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The Journal of California Anthropology

Title

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Journal

The Journal of California Anthropology, 5(2)

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Publication Date

1978-12-01

Peer reviewed

- "Cosey."
 - "Louisa."
 - "Susey."
 - "Yusey."
 - "Nancy."
 - "Lucy."
 - "Old Lucy."
 - Chi-nee
 - Wil-la-pum..... or "Co-qui."
- And many others.



A Strategic Mission: Santa Catalina

WILLIAM M. MASON

One of the influential factors which shaped the history of Alta California was the physical isolation of California from the rest of Mexico. Aside from a brief period (1774-1781), Alta California was cut off from Mexico except by sea. The opening of the Sonora Trail via Yuma in 1774 was most helpful in the early period of settlement within the province. Cattle, horses, and colonists were brought over the land route for about six years, but the Yuma Indians decided they had had enough of the Hispano-Mexican rule in 1781. They revolted, killed most of the soldiers and colonists among them, and closed the route by land for over forty years.

Subsequent to the Yuma uprising, Spanish governors of Alta California frequently recommended that a land connection with Sonora be established, whether by force or persuasion. To force the Yumas into submission or to go around them was a point of contention.¹ The latter idea was a plan of Joaquín de Arrillaga, commander at Loreto Presidio and *de facto* governor of Baja California. He favored the establishment of a post at the mouth of the Colorado River on the California side, which

would be situated among the Cocopa Indians. This tribe was not friendly with the Yumas, and it might have been assumed they would be more amenable to contact with the Spaniards. Arrillaga viewed the establishment of a mission at the pass that led through the mountains of Baja California as a stepping stone for a Spanish route over the Colorado River to Sonora. Putting a presidio on the Colorado would involve considerable effort, he admitted. Such an establishment would have to withstand a possible attack by 2000 warriors. Former Governor Pedro de Fages said that he had been attacked by 1500 Indians on the Colorado River some fifteen years before. Before this move could take place, Arrillaga felt, the Mission of Santa Catalina should form a liaison between the Spanish frontier (Fig. 1) and the people at the river's mouth.²

Penetration of the northern mountains of Baja California's *Frontera* had begun with the establishment of San Pedro Mártir Mission in 1794, approximately seventy miles south of the Portezuelo, or pass, through the mountains to the Colorado River.³ The strategic advantage of having an establishment covering the best pass to the river is mentioned more than once. Relations between the Spanish forces and the Indians directly east of San Diego were far from cordial, as the experience of *Alférez* Juan Pablo Grijalva indicated in 1795.⁴ Access to the Colorado River north of the Portezuelo had been attempted in 1785 with poor success, in any case.⁵

What the military knew about the mountainous interior of the *Frontera* is not certain; allusions to earlier expeditions in the Portezuelo region and the Valle de San Rafael are made by later diarists and correspondents, but little specific information has survived in the Californias. Visits by *Alférez* Grijalva and Sergeant José Manuel Rúaiz are mentioned, however, and it would seem that between 1785 and 1795 several excursions had been made into the interior.⁶ Whether these trips were to register

water-holes or pursue runaway neophytes is unclear. Grijalva's unsuccessful effort to apprehend three murderers of a neophyte woman may have been typical of these jaunts into the back country of the Peninsula. A brush with unfriendly Indians was had by Sergeant R  iz in October, 1793, somewhere between Valle de San Rafael and El Portezuelo, while he and Padre Tom  s Valldeloi were inspecting the area. They suggested that, inasmuch as the Indians there had trade and communication with the Colorado River tribes, and were none too friendly, perhaps frequent visits by a padre with some soldiers and neophytes would prove beneficial. Such visits could be continued for a year before the formal founding of a mission there.⁷

The year of 1795-96 was fairly active in preparing the interior of Baja California for the occupation of the Portezuelo region. *Alf  rez* Ildelfonso Bernal's visit in October of that year could hardly have impressed the local Indians positively when he seized and bound two of them, including their chief.⁸ Other visits, such as those of Arrillaga in 1796, were less eventful and presumably less negative from the Indian viewpoint.⁹ Grijalva's punitive expedition to punish three men accused of having murdered an Indian woman of San Miguel Mission indicates that certainly as early as 1795 the Indians of the Jacum area were decidedly against Spanish penetration of their rocky stronghold.¹⁰ Jacum, near modern Jacumba, was later a focus of resistance against Spanish and Mexican presence in Baja California. This village and the surrounding region sent raiders against ranchos and missions from San Diego to San Vicente in the 1830's, a time of great tribulation for San Diego and the *Fronteras* portion of Baja California.¹¹ Grijalva's procedure reveals that the Spanish felt they had jurisdiction over the Jacum territory, even though their control was ineffective. In compliance with Spanish custom he proclaimed that their intentions were

good, and that they were not going to harm anyone except the three guilty parties they wished to punish. This was a somewhat legalistic requirement, but under the law the military was required to explain to the non-Christian Indians their position in such matters. If the Indians ignored their explanation through an interpreter, they were then required to fight them, which was precisely the case with the Grijalva sortie.¹²

Mention of trouble imminent at San Miguel Mission was not unusual. Similar rumors in 1794, and again in 1796, were spread from time to time. Antonio de Grajera, commander at San Diego, ordered precautions taken, but felt that the danger may have been exaggerated.¹³

The importance of Santa Catalina as an outpost looking toward the Colorado was impressed upon the priests of the *Frontera* missions as it was being fortified and supplied with grain and neophytes from other missions nearby.¹⁴ The number of soldiers in the Loreto Company, which was responsible for the defense of the Peninsula, was increased from 55 to 68 men between October, 1795, and June, 1797. By the end of 1798 the Loreto Company had 71 men. The distribution of the company is worth noting. Of 54 men in March, 1795, 13 were stationed at Loreto, seven in the southern cape of the Peninsula, and 31 were in the *Fronteras*. The remaining three were chasing runaway Indians. Prior to the founding of Santa Catalina, the largest garrison in the *Fronteras* region was San Vicente, with 12 soldiers of the 31 in the district. Even the presidio itself had but one or two more, as a rule. Out of the 31 men in the *Fronteras* 14 were to be placed at Santa Catalina. Shortly after the founding of the mission, its garrison was increased to 21 men by November, 1797. The allotment of soldiers for the *Fronteras* district had been increased to 46 men in the same period. As late as January, 1800, Santa Catalina garrison was the largest military unit

in Baja California. There were 18 men stationed there, whereas even at Loreto there were but 14. San Vicente Mission had been trimmed to 10 men by 1800.¹⁵ The reason for this concentration probably lay in the proximity to the Colorado River tribes and the reputation for pugnacity Indians near the Portezuelo had acquired in recent years. The feeling that the Indians in the region were allied with those of the Colorado probably contributed to this military buildup.¹⁶

A score of men with no aid within several days' ride of Santa Catalina would have counted for little unless they were well-armed and fortified. Two small cannons and a sort of mortar called a *pedrero*, literally a "rocker" or "rock-thrower," were given to the new mission in 1797.¹⁷ The mission buildings were enclosed within an adobe wall which had a rock foundation. A bastion, fitted with slits for the cannons and several long rifles which were sent to Santa Catalina, was built on the northwest corner of the mission compound. This tower dominated the mission plain, and with its three artillery pieces, all little two-pounders, it was formidable enough to withstand a major Indian attack.¹⁸ If Santa Catalina was the key to the Colorado Delta, the Spanish wanted it securely locked. The two cannons, 60 cannon balls, 60 packets of grape-shot, and a box of powder were sent to the site in October, 1797, along with the ornaments and sacred vessels for the church of the new mission.¹⁹ Work on the mission itself began on August 6, 1797, under the guard of a sergeant, a corporal, and twelve soldiers, who probably assisted in the construction. The buildings and bastion, or fort, were near completion by November 7. Haste was recommended because of winter snows which would certainly impede construction. A church and storehouse 12 *varas* long, a hall, priests' room, sleeping quarters for single men, and a granary 6 *varas* long, all with earthen roofs supported by good pine beams and rafters, were mentioned as part of the mission

complex. An oven for baking bread, a brush corral for sheep and goats, and the soldiers' sleeping-quarters were also completed, as well as a room for the guard commander. The soldiers had a storeroom for supplies. Official founding date of the mission is given as November 12, 1797. As of December, 1797, the fort tower was still under construction, and the wall was not begun until 1798.²⁰

Aside from minor raids on cattle by Indians, no major clashes with local Indians or their distant neighbors on the Colorado disturbed the new settlement. Conversions were not lacking, and the neophyte community at Santa Catalina numbered some 233 by 1801.²¹ The initial neophyte community in 1798 had been augmented by a draft of neophyte laborers on the *Frontera* from all the missions from San Fernando in the south to San Miguel, the northernmost mission, excepting only San Pedro Mártir Mission (founded four years before), to send three men each to work at Santa Catalina. Eighteen men were thus made available for the new outpost.²²

An indication that the population of the interior was not dense is found in Arrillaga's letter in December, 1795, which ascribes about 300 people to two *rancherías*, and for all five *rancherías* around the plain he mentions there were about 500 to 600 people. These five sites were on the fringes of the flat country, measuring about 8 to 11 miles wide and 20 to 25 miles long. The plain Arrillaga mentioned would be about 160 to 275 square miles, yielding a minimum of 1.9 people per square mile and a maximum of 3.75 per square mile. Assuming their territorial limits to extend beyond the plain, a minimal figure would probably be closer to the actual density. There were approximately two people per square mile, perhaps, in a favored region. Whether or not diseases brought in by the invaders had already moved through this region is not positively known, but such diseases are open to conjecture because of the proximity of the

Spanish for over twenty years and of epidemics nearby. Arrillaga mentions an additional 500 people situated at Valle de Trinidad, some fifteen to twenty miles south of Santa Catalina, but does not say whether they were the only Indians in proximity to the Portezuelo region, only that they might be converted and placed at Santa Catalina.²³ Peveril Meigs gives something over 1000 square miles for the 1100 Indians indicated by Arrillaga, but he may have overstated the size of the area.²⁴ In Bernal's diary it is suggested that the Indians of Portezuelo Plain at Santa Catalina refused to leave their land for the missions near the coast, and the case may have been the same with those of Valle de Trinidad. Other Indians in less favored areas away from these valley regions may have already joined the mission communities for a more reliable food supply. These two population clusters may have been holdouts.

To the north, notably at Jacum and Nejí, there were also unmissionized Indians, but in the San Rafael Valley east of the Bay of Todos Santos (Ensenada Bay) there were almost no Indians. In 1798, Padre Miguel López of Santo Tomás said there were only three huts near the *alameda*, or line of trees, in San Rafael, where only a few old people lived. Another five or six huts some distance away in the valley, where the local chief lived, were the only other Indians around San Rafael. Formerly, he noted, there had been many fierce gentiles there, but war and pestilence had reduced them to the remnant he found. The chief, or *capitán*, of San Rafael had a niece who was married to the son of the *capitán* at La Grulla, a village about five or six miles north of Santo Tomás. This might indicate some marriage exchange with a village some fifteen to twenty miles away. The San Rafael *capitán* visited La Grulla occasionally to see his niece. Consequently, Padre López knew him and was probably aware of how many Indians actually lived there.²⁵ Valle de San Rafael is referred to as

virtually depopulated in the 1795 accounts, and this would seem to be true.

The fortress-mission of Santa Catalina remained the northwestern bastion of Hispano-Mexican control for 26 years before a concerted effort was made to establish a post near the mouth of the Colorado River. In 1823, Padre Félix Caballero, with two Indian guides and companions, visited the people there, probably either Haliquamayas or Cocopas, and was received graciously. He went on to Sonora, contacted officials there and informed them of his successful trip across the river. Accompanied on the return trip by Captain José Romero and nine soldiers from Romero's command at Tucson, Padre Caballero and his party were outwitted by the Indians, who in helping them to cross the river, made off with their horses, baggage, and other belongings, leaving the soldiers little more than their leather armor. The party made it on foot to Santa Catalina, but the idea of a base near the mouth of the river was not seriously considered again.²⁶

Santa Catalina did for some time survive the Caballero-Romero fiasco, however, even though the original objective as a stepping-stone to the Colorado was abandoned. It was not until 1840 that the Mission was destroyed by Indians, perhaps those to the north of the plain, where there were still Indians who had successfully resisted missionization. The local Kiliwa name for the site had been *Jaca-Tobojol*, which Meigs learned meant "place where the water falls over stones", and was rendered by him *Jactobojol*. After 1840, it was called by the Kiliwa, *Wa'iu-ichiu*, or "empty burned house".²⁷

The documents that follow, which are from the Bancroft Library transcripts of the California archives, are examples of some of the material that sheds light on the frontier of Alta and Baja California between 1774 and 1781.

*Los Angeles County
Museum of Natural History*

DOCUMENTS

C-A 7, p. 436:

May 13, 1795—Grajera to Borica—San Diego.²⁸

Concerning an encounter with the gentiles, caused by having arrested three of them considered guilty of the murder of a Christian Indian woman.

A gentile Indian came from the Mission of San Miguel, sent by the padres of that mission, with the news that in the *ranchería* called Jacóm in their language, located in the sierra of that territory, the gentiles had killed a Christian woman of that mission. This Indian knew the *ranchería* and knew who the murderers were. On April 17 last I ordered the *alférez* [Pablo Grijalva] to take five soldiers and go there, in company with the gentile, to seize the criminals, which he did the 15th, [18th?], and arriving at that *ranchería*, he seized the three accomplices in the murder. Although during this event nothing unusual was noted among the gentiles, the reverse was the case on the return trip that same day, for about five or six leagues along the return road about 200 armed Indians overtook them, and offered to fight the soldiers. Through the interpreter they were persuaded to wait. The *alférez* told them he had not come to harm them, and that they were only taking those men who had killed the Christian woman to the presidio. The Indians paid no heed to these and other protestations and they fought our troops, wounding the *alférez's* horse (from which the horse later died) [p. 437]. The soldiers fought them back and held them off, killing one gentile and wounding two others. This was enough to make them halt their attack and they withdrew. As it was necessary to attend to the challengers, the three prisoners escaped during the melee.

Before these events I had already had several warnings from the corporal of that guard [at San Miguel] and from the padres that

among those gentiles there were disturbances and rumors to the effect that they wanted to fall upon the mission and destroy it. Now, afterward, these warnings have been repeated concerning these gentiles. In the coming moon (which is how they count the months) they wish to come to the mission in order to kill the padres and soldiers. If they are victorious they will then go on to San Diego [Mission] and the Presidio. In view of these warnings I've taken the precaution of having four horses in sight and tied up, night and day, and of these, two saddled at night. All the troops are supplied with ammunition, and have sufficient reserves of cartridges, flint, powder, and balls for the *pedrero* [small cannon]. A bell is in the guard-house, so that the sentry can ring it at night, letting the gentiles know he is alert. There are other precautions to suit the situation. I write this letter for you to be informed in this situation, and for you to take whatever action you may choose.

C-A 7 p. 342:

October 27, 1795—Alférez Ildefonso Bernal²⁹ to Lieutenant Colonel Joaquín de Arrillaga—San Vicente, Baja California.

Diary of the Registry I Leave to Accomplish as Ordered by Lieutenant Colonel José Joaquín de Arrillaga, in Search of Two Suitable Sites which are Sought in Order to Found Two Missions, which must be in the East, where the Sun Rises.

October 18. I left San Vicente Mission at 2:00 PM and halted at 6:00 PM in the arroyo of that same mission: Distance—5 leagues.

[p. 343] 19th. I began my march at 6:00 AM, halted at San Pablo. Distance—3 leagues. On the same day I left this place at noon, halted at 6:00 PM in Santa Catarina. Distance—7 leagues. In this place are the following assets for founding [a mission]: the site is bare; surrounding it are low hills with white rocky

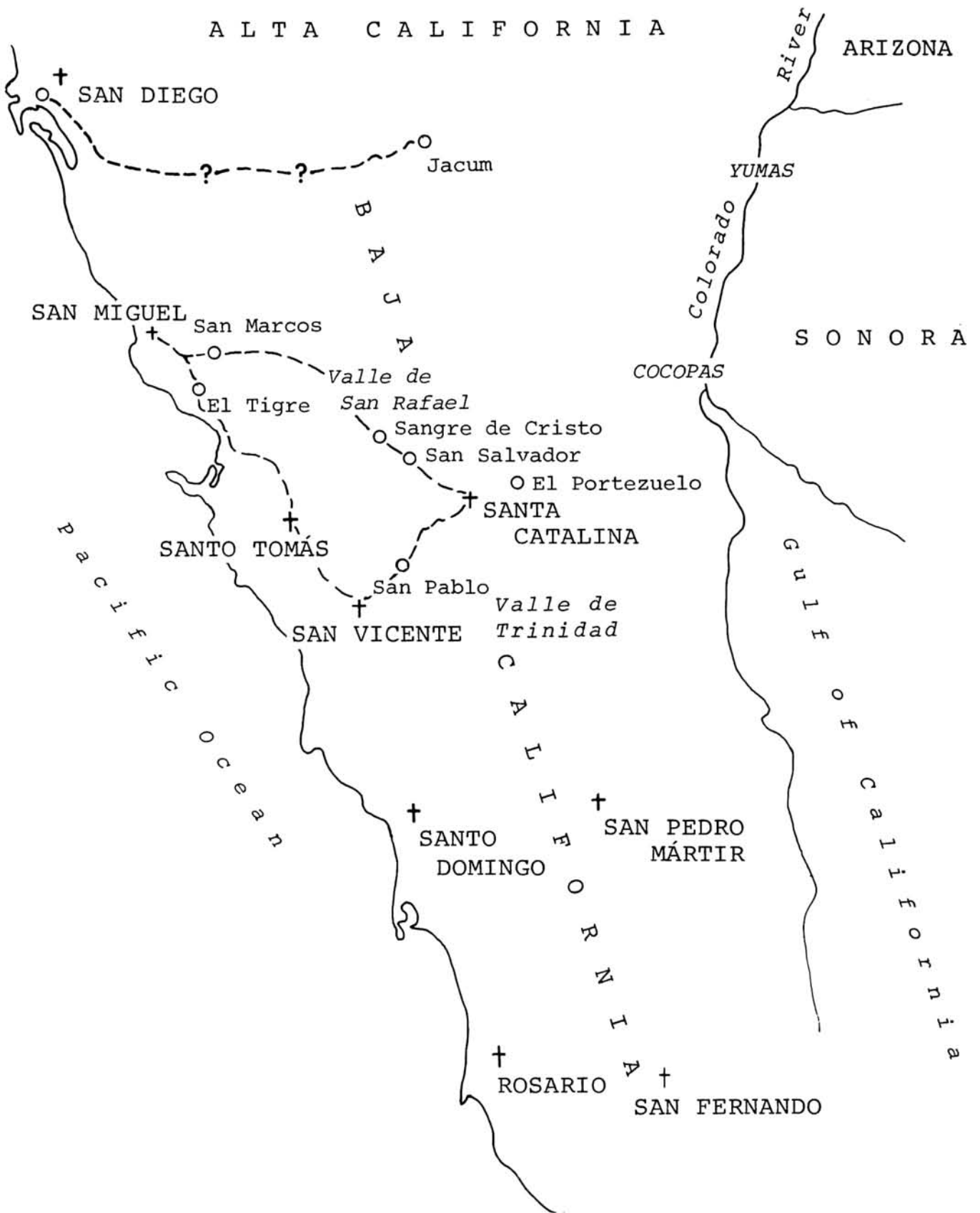


Fig. 1. The frontier of Alta and Baja California (1774-1781).

outcroppings; there is a spring [suitable] for irrigation; pasture and firewood are in abundance. Pine timber is one league away in the sierra to the north and the arable lands are good. Those who know [about such things] say twelve *fanegas* of corn could be planted. The gentiles here are numerous. They live on *tunas*, dates³⁰, and several other seeds. They do not leave their land because these foods are not found elsewhere. Sixty gentiles came before me, and I asked if they wished to have us live with them. They told me yes, that then they would become baptized more agreeably.

The temperature is cold and the winds are from the north. In this place I recovered two Christian Indian women from Santo Tomás Mission, and in order to make the gentiles hand over one, it was necessary to command that the captain and the gentile who was married to the Christian woman be tied up. Immediately the captain ordered the woman to be brought. I ordered his release and we remained friends.

20th. I left Santa Catarina at 1:00 PM and halted at 7:00 PM in San Joaquín. Distance—4½ leagues. [p. 344] In the area in between there is nothing worthy of mention. The watering-place is an arroyo with very little water, and there are some poplars, willows, and little pasture.

21st. I left this place at 1:00 AM, halted in San Salvador at 11:00 AM. Distance—5 leagues. In between there are some pasture-lands, some swamps with very little water, several poplars and willows. The arroyo has little water. The same day I left this place. At 2:00 PM I halted at the place called Sangre de Cristo. Distance—2½ leagues. In between there is nothing worthy of notice. The above site has the following [requisites suitable] for founding [a mission]: it is bare, with some low hills; it is a spacious vale, with several marshes, which produce a creek. The larger one is three *cuartas*³¹ and four inches across, and five inches deep. The soil is good, but that which

can be irrigated is small [in area]. Although there is much more farmland it is above the spring, and cannot be irrigated unless one of the marshes is used, from whence it can be ascertained how to get the water and irrigate the rest of the land. [There are] pastures and firewood, and sufficient poplar timber six leagues away. It can be carried over flat land because it is in the Valley of San Rafael, where there is an abundance of this timber. The climate [p. 345] is temperate. The winds which prevail are not known. I saw not one gentile, but did see much smoke from the mountains three leagues to the north.

22nd. I left this place at 2:00 AM, and halted in the Valley of San Rafael at 10:00 AM. Distance—6 leagues. Between this place and the last there are waterholes, marshes, and abundant grazing-lands. The surroundings of this location are plains, and there is a pretty lane of trees running east and west. There were no gentiles, nor even signs [of them]. The same day I left this place at 2:00 PM, and halted at the Arroyo of San Francisco. Distance—5 leagues. Between this place and the last one is a trail, not a bad one, over mountains and rocky outcroppings, with live oaks. The spring is small, there is little pasture, and no gentiles.

23rd. I left this spot at 2:00 AM, halted at the Valley of San Marcos. Distance—4 leagues. In between the road is bad: rough and mountainous terrain, with brush. This place is a valley of four leagues [long] with a few marshes containing very little water, fair grazing-lands, poplars, and willows. There are some gentiles. I left this place on the same day at 2:00 PM, halted at Santa Rosa. Distance—5 leagues. The whole trail is flat, and there is but one small pass.

[p. 346] 24th. I left this place at 3:00 AM, halted at San Miguel [Mission].

25th. I left this mission after mass, halted at El Tigre, without incident.

26th. I left this place and halted at Santo Tomás [Mission], without incident.

27th. I left for San Vicente Mission, where I

arrived without incident.

C-A 7 p. 463:

December 1, 1795—Sergeant [Manuel] Ruiz³² to Governor Borica—Loreto, Baja California.

In consequence of a dispatch of Your Excellency's dated October 11 Last, I duly inform Your Excellency that it is true that I accompanied the *Alférez* [Ildefonso Bernal] on the reconnaissance which he made on the *Frontera* in search of sites proper for the establishment of missions, but the diary Your Excellency asks of me I must admit in all frankness I did not keep, as the *Alférez* was commissioned to do so, and for this reason I omitted it.

Concerning the report about the sites which were encountered in said reconnaissance which Your Excellency asks for, I say to you no better [site] was found than that of Santa Catalina. This is not to say that the site is bountiful, but of all those found before the mouth of the Colorado River, which is as far as they went, the best is that of Santa Catalina, and in order [p. 464] for Your Excellency to better understand this site, I will relate this mediocre account.

The site is treeless, between some low hills. The source of the water is from a small swamp, and near the water source is a piece of land which, according to those who understand such things, ten *almudes* of corn could be planted there. The soil is rich. Beyond the piece of land the water follows a canyon, and this canyon would be about a quarter of a league long. The water runs through the entire canyon, even in dry season, and in the wet season plenty of water goes through the land which starts from the mouth of the canyon. In these fields ten *fanegas* of corn could be planted. The soil is excellent.

The permanent water of this site will do for irrigation, if none is lost, but to irrigate the

land below the mouth of the canyon it will be necessary to make a reservoir in the better part of the canyon to impound the water, and if this is done, it will be a useful innovation.

Concerning the gentiles, it is a fact they are there, and they live next to the site. They have several seeds which last them all year long. Timber is about a league away, more or less.

From San Pedro Mártir this site is about three days away to the north, but if in time a route is found through [p. 465] the sierra, in that case it would not be more than two days away.

From Santo Domingo to Santa Catalina is about four days' travel, to the northeast and over a very rough road, but following the *camino real* it is about three days.

From San Vicente to Santa Catalina it is one and one-half days' travel going slowly. It is the same time from Santo Tomás and a better road, but the said site is probably in front of [i. e., in line with] Santo Tomás.

C-A 7, pp. 458-463

December 10, 1795—José Joaquín Arrillaga to Governor Diego de Borica—Loreto.

[*Editor's Note: In March, Governor Borica ordered Arrillaga to explore for sites suitable for two missions in the interior of the Baja California frontier, between Santo Domingo and San Vicente Missions and the mouth of the Colorado River. Because he could not go himself, he selected Alférez Ildefonso Bernal and Sergeant José Manuel Rúiz for this task, to be accomplished in the autumn of 1795.*

In his abstract obtained from the observations of Bernal, Arrillaga informed the governor that the site known as El Portezuelo had no prerequisites at all for founding a mission, but three leagues from there is a spring of water at the site called Santa Calaline Mártir. Bernal ascertained that, in the different times that soldiers had visited there, and from the local

Indians, that the spring was never completely dry. As Bernal's visit was in October, during the dry season, there were but two naranjas of water flowing from it. From September 22nd to the 24th there was a heavy rain, which did not increase the flow. Bernal inferred that the source of the water was not dependent on current rainfall.]

Santa Catalina's spring was in a treeless plain three to four leagues wide and eight to ten leagues long, with mountain ranges at equal distances on the north and east sides. To the west and southwest were more mountains. The site was freely accessible only from the south and the northwest. Near the spring was a small piece of good land, easy to irrigate, suitable for a garden or small field. A quarter of a league down the arroyo was a large tableland, which would be good for farming when there was sufficient rain. A reservoir would have to be built for reliable water supply, however. Some of the nearby missions could contribute grain for the first year, until one is built, since the defense of the entire region would be greatly enhanced by the presence of a garrison at Santa Catalina.

The Indians who live on the edges of this plain, though I did not see all of them together, I am given to understand, there are [enough] for a fair-sized mission. There are five different *rancherías*, and two of them probably total some 300 people, according to the information given by the soldiers who have gone there several times in search of runaway neophytes or fugitive [gentile] Indians. The neophytes say the same. Combined with the [people from] the three other *rancherías* they would total from 500 to 600 people. This could not be considered enough if four other *rancherías* could not be added, which are six to eight leagues away in the *paraje* of La Trinidad, and where, according to my impression and what I have been told, there were not less than 500 people, of whom I saw about two-thirds. Although I went

no more than four or five leagues to the north, from what all I've been informed there is another *ranchería* which can embrace the new mission.³³

NOTES

1. *History of California*, by Hubert Howe Bancroft, 7 vols., (San Francisco: History Company, 1886), Vol. 1, Chaps 7, 17.

2. California Archives, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, Vol. 24, p. 389, Dec. 22, 1797, Gov. Diego de Borica al Virrey, Monterey. California Archives hereinafter designated C-A.

3. Alexander Taylor Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, Box 1, No. 60, Apr. 28, 1794, Fr. Cayetano Pallas and *Alférez* Juan Pablo Grijalva reported that San Pedro Mártir was founded.

4. Taylor Collection, Box 1, No. 122, Jan. 23, 1798, Fr. Tomás Valdelloi, Santa Catalina; C-A 7, pp. 436-437 (see documents).

5. C-A 3, pp. 189-196, Apr. 27, 1785, *Alférez* José Velasquez, *Relacion*, San Diego.

6. Taylor Collection, Box 1, No. 123, Jan. 26, 1798, Fr. Miguel Lopez a Gov. Borica, Santo Tomás; No. 88, Jan. 22, 1795, Fr. Cayetano Pallas, Loreto; C-A 24, p. 275, Mar. 10, 1795, Gov. Borica a Arrillaga, Monterey.

7. Taylor Collection, Box 1, No. 88, Fr. Cayetano Pallas, Loreto.

8. C-A 7, pp. 342-346, Oct. 27, 1795, *Alférez* Ildefonso Bernal a Col. Arrillaga.

9. *José Joaquín Arrillaga: Diary of His Surveys of the Frontier*, tr. by Froy Tiscareno, ed. by John W. Robinson (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1969), pp. 24-27, 61-62, 72-73.

10. C-A 7, pp. 436-437 (see documents).

11. Bancroft Library, Berkeley M-M 295, Manuel Clemente Rojo, "Apuntes para la Historia de la Baja California," ms. pp. 103-105, published in Baja California Travel Series, Dawson's Book Shop, Los Angeles.

12. C-A 7, pp. 436-437 (see documents).

13. Taylor Collection, Box 1, No. 98, May 27, 1796, Fr. Mariano Apolinario a Gov. Borica, San Miguel; No. 101, July 2, 1796, Tente. Antonio de Grajera a Gov. Borica, San Diego; No. 131, Mar. 28, 1798, Fr. Mariano Yoldi a Gov. Borica, San Miguel.
14. Taylor Collection, Box 1, No. 122, Jan. 23, 1798, Fr. Tomás Valdelloi a Gov. Borica, Santa Catalina; No. 123, Jan. 26, 1798, Fr. Miguel Lopez a Gov. Borica, Santo Tomás.
15. Archives of the State of Baja California Sur, "Archivo Pablo Martinez," and its distribution; C-A 8, p. 399, Feb. 5, 1797, *Alférez* Bernal a Gov. Borica, San Vicente.
16. C-A 24, p. 377, Sept. 4, 1797, Gov. Borica al Virrey, Monterey.
17. C-A 8, p. 407, Jun. 28, 1797, *Sargto.* José Manuel Rúaiz a Gov. Borica, San Vicente; C-A 16, p. 10, Sept. 30, 1797, Col. Arrillaga al Virrey, Loreto.
18. C-A 24, p. 386, Dec. 6, 1797, [*Sargto.* José Manuel Rúaiz?] Santa Catalina; p. 292, Nov. 7, 1797, Gov. Borica a Col. Arrillaga, Monterey; p. 296, Jan. 19, 1798, Gov. Borica a *Alférez* Bernal, Monterey.
19. C-A 24, p. 290, Oct. 13, 1797, Gov. Borica a Col. Arrillaga, Monterey.
20. C-A 24, p. 288, Sept. 1, 1797, Gov. Borica a Col. Arrillaga, Monterey; p. 386, Dec. 6, 1797, [*Sargto.* Rúaiz?] Santa Catalina. One *vara* is equal to about 33 inches. C-A 50, p. 250, Nov. 30, 1797, *Sargto.* Rúaiz a Gov. Borica, Santa Catalina.
21. C-A 24, pp. 299-300, Feb. 27, 1798, Gov. Borica a *Com.* de San Vicente, Monterey; *The Dominican Mission Frontier of Lower California*, by Peveril Meigs (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1935) p. 168.
22. Taylor Collection, Box 1, No. 132, Apr. 6, 1798, Fr. Pallas a Gov. Borica, Loreto.
23. C-A 7, p. 462, Dec. 10, 1795, Col. Arrillaga a Gov. Borica, Loreto; Taylor Collection, Box 1, No. 128, Mar. 18, 1798, Fr. Lopez a Gov. Borica, Santo Tomás.
24. Meigs, *op. cit.*, p. 120.
25. Taylor Collection, Box 1, No. 128, Mar. 18, 1798, Fr. Lopez a Gov. Borica, Santo Tomas.
26. *Diaries and Accounts of the Romero Expeditions*, edited by Lowell John Bean and William M. Mason (Palm Springs: Desert Museum, 1962), pp. 11-28.
27. C-A 50, p. 250, Nov. 30, 1797, Rúaiz to Borica, Santa Catalina; Meigs, *op. cit.*, pp. 121, 123.
28. Captain Antonio Grajera, San Diego's commander, may have written this summary for Governor Borica several weeks after the expedition under Grijalva had returned to San Diego, perhaps to refresh Borica's mind about the circumstances. *Alférez* Juan Pablo Grijalva, a native of Sonora, born about 1742, had come to California in the Anza Expedition of 1775-76 with his wife and two daughters. He served at San Francisco and San Diego Presidios, and later retired as a ranchero at what is now Santa Ana, California. The rancho is better known today as the property of his sons-in-law, Antonio Yorba and Pedro Regalado Peralta, who inherited it from Grijalva and owned it for several years. Grijalva died at San Diego in 1806. *Archivo General de Indias*, Sevilla, Spain, *Guadalajara*, Vol. 286; Taylor Collection, Box 6, No. 1477; C-A 12, p. 132; San Diego Mission death records, Vol. 1, No. 1642, June 23, 1806.
29. *Alférez* Ildelfonso Bernal was a native of Chinapa, Sonora, born about 1762. He joined the army in Sonora at 26, served at a cadet in several Apache campaigns, and was transferred to Loreto, Baja California, in 1792. He served for a time in the southern part of the Peninsula, and was transferred to the *Frontera* in 1795. In 1799, he was again transferred to Sonora, where he served at the Presidio of Buenavista. Archives of Baja California Sur, Ramo Político, Nos. 261, and 392.
30. Meigs, *op. cit.*, p. 121. Meigs suggests that the "datiles" are yucca fruit.
31. Meigs, *op. cit.*, pp. 32, 165. A *cuarta* is one-quarter of a *vara*, and the latter is a measurement of about 33 inches. This would be a little stream about 28 inches wide.
32. Sergeant José Manuel Rúaiz was born at Loreto in 1756, joined the Loreto Company at 16,

and made sergeant in 1790. In 1799, he was promoted to *alférez* (second lieutenant or ensign) as replacement for Bernal (see above footnote 29). Eventually, Rúaiz became commander at Loreto by 1822, and was subsequently governor of Baja California. His brother, Francisco María Rúaiz, was commander of San Diego. José Manuel Rúaiz was the earliest known owner of Rancho Ensenada, and Avenida Rúaiz in Ensenada was named for him. His son-in-law, Francisco Gastélum, inherited the rancho from him. Archivo General de la Nación,

Californias, Vol. 74, f. 272; Baja California Sur Archive, Ramo Político, No. 392.

33. The above quote is not from Bernal, but Arrillaga, who had had occasion to visit the region earlier. He also estimated that Santa Catalina was equidistant 14 to 15 leagues from Santo Tomás and San Vicente. From Santa Catalina to the Gulf of California or the mouth of the Colorado River was 20 to 25 leagues.

