding to



Above Left: A steatite (soapstone) bowl from Catalina Island. Courtesy of the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History. Photograph by Mikael Fauvelle.



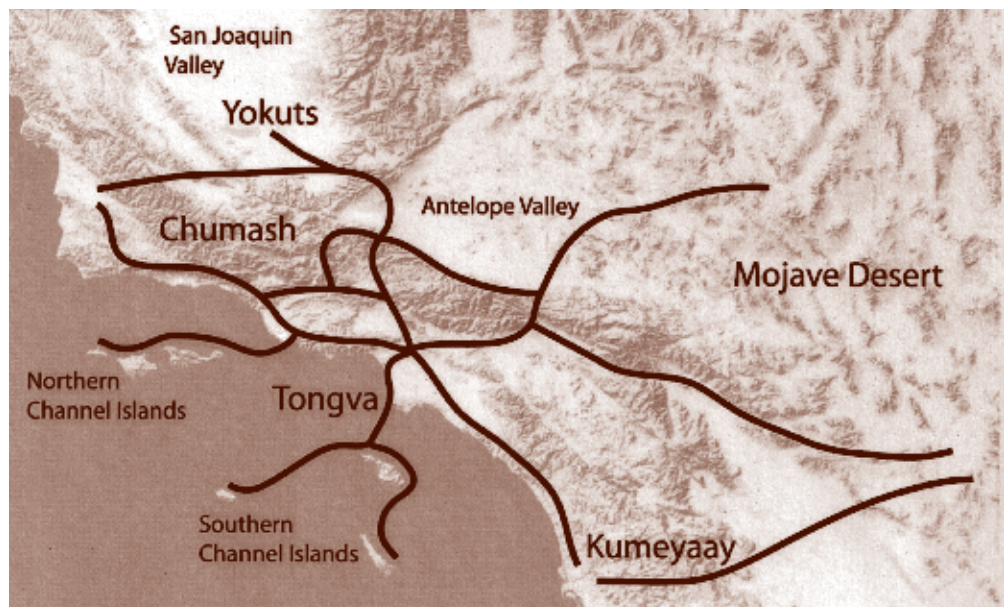
Above Right: Strung Olivella shell beads. Courtesy of the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History. Photograph by Mikael Fauvelle.

the development of the plank canoe (Arnold 2001). Starting around this time, shell workers on the Northern Channel Islands began making thousands of beads from the thick callus portion of the *Olivella biplicata* shell (Arnold 2001). This new form of bead production represented a substantial increase in labor investment over previously common bead forms and was likely carried out by specialized artisans working under the auspices of elite Chumash traders (Arnold and Munns 1994). Millions of such beads were eventually produced and were used as a form of trade currency throughout southern California up until early modern times. As late as the early 1800s, for example, lengths of Olivella shell beads strung into bands were exchangeable with Spanish silver coins at set rates (Gamble 2008). In exchange for shell beads, elite Chumash traders imported numerous goods to the islands, including

bows and arrows, stone tools, ritual objects, hides, bone and antler objects, and plant foods (King 1976). It is possible that the plank canoes themselves may have also been important trade items, as many of the materials needed in their construction are more abundant on mainland shores than on the Channel Islands (Fauvelle 2011; Fauvelle 2014).

On the Southern Channel Islands, steatite (soapstone) objects took the place of shell beads as the most important trade goods

Map depicting the flow of indigenous trade in southern Alta California.



traded across the ocean. Catalina Island has some of the most abundant sources of steatite in Southern California and was the primary source for this material in the Californian archipelago (Chartkoff 1989; Meighan and Johnson 1957; Wlodarski 1979). Items crafted from worked steatite, including stone beads, animal and canoe effigies, cooking griddles known as *comols* and stone cooking bowls were made on Catalina Island and traded to the mainland

coast by at least 3,000 years ago (Eddy 2013). By the time of Spanish contact, steatite objects were being produced in finished form on Catalina Island and traded across the channel to the mainland areas stretching from Santa Barbara to the Mojave Desert (Chartkoff 1989; Meighan and Johnson 1957). During the late period, much of this exchange focused on

steatite bowls, or *ollas*, which were highly prized trade objects throughout Southern California. As with shell beads on the Northern Channel Islands, steatite bowl manufacture was likely conducted by specialized artisans, who worked at the numerous stone quarries on Catalina Island (Meighan and Johnson 1957). These heavy and highly valued vessels were transported in canoes across the channel to the mainland coast and beyond. It is notable that although other steatite sources exist in Southern California, including on the mainland, they were not exploited to nearly the same degree as those on Catalina Island (Eddy 2009; Rosenthal and Williams 1992). Considering the difficulty of transporting large stone bowls across open water, this suggests that Catalina stone bowls were valued not only for their utilitarian role, but also for their place of origin and the skill involved in their manufacture.

After being transported by boat to the mainland, trade goods produced on the Channel Islands entered into a vast and complex exchange network that stretched from the California coast to the Pueblo regions of the American Southwest, and possibly as far as the Mississippi River (Earle 2005; Smith and Fauvelle 2015; Zappia 2014). In Southern

California, principal maritime arteries of trade flowed from the Northern Channel islands to Point Mugu in modern-day Ventura, and from the Southern Channel Islands to the Palos Verdes Peninsula and San Pedro Bay. Mainland trade routes moved goods up and down the coasts, reaching Kumeyaay territories of modern San Diego in the south, and the Chumash lands of Santa Barbara County in the north. Inland Chumash

trade routes moved shell and steatite goods from the coast into the Santa Ynez and Cuyama valleys, and from there to the Yokuts people of the Southern San Joaquin Valley. From the Los Angeles Basin, trade flowed north into the Antelope Valley and from there back and forth across the Tehachapi Pass to Southern Valley Yokuts villages.

Another major route

moved across the Cajon Pass and then followed the Mojave River east towards the Colorado, from which Californian goods entered into the trading systems of the ancient Pueblos of the Southwest. Many of these trading routes were in use for thousands of years and persisted into historic times, establishing the basis for the mountain passes, roads, and highways still in use today (Earle 2005; Zappia 2014).

In exchange for shell beads and steatite from the Channel Islands, interior peoples of the American West traded items such as asphaltum cakes, obsidian tools, ceramic pots, and cotton blankets (Smith and Fauvelle 2015). Much of this trade was conducted by Mojave traders, who organized long-distance expeditions between the Colorado River, Coastal California, and the San Joaquin Valley (Zappia 2014). Numerous eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European travelers recorded encountering Mojave trading parties in the San Joaquin Valley (Frémont 2001 [1886]; Galvin 1967), while eighteenth-century Spanish authorities at Mission San Gabriel attempted to limit the movement of Mojave traders into the Los Angeles Basin (Earle 2005). Southwestern style ceramics likely imported by Mojave traders have been found in archaeological contexts in many areas throughout Southern California (Ruby and

By the time of Spanish contact, steatite objects were being produced in finished form on Catalina Island and traded across the channel to the mainland areas stretching from Santa Barbara to the Mojave Desert.



Map courtesy of the California Geographic Alliance, © 2010

Blackburn 1964; Smith 2002), while imported cotton textiles worn by Chumash chiefs were reported by early Spanish travelers on the Santa Barbara coast (Smith and Fauvelle 2015). The exchange of shell beads for asphaltum cakes between the coastal Chumash and Southern Valley Yokuts persisted into the twentieth century (Latta 1949), while interior obsidian has been traded to the coast since the beginning of the Holocene (Erlandson, et al. 2011).

Evidence for the exchange of goods between the interior and coastal regions of Southern California shows a robust history of trade spanning the entirety of the region's occupation. For the past 12,000 years, the waterways of California have been on the western edge of an exchange network that moved millions of items along well worn trade routes, connecting the economies of peoples living on the islands, coasts, and interior deserts of the state. Californian shell beads, produced on the Channel Islands, were used as a medium of

Native Americans from the Mojave Desert region actively engaged in trade with the peoples of the central California coast. Mojave Indians, by H.B. Mölhausen. From Lieutenant Ameil Weeks Whipple's *Explorations and Surveys for a Railroad Route From the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean... Report of Explorations For A Railway Route, Near the Thirty-Fifth Parallel of North Latitude*. Washington: GPO, 1856.

exchange throughout the American West, while textiles, ceramic pots, and other goods were carried hundreds of kilometers from interior deserts to the coast. The flow of shells originating in California did not stop in the Southwest; over 11,000 *Olivella dama* artifacts from the Gulf of California have been discovered at Spiro Mounds in eastern Oklahoma (Kozuch 2002). Clearly, California was a major player in the trade economy of pre-Hispanic North America. Although the arrival of Spanish missionaries and soldiers in the eighteenth century caused considerable disruption to Californian exchange systems, a number of Native American trade routes continued to be used into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, becoming the basis of many modern roads. The same highways that form the backbone of our modern economy can thus be said to have their origins in the explorations and ingenuity of California's first native traders. Maritime routes along the coast of colonial California were pioneered centuries before by indigenous seafarers and were integral in the pre-contact communication between peoples, the development of technologies and the exchange of highly sought-after commodities.



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The Pacific World and California's Maritime *Camino Real*

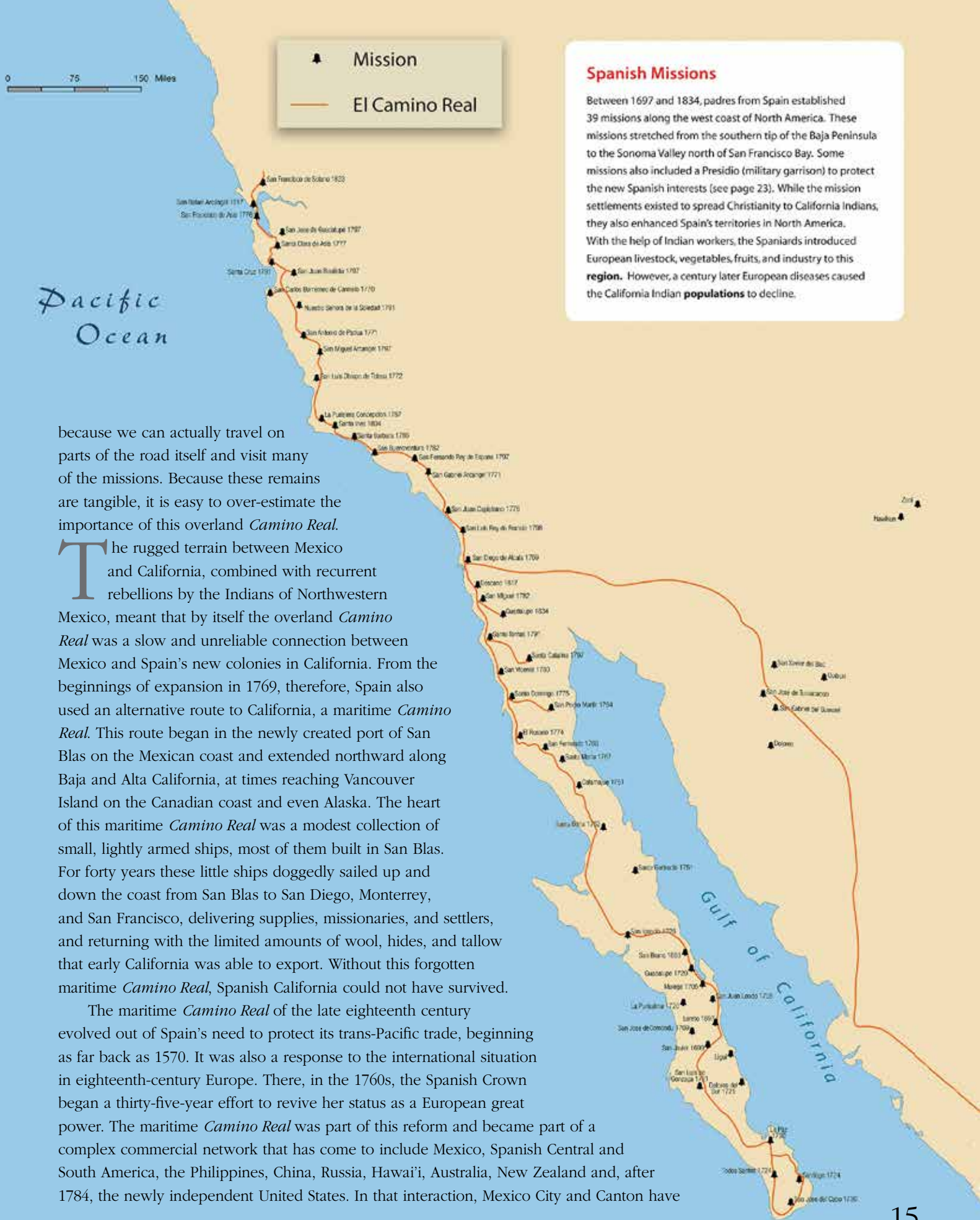
David Ringrose, Professor Emeritus in History, University of California, San Diego

David Ringrose is Professor Emeritus of the University of California, San Diego. He attended Carleton College as an undergraduate, and then went on to the University of Wisconsin, Madison where he earned M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in History and Economic History. After two years in Spain on a Fulbright Fellowship, he became Assistant and then Associate Professor at Rutgers University in New Jersey. In 1974 he was recruited to a position in the History Department at the University of California, San Diego, where he served at various times as Department Chair, Dean, and Provost. He has been the recipient of grants and fellowships from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the American Council of Learned Studies, the Guggenheim Foundation, the American Philosophical Association, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Institute for Advanced Study (Princeton). Since 2006 he is both a docent and a faculty member at the San Diego Maritime Museum, and has been awarded the Robert and Laura Kyle Endowed Chair in Maritime History. He has published a number of books on the history of Spain and more recently a book on global expansion and interaction, 1200-1700.



A rocky path was all that remained of this portion of the *Camino Real* when it was photographed in the mid-1960s by the California historian Harry Crosby. Courtesy Harry Crosby Collection, Special Collections & Archives, University of California, San Diego.

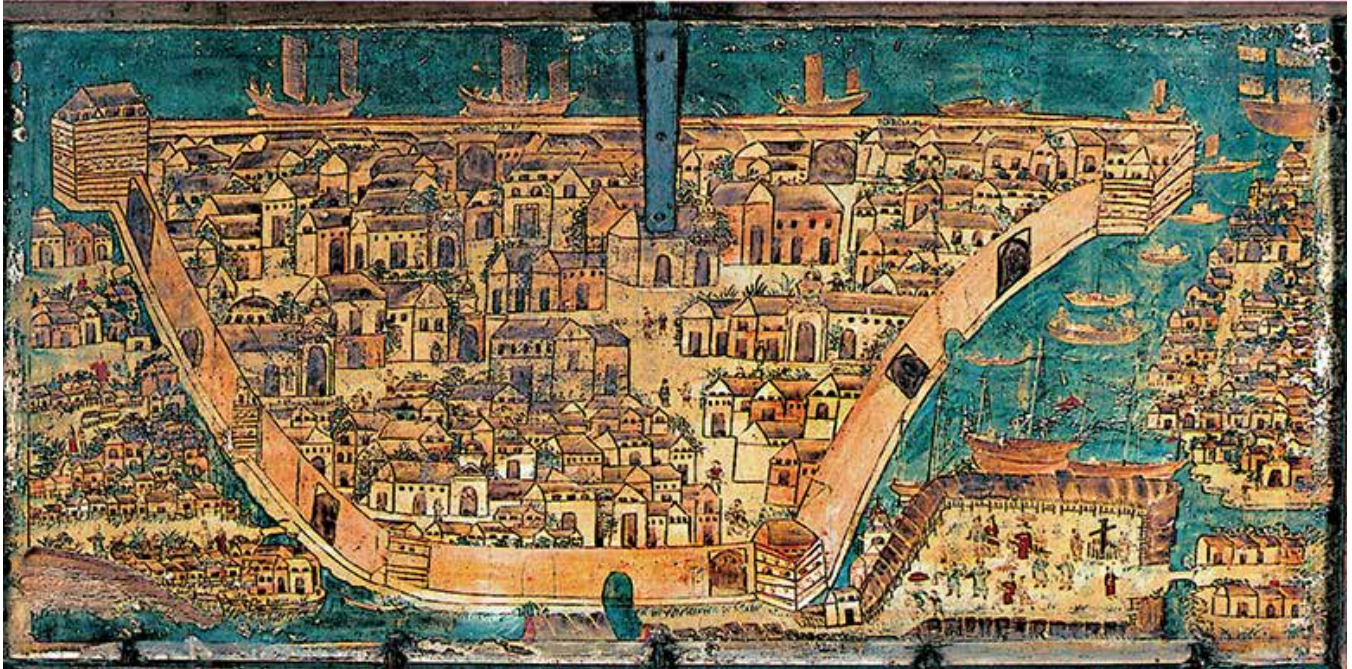
In 1769, as part of a grand project to revive her overseas empire, Spain began to extend her power north along the Pacific Coast of North America. Over the next thirty-five years, Spain created a network of missions, towns, and fortified administrative centers along the Pacific coast of North America. These settlements were linked together by a road that reached from northern Mexico to the northernmost of the new missions around San Francisco Bay. Known as the *Camino Real*, or royal road, this roadway appears to us as the political and economic lifeline of Spain in California. While this is partially true, modern observers exaggerate the significance of the overland *Camino Real*, perhaps



because we can actually travel on parts of the road itself and visit many of the missions. Because these remains are tangible, it is easy to over-estimate the importance of this overland *Camino Real*.

The rugged terrain between Mexico and California, combined with recurrent rebellions by the Indians of Northwestern Mexico, meant that by itself the overland *Camino Real* was a slow and unreliable connection between Mexico and Spain's new colonies in California. From the beginnings of expansion in 1769, therefore, Spain also used an alternative route to California, a maritime *Camino Real*. This route began in the newly created port of San Blas on the Mexican coast and extended northward along Baja and Alta California, at times reaching Vancouver Island on the Canadian coast and even Alaska. The heart of this maritime *Camino Real* was a modest collection of small, lightly armed ships, most of them built in San Blas. For forty years these little ships doggedly sailed up and down the coast from San Blas to San Diego, Monterey, and San Francisco, delivering supplies, missionaries, and settlers, and returning with the limited amounts of wool, hides, and tallow that early California was able to export. Without this forgotten maritime *Camino Real*, Spanish California could not have survived.

The maritime *Camino Real* of the late eighteenth century evolved out of Spain's need to protect its trans-Pacific trade, beginning as far back as 1570. It was also a response to the international situation in eighteenth-century Europe. There, in the 1760s, the Spanish Crown began a thirty-five-year effort to revive her status as a European great power. The maritime *Camino Real* was part of this reform and became part of a complex commercial network that has come to include Mexico, Spanish Central and South America, the Philippines, China, Russia, Hawai'i, Australia, New Zealand and, after 1784, the newly independent United States. In that interaction, Mexico City and Canton have



The Spanish city of Manila – Intramuros – in the middle of the seventeenth century. Museo José Luis Bello y González, Puebla, Mexico.

at times been as important to American history as London and Amsterdam. The modern importance of that Pacific heritage is obvious when we remember that contemporary California is forty percent Hispanic and fifteen percent Asian, and that currently half of all American trade is with China and Mexico.

Antecedents

The evolution of modern California has a background that reaches back centuries and involves the eastern side of the Pacific Ocean. By 1500 Asia had been a source of exotic goods and a magnet for European merchants for centuries. Indeed, the wealthiest and most sophisticated part of the fifteenth-century world was a complex commercial network that encircled the South China Sea, reaching from China to Japan, the Philippines, the East Indies, and Malacca, with its access to the Indian Ocean. Dominated by Malay, Chettiar, Gujerati, and Chinese merchants, the commercial network of the South China Sea dealt in spices from the Southeast Asian Islands, silks and porcelain from China,

Japanese silver, cotton cloth from India, and a variety of foodstuffs. These goods had ready markets in Asia, the Middle East and the Mediterranean. It is important to the story to note that China and India were by far

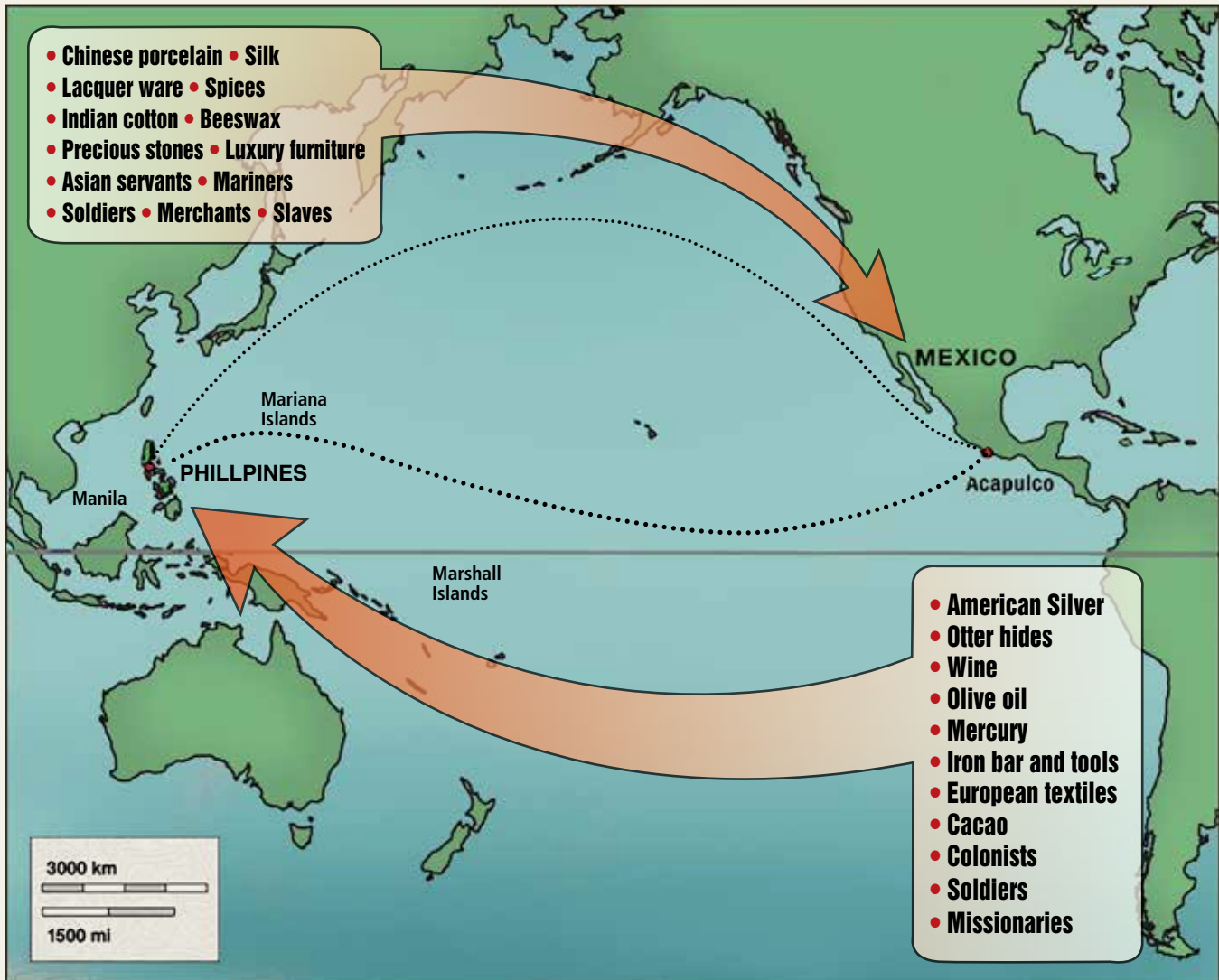
It is important to the story to note that China and India were by far the two largest markets in the world and were willing to buy silver on a scale far larger than fifteenth-century Europe's ability to supply their demand.

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The eventual key to Spain's entry into Asian trade turned out to be Manila, a little port that was a client of the Sultanate of Brunei on Borneo and a link in the fifteenth-century South China Sea spice trade. Manila was also close to the tropical trade winds that blew across the Pacific from America to Asia, a geographic accident that greatly enhanced its importance in later centuries. Manila's location, and China's demand for silver, had profound implications for trans-Pacific trade.

The early 1500s saw the arrival of the Portuguese on the western fringe of the Pacific as they forced their way into the trade of the East Indies and the South China Sea. Simultaneously, thousands of miles

Communication and Exchange in the Spanish Pacific, 1565-1815



This map shows the exchange of persons and commodities in the Pacific during the Spanish Colonial period. The route taken by the Manila Galleons is indicated by the dotted lines.

away, Spain seized control of the Americas from Mexico to Peru and Chile. As their American colonies developed, the Spaniards built a commercial network along the Pacific American coast from Mexico to Chile. While their American conquests of the 1500s were important, the Spaniards never lost their eagerness to gain access to Asian trade.

The Spaniards get little credit for their maritime and commercial prowess, but beginning in 1519 they tried several times to break into Asian trade by crossing the Pacific from America to Asia. The task was arguably close to the technical limits of sixteenth-century seafaring: A successful round-trip implied sailing more than 20,000 miles back and forth across an uncharted Pacific. The first attempt, Magellan's expedition in 1519-1522, coincided

with the conquest of Mexico. By the 1540s at least four expeditions had reached the Indies from Spain or Spanish America, but none of them found a way back to America. Their survivors were eventually rounded up by the Portuguese and either settled in the Indies or returned to Spain in Portuguese ships. Magellan's expedition is justly famous because one of his ships was the first to actually sail around the world, but that achievement was the accidental result of the expedition's inability to return across the Pacific from the East Indies to America. In 1542 the Spaniards even tried to find a northern route to Asia by sending Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo up the Pacific Coast of North America in search of a coastal route to Asia. The expedition made it as far north as Oregon before contrary winds and currents forced it to return home to Mexico.

Unifying the Pacific

The Asian and Spanish American fringes of the Pacific World were finally connected in the 1560s.

By then, the potential for profitable trade with Asia had increased dramatically. China and India had little interest in European products, but they were ready to buy endless amounts of silver. Silver was scarce in Europe until the 1550s, when Spain (and Europe) began to receive unprecedentedly large amounts of silver from the Spanish mines in Mexico and Peru. As this silver passed into the European economy, much of it went on to markets in the Middle East, India, and China, where it was exchanged for Asian commodities, with a fifty percent profit for European merchants.

By the 1560s the Spanish American merchants of Mexico City and Lima were making another calculation. They realized that silver from American mines, sent directly across the Pacific without European middlemen, promised a 100 percent to 150 percent profit.

In 1564-65, Miguel López de Legazpi led an

expedition from Mexico across the Pacific to the Philippines, charged with creating a permanent Asian colony. While Legazpi secured Manila (1570), a port that promised the Spanish access to Asian trade, his navigator, Andrés de Urdaneta, set out to find a viable return route to Mexico. By sailing north with the Japan current until

he reached the east to west prevailing winds at latitude 38-40 degrees north, he was able to reach Mexico in October 1565, four months after leaving the Philippines. By 1570, trade had been

established between Acapulco and Lima on the American side of the Pacific and Manila in the Philippines.

This maritime bridge across the Pacific Ocean was the first component of what would become the contemporary Pacific world. Once established, the Manila Galleon trade consisted of only one or two ships a year, but it should not be underestimated. The ships were large for their day and carried high-value goods. The trade lasted for almost 250 years and, year after year, it was one of the world's most valuable commercial exchanges. It allowed

By the 1540s at least four expeditions had reached the Indies from Spain or Spanish America, but none of them found a way back to America.



The silver mine at Potosí in the viceroyalty of Perú. By the end of the sixteenth century, Spanish mines in the Americas produced prodigious amounts of silver. It was this silver that funded not only Spain's imperial ambitions on a global scale, but also fueled the growing trans-Pacific trading network that linked the Americas with East Asia. Courtesy Archivo General de Indias, Seville.

Right: A Manila Galleon and its exhausted passengers and crew are greeted with fresh provisions near the end of their eastward journey.

Artist Robert E. McGinnis

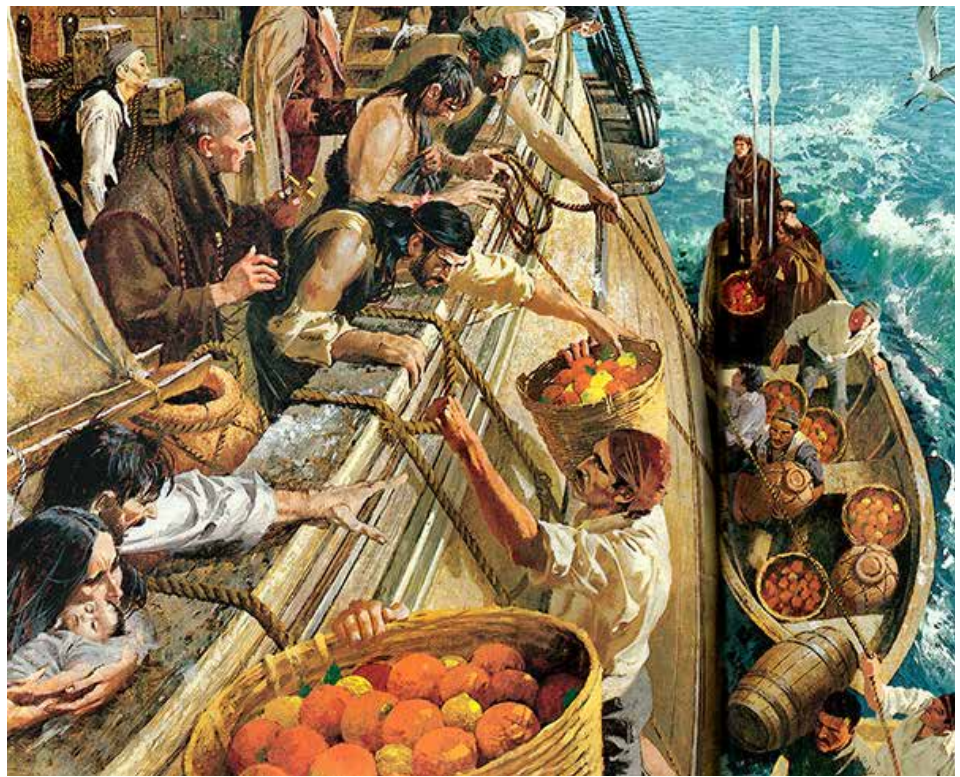
Mexican merchants to exchange tons of American silver for Chinese silks, porcelains, and lacquerware, Indian cottons, precious stones, and Southeast Asian spices without having to rely on European intermediaries. Thanks in part to the shortage of Spaniards in the Philippines, these annual ships also brought to America a surprising number of Asian sailors and soldiers, as well as hundreds of Chinese and Malay workers.

The amount of Spanish-American silver carried by the Manila Galleons to Asia is subject to debate, but it is measured in tons rather than monetary units. Once in Manila, the silver was relayed into the Asian trade by Chinese and Malay merchants. Its importance in world trade is suggested by the fact that almost as much silver crossed the Pacific from Mexico to Asia as traveled to Asia via the Middle East and around Africa.

From Manila To California

Meanwhile, a key part of Spain's trans-Pacific trade made it inevitable that any threat to her trans-Pacific commerce would force her to confirm her claims to the California coast. To get back to Mexico the Manila Galleons had to sail northward from the Philippines until they reached about 40 degrees latitude, roughly that of modern San Francisco. There they found prevailing winds that took them across the Pacific to California, after which they followed the coast south to Acapulco, Mexico.

The trip from Manila to Acapulco lasted five to six months, with no possibility of fresh supplies until the ships reached the coast of California. By then, however, scurvy and bad food usually left crews too weak to defend themselves against serious attacks and the galleons usually avoided contact with the coastal Indians. Nevertheless,



over the years several galleons stopped safely for water and supplies and at least one galleon was wrecked on the California coast. The survivors fled ashore and many of them were killed by the local Indians. A few survived and were assimilated. Spanish authorities speculated about building a supply port at Monterrey, but since the threat of raids by other Europeans was slight, nothing was done to protect the California coast until the late 1760s.

The threat from buccaneering expeditions into the Pacific was real, but in the long run they did surprisingly little damage. Over twenty-five buccaneering raids reached the Pacific coast of Spanish America between 1560 and 1740, an average of one raid every six or seven years. With 6,000 miles of lightly populated Pacific coast, it was cheaper for Spain to rely on a passive defense rather than building a system of forts, garrisons, and coast guard ships. They defended most of the coastline by simply moving the population and valuable goods into the hills when a European raider was known to be in the vicinity. The really valuable Manila Galleons were well-armed and usually able to defend themselves against foreign attacks.

Very few European raids into the Spanish Pacific were successful from the buccaneers' point of view. The overall impact of European interlopers was modest, and few of them got as far north as modern California. Several were captured by the Spaniards, and only a handful returned to Europe with significant booty.

A Wakeup Call

Around 1740 the conditions that allowed Spain to rely on a policy of passive defense in the Pacific began to change. Two developments brought this home to the government in Madrid. In 1740-1743, the English Commodore (later Admiral) Anson led an English naval squadron into the Pacific with the explicit goal of disrupting Spanish trade. Anson lost four of his seven ships before he got near important Spanish targets, and his raids on Spain's Pacific-American coast were only modestly successful. His one major victory was a last-ditch gamble when he had only one ship left, but it signaled a serious threat to Spain's strategically important Acapulco-Manila trade. With a single undermanned man-of-war, he left Canton in April of 1743 and intercepted a Manila-bound galleon laden with fifty tons of American silver. The monetary value of that one cargo was equal to the annual budget of the entire Spanish Navy. While the threat signaled by an English presence in the South China seas was serious, the trans-Pacific raid was also costly to the English. Anson left England with seven ships and 1,850 men. He returned three years later with one ship and only 181 men.

While Anson's raid presented a challenge to Spain's trans-Pacific trade, a more sustained entry into the Pacific came from another direction. The Russian Empire had been expanding steadily across Siberia since the sixteenth century and, in the 1730s, the Danish-born Russian naval officer Vitus Bering spent over ten years exploring the

Siberian coasts of the Pacific. By 1742 the Russians had reached Alaska, confirmed the existence of the Bering Straits, and explored the Aleutian Islands. This was the first step in Russia's persistent expansion down America's Pacific coast. By the later eighteenth century Russian traders were routinely selling Alaskan sea otter

furs to China. They established a permanent colony on Kodiak Island in 1784 and in 1799 founded Sitka, the town that became the permanent capital of Russian Alaska.

Anson's raid on Spain's Pacific trade, and the expansion of Russia into the northern Pacific, were more concrete threats to Spain's sovereignty in the Pacific than the occasional buccaneering



Enlightened monarch Charles III set in motion a series of reforms designed to rebuild Spain's reputation after the disasters of the Seven Years' War.

Artist Anton Raphael Mengs

expeditions of earlier decades. Spain was aware of the threat, but the situation was put on hold by European wars (1739-1748 and 1756-1763) and the passive foreign policy of Spain's King Fernando VI (1746-1759).

IMPERIAL CRISIS AND REVIVAL

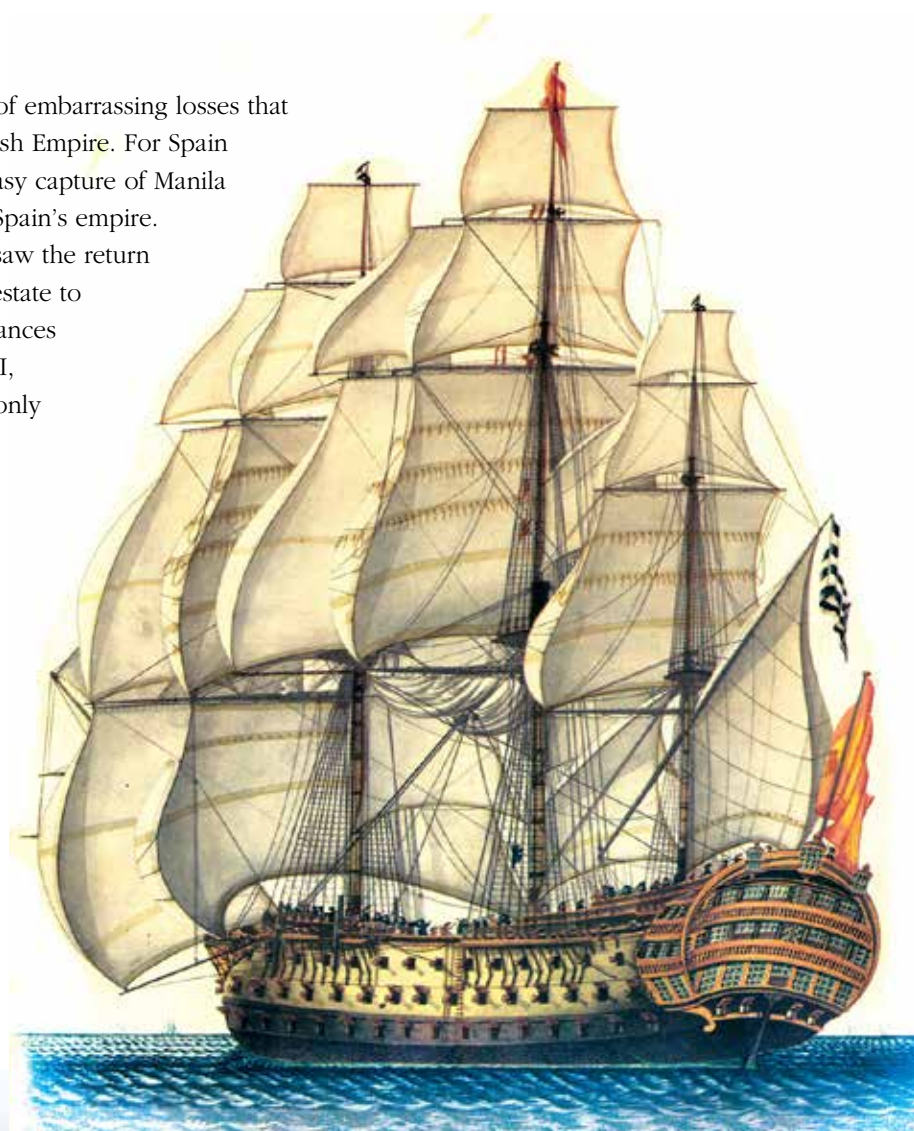
Spain's passivity changed with the accession of an experienced new king, Carlos III (1759-1788). Carlos III responded to Spain's dismal performance in the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) with a sustained attempt to strengthen Spain's position as a major European power, a project that included assertion of Spanish authority along the Pacific coast of North America. Known as the French and Indian War in American history, the Seven Years' War pitted France, Spain, and Austria against England and

Prussia. The war concluded with a series of embarrassing losses that demonstrated the hollowness of the Spanish Empire. For Spain the most critical defeats were England's easy capture of Manila and Havana, the most important ports in Spain's empire. The end of the Seven Years' War in 1763 saw the return of Havana, Manila, and other bits of real estate to Spain, but left Spain's navy, army, and finances in a shambles. The Spanish king, Carlos III, regarded this as a humiliating defeat and only a temporary truce with England.

Carlos III recruited a cadre of able, enlightened ministers, including José de Gálvez, Spain's most outstanding colonial secretary, and began a thirty-five-year reform of Spanish commerce, administration, and taxation. Gálvez's colonization of California after 1769 was part of this sustained renovation of Spain's status as a major European power.

Constructed in the royal dockyard at Havana in 1769, the *Santísima Trinidad* came to symbolize Carlos III's desire to rebuild the Spanish navy.

Courtesy Museo Naval, Madrid



Below: The Spanish fleet captured by the British at Havana, August-September, 1762. Artist Dominic Serres.

Courtesy National Maritime Museum, Greenwich



Carlos III rebuilt the Spanish navy using up-to-date ship designs, created a small professional Spanish army, and reinforced imperial defenses.

This reform program enabled Spain, in alliance with France, to hand England a major defeat in form of the American Revolution (1776-1782). Military and financial aid from Spain allowed the Americans to win their revolution, depriving England of her most valuable colonies and a large part of her merchant marine. By 1790 the Spanish government had more than doubled its navy, had doubled its operating budget, and had eliminated its operating deficit, all the while tripling the value of Spain's foreign and imperial trade.

SEAFARING AND GEOPOLITICS

The seventeenth-century Pacific ocean had been largely empty of European vessels except for a few Spanish ships following a very narrow trade route.

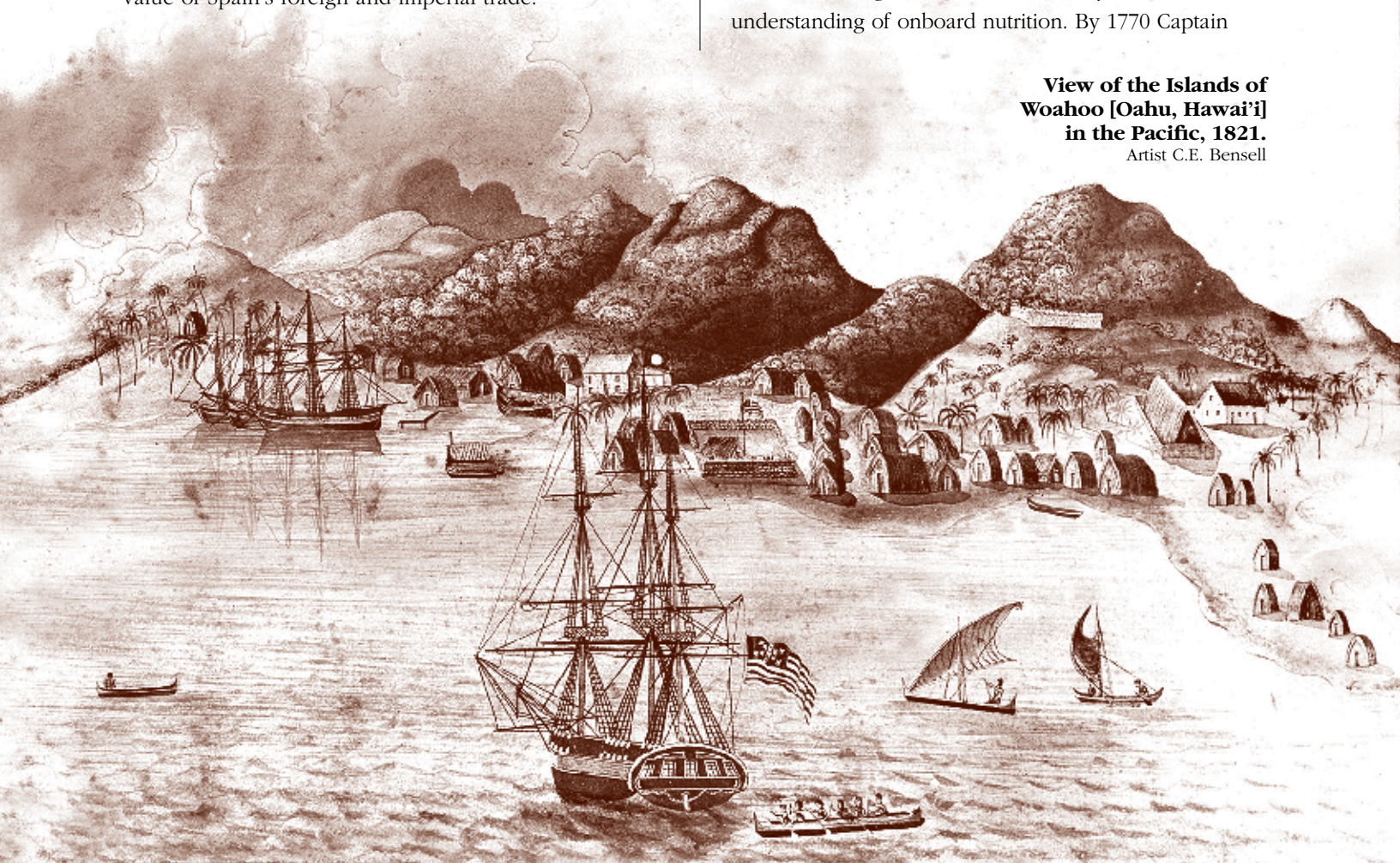
By the 1790s dozens of ships from England, France, Cádiz, Lima, Boston, and Siberia were appearing in the Northern Pacific in search of furs, whale-oil, and other kinds of trade. This prompts an important question: What happened?

Hawai'i revolutionized the geography of Pacific trade. North of the east-to-west trade winds that the Spaniards used for their route from Acapulco to Manila, Hawai'i was near the center of the Pacific Ocean.

By the late eighteenth century seafaring was changing rapidly, making it easier and safer for European ships to operate in the Pacific. Better navigation was reinforced by a better understanding of onboard nutrition. By 1770 Captain

**View of the Islands of
Woahoo [Oahu, Hawai'i]
in the Pacific, 1821.**

Artist C.E. Bensell



Cook (and others) had shown how to prevent scurvy on long voyages by supplying the crew with fresh greens, citrus fruit, and sauerkraut, all of which provided vitamin C. Better nutrition dramatically reduced the human cost of complex, long-distance voyages. As a result, Spain's Alejandro Malaspina was able to spend five years (1789-1794) exploring the Pacific without losing a single crew member to scurvy. Better nutrition and better navigation had made sailing from Europe or New England to the Pacific easier and more profitable (for discussion of Spanish scientific voyages, see the article by Engstrand in this volume).

These developments were reinforced by Captain Cook's discovery of the Hawaiian Islands in 1778. Hawai'i revolutionized the geography of Pacific trade. North of the east-to-west trade winds that the Spaniards used for their route from Acapulco to Manila, Hawai'i was near the center of the Pacific Ocean. With the navigational tools available by the 1790s, Hawai'i was easy to find and was not only big enough to serve as a major resupply center but also produced its own export commodities. Commercial interests in England, Russia, France and the new United States soon turned Hawai'i into a center for trans-Pacific trade. In the process they challenged Spain's claim to control of the Northern Pacific and pulled California and Pacific Northwest into an increasingly complex Pacific World.

Meanwhile, Russia continued its steady expansion along the North American coast. Sitka, the capital of Russian Alaska, was founded in 1799 and by 1812 the Russians had established a Russian fort and colony at what is now Fort Ross, California – only

seventy-five miles north of San Francisco. The Russian-American Fur Company maintained its base at Fort Ross until 1841. The Russians also found that Hawai'i was a convenient base for their fur trade between North America and China and, in 1817, they established a short-lived fort and colony on the island of Kawai'i. In 1800 the Russian fur trade was worth about 1,500,000 rubles a year, roughly \$935,000 US dollars of 1800, a considerable amount when the entire United States budget was \$12,000,000.

By 1790 England had also established a presence in the Pacific. With English help and weapons, King Kamehameha I (d. 1819) unified the Hawai'ian Islands under one government. Hawai'i soon adopted European legal practices and encouraged trade with European countries. At first English naval activity was intended to



Alejandro Malaspina.
Artist José María Galván
y Candela. Museo del
Prado, Madrid.

protect the English whaling ships in the Pacific, but before long English ships were entering the Canadian fur trade. The fur trade complicated emerging territorial claims in the Pacific Northwest because the English Hudson's Bay Company was also extending English connections into what is now British Columbia and Washington State, heightening English interest in the northern Pacific Coast. As did the Russians, English merchants also used Hawai'i as a base for their trade between North America and China, the main market for Pacific furs.

Also in the 1790s, the first American-flagged ships entered the Pacific fur trade, after which the American role in the fur trade expanded quickly. It was in the 1790s that John Jacob Astor, one of America's first great entrepreneurs, made a large part of his fortune in the fur trade between Oregon and China. The American presence in the Pacific, much of it in the form

of American whaling ships, grew rapidly after 1800. On the eve of the Mexican War of 1846-1848, the United States had over 700 whalers active in the Pacific. The competition for territorial claims on the Pacific Coast got more complicated when the Lewis and Clark expedition of 1804-1806 reached the mouth of the Columbia River

between Washington State and Oregon adding another set of claims to those of England, Russia, and Spain.

The fur trade complicated emerging territorial claims in the Pacific Northwest because the English Hudson's Bay Company was also extending English connections into what is now British Columbia and Washington State, heightening English interest in the northern Pacific Coast.

SPAIN MOVES INTO THE NORTH

The infrastructure of Spain's expansion into the North Pacific had two main components. One was the well-known overland

Camino Real between Mexico and Alta California. Equally important, if less well known, was a maritime *Camino Real* that stretched from San Blas in Mexico to Vancouver Island on the Canadian coast. The overland route, while important, proved slow, dangerous, and exposed to Indian rebellion. The alternative maritime *Camino Real*, despite the insubstantial nature of its remains, was crucial to the

The presidio at Monterey.
Artist Tomás Cardero.
 Courtesy Museo Naval, Madrid





survival of the Spanish settlements of Alta California. The colonization of Alta California began in 1769 and continued until about 1805. The first nine missions were established by 1777 and ten more missions were established between 1782 and 1804, when the Spanish Empire began to disintegrate.

From the beginning, when the new settlements were not self-sustaining, this maritime *Camino Real* kept the California missions alive with regular shipments of food and other supplies. Each new mission was staffed with missionaries and a handful of soldiers. The individual missions were in turn protected by four fortified presidios, each with thirty to sixty soldiers, and a community of settlers from Mexico (see Jack Williams' description of coastal defenses in this volume). The presidios were located at San Diego, Santa Barbara, San Francisco, and Monterey. Monterey had the largest garrison and became the main port and administrative capital of Alta California. Most of the missions and all four presidios eventually became permanent communities, under Spanish and then Mexican authority, before being conquered by the United States in the Mexican War (1846-1848).

This 1776 map by the Franciscan Pedro Font is one of the first to show the missions of Alta California and the beginnings of the *Camino Real*.

Until the Spanish Empire disintegrated after 1808, the missions, and their slowly growing secular communities, depended on regular shipments of European-style foodstuffs and European hardware, cloth, and manufactured items. The ships returned to Mexico with modest amounts of wool, tallow, and hides. The California settlements were subsidized by the vice-regal government in Mexico, which maintained the colony's supply base in San Blas and paid for the ships that constituted the maritime *Camino Real* (on colonial trade and the maritime *Camino Real* see the article by Trejo and Duggan in this volume).

Spain's reach into the north Pacific began in 1774 with an expedition that surveyed the Pacific coast of

Vancouver Island. This included a long visit to Nootka Sound, 250 miles northwest of modern Vancouver and 3,000 miles northwest of San Blas on the Mexican coast. The expedition established good relations with the Indian leadership of the area but made no attempt to plant a

settlement. Plans were made for an additional exploration, but they were set aside because the government in Madrid was distracted by war with England and the American Revolution.

From the beginning, when the new settlements were not self-sustaining, this maritime *Camino Real* kept the California missions alive with regular shipments of food and other supplies.

James Cook sights the big island of Hawai'i, January 18, 1778.

Artist Gordon Miller



By the 1780s reports of growing numbers of English and Russian ships active along the Northwest Coast prompted another expedition, this time with the goal of establishing a Spanish base at Nootka. In 1789 the *Princesa* and the *San Carlos* arrived at Nootka and began to build a permanent fort. The modest scope of the project is suggested by the fact that the total complement of both ships was 195 men, later supplemented by the arrival of a new ship, the *Aranzazú*. Supplied from San Blas in Mexico and Monterrey in California, Nootka was to be the northern base for a policy of restricting foreign access to Spanish territory. In an attempt to enforce this policy, the Spanish seized some two or three English ships, sending two of them, with their crews, to San Blas as prizes.

This produced a complicated, two-part drama. The Spaniards and English on the site, with conflicting and ambiguous orders, delayed, negotiated, and compromised over the use of Nootka. Back in Europe, in 1789-1790, England pushed Spain to the brink of war while effectively destroying Spain's long-standing mutual defense treaty with France. The new government in revolutionary France

rewrote the "Family Compact" between the two Bourbon monarchies so as to leave Spain without any effective allies in a conflict with England. Ultimately Spain had to cede sovereignty over Nootka to the English.

The Spanish remained in control of the port for another three years and the final Spanish evacuation did not take place until 1795. In those years Nootka became something of a free port for English, Russian, and American ships. The Spaniards, using the ships *Mexicana* and *Sutil*, carried out at least two more explorations to the north, but after 1795 Spain's maritime *Camino Real* was forced to pull back to its ports on the California coast. Additional exploratory voyages were made along the Oregon and Washington coasts, but after 1796, when Spain was at war with England, the possibility of claiming anything north of San Francisco faded away. In the next two decades the Spanish Empire literally fell apart, first as a bankrupt ally of Napoleon, then as a satellite kingdom ruled by Napoleon's brother. Her American empire broke up into a series of warring republics and by 1815 the Manila Galleons had stopped sailing. The California coast became part of a new Mexican state, a region now directly dependent on Pacific trade.

The Spanish settlement at Friendly Cove in the early 1790s. Artist José Cardero.

Courtesy Museo Naval Madrid



Mariners' Missions: The Founding of the Maritime *Camino Real* in Alta California

Alan Kemp

Plans for Alta California

In the latter half of the 1760s, in the wake of the Seven Years' War, information gained by Spanish diplomats at the Court of St. Petersburg gave strong indications of Russian expansionist designs in the Pacific Northwest. Spain had traditionally considered this region her preserve although long neglected it in her imperial strategies. For the better part of two centuries, the isolated coast had been a welcome sight to returning Manila Galleons. Now other powers had begun to explore the economic potential of this shore. In response, José de Gálvez, the mercurial *visitador general* sent to New Spain with sweeping powers for the reform of Spain's most valuable overseas possession, devised plans for the establishment of a permanent Spanish presence in Alta California to counter the Russians and other opportunistic European powers. The Gálvez plan that would maximize the use of available Spanish military resources while co-opting the willing services of members of the Franciscan Order. His strategy envisaged the consolidation of a frontier safeguarded by strategically sited presidios, and a native population "civilized" by conversion along a string of missions. The majority of these missions were to be sited within easy access of the coast, thus facilitating supply by ship.

The initial plan rested on the sending of a series of parallel expeditions by sea and land. In May 1768, a *junta* at San Blas established the basic plan for the expeditions, with *piloto mayor* Vicente Vila being named as commander of the Expedition-by-Sea. In early July, 1768, Gálvez arrived in Baja California and set to work organizing the first overland contingent: the Expedition-by-Land. Under the overall command of Gaspar de Portolá, the Expedition-by-Land would include Franciscan missionaries Junípero

Serra and Juan Crespí, a mule pack train, herds of spare mounts and pack animals, Baja California Indian auxiliaries, and an escort of light cavalry – leather-jacketed *soldados de cuera* of the Loreto Presidio, under the command of Captain Francisco Javier Rivera y Moncada.¹

Unfortunately, Gálvez's plans for the Monterey Expedition soon began to unravel. Delays in transporting a military expedition from San Blas to Sonora in 1768 combined with an unexpected lack of resources in Baja California, delayed the departures of both the sea

and land expeditions by several months. According to Gálvez's original plan, the Expedition-by-Sea was to depart sometime between the beginning of June 1768 and the September equinox to take advantage of favorable weather.² The three vessels were to stop

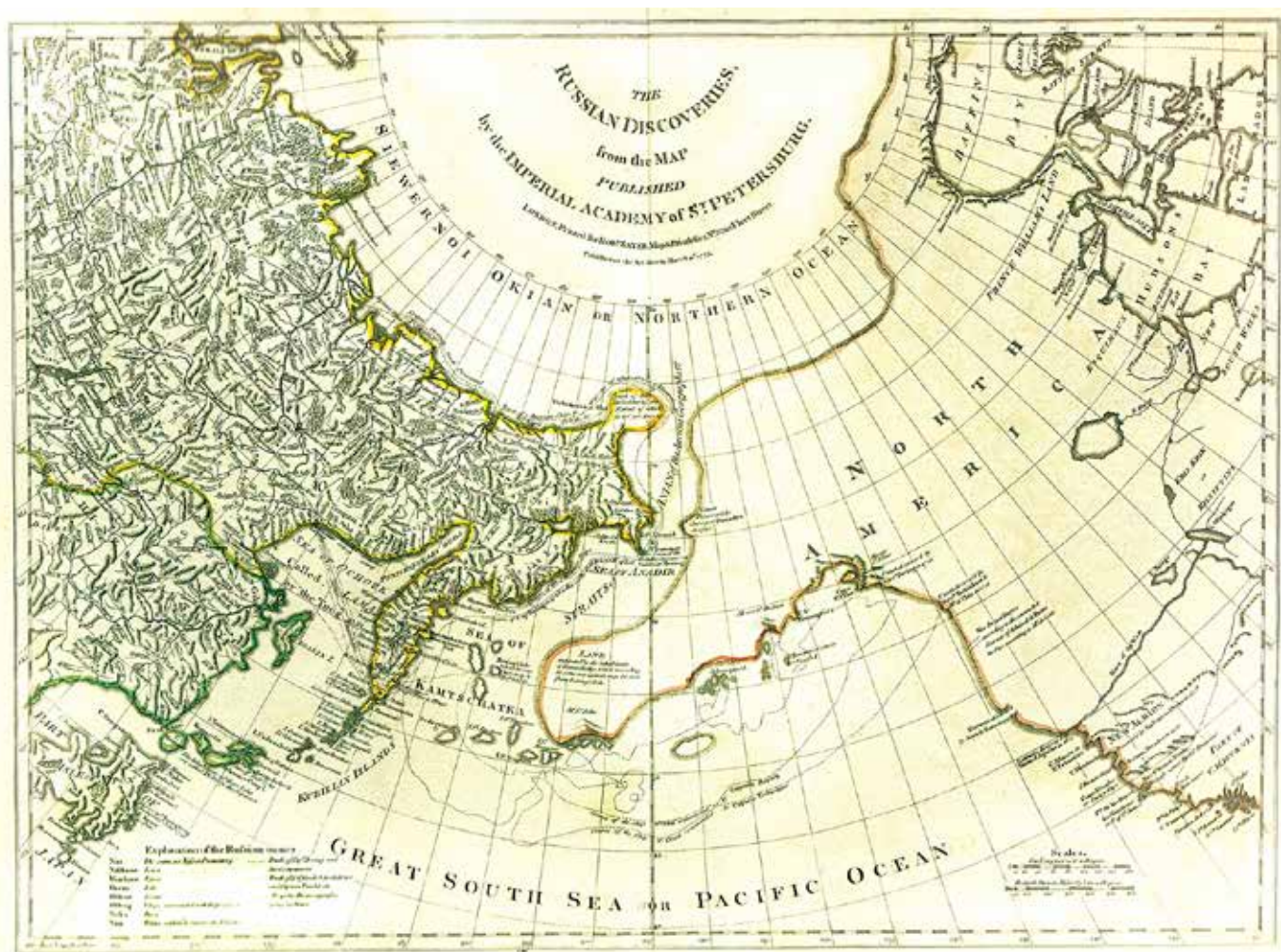
at La Paz, Gálvez's base of operations in Baja California, for final preparations before proceeding to Monterey.³

One of the reasons for the stops in Baja California was to board a seaborne military contingent.

The May 1768 plans for the Monterey Expedition included a detachment of seaborne soldiers who would occupy Monterey harbor, constructing fortifications under the direction of military engineer Miguel Costansó. Gálvez may have originally intended to draw regular troops from the dragoons that Portolá had brought to Baja California in 1767, but they had been returned to the mainland in mid-1768. For his amphibious Expedition-by-Sea force, Gálvez recalled a light infantry detachment from Sonora. Twenty-five Catalan Volunteers, commanded by Lieutenant Pedro Fages, arrived at La Paz aboard the *Lauretana* in mid-October and waited for the arrival of the *San Carlos* and *San Antonio*.⁴

**The initial plan rested
on the sending
of a series of parallel
expeditions
by sea and land.**

Alan Kemp retired as a Chief Engineer from Pratt & Whitney's Space Propulsion Operations in 2004. He has a longstanding interest in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century maritime history, and has researched, written and lectured on Spanish Alta California and the Pacific Northwest Coast. Alan currently serves on the Board of Directors of the California Missions Foundation and is a former Director of the Monterey History and Art Association. He was a consultant on the production of the five-part television series on the life of Junípero Serra, *Serra, Ever Forward, Never Back*. He also served as a consultant to CYARK in reconstructing the development of the early El Camino Real. Alan volunteered as a docent at the Maritime Museum of Monterey for over a decade, and upon his retirement, served as the museum's Research Librarian. He currently volunteers at the San Juan Bautista Mission Plaza and Point Sur Light Station State Historic Parks. He also volunteers for the National Park Service on the San Juan Bautista segment of the Anza Trail and is an Associate Docent with the Carmel Mission Docent Association. An avid sailor, Alan has crewed on square-rigged vessels and schooners.



The *San Carlos* was unable to sail from San Blas for Baja California until late September 1768; the *San Antonio* followed a month later. Expectations for the two vessels to sail in company from La Paz were frustrated by seasonally foul weather in the Gulf of California.⁵ The *San Carlos* made it to La Paz after struggling for three months to cross the Gulf. After effecting repairs, provisioning, boarding the Catalanian Volunteers, and receiving a blessing from Junípero

In 1775, Robert Sayer reproduced a map by the German cartographer, Gerard Muller, who had worked at Saint Petersburg. The map traces Russian voyages in the northern Pacific and indicates increasing Russian interest in the region. Reports of Russian imperial ambitions would encourage the Spanish Crown to establish missions and presidios in Alta California as a means of securing this increasingly contested colonial frontier. Robert Sayer, *The Russian Discoveries, from the Map Published by the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg, 1775.*

Serra in a special Mass, the *San Carlos* sailed from La Paz for one final stop in Baja California – at Cabo San Lucas on the southern tip of the Peninsula. The *San Antonio* had experienced similar struggles in the Gulf. After finally making landfall seventy miles south of La Paz, she was ordered to proceed directly to Cabo San Lucas in hopes of making up lost time. When Vila brought the *San Carlos* to the cape, accompanied by Gálvez in the former Jesuit vessel, *Concepción*, the anchorage was empty. The visitor general's plans had been thwarted by weather, once again.

Sailing alone, the *San Carlos* departed Cabo San Lucas on January 15, 1769, four months after the “most favorable time for the voyage” which ended at the autumnal equinox, and ten days before the *San Antonio*'s weather-delayed arrival at the Cape.⁶ As a result, Engineer Costansó and the entire contingent of Catalanian Volunteers sailed aboard the *San Carlos*. Under the command of Juan Pérez – a mariner who would come to distinguish himself in supporting the fledgling Alta California outposts – the *San Antonio* finally departed for San Diego Bay on February 15, with hopes of joining the *San Carlos* there before proceeding on to Monterey Bay.⁷

With the late departures from San Blas, seasonally heavy weather in the Gulf added months to what were already expected to be long voyages. To add to the crew's and passenger's misfortune, the Baja California Peninsula offered little in the way of fresh provisions.

Two days before the *San Antonio*'s departure from Cabo San Lucas for Monterey, a third vessel assigned to the expedition, the *San José* arrived, leading Pérez to believe that she would soon be able to follow. But Gálvez redirected the *San José* on a supply mission across the Gulf of California to the mainland. Consequently, it would be another four months before the *San José* would depart on her first attempt to reach Alta California.⁸

The Voyage of Juan Pérez and the *San Antonio*

Tracing a wide offshore arc to avoid contrary winds and the southward flowing California Current, the *San Antonio*'s crew sighted San Clemente Island after a month-long voyage. Approaching from the southwest,

Pérez rounded the island's southeastern promontory – modern-day Pyramid Head – then set a course to the north. Unknown to Pérez, San Diego Bay was only sixty nautical miles to the southeast. However, since the various sailing instructions – most dating to the early seventeenth century – all placed San Diego somewhere between modern-day Dana Point and Ventura, Pérez turned to the north, thereby undertaking a fortuitous three-week detour through the San Pedro and Santa Barbara Channels.⁹ During the following weeks, the Franciscan chaplain and chronicler on board the *San Antonio*, Father Juan Vizcaíno, recorded over a dozen offshore encounters involving trade between Spanish and Indian mariners. These encounters would have a crucial influence on subsequent meetings between Native Americans and Spanish expeditions by land.



On May 13, 1769, from a high mesa just south of the present border between the United States and Mexico, the first of the overland expeditions from Baja California caught sight of the *San Carlos* and the *San Antonio* riding at anchor in San Diego Bay.

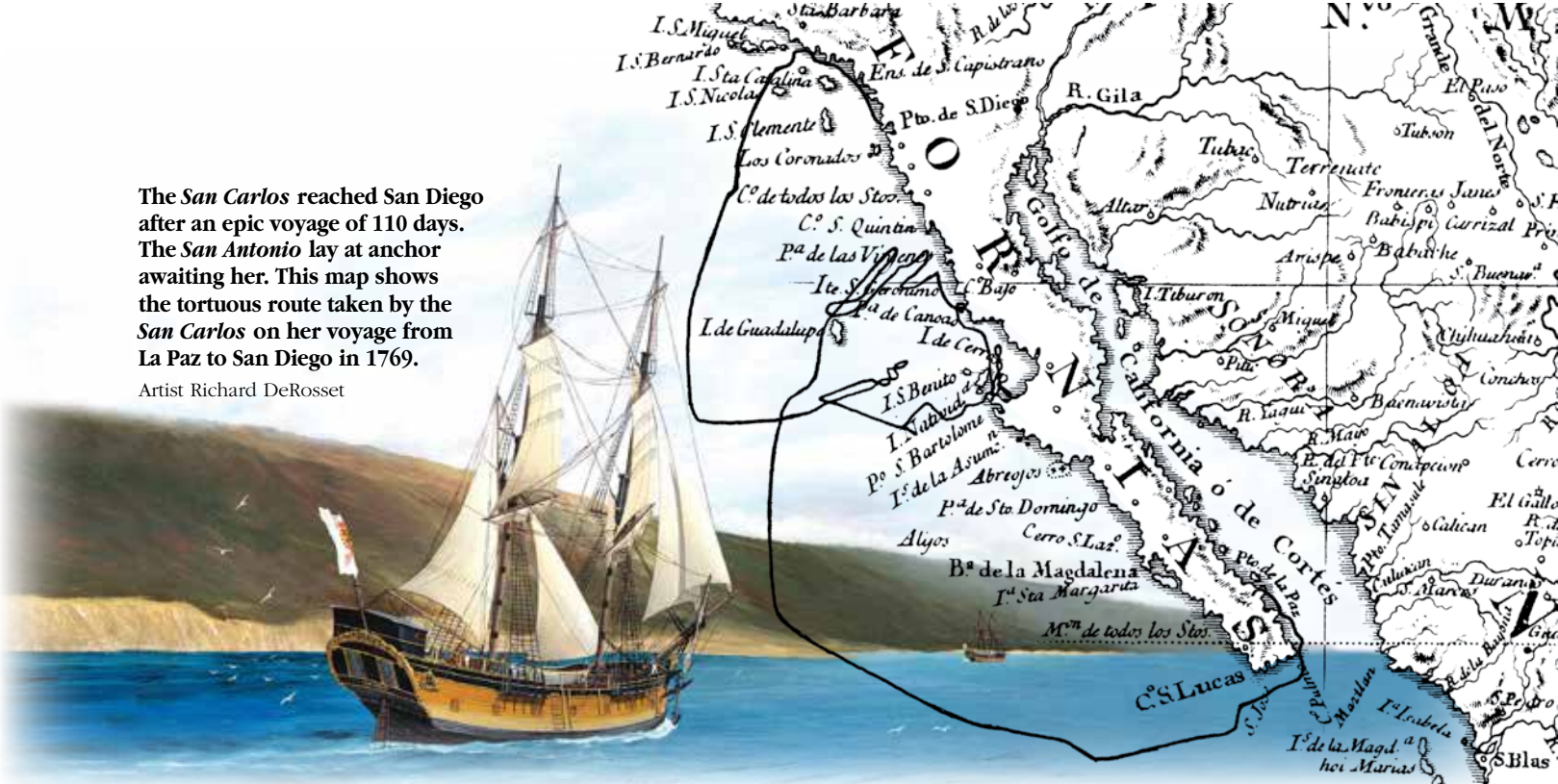
Artist Lloyd Harting

Pérez's first interaction with the Indians occurred with Gabrielinos in canoes off Pyramid Head on March 20, 1769. His crew subsequently traded with Gabrielinos off Santa Catalina Island as well as at large mainland villages when the *San Antonio* briefly anchored at a Gabrielino “port” in San Pedro Bay. Entering Chumash waters on March 28, the *San Antonio* anchored the following day off the northern shore of Santa Cruz Island. On March 30, 1769, the Franciscans made their first visit to an Alta California Indian village where, according to Father Francisco Palóu, Father Vizcaíno inadvertently left behind his staff with its attached cross. Chumash canoeists paddled out to the *San Antonio* to return the wayward staff, prompting the Spanish name for the island.¹⁰

Crossing the Santa Barbara Channel towards the mainland on April 1, then setting a course to the west, the *San Antonio* traded with Chumash canoes over the following three days.¹¹ On April 4, Captain Pérez recognized Point Conception from the early seventeenth-century account by merchant-explorer

The *San Carlos* reached San Diego after an epic voyage of 110 days. The *San Antonio* lay at anchor awaiting her. This map shows the tortuous route taken by the *San Carlos* on her voyage from La Paz to San Diego in 1769.

Artist Richard DeRosset



Sebastián Vizcaíno. Realizing at last that San Diego Bay lay to the southeast, Pérez reversed course. With the coast obscured by clouds and fog, the *San Antonio* kept to the center of the Channels as she returned to her starting point off San Clemente Island. As a result, further interactions with the Chumash and Gabrielino were not recorded. Father Vizcaíno's diary closes on April 7 as the southbound *San Antonio* passed to the east of Santa Catalina Island, "en route to the port of San Diego."¹²

The Arrival of the *San Carlos*

"We entered the port of San Diego 110 days after leaving La Paz: but the crew, and the troops aboard – whose fatigue, in so extended and painful a voyage, and in the rawest of winter, could not be less than excessive – arrived in a deplorable state. Scurvy had strongly infected all without exception. Upon entering San Diego, two men were dead of sickness, and most of the seamen found themselves prostrate in their beds. Only four sailors remained on foot and rallied, helped by the soldiers, to trim and furl the sails and perform other manual tasks." Journal of the Spanish Army Engineer, Miguel de Costansó.

Four days later, on April 11, 1769, the *San Antonio* dropped anchor in San Diego Bay – the first European vessel to record doing so since Sebastián Vizcaíno's

three vessels 167 years earlier. The *San Carlos* finally joined her on April 29, just two days before Pérez's planned departure for Monterey Bay. The *San Carlos* had sighted the coast on the afternoon of the April 25, then passed between the Channel Islands and Santa Catalina Island before briefly anchoring in San Pedro Bay the following day.¹³

Rendezvous in San Diego

Over seven months had passed since the *San Carlos* departed San Blas, and the *San Antonio* had been away for at least six months. Scurvy was debilitating both crews. Pérez had to provide sailors to assist the *San Carlos* into the anchorage. Assessing the condition of his men, and presuming that the *San José* had departed from Cabo San Lucas for San Diego shortly after the *San Antonio*, Vila decided that both vessels should remain at San Diego to await the arrival of either the *San José* or the Expedition-by-Land.¹⁴ Two weeks after the *San Carlos* dropped anchor at San Diego Bay, Fernando Rivera's advance overland party arrived with twenty-five *soldados*, forty-two Christian Indian auxiliaries, *pilotín* (master's mate) José de Cañizares, and chaplain Juan Crespí. Another six weeks passed before a second, smaller overland contingent, under Gaspar de Portolá, arrived on July 1 with Father-President Junípero Serra and a dozen *soldados*.¹⁵ There was still no sign of the *San José*.

Serra described what he found at San Diego in a letter to Father Francisco Palóu: "The *San Carlos* is minus its crew, as all the sailors died of scurvy. Only one survived, plus the cook.... In coming to its [the *San Carlos*'s] assistance, the *San Antonio*'s crew was also infected, and

Nueva California 1770

Monterey

Chumash

San Diego



Above: This map shows the extent of Chumash territories in 1770 and their strategic location along sea and land routes between San Diego and Monterey.

Left: The founding of the Mission at San Diego, July 16, 1769.

Artist Lloyd Harting

eight of them died.”¹⁶ Serra’s letter does not mention the *San Carlos*’s passengers, which included Lieutenant Fages and his twenty-five Catalanian Volunteers. The Catalanians’ toll was five dead and fourteen sick; only six were fit for duty.¹⁷

A *junta* was immediately convened at San Diego. It was decided that Captain Pérez, along with Miguel del Pino and Jorge Storace, second pilots from both packet boats, would sail the *San Antonio* back to San Blas with dispatches, while Portolá, Rivera, Fages, and Royal Engineer Miguel Costansó would continue overland in search of Monterey. Portolá’s land contingent would be accompanied by two chaplains, Fathers Crespí and Francisco Gómez, the second Franciscan from the *San Antonio*. Cañizares was to replace Storace as second pilot on the derelict *San Carlos*, with hopes of drafting additional sailors from the *San José* when she finally arrived.¹⁸

Father Juan Vizcaíno and the lone chaplain from the *San Carlos*, Father Fernando Parrón, would remain ashore with Junípero Serra at the San Diego Bay encampment. A weak garrison was left behind consisting of a corporal, eight *soldados*, and the fourteen Catalanian Volunteers who were too sick to accompany Portolá. On July 9, the *San Antonio* departed for San Blas.¹⁹ Just five

days later, Portolá’s expedition to Monterey marched north with three officers, two chaplains, twenty-seven *soldados*, the six healthy Catalanians, and a handful of Indian auxiliaries from Baja California.²⁰

“Fray Junípero Serra performed the act of founding the mission at San Diego with a High Mass and the other usual ceremonies.... The date was July 16, 1769, on which day we Spaniards celebrate the Triumph of the Most Holy Cross.... In this faith and with zeal for the conversion of souls, the Venerable Fray Junípero raised the standard of the Holy Cross, setting it up on the spot which he considered most suitable for the establishment of a town, and within sight of the port.” Fray Francisco Palóu, *Life of Fray Junípero Serra*.

Indian Reactions to Portolá

As Portolá’s overland expedition made its way north, it encountered numerous, widely dispersed Indian villages. Generally inhabited by forty to eighty individuals, they occasionally numbered more than 100.²¹ The Indians

appeared to be peaceful. It wasn't until August 6 that the first comment concerning the expedition's safety was entered into Royal Engineer Miguel Costansó's journal. Near a large Prairie Gabrielino village, in the vicinity of modern-day Encino, Costansó noted that the Indians "...came over to the camp in numbers that, had they been armed, might have given us cause for alarm, for we counted as many as two hundred and five of them altogether, between men, women and children."²²

Barely a week later, the Spaniards reached the north shore of the Santa Barbara Channel, home to the Coastal Chumash. There, they faced some 8,000–10,000 Indians concentrated in permanent settlements along the narrow coastal corridor and on the off-lying islands. Populations of individual settlements routinely exceeded 400 individuals.²³

In a report to the viceroy, Pedro Fages noted regarding one section of the Channel coast that "each [village contains] on estimate about six hundred men under arms..."²⁴ The Spaniards perceived serious cause for alarm. At several locations along the Channel, the hopelessly outnumbered Spaniards found villages burnt out from recent fighting, prompting an observation from Pedro Fages that the Chumash were "living at almost incessant war."²⁵

Portolá's men not only faced daunting Indian numerical superiority, but also rugged and constricting terrain along the narrow Channel trail. At several locations, the steep topography forced them down onto the beach. With surf on one side and almost vertical cliffs on the other, the primary tactical advantages enjoyed by the Spaniards – the mobility from their saddled mounts and the impact of their firelocks – were seriously compromised. Mule pack trains further increased their vulnerability, requiring overnight stops at twelve *parajes* (campsites) in order to traverse the heavily populated coast.²⁶ In the words of prominent archeologist and presidio historian Dr. Jack Williams, "Given the military prowess of the Indians and the Iberians' provocative actions, it was a miracle that the Spaniards were not slaughtered."²⁷ Yet at both Chumash and Gabrielino villages, regardless of size, reactions to the Spaniards were consistently welcoming and generous. In Pedro Fages' words, the Chumash "receive the Spaniards well."²⁸

Indian Reactions to Spanish Vessels

A variety of explanations have been put forward to account for the Indians' welcoming acceptance of Portolá's men. These range from supernatural associations with the Spaniards to modern misconceptions of the effectiveness of eighteenth-century firearms.²⁹ A generally overlooked explanation is the overwhelming impression likely made by the Spanish Expedition-by-Sea on the Gabrielino and Chumash elite. Available evidence

suggests that outcomes might have been very different if the *San Carlos* and *San Antonio* had sailed directly to Monterey in 1769, bypassing the San Pedro and Santa Barbara Channels.

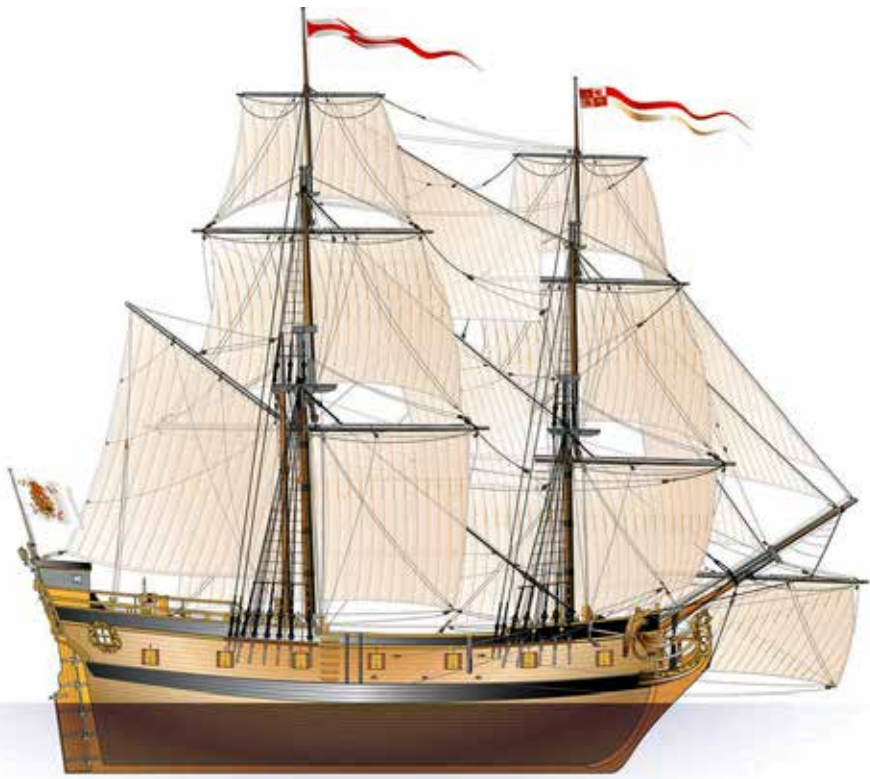
A re-examination of Portolá's overland journals, considered in light of the events at sea as described by Father Vizcaíno, suggests motives for the tolerance exhibited by both the Chumash and Gabrielino

towards the armed overland intruders.³⁰ Based on their development of maritime capabilities, the Chumash and Gabrielinos were the most economically advanced cultures in the two Californias. Both had been using lightweight, plank canoes (Chumash *tomol* and Gabrielino *ti'at*) for over a thousand years to harvest deep-water pelagic resources and to develop seaborne commerce. As those coastal peoples evolved into sedentary maritime cultures, power and wealth became tied to the control of canoe technology.³¹

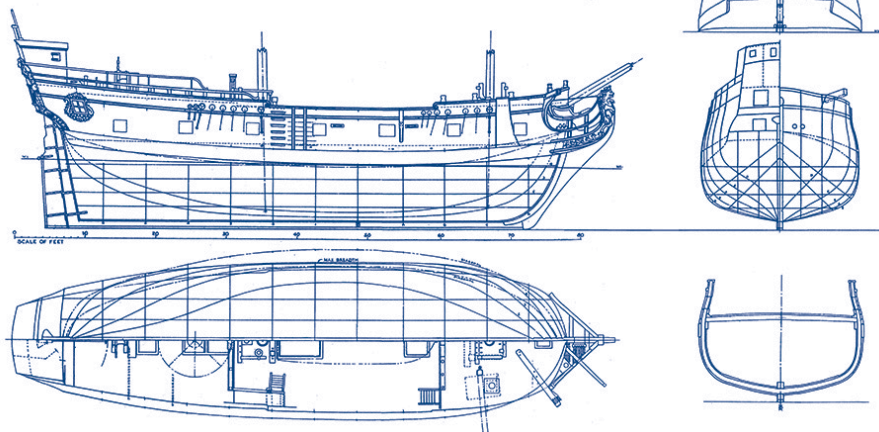
The Indian canoeists who boarded the *San Antonio* in 1769 embodied the political, economic and technical elite. Centuries before the *San Antonio's* arrival, complex material cultures had evolved around the construction, ownership and operation of plank canoes. Measuring up to thirty feet in length and constructed by stitching together dozens of thin redwood planks, those canoes provided the means to harvest marine mammals and large deep-water fish such as tuna and swordfish, as well as to transport over a ton of freight or the equivalent number of passengers.

The coastal tribes' collection, processing, shipping and inventorying of raw materials, their production of tools and fishing gear, and their assembly and finishing of canoes represented California's first industry. Labor was specialized, and examination of artifacts associated with canoes demonstrates a high degree of

In the words of prominent archeologist and presidio historian Dr. Jack Williams, "Given the military prowess of the Indians and the Iberians' provocative actions, it was a miracle that the Spaniards were not slaughtered."



The *San Carlos*. Plans by Raymond Aker and an artist's impression by Bruce Dragoo. Maritime Museum of San Diego Archive.



Plans of the *San Carlos* by Raymond Aker

standardization.³² Using only antler and stone tools, planks were split from logs, shaped and smoothed, drilled with hundreds of holes, stitched together, and then sealed with molten asphaltum. Driftwood logs, plant fibers, antlers, shell, chert, asphaltum and pigments were collected and processed over a wide geographical area ranging from the offshore islands to the modern State Highway 166 corridor, thereby bridging language boundaries and military alliance groups.³³ Construction materials and tools were inventoried at coastal boatyards. Controlling the fundamental framework for this commerce-based economy, the owners of plank canoes were at the pinnacle of economic and social hierarchies, followed by canoe “captains,” canoe crews, and skilled artisans. Coastal chiefdoms are believed to have been tied to hereditary canoe ownership, and trade was channeled through kin and marital networks.³⁴

Four months passed between Juan Pérez’s 1769 detour through the Santa Barbara Channel and Gaspar de Portolá’s arrival on its north shore.³⁵ As Portolá approached the Channel, both the Chumash and Gabrielino made obvious efforts to associate Portolá with the *San Antonio* and *San Carlos*. In Miguel Costansó’s journal entry for August 6, 1769, describing his encounter at the large inland Prairie Gabrielino village near modern-day Encino – which was separated from the anchorage at San Pedro by some forty miles, as well as the Santa Monica Mountains – he added: “They had heard the news of the packet boats sailing along the coast and Santa Barbara Channel, and drew upon the ground the shape or plot of the Channel with its islands, showing us the route of our ships.”³⁶

Shortly after Costansó’s encounter with the native cartographers, a group of Gabrielino from “shore villages” greeted the Spaniards near present-day Saugus – nearly sixty miles inland from San Pedro Bay and separated by both the Santa Monica and Santa Susana Mountains. According to Father Crespi, “Some have come here from the shore villages, and one of them recognized Father Gómez and Don Pedro Fages and Don Miguel Costansó, and rejoiced a great deal at seeing the Father and embraced him, and offered to have him come to his village....”³⁷ Note that this particular Indian had to have been aboard both the *San Antonio* and *San Carlos*.

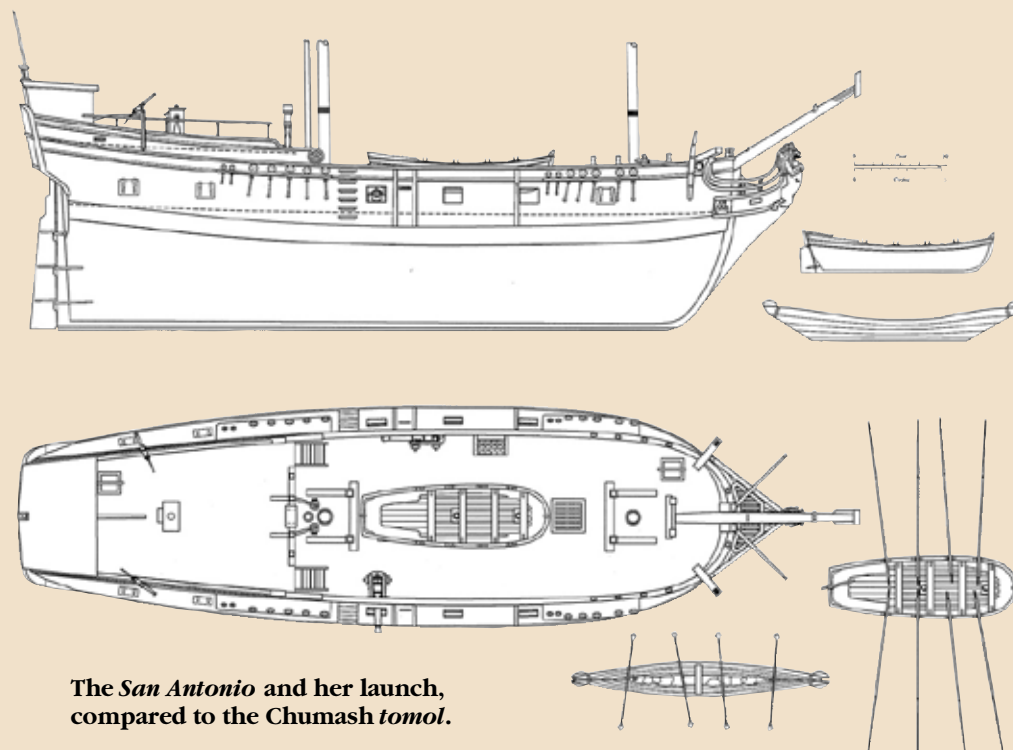
When the expedition reached the first Chumash coastal settlement on August 14, near modern-day Ventura, Father Crespi recorded that the Chumash sent canoes “to the islands so that people from there could come to see us.”³⁸

He repeatedly recorded joy on the part of Chumash who received the Spaniards, describing them as “very friendly,” “very well behaved,” and “very cheerful.” At one village, he wrote that the Chumash were “friendly, as though they had been dealing with us forever.”³⁹ During the twelve days spent on the Channel coast, Portolá’s diarists continued to marvel at the welcome they received from the Chumash. Both Crespi and Costansó indicated that Chumash receptions were carefully orchestrated and controlled, with Chumash “ambassadors” escorting the Spaniards along the coast and ensuring proper preparations in upcoming villages.⁴⁰

As far as is known, the *San Antonio* and *San Carlos* were the first European vessels in the Channel for over a century and a half. Even if the Chumash and Gabrielino maintained such oral traditions regarding Sebastián Vizcaíno’s visit in 1602, passed down for as many as a dozen generations, the lens through which the Indians viewed the Spaniards in 1769 would have been heavily influenced by their own contemporary material culture. In a report to Viceroy Antonio María Bucareli, Pedro Fages observed:

The Indians of these villages are of good disposition and average figure: they are inclined to work, and much more to self-interest. They show great covetousness and a certain *inclination to trade and barter*, and it may be said in a way that *they are the Chinese of California*. In matters concerning their possessions, they will not yield or concede the smallest point.⁴¹

Since contact with European sailing vessels within living Indian memory was unlikely in 1769, the experience of an Indian canoeist coming aboard the *San Antonio* may be considered a first encounter. Arguably, it would have represented the mirror image of the iconic sixteenth century conquistador’s quest for the fabled City of Gold: encountering familiar items of extreme value in quantities that staggered the imagination.



The *San Antonio* and her launch, compared to the Chumash *tomol*.

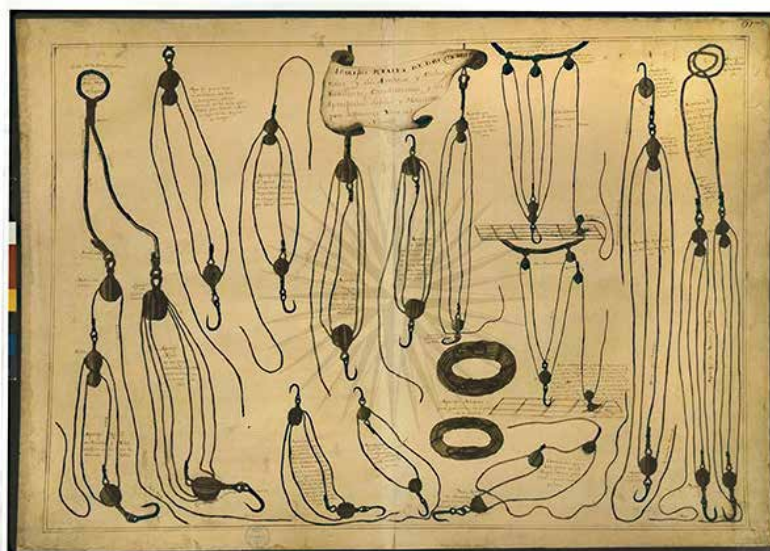
For the Indians approaching the *San Antonio* by canoe, their first impression may have been amazement at the vessel’s size, followed by curiosity regarding her sails. By European standards, the *San Antonio* was a small vessel. However, her hull (some 80 feet long and 24 feet wide) and her rig (towering 85 feet above the water) would have dwarfed the largest *tomol* or *ti’at*. Unlike most Pacific cultures, the inhabitants of the west coast of North America had yet to develop the means to harness the wind, a prerequisite for large oceangoing vessels. The *San Antonio*’s size, sails and enclosed deck made her capable of long distance, deep-water navigation, while the fragile and relatively unseaworthy *tomols* were limited to use in the protected waters near the mainland and offshore islands. As noted by Crespi in 1769, *tomols* were not observed north of Point Conception.⁴² Their use by the Chumash was generally restricted to the Channel, in the “shadow” provided by the Santa Ynez Mountains against the prevailing offshore winds and seas from the northwest.

Once alongside the *San Antonio*, Indian mariners would have recognized her as an enormous canoe. From the exterior, her Spanish cedar planking would be difficult to differentiate from *tomol* planking, split from the precious redwood driftwood preferred by the Indians for canoe planks. The pitch caulking between the *San Antonio*’s planks mirrored the asphaltum joints used by the Indians. Red ochre, liberally applied to the *San Antonio*’s bulwarks and deck structures, also happened to be the pigment most commonly used for decorating Indian canoes.⁴³

Upon boarding the *San Antonio*, an Indian canoeist would have been familiar with most of her materials, but her iron fittings, massive timbers, masts and three-inch-thick hull planks represented resources and craftsmanship far beyond the Indian's experience or capabilities.⁴⁴ What may have made the greatest impression on the *San Antonio*'s visitors, however, was her cordage. The production of Indian hemp (dogbane) cordage was one of the foundations of Indian canoe culture. Thousands of feet of small-diameter cordage were required for assembling a canoe and equipping it with fishing lines and nets. The harvesting, drying, splitting and hand-twisting of wild hemp were extremely time consuming and labor intensive. An Indian visitor aboard the *San Antonio* would have been overwhelmed by nearly three miles of rigging, with cordage ranging in diameter from an impressive 3/8 inch to an astounding 2½ inches. And then there were the hundreds of square yards of sailcloth. The *San Antonio*'s mainsail alone, measuring nearly 80 square yards and made of hundreds of miles of fine cordage, would have been capable of completely enveloping the largest Chumash *tomol*. Not surprisingly, Father Vizcaíno recorded that the most common trade goods acquired from the *San Antonio* by Indian visitors were articles of clothing and rags.⁴⁵

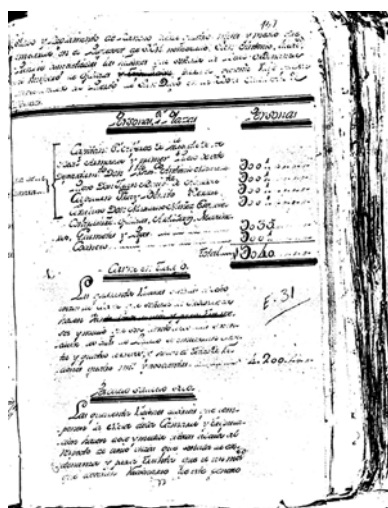
To someone familiar with plank canoe construction, but unfamiliar with metallurgy, sawpits, looms, ropewalks, and associated machinery, the presumed natural resources and labor force behind the *San Antonio* would have staggered the imagination. The carrying capacity of the vessel, the wealth implied in its construction, its ability to sail beyond the horizon, and its crew's eagerness for trade would have presented both extraordinary opportunities and serious threats to the established Indian hierarchies. These maritime encounters clearly demonstrated the Spaniards' superiority in the technologies, resources and infrastructures that represented the fundamental foundations of the Indian chiefdoms along the Santa Barbara and San Pedro Channels.

Juan Pérez's first, and perhaps most significant contribution during his voyages to Alta California may have been the impressions that he and the *San Antonio*



Eighteenth-century Spanish cordage. Juan José Navarro, Marqués de la Victoria, *Diccionario demostrativo de la configuración y anatomía de toda arquitectura naval moderna*, 1756. Museo Naval Madrid. This document is available for download at: <https://catedranaval.files.wordpress.com/2014/09/mdlv.pdf>

Manifest for the *San Antonio*.



made on Chumash and Gabrielino elites. Of the Monterey Expedition participants, Pérez may have been the ideal officer to make first contact. His experiences in the Manila Galleon service and in China provided extensive multi-cultural exposure, including experience in trade as well as management of large crews drawn from many "heathen" races and cultures. These experiences, along with extended trans-Pacific voyages where he had responsibility for valuable cargoes and passengers, would have "tempered" Pérez's attitude in comparison to that of Fages, Portolá, and Rivera – all veteran professional soldiers.⁴⁶ Studies of

Chumash-Spanish relations during the last decades of the eighteenth century have traditionally focused on religious, cultural, economic, military and environmental interactions through the lenses of the five Chumash Missions and Presidio. Much is yet to be accomplished in assessing the significance of maritime influences on providing a mutual foundation for developing Spanish-Chumash diplomacy.⁴⁷ However, the amicable interactions between Juan Pérez and the Chumash most certainly led to the pivotal event of early 1770, an encounter that determined the outcome of José de Gálvez's ambitious Alta California enterprise.



Return to San Diego Bay

The first week of 1770 found Portolá and members of his overland expedition back on the Chumash coast. Having failed to locate Monterey, the Spaniards were retreating to San Diego – cold, wet, demoralized, hungry and vulnerable. Fortunately, Portolá's exhausted men found the Chumash to be hospitable. Once again, Chumash emissaries accompanied the expedition's return trek along the Channel coast.⁴⁸

When Portolá and his men arrived at San Diego Bay near the end of January, he found little encouragement. A band of Kumeyaay Indians had attacked the camp shortly after their departure six months earlier. Although the attack had been repulsed, Father Serra's servant was killed, and Father Vizcaíno along with two others were wounded. There was still no sign of the *San José*, and the death toll from disease among soldiers and sailors continued to climb.⁴⁹

Taking inventory of his resources, Portolá developed a plan that would extend his stay at San Diego, hopefully long enough for reinforcement by the *San José*. To reduce the drain on supplies, Portolá sent Captain Rivera, twenty *soldados*, and the wounded Father Vizcaíno overland to the Expedition-by-Land's base camp in Baja California at Junípero Serra's first Mission in the Californias, Mission San Fernando Rey de España de Velicató.⁵⁰ Portolá and Fages agreed that the twelve surviving Catalan Volunteers provided the best option for crewing the stranded *San Carlos*, considering their time at sea aboard her, so they remained at San Diego.⁵¹ Portolá calculated that with the remaining force, his

provisions could last until the end of April. Allowing for a forty-day trek back to Velicató, the expedition could only wait for the *San José* through the third week of March.⁵²

According to Palóu, the expedition was to abandon San Diego on March 20, 1770, the morning after the feast day of San José, the patron saint of the expedition.⁵³ Beginning on March 11, Serra and his three remaining Franciscans led the small San Diego garrison in a *novena* – nine days of prayer to San José. According to Juan Crespí's journal, "...and on the feast day, itself, March 19, which was celebrated with sung mass and sermon, and many confessions and communions, at about three o'clock in the afternoon we saw our wished-for ship before us..."⁵⁴ But it was not their patron saint's namesake, the *San José*, that entered the harbor four days later – Juan Pérez and the *San Antonio* had returned.

Portolá and his men had last seen the *San Antonio* seven months earlier, when she departed San Diego on her desperate bid to take word of Portolá's

plight to San Blas. She had managed to reach that port at the end of July 1769, but during the twenty-day downwind voyage most of Pérez's sick crewmen had died. Only the three officers and perhaps one or two sailors were alive when the *San Antonio* reappeared at San Blas.⁵⁵ By that time, the *San José* had already sailed for Alta California, carrying supplies intended for the new establishments that were now critical for the very survival of Portolá's expedition. Efforts to prepare the *San Antonio* for



The Junípero Serra cenotaph at Mission Carmel, with a close up view of one of the bas relief panels depicting the *San Antonio*.

Courtesy Mission San Carlos Borromeo de Carmelo

her return to Alta California became a top priority when word arrived that the battered and partially dismantled *San José* had limped into Puerto de Escondido, the former Jesuit port near Loreto.⁵⁶ Even with the demands of repair, provisioning, and organizing a new crew – all during the storm season at San Blas – the *San Antonio* was ready to sail for Alta California by mid-December.⁵⁷ With Pérez once again in command, and del Pino as his second pilot, the *San Antonio* departed for her return to Alta California on December 20, 1769.

From Portolá's July 1769 dispatches, carried from San Diego by Pérez, Gálvez expected that the Presidio and Mission at Monterey would have been founded by the time of the *San Antonio*'s departure from San Blas. Therefore, Pérez received orders to sail directly to Monterey. However, a late-December departure from San Blas placed the *San Antonio* in the eastern Pacific well after the onset of the winter storm season. For over two months, the crew fought not only against prevailing winds and head seas from the northwest, but also winter storm systems that turned the Baja and Alta California coasts into dangerous lee shores.

The *San Antonio* was driven over 1100 nautical miles offshore. Near the first of March 1770, Pérez was far from shore and still 100 nautical miles south of Monterey's latitude. Facing a shortage of fresh water after two-and-a-half months at sea, he sailed for the sheltered, familiar waters of the Santa Barbara Channel.⁵⁸ Rounding Point Conception, Pérez anchored near a Chumash village and went ashore with empty water barrels. Once again, the Chumash proved to be very welcoming. In addition to providing for the *San Antonio*'s immediate needs, the villagers gave Pérez crucial information: Portolá and his men might not be at Monterey. By imitating riders on horseback as they straddled the water barrels and reciting the names of some of the soldiers – the Chumash indicated that the Expedition-by-Land had returned south.⁵⁹

The fate of the Monterey Expedition now rested on Pérez's shoulders. Unlike in 1769, Pérez knew that there was no vessel following in his wake. The *San José* was at San Blas, as would be the *San Carlos* – if she wasn't still stranded at San Diego. With first-hand insight into the supply situation at the time of the

San Antonio's departure from San Diego Bay the previous July, Pérez would not have been surprised by Portolá's need to return to San Diego with his men.⁶⁰ Pérez's safest decision would have been to follow orders and continue on to Monterey Bay, which would require, at best, another four-to-six weeks of battling winter weather in the Pacific. If he found Monterey abandoned, it would take another two-to-three weeks to reach San Diego Bay. Based on his 1769

voyage, Pérez knew that San Diego was less than a week to the south of his current anchorage. Given the winter weather, a voyage from San Diego to Monterey might not take much longer than sailing directly from Point Conception.

Despite his orders to proceed directly to Monterey, Pérez decided to sail for San Diego. Thus, the *San Antonio* made her dramatic appearance on the horizon at San Diego on

March 19, the feast day of San José. Variable winds prevented her from dropping anchor in San Diego Bay for another four days – ninety-three days after departing San Blas.⁶¹

Decision at San Diego

The *San Antonio* was well-provisioned, and the *San José* could be expected to eventually follow with additional supplies, yet the fate of the Monterey Expedition remained uncertain. Because Portolá's first attempt at locating Monterey Bay had been a discouraging failure, the army officers were justifiably unenthusiastic about mounting a second expedition from San Diego. On the trail for over a year, Portolá's troops were suffering from exhaustion. In addition to the demise of nearly fifty sailors, his meagre military force was now barely at half strength given the loss of thirteen Catalanian Volunteers to disease, the death or desertion of nearly all of the forty-odd Baja California Indian auxiliaries, and the detachment of Rivera and twenty *soldados* to Velicatá.⁶²

From a military perspective, it could be argued that the mission to reconnoiter the Alta California coast had been successfully concluded since, despite official fears, there was no evidence of European encroachment south of Point Reyes. A reconnaissance of the inadvertently-discovered Bay of San Francisco was beyond the means of Portolá's depleted force. The obvious strategic importance of that discovery was likely to lead to the deployment of another expedition from New Spain.⁶³

Then, there were doubts regarding the veracity of Sebastián Vizcaíno's 1603 descriptions of Monterey Bay and perhaps even the very existence of that much-touted harbor,

The *San Antonio* was well-provisioned, and the *San José* could be expected to follow eventually with additional supplies, yet the fate of the Monterey Expedition remained uncertain.

named after the viceroy of New Spain who had sponsored the expedition. Portolá's men had explored the coast from the northern Santa Lucía Mountains to the entry of the previously unknown bay later named for San Francisco. His soldier's perspective had not allowed him to identify a port that corresponded to Sebastián Vizcaíno's description. As Royal Engineer Miguel Costansó recorded,

"Accounts by General Sebastián Vizcaíno and historians contemporary with him locate Monterey Harbor in thirty-seven degrees. Not only do we see no sign of it there, but not even a possibility of any such harbors having ever existed at latitude, for the shore is bordered by a range of extremely tall mountains falling into the sea."⁶⁴

Another *junta* was convened at San Diego with officers and priests. Confronting the military's reluctance to return north, Juan Pérez became the driving force behind the establishment of Monterey. In the words of Crespi:

Once we had seen the plentiful provisions brought in by the ship, which was the *San Antonio*, alias *El Príncipe*, the same one which a year previously had been the first vessel in this century (as far as known) to enter this same San Diego Harbor,

under the command of the same captain as the one who is now directing it, Don Juan Pérez, a Pilot of the Philippines route, and a native of the city of Palma, capital of Mallorca; and *once we had seen the aforesaid captain's firm resolve of going on to Monterey*, even if the troops did not, a heated discussion began as to a new voyage and expedition in search of the aforesaid harbor; which in the opinion of several was non-existent: and though our small number hindered the plan, courage and good intentions overcame every hindrance.⁶⁵

According to Serra's biographer, Francisco Palóu, Father-President Serra and Father Crespi had determined to remain at San Diego, even if the military abandoned the port.⁶⁶ Now, thanks to their friend and fellow countryman Juan Pérez, they would continue their journey to Monterey. In gratitude to the expedition's patron saint, Serra would celebrate a Mass in honor of Pérez's timely arrival at San Diego on the 19th of every month as long as he lived.⁶⁷

Return to Monterey

On April 16, 1770, the *San Antonio* sailed from San Diego for Monterey with Father-President Junípero Serra as the vessel's chaplain and Royal Engineer Miguel Costansó as surveyor. Their forty-five-day voyage carried



Above: Junípero Serra, Founder of the California Missions, argued forcefully for the continued support of Alta California by a maritime supply route from San Blas. Courtesy Convento de Santa Cruz de Querétaro.

Right: Junípero Serra celebrating Mass as part of the founding of the Monterey, June 3, 1770.

Artist Leon Trousset



them far offshore, on an arc to the north. Serra wrote that “The voyage was somewhat trying, and for many days, far from getting nearer to Monterey, we were getting further and further from the goal of our desires.”⁶⁸ The voyage was further extended by a reconnaissance to the north: Pérez was to make landfall near Point Reyes, and Costansó was to search for the entrance to the newly discovered San Francisco Bay, surveying the coast and evaluating potential presidio sites in case Monterey Bay remained elusive.⁶⁹

On May 31, Portolá and Pérez reunited at Monterey after the *San Antonio* dropped anchor. Resupplied, Portolá’s expedition had marched north one day after the *San Antonio*’s departure from San Diego. For a third time, Portolá had passed through the coastal Chumash villages, his relatively small force of twenty-one soldiers, two muleteers, a priest and five Baja California Indian auxiliaries unchallenged.⁷⁰ Apparently still frustrated over the near-abandonment of the expedition after Pérez’s arrival at San Diego, Serra wrote:

...on May 31, we entered and dropped anchor in the port – the object of so many controversies. We now recognized it without any question, as being, both as to its underlying reality and its superficial landmarks, the same and unchanged spot where our ancestors the Spaniards landed in the year 1603. It is plain justice that we should definitely put out of our minds all thought or lingering fantasy of the port’s having disappeared or being no longer in existence. These false notions have been circulated by reports emanating from the recent land expedition.⁷¹

On June 3, 1770, the Spaniards conducted founding ceremonies on the shore of Monterey Bay, during which Junípero Serra celebrated Mass under the same massive live oak tree where Sebastián Vizcaíno’s chaplains had conducted services 167 years earlier. As Serra described the event in a letter to Father Palóu, Juan Pérez is the only participant recognized by name – and with the honorific “Don”:

On May 31, with God’s blessing, after a month and a half voyage which proved somewhat tedious, our packet boat, the *San Antonio*, under the command of Captain

Don Juan Pérez, arrived and dropped anchor in this charming Port of Monterey, the very same, unchanged in both its solid reality and trivial details, as when Don Sebastián Vizcaíno’s expedition left it in 1603...

But my happiness was complete when on the holy Feast of the Pentecost, June 3, all of the sea and land

officers, together with all their men, came in a body to a little valley and oak tree where the Fathers of Vizcaíno’s expedition celebrated Mass. After preparing the altar, and hanging bells from the branches of the tree, we sang the hymn *Veni Creator* and blessed the holy water. We then raised aloft and blessed a great cross; likewise the Royal Standards. After that I celebrated the first Mass that is known to have

Junípero Serra’s arrival at Mexico City in February of 1773 was well-timed to permit him to lobby for changes in the administration and support of the California Missions.

Vessels of the Maritime Camino Real

Name	Alias	Rig	Eslora Length on Deck		Manga Beam		Quilla Keel		Puntal Depth in Hold		Draft	Spanish Burthen	English Burthen	Estimated Displacement
			<i>codos</i>	feet	<i>codos</i>	feet	<i>codos</i>	feet	<i>codos</i>	feet	feet	tons	tons	long tons
<i>Nuestra Señora de Loreto</i>	<i>Lauretana</i>	Snow	30 ^c	56.6	9 ^c	21.9	26 ^c 6 ^p	49.5	4 ^c 3 ^p	7.8		54	37	41 - 47
<i>San Antonio</i>	<i>El Principe</i>	Snow	37 ^c 8 ^p	70.3	12 ^c 6 ^p	23.1	34 ^c	64.0	5 ^c 12 ^p	10.4		193	164	240 - 270
<i>San Carlos</i>	<i>El Toisón de Oro</i>	Snow	38 ^c 6 ^p	72.1	12 ^c 6 ^p	23.1	34 ^c 6 ^p	64.6	5½ ^c	10.4	8.7	193	165	240 - 280
<i>San José</i>	<i>El Descubridor</i>	Snow	-	69*	-	22*	-	63*	-	10*	-	180	147*	200 - 230*
<i>Santiago</i>	<i>Nueva Galicia</i>	Ship	45 ^c 12 ^p	85.8	14 ^c 7 ^p	26.9	41 ^c	77.2	6 ^c 4 ^p	11.6		225	255	430 - 490
<i>Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe</i>	<i>Sonora</i>	Schooner		45.2		12.5	-	37.7		12.5		59		40 - 46

1 Codo = 1.885 ft / 24 pulgados
1 Pulgado = 0.0785 ft

x^c Length in codos
x^p Length in pulgados

xx* Dimension estimated from similar hull forms, based on relative tonnage
Estimated displacement using Block Coefficients, C_b = 0.60 & 0.65

Alta California in 1784

San Francisco Presidio

Two Missions
One Pueblo

Monterey Presidio

Three Missions

Santa Barbara Presidio

One Mission

San Diego Presidio

Three Missions
One Pueblo

Chumash

been sung there since the Vizcaíno expedition. With that concluded, we sang the *Salve* to Our Lady, in front of her *imagen* (statue) which we placed on the altar, and which His illustrious Lordship [José de Gálvez] had lent us...

Later we all ate together at a shady spot on the beach, and the whole feast was accompanied by the firing of the guns both on land and on the boat.⁷²

Before the *San Antonio*'s departure from Monterey for San Blas, Pérez fulfilled a vow made during the "hardships of the voyage" between San Diego and Monterey, having a solemn high Mass celebrated to the "Great Lady" and providing twenty-five pesos in alms, on his patron saint's day, June 24.⁷³ Our Lady of Bethlehem was then carefully packaged and placed aboard the *San Antonio* on July 3, for her return to her lender, José de Gálvez.⁷⁴

Serra's Triumphant Return to Alta California

The Naval Department of San Blas struggled to support Alta California's fledgling establishments during their first three years. With competing political interests in Mexico and Baja California, the nearly intolerable environmental conditions at San Blas, the challenges faced by transports on northbound transits against prevailing headwinds and currents, the disappearance of the *San José* and personnel attrition within the naval department, Gálvez's California enterprise was close to collapse.

Recognizing the serious threats to his new Alta California Missions, Father-President Serra resolved to personally petition for reforms. Serra sailed from San Diego for New Spain aboard the *San Carlos* in October 1772.

Fortunately, renewed concerns in Madrid over Russian, French and English expeditions into the Pacific had revitalized the Spanish Crown's interest in the Naval Department of San Blas and the successful settlement of Alta California.⁷⁵ Centuries-old claims to sovereignty in the Pacific Ocean – the "Spanish Lake" – needed to be reinforced. The Naval Department's operations were to be augmented, including expanded shipbuilding, military and civilian reinforcement of Alta California, and militarization of operations at San Blas. In responding to these needs, incoming Viceroy Bucareli welcomed the arrival of his unexpected advocate.

Junípero Serra's arrival at Mexico City in February 1773 was well-timed to permit him to lobby for changes in the administration and support of the California Missions. With the backing of the College of San Fernando, which provided oversight of the missionary activities in Alta California, Serra met with the viceroy and prepared a formal *Representación* dated March 13, 1773, which contained "...thirty-two suggestions for improvement in the government of the missions." In a second letter to the viceroy, dated April 22, 1773, Serra made a compelling case against proposals to close the port of San Blas and "...the line of navigation from that port to San Diego and Monterey."⁷⁶ Twenty-six of Serra's March recommendations were incorporated into reforms codified in the *Reglamento de 1773* – which also provided Royal sanction for Gálvez's improvised Alta California enterprise, once approved by King Carlos III. These included half a dozen reforms related to maritime operations, the completion of the controversial ship *Santiago*, and acceptance of Serra's arguments against replacing the offshore Pacific supply route from San Blas with overland pack trains through Baja California.⁷⁷

After the approval of the new *Reglamento* in May, Viceroy Bucareli proceeded with preparations for the

planned expedition to the Northwest Coast using resources at hand. With the exception of the late Vicente Vila, the vessels operating from San Blas had been commanded by civilian pilots (sailing masters) who lacked naval training and experience.⁷⁸ Six naval line officers, formally trained in military administration and the arts of war, as well as being experienced in ship-handling and navigation, were to be sent from Cádiz, but their arrival from Spain could not be expected until late 1774.⁷⁹

In mid-July 1773, with a strong endorsement from Father-President Serra, Bucareli ordered Pérez to prepare plans for an expedition to the Northwest

Coast the following year. Pérez submitted the requested plans in September,⁸⁰ preparations continued through the end of 1773, and Pérez received formal, detailed instructions from the viceroy in early December.⁸¹

The expedition was to combine a supply voyage to Monterey with an exploration along the Northwest Coast of North America. Pérez was to deliver supplies to Monterey, then sail north, make landfall at 60 degrees latitude (the southern coast of Alaska), and then survey the coast from there, south to Monterey – taking formal possession wherever possible, and search for evidence of encroachment by other European powers.⁸²

On January 24, 1774, the newly completed *Santiago* departed San Blas on her maiden voyage to Alta California, then onward to the Northwest Coast. Aboard were Junípero Serra and at least twenty-four other passengers, all to be landed at Monterey. The newly promoted *alférez de fragata graduado* (acting ensign) Juan Pérez's orders were to proceed to Monterey, land his passengers and supplies, and

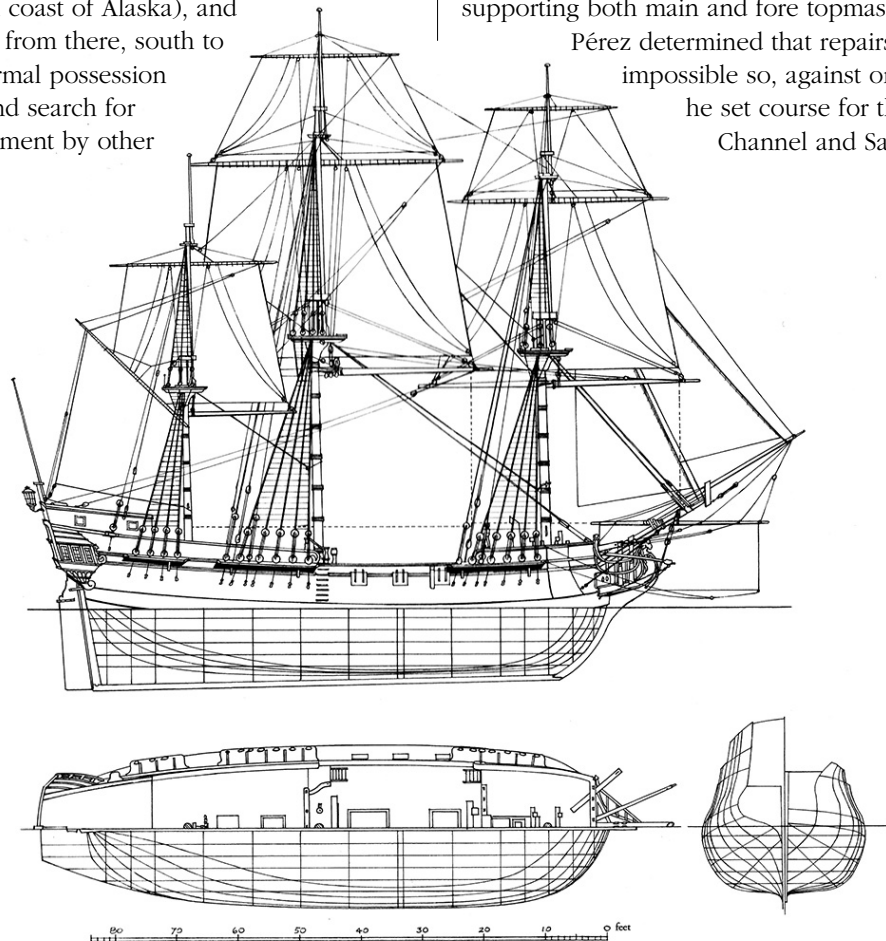
then continue north to latitude 60 degrees. After making landfall, Pérez was to explore the coast, recording interactions with native peoples and looking for evidence of European presence on his return transit to Monterey.⁸³ Detailed instructions from the viceroy covered

encounters with both natives and Europeans. Claims of sovereignty were to be made where possible.⁸⁴

Pérez's 1774 attempt to sail directly to Monterey from San Blas followed the pattern set in 1770 and 1772. According to Pérez's log, during the night of March 1, 1774, the *Santiago* was some 250 nautical miles off Point Conception when it was hit by squalls bringing bursts of high winds and rain. With both topsails set, the trestletrees supporting both main and fore topmasts were damaged.

Pérez determined that repairs at sea were impossible so, against orders once again, he set course for the Santa Barbara Channel and San Diego.⁸⁵

The *Santiago* delivered desperately needed supplies and passengers, including civilian administrators, artisans, and their families.



The *Santiago* based on drawing by Artist Hewitt R. Jackson.

The Channel came into view on the evening of March 5. As the *Santiago* passed through the Santa Barbara and San Pedro Channels, Pérez recorded encounters with both Chumash and Gabrielino canoes, with Indians coming on board to trade.⁸⁶ During these encounters, Indian perceptions of Spanish vessels – as well as their impressions of the status of the Franciscans – would have been enhanced. The *Santiago* was over twice the size of the *San Antonio*, with four times as many people on board. From the Indian perspective, the deference offered to the Franciscans by soldiers, sailors and civilians – not to mention the priests' distinctive attire – would have coincided with the status accorded canoe captains and owners in their own culture.⁸⁷

But from Junípero Serra's perspective, the most important impressions on the Indians would have been made by the passengers. Aboard the *Santiago* were the first Spanish families encountered by the Indians of Alta California, including eight adult women and one girl.⁸⁸ From an Indian perspective, the previous lack of Spanish females may have carried a troubling implication that the Spaniards were outcasts or warriors. Upon his arrival at Monterey, Serra wrote to Melchor de Peramás, the viceroy's secretary, expressing his satisfaction with the arrival of the first families: "And the people here will now be rid of their belief that the Spaniards are the offspring of mules..."⁸⁹

After spending three weeks offloading desperately needed supplies at San Diego, Pérez sailed for Monterey. Serra opted to proceed overland from San Diego to Monterey, visiting his new inland missions en route.⁹⁰ Traveling along the Channel during the last weeks of April, Serra encountered the Chumash for a third time. But the highlight of his trek occurred on April 27, 1774. One of his 1773 recommendations to the viceroy had been for "...the Captain of the Tubac Presidio to undertake the expedition he was anxious to start [in order] to discover a route to the Port of San Diego, or [the Port] of Monterey."⁹¹ A few miles east of Point Conception, Serra encountered Juan Bautista de Anza II, Commander of the Tubac Presidio, returning from his path-finding expedition to Monterey. As Anza describes their encounter:

Wednesday 27, at two in the afternoon, I met Father Junípero Serra, Father-President of these establishments of this northern California, who was going to the last establishment mentioned, on his way from Mexico City. He importuned me several times to stop with him so that he might learn about my journey. I yielded to his request, remaining with him for the rest of the day and [also] for the night.⁹²

On May 11, 1774, Serra returned to Mission San Carlos Borroméo de Carmelo after an absence of nearly twenty-one months. It was a triumphant return. His 1772 decision to sail for New Spain from San Diego, aboard the *San Carlos*, and seek an audience with Viceroy Bucareli had yielded huge dividends. Royal commitment to the Alta California Missions had been secured. The *Santiago* delivered desperately needed supplies and passengers, including civilian administrators, artisans, and their families. Reforms to the supply system based at San Blas, and the

Serra and the Sea

"As soon as possible, it is imperative that there be procured, from Vera Cruz, a shipmaster, and a pilot's mate, to sail the packet boat *San Carlos* to Monterey.... The new frigate (the *San Carlos* also called the *Nueva Galicia*) is almost in readiness for sailing... I consider it most advisable that the new frigate should be got in readiness with the utmost speed possible, because, seeing how large it is – I myself have been on board, and was amazed at its enormous capacity – one trip with it, added to what the two packet boats can carry, might save from the pangs of famine and starvation both the presidio and the missions – whether already in being or yet to be founded – and bring contentment and happiness to the hearts of all, a condition of things which will best serve the advancement and progress we are all so eager to see."

Fray Junípero Serra, Report on the general condition and needs of the missions of Alta California, to the Viceroy of Mexico, Antonio María Bucareli y Ursua, March 13, 1773.

So far, I have not received the letter that Your Reverence tells me was sent with our supplies; nor have the supplies come. It was put on board the packet boat *San Carlos*, but since this boat ran ashore while trying to leave San Blas, the supplies were transferred to the frigate. This left at the same time as the packet boat, which had undergone repairs, about the middle of March. Never once did the *San Carlos* succeed in entering the Port of Monterey, during the six years and more that it tried to do so. But now that it brings nothing for us, it came in. And so far the frigate has not put in an appearance. This present boat – the Indians nick-named it "Sad Boat" – has brought me only this consolation – Your Reverence's two letters dated November 24 and December 14, of last year.

Fray Junípero Serra, Letter to Fray Francisco Pangua, Monterey, July 24, 1775

addition of two new vessels – the *Santiago* and the *Sonora* – ensured that 1773 would be the last year that the Alta California establishments faced starvation.⁹³ The replacement of military commander Pedro Fages, as Serra had requested, gave the Franciscans the upper hand, if only temporarily, in their ongoing dispute with the military over secular authority in Alta California. Welcoming responses from the Chumash on Serra's return trek convinced him of the viability of immediately establishing Mission San Buenaventura on the Channel coast, while the encounter with Anza on the beach near Point Conception boosted his confidence that an overland connection with the Spanish capital at Santa Fe would soon eliminate the Alta California missions' total reliance on maritime supply.

Beyond the reforms in Alta California, Viceroy Bucareli's decision to dispatch the *Santiago* under Juan Pérez to explore the Northwest coast offered the prospect of extending the Franciscan chain of missions well beyond the projected outpost on San Francisco Bay. Franciscan administration of the former Jesuit mission system in Baja California had just been transferred to the Dominican Order, freeing Franciscan resources that could now be concentrated in the north.⁹⁴

After a thirty-one-day passage from San Diego, Pérez brought the *Santiago* to anchor in Monterey Bay on May 7, 1774, a week before Serra's overland arrival. As at San Diego, it required nearly a month to unload cargo at Monterey and prepare the vessel for the next leg of her voyage. Serra took advantage of the illness of *Santiago's* assigned chaplain, Father Pablo de Mugártgui, to assign Fathers Juan Crespi and Tomas de la Peña to the Northwest expedition.⁹⁵ They boarded the *Santiago* on June 6, but unfavorable winds delayed departure until June 11. During that interval, José de Cañizares entered Monterey harbor with his first command, the *San Antonio*.⁹⁶

Father Crespi began his expedition journal immediately upon boarding the *Santiago*, recording the third ceremony conducted under Vizcaíno's famous oak, in which the upcoming voyage was placed under the protection of Our Lady of Bethlehem:

Thursday the 9th. ...This afternoon Captain Don Juan Pérez requested that on the next day a mass should be sung on shore to Our Lady, for the happiness of the voyage.

Friday, the 10th: The altar was raised under a shelter of boughs on the same site where the mass was celebrated on the 27th of December, 1602, during the expedition of General don Sebastián Vizcaíno, and the 3rd of June 1770, when a settlement was made at this port and the first mass was sung by the Reverend Father-President, who sang this mass today also, Fathers Fray José Murguía and Fray Francisco Dumetz and we two

[Crespi and de la Peña] who were going on this new expedition being choristers. We all dined near the old oak which Sebastián Vizcaíno saw. After dinner we went on board the ship...⁹⁷

At noon on the following day, the *Santiago* departed Monterey harbor, clearing the Point of Pines before calms, light shifting winds, and the California current carried her south. The Santa Lucia Mountains, towering over Carmel Bay and Mission San Carlos Borromeo, were still in sight six days later when the *Santiago's* sails finally began to fill. On the evening of June 17, 1774, Juan Pérez made his first entries into *Santiago's* navigation tables as the ship began to make headway under a northwest wind, sailing into Northwest Coastal history.

In 1785, the Spanish white ensign was changed to a new red and gold design. From that point, this new flag would



have been flown by all Spanish vessels in the Pacific.



For both Serra and Pérez, the departure of the *Santiago* for the Northwest Coast in June 1774 was most likely the highpoint of their respective careers. While both men had already enjoyed success and recognition, the upcoming expedition held even greater promise. Unfortunately, the results fell far short of the objectives set out by Viceroy Bucareli and Father-President Serra. Delayed by a month due to the unscheduled stop at San Diego, and subsequently stymied by weather, the *Santiago* did not reach 60°N, with her most northerly landfall at the Queen Charlotte Islands in 54°N. Although interacting with the *Haida* and *Nu-chab-nulth* Indians in offshore encounters reminiscent of his many experiences in the Santa Barbara Channel, Pérez failed to make a single landing, or claim of sovereignty in the far Northwest. Serra's ambitions for a chain of Franciscan missions extending into the far Pacific Northwest never came to pass. Bucareli dispatched follow-on expeditions to Alaska in 1775 and 1779, by which time events in Europe and on the east coast of North America diverted the Crown's attention, and maritime resources, away from Alta California to the Caribbean and the Philippines.

Nevertheless, through the persistent efforts and expertise of mariners like Pérez, the Spaniards' tenuous hold on Alta California survived the hardships and setbacks of its first years. The missions and presidios would eventually come to dominate the coast and guarantee the security of New Spain's northwest frontier well into the nineteenth century. The maritime *Camino Real* would continue to play a vital role in this.

Notes

- 1 Rivera's early life, service in Baja California and installation as Presidio Commander are described in Harry W. Crosby, *Antigua California, Mission and Colony on the Peninsular Frontier, 1697-1768* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), 329-340.
- 2 Douglas S. Watson, ed., *The Spanish Occupation of California: Plan for the Establishment of a Government. Junta or Council Held at San Blas, May 16, 1768. Diario of the Expeditions made to California* (San Francisco: The Grubhorn Press, 1934), 21.
- 3 In the May *junta*, Cabo San Lucas was identified as the Baja California stop before proceeding to Monterey. See Watson, *Spanish Occupation*, 22. Gálvez later chose La Paz as his base of operations, and the *San Carlos* and *San Antonio* were to proceed to there. Crosby, *Gateway to Alta California, The Expedition to San Diego, 1769* (San Diego: Sunbelt Publications, 2003), 36; Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of the Pacific States of North America*, Vol. XIII, *California*, Volume I, 1542-1800 (San Francisco: A.I. Bancroft & Company, 1884), 117.
- 4 The *Lauretana* departed from San Blas in early 1768, carrying the Catalanian Volunteers to Guaymas for Elizondo's expedition against the Seri. Domingo Elizondo, *Noticia de la Expedición Militar, Contra los Rebeldes Seris y Pimas del Cerro Prieto, Sonora (1767-1771)* (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1999), 11; Donald W. Rowland, *The Elizondo Expeditions against the Indian Rebels of Sonora*, Ph.D. Diss. (Berkeley: University of California, 1930), 106. Reassigned to the Monterey expedition, Fages and his men sailed from Guaymas and arrived at La Paz on the *Lauretana* in October 1768. Crosby, *Gateway*, 37. Pérez and Fages most likely met on the voyage north, and it is possible that Pérez was still serving on the *Lauretana* until October. At the May *junta*, it had been decided that the seaborne troops were to be commanded by Royal Engineer Miguel Costansó. With the assignment of the Catalanians, command was shifted from Costansó to Fages. Fages had served with the Catalanian Volunteers, as an officer, in the mountains of northeastern Portugal during Spain's abortive 1762 invasion. The Catalanian Volunteers were raised in 1762 as light infantry. Light infantry was a novel concept during the Seven Years' War, and involved employing specialized infantry to fulfill the role of cavalry in terrain where horses could not operate, such as mountains, jungles or forests. The Catalanians could operate independently in small detachments, and were trained in aimed fire, versus the rapid "pointed" volley fire used in large infantry formations. The mountains of Portugal were more representative of a frontier area, versus the terrain found in many European countries, and provided the Spaniards with valuable experience for their frontier operations in North America.
- 5 Michael E. Thurman, *The Naval Department of San Blas, New Spain's Bastion for Alta California and Nootka, 1767 to 1798* (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1967), 68-69; Ray Brandes, *The Costansó Narrative of the Portolá Expedition, first Chronicle of the Spanish Conquest of Alta California* (Newhall: Hogarth Press, 1970), 84.
- 6 Thurman, *Naval Department*, 71-72.
- 7 Pérez's commission and updated instructions were provided at Cabo San Lucas. Thomas Workman Temple II, "Lanterns at Monterey: Serra's Description of the Founding of Monterey and of the First Corpus Christi Celebration of Alta California as Related in his Letter to Gálvez, Dated July 2, 1770," *California Historical Quarterly* 3 (no. 11, September 1932): 274-279; 276, n. 4.
- 8 The *San José* arrived at Cabo San Lucas on her maiden voyage from San Blas on February 13, 1769 under the command of Domenico Callegari. Gálvez's shipwrights immediately went to work overhauling her, as they had done to *San Carlos* and *San Antonio*, before their departures for Alta California. Pérez departed for San Diego two days after the *San José's* arrival and was under the impression that she would soon follow. Robert Selden Rose, ed., *The Portolá Expedition of 1769-1770, Diary of Vicente Vila* (Berkeley: University of California, 1911), 95. However, within a week Gálvez set a message to Serra, informing him that the *San José* would sail in May. Fray Francisco Palóu, *Historical memoirs of New California. Translated into English from the manuscript in the archives of Mexico*, ed. and trans. Herbert Eugene Bolton (Berkeley: University of California press, 1926), vol. II, 376, n. 2. Upon the completion of the *San José's* repairs she sailed for Loreto, then across the Gulf of California to the Rio Mayo for additional supplies. She finally departed from Loreto on her first attempt to reach Alta California in mid-June. See Bancroft, *History*, 123.
- 9 Reported latitudes for San Diego ranged from 33° to 34° N. Brandes, *Costansó Narrative*, p. 11; Fernando Boneu Companys, *Gaspar de Portolá, Explorer and Founder of California*, ed. and trans. Alan K. Brown, (Lerida: Instituto de Estudios Ilerdenses, 1983), 147; Antonine Tibesar, *Writings of Junípero Serra* (Washington D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955), vol. I, 142-143.
- 10 Father Vizcaíno made no mention of this incident in his diary. Fray Juan Vizcaíno, *The Sea Diary of Fray Juan Vizcaíno to Alta California, 1769*, trans. Arthur Woodward (Los Angeles: Glen Dawson, 1959), 22-23.
- 11 Diarists of the Portolá expedition counted over 100 Chumash *tomols* between Ventura and Point Concepcion in 1769. Crossing the channel from Santa Cruz Island would have placed the *San Antonio* along the most densely populated and active section of the coast. Lynn H. Gamble, *The Chumash World at European Contact* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 68-70.
- 12 Vizcaíno, *Sea Diary*, 26-27.
- 13 Captain Vicente Vila's diary made no mention of interactions with Indians. Rose, *Portolá Expedition*, 83-93.
- 14 Companys, *Gaspar de Portolá*, 95-97.
- 15 Crosby, *Gateway to Alta California*, 60, 102, 103, 109.
- 16 Tibesar, *Writings*, vol. I, 141.
- 17 Juan Crespi, *A Description of Distant Roads: Original Journals of the First Expedition into California, 1769-1770*, ed. and trans. Alan K. Brown (San Diego: San Diego State University Press, 2001), 254-255.
- 18 Crespi, *A Description*, 254-257; Rose, *Portolá Expedition*, 94-97; Crosby, *Gateway to Alta California*, 112.
- 19 Tibesar, *Writings*, vol. I, 144-145.
- 20 Crosby, *Gateway to Alta California*, 112.
- 21 Topography and hydrology forced the trail through Gabrielino territory inland, through areas of smaller and dispersed Prairie Gabrielino villages and bypassed the larger Gabrielino maritime communities which stretched from modern Long Beach towards Santa Monica. Companys, *Gaspar de Portolá*, 176. A summary for the Prairie Gabrielino village sizes is found in Steven W. Hackel, "Sources of Rebellion: Indian Testimony and the Mission San Gabriel Uprising of 1785," *Ethnohistory* 50 (no. 4, 2003): 643-669. For summaries of Gabrielino settlements see William McCawley, *The First Angelinos, The Gabrielino Indians of Los Angeles* (Novato: Ballena Press, 1996), 23-87.
- 22 Companys, *Gaspar de Portolá*, 177. Upon reaching the Santa Barbara Channel ten days later, Costansó begins to record villages of over 400 (pp. 183-187), then 600 (p. 188), then 800 (p. 193).
- 23 Gamble provides an excellent summary of assessments of maritime Chumash population distribution from various sources. Gamble, *The Chumash World*, 65-111.
- 24 Pedro Fages, *A Historical, Political, and Natural Description of California by Pedro Fages, Soldier of Spain*, trans. Herbert Ingram Priestly (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1937), 32.
- 25 Fages, *A Historical*, 31.
- 26 To traverse the Santa Barbara channel, Portolá used twelve campsites, northbound. Crespi, *A Description*, 382-443; Companys, *Gaspar de Portolá*, 182-196. Nine campsites were used southbound. Crespi, *A Description*, 648-657; Companys, *Gaspar de Portolá*, 282-289. Costansó elaborated on the factors facing the Portolá expedition, and the added risks arising from the skittish pack animals. Brandes, *Costansó Narrative*, 90-91. During the Anza expedition, six campsites were required. See Fray Pedro Font, *With Anza to California 1775-1776, The Journal of Pedro Font*, O.F.M., trans. and ed. Alan K. Brown (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011), 216-228. In theory, the eighty-five-mile Channel trail could be traversed by a pack train without cattle or pedestrians using three to four campsites. H.W. Daly, *Manual of Pack Transportation* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. War Department, Government Printing Office, 1917), 145-146.
- 27 Jack S. Williams, *A Military History of Alta California, 1769 - 1835* (Unpublished manuscript, 2004), vol. I, 25.
- 28 Fages, *A Historical*, 32.
- 29 It is unlikely that the Indians of southern California considered the Spaniards to be supernatural beings. Richard L. Carrico, "Sociopolitical Aspects of the 1775 Revolt at Mission San Diego de Alcalá," *Journal of San Diego History* 43 (no 3, Summer 1997), retrieved from <https://sandiegohistory.org/journal/1997/july/missionrevolt/>. Both the seaborne and overland contingents found evidence (beads, knife blades) that the Indians of the Channel coasts had prior contacts with Europeans. Costansó recorded: "[T]hey also said that once before a bearded folk, dressed and armed like ourselves, had come into their lands, pointing as they showed that they had come from the east." Vizcaíno, *Sea Diary*, 25; Crespi, *A Description*, 318-319; Companys, *Gaspar de Portolá*, 177. Gabrielino shamanistic beliefs may have attributed the earthquakes, which heralded the Spaniards' crossing of the Santa Ana River, to the powers of Fathers Crespi and Gómez. Crespi, *A Description*, 316-319; Companys, *Gaspar de Portolá*, 171-175; McCawley, *The First Angelinos*, 100.

The survival of the overland expedition resulted from the lack of conflict, not Spanish military superiority. Spanish offensive power depended on the shock value of the first use of firelocks and the mobility/inertia provided by saddled mounts (primarily mules in 1769) for yielding lances. But with mobility (and the effectiveness of lances) limited by the channel beach and overlooking cliffs along stretches of the channel, Portolá's men would have to rely primarily on their firelocks. The single shot, smoothbore flintlock *escopetas* and muskets carried by Portolá's men were slow to reload when dismounted and difficult to reload on horseback. Flintlock weapons were prone to misfires, especially under humid, surf spray conditions, and became extremely unreliable in rain or mist. A fifteen percent misfire rate could be expected under ideal, dry conditions. See B.P. Hughes, *Firepower, Weapons Effectiveness on the Battlefield, 1630-1850* (New York: Sarpedon, 1997), 59. An example of misfires comes from Father Fermín Lasuén's description of a spontaneous skirmish at the Chumash rancheria of Dos Pueblos in 1776, where firelocks initially proved ineffective and the issue was resolved by the

- arrival and charge of mounted reinforcements. Fr. Finbar Kenneally, *Writings of Fermín Francisco de Lasuén* (Washington D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955), vol. I, 46-47. Lasuén closed the description of this encounter with: "I am of the opinion that these Channel Indians know that they are strong, and they act on the principle that whoever harms them will have to pay the price." The vulnerability of isolated, immobile *soldados* was ultimately demonstrated in 1781 by the massacre of Rivera y Moncada and his eighteen *soldados* at the Yuma crossing of the Colorado River.
- 30 By 1780, Spanish Alta California's mission and presidio outposts were connected to New Spain's northern frontier by over 2,000 miles of overland trails. *El Camino Real de las Californias* stretched for nearly 1,400 miles between Baja California's Presidio of Loreto and Alta California's northernmost establishment, the Presidio of San Francisco. Juan Bautista de Anza's trail from Sonora, stretched some 600 miles to the east, linking the Presidio of Tubac to *El Camino Real* at Mission San Gabriel. Logistically, the missions were clustered into four groups (Franciscan Northern Alta California: five missions; Franciscan Southern Alta California: three missions; Franciscan eastern California: two missions; Dominican Northern Baja California: five missions). These groups were separated by hundreds of miles of open trail and could offer little mutual support. The Spaniards faced ongoing risks that individual groups could be isolated by interdiction of the overland trails by the Indians. The Kumeyaay made numerous attempts on, and around San Diego – the most successful being the destruction of Mission San Diego de Alcalá in 1775, but were not successful in closing the trail. The Quechan destroyed both missions at the Yuma crossing of the Colorado River in 1781, and permanently closed the Anza Trail. In both these cases, subsequent Spanish investigations documented insight and perspectives into the internal diplomacy and motives of these Indian groups. No coordinated military attempt was made by the Chumash (by far the most powerful Indian group) during the Spanish period, so a similar appraisal is not readily available. The development of Spanish-Chumash diplomacy during the mission era was far more nuanced and provides fertile ground for future research.
 - 31 McCawley, *The First Angelinos*, 111-115; Jeanne E. Arnold, "The Chumash in World and Regional Perspectives," and "Social Evolution and Political Economy in the Northern Channel Islands," in *The Origins of a Pacific Coast Chieftdom, The Chumash of the Channel Islands* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2001), 1-18, 287-296; Lynn H. Gamble, "Archaeological Evidence for the Origin of the Plank Canoe in North America," *American Antiquity* 67 (no. 2, 2002): 302, 312-313; Arnold, "Credit Where Credit is Due: The History of the Chumash Océangoing Plank Canoe," *American Antiquity* 72 (no. 2, 2002): 207; Gamble, *The Chumash World*, 235-239.
 - 32 Descriptions of the Chumash *tomol* on the water, before and during the Mission era, are found in several journals ranging from the 1542 Cabrillo Expedition in the *San Salvador*, to the 1804 visit by William Shaler in the *Leila Byrd*, but it was not until the late twentieth century that research into the technical, cultural and economic aspects of plank canoe construction and operation became readily available. Early in the twentieth century, John P. Harrington assembled a body of knowledge on the actual construction of *tomols* in support of the construction of a replica for the 1915 Panama-American Expedition in San Diego. Harrington's primary source was Fernando Librado, a Chumash who came of age in the 1820s. Harrington's information was preserved in the form of over 3,000 pages of notes. During the 1970s Harrington's notes were organized, transcribed, interpreted and worked into a manuscript. See Travis Hudson, Janice Timbrook, Melissa Rempe, *Tomol: Chumash Watercraft as Described in the Ethnographic Notes of John P. Harrington* (Novato: Ballena Press, 1978). A replica based on this research is now preserved in the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History.
 - 33 For the geographic language groups see Gamble, *The Chumash World*, p. 9. For a geographic summary of Chumash intergroup conflict, see John R. Johnson, "Ethnohistoric Descriptions of Chumash Warfare," in *North American Indigenous Warfare and Ritual Violence*, edited by Richard J. Chacon and Reuben G. Mendoza (Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 2007), 81.
 - 34 Arnold, "The Chumash," 14-15; Gamble, *The Chumash World*, 286.
 - 35 Pérez/*San Antonio* in the San Pedro and Santa Barbara Channels, March 15 – April 7, 1769 (Vizcaino, *Sea Diary*, 7-27). Vila/*San Carlos* in the San Pedro Channel, April 26 – 29, 1769 (Rose, *Portolá Expedition*, 86-91). Portolá's scouts on the coast of Santa Monica Bay determined that there is no beach trail along the Santa Monica Mountains, first week of August, 1769 (Companys, *Gaspar de Portolá*, 176). Portolá reached the Santa Barbara Channel between Saticoy and Ventura, August 14, 1769 (Companys, *Gaspar de Portolá*, 183).
 - 36 Companys, *Gaspar de Portolá*, 177-178.
 - 37 Crespi, *A Description*, 368-369.
 - 38 This was the first coastal village to be visited by the Spaniards. Crespi, *A Description*, 183-185, 386-399.
 - 39 Crespi, *A Description*, 390-391, 440-441. But Crespi also noted that Chumash festivities "had our Captain somewhat worried." Crespi, *A Description*, 400-401.
 - 40 Crespi, *A Description*, 438-439, 466-467, 642-645, 648-653, 704-705.
 - 41 Pages, *A Historical*, 31.
 - 42 Father Crespi noted in his journal that plank canoes were no longer encountered after the party rounded Point Conception: "The canoes stop here at Santa Teresa (east of Government Point)), there being from here onward nothing but a few tule-rush floats at some spots." Crespi, *A Description*, 446-449, 452-453).
 - 43 Hudson et al., *Tomol*, 105. In an exchange off San Clemente Island, the Gabrielino brought "very good" red ochre. Vizcaino, *Sea Diary*, 14.
 - 44 Father Vizcaino, Father Crespi and Engineer Costansó all recorded Indians possessing Spanish trade goods at the time of the expedition's arrival, including glass beads (Vizcaino, *Sea Diary*, 25; Crespi, *A Description*, 446-447) and iron knife blades (Crespi, *A Description*, 318-319).
 - 45 The Spaniards had similar experiences at San Diego. It is not clear whether the Chumash valued the cloth as a textile, which did not exist in their material culture, or as a source of fine cordage.
 - 46 Pages and Portolá came from the Spanish aristocracy, trained as military professionals, and were veterans of Spain's 1762 invasion of Portugal. The Portuguese war was a grim affair conducted along a mountainous frontier, punctuated by guerrilla warfare, and involved irregular female and child combatants. See David Francis, *Portugal 1715-1808: Joanne, Pombaline and Rococo Portugal as Seen by British Diplomats and Traders* (London: Tamesis Books Ltd., 1985), 146-161; Wyndham Beawes, *Civil, Commercial, Political and Literary History of Spain and Portugal* (London, 1793), 227; Serafin María Soto y Abbach Clonard, *Historia orgánica de las Armas de Infantería y Caballería españolas desde la creación del ejército permanente hasta el día / por el teniente general Conde de Clonard* (Madrid, 1851-1859), available at: <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/009648441>
 - 47 With the Spaniards facing military inferiority along the coast into at least the early 1790s, they were forced to rely on diplomacy with the Chumash. Tolerance, and even promotion of Chumash maritime culture was a crucial element in the peaceful Spanish-Chumash relations until the end of the eighteenth century. Contrary to popular narratives which imply that California natives were immediately forced into abandoning their pre-contact cultures and impressed into European style settlements, pagan Chumash communities, their maritime culture, and the associated sociopolitical hierarchies, coexisted alongside the mission and presidio communities into the early nineteenth century. While the Santa Barbara Channel environment was conducive to agriculture, the Chumash had never adopted it. See Arnold, "The Chumash," 4-5. Arnold provides an example of sixteenth-century relations between the Spaniards and the Calusa, where the Spaniards attempted to transform a similar people into farmers in southern Florida, noting "...males refused, indicating that scratching in the dirt was beneath their station in life." Arnold, "The Chumash," 6. The Spaniards not only tolerated the *tomol* culture in pagan villages, but even integrated the use of canoes into the life of the Missions. In 1793, in addition to the pagan canoe fleets along the channel coast, George Vancouver reported a *tomol* off Morro Bay, and *tomols* at Mission San Buenaventura attempted to retrieve Father Santa María from Vancouver's ship. George Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Around the World, 1791-1795*, ed. W. Kaye Lamb (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1984), vol. III, 1087, 1099-1100. Fr. Mariano Payeras purchased a *tomol* in 1814 for Mission la Purísima. Hudson et al. *Tomol*, 39, n. 49. An example of Spanish-Chumash relations is provided in Marie C. Duggan, *The Chumash and the Presidio of Santa Barbara: Evolution of a Relationship, 1782-1823* (Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Trust for Historic Preservation, 2004).
 - 48 For the return trek along the Santa Barbara Channel, see Crespi, *A Description*, 646-657.
 - 49 Tibesar, *Writings*, vol. I, 150-151; Palóu, *Historical memoirs*, vol. II, 269-271; Crespi, *A Description*, 670-671. In addition to the casualties from the August 15, 1769 attack, another eight of the Catalonians had died at San Diego. Out of twenty-five, only twelve remained for the return march to Monterey in April 1770. Palóu, *Historical memoirs*, vol. II, 277; Crosby, *Gateway*, 114.
 - 50 Fernando Boneu Companys, *Secret Documents of the Portolá Expedition, Juntas de Guerra*, (San Salvador: Editorial Milenio, 1999), 154.
 - 51 Companys, *Secret Documents*, 148.
 - 52 Palóu, *Historical memoirs*, vol. II, 272.
 - 53 Fray Francisco Palóu, and George Wharton James, *Francisco Palóu's Life and Apostolic Labors of the Venerable Father Junípero Serra, Founder of the Franciscan Missions of California*, trans. C. Scott Williams (Pasadena, George Wharton James, 1913), 91.
 - 54 Crespi, *A Description*, 676-677.
 - 55 According to Palóu, nine sailors died on the return voyage. Palóu, *Historical memoirs*, vol. II, 275.
 - 56 Tibesar, *Writings*, vol. I, 415, n. 56.
 - 57 Companys, *Gaspar de Portolá*, 323.
 - 58 Companys, *Gaspar de Portolá*, 323-324.
 - 59 Companys, *Gaspar de Portolá*, 323-324; Palóu, *Historical memoirs*, 91; Brandes, *Costansó Narrative*, 97.

- 60 Costansó attributes Pérez's decision to his deduction (Brandes, *Costansó Narrative*, 97), while Palóu attributes Pérez's decision to the loss of an anchor (Palóu, *Historical memoirs*, vol. II, 276).
- 61 Crespi, *A Description*, 680 – 681; Brandes, *Costansó Narrative*, 97.
- 62 Bancroft, *History*, 165.
- 63 Subsequent attempts to explore San Francisco Bay in the early 1770s were continually frustrated. Fages made an overland reconnaissance of the east bay in 1770, and another with Crespi in 1772. When the *San Antonio* completed unloading supplies in Monterey in 1771, it was judged too late to begin a survey. The 1772 voyages of the *San Carlos* and *San Antonio* were aborted in the summer, and a continuation of the *San Antonio's* November 1772 voyage to Monterey was out of the question. No vessels came to Alta California in 1773, and the intended exploration by the *Santiago* in 1774 was aborted because of the debilitated condition of her crew on her return from the Northwest Coast. Rivera and Palóu finally made an overland reconnaissance of the San Francisco Peninsula in 1774 and the *San Carlos* conducted a maritime survey in 1775. Juan Bautista de Anza made an exploration of the east bay and delta in 1776.
- 64 Companys, *Gaspar de Portolá*, 264.
- 65 Crespi, *A Description*, 678-679.
- 66 Palóu, *Historical memoirs*, 92; Tibesar, *Writings*, vol. II, 472, n 61.
- 67 Palóu, *Historical memoirs*, 93.
- 68 Tibesar, *Writings*, vol. I, 166-167.
- 69 Companys, *Secret Documents*, 252-254.
- 70 Crespi, *A Description*, 694 – 707.
- 71 Tibesar, *Writings*, vol. I, 166-167.
- 72 Tibesar, *Writings*, vol. I, 168-169, 176-177, 186-187. Note that Tibesar interpreted the word "*imagen*" as "picture" in this passage and "painting" on pages 168-169, 186-187, while on the continuation of the latter document on pages 188-189, he lists three additional "paintings", translated from the Spanish text "*lienzos*", which is usually translated as canvases. From an online source (www.spanishdict.com/translate/imagen), "*imagen*" can be a generic word for "image" or specifically for "statue" in a religious context. The 1785 painting of Serra's *Viaticum*, based on Francisco Palóu's description, clearly depicts Our Lady of Bethlehem as a statue.
- 73 Tibesar, *Writings*, vol. I, 186-187.
- 74 Tibesar, *Writings*, vol. I, 188-189.
- 75 Beginning in the mid-1760s, England, France and Russia began government sponsored incursions into the Pacific. Spain immediately began diplomatic and military initiatives to block the entrances to the Pacific. Alta California and Northern California (Alaska) became squares on a global chess board to be potentially occupied by blocking pawns. Blocking the western entrance to the Pacific, Manila was reinforced, and Simon de Anda, the leader of the successful containment of the 1762 English invasion of the Philippines, was installed as Governor. Blocking the Northwestern and Northeastern "Passages", the Naval Department of San Blas was established in 1767 to support the settlement of Alta California (as well as provide a supportive Naval link to Manila). At the eastern entrance to Cape Horn, France relinquished a settlement in the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands to the Spanish through diplomatic actions, while an English settlement was forcibly ejected by the Spanish in 1770. Also, in 1770, a naval expedition from Peru searched for comparable settlements on the Pacific side of Cape Horn - on Easter Island, Juan Fernandez Island and Islands off the coast of Chile. Plans to establish a colony on Easter Island were abandoned with English and French explorations of Tahiti in 1768. Three Spanish expeditions sailed from Peru to Tahiti between 1772 and 1775, culminating in an unsuccessful attempt to establish a Franciscan Mission and block the southern entrance to the Pacific. The fifth entrance to the Pacific was through the Caribbean and Gulf of Mexico, including 18th century efforts to find/provide water links to the Pacific across the Central American land bridge. Learning from the mistakes of the Seven Years War, the primary focus of the Spanish Crown in the New World during the 1770s became the expansion and reinforcement of garrisons in the Caribbean and Gulf.
- 76 Tibesar, *Writings*, vol. I, 295-343.
- 77 Thurman, *Naval Department*, 105-123.
- 78 The practice of using merchant masters for fleet auxiliary vessels remains in use today (<https://www.msc.navy.mil/civmar/>).
- 79 Thurman, *Naval Department*, 142. The new officers sent to San Blas from Spain included: Bruno Hezeta, Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, Miguel Manrique, Fernando de Quirós y Miranda, Jun Manuel Ayala, and Diego Choquet.
- 80 Thurman, *Naval Department*, 122-126.
- 81 Manual P. Servin, and Antonio María Bucareli y Ursúa, "The Instructions of Viceroy Bucareli to Ensign Juan Perez," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 40 (no. 3, 1961): 237-248.
- 82 Thurman, *Naval Department*, 119.
- 83 *Alférez de fragata graduado* – acting ensign.
- 84 Per Bucareli's instructions, Pérez kept two sequential logs, the first detailing the voyage to Monterey, and the second describing the voyage from Monterey to the northwest coast. Accounts of the expedition after its departure from Monterey are well known. The first published translations of journals from both Franciscan chaplains on the Santiago, Juan Crespi and Tomás de la Peña, appeared in 1891. Donald C. Cutter, *The California Coast, A Bilingual Edition of Documents from the Suro Collection* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1969). Pérez's second log was first translated in 1911, and then re-published with other documents from the expedition in an annotated edition in 1989. Herbert K. Beals, *Juan Pérez on the Northwest Coast, Six Documents of his Expedition in 1774* (Portland, Oregon Historical Society Press, 1989). Accounts of the 1774 voyage from San Blas to San Diego briefly were briefly mentioned in a 1913 translation of Palóu's *Vida* and translations of Serra's correspondence published in 1950. Pérez's first log detailing the voyage from San Blas to San Diego and Monterey did not see publication until 2006, and then only in Spanish María Luisa Rodríguez-Sala, *De San Blas hasta la Alta California: Los viajes y diarios de Juan Joseph Pérez Hernández* (Mexico, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2006).
- 85 Rodríguez-Sala, *De San Blas*, 92.
- 86 Rodríguez-Sala, *De San Blas*, 98, 100.
- 87 The Chumash bear robe, or cloak, worn by a *tomol's* owner or chief was described by Father Font during the 1776 Anza Expedition. Font, *With Anza to California*, 223.
- 88 A list of *Santiago's* passengers who booked passage or received loans from Mexico City's Archivo General de la Nación was translated by Beals. See Beals, *Juan Pérez*, 151, 156-157. Additional passengers are listed in Junipero Serra's correspondence. Tibesar, *Writings*, vol. II, 35, 65. These represented the first Spanish European colonists. Technically, the first "Spanish" women to arrive in Alta California came as part of two Baja California Indian families, who arrived at San Diego in March 1773. Tibesar, *Writings*, vol. II, 43.
- 89 Tibesar, *Writings*, vol. II, 66-67.
- 90 Missions San Gabriel, San Luis Obispo and San Antonio.
- 91 Tibesar, *Writings*, vol. I, 298-299.
- 92 Phil Valdez, *Juan Bautista de Anza and Father President of the California Missions Fray Junipero Serra*, unpublished manuscript, 2017, 1-5; Tibesar, *Writings*, vol. I, 70-71.
- 93 Dependence on maritime supply from San Blas for necessary foodstuffs would continue through the mid-1780s, at which time the Alta California Missions finally became agriculturally self-sufficient. Herds and flocks had grown to the point that meat was becoming "part of the staple diet", orchards and vineyards were bearing fruit, and table wine was even being produced. Robert Archibald, *The Economic Aspects of the California Missions* (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1978), 159-165.
- 94 In 1773, the Baja California Missions, including Serra's first mission at Velicató, were formally transferred to the Dominicans. The dividing line between the Orders was just south of the Port of San Diego. Palóu left Loreto in late May and arrived in San Diego with five friars in mid-August. Maynard Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California, 1769-1848* (San Marino: Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, 1969), 176-177. Serra was in Mexico City at this time, and Palóu acted as Father President until Serra's return.
- 95 Tibesar, *Writings*, vol. I, 68-69, 60-61, 76-77, 96-97.
- 96 José de Cañizares accompanied Rivera's contingent of Portolá's Expedition from Velicató to San Diego in 1769 as navigator/journalist. When Portolá marched north in search of Monterey in 1769, Cañizares remained with the stranded *San Carlos*, as the sick Vicente Vila's second pilot in hopes of receiving sailors from either the *San José* or *San Antonio*. Sailing the *San Carlos* from San Diego to San Blas in August 1770, Cañizares remained as her second pilot in 1771 and 1772 under Miguel del Pino (when Serra sailed to San Blas). He then served as Pérez's second pilot on *San Carlos'* aborted 1773 voyage. The 1774 voyage of the *San Antonio* was his first command. With the arrival of line officers from Spain in late 1774, Cañizares was relegated to duty as second pilot. As second pilot of the *San Carlos* in 1775, he was the first known European to enter San Francisco Bay, taking *San Carlos'* longboat through the Golden Gate on a reconnaissance. Beginning in 1784, Cañizares commanded vessels to both Alta California and Nootka Sound (Vancouver Island). At Monterey, in command of the second *San Carlos*, Cañizares was with Serra during the last hours of his life and participated in Serra's funeral. The day of the funeral, *San Carlos'* cannons alternated with the Presidio's in firing salutes on the half hour, mixing with the tolling of the bells. After the funeral, Serra's tunic was presented to Cañizares to be divided among his crew. Palóu, *Historical memoirs*, 270-279.
- 97 Cutter, *The California Coast*, 138-141, 208-209. According to Father de la Peña's account, Father Serra had dined on the *San Antonio* and spent the night before the mass aboard. Attendees at the mass and dinner on the 10th included the five priests previously mentioned, probably Fray Francisco Palóu (Serra's immediate successor and biographer, who is mentioned elsewhere in de la Peña's entries) and "all the people of the Presidio and the ships", including prominent veterans of the Portolá expedition – Pérez (the dinner host), José de Cañizares, Captain Fernando Rivera (the new Commandant in Alta California), Pedro Fages (the outgoing Commandant), and a new officer at San Blas, Esteban Martínez (Pérez's new second pilot). Serra's accounts of the service can be found in Tibesar, *Writings*, vol. II, 72-73, 86-87.

Visions of the Maritime *Camino*

The Photography of Doc White

The first peoples to reach the western shores of North America did so via a maritime pathway that had been traversed and inhabited by other living creatures for millennia. This pristine “kelp highway” paralleled the continental coasts enclosing the waters of the northern Pacific Ocean. Before these first human migrants learned to harvest its bountiful resources and to explore its reaches with increasingly sophisticated watercraft, this “proto-*camino*” was home to an extraordinary abundance of aquatic plants and animals – among them sea otters, turtles, seals, whales, tuna, and kelp.

To travel the maritime *camino* is to encounter an environment rich in biodiversity. Along with the desire to explore and discover, is the perennial human quest for meaning, leading inevitably to the representation of what is new, curious, and fascinating. In the late eighteenth century, the Europeans who sailed north along the coast of the Californias in search of a new frontier, came not only to establish the familiar cultural institutions that would secure their tenure of this new land, but also to catalog and understand what they hoped to dominate. The application of contemporary science in the form of surveys, measurements, collection, sampling, preserving, recording and illustration not only served imperial goals; it also sought to inform a broader project, that of the European Enlightenment.

The “enlightened” voyages of explorers such as La Pérouse (1786), Malaspina and Bustamente (1791), and Vancouver (1792) exemplify this spirit of observation and inquiry. The tangible product of their visits to the newly founded ports of Alta California are found in the charts, rutters, astronomical observations, sketches and natural history illustrations that record the landscapes, plants and animals of the Pacific coast. The role of artists and illustrators on these voyages was crucial in accurately portraying that

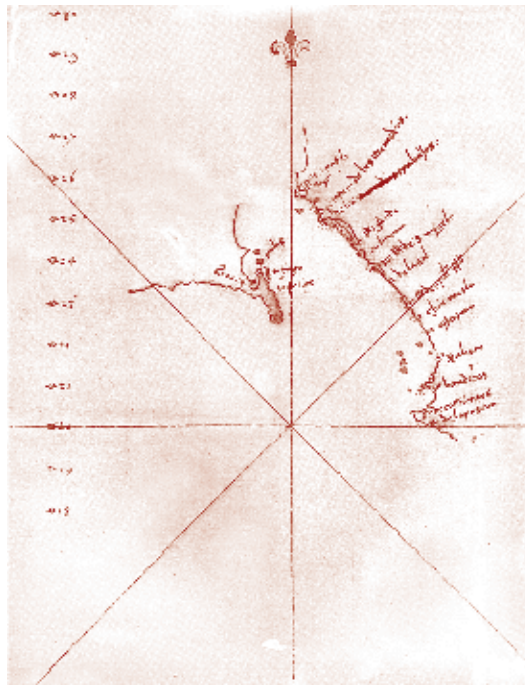
which was new or exotic to European eyes. Today their drawings are not only notable for their artistry, but also portray vistas that have been radically transformed by the impact of increasing populations, urbanization, agriculture and industry, as well as the irrevocable depletion of natural resources and the decimation of native species.

The *camino* recorded by these artists of Spain’s Pacific frontier remains a subject of fascination for many fellow

voyagers. Doc White is one such artist and traveler. His journey along the coast of the Californias revisits and re-records their ecological treasures. And at a time when this *camino* is under increasing pressure that threatens to compromise its rich and unique biodiversity, Doc’s images are all the more compelling.

Doc’s photographic record is both contemporary and timeless. His lens captures a fleeting moment – yet also etches in our memory something that is unchanging: the rugged vistas of the coastline of Baja California and its formidable interior. His images reveal an ocean still rich in natural resources, a limpid counterpoint to the desiccated land it washes against. But these same images also remind us that respect and care for this *camino* will ensure

that they continue to represent a living pathway rather than a nostalgic reminiscence of what has been forever lost.



Above: This map was produced in the wake of the first Spanish expeditions by sea to the northwest of New Spain organized by Hernán Cortés. It shows the coast of Nayarit and the southern tip of Baja California. While the coastal features were relatively well known and named, Spanish knowledge of the interior was fragmentary. The sea would remain the principal pathway for exploring California for centuries. Courtesy Archivo General de Indias.

R. Shelton White grew up exploring the Outer Banks of his native North Carolina. His love of the sea has remained a life-long passion. In 1969, Doc was given command of a Swift Boat (PCF) in Vietnam. During the conflict he was wounded three times, awarded two Bronze Stars, the Purple Heart, the Cross of Gallantry, and the Navy Commendation Medal for Valor. In 1972, he became a U.S. Navy pilot. After the Vietnam War, Doc settled in San Diego and started a charter-dive operation. Since then he has travelled extensively, recording through his photography, the oceans' story. He is a member of the Explorers Club and the Royal Geographical Society. With his wife Ceci, Doc continues to explore the world's rivers, seas and oceans, and advocate for their preservation for future generations.



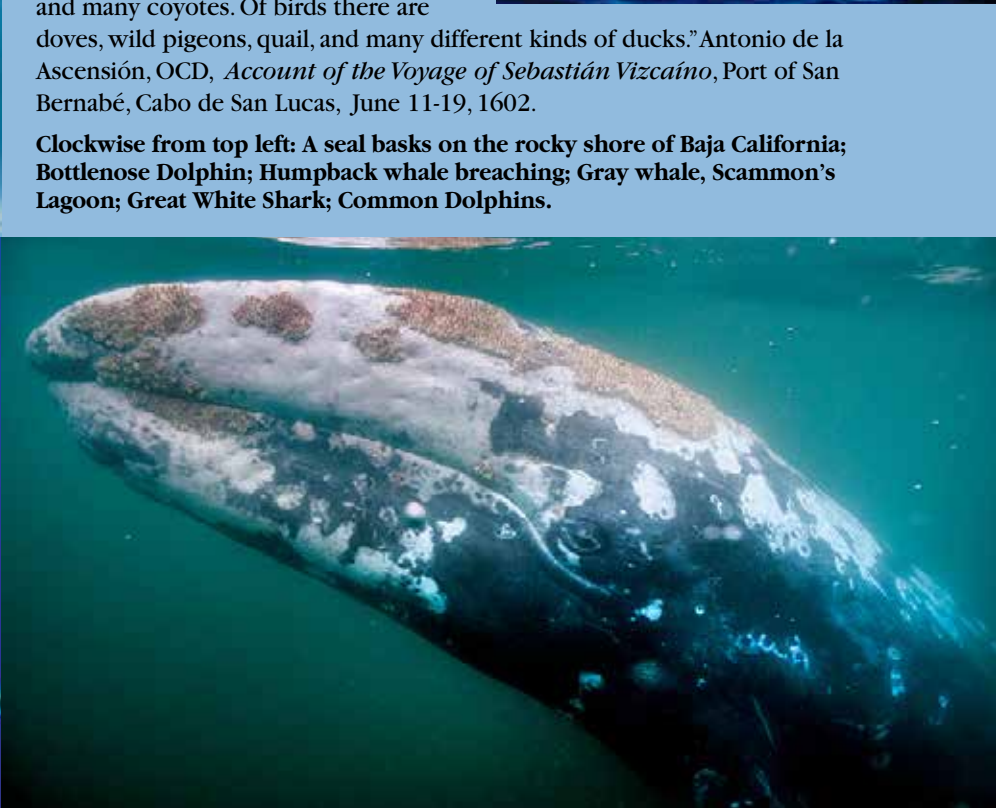
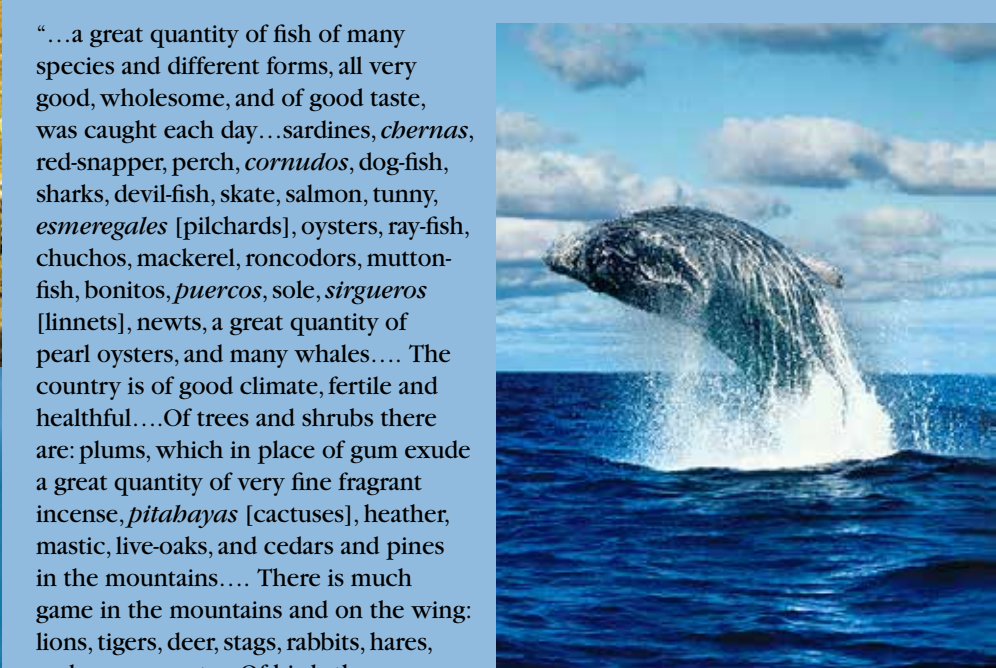
"The coast of the mainland runs from north-northwest to south-southeast, and it is clean coast. Inland it is of fine appearance, flat, and there are good valleys and here and there a grove of trees. The rest is bare." *Account of the voyage of Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo*, August 19, 1542.



There is much seaweed on the surface, which grows on the bottom and is fastened to it." *Account of the voyage of Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo*, August 2, 1542.

Left: The waters of the western shores of Alta and Baja California form a marine environment – the kelp highway – that provides a home to an extraordinary diversity of species. Harvesting its riches provided the first humans to reach North America at the end of the last ice age with an unparalleled source of sustenance.

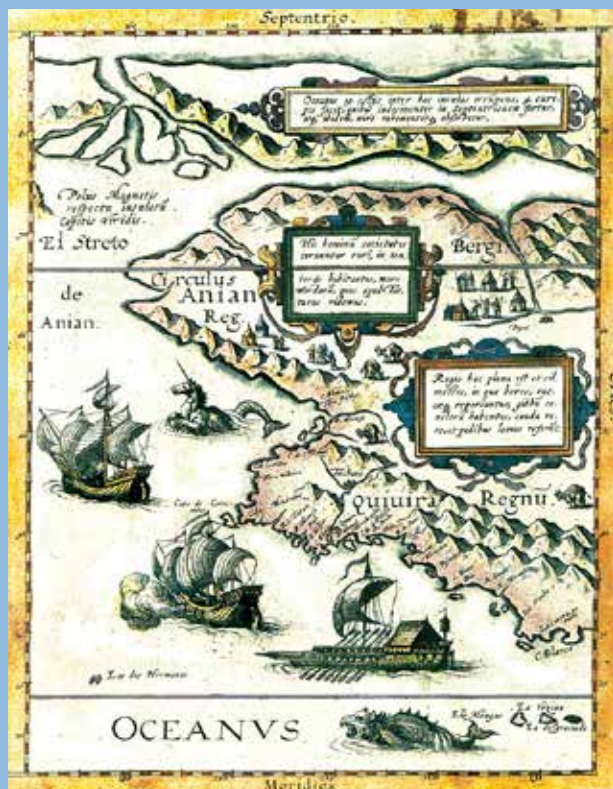




“...a great quantity of fish of many species and different forms, all very good, wholesome, and of good taste, was caught each day...sardines, *chernas*, red-snapper, perch, *cornudos*, dog-fish, sharks, devil-fish, skate, salmon, tunny, *esmeregales* [pilchards], oysters, ray-fish, chuchos, mackerel, roncodors, mutton-fish, bonitos, *puercos*, sole, *sirgueros* [linnets], newts, a great quantity of pearl oysters, and many whales.... The country is of good climate, fertile and healthful....Of trees and shrubs there are: plums, which in place of gum exude a great quantity of very fine fragrant incense, *pitabayas* [cactuses], heather, mastic, live-oaks, and cedars and pines in the mountains.... There is much game in the mountains and on the wing: lions, tigers, deer, stags, rabbits, hares, and many coyotes. Of birds there are doves, wild pigeons, quail, and many different kinds of ducks.” Antonio de la Ascensión, OCD, *Account of the Voyage of Sebastián Vizcaíno*, Port of San Bernabé, Cabo de San Lucas, June 11-19, 1602.

Clockwise from top left: A seal basks on the rocky shore of Baja California; Bottlenose Dolphin; Humpback whale breaching; Gray whale, Scammon’s Lagoon; Great White Shark; Common Dolphins.

“The most remarkable fishes of both seas are the whales, which gave reasons to the ancient cosmographers to call California Punta de Ballenas, and which even today give their name to one channel in the Gulf and one bay in the Pacific Ocean.... Sailors usually call them ballenatos (little whales) perhaps because, although very large, they are not as big as those that are said to exist in other seas. Sharks, dolphins, or toninas are seen very frequently in the Gulf.” Miguel del Barco, SJ, *Historia natural y crónica de la Antigua California*, mid-eighteenth century.



A combination of fact and fantasy, Flemish cartographer Cornelis de Jode's depiction of the Pacific Northwest dwells upon the likely presence of a waterway – the Strait of Anian – linking the northern Atlantic with the Pacific. The map also indicates the location of the mythical kingdom of Quivira, as well as coastal scenes populated by sea monsters and intrepid mariners. A mixture of the factual and the imagined, this was the mysterious shore that awaited the eastern bound Manila Galleon in the late sixteenth century. Cornelis de Jode, *Quivirae Regnu*, 1593.

Right and below: Sea Otters. At the time of the beginning of Spanish settlement of Alta California in 1769, sea otters inhabited the length of the maritime *camino*, from the tip of Baja California to the Pacific Northwest and beyond to the coasts of Japan. Hunted for their pelts almost to the point of extinction, they are now considered a threatened species.

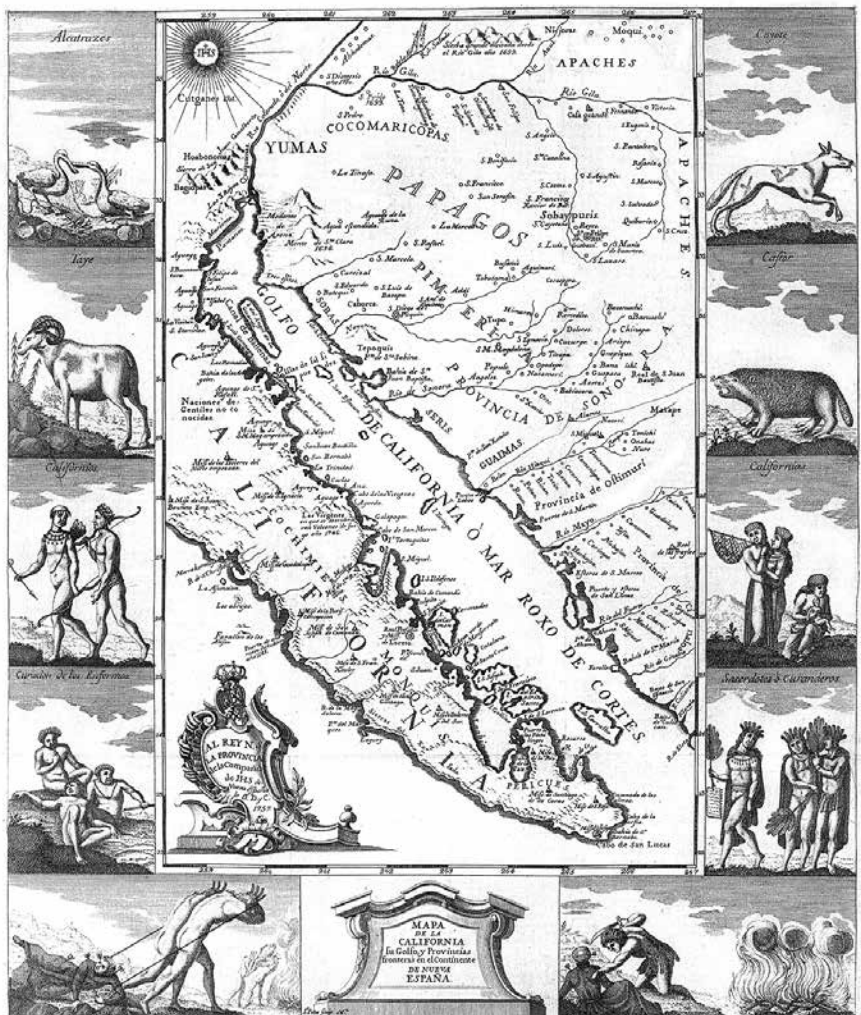




California seal and Sealions.



Cueva de las flechas, Canyon San Pablo, Sierra de San Francisco. There is no consensus on the meaning of the larger-than-life images of humans and animals represented on the walls of these caves, nor of their dating. Some have suggested they may be as old as 7,500 years. "The most common animals [in California] are bears, coyotes, foxes, deer, skunks, raccoons, squirrels, vipers, and other kinds of snakes, rabbits, berrendos [pronghorn antelope], etc. Among the birds the one that is almost a plague in the grain fields is the quail, and recently the thrush (*Oriolus*) has taken to attacking grain. [Other birds are] doves, crows, hawks, several kinds of woodpeckers, vultures, geese, albatrosses, pelicans, seagulls, etc." José Longinos Martínez, *Diario de las expediciones a las Californias*, 1792.



Miguel Venegas. *Mapa de la California su Golfo, y Provincias frontereras en el Continente de Nueva España*, Madrid, 1757. This map shows not only the coast of Baja California and the Sea of Cortés, but also a series of natural history and ethnographic illustrations, as well as incidents from the martyrology of the Society of Jesus. As such it occupies a unique place in the cartographic history of the Americas, combining elements of Enlightenment science and Catholic theology.



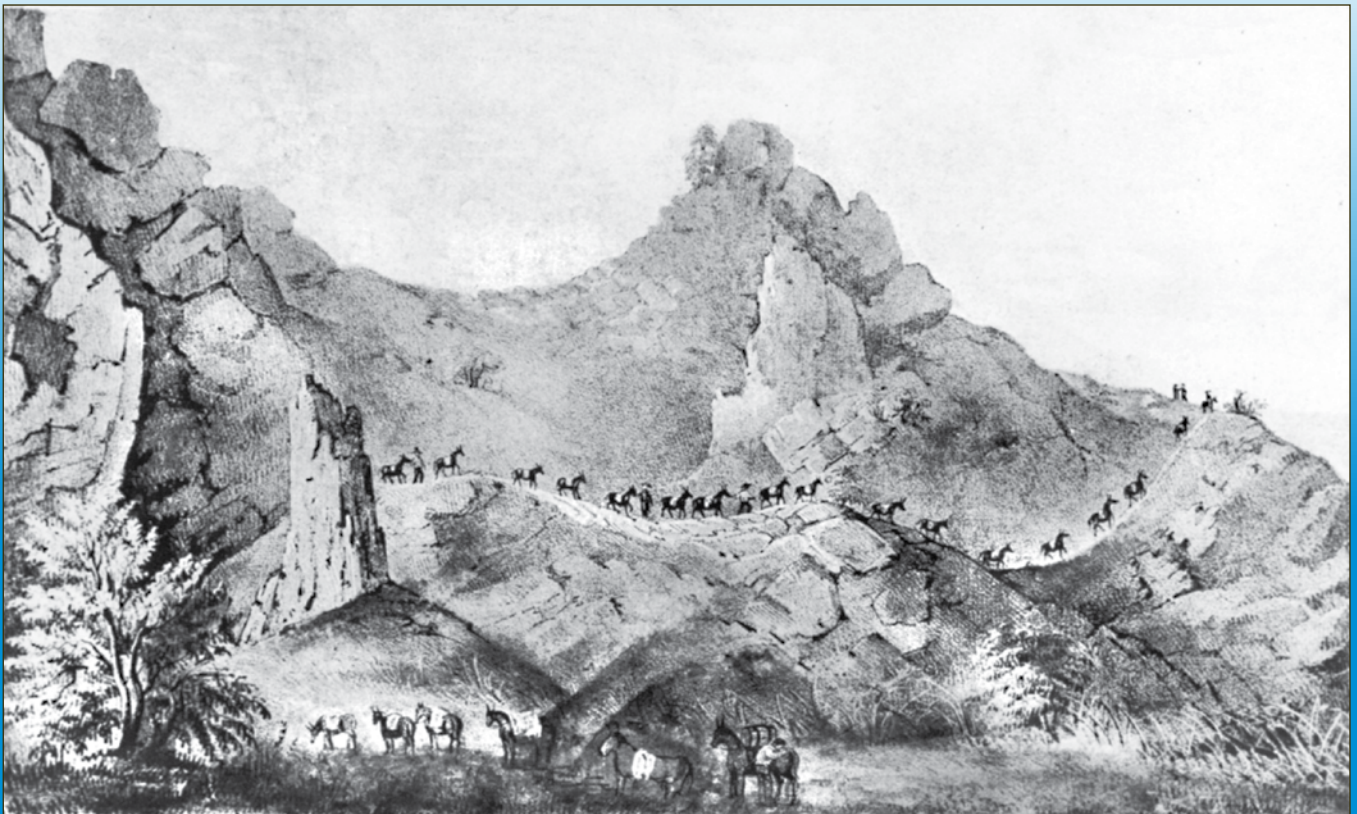
“We continued on our journey. We left the river and headed toward the mountains that would take us to the opposite coast. According to my calculations we traveled four and one-half hours today. We spent more than half the time going up and down a rocky and difficult road. The rest of time was spent traveling through some flat plains.... Seeing that there was no water, we dug a hole in the ground and the animals drank from it.” Junípero Serra, *Diario*, May 23, 1769.





Contemporary photographs of the rugged terrain in Baja California show the timeless quality of the land when compared with historic images of the *Camino Real* used by muleteers and their pack mules.

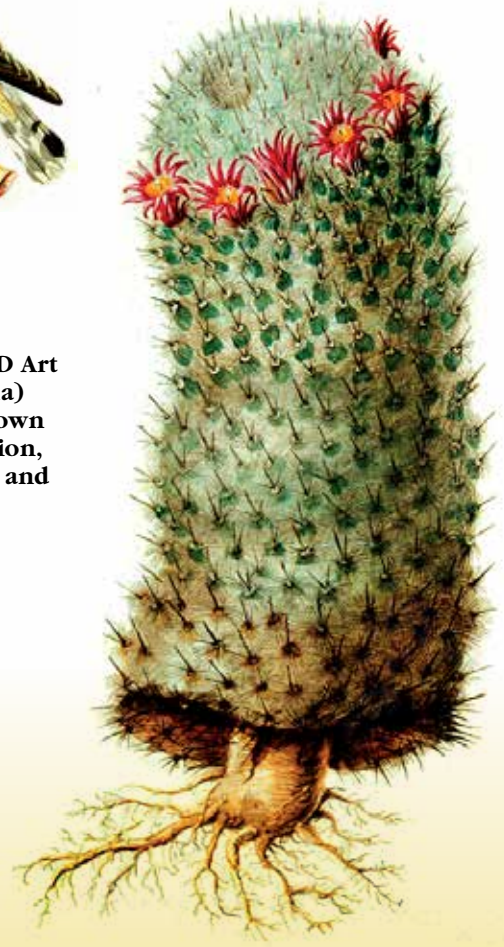
Photographer Doc White



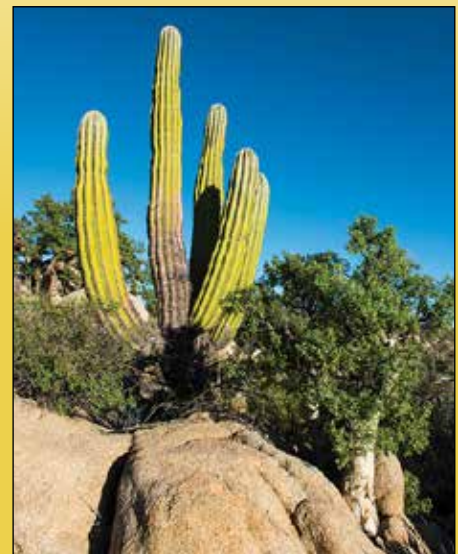
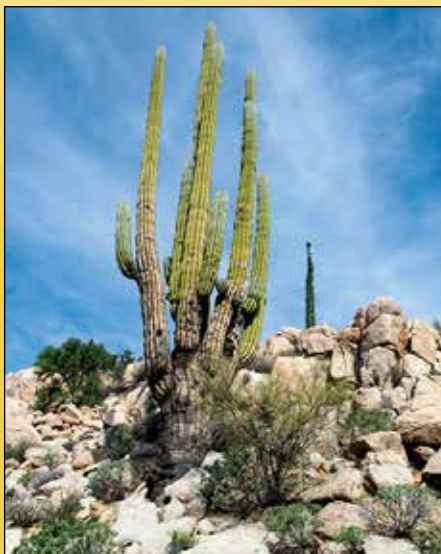
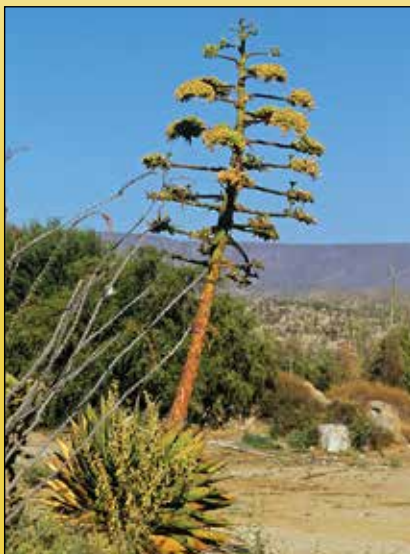


Illustrations produced by the artists of Spain's voyages of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment.

Above left to right: *Carolinea fastuosa* (*Bombax ellipticum*) [HIBD Art accession no. 6331.0629]; *Cactus cornigerus* (*Ferocatus latispinus*) [HIBD Art accession no. 6331.1714]; *Cactus columnaris* (*Mammillaria geminispina*) [HIBD Art accession no. 6331.0914]. Watercolors on paper by an unknown artist, 1787-1803. Courtesy of Hunt Institute for Botanical Documentation, Carnegie Mellon University, Pittsburgh, PA, Torner Collection of Sessé and Mociño Biological Illustrations. Research by Iris Engstrand, Ph.D.



Above left to right: *Carolinea fastuosa* (*Bombax ellipticum*) [HIBD Art accession no. 6331.0629]; *Cactus cornigerus* (*Ferocatus latispinus*) [HIBD Art accession no. 6331.1714]; *Cactus columnaris* (*Mammillaria geminispina*) [HIBD Art accession no. 6331.0914]. Watercolors on paper by an unknown artist, 1787-1803. Courtesy of Hunt Institute for Botanical Documentation, Carnegie Mellon University, Pittsburgh, PA, Torner Collection of Sessé and Mociño Biological Illustrations. Research by Iris Engstrand, Ph.D.

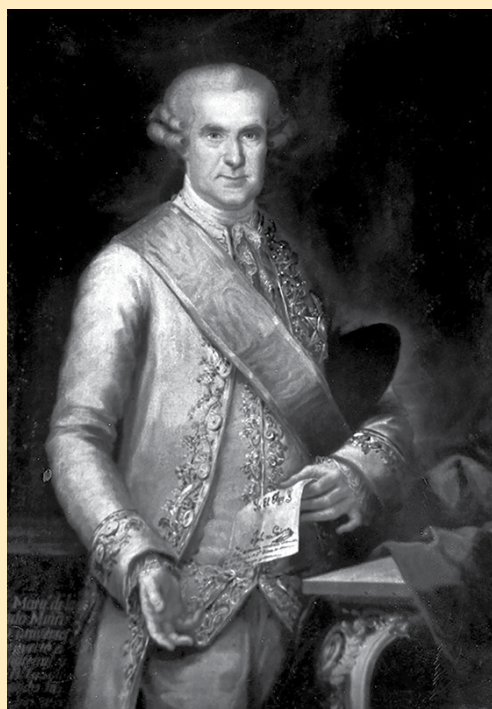


Defending Alta California 1792-1821: The Coastal Fortifications of the Spanish Era

Jack S. Williams, Ph.D.

The story of Alta California is tied to Spain's struggle for control of the Pacific.

After Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo explored the region's coastline in 1542, Spanish officials soon realized that the control of its harbors was vital to the protection of their maritime route to Asia. Despite its early discovery and importance, the first military outpost to be created in the province was not established until 1769. By this date, Iberian strategic planners faced increasing challenges by rival European powers. During the last three decades of the eighteenth century and up until the end of colonial rule in 1821, the Spanish administration in Alta California sought to safeguard the security of its vital coastal maritime lifeline through the strategic location and construction of defenses based on models of fortification that had been designed and employed both in Spain and in its ports in the Americas and the Philippines. The Spanish defensive posture was designed to safeguard the security of Alta California from encroachment by rival imperial maritime powers, or possible raids by privateers. This policy was founded upon the regular provision of ports by vessels based in San Blas, the expertise of specialists in the design and construction of fortifications, the development and maintenance of static harbor defenses, and the staffing of coastal artillery emplacements by trained personnel. This



José de Gálvez, the Inspector General for New Spain who was tasked by the Spanish Crown with the implementation of an ambitious reform program.

multilevel approach to defense was intended not only to guarantee the security of the vital maritime routes along the coast of the Californias, but was also an integral part of a broader imperial strategy that sought to safeguard Spain's imperial possessions that stretched in a broad arc from the Strait of Magellan along the western shores of the Americas, and across the Pacific to the Philippine Islands.

In 1765, José de Gálvez was appointed by Carlos III as Inspector General for New Spain, with broad powers to implement a program of modernization designed to increase Crown revenues and reform the Spanish colonial bureaucracy. Alarmed by the well founded suspicion of Russian encroachment on Spanish claims in the Pacific Northwest, Gálvez developed a plan to secure New Spain's Pacific frontier through the establishment of missions and presidios in Alta California. The occupation and fortification of the ports of San Diego and Monterey would form an integral part of this plan. Gálvez believed that the possession of these strategic harbors would effectively block the northwestern approaches to the important colonies of New Spain (Mexico) and Peru. His plan called for the building of large masonry fortresses at these two locations. The new strongholds would

Jack Williams holds a doctoral degree in anthropology from the University of Arizona. He has written numerous books and articles focusing on his particular research interests: the societies and cultures of Native Americans and colonizers in the American Southwest and California. He has also worked extensively as an archaeologist and historian on projects in the United States, Mexico, South America, and Europe. In San Diego he was closely involved with the excavations of the Spanish presidio and Fort Guijarros.

protect a well-equipped army composed of infantry and artillery. Powerful warships would patrol the coast and preserve the trans-Pacific lines of supply and communication with Asia. However, the inspector general also realized that the Spanish empire lacked the financial resources to make his elaborate dream a reality. The deterrent to foreign encroachment would need to be both effective and also within the means of an already strained imperial budget.

Gálvez believed that a start to his ambitious plan could be made by dispatching a small expeditionary force to establish a Spanish presence at the two ports, and initiate the provisional defense of Alta California. A modest-sized naval base would be created at San Blas in Nayarit on the coast of New Spain. The ships of this new naval department would maintain a tenuous but vital maritime supply and communication link to the distant bases. A series of missions would be created in order to

The location of Spain's northern Pacific gun batteries in America. Many of these outposts were only occupied for short periods. The most important works were at Nootka, San Francisco, Monterey, San Diego and San Blas.

Map design by Jack Williams



A soldier from the Royal Corps of Artillery detachment serving in Alta California, circa 1799. Small squads of gunners oversaw the operation of the guns at San Diego, Monterey, and San Francisco. The batteries were also protected by militia, regular presidio troops, light infantry, and even occasionally sailors (conjectural reconstruction based on contemporary uniform paintings).

Artist Jack Williams

in regard to the Naval Department of San Blas. As long as California's only tie to the south was a sea lane, Croix was forced to maintain an uneasy truce with Bucareli. The viceroy saw the commandant general as a dangerous rival. The two men disagreed on almost every administrative issue.

Croix's dissatisfaction with the situation led him to support the development of a new transportation corridor that would link his capital in Sonora to California's coastal presidios and missions. If he had been successful, a cordon of military colonies would have stretched from San Francisco, California, in the west, to La Bahia (Goliad), Texas, in the east. Once the new road to Sonora was secure, supply columns would have brought all the essential goods to the California presidios. However, Croix's attempt to open the road to Sonora collapsed in 1781, when a native uprising destroyed the vital Spanish settlements at Yuma. Several unsuccessful attempts were made to conquer the Quechan Nation that controlled the strategic crossing. When these

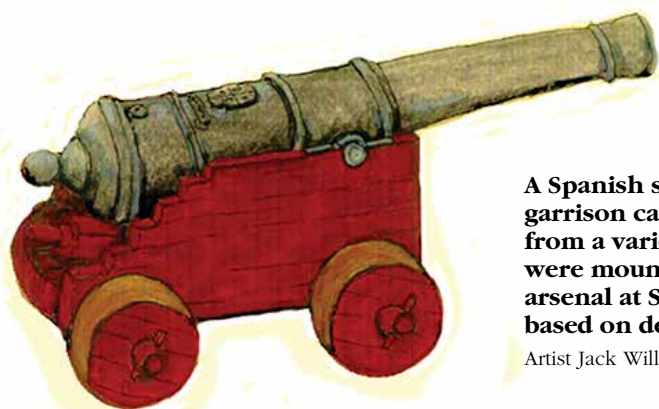
efforts failed, it became obvious that for all intents and purposes, California was an island that was dependent on naval supplies.

By 1790, Spanish officials recognized that the inclusion of California in the Interior Provinces was a mistake. The awkward relationship between

viceroy and commandant general was further complicated by the fact that there were reports of increasing numbers of British, Russian, and American ships visiting California. The threat to Spanish shipping and communication in the Pacific had dramatically increased. In 1792 Carlos IV recognized the failure of the 1772 arrangement, and restored control of the army in California to the viceroy.

In Mexico City new plans were soon drafted for the defense of the province. Government officials considered a number of radical proposals. Most of the high command wanted to withdraw the frontier Indian fighters and abandon efforts to maintain the old adobe presidios. These outposts would be replaced by new coastal gun batteries (*castillos*) of stone, brick, and concrete. Regular infantry and artillerymen would be substituted for the old leatherjacket soldier garrisons.

Once again, shortages of funds made it impossible for the viceroy to implement this ambitious plan. Instead, less elaborate provisional gun batteries, and a small number of regular infantry and artillerymen, were dispatched to the province.² During the remainder of the colonial period, the old presidio fortifications were neglected, but the leatherjacket soldiers stayed on to keep the peace with the Indians. This was necessary, in part, because Native Americans remained a potent and powerful threat to Spanish settlers in various parts of California.

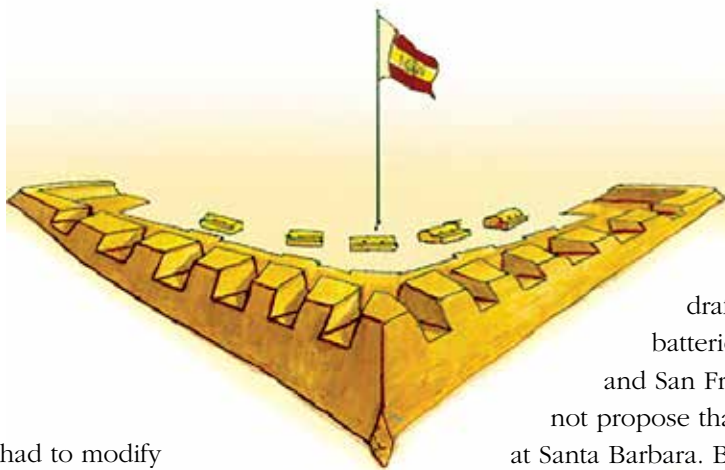


A Spanish six-pounder mounted on a red garrison carriage. The California guns came from a variety of foundries in the empire, and were mounted on carriages provided by the arsenal at San Blas (conjectural reconstruction based on descriptions and surviving tubes).

Artist Jack Williams

The earthwork battery begun by Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra at Monterey in 1792.

Artist Jack Williams



Although the viceroy had to modify his plans, a series of conventional gun batteries, generally called *castillos*, *baterías*, or *fuertes*, were eventually built along the Pacific coast of Spanish North America. By 1800, the new style of forts appeared at Nootka (in modern British Columbia), Neah Bay (in Washington State), Bodega Bay (in California), San Francisco (the Castillo de San Joaquín and Yerba Buena batteries), San Diego (the Presidio Battery, and Fort Guijarros), and Monterey (El Castillo, and the Aduana battery). These coastal fortifications were designed to repel seaborne attacks by pirates and smugglers. None of the batteries was capable of fending off a major invasion.³

The development of coastal defense works, 1792-1821

In 1792, Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, the commandant of the Naval Department of San Blas, selected a series of locations for California's new gun batteries. He was visiting the province in connection with his expedition to Nootka in the Pacific Northwest. Traveling only a short distance ahead of the British explorer, George Vancouver, he was shocked by the region's lack of defense works. Bodega was concerned that this inquisitive foreigner would spread word of Spain's weakness in the region.⁴

When he reached Monterey, Bodega began the construction of an earthwork gun battery. He soon informed the viceroy, Juan Vicente de Güemes, Count of Revillagigedo, the dire situation in California.

Bodega explained to his superior that he was drafting detailed plans for batteries to defend San Diego and San Francisco. Curiously, he did not propose that a battery should be built at Santa Barbara. Bodega asked the viceroy to endorse all his plans and authorize the necessary financial support to carry out the new projects.⁵ Viceroy Revillagigedo concurred with Bodega and dispatched letters requesting additional approval to the

There were only thirty-nine soldiers in the entire province who could possibly be assigned to the new forts. Furthermore, the leather-jacket soldiers who formed the presidio garrisons had received only rudimentary training in the use of artillery.

Count of Aranda in Spain. All the colonial officials ultimately supported Bodega's bold action. Soon Revillagigedo's advisors were considering the details of the naval commandant's specific plans. Because of the shortage of funds, Revillagigedo wanted to make it clear to Bodega and California's Governor

José Joaquín Arrillaga that he was not authorizing the construction of costly masonry fortifications. Instead, the California gun batteries were to consist of simple wooden gun platforms and trenchworks (*esplanadas o trincheras*). The fortifications were to be built of earth, faced with unfired adobe blocks.⁶

Revillagigedo's orders to build new fortifications arrived in Monterey on March 30, 1793. By July 8, Arrillaga had determined that he was not in a position to complete this task. There were only thirty-nine soldiers in the entire province who could possibly be assigned to the new forts. Furthermore, the leatherjacket soldiers who formed the presidio garrisons had received only rudimentary training in the use of artillery. They knew almost nothing about building gun batteries. During the months that followed, Arrillaga attempted to continue the construction efforts while reporting that he lacked artisans and virtually everything else that he imagined would be required to complete the projects.⁷

Castillo de San Joaquín was constructed to command the approaches to the Spanish settlement at San Francisco in 1794.

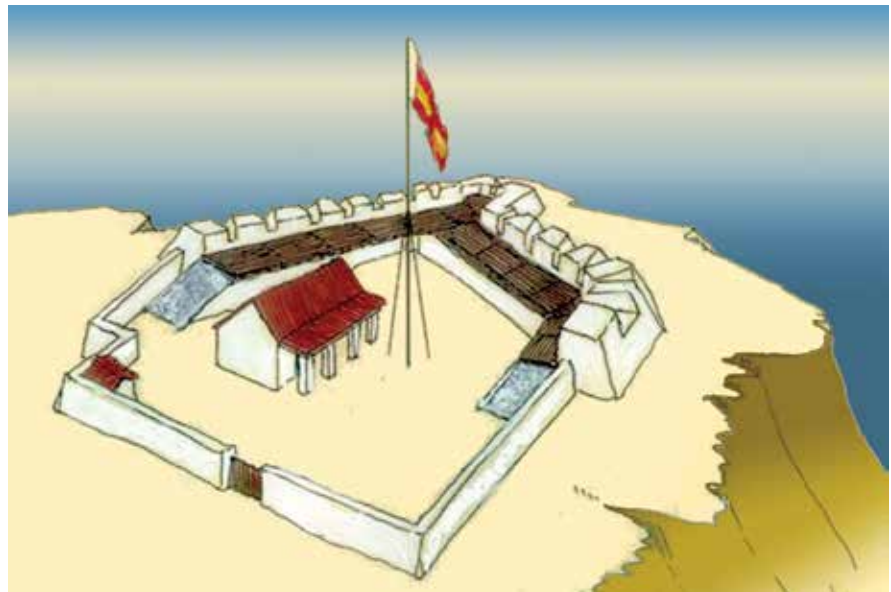
Artist Jack Williams

While plans to send artillerymen and regular infantry to garrison the Alta California batteries were being formulated, word arrived in Mexico City of a new threat on the northern flank. British Captain James Colnett had put in for emergency repairs at Bodega Bay, just north of San Francisco. Rumors soon circulated that he intended to return to establish a colony at the site. Subsequently the decision was made to build the northernmost battery at Bodega Bay, rather than at San Francisco. The viceroy dispatched an expedition from the Naval Department at San Blas to found the new outpost.⁸

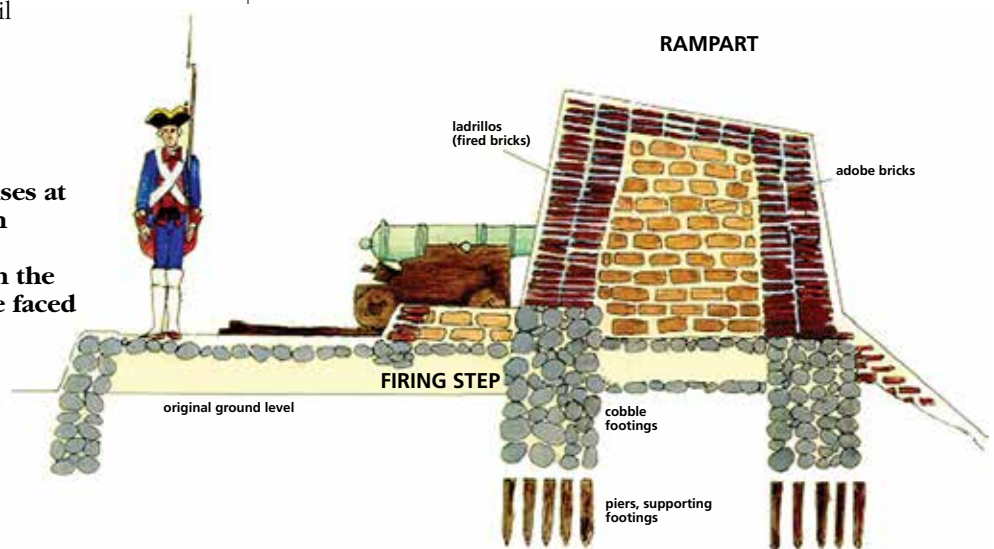
The viceroy's emergency reinforcement team arrived in Northern California in May 1794.⁹ Attempts to create the first, and only, Spanish naval base in the province soon went sour. The settlement at Bodega Bay was aborted in early June, and the task force shifted their efforts to the mouth of the Golden Gate, near to the Presidio of San Francisco. They quickly began the construction of the fort later to be named the Castillo de San Joaquín. Soon an elaborate adobe and fired-brick outpost began to rise on the top of the hill known as Cantil Blanco. The elaborate construction clearly exceeded the specifications provided by the viceroy.¹⁰

Cutaway, cross-section of the defenses at the Castillo de San Joaquín. The San Francisco fortifications mounted 24-pounders, the largest cannons in the province. The adobe ramparts were faced with *ladrillos* (bricks). In order to support the use of large cannons, the walls and platforms required heavy cobble footings and wood piers (conjectural reconstruction based on plans and descriptions).

Artist Jack Williams



During the next two years, the governor and his San Blas artisans continued to work on the batteries at San Francisco and Monterey.¹¹ However, the viceroy issued orders that no new projects were to be initiated until a professional architect had evaluated the situation. When he arrived, Alberto Córdova (Córdoba) was assigned the job of completing and modernizing the fortifications that defended California. He was unimpressed by the defenses built by the San Blas team at San Francisco. He declared they were untalented amateurs. Córdova particularly rejected the notion that any of the coastal forts should be constructed with irregular, circular, or semi-circular plans. Instead, he appears to have preferred rectangular, chevron-shaped, or winged designs. Córdova decided to significantly





The interior of a typical barracks showing the living quarters inhabited by members of a Spanish garrison (conjectural reconstruction based on archaeological data and descriptions). Artist Jack Williams

modify the San Francisco battery, and develop completely new designs for Monterey and San Diego. By the end of 1797 he had also completed plans for gun batteries at Yerba Buena and Santa Barbara.¹²

While he was in California, Córdova was placed in charge of the construction and maintenance of all the province's defense works. Between 1796 and 1798, new batteries were created at San Diego, San Francisco, and Monterey. At the provincial capital of Monterey, Córdova constructed an earthwork fort along the lines originally specified by Revillagigedo and Costansó. He also created a gun battery on the terrace just below the presidio at San Diego. In October of 1796 he was ordered to make a detailed reconnaissance of the coast, with special attention to areas that might be threatened by a naval attack.¹³

Sometime around 1797, Viceroy Miguel de la Grúa Talamanca Branciforte developed second thoughts about the use of more elaborate building materials in the castillos. Before the end of 1798, Córdova, who worked closely under viceregal supervision, used fired bricks (*ladrillos*) to face the adobe defense walls at San Diego and Monterey. At the castillo of San Francisco, he went so far as to build walls using stone, concrete, and ladrillos. The Yerba Buena battery was, by contrast, built as a simple earthwork fortification with fascines and logs. Córdova was also authorized to develop a plan for a shore battery to be built at the settlement of Branciforte. However, it is unclear how much progress was made on the project.¹⁴ Perhaps Córdova's greatest



A gun crew stands at the ready at Fort Guijarros in San Diego. The battery in Point Loma faced North Island (conjectural reconstruction). Artist Jack Williams

disappointment was the new viceroy's refusal to allow work to begin at Santa Barbara.

In 1799, Córdova made a new proposal to build all the California defense works using the more permanent materials he had employed in San Francisco. This recommendation was ultimately rejected, owing once again to the scarcity of money.¹⁵ Córdova was encouraged to continue the more modest project of facing all the major batteries with ladrillos.

During the first decade of the new century, the castillos would continue to require extensive expenditures. The upkeep of the adobe walls, cannons, and other facilities was extremely expensive.¹⁶ As early as 1806, Governor Arrillaga had noted that the gun batteries at San Francisco, Monterey, and San Diego were badly decayed.¹⁷ Before 1810, major reconstruction projects had to be undertaken at the storm-ravaged batteries at San Francisco and Yerba Buena. The Castillo de San Joaquín was rebuilt using a semi-circular plan. A similar repair effort was also completed at San Diego's Fort Guijarros.

During this same period, there was a renewed interest in building a gun battery at Santa Barbara. The settlement's lack of a formal harbor made such a proposition problematic. A new proposal for California's fourth presidio district was offered by Diego Borica and Arrillaga. For the time being, Viceroy

The battery at San Diego Presidio. The main defense work was built using rammed earth instead of adobes. The guns were mounted a *barbette* (without crenellations (conjectural reconstruction based on descriptions and archaeological findings).

Artist Jack Williams

Branciforte decided not to authorize the construction of this fort.¹⁸

When a new viceroy was named, the governor sent a fresh request for more resources. Arrillaga declared that he needed to make major repairs to all the batteries. Viceroy José de Iturrigaray, a man who was eventually forced out of office for incompetence, responded with orders to build fortifications that were both more solid, and less expensive. Unfortunately, he did not tell Arrillaga how he was supposed to complete this impossible program.¹⁹

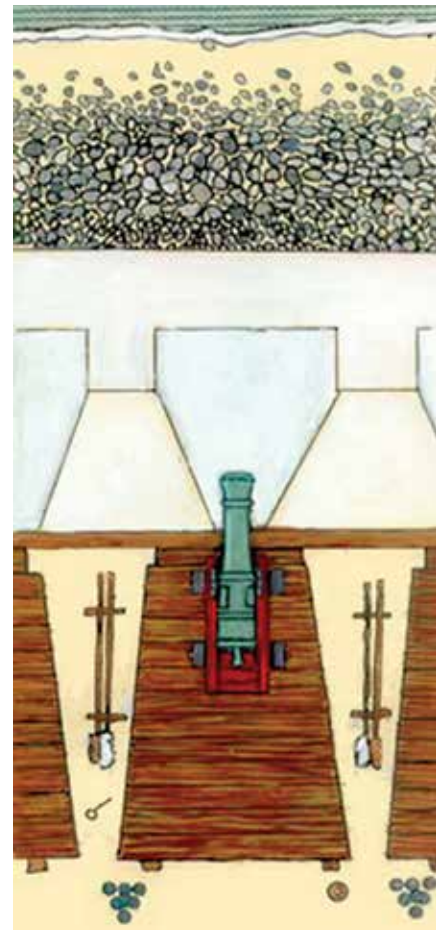
During the long Mexican War of Independence (1810-1821), major renovations were undertaken at all three of the older castillos that protected the coast. The first of the major reconstruction projects took place in 1817 at Monterey. Here, Governor Pablo Vicente de Solá supervised the building of a new, curved battery, which replaced Córdova's chevron-shaped fortification. In contrast with earlier works at the site, the fort's main walls were faced in tile.

The constructions of the era may have also included the Aduana battery at Monterey, and the long-discussed defense work at Santa Barbara. After the disastrous Bouchard raid of 1818, the badly damaged Monterey castillo was rebuilt. Meanwhile, at San Francisco, additional major repairs were made by personnel from the Naval Department of San Blas.

The end of the War of Independence had dire consequences for the gun batteries of coastal California. A critical shortage of funds made it impossible to



Right: Top view of part of the gun battery at Fort Guijarros. The adobe defenses were faced with locally manufactured ladrillos (bricks). The cannons would have rested on slopped wooden platforms that allowed the guns to smoothly recoil (conjectural reconstruction based on archaeological data and descriptions). Artist Jack Williams



Conjectural reconstruction of Fort Guijarros based on archaeological data and features normally associated with similar batteries in the Spanish empire.

Artist Jack Williams



continue structural maintenance programs at the presidios and castillos. Prior to 1835, the batteries had fallen into decay. Despite several efforts to restore the fortifications, they were never again to be of tactical, or strategic, importance.

California's more permanent gun batteries generally had simplified versions of the features found in the more elaborate stone and concrete fortresses of the Spanish Caribbean. By 1810, the major California



The location of the presidio and battery at San Diego. Fort Guijarros protected the entry to the harbor and the presidio battery protected the approach from the area at the mouth of the San Diego River.

Artist Jack Williams

Spain never deployed a significant naval force to the California coast. During some military emergencies, individual ships were dispatched from San Blas to patrol the coast and stand ready at the ports of California. However, for the most part, the only Spanish ships seen on a regular basis were modest supply vessels.

castillos had defense walls that had some kind of masonry facing. Each was equipped with formal cannon ports.²⁰ The batteries probably had a narrow masonry walkway, called a *banqueta* (*banquette* or *firing step*), that lined the interior of the defense wall. This feature allowed men to fire their muskets over the top of the parapet. At San Francisco and Monterey, masonry sentry posts (*garitas*) were also added to the defense works. At the rear of the battery some kind of ramp (*rampa*) must have been built to haul the guns into place. All the castillo guns appear to have rested on elevated wooden platforms instead of similar masonry surfaces. The main batteries at San Diego, Monterey, and San Francisco had an earthen platform (*terraplén*) held in place by the main defense wall (rampart or *muralla*), and thinner masonry retaining walls (*revestimientos*). Other features commonly associated with the major castillo batteries include communal barracks (*cuarteles*), kitchens (*cocinas*), munition and weapons' storage buildings (*almacenes*), hot-shot ovens (*bornillos para balas rojas*) and powder magazines (*casamatas*).²¹ A flag pole (*basta*) was used to communicate with vessels and sometimes the presidios. The castillos of San Francisco and San Diego were built with a thin rear wall that was designed to block an attack from the land side.

Conclusion

Fear of a potential naval invasion by a rival European power prompted the Spanish colonization of Alta California. Despite this, during the era before 1792, most defense plans in this new frontier focused on possible Indian conflicts. During the period that California was given a degree of administrative autonomy as part of New Spain's Interior Provinces (1776-1792), few attempts were made to develop coastal defenses. Spanish administrators would eventually come to see the weaknesses of this bureaucratic solution, and when the Viceroy of New Spain's direct control of the province was restored, defense policy shifted to renewed concerns about European enemies. The gun batteries that protected the region developed during this new era. All of the defense works that were built during the later colonial period were provisional in nature. None of the coastal forts were ever built to withstand a determined attack by a large force of well-armed opponents. Despite their shortcomings, these modest defenses were successful in maintaining Spanish control of the remote region and guaranteeing the security of the maritime lifeline that linked the isolated coastal missions and presidios of Alta California making them part of a vast network of trade, migration, and communication that composed Spain's overseas empire.

Notes

- 1 The regulation had established the frontier region (the Interior Provinces) as a unit under the control of the viceroy in Mexico City. Four years later, in 1776, the control of the region was transferred to the semi-autonomous General Command (*Comandancia General*).
- 2 Details are provided by Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California*, vol. 1, 1542-1800, (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Company, 1884, 698); Miguel Costansó, *The Costansó Narrative of the Portolá Expedition first chronicle of the Spanish conquest of Alta California*, trans. Ray Brandes (Newhall: facsimile edition, Hogarth Press, 1970), 223; Janet R. Fireman, *The Spanish Royal Corps of Engineers in the Western Borderlands: Instrument of Bourbon Reform, 1764-1815* (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1977), 207.
- 3 According to the Spanish military theorist, Pedro de Lucuze, these terms were all applied to such coastal defense works, *Principios de fortificación que contienen las definiciones de los terminos principales de las obras de la Plaza y de Campaña, con una idea de la conducta regularmente observada en el Ataque, y Defensa de las Fortalezas. Disputos para La Instruccion de la Juventud Militar* (Barcelona: Thomas Piferer, 1772), 10; Alberto Córdova, *Letter to Branciforte (Informe sobre fuertes)*, September, 1796. California Provincial Archives (C-A), 8, Provincial State Papers (PSP), Bancroft Library, p. 84; *Letter to Branciforte*, Presidio of San Francisco, July 20, 1796. Archivo General de la Nación (AGN), Provincias Internas (PI), tomo 216; Pablo Sánchez, *Letter to Branciforte*, México, July 13, 1795, AGN, Californias (CL), tomo 9.
- 4 Bancroft, *History of California*, 682; Stephen Colston, "San Joaquín: A preliminary historical study of the fortification at San Diego's Punta de Guíjarros," in *Fort Guíjarros* (San Diego: Cabrillo Historical Association, 1982), 62; Michael E. Thurman, *The Naval Department of San Blas: New Spain's Bastion for Alta California and Nootka, 1767-1798* (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1967), 307.
- 5 Bancroft, *History of California*, 534; Francisco Bodega y Cuadra (Quadra), *Letter to Revillagigedo*, San Blas, February 8, 1793. AGN, CL, tomo 9.
- 6 Donald Cutter, *California in 1792: A Spanish Naval Visit* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 9-10; see also Bancroft, *History of California*, 668; Juan Vicente de Güemes, Count of Revillagigedo, *Letter to Bodega*, México, February 16, 1793. AGN, CL, tomo 9; *Letter to Arrillaga*, México, January 10, 1794. AGN, CL, tomo 9.
- 7 José Joaquín Arrillaga (Arillaga), *Letter to Revillagigedo*, Presidio of Monterey, July 8, 1793. C-A 14 (PSP), pp.104-107; *Letter to Revillagigedo*, Presidio of Monterey, July 16, 1793. C-A 14 (PSP), pp. 102-103; *Letter to Revillagigedo*, Presidio of Monterey, July 16, 1793. C-A 15 (MIL), pp. 344-47; *Letter to Revillagigedo*, Presidio of San Francisco, August 20, 1793. AGN, CL, tomo 9; *Letter to Revillagigedo*, Presidio of Monterey, December 11, 1793. C-A 14 (PSP), p. 123.
- 8 The decision to occupy Bodega Bay had been made by March of 1793. See Bancroft, *History of California*, 515, 534; Alexander Aviles, *Population Increases into Alta California in the Spanish Period, 1769-1821* (MA thesis, Department of History, University of Southern California, 1955), 29.
- 9 Arrillaga, *Letter to Revillagigedo*, Presidio of San Francisco, June 12, 1794. C-A 14 (PSP), pp. 143-44.
- 10 Arrillaga later justified the introduction of adobe bricks (instead of rammed earth) and fired-brick facings to the walls with the comment that this was necessary because of the rainfall that would otherwise erode the batteries. *Letter to Revillagigedo*, Presidio of San Francisco, June 12, 1794. AGN, CL, tomo 9.
- 11 Diego Borica, *Letter to Branciforte*, Presidio of Monterey, April 3, 1796. AGN, Obras Publica (OBPB), tomo 15; José Orsonio, *Inventario de Armamentos, Real Fortaleza del Monterey (El Castillo)*, December 31, 1796. AGN, CL, tomo 9.
- 12 Diego Borica, *Letter to Córdova*, Presidio of Monterey, January 20, 1797. C-A 14 (PSP), p. 248; *Letter to Córdova*, Presidio of Monterey, November 26, 1797. C-A 14 (PSP), p. 274; Fireman, *The Spanish Royal Corps of Engineers*, p. 131; Alberto Córdova, *Letter to Branciforte*, Presidio of San Francisco, July 20, 1796. AGN, PI, tomo 216. None of the plans proposed by Córdova for California have survived. The plans of more permanent fortifications that were built in similar circumstances that were designed by Córdova in 1802 for the Marianas, still exist. They suggest that he preferred simple rectangular layouts with massive supporting walls. Córdova, *Plano que demuestra los tres castillos construidos en la de Guaja Capital de las Marianas*, Manila, February 4, 1802. Servicio Histórico Militar, Madrid, no. 6.860.
- 13 Borica, *Letter to Córdova*, Presidio of Monterey, October 8, 1796. C-A 14 (PSP), pp. 246-47. The maps and charts he prepared for the project, along with a plan for the battery of Yerba Buena, were submitted to the governor on November 4, 1797, a little over a year later. See Borica, *Letter to Córdova*, Presidio of Monterey, November 26, 1797. C-A 14 (PSP), p. 274.
- 14 Bancroft, *History of California*, 541.
- 15 José María Beltrán, *Letter to Azanza*, México, July 19, 1799. AGN, CL, tomo 9; Costansó, *Letter to Azanza*, Veracruz, July 6, 1799. AGN, CL, tomo 9.
- 16 Arrillaga, *Letter to Berenguer*, Presidio of Loreto, March 12, 1801. C-A 14 (PSP), pp. 59-60.
- 17 Arrillaga, *Letter to Iturrigaray*, Presidio of Monterey, July 15, 1806. C-A 25 (PSP), p. 334.
- 18 Arrillaga, *Letter to Iturrigaray*, Presidio of Loreto, December 6, 1804. AGN, CL, tomo 9; Justin M. Ruhge, *Gunpowder and Canvas: From Drake to Canon Perdido: The History of Maritime Influence on the Central Coast of California* (Goleta: Quantum Imaging Associates, 1987), 2-4.
- 19 Carlos López Urrutia, *El Real Ejército de California* (Madrid: Grupo Madusa Ediciones, 2000), 212.
- 20 Lucuze recommends that in masonry fortifications the openings be three feet high by two and one-half feet wide on the interior, and that the bottom of the opening should drop rapidly in order that the guns could be effectively fired downward. The merlons were ideally spaced from fifteen to eighteen feet from center to center in order to provide adequate room for firing the gun. See Lucuze, *Principios*, 28-29.
- 21 These furnaces were used to heat balls that were fired at enemy ships in order to ignite their rigging and sails. Using the tactics of the era, the gunners attempted to ricochet their shots off the surface of the water in an attempt to hit the ships at the waterline. In loading a weapon with hot shot, an extra-large wad made from green plants was required in order to avoid igniting the charge prematurely. Lucuze points out that hot-shot could also be used against fixed fortifications to start fires. Ibid., 158-59.

The Presidio of San Diego as seen from the harbor, circa 1810 (conjectural reconstruction based on descriptions and archaeological data).

Artist: Jack Williams.



El Camino Real by Sea: Sovereignty and Science along the Pacific Coast

Iris H.W. Engstrand, Professor of History, *Emerita*, University of San Diego

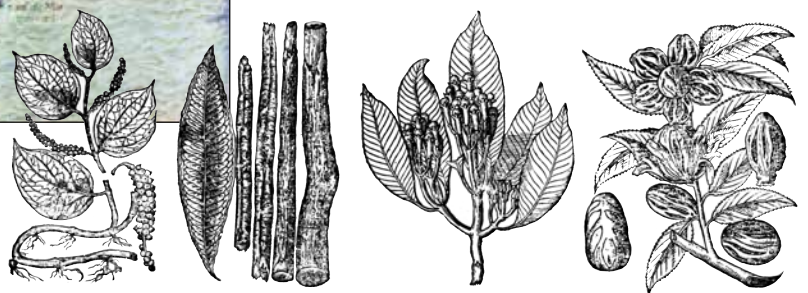
The first Europeans to arrive on the shores of the two Californias traveled by sea. The earliest visits to what is now Baja California were sent by Hernán Cortés in the 1530s following the Spanish takeover of Tenochtitlán (Mexico City), the former Aztec capital.¹ After several failed attempts to settle the region around Baja California's Bay of Santa Cruz, today's La Paz, Cortés commissioned Francisco de Ulloa to sail northward to the tip of the Sea of Cortés (Gulf of California) where the Colorado River joins the gulf and proves that California is not an island but indeed a peninsula. Ulloa returned southward to round Cabo San Lucas and sail along the Pacific Coast to as far north as Cedros Island, south of Ensenada.²

The earliest view of the Pacific coast held that there should be a navigable passage across the top of northwest America exactly as there was a passage in the southern hemisphere. Spaniards would eventually call its Pacific entrance the Strait of Anián. Early on, authorities in New Spain were fearful that if any country but Spain found and controlled this strait, the Viceroyalty of New Spain would be threatened. They also believed that by sailing north, the distance to China would be much less and Asia would become a close trading partner. The first maritime voyage to explore this route was that of Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo whose small fleet of three vessels sailed from the Port of Navidad in Mexico on June 27, 1542. The survivors



A version of this map of the New World entitled *Tabula novarum insularum...* by the cartographer Sebastian Münster was originally published in his 1540 edition of Ptolemy's *Geographiae*. The map proved to be extremely popular, and would be reprinted many times in the sixteenth century. It depicts a rudimentary knowledge of the northern Pacific, with the island of Zipangri (Japan) enticingly close to the coast of what would eventually come to be called California. The waterway rumored to exist to the north of the American continent – one day to be known as the Strait of Anián – is hinted at here.

Right: By 1565 a trans-Pacific maritime route had been perfected by the Spaniards. The Manila Galleon brought highly prized commodities such as spices to the Americas from the emporia of East Asia.



After an accomplished teaching career as a member of the Department of History at the University of San Diego, Iris Engstrand remains active in research, writing and public speaking engagements. Her academic honors include USD's distinguished University Professorship; the Davies Award for Faculty Achievement; Awards of Merit from the San Diego, Southern California, and California Historical Societies, Western History Association, and Orange Coast College. She is a member of the bi-national advisory board of the San Diego Natural History Museum and one of the directors of the Maritime Museum of San Diego. Dr. Engstrand was awarded the prestigious medal of the Order of Isabel la Católica by Juan Carlos, King of Spain, for her outstanding contribution to the history of Spain in the Americas.

Forays by English privateers into Spain's Pacific, while troublesome, were irregular. Given the wealth contained in Spanish shipments, profit nevertheless outweighed the risks associated with any attack so far from home. Thomas Cavendish, Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins, British School, seventeenth century.

Courtesy National Maritime Museum, Greenwich



opening the way for the famed Manila Galleons. A regular trade route was opened between Manila and Spain via Acapulco and Vera Cruz with goods such as silks, velvet, gold and silver brocades, jewelry, perfumes, exotic preserves of orange and peach, cedar chests, and the highly prized pepper and other spices for preservation and palatability of meat.⁵

returned on April 14, 1543, having failed to find a shorter route to China. Cabrillo died during the voyage on January 3, 1543.³

Those who returned safely from the Cabrillo expedition reported on the lack of gold, silver or other valuable minerals to be found in the area of the Californias. The

general inability to reach China by a shorter northern route led the Spaniards to follow Magellan's course and sail directly across the Pacific Ocean to the East Indies and Philippine Islands.⁴ The crucial navigational problem of no direct return across the Pacific was solved in

1565 by the seasoned navigator and Augustinian friar Andrés Urdaneta, one of the chroniclers who had summarized several accounts of those who returned from the voyage of Cabrillo. Urdaneta, after studying the winds and currents headed northward along the coast of Japan before turning across the Pacific and

across the Pacific was nearly uncontested save for two daring English pirates – Sir Francis Drake and Thomas Cavendish – who in 1579 and 1587 succeeded in disrupting Spanish trans-Pacific commerce and coastal navigation. Cavendish, the less famous interloper,

carried out a series of destructive raids – robbing, looting and burning Spanish ships – but his greatest prize was the capture of the *Santa Ana*, a Manila Galleon said to have been carrying more than \$1 million in gold along with its regular cargo of valuable commodities.⁶ Its Portuguese pilot, Sebastián Rodríguez

Cermeño, had set a final course for the run to Acapulco and home when the slow-moving galleon fell easy prey to the two English ships *Desire* and *Content*. Their crews looted the “Great St. Ann,” put the Spaniards adrift in lifeboats, and set the galleon on fire.

Among the survivors was the Spanish merchant

The earliest view of the Pacific coast held that there should be a navigable passage across the top of northwest America exactly as there was a passage in the southern hemisphere.

After the initial discovery and exploration of Alta California, the lack of valuable resources made it clear that only missionaries would be motivated to effect settlements among the Native Americans and convert them to Christianity – specifically the Roman Catholic faith.

Sebastián Vizcaíno who landed with the passengers and crew on the shore of Baja California near Todos Santos. After a failed attempt to start a colony on the peninsula in 1595, Vizcaíno sailed from Acapulco on May 5, 1602, with three ships – *San Diego*, *Santo Tomás*, and *Tres Reyes* – bound for Alta California. On board were three Carmelite priests and 200 experienced sailors. The ships took four months to reach Cabrillo's San Miguel, which he renamed San Diego de Alcalá after his flagship and the saint's day of his arrival. Vizcaíno changed most of the names bestowed by Cabrillo and continued on to Monterey, which he named for his sponsor, Viceroy Gaspar de Zúñiga, the Conde de Monterey. He declared the port should be the capital of the Californias.⁷

First Settlement of Alta California in 1769

After the initial discovery and exploration of Alta California, the lack of valuable resources made it clear that only missionaries would be motivated to effect settlements among the Native Americans and convert them to Christianity – specifically the Roman Catholic faith. The record of the

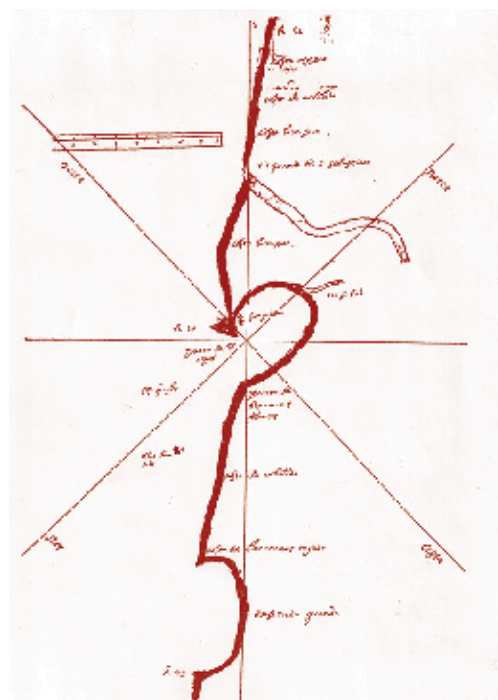
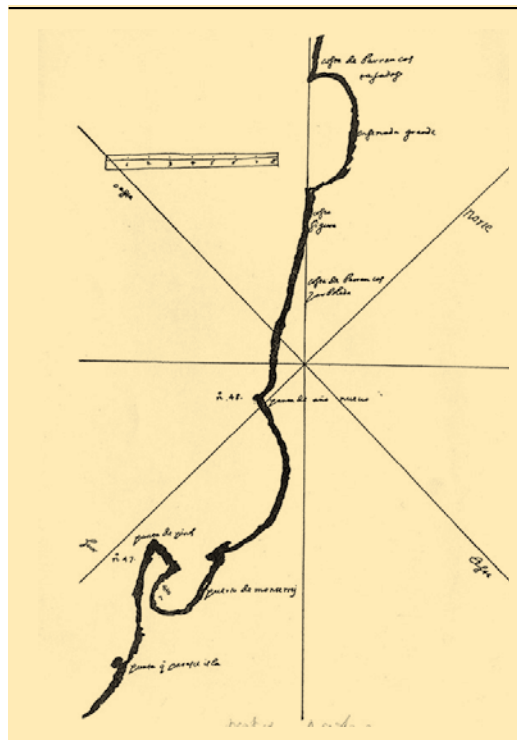
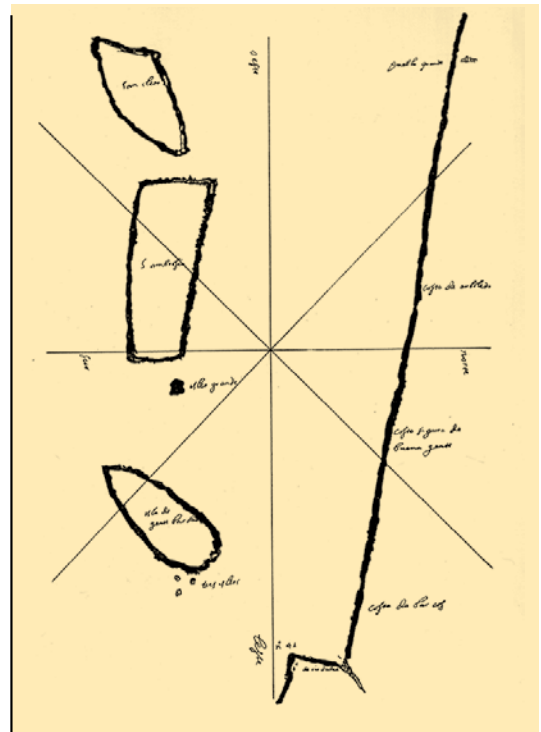
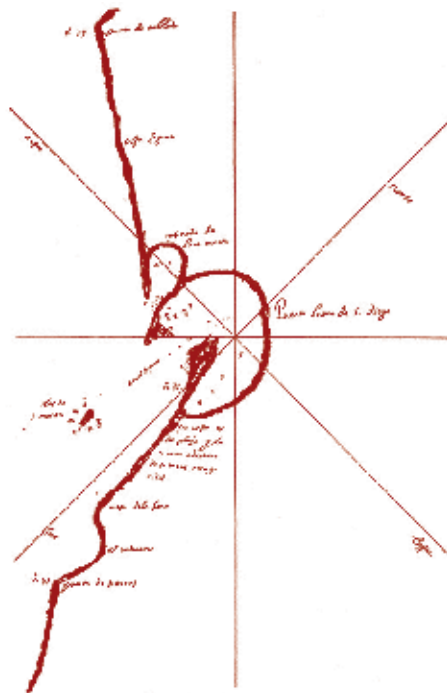


Thomas Cavendish captures the Manila Galleon *Santa Ana*. From Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *A Larger History of the United States of America...* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1886), 103.

San Carlos and *San Antonio* – the first two ships to arrive at San Diego in April 1769 with an advance guard, indicates that they were well received by the local Kumeyaay.⁸ The two overland expeditions led by Fernando de Rivera and Gaspar de Portolá, accompanied by Franciscan priests Juan Crespí and Junípero Serra, joined the camp that had been set up near the harbor by the maritime arrivals. They all moved inland and set up a small shelter on what would become Presidio Hill to care for the sick and dying. A company of 63 soldiers left on

July 14, 1769, to search for Monterey while those who remained under the direction of Serra founded, on July 16, 1769, Mission San Diego de Alcalá. This marks the founding date of the present state of California. The secondary goal of the Viceroy of New Spain was to protect California from “any establishment of the Russians on the American continent and any other foreign power.... to avoid the consequences that would follow from having neighbors other than the Indians.”⁹ The overland expedition to the north failed to find Monterey but instead discovered San Francisco Bay on October 31, 1769. The expedition turned back at what would become known as The Golden Gate.

Four coastal charts from the voyage of Sebastián Vizcaíno, redrawn by cosmographer Enrico Martínez in New Spain, 1603. These depict (top left to right) San Diego Bay and approaches, the Channel Islands, (bottom left to right) Monterey Bay and the coastal region near San Francisco. Derrotero desde Acapulco al Cabo Mendocino por Gerónimo Martín Palacios con los diseños de la costa hechos por Enrico Martínez, 8 y 19 de Noviembre 1603. Archivo General de Indias, México 372.



Portolá and his soldiers returned to San Diego to await the return of Juan Pérez in the *San Antonio* with supplies for the little settlement in March 1770. The maritime route along the Pacific coast of Baja California kept the new Californios alive during the first few years of settlement.

The Voyage of Juan Pérez

The viceroy's lengthy instructions to Ensign Juan Pérez of December 24, 1773, were designed for regulating all future explorations from San Blas to the Northwest and contained a multitude of directions for maintaining friendly conduct among native inhabitants, procedures for taking possession, and suggestions for handling foreign contact. The goal of the expedition

was to reach the 60th parallel. Pérez sailed the newly constructed 225-ton frigate *Santiago* from San Blas on January 25, 1774.¹⁰ Aboard were 86 crewmen, Father Junípero Serra returning from Mexico to Monterey, and a small company of settlers heading for California. After a brief stop at Monterey, Pérez, with Fathers Juan

The Discovery of San Francisco Bay, 1769.

Artist Morton Kunstler

Courtesy San Mateo County Historical Association



Crespí and Tomás de la Peña as chaplains and diarists, continued his voyage into unknown waters north of the Queen Charlotte Islands at approximately 55 degrees north latitude (54° 40'). Dense fog and contrary currents prevented their making a landfall, however, and Pérez, plagued by constant sickness

and worried about the lack of fresh water, turned back short of his instructed goal of 60 degrees. He sailed the *Santiago* along the coast of Vancouver Island and on August 9, 1775, anchored in a harbor that he named San Lorenzo. It later

became known as Nootka Sound. Twenty-one canoes containing nearly 150 amazed Indians approached the *Santiago*. A Spanish diarist, who learned the native language reported:

The view of this ship at first filled the natives with terror...and they were seized with fright from the moment they saw the giant "machine" on the horizon, which little by little approached their coasts. They believed that Qua-utz [the Creator] was coming to make a second visit, and were fearful that it was to punish their misdeeds. As many as were able hid themselves in the mountain...[but] the most daring took their canoes

out to examine more closely the huge mass that had come out of the ocean. They approached it timorously...until after awhile, attracted by the friendly signs by which the Spanish crew called them, they boarded the ship and inspected with

wonder all the new and extraordinary objects that were presented to them. They received a number of gifts and in return gave the captain some otter skins.¹¹

Pérez did not land at Nootka but departed shortly after the gift exchange with the Indians. He then set his

course for Monterey, arriving with his by then scurvy-ridden crew on August 27. Father Serra was keenly disappointed that the expedition had failed to achieve its objective of 60 degrees, and criticized Pérez, still in poor health, for refusing to stay in California and help establish a settlement in San Francisco. The veteran mariner returned to San Blas early in November and almost immediately began to prepare for further exploration. Viceroy Bucareli advised his superiors in Madrid that no contact with Russian traders had been made and that a second expedition, scheduled to depart in the spring, would further investigate and take possession of northern lands.¹²

The view of this ship at first filled the natives with terror... and they were seized with fright from the moment they saw the giant "machine" on the horizon, which little by little approached their coasts.

Maritime voyages of Hezeta, Ayala, and Bodega y Quadra

To continue exploration by sea, three vessels left San Blas in March 1775 and headed into the Pacific. The *Santiago*, commanded by Bruno de Hezeta, a native of Bilbao, and the thirty-six-foot schooner *Sonora*, as consort under Juan Manuel de Ayala, sailed under similar instructions as those given to Pérez. They were to again attempt a landfall at 60 degrees north latitude. The familiar San Blas supply ship *San Carlos*, under Manuel Manrique, was to make a thorough reconnaissance of San Francisco Bay for its proposed occupation. Unfortunately, shortly after the ships set sail, Manrique suffered a mental breakdown. Hezeta ordered his return to San Blas and transferred command of the *San Carlos* to Ayala. This event

elevated the Peruvian-born Ensign Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra to captain of the tiny *Sonora*.¹³

The *Santiago*, with Juan Pérez as chief pilot, and the *Sonora* with Bodega in command, sailed directly to the North Pacific without stopping at Monterey. On June 9, 1775, the two Spanish vessels anchored in Trinidad Bay, in northern California, and took possession of the harbor in the name of King Carlos III. Within a few days, Hezeta entered the mouth of a river and recorded his discovery as the Entrada de Hezeta. Now known as the Columbia River, credit for its discovery is given to the American

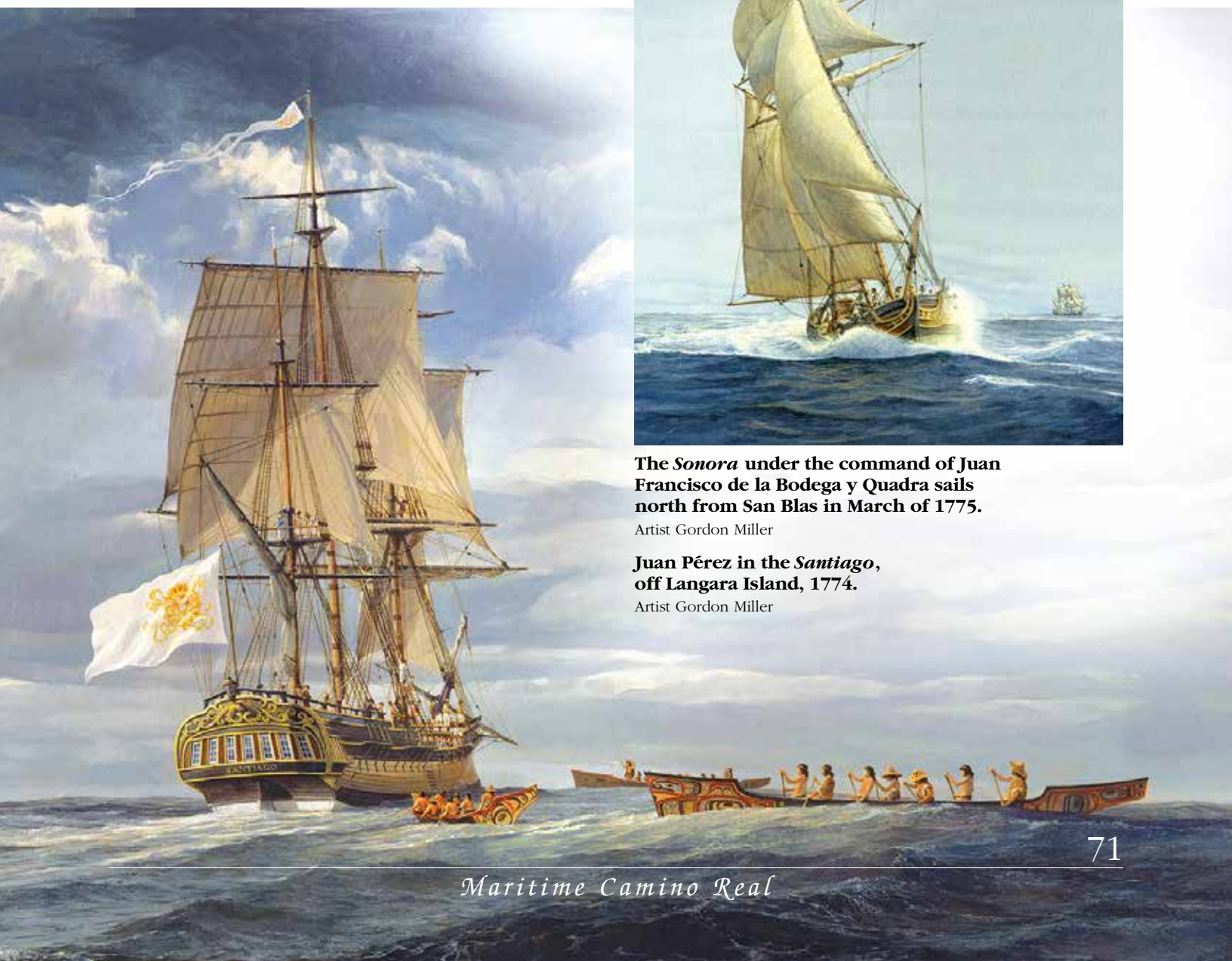


The *Sonora* under the command of Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra sails north from San Blas in March of 1775.

Artist Gordon Miller

Juan Pérez in the *Santiago*, off Langara Island, 1774.

Artist Gordon Miller

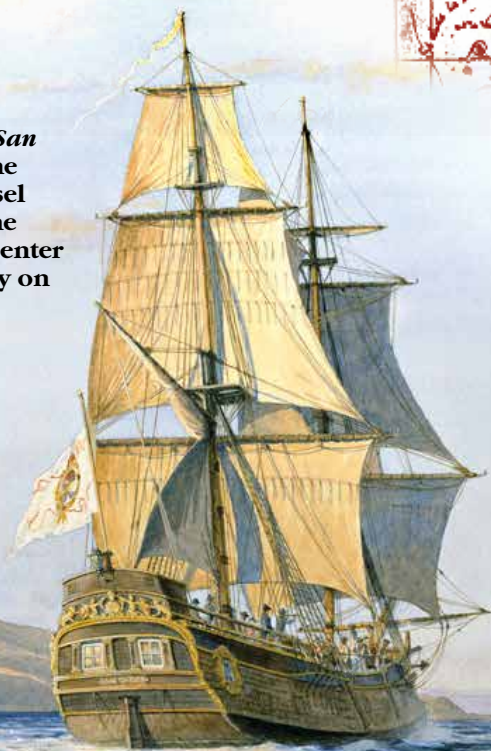


Produced by Bodega y Quadra in the wake of his explorations, this chart sums up the extent of Spanish reconnaissance of the Californias and the Pacific Northwest from 1774 to 1788. It illustrates the vital role played by the supply base and naval depot at San Blas on the western coast of New Spain. Archivo General del Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores y de Cooperación, Madrid, MS 146, no. 5.

Robert Gray who described the entrance in 1792.¹⁴ Continuing northward, the crewmen of the *Sonora* landed on the coast of present-day Washington state and were ambushed by some three hundred Indians. Seven men – half of the *Sonora*'s crew – were killed while Bodega stood powerless to prevent the loss. Hezeta, the senior commander of the enterprise, gave up some men from his own *Santiago* to replenish the *Sonora*'s crew and suggested they return home.

The exploration and supply ship *San Carlos* became the first Spanish vessel to sail through the Golden Gate and enter San Francisco Bay on August 5, 1775.

Artist Gordon Miller



Despite Hezeta's objections, Bodega and his second officer, Francisco Mourelle, from Galicia in northern Spain, daringly planned to continue the voyage. During a foggy night they allowed their vessel to drift away from the *Santiago* until it was out of sight and could set sail. Bodega and his men struggled north against prevailing winds in an effort to reach the sixtieth parallel. The *Sonora* hove to fewer than two degrees short of the aspired goal. Bodega strengthened Spain's claim to the territory by taking possession at Puerto de los Remedios (57° 20'N) and Puerto de Bucareli (55° 18'N).¹⁵

Right: Louis XVI, King of France, giving Jean-François de Galaup, Count of La Pérouse instructions for his voyage of exploration, June 29, 1785.

Artist Nicolas-André Monsiau

Courtesy Musée national Château de Versailles et de Trianon

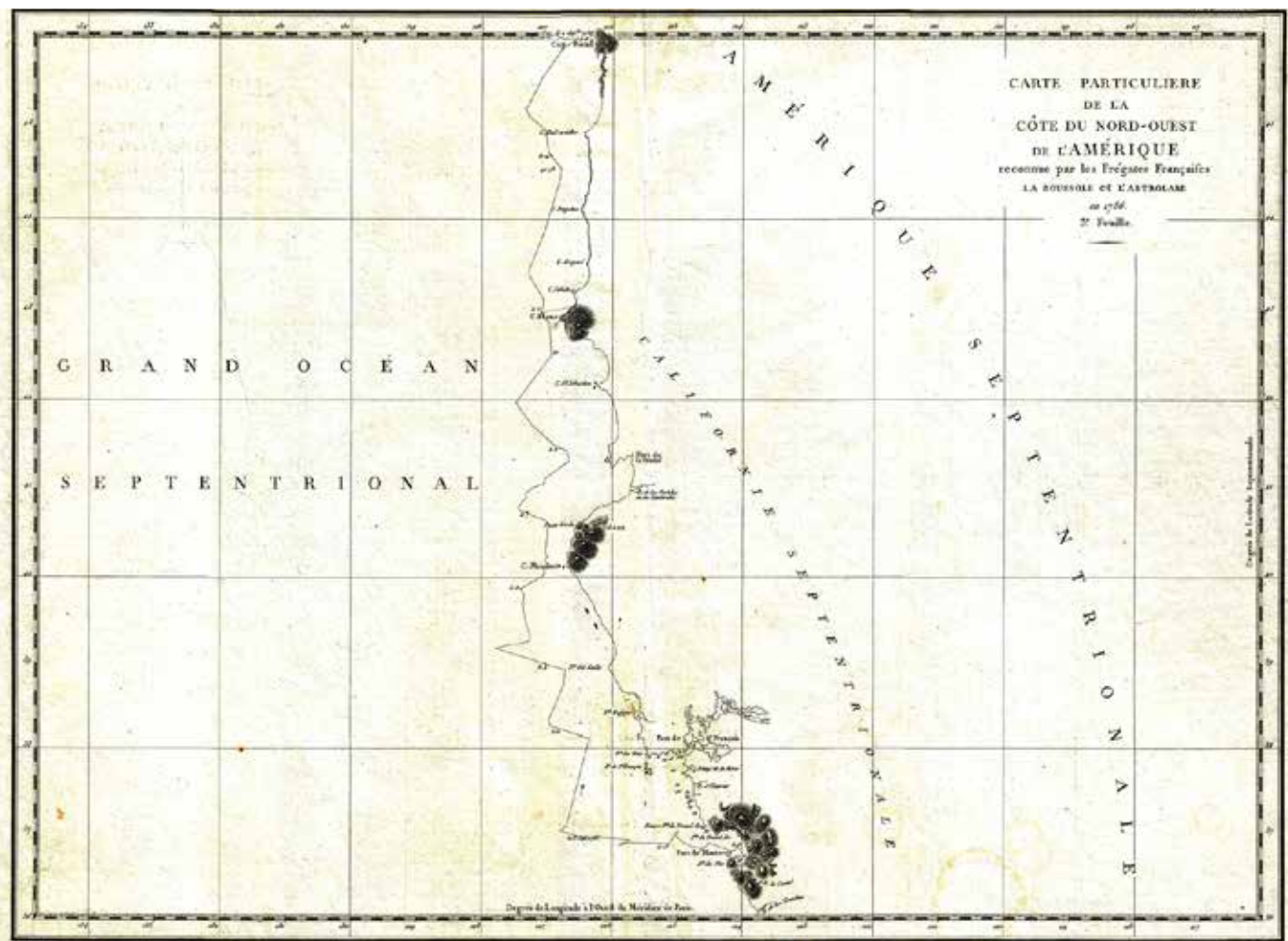
On the basis of their discoveries, as delineated on the charts completed by Bodega and Mourelle, Spain established a solid foundation for her claim of sovereignty over the Pacific Coast from Monterey to the Gulf of Alaska. On the return voyage south, despite suffering the effects of scurvy, Bodega and his crew managed to survey a final port – the one he would leave as a namesake, Puerto de Capitán de la Bodega, or present-day Bodega Bay. The *Sonora* anchored alongside its flagship *Santiago* in the harbor of Monterey, October 7, 1775. Bodega's epic

Below: A systematic French survey of the coast of California resulted in the drafting of this chart dated 1786. The map traces the route taken by La Pérouse's vessels from 36°N to 46°N.

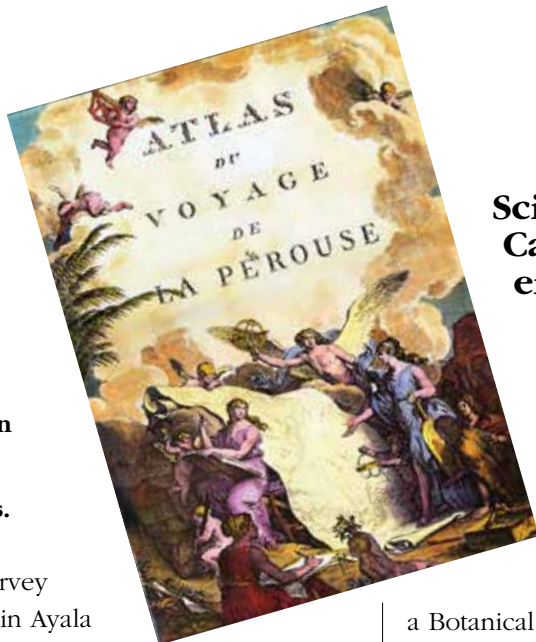


exploration in a thirty-six-foot schooner gives ample testimony to the courage of these early navigators. Upon returning to Mexico, Bodega and Mourelle dispelled Bucareli's fears about the presence of Russian traders in the north.¹⁶

The veteran San Blas supply ship *San Carlos*, also lying at anchor in Monterey, had just returned



The tragic end of the La Pérouse expedition, lost through shipwreck in 1788, and the turmoil produced by the French Revolution, conspired to obscure the voyage's scientific findings. The narrative, charts, and illustrations that had been remitted to France prior to the shipwreck would be published in the 1790s.



Scientific Voyages to the Californias during the late eighteenth Century

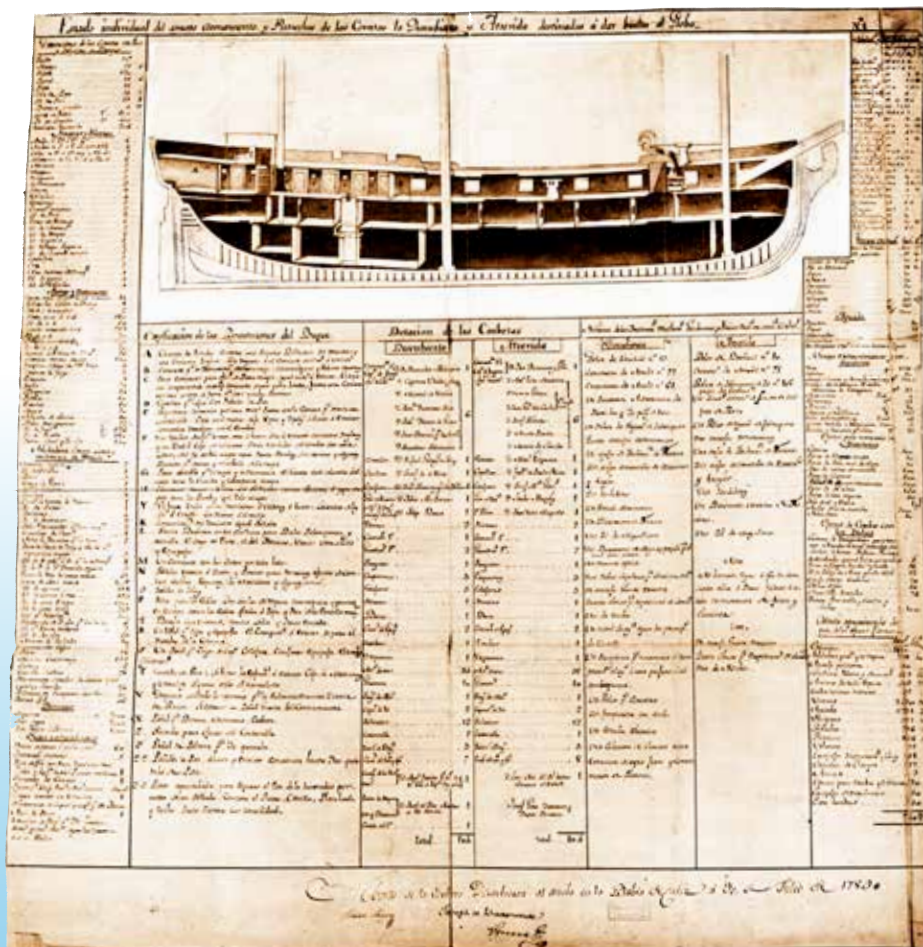
Spain's desire to expand the frontiers of knowledge paralleled the nation's interest in controlling and settling the new territory. Carlos III, following the lead of his Bourbon predecessors, actively sponsored the intellectual renovation of his realm by his founding of the Museum of Natural Science,

a Botanical Garden, an Academy of Medicine and the adoption of the Linnaean system of scientific nomenclature then being used by the major countries of Europe. Remarkably, despite their nations' ongoing imperial rivalries, British, French, Austrian, Spanish and American naturalists joined forces to develop a common denominator in the classification of fauna and flora throughout the world.

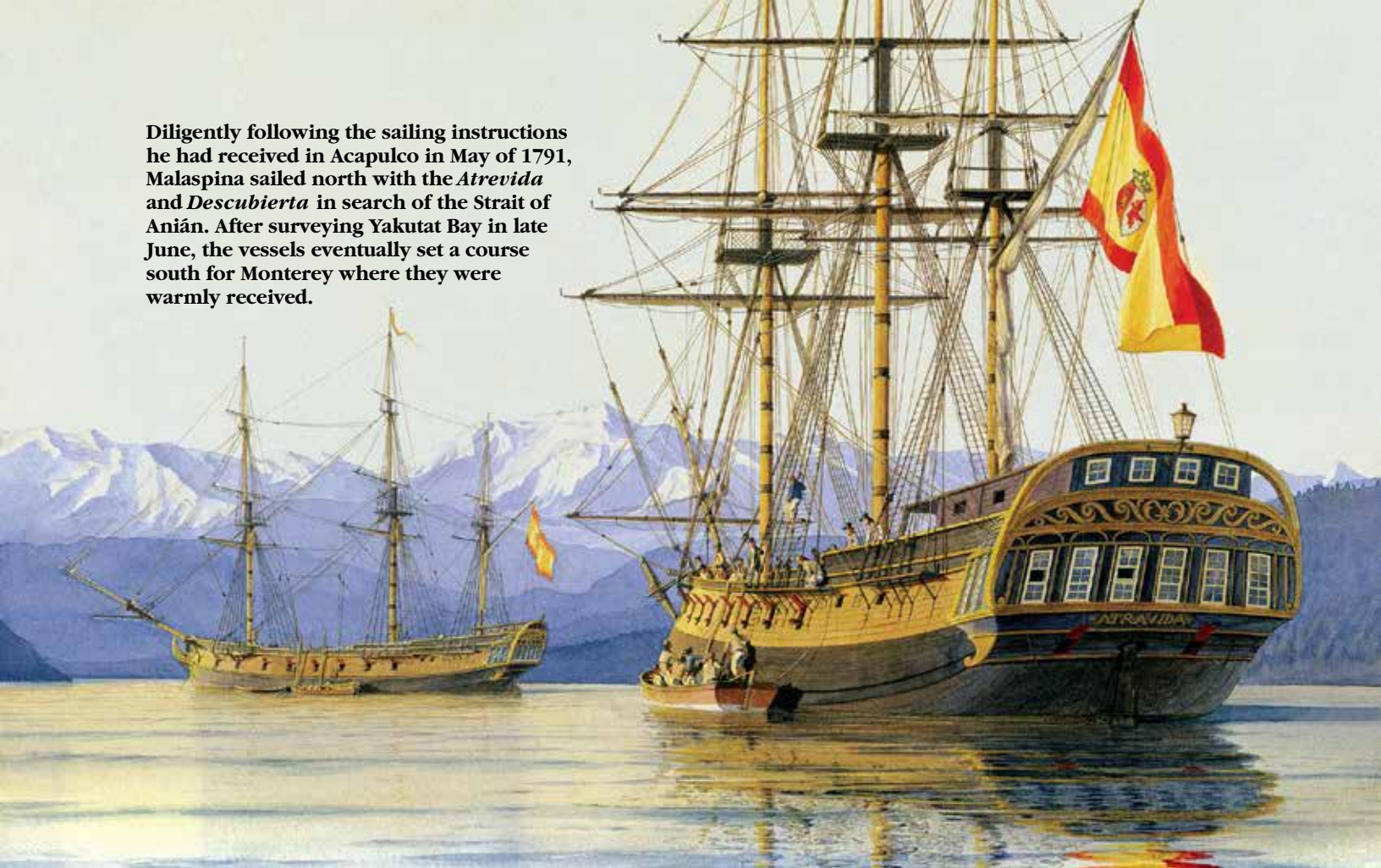
To encourage scientific studies, and to compete with British and French endeavors, Carlos III promoted

from its forty-four-day survey San Francisco Bay. Captain Ayala had sailed to the entrance of the bay on August 4, 1775, but strong currents and tides prevented his passing through the narrow entry (today's Golden Gate) until the next day. Finally successful, the *San Carlos* became the first European ship to enter California's largest natural port. Ayala anchored off present-day San Francisco's North Beach and, with a small launch, explored every part of the bay. Ayala's exploration set the stage for the occupation of San Francisco and the foundation of its presidio and mission in early fall 1776.¹⁷

Cross-sectional plan of Malaspina's vessels. During the eighteenth century, European seafarers had learned of the need to transport adequate supplies for the successful navigation of an ocean as large as the Pacific. French naval architects designed the *Atrevida* and *Descubierta* with the specific goal of conducting scientific investigation. In the true fashion of any Enlightened voyage, these vessels were supplied with space for the examination and secure transportation of natural history specimens.



Diligently following the sailing instructions he had received in Acapulco in May of 1791, Malaspina sailed north with the *Atrevida* and *Descubierta* in search of the Strait of Anián. After surveying Yakutat Bay in late June, the vessels eventually set a course south for Monterey where they were warmly received.



half a dozen major expeditions both in Europe and the Americas during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. After the king's death in 1788, Spain's royal government began its decline, but capable viceroys and other colonial officials nevertheless carried out projected scientific efforts, as well as other reform measures.¹⁸

Factors influencing the study of natural science during the late eighteenth century were generally rooted in the changing climate of European thought. Men of the eighteenth century

Enlightenment began to reassess the resources of their own countries. Scientists throughout Europe catalogued minerals, classified fauna and flora according to the Linnaean system, surveyed natural products, recorded native customs, and rewrote standard natural histories. Gone were the mermaids and sea monsters, as intellectual interests shifted gradually from supernatural beliefs to a natural science

based on investigation and demonstration. Scientific studies commanded the attention of scholars and the patronage of kings.¹⁹ Throughout this process of exploration and investigation, maritime endeavor played a key role. Efficient sailing ships and secure

sea routes became a vital means for the collecting and surveying missions of state-sponsored scientists and surveyors. California's coastal maritime routes were traversed by a series of expeditions that sought to broaden the European frontiers of knowledge.

Gone were the mermaids and sea monsters, as intellectual interests shifted gradually from supernatural beliefs to a natural science based on investigation and demonstration.

The Voyage of La Pérouse to Monterey, California, 1786

The French launched an around-the-world expedition under the command of Jean-François de Galaup, Count of La Pérouse, which sailed from Brest on August 1, 1785. Its published objectives were to increase geographic knowledge and

search for the Northwest Passage; not stated were the commercial and political motives of trade and possible colonization in the Pacific area. The Russian and Spanish ports on the North American coast received particular scrutiny from the French. Following James Cook's route, the expedition visited Hawaii, spent a month along Alaskan shores in the summer of 1786, and then sailed directly for Monterey – paying the first official French visit to California.²⁰

During the ten days La Pérouse remained in the province, his expedition gathered sufficient information to prepare comprehensive reports on California's geography, resources, political and military government, mission system, Indian population, and economic possibilities. Judging from the area of Monterey, La Pérouse thought California to be "inexpressibly fertile," abounding in fish and game, and its lack of flowing water compensated by the dampness of the air. He concluded, however, that any progress made by the Indians under authoritarian Spain would be slow.

The French expedition sailed from Monterey August 24, 1786, to Macao, the Philippines, and then northward to the Sea of Japan. From a Russian port at

Kamchatka, La Pérouse dispatched his daily journals and some of the scientific papers overland to Paris. Additional documents were also forwarded after the group visited the East Indies and Botany Bay. Known to have headed southward, the expedition mysteriously disappeared. La Pérouse's journals and other papers

of the voyage, shipped to Paris from Hawai'i, were published in Paris in 1791, and several searches were made for the missing expedition. Not until more than thirty-five years had passed was the wreckage of the French ships found north of the New Hebrides.²¹

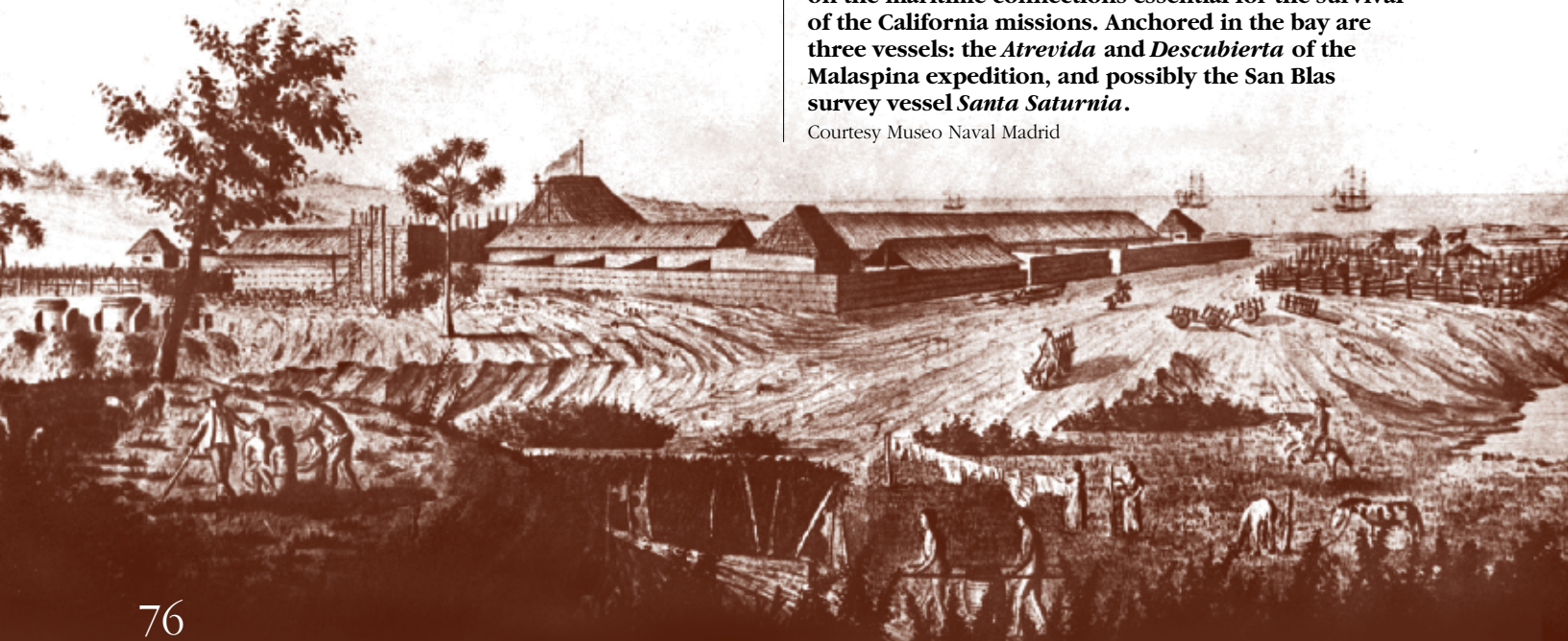
The around-the-world expedition of Alejandro Malaspina, one of the most ambitious of the eighteenth-century scientific undertakings organized in Spain during the 1780s, is little known in California today.

The Voyage of Alejandro Malaspina to California, 1791

The around-the-world expedition of Alejandro Malaspina, one of the most ambitious of the eighteenth-century scientific undertakings organized in Spain during the 1780s, is little known in California today. After stopping in South America and Mexico, an elite group of Spanish intellectuals paid an official visit to Alta California in 1791. Malaspina, a Spanish

Artist José Cardero drew a series of sketches of Monterey during the visit of the Malaspina Expedition in 1791. As well as depicting the mission compound and various bucolic scenes, the artist also focused on the maritime connections essential for the survival of the California missions. Anchored in the bay are three vessels: the *Atrevida* and *Descubierta* of the Malaspina expedition, and possibly the San Blas survey vessel *Santa Saturnia*.

Courtesy Museo Naval Madrid



naval officer of Italian birth, had circumnavigated the globe in 1786-1788 as captain of *La Astrea*. He and a fellow officer, José Bustamante y Guerra, submitted a plan to the Spanish minister of marine, Antonio Valdés, for a scientific and political voyage that would follow in the wake of Cook and La Pérouse and “study the survival of Man in different climates, in extensive journeys, and among some almost incredible tasks and risks,” and would represent “the most significant contribution that navigation has made.”²²

Two corvettes built especially for the project, the *Descubierta* and *Atrevida*, set sail from the port of Cádiz in July 1789, arriving in Montevideo the following September. Sailing around Cape Horn, the ships cruised along the coasts of Chile, Peru, Ecuador, Panama, and Nicaragua, stopping in major ports to make investigations of the surrounding territory. While in Acapulco in May 1791, Malaspina received a royal order to search for the Strait of Anián, or Northwest Passage. To make best use of his available time, Malaspina decided to leave a number of officers and scientists in Mexico for further study. He then sailed with the rest of his party in search of the elusive passage and to visit the Pacific Northwest and California.

Following a stay on the Alaskan coast, the Malaspina expedition stopped at Nootka Sound, where they set up an astronomical observatory, sketched local scenes, gathered fauna and flora, and exchanged various gifts with the natives. Malaspina and Maquinna, chief of the Nootka (Mowachaht) Indians, established a bond of friendship. After a two-week visit, during which they learned much about the local customs, the expedition then headed for Monterey in August 1791.²³ By this time, Governor Fages had relinquished his California command and returned to Mexico. The new provincial head, José Antonio Roméu, had not yet reached California, so Malaspina was greeted by the generous and amiable Lieutenant José Darío Argüello, acting commandant of the Monterey presidio. The expedition also brought to California



The *Sutil* and *Mexicana* encounter British navigator George Vancouver off Spanish Banks near modern-day Vancouver.

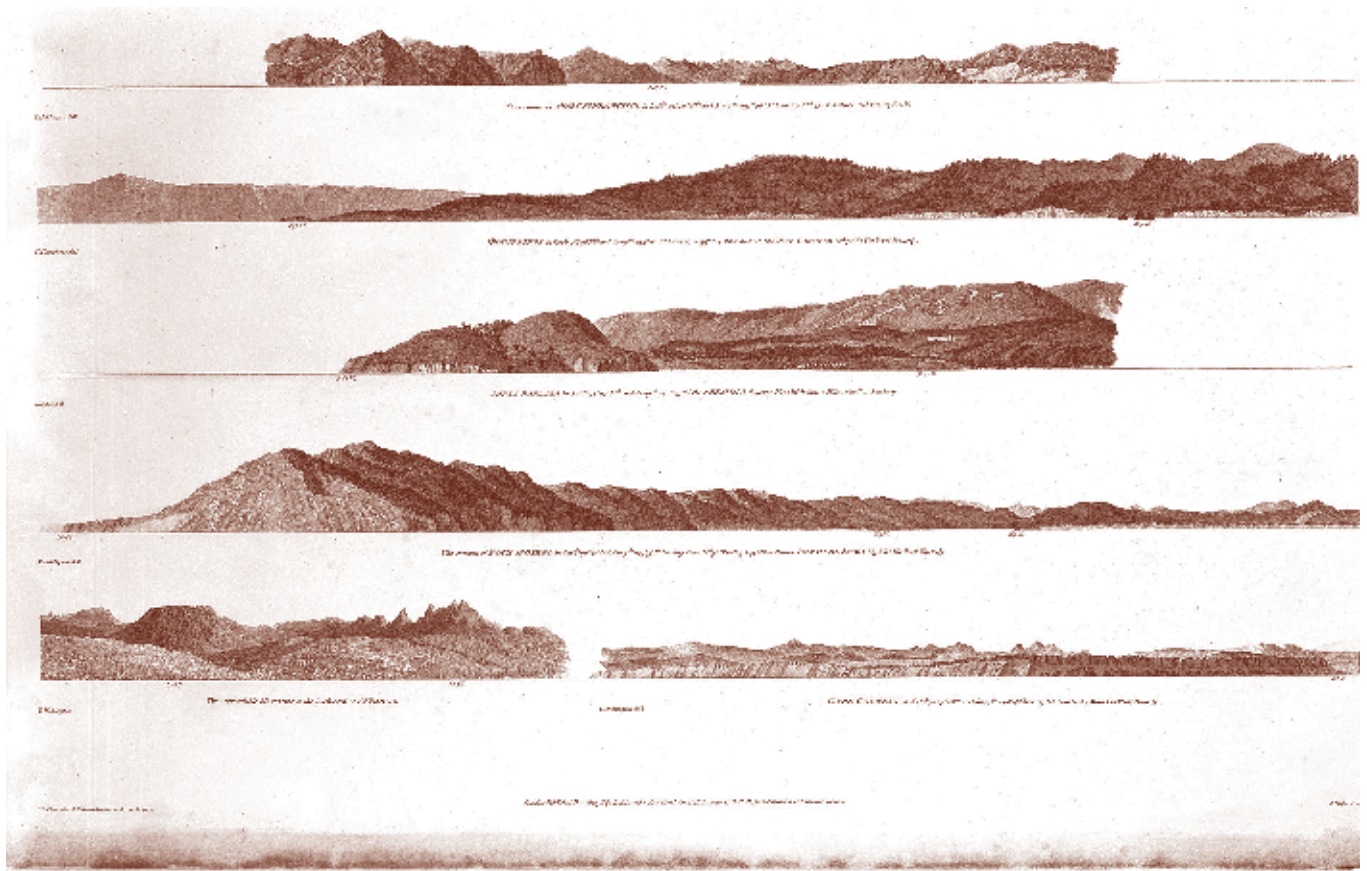
Artist Gordon Miller

its first American visitor, John Green from Boston, who had become seriously ill at Nootka and died in Monterey on the afternoon of September 13. He was buried after funeral services were conducted by Father Francisco de Paula Anino, chaplain of the *Atrevida*.

Upon hearing of the expedition's arrival, California's Franciscan Father President Fermín Francisco de Lasuén returned from his work at the new mission establishment of Santa Cruz, founded just north of Monterey on August 28, 1791, to receive Malaspina and his scientists at Mission San Carlos. One of the Malaspina diarists reported that from the moment Lasuén arrived on the scene,

...so great was his activity for our collections of natural history, so prolific and detailed his information and reflections on the prosperity of these missions, and finally so affable, natural and religiously abundant was his hospitality at any hour...that he would be poorly described in any other way than that of perpetual recognition and appreciation.²⁴

During the expedition's fifteen-day visit to Monterey, naturalist Tadeo Haënke directed studies of local birds, quadrupeds, sea animals, and fish. He also prepared a



Rutters produced in the course of the Vancouver voyage along the coast of California. These vistas, including Santa Barbara and San Diego, would have been familiar to any traveler along the maritime *Camino Real*. They were first published in: George Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean...* London, 1798.

comprehensive survey of plant life and listed the uses for California trees. Credited with the first scientific description of the redwood, Haënke is named as its botanical discoverer. In the field of mineralogy, the talented Bohemian analyzed the soil of the Monterey coast beginning with the sands along the shore and continuing inland for a considerable distance. Artists José Cardero and Tomás Suría contributed colorful illustrations of both a scientific and general nature.

The expedition left Monterey with exchanges of compliments and sad farewells. Returning first to Acapulco to pick up the rest of the group, the *Descubierta* and *Atrevida* directed their courses westward, visiting Guam, the Philippines, New Zealand, New South Wales, and the Fiji Islands. Re-crossing the Pacific, the two vessels sailed for the port of Cádiz by way of South America. The expedition returned to Spain after sixty-two months of travel and exploration. It was praised for its success; but Malaspina's fame

was short-lived. His inopportune involvement with Queen María Luisa of Parma, wife of Carlos IV, and his unpopular liberal views regarding the Americas resulted in his imprisonment in Spain and eventual exile to his home country. Malaspina's death in Pontremoli in 1810 effectively terminated the editing and publication of the expedition's documents. The expedition's material remained relatively unknown for a century. According to the German naturalist Baron Alexander von Humboldt, Malaspina was "more famous for his misfortunes than for his discoveries."²⁵

The Voyages of Bodega y Quadra and Vancouver to the Pacific Coast

Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, veteran of two epic explorations to the North Pacific and commander of the Naval Department of San Blas, was commissioned in 1792 to represent Spain in a final effort to resolve all the difficulties with England over territory rights at Nootka Sound.²⁶ His "Expedition of

the Limits to the North of California” was also the last major Spanish effort to make a full investigation of the northern area.²⁷ For this reason Viceroy Revillagigedo appointed Mexican-born José Mariano Moziño as botanist-naturalist of the expedition.²⁸ Moziño made some observations in California during a brief stop at Monterey, indicating his belief that the province had numerous advantages over the Nootka Sound area. Bodega, in his journal, commented that among the birds they saw, perhaps at Monterey, was a beautiful quail drawn by artist Atanasio Echeverría and called by the naturalist *Tetrao de California*.²⁹

Two officers of the Malaspina expedition, Dionisio Alcalá Galiano and Cayetano Valdés, commanding the schooners *Sutil* and *Mexicana*, also joined Bodega y Quadra in further exploration of the Northwest coast. Viceroy Revillagigedo had accepted Malaspina’s offer to leave these two officers in Mexico to head a special expedition to the northern area. They were instructed to prepare navigational charts; investigate natural resources; describe animals, birds, and fish; discover valuable metals or precious stones; describe native customs, and note objects of scientific curiosity. The talented José Cardero was also left to serve as official artist and cartographer.³⁰

The expedition spent several months on the Northwest coast and accompanied the two ships of Captain George Vancouver on his circumnavigation of Vancouver Island. Alcalá Galiano and Valdés returned to Monterey prior to Bodega’s return. They remained in California’s capital from September 22 to October 26, 1792, where they continued their survey. Their official journal, published in Madrid in 1802, gave a description of Monterey and the surrounding area, a detailed account of Indian life and customs, and a summary of mission progress. Also included were a set of excellent maps and a series of illustrations by artist Cardero.³¹

Commissioned by the English to negotiate with the Spaniards at Nootka about land ownership rights, Vancouver had been a member of Cook’s second and third expeditions and an active explorer in the West Indies; he reached the Northwest coast in June 1792. With his ships the *Discovery* and *Chatham*, he entered the Strait of Juan de Fuca and circumnavigated the island that later would bear his name. Vancouver met Bodega y Quadra at Nootka in August, and after two conferences, the two commissioners agreed to refer

settlement of the controversy back to their respective governments. During these negotiations, Bodega suggested they sail to Monterey rather than suffer through a rigorous winter on the island they had christened Vancouver and Quadra.³²

José Longinos Martínez returns by the Maritime Route

In the meantime, another Spanish scientist, naturalist José Longinos Martínez, member of the Royal Scientific Expedition to New Spain, had reached Monterey in early September 1792. He arrived in California’s capital after a long overland journey from Cape San Lucas at the tip of Baja California to Monterey, Alta California, during which he recorded details about fauna and flora, Indian life and customs, geographical conditions, and the progress of Spanish settlement.³³ Longinos was particularly impressed with the Chumash Indians of the Santa Barbara channel and described them in great detail. He thought their basketwork represented the “utmost delicacy” and their pots and pans, which were handed down from “father to son to grandson,” were of a kind of soapstone that never wore out or became unserviceable.³⁴ Their bows and arrows were “different from those of the other nations, excelling them in workmanship, beauty, and effectiveness.” Longinos also listed natural products suitable for commercial exploitation and gave particular attention to medicinal plants.³⁵ After two months of study, Longinos sailed for Mexico from Monterey with Francisco de Eliza on the royal frigate *Concepción*. Following the well-traveled maritime route, they reached San Blas on November 22, 1792.

The End of an Era

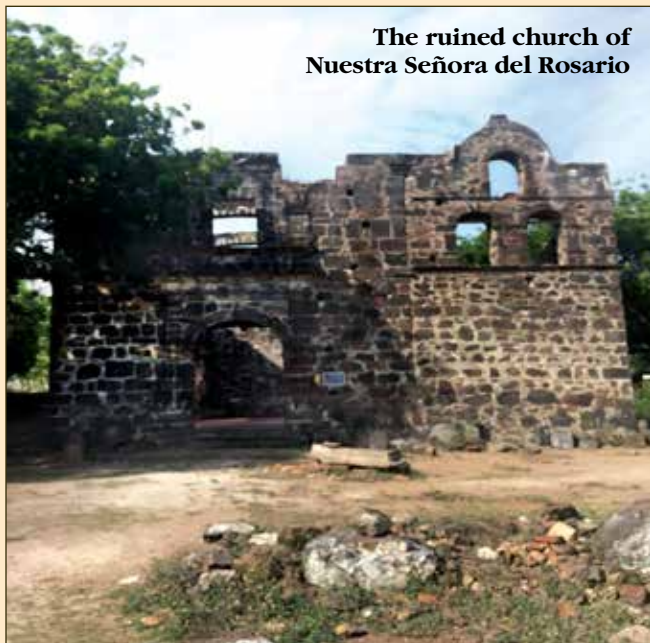
Despite difficult conditions on the Iberian Peninsula at the beginning of the nineteenth century, future prospects for California were bright. Self-sustaining at last, the distant province had profited under able leadership. While Spaniards at home struggled during the troubled reign of Carlos IV, and though international controversies shook the European world, California showed steady progress in pueblo development, agriculture, manufacturing, and commerce. Foreign access to the Pacific had caused officials of New Spain concern for the welfare of California, but local residents would soon turn

Central Plaza,
San Blas.



The beginning and end of California's maritime *Camino Real*. Today San Blas is a sleepy fishing port, visited infrequently by tourists. The town and its surrounding ruins echo with the ambitions of Carlos III, José de Gálvez and Junípero Serra for the forging of a new frontier to Spain's empire in the Americas. Photographs by Iris Engstrand, 2018.

The ruined church of
Nuestra Señora del Rosario



foreign contact into a profitable trade. A measure of cooperation between church and state had permitted internal gains in terms of economic development and religious conversion, but illnesses, little understood by the Franciscan friars, still took a yearly toll of mission Indians.



Spain's zealous efforts in the quest for knowledge during the late eighteenth century did not, unfortunately, result in fame for Spanish scientists or utilization of the newly discovered information. The nation's extensive collection of data, unlike the journals of Captain Cook or the Count of La Pérouse, were not made available to contemporaries in the academic world. The lack of support by Carlos IV and the French invasion of 1808 caused much of their valuable material to become disorganized, lost, given away, or sold to foreign collectors. These disheartening occurrences were followed by an even greater tragedy

for the Spanish government – the imminent loss of its colonial empire. Ideas of independence presaged the outbreak of uprisings in Spanish America, and Spain's opportunities for scientific study in California and other overseas areas were left to a new generation.

The maritime route to California continued to be used by a variety of ships ranging from the infamous Bouchard expedition of 1818 attacking in the name of independence from Spain to fur trading ships from Great Britain, France, the United States, and the newly formed independent South American countries such as Peru and Chile. California by the 1820s and subsequent Mexican period had become self-sustaining with a variety of ranchos producing hides and tallow. Overland travel from Mexico would never equal the ability of ships to ply Pacific Ocean waters using a “*Camino Real* by Sea” for generations to come.

Notes

- Bernal Diaz del Castillo, *Historia Verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* (Madrid, 1632); W. Michael Mathes, *The Conquistador in California: 1535: The Voyage of Fernando Cortés to Baja California in Chronicles and Documents* (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1973).
- Francisco de Ulloa commanded three ships—the *Santa Agueda*, the *Trinidad*, and a smaller ship that was lost. They perhaps reached Point San Antonio just south of latitude thirty degrees. See Maurice G. Holmes, *From New Spain to California by Sea, 1519-1668* (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1963), 80-87.
- Harry Kelsey, *Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1986) and see also Harry Kelsey, *Discovering Cabrillo* (Altadena: Liber Apertus Press, 2018).
- The first circumnavigation of the globe, headed by the Portuguese navigator Ferdinand Magellan sailing for Spain, was made from 1519 to 1522.
- Henry R. Wagner, “Urdaneta and the Return Route from the Philippine Islands,” *Pacific Historical Review* 13 (1940):13-16; William Lytle Schurz, *The Manila Galleon* (New York: E. Dutton, 1939), and David Judkins, “Cavendish, Thomas (1560-1592),” in *Literature of Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, (Routledge, 2003); Holmes, *From New Spain to California by Sea*, 138.
- Cermeno later commanded another Manila Galleon that was wrecked on the shore of Drake's Bay in 1595. See Henry R. Wagner, “The Voyage to California of Sebastián Rodríguez Cermenho in 1595,” *California Historical Society Quarterly* 3 (1924): 3-24.
- W. Michael Mathes, *Vizcaíno and Spanish Expansion in the Pacific Ocean 1580-1630* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1968).
- Iris Engstrand, “Pedro Fages and Miguel Costansó: Two early Letters from San Diego in 1769,” *San Diego Historical Society Quarterly* 21 (Spring 1975). See also Michael Connolly Miskwish, *Maay Uukow: Kumeyaay Cosmology* (San Diego: Sunbelt Publications, 2016).
- Peter Browning, ed., *The Discovery of San Francisco Bay: The Portolá Expedition of 1769-1770* (Lafayette, CA: Great West Books, 1992).
- Manuel P. Servin, “Instructions of Viceroy Bucareli to Ensign Juan Pérez,” *California Historical Society Quarterly* 40 (September 1961): 238.
- José Mariano Moziño in Iris H. Wilson Engstrand, ed. and trans. *Noticias de Nutka: An Account of Nootka Sound in 1792* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1970; revised edition 1991), 66.
- See also Herbert K. Beals, ed. and trans. *Juan Pérez on the Northwest Coast: Six Documents of the Expedition in 1774* (Portland: Oregon Historical Society Press, 1989).
- See Theodore E. Treutlein, *San Francisco Bay: Discovery and Colonization, 1769-1776* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1968), chap. 1.
- William Broughton of Vancouver's crew may have named the Columbia River after their ship *Columbia Rediviva*.
- Henry R. Wagner, *Spanish Explorations in the Strait of Juan de Fuca* (Santa Ana, CA: Fine Arts Press, 1933), and *The Cartography of Northwest Coast of America to the year 1800* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1937).
- Freeman M. Tovell, *At the Far Reaches of Empire: The Life of Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008), chapter 2, 13-48.
- Treutlein, *San Francisco Bay*.
- Iris Engstrand, *Spanish Scientists in the New World: The Eighteenth Century Expeditions* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981).
- Arthur Robert Steele, *Flowers for the King: The Expedition of Ruiz and Pavon and the Flora of Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1964).
- Charles N. Rudkin, trans and ed., *The First French Expedition to California: LaPerouse in 1786* (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1959).
- Ibid.*, 53.
- Engstrand, *Spanish Scientists in the New World*, 3-12.
- Donald C. Cutter, *Malaspina in California* (San Francisco: John Howell Books, 1961), 28.
- Ibid.*, 31.
- Alexander von Humboldt, *Ensayo Político sobre el reino de la Nueva España*. (Mexico, D.F.: Editorial Porrúa, 1966), 80.
- Freeman M. Tovell, Robin Inglis, and Iris H.W. Engstrand, *Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America, 1792: Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra and the Nootka Sound Controversy* (Norman, Oklahoma: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2012).
- Viaje a la Costa N.O. de la América Septentrional por Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra...en el año 1792*, Ms. Archivo del Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Madrid.
- Moziño, trained as a theologian, physician, and botanist, joined the Royal Scientific Expedition to New Spain in 1789 and was appointed by the viceroy to accompany Bodega y Quadra to the Pacific Northwest.
- Cardero, born in Ecija, Spain, was a former cabin boy turned artist on the Malaspina expedition and reassigned to Bodega y Quadra by the viceroy. See Engstrand, *Spanish Scientists*, 126.
- Dionisio Alcalá Galiano and Cayetano Valdés, *Relación del viaje hecho por las goletas Sutil y Mexicana en el año 1792 para reconocer el estrecho de Juan de Fuca* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1802; reprinted Madrid, 1958).
- John Kendrick, trans., *The Voyage of the Sutil and Mexicana, 1792: The Last Spanish Exploration of the Northwest Coast of America* (Spokane: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1996).
- Margaret Eyer Wilbur, ed., *Vancouver in California The Original Account of George Vancouver* (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1954); Iris Engstrand, “José Moziño and Archibald Menzies: Crossroads of the Enlightenment in the Pacific Northwest,” in *Columbia: the Magazine of Northwest History* (Spring 2004), and Warren L. Cook, *Floodtide of Empire: Spain and the Pacific Northwest, 1543-1819* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973).
- See Lesley Byrd Simpson, ed. and trans. *Journal of José Longinos Martínez: Notes and Observations of the Naturalist of the Botanical Expedition in Old and New California and the South Coast* (San Francisco: John Howell Books, 1963).
- Engstrand, *Spanish Scientists*, 139-140.
- Ibid.*, 137.

San Blas and the Californias: Hispanic Trade in the Northern Pacific Rim in a Time of Great Change (1767-1820)

Dení Trejo Barajas and Marie Christine Duggan

Bourbon Reform and the Naval Department of San Blas

In 1767, as part of a general renewal of colonial government, economy, and defense, Inspector General José de Gálvez established a new naval supply depot and shipyard at the relatively isolated port of San Blas on the Pacific coast of what was then the Spanish empire's most prosperous possession – the viceroyalty of New Spain. This port would come to play a pivotal role in the

implementation of Crown policies on New Spain's northwestern frontier, with implications that would extend far beyond military strategy to include the very heart of Bourbon efforts focusing on the reform of the colonial economy and the generation of new forms of revenue. The new port would help guarantee Spanish

sovereignty in the Pacific Northwest – a strategic objective to which San Blas was considerably closer than Acapulco, a port that had long held the position of New Spain's gateway to the Pacific. Any reform of New Spain's economy required the subordination of the mercantile elite of Mexico City to the Crown's will. San Blas would play a part in this, for Acapulco was this elite's preferred port and their Pacific coast power base. Thus the naval presence Gálvez established at San Blas was intended not simply as a supply base for the expanding northern frontier, but also a means of countering the stranglehold on Pacific commerce currently enjoyed by the merchant guild of Mexico City through their Acapulco monopoly.¹ Under this plan, loyal colonial officials based in San Blas would

ensure the regular delivery of government-financed supplies to both presidios and missions in Baja and Alta California.² From San Blas, Spanish naval forces could also maintain surveillance of Acapulco-bound ships, such as the Manila Galleon.³

The isolated bays and coves of the southern shores of Baja California offered a tempting location to off-load lucrative Asian products in order to avoid government taxes and quotas. After

clandestine shipment from the Baja California peninsula to Mazatlán, distribution of these smuggled goods would be possible inside New Spain, well beyond the reach of the Crown's customs officers.⁴ The supply of contraband came from three potential sources.⁵ First, the annual Manila Galleon provided a source of

The new port would help guarantee Spanish sovereignty in the Pacific Northwest – a strategic objective to which San Blas was considerably closer than Acapulco, a port that had long held the position of New Spain's gateway to the Pacific.

contraband. It was customary for Mexico City merchants to import excess goods beyond the official quota on the galleon. This merchandise was offloaded in such a way that taxes could be avoided. Secondly, goods largely sold by British and American ships in Spanish waters frequently originated in Canton, where merchants of both nations had settled in the business community by the 1790s.⁶ The annual Manila Galleon provided a second source of contraband. It was customary for Mexico City merchants to import excess goods beyond the official quota on the galleon. This merchandise was offloaded in such a way that taxes could be avoided.⁷ A third source of illegal trade goods on Hispanic ships emerged when coastal traders from Lima picked up contraband British merchandise in Panama – a transit point conveniently close to British Jamaica – before sailing on to San Blas.

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Nuevo Mapa Geographico de la América Septentrional... by José Antonio de Alzate y Ramírez. This 1768 map of Spanish provinces and possessions in North America shows the extensive territories then under the control of the Crown. The Californias had long been known to the Spaniards through voyages of reconnaissance, such as those of Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo and Sebastián Vizcaíno. A desire to secure this frontier led, in 1769, to beginning of the colonization of Alta California.

In the eighteenth century, the Crown sought to encourage private business activity by tax-paying small-holders. Since regular orders were exempt from many taxes, Bourbon Reform restricted the role of the church in economic activity. These strategies contributed to the expulsion of the Jesuits from all regions under Spanish rule

in 1767 – among these Baja California.⁸

The Bourbons also wanted to curtail the privileges of entrenched groups such as the merchant guilds in Cádiz and Mexico City. At the same time, they hoped to open up business opportunities to

smaller merchants far from traditional power centers. To achieve this end, the Bourbons implemented a decree in 1778 that widened the number of ports in Spain from which commercial ships could sail to the Americas – not only from the port of Cádiz, but from multiple ports throughout the Iberian Peninsula. The expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767 as well as the 1778 decree on *comercio libre* (free trade) were intended to increase the share of tax-paying entrepreneurs (i.e., non-clergy), and by curtailing privileges of bodies such as the *consulados* (merchant guilds) in Cádiz and Mexico City, to push forward smallholders from a variety of locations. Such measures were intended to generate prosperity, which would in turn produce increased tax revenues.⁹

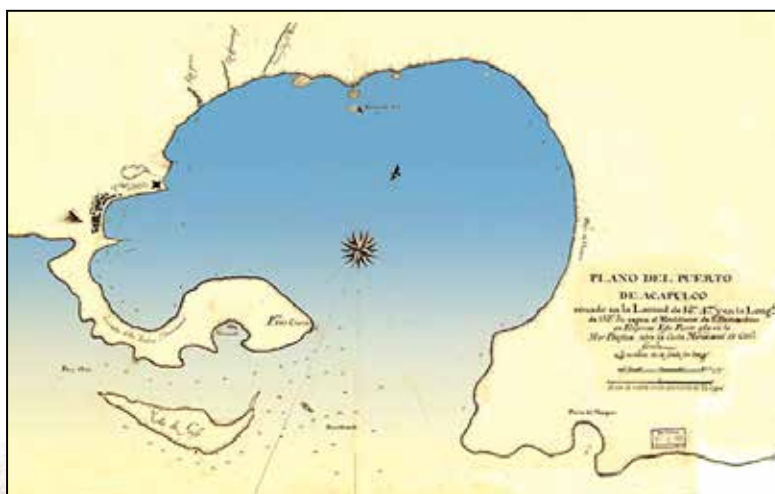
However, a second aim of Bourbon reform was at cross-purposes with the economic development of New Spain. The Crown wished to shift the center of profitable activity in the empire from New Spain to Spain itself. This necessarily complicated any attempt to increase profit in New Spain. In 1778 at the port of Cádiz in Spain, the decree of *comercio libre* did cut into the privileged position of the merchant guild. Yet in New Spain the same decree failed to open trade

to a group larger than the *consulado de México* (the Merchant Guild of Mexico City) until 1795. In addition to the Crown's mixed feelings about encouraging New Spain's economy, there was a specific reason for delay in developing Mexico's provinces: Between 1779 and 1783, Spain was drawn into war with Britain. The young United States – the Thirteen Colonies – had acquired French support in a war for independence from Britain. The Spanish Bourbon monarchy was allied to France through the Family Pact of 1761. To finance war with Britain, Spain turned to the *consulado de México*, asking for substantial donations and loans. This preoccupation necessarily meant that the 1779-1783 period was an inopportune moment for the Crown to curtail the privileges of the mercantile magnates of Mexico City by favoring their provincial rivals.¹⁰ In fact, because of the war, commercial reform in New Spain was effectively delayed until 1795, when the Crown finally founded two provincial merchant guilds, the *consulado de Vera Cruz* (the Merchant Guild of Vera Cruz) and, what concerns us here, the *consulado de Guadalajara* (the Merchant Guild of Guadalajara).

Right: Plano del puerto de Acapulco, ca. 1760.

Courtesy Library of Congress, G4692.A3 1760 .P5

Below: The Pacific port of Acapulco, integral to Spanish trans-Pacific trade, was firmly under the control of the merchant elite of Mexico City. Economic reforms sponsored by the Bourbon Crown sought to eclipse this power. Artist Tomás de Suría, Malaspina Expedition, 1791, Museo Naval Madrid.





The ruins of the old Spanish customs house at San Blas. A more efficient collection of revenues from imports was an integral part of Spanish efforts to reform the colonial economy in New Spain. The Pourade Collection, Maritime Museum of San Diego.

Furthermore, as war between Spain and Britain dragged on, Spain took an ambiguous stand regarding American merchants. In this conflict, the United States was considered a neutral party, so that trade by U.S. ships in Spanish ports was occasionally legal. This was permitted in 1797, and again from 1805 to 1808.

The first reform Gálvez had implemented when he was sent to New Spain in 1765 by Carlos III was to enforce tax collection on imports from Spain by Mexico City's business elite at the Atlantic port of Veracruz. When this inspired opposition on the part of Viceroy Cruillas who was loyal to the Mexico City power brokers, Gálvez had him replaced with a new Viceroy, Teodoro de Croix. In this way, Gálvez established that as *visitador general* (Inspector General), his authority came directly from the king.



Gálvez's next step was to carry out the expulsion of the Jesuits from all of New Spain, including Baja California. This was not simply the case of an Enlightened Monarchy intervening in church affairs. New Spain's mercantile elite was concentrated in the *consulado de México*, whose membership was Basque. Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Jesuits, was also Basque. Through their pious donations to Jesuit funds, the Basque businessmen of Mexico had financed education and social services – but they had also used the endowments as sources of loans for business activity.¹¹ In the context of New Spain, then, expulsion of the Jesuits was an attack on the local mercantile elite.

The Plaza Mayor of Mexico City in 1791. Mexico City was not only the seat of New Spain's viceregal government, but also dominated by a powerful merchant elite.

Courtesy AGN, Mexico City



Asia: Potential Supply Line for the Californias

When Alta California was established in 1769, the official goods that the Spanish navy transported from San Blas to California found their origin in Mexico City. They were brought to San Blas on the Pacific Coast by pack-train, then loaded on the ship that sailed to north. Shipping goods from Mexico City via San Blas was never the most cost-effective means of supplying California. The Manila Galleon occasionally stopped at Monterey on annual journey to Acapulco, so the cheapest way to supply California would have been to import food, clothing and military equipment from Asia. However, the Bourbon determination to reduce the power of the Mexico City merchants who financed the Manila Galleon precluded this obvious solution.

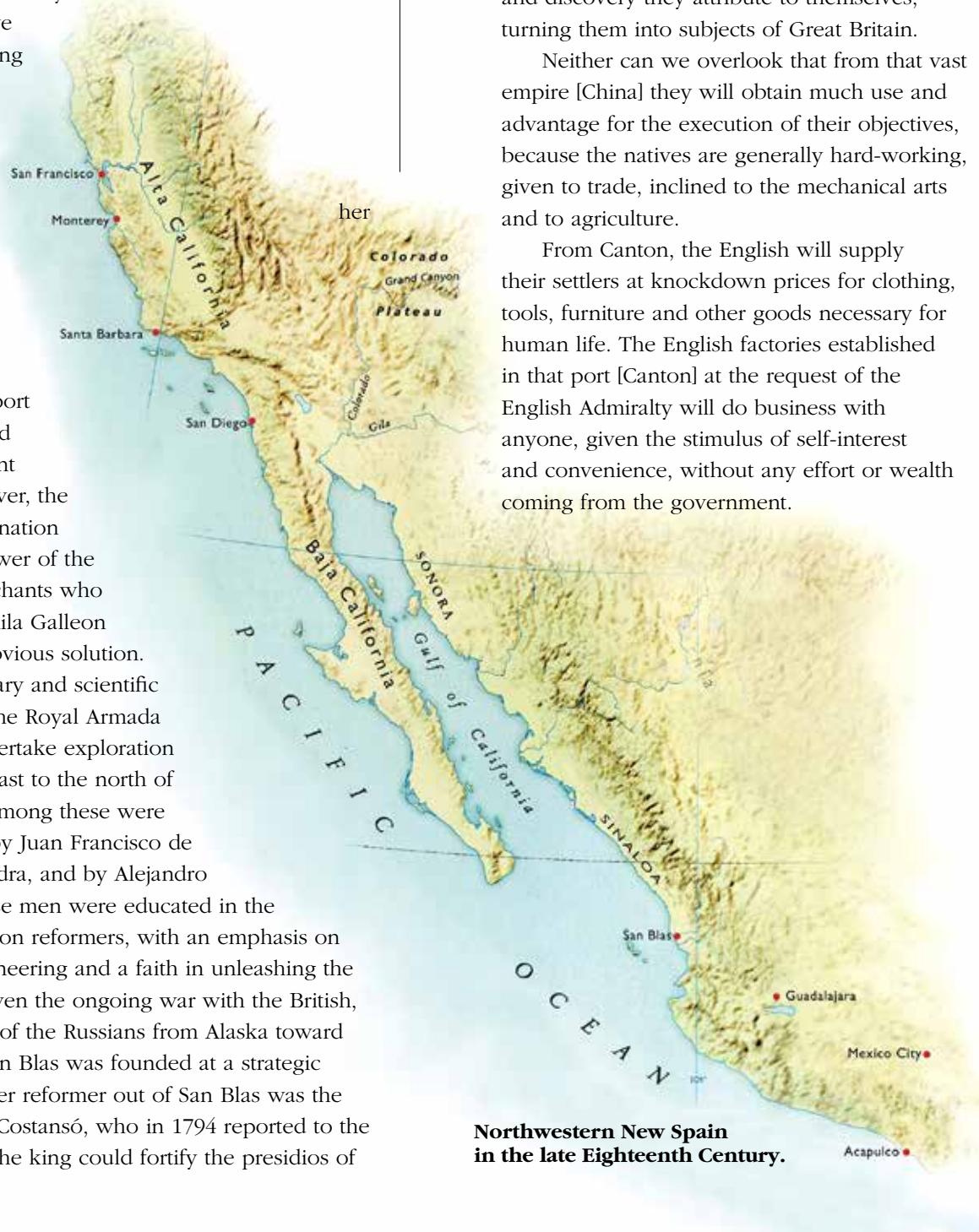
In 1774 military and scientific personnel from the Royal Armada were sent to undertake exploration on the Pacific Coast to the north of Alta California. Among these were the expeditions by Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, and by Alejandro Malaspina.¹² These men were educated in the manner of Bourbon reformers, with an emphasis on science and engineering and a faith in unleashing the profit motive. Given the ongoing war with the British, and the advance of the Russians from Alaska toward San Francisco, San Blas was founded at a strategic moment.¹³ Another reformer out of San Blas was the engineer Miguel Costansó, who in 1794 reported to the viceroy on how the king could fortify the presidios of

California. Like his colleagues on naval ships sailing the Pacific Northwest coast, he had seen first-hand that the British were making inroads in the Pacific Rim, as he discusses below:¹⁴

The same English have the ability to extract and transport on board their ships however many people they want from China, in order to settle them in the new country, whose property and discovery they attribute to themselves, turning them into subjects of Great Britain.

Neither can we overlook that from that vast empire [China] they will obtain much use and advantage for the execution of their objectives, because the natives are generally hard-working, given to trade, inclined to the mechanical arts and to agriculture.

From Canton, the English will supply their settlers at knockdown prices for clothing, tools, furniture and other goods necessary for human life. The English factories established in that port [Canton] at the request of the English Admiralty will do business with anyone, given the stimulus of self-interest and convenience, without any effort or wealth coming from the government.



**Northwestern New Spain
in the late Eighteenth Century.**

From Macao and Canton they made the first commercial expeditions to the Northwest coast of this America; and shortly thereafter some London businessmen became directly involved in the fur trade. They formed a company under the auspices and protection of the government for undertakings requiring greater trust, which is shown in the dispatches found in the hands of Captain Colnett when he was taken at Nootka Sound with the ship that he commanded, and sent to San Blas by the commissioned pilot of that naval base, Don José Martínez.¹⁵

Costansó makes it clear how easy it would be for the British to supply California with quality, low cost Asian goods – and even people. There were smaller merchants engaging in trade informally by means of the government supply ship.¹⁶ Costansó witnessed how the Manila Galleon

was already engaging in informal trade with the people of California. One reason for the emergence of such unofficial trade was the long delays and at high prices associated with the supply of the population of Spain's Northwest provinces by the merchants of Mexico City.¹⁷ Costansó's report was widely read, and in response to

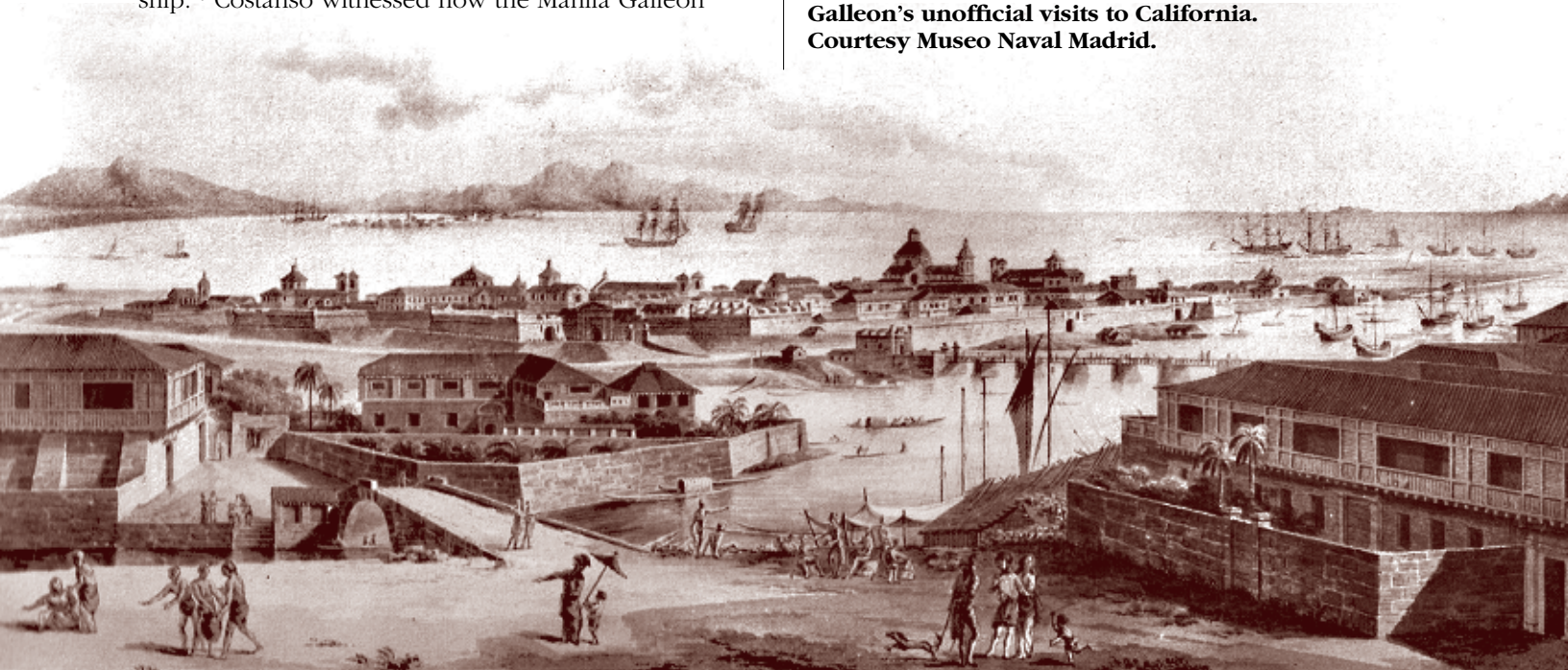
his advocacy and perhaps also to bring some of this existing contraband into the light of day (where it was taxable), in 1795 the Crown granted the businessmen of Spain's northwest mainland membership in a new *consulado de Guadalajara*.

Indeed, the merchants of Guadalajara were a viable alternative source of supply for the San Blas jurisdiction. Mexico City

was three times farther from the port of San Blas than is Guadalajara. Facilitating the supply of California from

“The English factories established in that port [Canton] at the request of the English admiralty, will do business with anyone, given the stimulus of self-interest and convenience, without any effort or wealth coming from the government.”

View of the city of Manila and its bay by Ferdinand Brambilla, artist on the expedition of Alejandro Malaspina, 1792. Colonial officials like Miguel Costansó were well aware of the commercial activity resulting from the Manila Galleon's unofficial visits to California. Courtesy Museo Naval Madrid.



Government officials and merchants from Guadalajara, Tepic, and San Blas, as well as missionaries from the Californias, united to oppose the proposed relocation to Acapulco.

Guadalajara was one way to gain a foothold in that market before Britain could act. The *consulado de Guadalajara* in effect gave a legitimate commercial angle to the port of San Blas. Founding the *consulado de Guadalajara* meant that after 1795, a larger percentage of the goods on the official supply ship from San Blas tended to originate in Guadalajara and its environs.

Indeed, Mission Santa Clara in California received seven percent of its goods from Guadalajara prior to 1795, and fifteen percent from 1795 to 1810.¹⁸

Consulado de Guadalajara versus the Consulado de México: the Fight to Keep San Blas

The new *consulado de Guadalajara* cut in on the monopoly privileges of the *consulado de México* to supply the northern Pacific, so perhaps it should not be surprising that in 1796 an attempt was made to close the port of San Blas. Viceroy Revillagigedo (1789-94) had earlier put forward the idea of relocating the Naval Department of San Blas to Acapulco, but the push in 1796 was greater.¹⁹ The ostensible reason for the proposal was that San Blas had begun to silt up after 1776 leading to a marked deterioration by 1786, and as a consequence, rising expenses. The proposal was made to relocate operations to Acapulco, the port controlled by the *consulado de México* since 1573. Such a move would have consolidated commercial control of the Pacific trade by the *consulado de México*, and undermined the competitive position of the fledgling *consulado de Guadalajara*.



The Count of Revillagigedo, viceroy of New Spain, proposed the relocation of the Naval Department of San Blas to the port of Acapulco.

In the course of the investigation into the matter carried out by Viceroy Branciforte (1794-1798), those actively engaged in the Spanish commerce in the Northern Pacific explained the benefits they received from the port of San Blas. Government officials and merchants from Guadalajara,

Tepic, and San Blas, as well as missionaries from the Californias, united to oppose the proposed relocation to Acapulco. They noted that this move would be a blow to the commercial exchange that had been developing between San Blas, Tepic, and Guadalajara, whose value was calculated to be 500,000 pesos. They further maintained that such a move would put at risk the already slow and continuously delayed supply of the Californias.²⁰ Consonant with this posture, the administrator and the accountant of the Guadalajara Customs House showed their concern. If the relocation measure were to pass, it seemed to them that it would be impossible to recover from the loss of tax income from the sales tax (*alcabala*) which this zone produced and was estimated by these authorities at 40,000 pesos annually.²¹

The naval forces stayed at San Blas, and in fact private trade out of San Blas was granted limited legitimacy by the Crown. While trade in the Pacific was by no means free, specific individuals were granted permits in the 1790s to make commercial expeditions from San Blas north to Baja and Alta California. Furthermore, permission for trade between San Blas and South America was also granted in 1796.²² One purpose may have been to bring existing contraband into the open so that it could be taxed.

Spanish merchants who received special permits to trade between California and San Blas between 1790 and 1800 included Ramón Márquez for trade from Cádiz in 1793 and José Ignacio de Inicarte, financed by the *Cinco Gremios Mayores de Madrid* (the Five Great Guilds of Madrid) in 1794.²³ Another was Nicolás Manzanelli (an Italian operating out of Barcelona) for trade between Canton and the Californias in 1795.²⁴ Others of origin unknown include Nicolás Maroy in 1795 and Antonio Ponce to build a schooner and trade with California in 1795.²⁵ Captain Salazar stopped in Santa Barbara in 1796 (on the *Concepción*) out of Manila, and in 1797 (on the *Activo*), and it is unclear whether these were private or part of the Manila Galleon.²⁶

The shift of activities from illegal to legal also had the effect of bringing interests from Mexico City into the commercial action. One of the wealthiest merchants in the *consulado de México* was the Basque Pedro González de Noriega.²⁷ In 1796, Mexico City's Noriega received the viceroy's permission to export sea otter hides from San Blas to Asia.²⁸ In 1798, his nephew José de la Guerra y Noriega was paymaster for the military in California. This provides circumstantial evidence that the elder Noriega had successfully exerted his influence to get the younger Noriega stationed in California in 1798 so that the younger man could organize the collection of otter hides. If so, the military appointment of José de la Guerra y Noriega was a means of having the government pay his salary, thereby saving the family money, and also serving to mask De la Guerra y Noriega's commercial role. By 1802, De la Guerra y Noriega had managed to get his loyal Sergeant Ortega an unusual grant of land at a cove ideal for conducting contraband trade: Rancho Refugio, north of Santa Barbara, where De la Guerra y Noriega had his command. By 1809, the friars at Santa Clara were sending otter hides to Ortega.²⁹



José de la Guerra y Noriega in later life. He had been appointed commander of the presidio in Santa Barbara thanks to his family connections with the bureaucracy of New Spain. Noriega was able to use his position to engage in the increasingly lucrative trade in sea otter hides along the central coast of California. Portrait by Leonardo Barbieri, ca 1850.

Courtesy Santa Barbara Historical Museum.

Consulado de Guadalajara Expands

Immediately after its founding in 1795, the *consulado de Guadalajara* successfully lobbied for expanded rights for the port of San Blas.³⁰ The opening of San Blas to ports of South America was put in place

with the Royal Order of May 2, 1796.³¹ In a letter from minister

Diego de Gardoqui to Viceroy Branciforte dated September 1796, Gardoqui noted that the *visitador* for Peru, José Antonio de Areche, had mentioned that business between South American ports with San Blas would be most advantageous to the provinces of Sonora and Sinaloa. To this he added:

Once the King grasped all these events (Areche's opinion and the trade permits authorized earlier) and bearing in mind the advantages of building up this commerce, it pleased His Majesty in conformance with the dictate of Viceroy Don Manuel Flores to outfit the port of San Blas by means of the attached order of this date with the quality that from now on Your Excellency should observe this trade and give account of its goods...³²

A short while after the royal order had been decreed, the Viceroy of Mexico opined that perhaps the outcome would not meet the expectations, because he thought that exports of goods produced in New Spain and Guatemala towards Peru were none too attractive, nor were the movements of products from Peru and Chile towards Sonora and Sinaloa,

given that the latter two produced their own quality wine. Furthermore, he pointed out that the trade in sugar cane whisky (known as *chiringuito*), recently authorized, had also impacted negatively upon the products from Peru and Chile. Branciforte ended his reply to Gardoqui revealing himself in favor of the unloading of the Manila Galleon at San Blas, because trade with the ports of South America would, in his opinion, be of little impact. With regards to this point, he argued that:

“From all of this, it can be deduced as the natural result that, as I have indicated that fundamentally my inclination is towards unloading the Philippine Galleon in San Blas. There is practically no other method besides this for reanimating trade, agriculture and industry in the important establishments of the Californias and other *Provincias Internas* [such as Sonora and Sinaloa]...

The Plaza Mayor of Guadalajara in the early nineteenth century. Given its proximity to San Blas, the merchant elites of Guadalajara stood to gain from any attempt to encourage trade with the Californias. Hand-colored lithograph by François Courtin after a drawing by Carl Nebel in his *Voyage pittoresque et archéologique dans la partie la plus intéressante du Mexique...* (Paris, 1836).



“It is outside the realm of possibility that either trade with Manila or with New Spain would be prejudiced with this innovation. For the unhealthy environment of Acapulco both trades would substitute quite happily the benign climate of Tepic,³³ to which location will turn the merchants of Guadalajara and all of the provinces which are less distant from there than they are from Acapulco, so that the Manila trade would enjoy this greater abundance of buyers, for whom the reduced discomfort of the trip and the greater comfort of the climate of Tepic will compensate the bother of

[traveling] a greater distance, although recent experience dictates that it will be necessary to increase the permit for trade to and from the Philippines above the 500,000 peso limit, because the additional consumption of the *Provincias Internas* will cause shortages.³⁴

Over time, commercial activity out of San Blas towards Spain’s empire – with Manila, with California, and with South America – would take on a larger and larger role, as would the mercantile elite of Guadalajara.

Over time, commercial activity out of San Blas towards Spain’s empire – with Manila, with California, and with South America – would take on a larger and larger role, as would the mercantile elite of Guadalajara.

Anglo-Hispanic Rivalry in Pacific Commerce 1790-1810

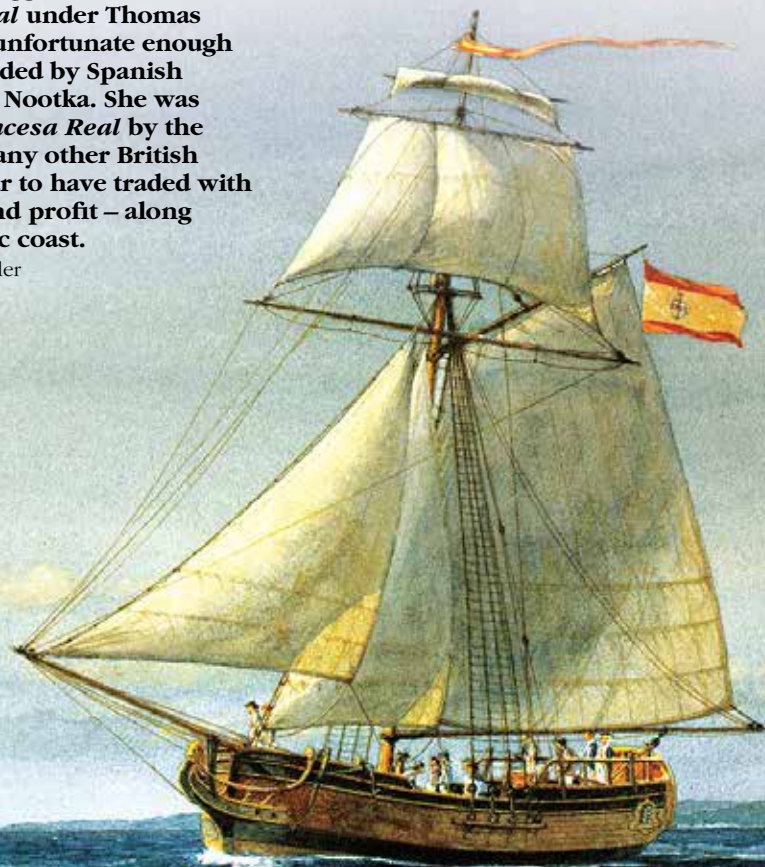
Spanish American merchants based in Guadalajara challenged Mexico City's control of trade. At the same time the Guadalajara men also impeded the activities of the British and New England merchants until 1810. From 1793 to 1809, the naval department of San Blas detected the following illegitimate traders: the *Resolution* in 1793 (Captain Locke) whaling near the Californias; the *Phoenix* (Captain Moore) in San Diego and the *Garland* (Captain Basil Worth) in the Sandwich Islands in 1795; *La Providencia* (Captain William Broughton) in California in 1796; two New England whaling vessels at Puerto Vallarta in 1797; the *Garland* (Captain Basil Worth) was in South America, the Sandwich Islands, and Baja California in 1797; the *Walker* (Captain John Nicol) was a pirate in 1800 who traveled with two other ships, the *Betsy* and the *Albinoti*; the *Betsy* under Captain O'Cain traveled between Asia and the Californias in 1801, and in the same year the *Enterprise* under Captain Winship was

spotted. The ships *Dromo* and *Lelia Byrd* under Captain Shaler were watched closely in San Blas because they were plying trade in the Gulf of California in 1802; the *Alexander Anser* under Captain Brown out of Boston engaged in the fur trade in the Pacific Northwest in 1803. The ships *Madame Nelson* and *Jorn* abandoned sick crew in San Blas in 1805. The *Domino* was along the coast of California in 1806, and the *Peacock* under Captain Kimball was also spotted in San Blas that year. The *Dromo* under Captain Bordaw carried out contraband trade in Guaymas and Mazatlán in 1809.³⁵

Prior to their arrival on New Spain's Pacific Coast, the captains had stopped in Valparaiso (Chile), Callao (Peru), in the Philippines, or in the Sandwich Islands. In other words, they made the voyage into the Pacific via the Straits of Magellan and they had established a commercial navigational circuit which took them whaling, or to hunt sea otter hides on the coasts of the Pacific, and then to purchase silk and cotton cloth or porcelain in Asia, which they offered (along with British manufactured goods) to the American natives of the Pacific Northwest in exchange for sea otter hides for further trade with China.³⁶

The British flagged vessel *Princess Royal* under Thomas Hudson was unfortunate enough to be impounded by Spanish authorities at Nootka. She was renamed *Princesa Real* by the Spaniards. Many other British vessels appear to have traded with impunity – and profit – along Spain's Pacific coast.

Artist Gordon Miller



It is clear from the number of vessels listed that it was difficult for the authorities of New Spain to effectively shut down British and American commerce in San Blas's jurisdiction. Delays in the supplies which were supposed to arrive from New Spain at times compelled the Hispanic authorities to deal with the foreigners. Certainly the natives and settlers of the coasts of Baja California, Alta California, Sonora and Sinaloa often rejoiced at being able to purchase from the English ships, given the typical scarcities and shortages that they experienced in daily life of the most indispensable items.³⁷ In addition, the British and Americans tended to offer higher payments for local exports (such as otter hides), possibly because there were lower freight charges from Canton, or lower taxes in the Anglo circuit.

Finally, the situation was muddled by the moments when war made trade with the Americans licit. For example, on July 9, 1805 the United States declared itself neutral in the war between Spain and Great Britain.³⁸ During time of war, neutral commerce favored contraband, since it was well known that the New England ships broadened their privilege in order to transport above all English goods.³⁹

Given that there was a naval base in San Blas which was on the lookout to suppress contraband trade with British or American ships, such trade tended to be undertaken at islands or in minor ports which were not watched, both in the Gulf of California and on the Pacific shoreline. For example, Fr. Luis Martínez of Mission San Luis Obispo operated out of the port

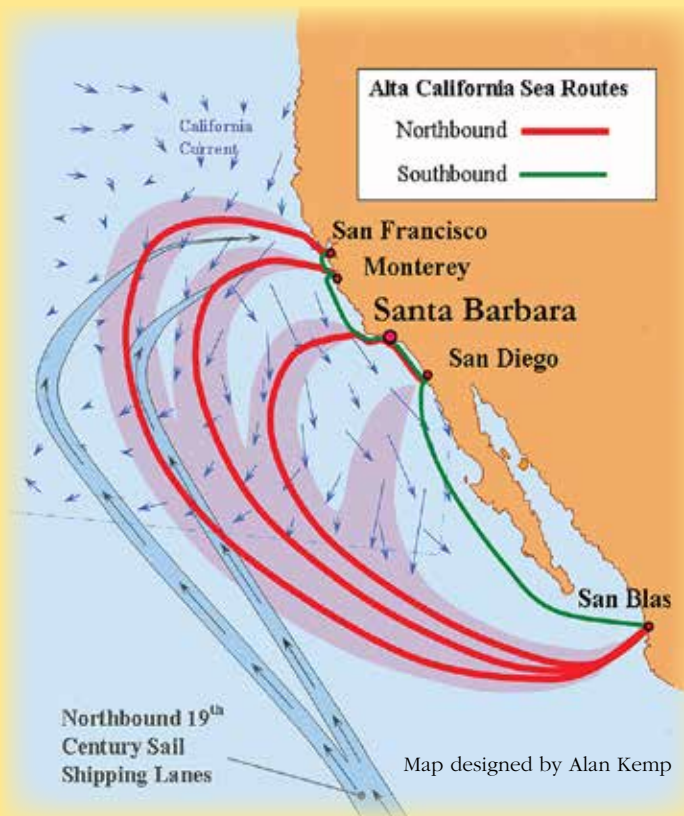
of Chano, near modern Avila Point. The Channel Islands off Santa Barbara also offered opportunities for Anglo ships to hide when trading with Noriega. In Baja California, the bay of Todos Santos or San Quentin were good locations. In the complaints of the authorities of both Californias, there were references

to foreign ships that stayed at various places along the coast, in their voyage from north to south, without the authorities being able to stop them. These were armed and it proved fruitless to pursue them from land.⁴⁰

In general, the feeling of the authorities of Baja California was one of impotence and unease with respect to the presence of the foreigners who arrived on the coast in search of furs or in need of either purchasing or exchanging goods for food supplies. This was clearly articulated by the interim governor of Baja California, José Joaquín

de Arrillaga, who wrote the following in 1800, after recounting various incidents with foreign ships on the coast of Baja California:

I am of the opinion that...we have in the future to be more cautious with regard to the ships which arrive continuously. There is no spit which they have not recorded, report that they do not take down, be they Americans or Englishmen. Their behavior with us is rather high handed and I would even say from some of the actions and expressions of these navigators that they look down upon us and make fun of us. I reflect upon the fact that at the same time they have found in us such a warm welcome, that in future their visits will be more frequent."⁴¹



In his report, in addition to discussing the arrivals of the foreign ships, Governor Arrillaga mentions that it was common for the ships to carry passports from more than one country to show as the circumstances required.⁴² One extreme case that corroborates this fact was revealed by a sailor on the ship *Walker*, who was detained in December of 1800, after he had been abandoned on the beach when his ship had to depart suddenly, following a confrontation between sea otter hunters and the authorities. The sailor declared that his ship was English, a privateer, and that it had departed together with two others more than three years before without any determined destination. About fifteen months earlier, they had captured two Spanish ships carrying silver and liquor and they were in those waters awaiting the appearance of the Manila Galleon with the intention of taking her. He also stated that in his vessel there was another captain who was from New England, and that the crew were evenly divided between English

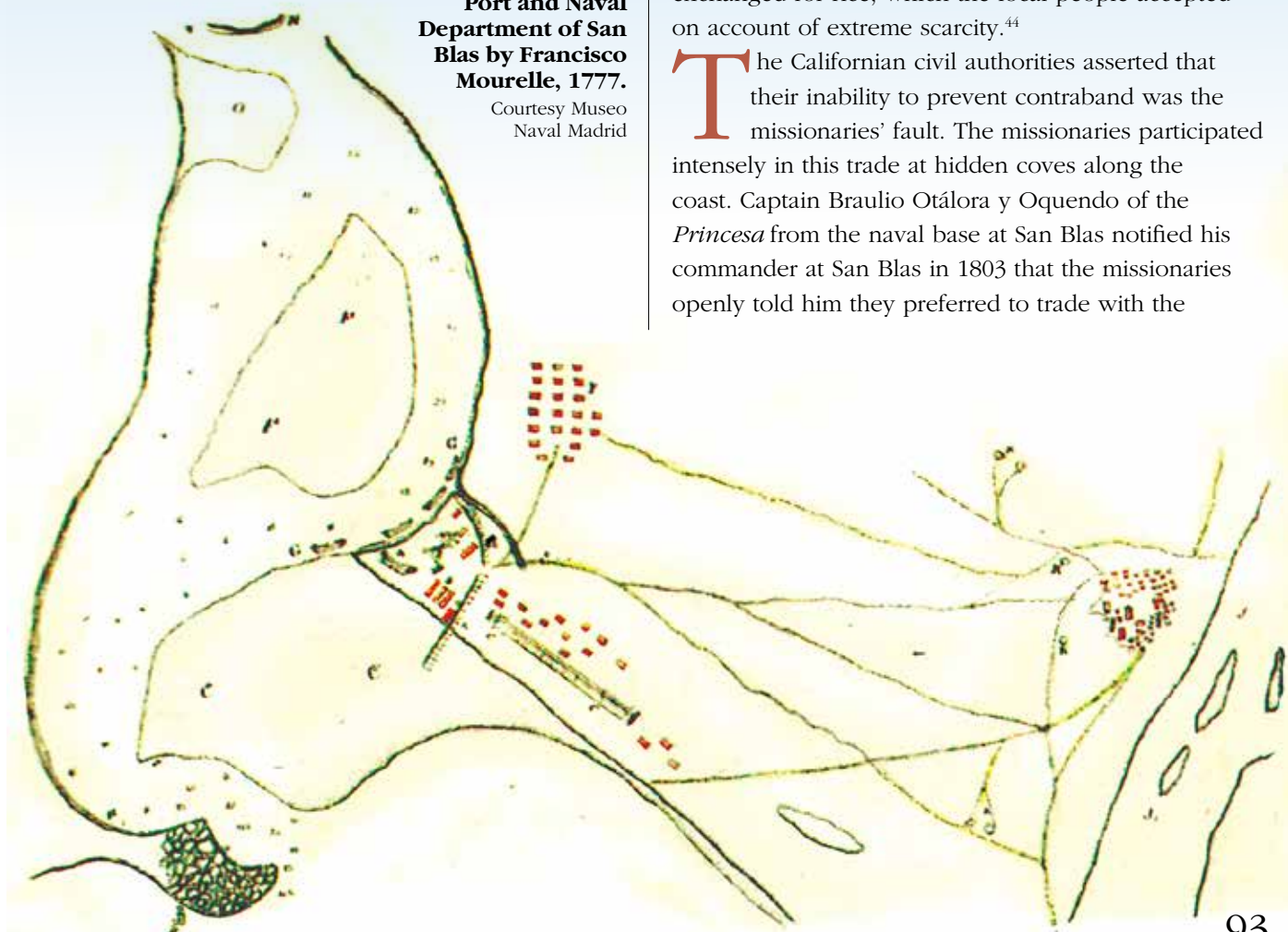
and New Englanders. This last statement confirmed the suspicions of the governor of California, given that the ships carried with them passports of various nations, for which reason it was difficult to know if they were really neutral or enemy.⁴³

Foreign ships arrived at the ports of the Californias and San Blas in search of water, wood, and food or to conduct repairs. They tended to pay by means of foreign goods. Some American vessels were apprehended by the Spanish authorities in this process and sent to San Blas. But there is also ample evidence of unofficial cooperation between Spaniards and foreigners. The sergeant of the southern part of the Baja California peninsula reported on the arrival of ships to hunt whales at the coves of San José del Cabo and Todos Santos in Baja California. This authority indicated that the foreign ships were aided with water and wood, and that afterwards they resumed their navigation. A few days later one of them arrived at the Loreto Presidio seeking provisions. Eight beef cattle were exchanged for rice, which the local people accepted on account of extreme scarcity.⁴⁴

The Californian civil authorities asserted that their inability to prevent contraband was the missionaries' fault. The missionaries participated intensely in this trade at hidden coves along the coast. Captain Braulio Otálora y Oquendo of the *Princesa* from the naval base at San Blas notified his commander at San Blas in 1803 that the missionaries openly told him they preferred to trade with the

**Plan of the
Port and Naval
Department of San
Blas by Francisco
Mourelle, 1777.**

Courtesy Museo
Naval Madrid



foreigners, perhaps because the British and Americans paid about ten pesos per sea otter hide, while the Spanish about seven:

I am well-informed of the lucrative and advantageous trade in exchange for goods which these New Englanders are carrying out in the ports of the [California] peninsula. Recently I have confirmed that every year from the port of San Diego, more than one thousand two hundred otter hides are shipped out on the part of missions and individuals. This year we did not ship out (on Hispanic ships) even one fifth of that, and they had the nerve to tell me that they were holding on to them because the New Englanders pay them well.⁴⁵

Reports blaming the missionaries for this flourishing clandestine trade may well have been a strategy employed by local Spanish government officials to hide their own dealings. For example, by 1800 De la Guerra y Noriega was commander of presidio Santa Barbara, which had islands off its coast that would have served well to hide contraband trade. Given that De la Guerra y Noriega's maternal uncle in the *consulado de México* had been authorized to export otter hides from San Blas to Manila in 1796, the younger De la Guerra y Noriega was probably stockpiling such hides in Santa Barbara after 1798. Yet if he was holding onto them explicitly for export to his uncle's representatives at San Blas, then he might have been interested in suppressing the sales of such skins by missionaries to the official supply ship, while at the same time attempting to monopolize the market himself.

In official documents the authorities of San Blas and the Californias tended to present themselves as deeply concerned about the impact of contraband trade. However at least some of them definitely

participated in these transactions, either out of necessity or convenience. In one significant case, the captain of the English ship *La Providencia* left for the governor of Alta California goods that had been given to him by different Hispanic authorities. This is how Viceroy Branciforte reported the incident in 1796 after he had been notified of the deed:

The aforementioned Captain Broughton [sic] conveyed and handed over to Diego de Borica [govenor of Alta California] various nautical instruments and four dozen very fine blouses which together had a value of 259 pounds which had been entrusted

to him by the late commander Don Juan de la Bodega y Cuadra when he carried out the expedition on boundaries, and also two books in English and a map of London for the late Alcalde de Crimen, Don Ramón Bachiller [?], two pairs of boots and thirteen pamphlets in French from a newspaper about the revolution in that nation for the accountant of tobacco in Guadalajara Don Manuel de Ibargoyen.⁴⁶

Valuable navigational instruments and thoughtful political news about the dramatic changes in Europe must have been highly prized.

From the perspective of the Anglo ships accused of contraband trade with Spaniards in San Blas's jurisdiction, the captains who wound up detained argued that they were undertaking this trade at the request of the Spanish authorities and settlers of the coast, who at times were in great need of their merchandise. For example, in 1819, the captain of the New England brig *Traveller* declared that he had just completed the supply of grain to the Loreto Presidio, which was in great need of it.⁴⁷ In 1813, the captain of the *Mercury* admitted that he had been involved in

Valuable navigational instruments and thoughtful political news about the dramatic changes in Europe must have been highly prized.

trade with the people of the Californias, though in small quantity, and added:

I have no difficulty in demonstrating what my business has consisted of in the past six years, despite the losses that I may have incurred from it. In general, all the officials residing on this coast have encouraged my business and it was at their request that I gave various tools for cultivation and other goods which they lacked. I have provided to the priests whatever they needed for their teaching and their religious services, because they were without this assistance on account of the revolutions on the continent. They paid me for these goods with provisions and a few furs.⁴⁸

Spanish American merchants did not sit idly by while Spanish authorities colluded with British and American suppliers. In 1813, Captain Nicolás Noé apprehended Captain Ayers himself in the waters of Alta California. He reported to Governor Joaquín de Arrillaga:

According to what the sailors of that ship say, she carries 25 thousand pesos, which is the value of what she sold at San José and along the entire coast, four thousand otter hides, and some goods from Asia which is why Usía asked and requested that this ship be registered and that an inventory be taken according to the rules because no Spanish passport was found on her, and indeed obviously American, French, Turkish, and Chinese ones...

In reality, according to the inventory that was made at Santa Bárbara, Alta California, the ship carried a little more than 16,000 pesos of stamped silver, 17 otters,⁴⁹ 431 otter hides and about 800 otter tails (*colas de nutria*), various textiles, and Chinese vases and tools.⁵⁰

Collaboration Between Guadalajara and California, 1809-1820

Change in the attitude of local officials toward contraband trade emerged during the Spanish-American wars of independence from Spain, 1808-1821. At an international level, the French imprisonment of Spain's king in 1808 meant that Britain was no longer the primary enemy. Furthermore, by 1811 insurgents in

New Spain had blocked the road for transporting goods between Mexico City and Guadalajara. Spain's troops were going unpaid.⁵¹ These changes forced Hispanic provinces in the Northern Pacific to find alternate sources of supply.

Indeed, one New England firm suggested that its captains need not pay Spain for permits to trade in San Blas because the locals would welcome them:

Dec. 9, 1820 to Charles Holden and Henry Larned: Proceed to San Blas, where [brandy and paper] are said to be in good demand. To obtain an entry to that place, a license from the Spanish Government is supposed to be [necessary]. The cost of this license and the facility of producing it can soon be ascertained in Cadiz and we submit to you whether to incur the expense or not. It is known that the distant colonies of Spain are pretty much left to their own discretion... It would not be advisable to pay a very high price for permission to do what the local authorities at San Blas may readily assent to without the formality of a License.⁵²

The British whaling frigate *Wanderer* actually arrived in San Blas in 1820. After this ship arrived at San Blas in search of water and wood, she was denounced for having made "clandestine circuits" in the neighborhood of 72,000 pesos. Upon inspection of the boat, only 3,690 pesos and 6 reales were found, bearing the stamp of Lima

...tax for the rigging whose use she had sold to the king in Callao [Lima's port] and for the cloth that she carried as spares for the sailors, according

to what the crew of the boat itself assured, in statements to that affect which were taken, for which reason in the meeting at the naval station it was determined that given the ship's origin, and the small sums, it would be returned to the commander [of the naval base?], clearing the way for the ship to continue the whaling business.⁵³

It is not possible to know if in reality the *Wanderer* was, or was not, a contraband ship. What is certain is that the legal advisor of the Royal Treasury and the assessor general subsequently discovered that the search and registration of the boat had not proceeded with the detail and exactness appropriate for the case, leaving the suspicion that in

reality the ship had undertaken contraband trade and was accusing the local authorities of negligence.⁵⁴

Other cases worthy of consideration are those of the ships *Osprey* (England) and *Macedonia* (New England), which in 1820 turned up in San Blas, coming from Valparaíso and Panama, respectively. The first stated that she carried English merchandise, property of a Spaniard who declared that he had paid duties on them at Panama, however after various incidents and loss of his own ship, had had to leave fleeing from Chile on the English ship *Osprey* when independence was declared in that nation. The second said that she transported Spanish merchandise and showed herself ready "...to take on board to Panama the money which the Spaniards of the providence of Guadalajara and others might want to send on their own account and at their own risk to that port."⁵⁵

Surprisingly, the first was not permitted to unload her merchandise, while the second was indeed permitted to unload and engage in trade with local businessmen, despite the threats that New Spain's government had made to apprehend two other New England ships. In this regard, the viceroy added that he

had permitted them "...given what the file says and principally from the need of the Commander in the Isthmus [of Panama] for hard cash, and of the services provided in Lima, as the letters from the leaders in both places explain."⁵⁶ New times were coming, because in these last two cases one can appreciate that the foreign ships were basically undertaking business commissions on behalf of the Hispanics, a

situation that would little by little come to dominate commerce in the Pacific.

Bancroft credits the "Lima Trade" with saving California between 1814 and 1818. He identifies Captain Juan Bandini as part of that trade. It turns out that Bandini was financed out of



The brig *Betsy* smuggling off San Diego, 1800.
Private Collection.

Artist Christopher Blossom

Guadalajara. Thus, it might be better to term the trips "the Guadalajara trade." What Bancroft was no doubt getting at is that ships that landed at Pacific coast ports of Mexico (such as San Blas) typically traveled from Lima, Peru to San Francisco, California with a possible stop at Panama along the way.

Panama was an alternate route for Guadalajara merchants to obtain merchandise, given that the route to Mexico City was impassable. On the Caribbean side of the Isthmus of Panama lay Jamaica, and for years contraband British goods had seeped into the Spanish American Pacific by way of Panama. However, in the unusual period of insurgency, the King of Spain gave "temporary" authorization in 1808 for British and Spanish goods to arrive legitimately (and pay taxes) at Panama, meaning that such goods could be freely distributed up and down the Pacific Coast (San Francisco to Lima) by coastal traders as authorized. In this way, taxes could be collected at Panama to support royalist troops to the south, and in addition the populations of the Pacific Northwest could be sustained. The measure infuriated the *consulado de México*.

Between 1810 and 1820, the influx of Panamanian goods and money into Guadalajara swelled it as a

center of commerce far beyond anything imagined when the *Consulado de Guadalajara* was established in 1795.⁵⁷ One estimate is that 15,000,000 pesos worth of goods entered Guadalajara over a period of ten years, for an annual average of 1,500,000 pesos.⁵⁸ Considering that supplying troops and missions in California had cost less than 100,000 pesos per year, and that fifteen times that much was entering into Guadalajara every year – one begins to understand the magnitude of the area that the merchants were supplying.

Between 1810 and 1821, a new mercantile elite grew up in Guadalajara. The individual whose wealth increased the fastest was a certain Basque, Pedro Juan Olazagarre.⁵⁹ Olazagarre's pre-1808 location was

Panama, which implies that he was a contraband trader of British goods prior to their legitimacy in the period of insurgency. The rumor was that Olazagarre used money that belonged to a British man to make a fortune between 1813 to 1819.⁶⁰ By 1820, Olazagarre had purchased several large estates at Lake Chapala outside Guadalajara, including Atequiza which alone was valued at 180,000 pesos.⁶¹ In 1810, Commander José de la Guerra y Noriega traveled to Guadalajara with his wife, one daughter, and his brother-in-law. He and the brother-in-law wound up imprisoned and condemned to death by insurgents in 1811. They were released, but the trip had a terrible personal cost in that his daughter died.⁶² Even so, his correspondence reveals that he made important contacts to keep California on Spanish import and export routes. One was with the Peruvian Captain Juan Bandini, whose ship *La Reina de los Angeles* was financed by Olazagarre on voyages to California.

Another man with whom California's De la Guerra y Noriega met in 1811 was José de la Madrid Cubillas who pioneered bringing goods from Panama to San Blas on his ship *Flora* in 1811. Perhaps his encounter with De la Guerra y Noriega is what stimulated Cubillas to take *Flora* to California in 1812. The *Flora* sailed

directly from Panama to California before heading down to San Blas.⁶³ By 1831, Cubillas had married into the Iñigo clan, which traded out of Guaymas, and had connections to Bordeaux, France. In that year, Cubillas was the most powerful merchant in Tepic, a position he ceded to Forbes by 1832 after losing 200,000 pesos on a speculative venture.⁶⁴

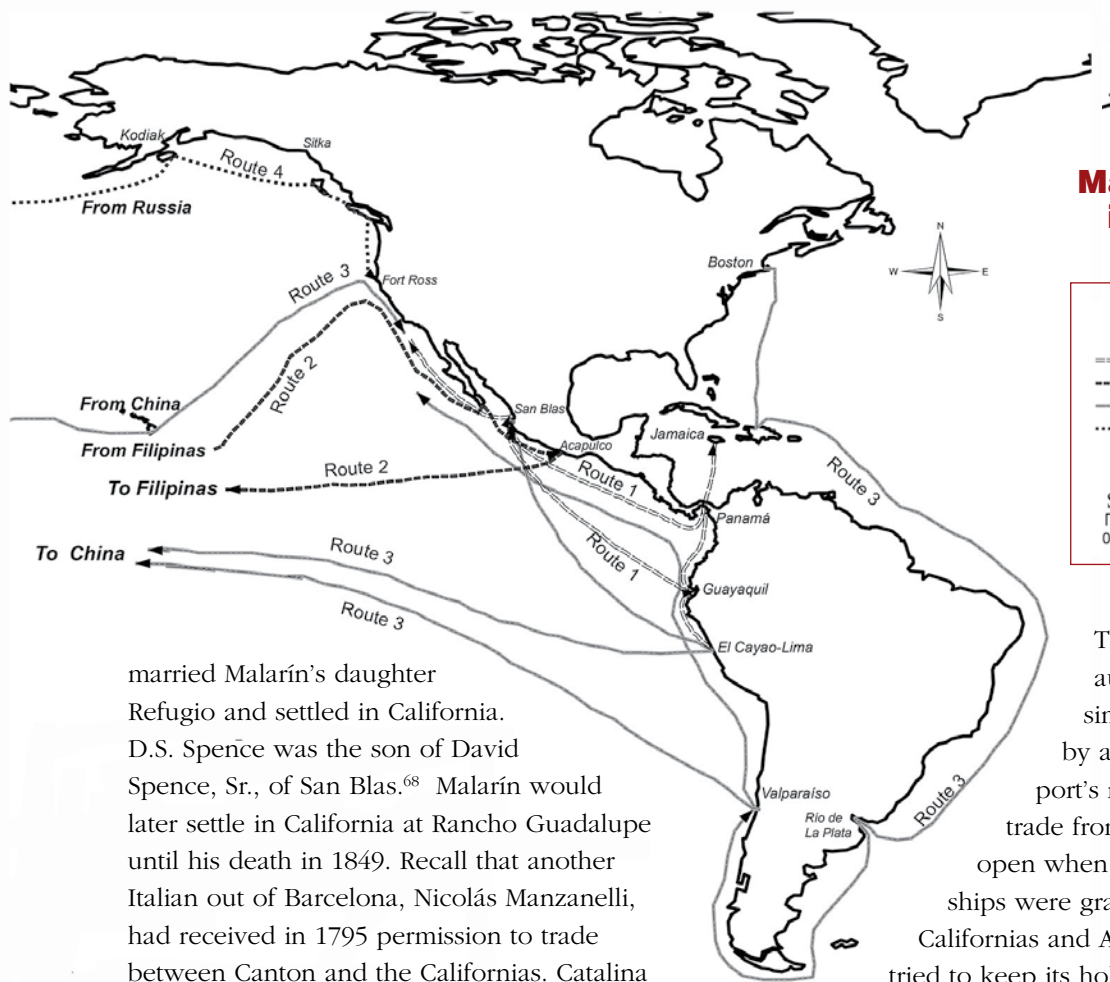
By 1815, José de la Guerra y Noriega was

corresponding from Santa Barbara with Joaquín de Astiazarán in Guadalajara, possibly another Basque financier of the coastal trade; Astiazarán was connected to Pedro Negrete's ship, *La Paz*.⁶⁵ In the same year, Pablo Vicente de Solá became governor of California. Solá was a member of the *consulado de México* just like Noriega's uncle, and his appointment in 1815 on the Pacific Rim hints

at the importance Mexico City's magnates placed on California's trade with Asia.

In 1819, Governor Solá sent Captain de la Guerra y Noriega back to Guadalajara, and their correspondence reveals that the latter met with Pedro Olazagarre and Bandini, as well as Juan Bautista de Iñigo and Astiazarán in that city. By that time, Astiazarán had also married into the powerful Iñigo family.⁶⁶ By 1820, José de la Guerra y Noriega was interacting with Captain Juan Antonio Malarín's voyages on the schooner *Señoriano*.⁶⁷ Malarín was an early pioneer of the coastal trade from San Blas to Alta California. For example, his 1812-1813 journey went from Acapulco to San Blas, Mazatlán, and Guaymas in the Gulf; then over to Baja California where he stopped in Loreto, San José de Cabo, and then headed up to Alta California. Between 1814 and 1816, Malarín was traveling from Panamá to Guaymas or San Blas. Like many Captains on the Lima-San Francisco route, Malarín was born in Lima of an Italian father, who probably had connections to the Italian sailing community of Barcelona. Malarín's business partner until 1846 was David Stewart Spence, who later

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Maritime Trade Routes in the Late Spanish Colonial Period

Routes

- ====> Route 1 Panamá - San Blas - Californias
- > Route 2 Acapulco - Filipinas - Acapulco
- > Route 3 Boston - China - North Pacific
-> Route 4 Russia - North America

Scale
0 625 1,250 2,500 Miles

married Malarín's daughter Refugio and settled in California. D.S. Spence was the son of David Spence, Sr., of San Blas.⁶⁸ Malarín would later settle in California at Rancho Guadalupe until his death in 1849. Recall that another Italian out of Barcelona, Nicolás Manzanelli, had received in 1795 permission to trade between Canton and the Californias. Catalina Manzanelli (presumably his daughter) later married Esteban Munras (also of Barcelona via Lima), who built the most ostentatious home in Santa Barbara in 1824 and received two land grants nearby.⁶⁹

By 1822, Californian Gervasio Argüello was living in San Blas, where he acted as an intermediary for José de la Guerra y Noriega, and presumably also for his own Arguello clan out of presidio San Francisco. Arguello may have married Concepción de la Peña, an important connection in Guadalajara. The life stories of the Malaríns, the Manzanellis, and Arguello each reveal the close ties between California and San Blas in the nineteenth century.

Conclusion

San Blas, Alta California and Baja California entered the Spanish American commercial system at a time when this system itself was undergoing major change. Although San Blas was established so that the Spanish Crown could control its territories to the northwest of Mexico, by the end of the eighteenth century the founding had the unexpected effect of integrating Guadalajara and its jurisdiction into international mercantile networks of the Pacific Rim.

The *consulado de Guadalajara* authorized in 1795 began simultaneously to flex its muscle by advocating to expand the port's role. By the late 1790s, some trade from San Blas came into the open when a few Hispanic commercial ships were granted permits to trade with the Californias and Asia. The *consulado de México* tried to keep its hold on Asian commerce, despite

this new provincial rival, and one well-connected merchant of the *consulado de México* (Pedro Gonzalez de Noriega) placed his sister's son as commander of the Presidio guarding the Santa Barbara channel, an excellent place to collect the sea otter hides which he had been authorized to ship to Manila.

Yet by the 1790s, British and American merchants were also plying the waters of the two Californias looking to trade Asian products from their bases in Canton for the sea otter hides that the Chinese prized. We have seen that Spanish authorities were suspicious of the foreigners' intentions, and one merchant, Nicolas Noé, even attempted to stamp out the Anglo competition. Even so, Spain's colonists in remote locations found it hard to resist the high prices foreigners offered for exports and the low prices and high quality of the Asian wares that they brought regularly.

When the Spanish Crown began to decree measures to free trade in the 1790s, Pacific ports were heavily affected and would eventually come to experience the impact of maritime commercial activity initiated by Great Britain. In this first stage of what we might call the globalization of trade in this provincial region of the Spanish dominions, trade was undertaken either directly or as contraband by means of ships from

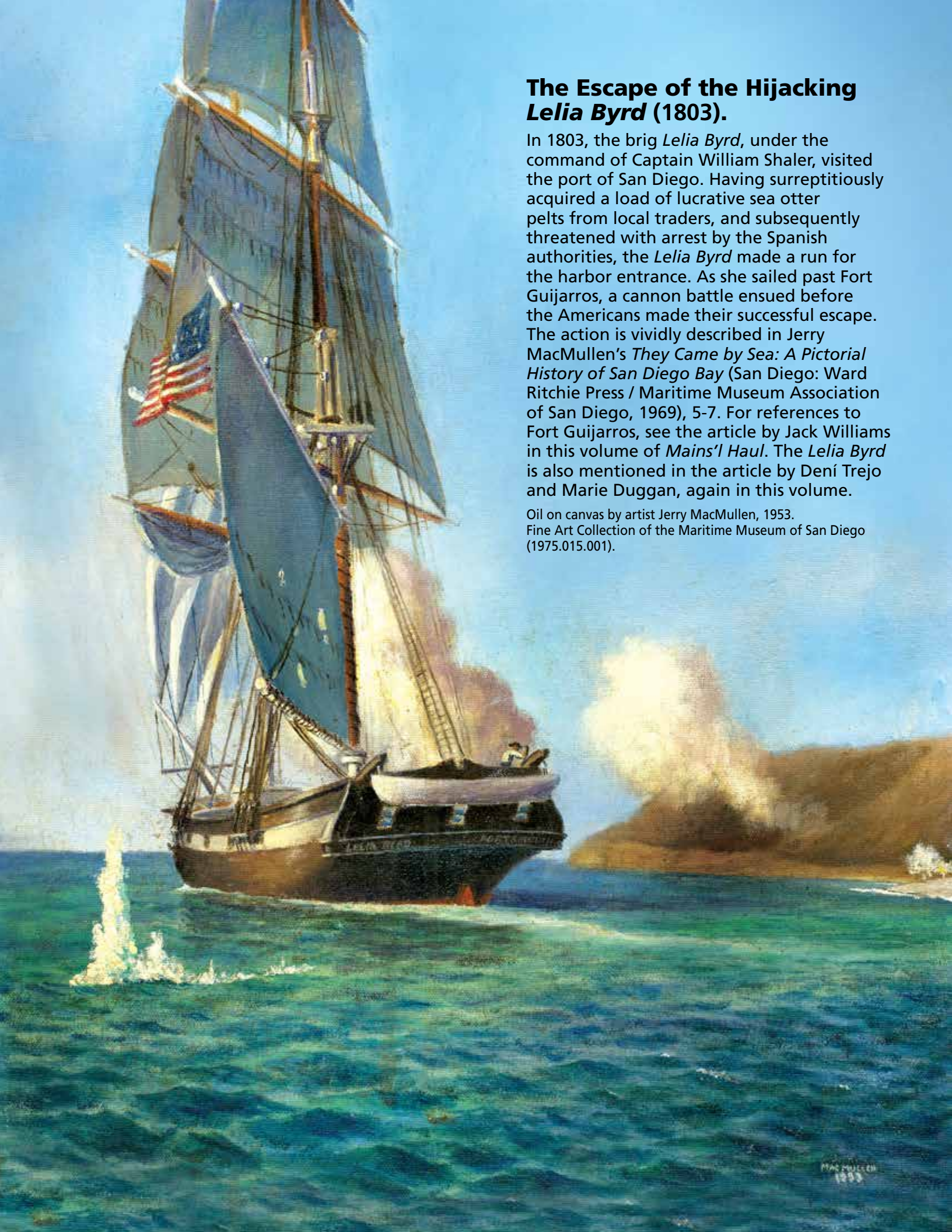
Spain, New Spain, England and New England.⁷⁰ The message of the archival record from Spanish activities in the northern Pacific Rim is that the creation of the *consulado de Guadalajara* in 1795 along with the provision of royal permits to individual businessmen for Pacific trade were halting and inadequate measures. Furthermore, legitimate Spanish trade had high freight costs and was taxed excessively. This provided incentive for Spain's colonists on the Pacific to engage in contraband. Rather than developing considerable trade on the Pacific and taxing it lightly, Spain wound up pushing the development of trade in New Spain's Pacific provinces into the shadows, and then taxed legitimate trade so heavily that the populace resorted to either Spanish or Anglo contraband. It was only when the Spanish Empire began to disintegrate after 1810 that Hispanic and Anglo merchants entered into open commercial alliance at San Blas, and then the entire jurisdiction of San Blas experienced a dramatic commercial boom.

In this way, both changing times and necessity ensured that San Blas transformed itself little by little from an outpost of the Spanish Royal Navy – for exploration, protection and supply of the northwest territories – into a commercial and international port. Expanding commerce in the Spanish and later Mexican Pacific was made possible by changes in the system of colonial commerce due to English competition; to war; to trade undertaken by neutrals; and finally by new measures implemented that expanded the number of people and places permitted to undertake trade within the Americas, between the Americas and Asia, and between Spain and the Americas and Asia. There is no doubt that as New Spain's Pacific coast took the reins of its commercial potential in hand, the British and American presence relieved, through contraband trade, the population of the northwestern Pacific coast. As Guadalajara and San Blas grew in importance, Spanish merchants and their counterparts from New England and Britain cemented their relationships with marriage ties.⁷¹ Thus the initial Spanish plans to guarantee the establishment of a maritime lifeline with the Californias – what amounted to a maritime *Camino Real* – would ultimately evolve into a far broader system of trade and communication that stretched from the ports of the viceroyalties of Peru and New Spain to the Californias and beyond to the emporia of Asia.

Notes

- 1 For a detailed study of role played by San Blas during the colonial era, see Michael E. Thurman, *The Naval Department of San Blas: New Spain's Bastion for Alta California and Nootka 1769 to 1798* (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1967).
- 2 Herbert Ingram Priestley, *José de Gálvez: Visitor-General of New Spain (1765-1771)* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1916).
- 3 Dení Trejo Barajas, "Pugna por el libre comercio en las postrimerías del virreinato: la Nueva Galicia y las Provincias Internas frente a los comerciantes de la ciudad de México, 1811-1818," *Estudios de Historia Novohispana* 51 (julio-diciembre 2014).
- 4 This speculation is by no means confirmed, but the donors to the Jesuit missions in Baja California included the treasurer of the Port of Acapulco, the captain of a ship that sailed around the Gulf of California, and the Viceroy Fernando de Alencastre Noroña y Silva, duque de Linares. See María del Carmen Velázquez, *El Fondo Píadoso de las misiones de Californias, notas y documentos* (México: Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, 1985). Viceroy Linares lobbied for more Pacific Rim trade with details that suggested he was already engaged in it. See Mariano Ardash Bonialian, *El Pacífico hispanoamericano: política y comercio asiático en el Imperio Español (1680-1784): la centralidad de lo marginal* (México: El Colegio de México, Centro de Estudios Históricos, 2012).
- 5 For a study of maritime commerce in the Spanish colonial era, see Guadalupe Pinzón Rios, *Hombres de mar en las costas novohispanas. Trabajos, trabajadores y vida portuaria en el departamento marítimo de San Blas (Siglo XVIII)* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México [UNAM], 2014); Carmen Yuste, *El comercio de la Nueva España con Filipinas, 1590–1785* (México: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1984); *Emporios transpacíficos: Comerciantes Mexicanos en Manila, 1710-1815* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Institución de Investigaciones Históricas, 2007); Mariano Ardash Bonialian, *El Pacífico hispanoamericano: política y comercio asiático en el Imperio Español (1680-1784): la centralidad de lo marginal* (México: El Colegio de México, Centro de Estudios Históricos, 2012); Ander Permanyer Ugartemendia, "Opio y negocio en los bordes del imperio: reverberaciones asiáticas de los procesos de independencia en Latinoamérica (1815-1830)," (paper presented to the Latin American Studies Association at Barcelona, Spain, May 24, 2018).
- 6 Jacques M. Downs, *Golden Ghetto: The American Commercial Community at Canton and the Shaping of American China Policy, 1784-1844* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2006).
- 7 The Manila Galleon made landfall in California nearly every year. In 1794 Miguel Costansó wrote of the arrival of one such galleon: "The crew and passengers found their [in Californian] fresh food...the soldiers and the citizens' families obtained every type of [Asian] clothing in exchange for a few gifts of food and other objects made in the province; the presidios, of many goods and arms which they lacked." Manuel P. Servín and Miguel Costansó, "Costansó's 1794 Report on Strengthening New California's Presidios," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 49 (no. 3, 1970): 228.
- 8 Marie Duggan, *Campomanes: Spanish Enlightenment Economics Existed, and It Took Place in the 1760*, paper presented to the *Oeconomia* workshop, "Economics and Public Reason," at the Centre Walras-Pareto, University of Lausanne, Switzerland, May 3, 2018.
- 9 For a study of the Bourbon Reforms, see Stanley J. Stein and Barbara H. Stein, *Apogee of Empire: Spain and New Spain in the Age of Charles III, 1759–1789* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 2003); John Fisher, *The Economic Aspects of Spanish Imperialism in America, 1492–1810* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1997); and John Lynch, *Bourbon Spain: 1700–1808* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1993).
- 10 Guillermina del Valle Pavón, *Donativos, préstamos y privilegios: los mercaderes y mineros de la ciudad de México durante la Guerra anglo-española de 1779-1783* (México: Instituto Mora, 2016).
- 11 Del Valle Pavón, *Finanzas piadosas y redes de negocios: Los mercaderes de la ciudad de México ante la crisis de Nueva España, 1804-1808* (México: Instituto Mora, 2012).
- 12 Iris H.W. Engstrand, *Spanish Scientists in the New World: the eighteenth-century expeditions* (Seattle: University of Washington, 1981); Freeman Tovell, trans. and ed., Robin Inglis and Iris Wilson Engstrand, eds., *Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America, 1792: Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Cuadra and the Nootka Sound Controversy* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012); Andrew David, et al., eds., *The Malaspina Expedition 1789-94: Journal of the Voyage of Alejandro Malaspina* (London and Madrid: Hakluyt Society in association with the Museo Naval de Madrid, 2001-2004). See also Salvador Bernabéu Albert, "Juan Pérez, navegante y descubridor de las Californias (1768-1775)," in *Culturas de la costa Noroeste de América*, ed. J.L. Peset (Madrid: Turner, 1989), 277-290.
- 13 On founding San Blas, see Enrique Cárdenas de la Peña, *San Blas de Nayarit*, vol. I, (México: Secretaría de Marina, 1968), 19-59; and also Pedro López González, "San Blas, surgimiento y decadencia," in *Los puertos noroccidentales de México*, ed. Jaime Olveda and Juan Carlos Reyes (México, El Colegio de Jalisco, Universidad de Colima, INAH, 1994), 89-93.
- 14 Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft & Co., 1884), vol. I, 534. Miguel Costansó, "Diario histórico de los viajes de mar y tierra hechos al norte de la California, de orden del excelentísimo señor marqués de Croix, virrey, gobernador y capitán general de la Nueva España, y por dirección del ilustrísimo señor don José de Gálvez, del Consejo de Cámara de su Majestad en el Supremo de Indias, Intendente de Ejército, Visitador General de este reino," in *Crónicas del Descubrimiento de la Alta California, 1769*, ed. Angela Cano Sánchez, Nues Escandell Tur, Elena Mampel González, (Barcelona: Edicions Universitat de Barcelona, 1984), 23-50. Costansó had considerable knowledge of the territories on the Northwest coast, such that his maps and reports were utilized by Alejandro Malaspina and by the authorities of New Spain. Juan Pimentel, *La física de la monarquía. Ciencia y política en el pensamiento colonial de Alejandro Malaspina (1754-1810)* (Madrid, Doce Calles, 1998), 244, 294-98.

- 15 "Report of Don Miguel Costansó to Viceroy Marques de Branciforte, on the proposal to fortify the presidios of New California, 1794," in *Noticias y documentos acerca de las Californias, 1794-1795* (Colección Chimalistac 5), (Madrid, José Porrúa Turanzas, 1959), 226-227.
- 16 For a discussion of government supply ships exchanging goods in California for abalone shell, and then using the abalone shell to purchase otter hides from natives in Nutka Sound, see Adele Ogden, *The California Sea Otter Trade, 1784-1848* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1941), 30.
- 17 Luis Navarro García, *Don José de Gálvez y la Comandancia General de las Provincias Internas del Norte de la Nueva España* (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos de Sevilla, 1964), 127-129.
- 18 Memoria account book from Santa Clara, *Documentos para la historia de México, Archivo General de la Nación, México* (AGNM). For further discussion, see Duggan, "With and Without an Empire."
- 19 Conde de Revilla Gígedo, *Instrucción reservada al Marqués de Branciforte, 1794*, introduction and notes by José Bravo Ugarte (México: Editorial Jus, 1966), 250.
- 20 Archivo General de la Indias (AGI), Estado 24, no. 26.
- 21 AGI, Estado 25, no. 12, doc. 3.
- 22 AGI, Estado 25, no. 43, doc. 2.
- 23 Trejo Barajas, "Implicaciones del comercio por el puerto de San Blas durante la guerra de Independencia," *Revista de Indias* 238 (septiembre-diciembre, 2006): 715ff.; see Branciforte a Gardoqui, September 26, 1796, AGI, Estado 25, no. 43, doc. 3.
- 24 See Ogden, *Sea Otter Trade*, 31.
- 25 Bancroft, *History of California*, 1, 627.
- 26 Bancroft, *History of California*, 1, 540, 544.
- 27 For the membership list of the *consulado de México* 1804-1808, see: del Valle Pavón, *Finanzas piadosas*. This list includes protagonists in California such as the De la Guerra y Noriega family.
- 28 AGNM, Gobierno Virreinal, general de parte 51, vol. 75, exp. 336, fols. 336, 297, 337.
- 29 Fr. José Viader to Padre Procurador in Mexico City, Santa Clara, July 30, 1807, Huntington Library, San Marino, California (HM 19536).
- 30 From 1798, Tepic counted on a deputy which represented the commercial interests of Tepic/San Blas in the *consulado de Guadalajara*. See José Ramírez Flores, *Real Consulado de Guadalajara. Notas históricas* (Guadalajara, Banco Refaccionario de Jalisco, 1957), 51-61, cited by López González, "San Blas, surgimiento y decadencia," 101; Antonio Ibarra, "Mercado, élite e institución: el *Consulado de comercio de Guadalajara* y el control corporativo de las importaciones en el mercado interno novohispano," in *Comercio y poder en América colonial. Los consulados de comerciantes, siglos XVII-XIX*, eds. Breen Hausberger and Antonio Ibarra, (Madrid: Iberoamericana-Vervuert Verlag-Instituto Mora, 2003), 168.
- 31 It appears that there was an earlier opening of the port of San Blas to English ships in 1790, however, only in cases of extreme necessity; this measure was the result of a temporary treaty of trade and navigation between Spain and England. Juan Domingo Vidargas, "Comercio y navegación en el golfo de California," in *Memoria de la VII Semana de Información Histórica de la Baja California Sur* (La Paz, Baja California Sur / BCS, Gobierno del Estado, Universidad Autónoma de BCS).
- 32 Gardoqui al Marqués de Branciforte, Aranjuez, May 2, 1796, AGI, Estado 25, no. 43, doc. 2.
- 33 He could hardly have called the climate at San Blas benign, as it was well-known for being nearly inhospitable due to mosquitoes. As a result, employees of San Blas lived in Tepic, about thirty miles away inland.
- 34 In 1796, the order was given that the naval shipyard be moved to Cavite, in the Philippines. AGI, Estado 25, no. 12, doc. 1; and no. 93, doc. 1; Enrique Cárdenas de la Peña, *San Blas de Nayarit*, 188.
- 35 See David A. Henderson, "Whalers on the Coast of Baja California: Opening the Peninsula to the Outside World," *Geoscience and Man* 12 (June 20, 1975): 50-51; Juan Domingo Vidargas, *Navegación y Comercio en el golfo de California 1740-1824*, (Tesis de Licenciatura, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, UNAM, 1982), 226-236; AGNM Californias 62, exp. 6, fol. 306; exp. 7, fol. 415, 428-429, 449, 493; AGI, Estado 24, no. 2, doc. 1; AGI, Estado 25, no. 44 bis, doc. 1; AGI, Estado 26, no. 17, docs. 1 and 2; AGI, Estado 28, no. 1, docs. 1 and 2; AGI, Estado 29, no. 9, docs. 1 and 2; no. 66, doc. 1; AGI Estado 30, no. 1, doc. 1; AGI, Estado 34, no. 1, doc. 3; AGI, Estado 34, no. 5, docs. 1, 5 and 6; no. 12, doc. 1; no. 28, docs. 1 and 4.
- 36 On the whalers of this era, see David A. Henderson, "Whalers on the Coast," 50-51. On the sea otter trade, see Ogden, *Sea Otter Trade*, passim.
- 37 Martha Ortega Soto, *Alta California: Una frontera olvidada del noroeste de México, 1769-1846* (México: Plaza y Valdes, 2001), 72-80; Trejo Barajas, *Espacio y economía en la península de California, 1785-1860* (México, UABCS, 1999), 58.
- 38 Julio F. Guillén Tato, *Archivo General de la Marina D. Álvaro Bazán. Índice de la sección de corso y presas* (Madrid: Museo Naval, 1953); Carlos Marichal, "El comercio neutral y los consocios extranjeros en Veracruz, 1805-1808," in *El comercio exterior de México 1713-1850*, eds. Carmen Yuste and Matilde Souto (México: Instituto Mora, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas-UNAM, Universidad veracruzana, 2000), 163-64; del Valle Pavón, "Oposición de los mercaderes de México en las reformas comerciales mediante la resistencia a otorgar crédito a la corona," in *El comercio exterior*, 86; Matilde Souto Mantecón, *Mar abierto. La política y el comercio del Consulado de Veracruz en el ocaso del sistema imperial* (México: COLMEX, Instituto Mora, 2001), 178.
- 39 Guadalupe Jiménez Codinach, *La Gran Bretaña y la Independencia de México 1808-1821* (México, FCE, 1991), 197. Of the references which we have, we know that the brig *Lelia Byrd*, which arrived at San Blas in 1802, was from New England. The ships *Alexander* and *Anser* departed in 1802 from Boston toward the Pacific with six more ships. In 1817, the *Traveller* and the *Cosak*, confiscated by the Hispanic authorities, declared themselves to be American.
- 40 Noticia sobre la presencia de tres embarcaciones extranjeras en la península de California que da el cabo José Ignacio Arce al teniente José Manuel Ruiz, Mission Santo Domingo, March 20, 1807, AGNM, California 62, exp. 7, fols. 466-467.
- 41 Informe del gobernador interino de Baja California al virrey Félix Berenguer de Marquina, Loreto, November. 19, 1800, AGNM, Californias 62, exp. 6, fol. 301.
- 42 AGNM, Californias 62, exp. 6, fols. 300-306.
- 43 Expediente sobre la presencia de la fragata Walker en el puerto de Santiago de la jurisdicción de Colima, AGI, Estado 29, no. 10, docs. 1 & 2.
- 44 José Arguello al virrey Juan Ruiz de Apodaca, Loreto, April 16, 1817, AGI, Estado 32, no. 1, 5.
- 45 Expediente que contiene noticias sobre la presencia de buques extranjeros en las costas de Californias. AGNM, California 62, exp. 7, fols. 414-416.
- 46 Ibid.
- 47 El virrey Branciforte da cuenta del arribo de fragata de guerra inglesa *La Providencia* a las costas de Alta California, México, September 9, 1819, AGI, Estado, 34 no. 5. Traducción de carta de Mr. Downs, comandante de la fragata Macedonia al Exmo. Virrey de México, AGI, Estado 25, no. 44 bis, doc. 1.
- 48 Representación traducida del inglés al castellano de George Gayus, dirigida al virrey de la Nueva España, AGI, Estado 31, no. 28, doc. 2. [Note: George Ayers, original in Spanish].
- 49 The inventory distinguishes between sea otter hides which had been cured for their preservation and future sale, and others that had been killed but whose skins had not yet been cured.
- 50 The entire file on the New England vessel *Mercury* is in the AGI, Estado 31, no. 28, docs. 1 and 2.
- 51 Marie Christine Duggan discusses the impact of the changes on California around 1810 in the following two publications: "With and Without an Empire: Financing for California Missions Before and After 1810," in *Pacific Historical Review* 85 (no. 1, 2016): 23-71; and "Laws of the Market versus Laws of God: Scholastic Doctrine and the Early California Economy," *History of Political Economy* 37 (2005): 343-370.
- 52 Brown & Ives of Providence to Charles Holden and Henry Larned, December 9, 1820, John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island.
- 53 Carta del Exmo. Sr. El Conde del Venadito al Sr. Ministro de Estado, México, March 31, 1820, AGI, Estado 34, no. 12, 1.
- 54 Ibid
- 55 AGI, Estado 34, no. 5, docs. 1 and 6.
- 56 Ibid
- 57 Trejo Barajas, "Del Caribe al Mar del Sur. Comercio marítimo por el Pacífico mexicano durante las guerras de Independencia," in *Entre la tradición y la modernidad. Estudios sobre la Independencia*, coordinated by Moisés Guzmán (Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolás de Hidalgo, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 2006).
- 58 Antonio Ibarra, "Plata, importaciones y mercado colonial. Circulación interior de importaciones de Guadalajara al septentrion novohispano (1798-1818)," *Siglo XIX. Cuadernos de Historia* VI (no. 16, 1996): 23.
- 59 Trejo Barajas discusses the emergence of a rival merchant elite in Guadalajara after 1809. See "Pugna por el libre comercio en las postrimerías del virreinato: la Nueva Galicia y las Provincias Internas frente a los comerciantes de la ciudad de México, 1811-1818," in *Estudios de Historia Novohispana* 51 (July-December, 2014): 107-130.
- 60 Richard Lindlay, *Haciendas and Economic Development: Guadalajara, Mexico at Independence* (Austin: University of Texas, 2014), 98, 100, 139.
- 61 Eric Van Young, *Hacienda and Market in Eighteenth Century Mexico: The Rural Economy of the Guadalajara Region, 1675-1820* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 154.
- 62 Louise Puhols, *The Father of All: The de la Guerra Family, Power and Patriarchy in Mexican California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 38-41.
- 63 For further discussion of the *Flora*, see Trejo Barajas, "Del Caribe al Mar del Sur," 368. Cubillas is mentioned often in the correspondence of José de la Guerra y Noriega. For example on July 16, 1812 from Antonio Linares (in San Blas) to Noriega, Santa Bárbara Mission Archive-Library (SBMAL), De La Guerra Collection (DLG), 586 L1; on Feb. 20, 1824, José de la Madrid Cubillas from San Blas to Juan Malarín, DLG 617 L1.
- 64 Jean Meyer, "Barrón, Forbes y Cia," in *Nexos*, April 1, 1981: <https://www.nexos.com.mx/?p=3975>
- 65 See Joaquín de Astiazaran a José de la Guerra y Noriega, San Blas, SBMAL, DLG 66 L7; Tepic (DLG 66 L8), Tepic (DLG 66 L9), May 17, May 30, and Nov. 28 of 1815.
- 66 Joaquín de Astiazarán a José de la Guerra y Noriega, Tepic, May 4, 1819, DLG 66 L11.
- 67 Two possible sources for this are: Juan Malarín a José de la Guerra y Noriega, Monterey, September 15, 1820, DLG 622 L1; also possibly Pablo Solá a De la Guerra y Noriega, San Louis Obispo, November 16, 1820, DLG 924 L9.
- 68 Marie E. Northrop, *Spanish Mexican Families of Early California, 1769-1850*, vol. II, (Burbank: Southern California Genealogical Society, 1984).
- 69 See: <https://www.myheritage.com/research/record-90100-451203083/historic-landmarks-of-monterey-california-a-brief-sketch-of-the>
- 70 Other authors have referred to this process as globalization (Sanchez-Barba) or loss of a Spanish sense of the Pacific (Valdés). Mario Hernandez Sánchez-Barba, *La última expansión española en América* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 1957), 285; Vera Valdés Lakowsky, *De las minas al mar: Historia de la plata mexicana en Asia: 1565-1834* (México: FCE, 1987), 158-206.
- 71 Pinzón, *Hombres de mar*; Puhols, *Father of All*.



The Escape of the Hijacking *Lelia Byrd* (1803).

In 1803, the brig *Lelia Byrd*, under the command of Captain William Shaler, visited the port of San Diego. Having surreptitiously acquired a load of lucrative sea otter pelts from local traders, and subsequently threatened with arrest by the Spanish authorities, the *Lelia Byrd* made a run for the harbor entrance. As she sailed past Fort Guijarros, a cannon battle ensued before the Americans made their successful escape. The action is vividly described in Jerry MacMullen's *They Came by Sea: A Pictorial History of San Diego Bay* (San Diego: Ward Ritchie Press / Maritime Museum Association of San Diego, 1969), 5-7. For references to Fort Guijarros, see the article by Jack Williams in this volume of *Mains'l Haul*. The *Lelia Byrd* is also mentioned in the article by Dení Trejo and Marie Duggan, again in this volume.

Oil on canvas by artist Jerry MacMullen, 1953.
Fine Art Collection of the Maritime Museum of San Diego
(1975.015.001).

Star Sail 2018: Continuing the Legacy of California's Maritime *Camino Real*



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EST. 1769
SAN DIEGO
WHERE CALIFORNIA BEGAN

Photos by George Adkins

