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Fages' Code of Conduct Toward Indians, 1787

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In December and January of 1786-1787, Pedro de Fages, who was governor of Alta and Baja California in 1787, stopped in the Pueblo de Nuestra Señora de los Angeles on a routine inspection trip through the southern part of the province. While at San Gabriel in early January of 1787, Fages wrote a code of conduct toward Indians for the corporal in charge of the little four-man guard unit in Los Angeles. This soldier, Vicente Félix,¹ was acting corporal of the guard, although he was actually a private. He was invested with special powers to facilitate military control of the pueblo and see to it that as little difficulty as possible arose between settlers of the pueblo and the large Indian population of the

surrounding Indian rancherías or villages of the district.

The rules set down by Fages concerning relationships with the Indians of the Los Angeles area are of considerable interest, since they shed some light on the attitude of the settlers toward Indians and the established practices of social interaction between settlers and Indians in the field of labor. Before discussing Fages' code of conduct toward Indians, however, I shall first briefly present some biographical information about Fages and then describe in greater detail the background of the life of settlers and Indians in the vicinity of Los Angeles at the time of Fages' visit.

FAGES' LIFE UP TO THE REVOLT OF 1785

PEDRO de Fages was nothing if not a good soldier. By 1787, he had been in the army nearly half of his 52 years. He had joined in 1762 to fight in the Portuguese campaign as a *subteniente*, a rank corresponding approximately to that of second lieutenant. As a native of Guisona in the district of Cervera, province of Cataluña, it is not surprising that he was a member of the Catalan Volunteers. As a member of the Spanish lesser nobility, he was permitted to serve as an officer. In 1767, when his unit was sent to Mexico, he was promoted to full lieutenant, and by 1768 he was busily engaged with the Catalan unit in trying to flush out the Seri

Indians from their hiding-places in the volcanic Cerro Prieto formation² between Guaymas and what is now Hermosillo.

In 1769, Fages was placed in command of a 25-man company of Catalans to accompany Gaspar de Portolá in the expedition to occupy Alta California. Half of Fages' men died of scurvy during the first few months of the campaign that led to the founding of San Diego and Monterey. Fages was left in command of the new province of Alta California when Portolá returned to Sonora. In 1771, he was promoted to brevet captain in recognition of his new position. He was sent another dozen Catalans to replace those who had died

two years before. Including the cavalymen from Loreto Presidio in Baja California, Fages' entire command for controlling the new province did not exceed 80 men.

In 1774, Fages was withdrawn from California and sent back to central Mexico, probably because he did not get along well with the president of the Franciscan mission order in California, Padre Junípero Serra. Nevertheless, his rank of captain was confirmed that same year. By 1777, Fages was back in Sonora, where he succeeded in securing a treaty with the Seri Indians barricaded in the Cerro Prieto. He also fought several engagements with the Apaches while in command of the frontier presidio of Santa Cruz. In 1778, he was again promoted, becoming brevet lieutenant colonel in charge of the Sonoran defense line.³ He commanded three expeditions against the Yumas after they destroyed the two Colorado River settlements placed in their territory by Spain. In these Yuma campaigns, Fages managed to secure the release of 63 Spanish captives and recover the bodies of 89 soldiers and settlers slain by the Yumas in their battle to destroy the settlements, as well as the bodies of two missionaries executed by them. On the third campaign against the Yumas, Fages was instructed to assume the governorship of the Californias, so he crossed the Colorado River and proceeded by land to Monterey (AGI 286; Bancroft 1884:485-487).

When Fages left California in the spring of 1774, there were a scant 100 soldiers, mechanics, and muleteers in the entire province, and perhaps a dozen wives and children scattered about in the two presidios and five missions. When he returned late in 1782, California had four presidios, eight missions, and two pueblos. There were now some 200 soldiers, who with their wives and children, plus the civilian colonists and their families in the two pueblos, now numbered in excess of 600 people.

Where there had been but a few hundred Indian converts to Christianity, Fages now found several thousand. Among the several innovations made during his absence was the establishment of the fledgling pueblo of Los Angeles, founded the year before. Fages had a major role in shaping the future of this new pueblo. As San José pueblo had done for the northern California presidios, Los Angeles was to supply the grain, cattle, and broken horses for the southern presidios of San Diego and Santa Barbara. Eventually, old soldiers were expected to retire from the presidios and live as farmers in the pueblos, while their sons enlisted in the presidial companies.

Pedro de Fages returned to California tempered by his experiences in battle with Indians on the Sonoran frontier. His caution and frankly mistrustful attitude toward the California Indians is suggestive of this Sonoran background, where Spaniard and Apache placed no faith in each other's word. While Fages may have overestimated the California Indian's propensity for warfare, he never dismissed them as cowardly or weak opponents as did many Spanish officials after him. His previous experiences with California Indians had given him some respect for them mixed with caution. His attitude toward the Gabrielinos in the code of conduct he wrote in 1787 was not an isolated impulse. A similar document exhorting the corporal in charge of San José to treat the Indians there with respect and caution, made a short time before he drafted the Los Angeles regulations, indicates that Fages' attitudes were consistent.

There were some good precedents for his caution with the local Indians. The most vivid reminder was the example of the Colorado River settlements, where the Yuma Indians had erased the two establishments there in a few hours. At San Diego the Indians had killed one of their missionaries and two artisans at the mission in the revolt of 1775, and they nearly succeeded in exterminating

the garrison there as well. The Indians at San Luis Obispo had burned several buildings there in 1776. Events in the early years of Mission San Gabriel gave some indication that the Gabrielinos were no mere lapdogs. A chief of one of the *rancherías* tried to avenge the rape of his wife by a soldier at the mission, only to be killed for his temerity. His head was displayed on a pole as an example to others. It appears from later complaints by missionaries there that the soldiers were not averse to acquiring gentile (unconverted) Indian women, whether by guile or by force. Only after the ineffectual corporal was removed and a more forceful one took his place who could make the men obey him was there a lessening of hostilities between the Indians and the soldiers (Bancroft 1884:181-182, 249-255, 298-299, 314-315, 362-370).

After 1776, when the Anza Expedition brought several married soldiers to California, some of whom were later placed at San Gabriel, the situation improved. It appears that rape and even the carnal knowledge of gentile women who were willing was punished in the latter part of the 1770s. Neophyte Indian men who acted as go-betweens for the soldiers were also punished. Little could be done to gentile men who brought women for the pleasure of the soldiers, although the padres sought to discourage this traffic. Thefts by soldiers of Indians' possessions, unlawful punishments of Indians by soldiers for refusing to do their bidding, and lesser injustices against Indians were discovered and punished at times.⁴

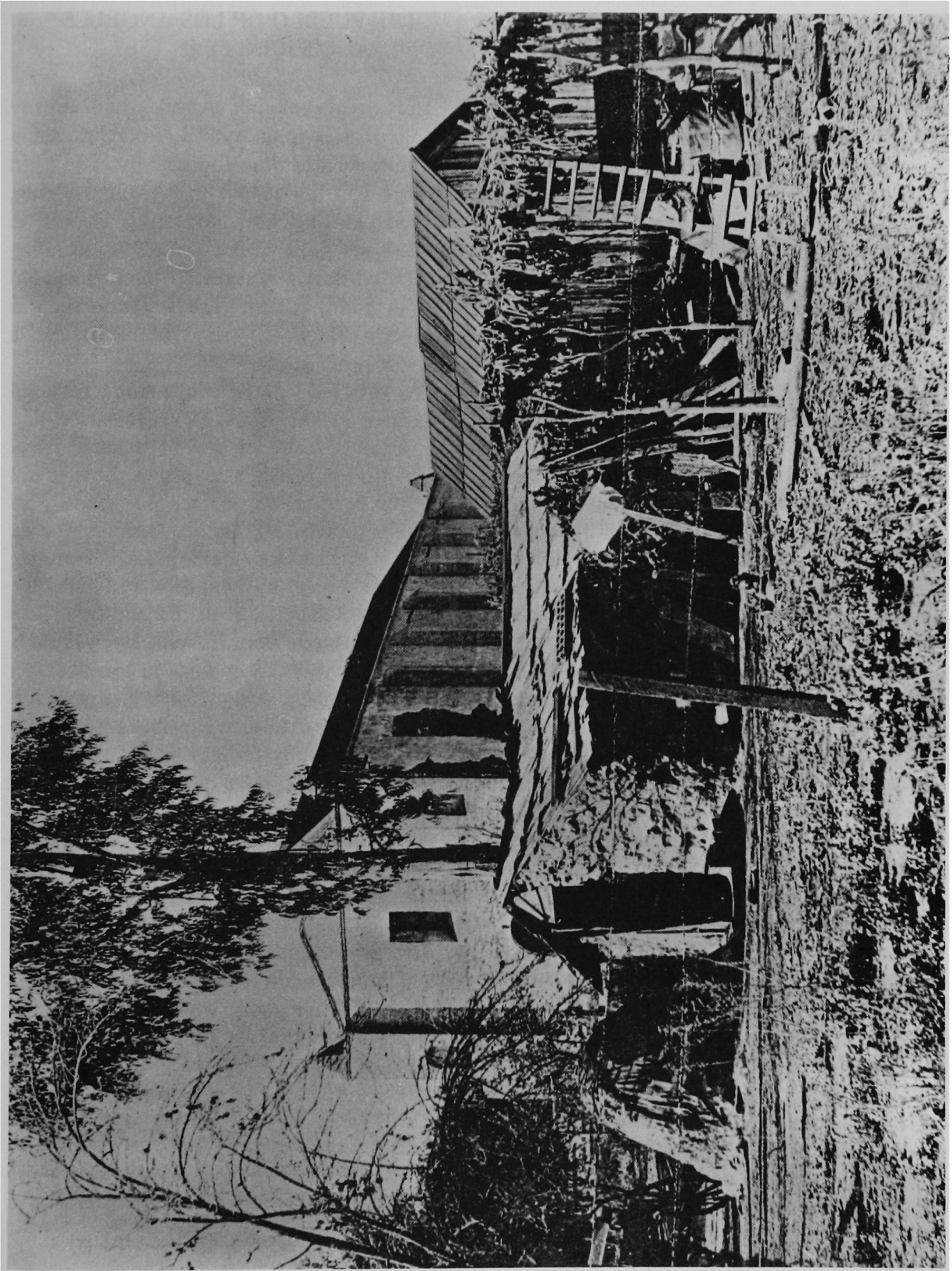
In October, 1785, several Indians attempted an attack against San Gabriel. Indian witnesses differ as to the number of *rancherías* involved, but at least four, possibly eight, seem to have been committed to the destruction of the mission. Other *rancherías*, though not formally involved in the plot, had a few interested warriors along who had joined the invading force. The corporal of the guard at

San Gabriel, José María Verdugo, had already been notified that there was an impending attack, and he was ready for it. Four leaders and 17 warriors were seized within the mission compound, and with the little cannon at the mission trained on them, they laid down their arms. The rest of the warriors gathered there fled discreetly, seeing that the plot had been betrayed, and that the garrison was prepared for them.

One of the conspirators said that there were three valley and five mountain *rancherías* involved in the attack; another said that only four *rancherías* were fully committed to the attack with all their warriors, and that the remainder of the force was composed of a few men from several other *rancherías* not directly involved.

The names of at least four places are given as involved in the revolt: *Jachivit*, *Juvit*, *Asusagna*, and *Jajamobit*. The two latter *rancherías*' locations are known, and they indicate that a fairly extensive area was involved. *Asusagna*, or *Azucsavit*, as it was also called, retains its name partially intact as Azusa, a community about 11 miles northeast of San Gabriel. *Jajamobit*, today known as Glendale, is some seven or eight miles northwest. The affected area extended at least 15 miles along the foothills of the San Gabriel Mountains and probably south into the San Gabriel Valley.

This region was also that most extensively affected by missionization during the 1780s. From this area about 1000 neophytes had been attracted to the mission by 1785, and there were some 843 Indians living at the mission in that year. Judging from baptismal records, the majority of the Indians who can be traced to known *rancherías* came from about eight or 10 miles from the mission or nearer. A number of *rancherías* had been partially depopulated as a result, and this may well have been a motivating grievance for these *rancherías* to try to destroy the mission.



Mission San Gabriel with Indian houses in the foreground. Courtesy of the Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History.

The balance of society in several villages must have been disrupted to an alarming extent. It is probable that those villages nearest the mission had already been virtually depopulated by 1785, and the villages nearest them were probably disturbed about what could happen to them.

Within the mission not all was serene. One of the prime movers of the attempt against the mission was Nicolás José, a neophyte of San Gabriel who had been in trouble with the padres a few years before. He declared, when asked by Fages, that he was angry with the padres for prohibiting dances and other gentile ceremonies, which they regarded as "un-christian." Nicolás was one of the four leaders captured during the abortive attack, and he had instigated the whole affair. He had given a well-known sorceress, Toypurina of *Jachivit ranchería*, some beads and other presents to induce her to use her influence and magic to cause the death of the padres and to stir some of the *rancherías* into going against the mission. She did so, and as her brother was captain of *Jachivit*, she probably had little difficulty in influencing her own *ranchería*. That she obtained the allegiance of other *rancherías* may attest to her fame and influence as a sorceress. Had not Corporal Verdugo been warned about the impending attack, the results could have been as bad or worse than the affair at San Diego in 1775. The plot failed, and no scheme of this magnitude was developed for another 25 years. Nicolás was sent into perpetual exile at San Diego. Toypurina was converted to Christianity at Monterey while in exile there, where she eventually married a soldier and raised a family. The other two leaders were released after two years' imprisonment. The 17 warriors who were captured were each given 25 lashes and sent home. Nothing is mentioned about any attempts to attack the pueblo in the records, although the plot must have created a feeling of apprehension there (AGN-PI:31-37, 42-46).

THE PUEBLO OF LOS ANGELES AND VICINITY IN 1787

The pueblo of Los Angeles had already developed a strong symbiotic relationship with the neighboring Indians by 1787. In exchange for Indian aid in plowing, hoeing, weeding, planting, and harvesting, as well as several household chores, such as grinding corn, Indian laborers received payment in old clothing, grain, cotton yardage, tools such as knives and hatchets, strings of beads, and a variety of other goods.

The settlers, on the other hand, bartered for Indian basketry, sieves, trays, mats, and other articles made of woven grasses. *Tizón* and steatite ware, such as dishes, bowls, and pots, were common household utensils of Indian manufacture.⁵ Tanned deerskins, used by the Mexicans for making leather armor, were a favored trade item, as were the highly-prized sea otter pelts. Sealskins and other furs were also bartered from Indians. Even the rabbitskin capes worn by Indians in cold weather were purchased by settlers for use as garments by their smaller children. The above items were all manufactured by Indians prior to their contacts with the Hispanic culture and were all common articles found in most *rancherías* of coastal California. The exchange of these articles was not confined to the pueblos; the presidial soldiers, too, used many articles of Indian manufacture (Mooney 1900:45).

The importance of Indian labor in the pueblo cannot be underestimated, particularly during the earlier years, when there were but eight or nine settlers and four or five older sons. Lieutenant Francisco Ortega, commander of Santa Barbara, wrote Fages in April of 1784:

I feel that only with the aid of the gentiles have they [the settlers] been able to plant the above crops [35 *fanegas*]⁶ of wheat and twelve of corn but as these [Indians] are at present busy harvesting their abundant wild

seeds, they justly refuse with this good reason to lend a hand in digging and weeding. Because they [the settlers] are few, and some are useless to attend to irrigation and so forth [it is a problem] for the advancement of the settlement [C-A 22:176].

By November of 1784, Ortega was pleased to report that Los Angeles had harvested 1800 *fanegas* of grain, principally corn and wheat. The storehouse and all adobe houses had been finished for about two years, the settlers had added a guardhouse and town hall, and the pueblo was progressing well. The settlers of the pueblo now numbered nine, as another family had been added. Two of the four soldiers garrisoned in the town were planting corn and wheat along with the settlers (C-A 22:184). Two sons of the settler Basilio Rosas, Máximo and Carlos Rosas, were made settlers when they took wives in 1784 and 1785. These two young men married Indian women from the nearby *rancherías* of *Yabit* and *Jajamobit* (SGMR:#200, #211). *Yabit* is the *ranchería* frequently mentioned in San Gabriel Mission records as being adjacent to the pueblo of Los Angeles. Today it is known as *Yangna*, the name ascribed to it by Hugo Reid in his articles on the Indians of Los Angeles County. These marriages may have helped to cement better relations between the pueblo and the neighboring Indians. Certainly this method of interaction with the Indians was an improvement over the soldiers' casual and often violent sexual liaisons of the previous decade.

The Indians of *Yabit ranchería* near the pueblo had been entering San Gabriel Mission as converts since 1778, but by the time the pueblo was founded there were still many left in the *ranchería*. No definite date has as yet been advanced for the final extinction of *Yabit*, or *Yangna*, as a regular Indian *ranchería*. There is reference to the "*ranchería del pueblo*" as late as 1803, but it is not definitely stated that it is the same Indian community as *Yabit*.

Francisco Xavier Alvarado,⁷ *comisionado* of the pueblo from 1795 to 1809, stated in a letter of 1803 that the Indian *ranchería* adjacent to the pueblo had 200 Indians settled there of whom not more than 50 were from the Los Angeles-San Gabriel region. Most of the other Indians came from some distance away, probably from mountain and desert *rancherías*. These 200 Indians were the labor force for the pueblo, and it is not likely that the village next to the pueblo, made up of Indians from diverse areas, was a true Gabrielino village, as the original *Yabit* had been. It is also worth noting that for nearly 200 years southern California agriculture has been dependent upon migrant labor (Taylor #2:45-46).

It is not easy to estimate the population of aboriginal California ca. 1787, but an estimate made in 1795 by Governor Diego de Borica places the gentile population in the vicinity of the mission chain at 20,000 or more. As of December 31, 1793, he said there were 9504 neophytes in the 13 missions, with 1133 *gente de razón*⁸ (non-Indians) in the presidios and pueblos of the province.

Borica, like his predecessor, Fages, was wary of antagonizing the gentiles. He cited the great troubles with Comanches and Navajos in New Mexico, caused, said Borica, by the outrages of the settlers against Indians from these tribes in their employ. Following the above, a California Indian population of about 30,000 would probably be a conservative estimate. There can be little doubt that there had been some attrition of the aboriginal population between 1769, when the conquest of California began, and 1795. New diseases, as well as more virulent strains of diseases already in California were imported. Common childhood diseases, such as measles, chicken pox, and types of influenza, were introduced with almost immediate unfortunate results for the Indian population. The ravages of syphilis and tuberculosis were

already present by 1795 and would steadily continue to cut population growth and reduce the number of Indians still further.

An example of population loss can be deduced from two sets of figures for the coastal Chumash villages between Ventura and Point Concepción between 1777 and 1796. In the former year, Governor Felipe de Neve estimated the population of the coastal *rancherías* at 8000 to 10,000. In 1796, Felipe de Goyoechea, commander of Santa Bárbara Presidio, counted the gentiles in the same region and found 1783 still along the coast. There were also 2150 neophytes in the three missions in that area—San Buenaventura, Santa Bárbara, and Purísima, although these missions had some Indians from the interior and adjacent coastal areas as well. Probably not more than 3500 to 4000 Indians survived after 20 years out of the 8000 to 10,000 estimated by Neve. Even if we suppose that Neve's figures are generous overestimates, it would certainly appear that much of the Chumash coastal population had disappeared (C-A 24:363, C-A 50:230).

There were about 200 soldiers in California by 1787 to guard a coastal strip some 600 miles long and about 30 to 50 miles wide. In this same area, there were 30,000 or more Indians, of whom perhaps 5000 to 6000 were neophytes in the mission communities; the rest were gentiles. None was more aware of the odds in the event of all-out rebellion than Governor Pedro de Fages. He was determined to keep amicable relations with the gentiles, despite his soldiers' lack of tact and their propensity to lord over the "heathen," as they considered the unconverted Indians. The frightening example of New Mexico was always present. The Pueblo Indian rebellion of 1680 was the Yuma affair on a grand scale. There the Indians exterminated or ejected the *gente de razón* completely from New Mexico in a few days and kept them out of the province for a dozen years. To accomplish

this feat the subdued Pueblo people had called on the aid of the independent tribes outside Spanish control. As Borica had stated above, the latter tribes had come to dislike the *gente* intensely after having worked for them. Fages must have feared that such a combination of circumstances was quite possible in California.

FAGES' CODE OF CONDUCT TOWARD INDIANS

In Fages' long document of 1787, entitled *Instructions for the corporal of the guard of the pueblo of Los Angeles as commissioned by the government to direct the alcalde and regidores* (C-A 3:145-149), the acting corporal of the pueblo guard, Vicente Félix, was made the actual head of the pueblo, responsible to the commander at Santa Bárbara, who in his turn was responsible to the governor. This was a short chain of command, which would keep Los Angeles on a tight tether. It was an appealing method of organization to Fages as a lieutenant colonel, although it abridged some privileges of self-government which towns in Mexico and other parts of the Spanish Empire traditionally enjoyed. The *alcalde* and *regidores*, or mayor and councilmen, were left with little actual power.

Rules one through nine of the *Instruction* were concerned with defining the powers and duties of the corporal, or *comisionado*, as he was to be called, and those of the *alcalde*. Félix was not only to be in command of the four-man garrison, but was also to be a sort of police chief, military liaison, agricultural supervisor, and Indian agent. Rules ten through sixteen concern interaction between settlers and Indians and methods of dealing with Indians. These instructions are paraphrased below.

Rule ten states that one of the matters which the *comisionado* must correct is the "*pernicious familiarity* that is had in the pueblo *with the gentile Indians*" (italics Fages'), a situation which must be handled

without causing the Indians any notable embarrassment or surprise which could alter their peaceful conduct. Their presence in the pueblo must be regulated in conformity with a schedule and a system. Indians should never be allowed inside the settlers' houses. When they grind corn, it must be done in the corridors or patios of the houses, not inside the homes, even if the grinders are women. Indians should not be permitted to sleep inside the houses; if they come from distant *rancherías* and wish to remain in the pueblo for a few days to work for settlers, they will be permitted to stay all together by the side of the guardhouse, where they will be under the watchful eye of the sentinel.

Rule eleven is entitled "*Strict rules on intercourse with Indians and the means of securing them for work.*" When it is necessary to go out of the pueblo and into the *rancherías* to recruit workers, it must be done with the absolute permission of the *alcalde* and *comisionado*, who must select two or more men, and when one of the two officials cannot go, one of the men must be a man of trust, who will be placed in charge. Whenever possible the captains, or chiefs, of the *rancherías* will be asked for workers. No Indian will be forced to go along to work at any time, nor will they be promised anything that there is no intention of giving them. No settler at any time will be allowed to go alone to the *rancherías*, particularly not without the permission of the *alcalde* and *comisionado*. Should anyone do so, he will be punished with a week in the stocks and be obliged to pay someone for the work he normally would do. Women and children are prohibited from going to the *rancherías* also, even the one near the pueblo.

Rule twelve states, "*Recommended that they be treated justly, etc.*" As in the present practice, direct supervision of Indian labor is necessary, thus making sure that the laborers do their work satisfactorily. Make sure that

Indians' complaints are heard, with special reference to bad treatment and punishment because their work was defective. For this reason, it is necessary not to leave them unsupervised in their work, but rather they should have someone there to show them.

Rule thirteen is the "*Rule against the corporal mistreatment of Indians.*" Concerning those who mistreat or do injury to Indians, though they be but children, punishment will be administered according to the amount of injury done to them. In cases of slight harm done to Indians, the *alcalde* or *comisionado* will administer the punishment to the settler with the knowledge of and in the presence of the Indian, so he will thus be satisfied and not need to seek revenge on his own.

Rule fourteen concerns the "*Method of punishing Indians.*" When an Indian or Indians shoot cattle or mules with arrows, or do other considerable damage or theft, etc., and it is possible to catch them in the act or outside their *ranchería*, the captain of their *ranchería* should be sent for, he should be told of the offense committed, and in his presence the criminal should be ordered 15 or 20 lashes, "with humanity," and he will be warned that the entire punishment will not be administered out of "pure compassion" and hope of reform on his part. Such a demonstration will be to inspire fear into him, and not for vengeance, for they wish to do him no harm, nor do they wish him to do harm to them, etc.

Rule fifteen states simply that it is recommended that the *alcalde* and the *comisionado* strictly obey and follow the above rules concerning the treatment of Indians.

Rule sixteen is entitled "*Dispositions for security against the Indians.*" The *rancherías* near the pueblo, being composed of Indians who have always been known to inhabit the district, will only be required to move a certain distance away from the pueblo. Those

who come from the mountains or from other distant areas should not be allowed to live at the pueblo. The *comisionado* should, in both cases, use tact and diplomacy in having them move where it is convenient, taking care by day as well as by night whenever the Indians congregate for their dances, since during these occasions there are more people together, and they could take advantage of the situation to attempt a revolt. By no means should they be allowed to visit the pueblo in large groups merely for their own amusement, bearing in mind also that it must be avoided in letting them know exactly the settlers' comings and goings, and the hours in which the women and children are alone in the pueblo.

In the above code there are an additional seven points listed, among which is stated that the pueblo must leave half of its men at home on Sundays, while the other half of the men accompany the women and children to church at San Gabriel, nine miles away. In this manner, the pueblo would not be left unguarded. The settlers must take their turn at sentinel duty, just as the soldiers do.

A final point, added as a postscript, adds "*By no means should Christian Indians from the mission [San Gabriel] be allowed [italics his] in the pueblo, unless the comisionado is aware that they have the permission of the padres; those who come without permission for the first time will be warned, threatened and sent to their padres, if they be men. If they be women, you will only give notice to their reverences for their correction.*"

The above code was written at San Gabriel on January 3, 1787, and signed by Governor Fages and *comisionado* Félix on January 13, 1787. This was on the eve of the arrival of substantial numbers of new settlers, for the most part discharged soldiers and their families from the presidios, who may not have been as willing to obey the commands of a private soldier as had been the earlier settlers. Félix had been acting under provisional orders

from Governors Neve and Fages since 1781 in the pueblo but had never formally been made a corporal, although he was frequently called corporal by his superior officers. The *Instruction* formalized his position as head of the pueblo in certain fields.

In reading between the lines in Fages' orders concerning Indians, it is suggested that some *pobladores*, or settlers, had permitted their Indian laborers to stay overnight from time to time, and that they often allowed them inside their homes. It appears that normally a most cordial relationship existed between the local Indians and the settlers. It also suggests, however, that certain settlers were not above punishing the Indians for what the settlers decided was faulty work. It is doubtful if they struck their employees, but rather refused to pay them their promised full amount or perhaps paid them nothing at all. Such treatment is suggested by the admonishment of not promising anything that there is no intention of giving the Indians. Apparently a relaxed atmosphere existed in the pueblo in regard to the comings and goings of Indians, and Fages sought to regulate this also. Judging from the above, there is reason to suppose that the settler-Indian relationship was, with few exceptions, cordial.

For a man who was considered something of a martinet, stubborn, and violent, the rules concerning Indians and their treatment are relatively restrained. Though the lashing of Indians and the assumption that they must be punished for eating cattle grazing on land they must have certainly regarded as theirs may seem to modern minds more than merely presumptuous, it was nothing of the sort in colonial Mexico. Colonial officials felt it their right and duty to modify such behavior by Indians and too often did so with less restraint than Fages would have deemed wise. Nevertheless, Fages' code was probably more motivated out of enlightened self-interest than out of pure humanitarian concern for

the Indians. His severity with his own soldiers and colonists would certainly suggest that he was not a simple humanitarian, although some criticism of him by his soldiers would certainly suggest that he was no racist either.

He remained wary of the Indian to the last of his days as governor of California. In February, 1791, he penned a letter to the new governor on his way to assume command at Monterey and, among several other things, warned him not to send out expeditions in search of runaway neophytes, which could lead to clashes with the gentiles, but rather to send word to gentile captains, promising presents in exchange for the return of the runaways. If expeditions must be sent out, wrote Fages (C-A 6:155), someone should be in charge who knows how to behave with the gentiles, and he cautioned the new governor about the "innumerable Indians who surround us."

*Los Angeles County Museum
of Natural History*

NOTES

1. Vicente Félix was born in Alamos, Sonora, in 1741, the son of Jose Félix and Manuela Esquer. He and his family came in the Anza Expedition to California in 1776, and Félix was placed in the San Diego Company, serving most of the time at San Gabriel. Although only a private soldier, he was placed in command of the little four-man detachment at Los Angeles, and for this reason he was often called "corporal." Félix was in charge at Los Angeles from 1781 to 1794, when he was replaced by Corporal Ignacio Olivera. He was at San Diego from 1795 to 1797, when he retired from the army, received the landgrant now known as Griffith Park, in Los Angeles, and spent his remaining days around the pueblo. Los Feliz Boulevard, near the Park, is named after the family. The famous Mexican actress, Maria Felix, also from Alamos, is probably a distant kin of his descendants.
2. The Cerro Prieto, today known as El Otatal, is an extinct volcanic formation about 45 miles south of Hermosillo, Sonora. Although the Cerro Prieto is occasionally confused with the Bacatete Mountains, a Yaqui stronghold to the southeast, in Sonoran histories, Nicolas Lafora's map of Sonora made in 1769, leaves little doubt as to its location. The Seri Indians used the lava mazes as hiding-places in the same manner the Modoc warriors did a century later in northern California.
3. Efforts to contain Apache raids against Sonoran communities resulted in a system of forts on the Apache frontier. By the 1760s there were three forts, or presidios, facing the Apaches: Tubac, Terrenate, and Fronteras, with about 150 soldiers. The Apaches were much too astute as fighters to be halted with such defenses, and it was not until the 1790s, when the line was strengthened with three more presidios and the force was quadrupled to nearly 600 soldiers, many of them Opates and Pimas, that the Apaches were curtailed in their raiding. Several Apache groups settled near the presidios and accepted a ration from the Spanish government between 1796 and 1832.
4. Lieutenant Jose Francisco de Ortega, commander of San Diego, sent a sergeant to investigate rumors of sexual misconduct between soldiers and Indian women at San Juan Capistrano. One soldier was removed to San Diego under arrest in July, 1777, and others were punished by the corporals of their guard companies. It seems that some gentile Indian women had been offered by one of the Indian men of their village.
5. Mary Mooney's informant, Teresa Sepulveda, mentions two kinds of stoneware used in Los Angeles: *pedra azul*, also called soapstone, and *mal pais*, probably the reddish ware similar to the *Tizón* pottery found recently in the excavation of the San Diego Presidio. Most shards found in the kitchen were of this red stoneware, probably used by the soldiers. The bits of glazed pottery from Mexico, Europe, or Asia were uncommon.
6. The *fanega*, a Spanish dry-measure, was considered to be about two and one-half bushels in California. This measure and others differed in amount from place to place in the Spanish Empire.
7. Francisco Xavier Alvarado was born at Loreto, Baja California, in 1756, the son of Juan Bautista Alvarado and Maria Dolores Castro. He replaced Ignacio Olivera as *comisionado* of Los Angeles only a

few months after the latter had replaced Vicente Féliz in that position. Alvarado remained in charge of the pueblo until 1809 and, like Féliz, later retired there.

8. *Gente de razón* literally means "people of reason," to distinguish persons who were not Indians from America's original inhabitants. Indians had the legal status of minors under Spanish colonial law and were therefore not "of reason." The term has been misused by English-speaking persons to mean the upper class, Spanish nobility, or those of purely European ancestry. Anyone with some admixture of European or African ancestry was *gente de razón*.

REFERENCES

Primary Sources

California Archives: Designated C-A, with volume number and page in notes; these are transcripts of the original records which were made by H. H. Bancroft's researchers during the 1870s in San Francisco. The original records were destroyed later in the fire of 1906.

Archivo General de la Nacion: Designated AGN-PI (Provincias Internas) in notes; the records are in Mexico City. A copy of these records is in the T. W. Temple Collection of the Los Angeles County

Museum of Natural History in the portion concerning the 1785 revolt at San Gabriel.

Archivo General de Indias: Designated AGI in notes; the citation on Fages comes from a transcript in the T. W. Temple Collection of the Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History. A microfilm of the same *hoja de servicio* is in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, and the original records are in Sevilla, Spain.

Alexander Taylor Collection: Photocopies of this collection, designated as Taylor #2 (Box No. 2), are at the Huntington Library, San Marino. The originals are in the archives of the Archdiocese of San Francisco.

San Gabriel Marriage Records: Designated as SGMR in notes, are identified by their number #200 and #211), performed in July, 1784, and January, 1785.

Secondary Sources

Bancroft, Hubert Howe
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