

Notes

N.B. The names of most printed sources are given in abbreviated forms. See the bibliography for full information on each. Names of source archives are abbreviated to initial letters (AGNM, etc.). See "Abbreviations Used in Appendixes and Notes" on page 394 for their full names. The recurring titles of "Padre" and "Padres" are abbreviated respectively to "P." and "PP." In most cases, no citations are provided for particular baptisms, marriages, or burials. The reader may assume that these facts were derived from the record books of the appropriate missions. Information on these mission records will be found in the bibliography.

Chapter 1: *The Road to California*

1. Venegas, "Empressas Apostolicas," párrafo 226.
2. Chapman, *A History of California*, pp. 44-46, 57-63. The role of popular literature in Spain's New World adventure is described in Weber, *Spanish Frontier*, pp. 23-24.
3. Clavijero, *History of California*, pp. 119-24; Chapman, *A History of California*, pp. 48-52.
4. Mathes, *La geografía mitológica de California*.
5. Chapman, *A History of California*, chaps. VII-XI.
6. Schurz, *The Manila Galleon*, pp. 232-34, 241-46.
7. The long history of efforts to open California as a Spanish domain is reviewed in Río, *A la diestra mano de las Indias*.

8. Sauer, *The Road to Cibola*, passim. More details for the Spanish occupation of the important vicinities of Tepic and Culiacán, for example, are found in Gerhard, *North Frontier of New Spain*, pp. 138-43, 256-61; in Hu-de Hart, *Missionaries, Miners, and Indians*, p. 14. As a condition of his grant, an encomendero was charged to protect, convert, and civilize the Indians on his land. In return, he could exploit their labor and pay a share of his profit to the crown. He was required to support the priests necessary to provide spiritual and scholastic instruction to the Indians. Lockhart provides an excellent overview of the *encomienda* in Spanish America in "Encomienda and Hacienda." See also Bolton, "The Mission as a Frontier Institution," pp. 43ff.; Haring, *Spanish Empire*, p. 20.

9. Weber, *Spanish Frontier*, pp. 71-72, 95, 100; Lockhart and Schwartz, *Early Latin America*, p. 157.

10. Fray Juan Caballero Carranco, who accompanied the Lucenilla expedition to California in 1668, indicated a contemporary name for the Gulf of California in the words, "... we began to navigate the passage [between Sinaloa and California] which, on modern maps, is called the Vermillion Sea." Caballero, *The Pearl Hunters of 1668*, p. 38. An example of just such a map is that of the Audiencia of Guadalajara, published in 1656 and reproduced in *Ibid.*, p. 88.

11. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest*, pp. 46-51, 86-91, 105-7.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 306-7. All Jesuit missionaries attempted to shield their converts from economic

exploitation by others, but their dream was to achieve the kind of mission autonomy that had been established by their brother Jesuits in Paraguay. There, as a reaction to abuses of Indians by encomenderos, the Society of Jesus claimed vast areas—occupied by Guaraní Indians—as purely mission reductions, excluding Europeans who might wish to develop the area and claim rights to Indian labor. The case became a cause celebre; it was hailed as a veritable Utopia by some of the religious and intellectuals, but generated widespread opposition to Jesuit power and practices among entrepreneurs and bureaucrats of the royal treasury. Morner, *Jesuits in the La Plata Region*.

13. Ibid. A particularly aggravated conflict between secular and religious authority, involving the jailings of Jesuit missionaries, the excommunication of a captain, and extended acrimony came to a boil in the Sinaloa-Sonora area in the 1650s. Faría, *Apologético defensorio*.

14. The distinguishing characteristics of the Jesuit order are discussed in Lockhart and Schwartz, *Early Latin America*, pp. 156-57.

15. Some authorities contend that the title *general* began as *superior general* in which *general* served as an adjective as it does in other Jesuit titles, like *visitador general*. However, the head of the order is usually called the general or padre general, even in Jesuit writings. That usage is employed hereinafter.

16. Haring, *The Spanish Empire*, pp. 174-75, 191. A detailed picture of Jesuit influence, industry, and business acumen in New Spain—and the opposition that it engendered—is found in Konrad, *Jesuit Hacienda*.

17. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest*, pp. 46-107. The story of the Society of Jesus in Sinaloa and Sonora is told at length from the perspective of a modern Jesuit in Dunne, *Black Robes on the West Coast*.

18. P. Provincial Luis de Bonifaz to P. Visitador of Sinaloa, 15 October 1643. Venegas, "Empresas Apostolicas," párrafo 96. As a result, Porter y Casanate's expedition included Jesuit PP. Jacinto Cortés and Andrés Báez, two Sinaloan missionaries. Ibid., párrafo 99.

19. P. Eusebio Francisco Kino has been the subject of much scholarly and popular attention. For biographical treatment, see Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Rim of Christendom*, and the introductions and footnotes to Ernest J. Burrus's several Kino-related studies (see Bibliography, under "Burrus" and "Kino").

20. Atondo, *First from the Gulf to the Pacific*, pp. 13-16.

21. Bolton, *Rim of Christendom*, p. 125-28, 171.

22. Venegas, "Empresas Apostolicas," párrafo 173. The Jesuit provincial of New Spain in 1686 was P. Luis del Canto.

23. "And should there be at times any scarcity of provisions in California, they could be imported by small craft from the productive nearby regions, namely the lands of the Seris, Guaymas, Sinaloans [Mayos], and Yaquis." P. Kino to the Duchess of Aveiro, 16 November 1686, *Kino Writes to the Duchess*, p. 198. A few months later, Kino wrote about new mines just opened at Los Frailes, Sonora, saying, "Certain it is that so great an increase of the royal revenues . . . will be obtained . . . from these new mines that it really seems that Our Lord repays abundantly all the expenses which can be incurred effecting the conversion of California. . . ." Kino felt that God had arranged that, at the very time he and his fellow Jesuits were in California at the King's expense, "such wealth should have been found right here, almost within sight of California itself. . . ." 15 February 1687., Ibid., p. 206.

24. Venegas, "Empresas Apostolicas," párrafo 174. P. Piccolo's last post in the Tarahumara was at Carichic.

25. Both men, as Italians, had early and fervent devotion to the Loretan manifestation of the Virgin. P. Kino had led a recitation of the Litanies of Our Lady of Loreto in California in 1683. Kino, *Kino Reports to Headquarters*, p. 41. While seriously ill in the late 1670s, P. Salvatierra made a vow to build a replica in Mexico City of the famous chapel or "house" of the Virgin. The Holy House of the Virgin in Nazareth, a small brick building, was believed to have been flown by angels to Loreto, Italy, in 1294. Salvatierra's eldest brother, a Jesuit in Italy, sent drawings and dimensions and P. Juan María raised the funds and supervised the reproduction. Venegas, *El apóstol*, pp. 42-52.

26. Venegas, "Empresas Apostolicas," párrafo 175. Several works, published and manuscript, eighteenth-century and modern, tell the individual or connected stories of PP. Kino and Salvatierra as they planned and achieved a Jesuit mission to California. Useful selections include the following: Venegas, "Empresas Apostolicas," párrafos 173-241; Venegas, *El apóstol*, pp. 78-123; Venegas, *Noticia*, vol. 2, abridged and rewritten by Burriel, pp. 1-21; Salvatierra, *Selected Letters*, pp. 27-33; Bolton, *Rim of Christendom*, pp. 227-28.

27. Kino, *Historical Memoir of the Pimería Alta*, vol. 1, pp. 117-21; vol. 2, p. 240.

28. Venegas, *El apóstol*, pp. 57-76; Salvatierra, *Selected Letters*, pp. 26-27.

29. Many of P. Kino's letters and petitions subsequent to his early labors in the Pimería Alta and adjoining Sonora show that he was alert to every indication that this relatively populous and rich land could support the conquest of California. For example, Kino to P. Juan Marín, 15 February 1687; Kino, *Kino Reports to Headquarters*, pp. 85-89.

30. Venegas, *Noticia*, vol. 2, abridged and rewritten by Burriel, pp. 4-6; Salvatierra, *Selected Letters*, pp. 22-33. PP. Salvatierra and Kino broke no Jesuit rules — or new ground — by planning for California's special problems. Their order had very pragmatic ideas about missionary methodology; campaigns in new areas drew on germane experiences far more than ideology.

31. P. Kino to the Duchess of Aveiro, 16 November 1686. Kino, *Kino Writes to the Duchess*, pp. 195-97.

32. Of P. Salvatierra's visit to the Pimería Alta in 1690-1691, P. Kino wrote: "In all of these journeys the father visitor and I talked together of suspended California, saying that these very fertile lands and valleys of this Pimería would be the support of the scantier and more sterile lands of California — concerning which [discussions], he made a report to Mexico." Kino, *Historical Memoir of the Pimería Alta*, vol. 1, p. 120. Kino reported, upon hearing Salvatierra's admiration for the richness of the Pimería, "I replied that it appeared to me also that these lands, so rich, might be the relief and support of the somewhat sterile and poor California . . . and we [Kino and Salvatierra] planned to return with all possible haste to continue said conquest and conversions." *Ibid.*, II, p. 240.

33. A unique relationship between the Roman Catholic Church and the Spanish crown resulted in the institution called *patronato real* which lay behind Spain's integration of the church and its missionaries into their scheme of conquest and control. Farriss, *Crown and Clergy*, pp. 6-10.

34. Farriss, *Crown and Clergy*, pp. 1-4. Because of their mandate to form and govern missions, opponents found it easy to claim that the missionaries posed as rulers themselves and failed to make converts aware of their rightful king. Both Sonoran and Californian Jesuits were victims of such charges — made more credible by widespread reports of the independent actions of Jesuits in Paraguay.

35. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest*, pp. 306-8.

36. In 1686, while P. Kino still believed that he was to be returned to his mission in California, he

listed ideas to improve its operation; among them: "They [the missionaries] could be given an escort of a few soldiers, carefully picked and to the satisfaction of the Fathers." Kino, *Kino Writes to the Duchess*, pp. 214-15.

37. Konrad, *Jesuit Hacienda*, p. 151 and n. 1.

38. See note 12 of this chapter. Later, a California Jesuit wrote, "You have at hand the letters of our missionaries in Paraguay; they will give you an idea of how we administer our missions here in California." P. Francisco Inama to his sister, 14 October 1755. Ducrue, *Account of the Expulsion*, p. 155. The conclusions of PP. Kino and Salvatierra vis-a-vis the soldiery needed for their conquest were made concrete in the license they eventually received. Venegas, "Empressas Apostolicas," párrafos 1723-24.

39. Before leaving Sonora, P. Salvatierra suggested that P. Kino build a small bark which could carry him to California and then be used to shuttle supplies. Kino, *Historical Memoir of the Pimería Alta*, vol. 1, p. 121.

40. Venegas, "Empressas Apostolicas," párrafos 176-77. P. Provincial Ambrosio de Odón headed the Jesuit Province of New Spain at the time of P. Salvatierra's first petitions.

41. For a practical example of differences between the bureaucracies of Spain and the Society of Jesus, and a description of the efficiency of the Jesuit system, see Konrad, *Jesuit Hacienda*, pp. 120-21.

42. Gibson, *Spain in America*, p. 93. For a succinct essay on the Council of the Indies, see Haring, *The Spanish Empire*, pp. 94-109.

43. Haring, *The Spanish Empire*, pp. 110-14; Gibson, *Spain in America*, pp. 93-95.

44. "So intertwined was the Hapsburg genealogy that all four of Charles II's paternal great-grandparents and three of his maternal great-grandparents were direct descendants of Juana la Loca." Gibson, *Spain in America*, p. 161.

45. Burkholder and Chandler, *From Impotence to Authority*, p. 16; Brading in Bethell, ed. *Colonial Spanish America*, pp. 112, 113.

46. Parry, *The Spanish Seaborne Empire*, p. 280; Burkholder and Chandler, *From Impotence to Authority*, p. 18.

47. Some resistance to the plans and importunings of PP. Kino and Salvatierra, from within their order, doubtless arose because they were seen — quite accurately — as personally ambitious and unwilling to accept previous decisions by Jesuit superiors. Both these attributes flew in the face of the obedience on which the system was based. This

obedience is discussed in Konrad, *Jesuit Hacienda*, pp. 114-15.

48. Venegas, "Empresas Apostolicas," párrafos 176, 178.

49. Royally appointed officials and councils were under orders to cooperate with reasonable proposals from the clergy. Farriss, *Crown and Clergy*, pp. 1-2. But when cooperation also involved funding, the crown's usual desperate financial straits often became the overriding element in the deliberations.

50. Venegas, "Empresas Apostolicas," párrafo 177.

51. P. Jaime Bravo to Bishop of Guadalajara, November 6, 1719, BNM, AF 3/47.1.

52. Venegas, *El apóstol*, pp. 79-80.

53. José de Miranda y Villayzán was born about 1759 in Huejotzingo, near Puebla. P. Salvatierra spoke of him as the earliest benefactor of his California campaign, a man who gave generously from his modest fortune, and whose wife offered her jewels when the colony was most in need. Venegas, "Empresas Apostolicas," párrafos 1962-63.

54. "The *fiscal* was a sort of royal watchdog who defended the king's interests wherever they might appear, but especially in cases affecting the exchequer, the Church, and the rights of Indians. He also tendered legal advice to the viceroy or governor in matters of administration." C. H. Haring, *Spanish Empire*, p. 120 n. 17. Although Haring neglected to add that *fiscales* also advised *audiencias*, he makes plain in the same paragraph that they did so. This fact is evident in repeated documented activities of the Audiencia of Guadalajara during the early years of Jesuit California.

55. Burkholder and Chandler, *From Impotence to Authority*, pp. 22, 23, 59 nn. 147, 165, 197; Venegas, "Empresas Apostolicas," párrafos 531, 1963.

56. Antonio de Miranda y Villayzán corresponded with P. Salvatierra and apparently was sympathetic to the California cause. Salvatierra, *Selected Letters*, pp. 194, note 4; 197-98. At Bishop Galindo's death, Miranda y Villayzán occupied powerful positions, *juez provisor* and *vicario general*, within the cathedral chapter as it directed the affairs of the bishopric during the long process required to replace a bishop. P. Jaime Bravo to Bishop of Guadalajara, November 6, 1719, BNM, AF 3/47.1.

57. Venegas, "Empresas Apostolicas," párrafo 189; Dunne, *Black Robes*, p. 40; Río, *A la diestra mano de las Indias*, pp. 102-3.

58. Venegas, "Empresas Apostolicas," párrafo 178. P. General Tirso González's letters to P. Provincial Diego de Almonacir, dated 21 May 1695 and 28 July 1696, reflect the news and petitions he

had received from PP. Kino and Salvatierra—as well as his positive responses. Kino, *Correspondencia del P. Kino con los generales*, pp. 37-39, 45-47.

59. P. Javier Saeta, in letters dated 15 and 25 March 1695, indicated that he was collecting cattle for California—despite the extreme want of his own new mission at Caborca. Kino, *Historical Memoir of the Pimería Alta*, vol. 1, pp. 136-37.

60. Venegas, "Empresas Apostolicas," párrafo 597.

61. *Ibid.*, párrafos 190-94.

62. "Memorial que el provincial de la Compañía de Jesús, Juan de Palacios, presentó al virrey conde de Moctezuma . . .," BNM, AF 3/42.2.

63. Venegas, "Empresas Apostolicas," párrafo 210.

64. *Ibid.*, párrafo 213.

65. Salvatierra, *Selected Letters*, p. 31, note 49.

66. Venegas, "Empresas Apostolicas," párrafo 215.

67. *Ibid.*, párrafos 178, 190, 201-2; Villavicencio, *Vida de Juan de Ugarte*, pp. 46-48.

68. Early in the conquest of Mexico and in its evangelization, the Catholic Church was tolerant of and interested in many aspects of native cultures—see the great work of Bernardino de Sahagún, for example. But, by the 17th century, religious leaders had largely adopted the viewpoint that all indigenous institutions were impediments that should be erased and replaced by the European and the Christian. Ricard, *Spiritual Conquest*, chap. 17. California Jesuits became aware of Rousseau (1712-1778), and at least one, the opinionated and outspoken Jacobo Baegert, left a record of his reaction: "May God . . . preserve Europe, and especially Germany, from rearing children in the Indian manner, which in part corresponds to the plan outlined by that base-minded zealot J. J. Rousseau in his *Emile*, and also to the moral teachings of some modern philosophers belonging to the same fraternity of dogs. . . ." Baegert, *Observations*, p. 76.

69. Venegas, *El apóstol*, p. 111.

70. Venegas, "Empresas Apostolicas," párrafos 203-6; Venegas, *El apóstol*, pp. 111-12. The Conde de Miravalle had ulterior motives for promoting any economic activity along the coast of northwest New Spain. He had large haciendas in the vicinity of his seat at Compostela on the road between Guadalajara and Sinaloa. He or other men of his family sold cattle, sugar, and wheat. The scope of the Miravalle fortune is sketched in Ladd, *Mexican Nobility*, pp. 28, 74, 92, 158. For some of the count's other contributions to California, see chap. 2, pp. 55-56.

71. Burrus and Zubillaga, *El noroeste*, p. 393.
72. Venegas, *El apóstol*, pp. 112-14.
73. Villavicencio, *Vida de Juan de Ugarte*, 21-22.
74. For a history of Jesuit investments in haciendas in New Spain, see Konrad, *A Jesuit Hacienda in Colonial Mexico*.
75. Venegas, "Empresas Apostolicas," párrafos 1776-84; Velázquez, *El fondo piadoso*. For the administration and uses of the Pious Fund, see chap 5, pp. 137-38.
76. Venegas, "Empresas Apostolicas," párrafo 217. As an experienced missionary, P. Salvatierra knew the necessity for a skilled mayordomo to direct a mission's daily economic activities. The mayordomo of an hacienda had similar duties and needed the same skills. Konrad, *Jesuit Hacienda*, p. 240. Salvatierra also realized that a mayordomo's skills would be invaluable in organizing and moving all the materials that he would need in California. He must have seen Esteban Rodríguez at work, heard of his reputation, and hired him to be his immediate assistant and ultimately to serve as mayordomo of his mission. Rodríguez's eventual military career, as will be seen, arose adventitiously and was foreseen by no one.
77. P. Juan Bautista Copart had accompanied P. Kino and Almirante Atondo into the mid-peninsular linguistic area that included Conchó. Copart made extensive notes from which he created a glossary. Venegas, "Empresas Apostolicas," párrafo 248.
78. Doctor Don José de Miranda y Villayzán was not only prepared to use his position on the audiencia for the benefit of Jesuit California, he also involved himself in the sometimes complicated business of procurement and transportation of supplies destined for California. His letter of 5 January 1700, to P. Procurador Juan de Ugarte indicates the broad range of support activities in which he was engaged. AGI, Guadalajara, 134.
79. Venegas, "Empresas Apostolicas," párrafos 218-20.
80. Bayle, *Misión*, p. 93; Salvatierra, *Selected Letters*, p. 92. Martín de Verráztegui visited Loreto in 1706, acting as a godfather on 13 June to an old woman that Capitán Rodríguez baptized *in casu necessitas*.
81. Venegas, "Empresas Apostolicas," párrafo 221; Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest*, pp. 34-35.
82. Venegas, "Empresas Apostolicas," párrafos 221-22.
83. Venegas, "Empresas Apostolicas," párrafo 226. Bartolomé de Robles was the destitute resident of Rosario that P. Salvatierra reported as a recruit but did not name. P. Salvatierra to P. Juan de Ugarte, 27 November 1697. Salvatierra, *Selected Letters*, p. 96.
84. P. Salvatierra to P. Juan de Ugarte, 27 November 1697. Salvatierra, *Selected Letters*, pp. 95-97.
85. Venegas, "Empresas Apostolicas," párrafo 225.
86. *Ibid.*, párrafo 227; Kino, *Historical Memoir of the Pimería Alta*, vol. 2, p. 241.
87. P. Salvatierra to P. Juan de Ugarte, 27 November 1697. Salvatierra, *Selected Letters*, p. 97.
88. Venegas, "Empresas Apostolicas," párrafo 226.
89. Many converted Indians lacked Hispanic surnames; when they took positions away from their missions, they were usually called by their Christian names followed by "de Guázabas" (from Guázabas), or the like, to indicate their mission of origin and distinguish them from others bearing the same given name.
90. P. Salvatierra to P. Juan de Ugarte, 27 November 1697. Salvatierra, *Selected Letters*, p. 96; Venegas, "Empresas Apostolicas," párrafo 226.
91. Venegas, "Empresas Apostolicas," párrafo 228.
92. Antonio Justo, a Genovese, *Selected Letters*, p. 99. P. Salvatierra sent him ashore at San Bruno as co-leader of a shore party. Venegas, "Empresas Apostolicas," párrafo 233. In 1701, Salvatierra put Justo in charge of a California ship while it was repaired at Matanchel. AHH, leg. 281, exp. 29.
93. P. Salvatierra to P. Juan de Ugarte, Loreto, 27 November 1697. Salvatierra, *Selected Letters*, pp. 98-99.
94. Venegas, "Empresas Apostolicas," párrafo 226.
95. The seventeenth- to eighteenth-century Spanish military rank of *alférez* corresponded to a modern lieutenant, whereas *teniente* (lieutenant) stood above an *alférez* and was usually the second-in-command of a unit with a higher officer, such as a *capitán* or *general*. The term *alférez* is used here without translation because its English equivalent, "ensign," is now understood as a strictly naval term, inappropriate to this use.
96. P. Salvatierra to P. Juan de Ugarte, Loreto, 27 November 1697. Salvatierra, *Selected Letters*, pp. 100-102.
97. Francisco de Itamarra visited San Bruno and San Dionisio, the site that became Loreto, early in 1695. Venegas, "Empresas Apostolicas," párrafo

California Jesuits to pay them in effects rather than money (at prices that the Jesuits could justify by some undisclosed means). AGNM, *Provincias Internas*, vol. 7, exp. 11. There is no reason to believe that this letter was elicited by the California Jesuits by coercion, but it may have been required by them to blunt charges then being made against them by the governor of Sinaloa. Later, the troops periodically gave the procurador the power to use their pay to buy whatever he chose, declaring themselves satisfied with the form in which they received their due. AGNM, *Californias*, vol. 80, exp. 54, fols. 444-46.

99. During his 1683-1685 California adventures, Almirante Atondo had to send ships repeatedly to pick up food from Jesuit missions on the Yaqui River. This relief was doubtless facilitated by the presence of P. Eusebio Kino and two other Jesuits in Atondo's party. Hu-De Hart, *Missionaries, Miners, and Indians*, p. 52; Venegas, "Empresas Apostolicas," párrafos 127-28, 131.

100. López Sarrelangue, "Las misiones jesuitas de Sonora," *Estudios de historia novohispana*, vol. 2 (1967), p. 188.

101. Venegas, "Empresas Apostolicas," párrafos 250, 324, 325, 336, 338, 341; Hu-De Hart, *Missionaries, Miners, and Indians*, p. 53.

102. Kino, *Historical Memoir of the Pimería Alta*, vol. 1, pp. 58; vol. 2, p. 250, 262-64. On 25 August 1700, P. Salvatierra wrote to thank P. Kino in advance for the promised cattle. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 261.

103. P. Kino to P. General González, 8 October 1701. Kino, *Kino Reports to Headquarters*, p. 97. Kino, in a more general report to the king, wrote, ". . . I have penetrated two hundred leagues of new land on more than forty expeditions . . . these new conquests . . . are very productive and fertile lands, with which it would be possible to help California (as is actually being done) . . . with abundant supplies, flour, sheep and horses. . . ." Kino to Philip V, 10 May 1704; *Ibid.*, pp. 117, 119.

104. P. Salvatierra to P. Provincial Francisco de Arteaga, after 21 May 1701, AGNM, *Historia*, vol. 21; Decorme, *Jesuitas mexicanos*, pp. 405-6.

105. P. Provincial Francisco de Arteaga to P. Eusebio Kino, 27 September 1701. Kino, *Historical Memoir of the Pimería Alta*, vol. 1, p. 356. Kino continued to stress his plan to build missions that could raise cattle for California. Kino to P. General Tirso González, 2 February 1702. Kino, *Kino Reports to Headquarters*, p. 103.

106. Salvatierra, *Selected Letters*, pp. 205-8.

107. P. Salvatierra to P. Kino, 21 September

1702. Kino, *Historical Memoir of the Pimería Alta*, vol. 1, p. 367; Venegas, "Empresas Apostolicas," párrafos 472-74, 483, 704.

108. Venegas, "Empresas Apostolicas," párrafo 1736.

109. Venegas, "Empresas Apostolicas," párrafos 527-29. P. Gerónimo Minutilli was installed at Tubutama in December 1703. Bolton, *Rim of Christendom*, p. 525. Bolton reported that health was a factor in Minutilli's transfer to Sonora. Kino, *Historical Memoir of the Pimería Alta*, vol. 2, pp. 84-85.

110. Decorme, *Jesuitas mexicanos*, p. 456.

111. Venegas, "Empresas Apostolicas," párrafos 472-74, 483, 704.

112. *Ibid.*, párrafos 534, 704, 712, 753.

113. Piccolo, *Informe de 1702*, pp. 230-66.

114. Bolton, *Rim of Christendom*, p. 550.

115. January, February 1706. Bolton, *Rim of Christendom*, pp. 547-48.

116. P. Piccolo to P. Eusebio Francisco Kino, Batuc, 19 January 1706. Piccolo, *Informe de 1702*, pp. 254-55.

117. P. Kino to Hermano Juan de Iturberoa, 7 December 1709. Bolton, *Rim of Christendom*, p. 583.

118. Venegas, "Empresas Apostolicas," párrafo 786. P. Basaldúa greeted P. Salvatierra at Guaymas on 8 October 1709, accompanied by recent converts. Venegas, "Empresas Apostolicas," párrafo 833. Jesuit historian P. Constantino Bayle, working from unspecified documents, said that Basaldúa served in Sonora with the title of procurador for California. Bayle, *Misión*, pp. 136-37.

119. P. Basaldúa went to Belem in 1709 [see previous note] and later to adjacent Ráhum where Piccolo wrote to him in 1717. Piccolo, *Informe de 1702*, pp. 199-211. P. Pedro de Ugarte was sent to Tórim about 1711. Venegas, "Empresas Apostolicas," párrafo 774. P. Francisco Peralta took Ugarte's place at Misión de San Juan Bautista de Ligüí in May 1709, but by 1711 he was sent to the mainland to oversee the repairs on a ship. Venegas, "Empresas Apostolicas," párrafo 773. By 1719, Peralta was at Ráhum and shipping food to P. Juan de Ugarte during his shipbuilding labors at Mulegé. Venegas, "Empresas Apostolicas," párrafo 972. Peralta, at Ráhum, was repaid from California coffers with over 2,800 pesos worth of supplies in 1719. AGNM, *Cárceles y Presidios*, vol. 5, fols. 102-3. P. Ignacio María Nápoli was sent to an unspecified Sonoran mission in 1726. Venegas, "Empresas Apostolicas," párrafo 1095. P. Francisco Osorio came to California in 1725, sub-