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would almost certainly be destroyed in any significant grade or curve modifications. Forewarned is forearmed.

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The two Luiseño elders responsible for these data are both deceased. Their names have been deleted in respect for their privacy, but can be provided to researchers with a need to know.

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Patterns of Demographic Change in the Missions of Southern Baja California

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BETWEEN 1720 and 1737, the Jesuits established six missions among the Indian groups of southern Baja California. By the end of the Jesuit period in the peninsula, in 1768, only a thousand Indians remained in the missions. Disease and a major rebellion against the mission regime between 1734 and 1737 contributed to rapid depopulation, and in 1768 and 1769 the government ordered a major redistribution of population within the region and a repopulation using Indians from missions to the north.

In 1768, *Visitador-General* José de Gálvez initiated a major population relocation that changed the ethnic composition of the southern missions. The goal was to repopulate the missions with greatest agricultural potential, and thus increase agricultural production in the peninsula and supply the mining communities of Santa Ana and San Antonio with food. Gálvez ordered the closing of Dolores and San Luis Gonzaga missions and the relocation of Guaycura Indians from these two missions to Todos Santos. The surviving Indians from Todos Santos were removed to Santiago. Gálvez ordered another 500 people moved to other missions. Some 200 went from Guadalupe to La Purísima. San Francisco Xavier contributed 44 individuals to San José del Cabo, and sent 25 families to Loreto. Sixteen families and 10 single men moved from Santa Gertrudis and San Francisco de Borja to Comondú (Engstrand 1976:51-52; Palou 1966,I:137, 167; Aschmann 1959:181). Table 1 summarizes population changes resulting from Gálvez's plan.

Table 1
REDISTRIBUTION OF MISSION
POPULATIONS IN 1768

Mission	Pop. in 1768	Population Probable After Redistribution	Pop. in 1771
Dolores	458	Mission Closed	
San Luis Gonzaga	288	Mission Closed	
Todos Santos	83	746	170
Santiago	178	261	70
San José del Cabo	71	115	50
Loreto	99	191	160
San Francisco Xavier	482	346	212
Guadalupe	544	350	140
Santa Gertrudis	1,360	1,310	1,138
San Francisco de Borja	1,640	1,630	1,479
Comondú	330	380	216
Purísima	152	350	168

Source: Jackson (1981:324).

This report examines the degree of demographic collapse in the southern missions. A study of population change in the region, however, poses a number of problems of interpretation. The early Jesuit figures came after a number of epidemics had already attacked the population and after the 1734-1737 rebellion, so there is little indication of mission population levels prior to 1734. Secondly, few sacramental registers survive, so the analysis is largely based on censuses. Nevertheless, the data summarized below adequately convey a sense of the demographic disaster which overcame the Guaycura, Pericu, and other ethnic-linguistic groups in southern Baja California. Finally, little quantitative information on the population of La Paz Mission (1720-1749) exists, so that mission is not discussed here.

In addition to the general pattern of demographic collapse in the southern Baja California missions, we shall examine one consequence of Gálvez's 1768 population redistribution plan, the short-term reaction of the Guaycura relocated to Todos Santos. The plan envisioned a radical transformation in the life style of the Guaycura, and the attempt to transform hunter-gatherers into farmers overnight created considerable disaf-

fection. The consequences of the relocation of the Guaycura to Todos Santos demonstrates both the failure of Gálvez's plan and the failure of Spanish Indian policy in Baja California.

The following summary contributes in a small way to the growing series of regional studies that document the demographic collapse of the Indian populations in the Americas between the late fifteenth to early twentieth centuries. It completes the picture of demographic change in Baja California as presented in two earlier articles in this journal. I have argued in some detail elsewhere (Jackson 1981) that epidemic disease was the primary cause of demographic collapse in Baja California, and have shown the impact of individual epidemics on mission populations. Therefore, I will not duplicate the effort by discussing in detail individual epidemics that hit the southern Baja California missions. The first mission to be examined is Santiago.

SANTIAGO (ESTABLISHED 1721)

The record for the first two decades of Mission Santiago's operation is far from complete, and the first surviving census comes from 1744 following a number of devastating epidemics and the impact of rebellion. The census reported a population of 449, but noted that there had been 1,000 Indians before the 1742 epidemic (Tempis 1744). Before the epidemic, the population lived in three villages; later the Jesuits relocated the entire population to the *cabe-cera*. The population continued to decline during the last Jesuit years. There were 232 in 1755, 198 in 1762, and 178 in 1768 (Jackson 1981:339). As a result of the 1768 population redistribution, Santiago received the remnant population from Todos Santos, which probably raised the population of Santiago to 261 (Jackson 1981:324). The 1769

Table 2
BAPTISMS RECORDED AT
SANTIAGO AND SAN JOSÉ DEL CABO
1739-1769

Year	Indian Baptisms		Non-Indian Baptisms
	Santiago	San José del Cabo	
1739*	17		
1740	(8)		
1741			
1742	(28)		1
1743	20		
1744	(13)		
1745			
1746	(12)		
1747	11		
1748	(4)		
1749			
1750			
1751			
1752			
1753	(19)		3
1754	(24)		2
1755	(1)		
1756	(10)	(3)	
1757			
1758			
1759			
1760			
1761			
1762	(9)	(6)	2
1763	6	3	1
1764	7	4	2
1765	12	2	
1766	7	2	
1767	12	3	
1768	4		
1769	17		

* Between 1739 and 1748, baptisms at Santiago were recorded at three locations: Santiago, "la playa" (beach), and "la sierra" (mountains). Source: Santiago Mission Baptismal Register, Los Angeles Archdiocese Archive.
Parentheses indicate incomplete data for the year.

measles epidemic and other epidemic outbreaks, however, greatly reduced the population, and the numbers continued to decrease in subsequent years. There were a mere 70 in 1771, 43 in 1782, and 23 in 1791. In 1794, the government ordered the mission closed, and moved the survivors to San José del Cabo (Jackson 1981:324, 339-340).

A fragment of the Santiago Mission baptismal register survives, but it tells little about demographic patterns at Santiago other than a notion about crude birth rates. In the year 1768, there were 23 births per

thousand population at Santiago, which is on the low side. Table 2 summarizes baptisms at Santiago and San José del Cabo, which was administered from Santiago after 1749. Figures in parentheses represent incomplete data for the year.

NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LOS DOLORES (ESTABLISHED 1721)

In 1721, missionary Clemente Guillen, S.J., removed the population of Malibat Mission, established in 1705, to a site in the middle of territory occupied by Guaycura, and changed the name of the mission to Dolores (Guillen 1744). The population of the mission stood at 1,000 in 1744, but declined over the next twenty years. It was 624 in 1755, 573 in 1762, and 458 in 1768 when Gálvez ordered the mission closed (Jackson 1981:322, 339).

SAN JOSÉ DEL CABO (ESTABLISHED 1730)

An early report dating from 1733 gave a population of 1,040 for the mission. The next year the Indians revolted, and normalcy did not return until the early 1740s. By 1755, only 73 Indians lived at the mission, 63 in 1762, and 71 in 1768. In the last-named year 12 families moved from San Francisco Xavier to San José del Cabo, and the population probably totaled 115 following the relocation. In the 1769 measles epidemic, however, only one individual from the 12 families survived. The population totaled 50 in 1771, was 23 in 1782, grew to 84 after the suppression of Santiago and relocation of the population from that mission to San José del Cabo, and was 109 in 1808. The small remnant population experienced some growth at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries (Jackson 1981:322, 339-340). In 1857, the largely mestizo population of San José del Cabo to-

taled 1,091, making it one of the most populous communities in the peninsula (Jackson 1981:335).

TODOS SANTOS (ESTABLISHED 1733)

Todos Santos Mission developed as a *visita* (subsidiary settlement) of La Paz Mission (established 1720), and in 1733 the Jesuits established a mission there with the name of Santa Rosa. In 1749, the Jesuits moved La Paz Mission to Todos Santos, and changed the name of the second named place to Nuestra Señora del Pilar. The population stood at 151 in 1755, 93 in 1762, and 83 in 1768. As a part of the population redistribution of 1768, the government moved the Guaycura populations of Dolores del Sur and San Luis Gonzaga to Todos Santos, a total of some 746 people, and removed the population of Todos Santos to Santiago.

The Guaycura were semi-sedentary hunter-gatherers who collected seeds, fruit, and shellfish along the coast and hunted small mammals and reptiles. Massey identified 36 Guaycura *rancherías*, and one group, the Callejue, lived just north of Todos Santos Mission (Massey 1949:286). Because of the shortage of water and arable land at the mission *cabecera*, agricultural production was low, and the bulk of the mission population continued to live in their *rancherías* and continued to collect wild foods as they had done prior to the arrival of the missionaries. The Jesuits brought the Indians to the *cabecera* periodically to receive religious instruction and hear mass (Guillen 1744). The conversion of the Guaycura was superficial at best, and as late as 1744 missionary Clemente Guillen complained of the persistence of the shaman who undermined the project of conversion to Catholicism (Guillen 1744). Furthermore, attempts to modify the Guaycura life style largely failed.

Once relocated to Todos Santos, however, Gálvez and Franciscan missionary Juan Ramos attempted to employ the Guaycura as agricultural laborers in the mission fields. Francisco Palou, O.F.M., stated (1966,I:143):

that the Guicuros [sic] Indians had never settled down in their native missions of La Pasion [Dolores] and San Luis, but lived in the mountains like deer, supporting themselves on wild foods, and attending Mass at the mission when it was the turn of their Village . . . The visitor [Jose de Galvez] moved all these villages to Todos Santos to live in a settlement. As they were accustomed to live in the woods it seemed hard to them, and they immediately began to run away.

The Guaycura translated their disaffection into two forms of resistance: mass flight from the mission, and the theft or destruction of mission property. Guaycura disaffection was only exacerbated by a devastating measles epidemic in 1769 which killed more than 300 people (Palou 1966,I:177). In 1770, California governor Felipe de Barri assigned additional soldiers to the mission to chase fugitives (Palou 1966,I:87). Furthermore, Gálvez ordered the hiring of laborers to work the mission lands, and overseers to direct the labor of the Indians.

In April of 1770, a delegation of Guaycura went to Loreto to complain of the cruelties of the overseer, and of the shortage of food at the mission. Ramos apparently did not allow the Guaycura to collect wild foods (Palou 1966,I:176). Ramos and his overseers had increasingly resorted to the threat and use of corporal punishment to get the Guaycura to work, and had denied them access to food sources outside of the mission (Palou 1966,I:139). Palou, who was the Father-President of the Baja California missions during Serra's absence in Alta California, responded to these charges by denying

their validity. The Indians had made the whole thing up, and Palou defended the *mayordomo* on the grounds that the Indians had been beaten on Ramos's orders. Palou in turn charged that one Guaycura had beaten himself in order to lay the blame on the overseer (Palou 1966,I:140).

In September of 1771, Palou reported that the population of Todos Santos had dropped to 170, of whom some 30 were still fugitives "in the woods" (Palou 1966,I:177). Palou further noted (1966,I:166) that

but few remained, because of the great number of deaths in the epidemics that had occurred at that mission; that the few who had remained had not settled down, but constantly ran away; and that in the mission they do nothing but destroy property, stealing everything they can, not sparing even sacred things, for they had just stolen a silver cruet from the church.

Palou further wrote (p. 176):

The new settlers [the Guaycura] have been so ungrateful for the good that has been done them in changing their fortunes that they have not been willing to settle down there, and only by threats to remain for a time, but more to destroy what the mission has than to advance it.

In the years immediately following relocation to Todos Santos, the Guaycura population dropped rapidly, and the survivors failed to accommodate to their new home. The Franciscans wanted to radically modify the Guaycura life style by making them into farmers over a short period of time, but the Indians responded by passive forms of resistance, flight and destruction of mission property. The Franciscans responded with increased use of corporal punishment, and had to hire non-Indians to work the land at Todos Santos and to direct Indian labor. After 1771, the Indian population continued

to decline, but at a slower rate. There were 88 Indians in 1800 and 82 in 1808 (Jackson 1981:322-324, 339-341). By the first decades of the nineteenth century, the remnant Guaycura population was Indian only in name, and was rapidly being absorbed culturally and biologically into the growing *mestizo* population (Tiol 1813).

SAN LUIS GONZAGA (ESTABLISHED 1737)

The Jesuits established San Luis Gonzaga in order to convert the Guaycura living west of Dolores del Sur. In 1744, the population of the mission was 516; it was 352 in 1755, 300 in 1762, and 288 in 1768. In the last-named year the government ordered the suppression of San Luis Gonzaga, and the population relocated to Todos Santos (Jackson 1981:322-324, 339).

During the course of the eighteenth century, the Indian population living in the southern Baja California missions declined. The largest drop occurred between the years 1768 and 1773 under the impact of a new series of epidemics introduced into the peninsula following increased communications with the mainland, the movement of peoples with the Jesuit expulsion in 1768, and the mounting of the expedition in 1769 to occupy Alta California. In 1755, the population of five missions was 1,432, and in 1768 it was 1,078 (Jackson 1981:339). With the resettlement of 1768, the population of three missions was 1,122, but it dropped to 306 in 1773, a decline of 73 percent. There were 166 in two missions in 1800, and 190 in 1808, representing some growth in the population of San José del Cabo (Jackson 1981: 322, 339-340). While the Indian population of the region declined, the non-Indian population grew around several small mining camps and farms. In 1804, 980 non-Indian settlers lived in the southern part of the

peninsula, constituting 64 percent of the settler population living in the peninsula (Gallego 1804). In 1808, 988 lived in the south, 62 percent of the total settler population (Jackson 1985:468). During the early decades of the nineteenth century the remnant Indian population was absorbed into the growing *mestizo* settler population.

CONCLUSIONS

The Spanish goal of recreating the socioeconomic structure of the Indian communities of Central Mexico through the congregation of the Indians into spatially compact settlements and their transformation into a dependent labor force largely failed. The play of demographic factors condemned the Indians of Southern Baja California to a rapid extinction, both in cultural and biological terms. At the same time the policy initiated by Gálvez in 1768 and 1769 with the support of the Franciscan missionaries brought in to replace the expelled Jesuits only exacerbated the problem of the destruction of the Indian populations by subordinating a more realistic policy of gradual acculturation as practiced by the Black Robes to the needs of the state defined by an ongoing reform program. Shocked by the loss of Havana in 1762 to the English, King Charles III initiated a series of military and fiscal reforms designed to improve the defense of the Americas and to generate new revenues to pay for the costs of an expanded military program. Gálvez's Indian policy in Baja California was designed primarily to rationalize the existing economy with the goal of perhaps generating taxes or at least to limit government expenditures on the peninsula. An increase in agriculture production in the well-watered southern section of the peninsula would have gone a long way toward realizing self-sufficiency, and the production of surplus

for sale in the nearby mining centers would have cut the costs of production by lowering food costs. As we have seen, the policy of converting the Guaycura into farmers, while a rational policy, failed to take into consideration the limitations of acculturation.

The activity in Baja California in 1768 and 1769 hastened the extinction of the Indians in the southern part of the peninsula. Increased contact with the mainland and the influx of personnel for the expedition to Alta California facilitated the spread of disease into the peninsula, especially in the 1769 measles epidemic. This again was a consequence of Gálvez's frontier policy, as he placed emphasis on the occupation of Alta California for geographical and political reasons. The expedition northward with the supply of foodstuffs in large quantities contributed to the material decline of the Baja California missions, and incoming soldiers and missionaries brought deadly pathogens that accelerated the process of demographic collapse in the peninsula. The destruction of the Indian population of Baja California was unintentional, but the missionaries and Spanish officials adopted policies that directly contributed to the process.

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