

Jesuit Return to Baja California

Ernest J. Burrus

Before the year 1690 was out, he [Juan María Salvatierra] could ride northward to visit Pimería Alta; and, in the name of the Provincial Ambrosio Odón and the General Noyelle, learn what means could best promote this new mission field attended to by Kino. The two great missionaries were to meet for the first time.

Salvatierra reached the main Pimería Alta mission of Dolores on Christmas Eve, and celebrated Mass in the "new [27] and spacious church" soon to be completed. Both missionaries then devoted a month to reconnoitering a vast territory, much of which not even Kino had yet visited.

The detailed story of their tour was recorded in Kino's journal and has been frequently retold. [38] Suffice it to say here that Salvatierra's visit was significant and successful for two main reasons: first, the travels of the two missionaries were the prelude to a life-long cooperation that led to the establishment and consolidation of the Lower California missions; secondly, Salvatierra was convinced of the peaceful condition of Pimería Alta and the sincere desire of the Pimas for more missionaries.

By Holy Saturday (April 14) of 1691, Salvatierra had left the northern missions for a short time and was back in the Mexican province proper; for on that day he sent off a letter which is still extant, and a few months later his boyhood friend Zappa wrote him from Mexico City. [39]

The next important milestone in the life of our missionary was his designation on January 8, 1693, as rector of the Jesuit College in Guadalajara. News of the recent appointments traveled fast: Zappa wrote him the next day from Mexico City to congratulate him. [40]

Salvatierra himself looked upon his new office as a serious [28] obstacle to his more important task of reactivating the California enterprise. He did not hesitate to let Jesuit authorities in Mexico City and Rome know his attitude. That Kino seconded his efforts is evident from the Jesuit General Tirso González' answers of May 21, 1695, and July 28, 1696, to the Mexican Provincial Diego de Almonacir [41]

After exactly three years as rector of the Jesuit College in Guadalajara, he was designated by the general, on January 8, 1696, rector and master of novices at Tepotzotlán. The new triennial appointments were published that day as Salvatierra rode into Mexico City from Guadalajara. That very same day, by a most extraordinary coincidence, Kino arrived in the same capital from far-away Pimería Alta to plead with ecclesiastical and civil authorities for the survival of his missions now threatened with extinction because of the uprising which culminated in the assassination of Father Francisco Javier Saeta. [42]

The threat to withdraw soldiers and missionaries from Pimería Alta, if put into effect, would have sounded the death knell to the ambitious plans of both missionaries, for not only would the Dolores group of missions have to be abandoned but all thought of establishing centers in Lower California would have to be sacrificed for the foreseeable future.

The two great missionaries co-ordinated their strategy and both won out. They both won to their side the new Provincial Juan de Palacios. Kino finished writing his biography [29] of Saeta, which was not so much a life of the young martyred missionary as an apology for the peaceful evangelization of the Pimas and a convincing defense of the innocence of the vast majority of them. [43] He also put the finishing touches to the two great maps he intended should illustrate the Saeta biography. [44] On February 8, 1696, after exactly a month's stay in Mexico City, Kino mounted his horse for the return trip to Dolores. [45]

Even as rector and master of novices in retired Tepetzotlán, Salvatierra turned to influential civil authorities and generous benefactors to promote the California enterprise. As Kino long before him, Salvatierra came to realize that he must remain independent of royal financial assistance. Accordingly, he started to beg alms for the settlement of the Peninsula. These sums were to constitute what was later known as the Pious Fund of the Californias. In a long series of letters to the Attorney General José Miranda Villaisán, the earliest of which is dated from Tepetzotlán, June 8, 1696, he urged the resumption of the peninsular missions. Before the year was out, he repeated his plans with greater insistence in his messages to the same recipient, on August 9, October 30, December 21, and possibly in other documents no longer extant. [46] [30]

At Salvatierra's persistent urging, the Provincial Juan de Palacios requested the viceroy's authorization for entrance into Lower California in order to establish missions there. [47] Conde de Moctezuma's main difficulty derived from a royal decree, dated from Buen Retiro, June 18, 1696, which forbade any payments being made from the royal treasury without the king's specific approval. [48]

Palacios and Salvatierra solved the viceroy's scruples on the point by calling to his attention that not a single peso was being requested for the enterprise; they were asking for authorization, not for funds. [49]

The viceroy's authorization is dated February 5, 1697. The document records the fact that the provincial presented a memorial on the enterprise to be undertaken and a letter of the Jesuit general approving Salvatierra and Kino for the evangelization of the natives of the Californias. [50] [31]

The Conde de Moctezuma then reviewed the efforts of the previous expedition, noting that 225,400 pesos had been spent on it. The royal decree of December 2, 1685, had suspended, not ended, the conquest of the Peninsula. The motive indicated by the decree was the priority to be accorded to the defense of Nueva Vizcaya; accordingly, the California enterprise was not to be considered as having been forbidden by the king. [51]

The viceroy went on to say that he was encouraged by the reports of Salvatierra and Kino telling of the mission successes without any royal financial help. [52] The present California enterprise was also to be undertaken solely with the support of freewill offerings. He feels in conscience bound to grant the authorization requested until the king is informed and gives a definitive decision. He repeats that nothing whatever is to be given by the royal treasury. [53]

He authorizes the Jesuit missionaries to take with them the armed men and soldiers whose

salaries they can pay. The officers are to be chosen by the Jesuits, and they may be dismissed by them if not satisfactory, but the viceroy is to be informed about new appointments. The soldiers have the same status with the same duties, powers, and privileges as those of the royal army in the other presidios of New Spain. All conquests are to be made in the name of the king. The missionaries may also name civil authorities; but, again, they are to inform the viceroy. He concludes the historic document by expressing his confidence that the enterprise will meet with royal approval. [54] |32|

The next day the viceroy added other pertinent documents to his official authorization. Overjoyed at this favorable turn, Salvatierra did not tarry in Mexico City, but set out on the morrow, February 7, 1697, for the Peninsula. [55] He traveled via his old missions, intending to meet Kino en route in order to continue with him to Lower California. Because of new disturbances in Pimería Alta and the threat of a more general uprising, civil and military officials begged Kino to remain with them. He acceded to their pleas. [56] Salvatierra continued without him, hoping that he would join him as soon as conditions on the northern frontier permitted.

On October 10, 1697, Salvatierra boarded a small ship in the west-coast harbor of Yaqui, but could not get under way until a day later. After going ashore on the 15th and trying several sites then and later, they finally sailed into San Dionisio Bay and landed, on the 19th, at a spot known to the natives as "Conchó" and renamed "Loreto" by Salvatierra. The missionary's trip and historic "conquest" of Lower California are related in great detail in his letter of November 27, 1697, to Father Juan de Ugarte, treasurer in Mexico City for the enterprise. In the text of the present volume this report is translated in its entirety. [57]

III. From Loreto to the Head of the Gulf and Return (October 19, 1697, to May 2, 1701)

Before the brave "Conquistadores" could unpack their supplies and set up even provisional dwellings, a downpour [33] drenched them during the night of October 23, 1697. [58] If the abundant rain augured well for the future of crops and grazing lands, it was very inconvenient at the moment for establishing their diminutive fort and town.

On the 26th, the galliot on which they had arrived set sail again and the ten "founders of California" were left on their own. Pilfering had taken place from the moment they landed, and soon the herds of sheep and goats became targets of many a swift arrow. But now the tempting supply of maize and flour, the fewness of the Spaniards, and the hunger of many neighboring Indians, all pointed to an imminent attack on the little settlement.

The warning word of Chief Dionisio probably saved the Spaniards from annihilation. He had been a friend to the explorer during the 1683-1685 Atondo-Kino expedition to nearby San Bruno. [59] He now revealed to Salvatierra the plot of the Monquies to exterminate the little garrison and seize the provisions.

The Indians held back for a while only because they believed that one of the ships was coming to the rescue of the beleaguered settlement. Finally, on Wednesday, November 13, after seeing that no reinforcements were arriving, [34] four groups of natives began their attack on the Spanish

compound from as many directions. A thick shower of arrows gave the defenders no respite. The small mortar proved more dangerous to the Spaniards than to the enemy: it exploded, knocking the gunner unconscious; it was a veritable wonder that he and the others were not killed outright. The harquebuses, on the other hand, proved very effective. After several natives fell wounded mortally, the rest retreated to a safe distance and then sent their women and children to sue for peace. The Indians were amazed to learn that none of the Spaniards had been injured seriously, whereas they had several casualties to lament.

On November 15, two days after the terrible ordeal, the supposedly lost sloop sailed into the San Dionisio Bay. Enthusiasm soared even higher with the return of the galliot, on November 23. It brought to Loreto the second permanent missionary, Father Francisco María Pícolo. [60] For Salvatierra, this meant that the California enterprise was assured. Father Juan María must have burned candles far into the night to get his four letters ready for the mainland-bound galliot a few days later. Father Juan de Ugarte, treasurer or rather beggar extraordinary for the California missions, had these first reports printed in Mexico City and thus let the world know that the impossible had been achieved - Lower California was being settled and converted to Christianity. [61]

On Christmas of 1697, the very day Salvatierra wrote to the bishop of Durango, the new little church in Loreto was [35] dedicated. [62] Each of the two missionaries, Salvatierra and Pícolo, said three Masses that memorable day. Also three simple cabins had been erected: one for the missionaries and the other two for the captain and the treasurer. Barracks had been constructed for the soldiers.

In April of 1698 the little settlement was again brought to the verge of destruction. Some of the disaffected natives had destroyed one of the canoes used by the settlers; on being pursued, they ambushed a party of Spaniards and only the timely intervention of Captain Tortolero and his armed men saved the day. [63]

By the beginning of June, 1698, the little colony in California was almost starved out. The launch had crossed forty days previously to Yaqui for provisions, but a stormy Gulf kept it from returning to Loreto. No word had been received in answer to the missionary's letter of November, 1697, sent to Guadalajara and Mexico City. The "Conquistadores" of Lower California were reduced to eating the bran they had brought along for the animals.

Finally, on June 19, 1698, one of the ships from Nueva Galicia, the "San José", was sighted, and two days later its supplies were unloaded. Seven more Spanish volunteers came to serve in California; the little colony now had twenty-two Spaniards.

Salvatierra's letter of April I, 1699, to Ugarte was packed [36] with news dealing with events in the Peninsula and the main land from October of 1698 to April of 1699, the most dramatic of which was the account of the trip of several California natives to the Jesuit missions on the mainland, their cordial reception, and the enthusiastic report they made on their return to Lower California. [64]

Salvatierra also proudly reports the first boat repairs effected in California: the keel of the "San

José" was successfully replaced. A considerable portion of this long report was devoted to the expeditions carried out by both Salvatierra and Pícolo. Another "California first" was the introduction of mail service between Loreto and various settlements in order to keep the missionaries and the soldiers informed.

Proof of the enmity between the Monquíes and Cochimíes, and also of the hatred of the former for the Spaniards, was the assassination of the native Andrés and an old Indian, a relative of the man. The natives helped to apprehend the guilty, who were not put to death but were given a severe lashing. The relatives of the two victims seemed satisfied with the punishment meted out to the assassins, but later were to demand more severe vengeance.

At this time, it became evident that the Indians were taking sides for or against the Spaniards. With the consolidation of the conquest, the pro-Spanish party gained the ascendancy. The Atondo-Kino withdrawal had left a burdensome legacy of anti-Spanish prejudice and hatred: the earlier pro-Spanish natives had been made to suffer for their espousing a seemingly anti-patriotic and even treasonable cause. [37]

Salvatierra's reports, signed in July of 1699, are among the most detailed and important ever written about the pioneer efforts to explore and settle the Peninsula. They deal with the two decisive months of May and June of that year. Inasmuch as the reader will find the entire text given in the present volume, only a few highlights will be recalled here. [65]

The letters record several expeditions and the establishment of a new mission. Pícolo reconnoitered the Viggé or highland regions and founded there the mission of San Javier. He returned to instruct the natives in the faith and to teach them better ways of cultivating and using the relatively productive lands. From Cerro de Caballero, the mountain or peak named in honor of California's first benefactor, Juan Caballero y Ocio, the explorers could descry both the Gulf and the Pacific. This exploration was to inspire the longer expedition to the west coast. [66]

Salvatierra, despite all his work at Loreto, took time out to explore the area about San Juan de Londó, in the San Bruno-San Isidro area where the Atondo-Kino expedition had made its headquarters, and which under Salvatierra became another mission.

These letters are among the most optimistic ever penned by Salvatierra. Six more soldiers had volunteered for California. The expeditions undertaken by both missionaries revealed more numerous inhabitants than anticipated. Even the remote mountain fastnesses are now dignified with the name of "realms." A new commander, Don Antonio García de Mendoza, was appointed by Salvatierra to replace the pioneer Ensign (and later Captain) Don Luis Tortolero y [38] Torres. Salvatierra is also enthusiastic about the successful conclusion of a peace treaty between the Cochimíes and Monquíes. Prospects for the future are bright, but financial help is urgently needed at this decisive moment of the enterprise.

Before the year 1699 was out, Salvatierra wrote a large number of letters to key officials, reporting on the enterprise, and, in all of them, pleading for financial assistance. His most important messages were addressed to Visitor Antonio Leal, Kino, Miranda (several letters), Cevallos Villagutiérrez, and Moctezuma (the Mexican viceroy). Father Juan de Ugarte and

Moctezuma, in turn, urged on by Salvatierra, wrote to the Spanish king and other royal officials for help. [67]

Despite shortages and difficulties in Loreto, Píccolo undertook an expedition to the west coast of the Peninsula, the first since the crossing by Atondo and Kino in 1684 - 1685. In a lengthy account still extant, dated October 30, 1699, Píccolo reported on the epoch-making event. [68]

Salvatierra did not disdain to turn his attention to the most menial tasks if they helped to improve the primitive lot of the natives. Thus, he is forced to cut short his report of October 26, 1699, to the Fiscal Miranda because of a swelling on the hand caused by making adobes in order to teach his charges how to build better homes. [69] |39|

In his letter to the same Fiscal, dated September 12, 1700, Salvatierra reports the claim of the west-coast Indians that the Manila Galleon had sent a canoe ashore in the obvious attempt to secure help; the local natives fled panic, stricken into the mountains. The missionary immediately set out for San Juan de Londó, from where he hoped to ascertain the truth. [70]

The lengthiest extant letter written by Salvatierra is addressed to Father Francisco de Arteaga, provincial of the Mexican Jesuits. It was penned after Salvatierra's epoch-making expedition with Kino through Sonora to the immediate vicinity of the head of the Gulf of California in order to discover a land passage to the Peninsula from the Mexican mainland. [71] He returned to his home mission on May 21, 1701, and finished writing the report on or after August 29, 1701. [72]

The account covers the activities of Salvatierra from after his last report of November, 1699, to the day of his return to Loreto, May 21, 1701. Elsewhere I have written at great length on Salvatierra's participation in this expedition, which is the most important event recorded in his letter to Arteaga. [73] Here only a few of the highlights need to be referred to, especially since Salvatierra's own summary of the report is reproduced in a complete English translation in the present volume. [74] |40|

Hard pressed for supplies, and with the "San Fermín" out of service and the other ships still on the high seas, Salvatierra was forced to use the one remaining boat, the "San Javier", in order to secure provisions from the mainland for his starving colony. He took with him five Californians so that they could see the advantages of the more civilized way of life of the mainland mission natives. Invited by a Tarahumaran embassy, Salvatierra and his charges visited his old missions. He was back in Loreto on June 21, 1700.

Shortly afterwards, the "San José" came with more abundant supplies sent from Mexico City, Guadalajara, Acapulco, and other cities. It also brought the sad news of the death of the great benefactor of California, Don Pedro Gil de la Sierpe.

The "San José" likewise brought letters from Provincial Arteaga, ordering Salvatierra to explore the possibilities of a land route from the mainland to the Peninsula. Shipments across the Gulf had proven exorbitantly expensive, slow, and uncertain, often bringing the colony to the verge of starvation.

Accordingly, Salvatierra re-crossed the Gulf in January of 1701. Rain and sleet along the western coast of Sinaloa forced him to seek warmer weather in the interior. He first went to Matape. At this important Jesuit center, the missionaries urged him to make a joint expedition with Kino in order to ascertain the nature of Lower California. Father Kappus showed him some blue shells given to him by Kino; and, from their presence on the mainland, argued to the continuity of Sonora with Lower California.

Salvatierra set out for Dolores, Kino's home mission, and, on learning that Kino was in Caborca, continued on to the [41] latter town. The two great missionary explorers and builders crossed the Sonoran desert via Quitobac to beyond Santa Clara (Pinacate) and Tres Ojitos, immortalized on Kino's 1701 map. [75] They pressed forward towards the head of the Gulf. Both were convinced that they now saw that the land continued from the mainland to the Peninsula.

Before crossing the Gulf to Loreto, Salvatierra established Guaymas, north of Yaqui, as a California supply base. [76]

IV. Missionary and Administrator in Baja California (May 21, 1701, to October 21, 1704)

With the numerous difficulties arising in Spain due to the weakness of Charles II, the change of dynasty, and the protracted War of Succession, little thought was given to such a marginal enterprise as that of Lower California. By the beginning of July, 1701, however, the Consejo Real, Spain's Ministry of Colonies, began to study the numerous reports sent in by Salvatierra, Ugarte, and the Mexican viceroys. On July 17, 1701, it ordered an annual subsidy of 6,000 pesos to be accorded to the California enterprise, and at the same time requested a complete up-to-date report. [77]

This favorable decision came at a crucial moment. By the [42] summer of 1701, the situation in Loreto had become desperate. Salvatierra called a council and reluctantly but firmly urged the abandonment of the enterprise. Father Juan de Ugarte, who, in the meantime, had turned over his office as treasurer of the California missions to Father Alejandro Romano, and had joined the peninsular missionaries, argued against forsaking the missions established with such great sacrifice. [78]

A few months later - at the beginning of 1702 - Píccolo crossed over to the mainland in a desperate attempt to secure assistance for Lower California. [79] He sailed with three of his native neophytes from Loreto to Matanchel. They continued overland to Guadalajara, where on February 7, 1702, he received the news of the decision taken by the Spanish Ministry in behalf of the peninsular missions. He immediately composed, as requested, the lengthy and detailed report on the California conquest and settlement. Before the month of February was out, he handed a complete copy of the account to the president of the Audiencia, Antonio Vidal Abarca. [80]

Píccolo then continued with his neophytes to Mexico [43] City. He immediately had the "Informe" printed, the wife of Viceroy Moctezuma having generously left the money to cover the cost of printing. [81] The missionary, however, found in the interim viceroy-archbishop, Juan Ortega Moñtanez, a determined opponent of the California missions. [82] Fortunately, the

Mexican Fiscal, José Antonio Espinosa Ocampo y Cornejo, proved a staunch supporter who made it possible to obtain a part of the royal grant despite the ecclesiastic's opposition. [83]

Salvatierra's letter, dated September 15, 1702, to the Fiscal Miranda is one of profound despair. [84] The delay of the "San Javier" brought the Loreto colony to the verge of extinction for lack of provisions. At long last the launch sailed into San Dionisio Bay; it was July 22, 1702, at the very time Píccolo was striving so bravely to get the Mexican officials to comply with the royal decree.

Salvatierra's next extant letter to the Fiscal Miranda, dated April 3, 1703, [85] reported an epidemic raging among the native Californians, but sketched nonetheless a brighter picture for the future: "The land is really in the process of settlement despite the inherent difficulties and the lack of effective cooperation of the Spanish and Mexican governments."

At the beginning of 1704, Salvatierra received a most [44] alarming message from General Andrés de Rezábal, governor of Sinaloa, who forwarded a warning from the "Real Audiencia" to the effect that enemy ships were lurking in the Gulf of California and that their crews might attempt a landing at Loreto. Salvatierra sent a reply to Fiscal Miranda on February 8, 1704, outlining what action he would take to defend his Christian Indians. [86]

By the time Salvatierra penned the letter, it had become evident to him that the annual subsidy of 6,000 pesos granted by the royal decree was insufficient. [87] Accordingly, the missionary dispatched Father Basaldúa with the boat "El Rosario" to attend to its thorough overhauling and to try to secure the promised subsidy. After many months, Basaldúa returned with another capable missionary, Father Pedro de Ugarte, brother of Juan, but with no part of the royal grant.

In this desperate situation, Salvatierra turned again to the one source of assistance which had never failed him - the northern Jesuit missions. [88] Píccolo crossed over that same year to Guaymas, the port established by Salvatierra in 1701, [89] and then continued through the missions as beggar extraordinary in behalf of Baja California. Needed help began flowing through Guaymas for the starving peninsular missions. Píccolo then stayed on as visitor of the Sonoran [45] missions from 1705 to 1709, [90] at the very time when his presence was most needed in California because of the appointment of Salvatierra as provincial superior of all the Mexican Jesuits.

V. An Interlude: Salvatierra is Provincial (October 21, 1704, to September 17, 1706)

In this section, which deals with the provincialate of Salvatierra, I shall limit my attention to his interest in the California enterprise. [91] For this brief span of time - scarcely two years - there exists a most abundant documentation, most of which the reader can find listed chronologically under "Salvatierra's Correspondence," a few pertinent items of which will be cited in the notes to this section.

It might seem unfortunate and even tragic, at first sight, that Salvatierra should have been called away from California at the very time when his presence was most needed; but providentially, as

provincial, he was able to accomplish more for the enterprise than by remaining on the scene. Further, as we shall have occasion to see, he returned personally for two months to the Peninsula during his term of office. [92] Father Juan de Ugarte was the capable superior of all the California missions during Salvatierra's absence.

From time to time, as circumstances seemed to demand, the Jesuit general in Rome would send his own representative to the provinces in order to check on the personnel and [46] activity there. Such a representative or delegate was termed a visitor. In 1703, Father Manuel Piñeiro arrived in Mexico as both visitor and provincial, governing the province in that capacity until his death on October 21, 1704 - Among the many problems confronting the visitor was the California enterprise. In order to obtain an authoritative account, he decided to summon Salvatierra to Mexico City. He was seconded in his decision by Viceroy Alburquerque, who, on entering office on November 27, 1702, had found a large number of documents dealing with California: Salvatierra's own reports, Romano's pleas for assistance, royal decrees ordering help to be given to the missions, and Mexican officials' attestations that little or nothing had been complied with in regard to California. Accordingly, the viceroy decided to call a meeting in which he wanted Salvatierra to participate. [93]

Salvatierra set out from Loreto on an unrecorded autumn day in 1704 for Mexico City. Inasmuch as he arrived in the capital at the beginning of November, 1704, he must have started on his trip in September. As we have seen, the Visitor Piñeiro died on October 21, 1704, while Salvatierra was en route to Mexico City. The Jesuit general had appointed Salvatierra as Piñeiro's successor, and hence his term of office began on October 21, 1704.

The foremost concern of Salvatierra was the evangelization and settlement of the Peninsula. Fearing that his term of office as provincial would interfere with this more important apostolate, he made every effort to avoid serving as superior of the Mexican province. His reasons for refusal, however, [47] were not accepted; and he had to take over the government of the entire province.

The War of Succession had depleted the royal coffers in Madrid and Mexico City. As a result, not only did California not receive its allotted subsidies; but all the Mexican Jesuit missions - Sonora, Sinaloa, Tepehuanes, Tarahumares, and Las Sierras - failed to obtain the promised annual contributions. More than a hundred missionaries, who, on paper, received 300 pesos annually, had not been paid for four years; the royal debt to them came to some 120,000 pesos. [94] Nor were the other Jesuit communities in Mexico able to come to the aid of the missionaries, since they themselves were hopelessly in debt. The Mexican Province had to borrow heavily in order to keep the missions going. Its official records show that on April 1, 1706, its debts totaled 512,443 pesos; individual houses were even worse off proportionately; thus, the main college in Mexico City owed 222,164 pesos. [95] Obviously, both the Mexican Province and its houses had reached the very limit of their credit.

In the light of this situation, we can better appreciate two basic facts: the generosity of the northern missionaries during all these years in helping Lower California, and Salvatierra's efforts to secure financial assistance for all the missions.

The viceroy had summoned a meeting for June 27, 1705, in order to discuss the financial plight of the Mexican Jesuit missions, those of California included. From his point of view, there was nothing to discuss: all of Mexico's [48] wealth must be sent to Spain, the Mexican Jesuits were wealthy and needed no assistance, especially not those of California who had so many pearls. [96]

Salvatierra's reaction to this attitude was the only logical one possible: he offered to turn over all the Jesuit missions to the viceroy, who would now have to secure and maintain the necessary replacements. This offer, or rather threat, caused Alburquerque to entertain second and more reasonable thoughts. He agreed to pay the subsidies for 1705, and promised to make good those for the previous years when nothing had been contributed. Actually, the viceroy never paid a cent of these back debts. [97] Salvatierra's boldness had obtained a pittance for the missions; but it also made the viceroy an implacable enemy of the Order, as the missionary was to learn during Alburquerque's five years in office.

Despite the failure of the northern Jesuit missionaries to receive more than one annual subsidy in all those years, they continued to the best of their ability and means to help the even less fortunate peninsular missions. Foremost among all was Kino. Cows, horses, mules, sheep, goats, corn, flour, and all else that he could spare were sent by the Dolores missionary to Guaymas to be shipped across the stormy Gulf. The Salvatierra-Kino correspondence is most abundant for this period, and its central theme is the provisioning of Lower California.

But, for Salvatierra, it was not sufficient to secure aid for [49] the peninsular missions; he wanted to see his beloved California again. In August of 1705, after visiting officially, as provincial, the Jesuit College in Guadalajara, he took with him Brother Jaime Bravo [98] and continued to Matanchel, where they embarked for Loreto. From there, he wrote to Kino and to the other missionaries to persevere in their generous assistance to California.

Salvatierra remained on the Peninsula through September and October of 1705, visiting the main centers and even their dependent stations, encouraging the missionaries, and working among the Indians as though he were their pastor. Brother Jaime Bravo asked to remain in California in order to help the missionaries; Salvatierra acceded to his wish, and thus Bravo became the first of many Brothers who worked most successfully in those arduous missions. [99] [50]

At the end of October, 1705, Salvatierra embarked at Loreto for Matanchel, from where he returned overland to Mexico City. He now took the most important step of his life, one that saved the California enterprise and put it on a sound financial basis. Inasmuch as promises from individual benefactors as well as royal decrees ordering annual subsidies had proven insufficient and unreliable, [100] he arranged for the income-bearing property of the missions to be kept safely invested in farms and herds of cattle, the care and increase which ... is in charge of the person who is appointed by the Father Provincial to the office of procurator of California." Thus, the Pious Fund of California was to be a reliable source of income for the peninsular missions until it was unscrupulously plundered by José de Galvez after the expulsion of the Jesuits from Lower California in 1768. [101]

VI. Back to California; Death in Guadalajara

(September 17,1706 to July 18, 1717)

The last years of Salvatierra's life are filled with intense activity. [102] We see him as missionary, builder, administrator, and indefatigable explorer. His multiple efforts are reflected in his letters and other pertinent documents. The text of six ... [51]

"Selected letters about Lower California: Juan María Salvatierra"

Introduction

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Baja California Travels Series; No. 25

Excerpt: Jesuit Return to Baja California

from Kino Historical Society website – California Builder page

Footnotes

Source Abbreviations

ABZ IV	Alegre's Historia de la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesus de Nueva España, Burrus and Zubillaga
AGI	Archivo de Indias (Seville)
AGN	Archivo General y Pública de la Nación (Mexico)
HMPA	Historical Memoir of the Pimeria Alta, Bolton
KC	Kino and the Cartography of Northwest New Spain, Burrus
BL	Bancroft Library
BP	Bolton Papers
VW	Venegas' Juan Maria De Salvatierra, Wilbur

Notes

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[38] The Spanish text can be consulted in. ""Las misiones", pp. 23-25; the English translation, with commentary, I HMPA I, pp. 117-121.

[39] Salvatierra's letter to an unnamed person is preserved In BL, "Papeles de Jesuits", no. 30; Zappa's message, addressed to, Salvatierra as "visitor of the missions of Sonora, Sinaloa, and Chinipas, is *ibid*, no. 21.

[40] Zappa's autograph letter, written from Mexico City on July 6, 1691, is preserved *ibid.*, also no. 2 I. The new superiors of the Mexican Province went into office on January 8, 1693; d. ABZ IV, pp. 14* and 102.

[41] I edited these letters in "Correspondencia", pp. 37-39 and 45-47.

[42] Kino himself reports their meeting; d. "Las misiones", p. 52, and HMPA I, p. 159. I published Kino's biography of "Saeta" under the title of "Vida del P. Francisco J. "Saeta", S.J.", cited as Kino, "Saeta".

[43] See Kino, "Saeta", passim, and Burrus, "Correspondencia", p. 43: "Segun la relación que nos hace el Padre Eusebio Francisco Kino, el alzamiento ha sido de pocos y éstos ya tan arrepentidos que ellos mismos metieron las manos para el justo castigo de las principales cabezas del motín."

[44] Consult my "Kino and the Cartography of Northwestern New Spain", plates VIII-IX, discussed on pp. 42-46. This work will be cited henceforth as KC.

[45] Data from Kino's diary, reproduced in "Las misiones", p. 52, and HMPA I, p. 160.

[46] For the four letters referred to in this paragraph, see "Salvatierra's Correspondence."

[47] A most important source for this section of the Introduction is Moctezuma's authorization for Salvatierra to establish the missions in Lower California (cited henceforth as "Licencia"). Consult "Salvatierra's Correspondence" under 1697, February 5, for the documents, copies, and publications of the "Licencia". I published Palacios' petition from AGI, "Guadalajara" 134, in "Píccolo", pp. 21-23. His request is referred to in the "Licencia", f. 1: "Haviendo visto el Memorial presentado por el Reverendo Padre Provincial de la sagrada Religión de la Compañía de Jesús y la carta del Reverendísimo Padre General Tirzo González en que aprueba, con las recomendaciones y satisfacción que de ella consta, las personas de los Padres Juan María de Salvatierra y Eusevio Francisco Quino para la reducción de los gentiles de las Californias ... " I cite from the 1722 certified copy in the University of Texas, WBS, no. 139.

[48] The "Licencia", f. 2V, refers to the royal decree and comments on it. An authenticated copy of the decree is preserved in AGI, "Guadalajara" 134. A set of photostats, and a transcript by Father Pockstaller are preserved in the BL, BP, nos. 22 and 24.

[49] As stated explicitly in the "Licencia", f. 2V: "Consedo la lizencia que piden con calidad de que, sin orden de Su Magestad, no se puede librar ni gastar cosa alguna de su real hazienda en esta conquista."

[50] See supra, note 47, for the pertinent text.

[51] Information from "Licencia", f. IV.

[52] Data from "Licencia", ff. 2-2V.

[53] Cf. supra, note 49, for pertinent text.

[54] Data from "Licencia", ff. 2V-3.

[55] Consult VW, p. 171.

[56] See my edition of "Correspondencia", p. 59 n. 9, and the numerous references given there; cf. also VW, p. 174.

[57] On Salvatierra's trip, besides the letter just referred to, consult VW, pp. 171-179.

[58] On the early days of Salvatierra and his party in Loreto, see Letters I-V. The pioneer "Conquistadores" or Founders of California were the following ten: Salvatierra, Ensign (later Captain) Luis Tortolero y Torres, Esteban Rodríguez Lorenzo (Portuguese), Bartolomé Figueroa, Juan Caravana (Máltese), Nicolás Márquez (Sicilian), Andres (Peruvian mulatto), two Sonoran Indians (Marcos from the mission of Guasahas and Alonso from that of Tepahui), and an Indian boy (from near Guadalajara).

[59] See Bolton, "Rim of Christendom", p. 6:3 5 (Index) for numerous references to Ibo (Dionisio's native name; later he was christened Manuel Bernardo). Bolton's biography of Kino will henceforth be cited as "Rim."

[60] On the life and work of this eminent missionary in Tarahumara and Lower California, see my edition of "Píccolo", and Hammond, "Informe".

[61] Edited in the present edition as Letters I-IV.

[62] Salvatierra's missive to García de Legazpi, bishop of Durango (Guadiana), Mexico, is edited in the present work as Letter V. Cf. also Bayle, p. 63; and "Píccolo", pp. 6-7.

[63] The pertinent passage of Salvatierra's letter of July 3, 1698, is found in Bayle, pp. 78-89. The entire letter is reproduced in *op. cit.*, pp. 62.-90, and is the main source for this and the next two paragraphs of the Introduction. It was also printed in DHM, pp. 17-50; and Vargas Rea, pp. 40-114.

[64] Salvatierra's letter from Loreto, April 1, 1699, is printed in DHM, pp. 50-74; Bayle, pp. 93-114; Vargas Rea, "Memorias", pp. 117-176.

[65] This unique imprint is reproduced in the present edition as Letters VIII, IX, B, and X. [66] Consult *infra*, note 68.

[67] These messages are listed chronologically under "Salvatierra's Correspondence," one of which is reproduced in the present edition as Letter XI.

[68] Píccolo's letter to Salvatierra concerning the expedition, written from San Francisco Javier Biaundó Viggé, is preserved in BN, "legajo" 53; the text was published by Ramos, pp. 3-11, and edited with a commentary by me in "Píccolo", pp. 144-158.

[69] The message is reproduced in the present edition as Letter XI; cf. *supra*, note 67.

[70] The document is edited here as Letter XII.

[71] Printed in DHM, pp. 105-157; and Bayle, pp. 141-185; it is the main source for the rest of this section.

[72] See Letter XIII, where the date of Salvatierra's report to Provincial Arteaga is discussed.

[73] Consult *supra*, note 34.

[74] Salvatierra's report to General Tirso González (Letter XIII of this edition) gives an excellent summary of the expedition; d. *supra*, note 34.

[75] See KC, plates X-XII. In an anonymous copy of Kino's map, reproduced in "Rim," between pp. 400-401, the "3" of "3 Ojitos" was changed to a "Z" with the result that the place appears as "Zojitos" instead of "3 Ojitos" or "Tres Ojitos."

[76] Salvatierra writes about the establishment of the port in his letter to Provincial Arteaga; cf. Bayle, p. 183. Guaymas was recorded on the earliest map of the northern Mexico Jesuit missions (1662); the chart is reproduced in KC, plate IV.

[77] I published a critical edition of this document in "Píccolo", pp. 38-44; a rough draft (dated July 4, 1701) of this decree was edited in *op. cit.*, pp. 24-26. This decree inspired Kino to write his 1703 report; see my edition of "Kino's Plan," p. 23 .

[78] Consult Dunne, BRLC, p. 80: "So it was that on December 3, 1700, Ugarte rode out of Mexico City forever, leaving Romano to do the begging and to organize the commissary while he left for the front. For California, its fortune and its Indians, it was a happy day when he did so, for he became a strong sustaining column to the rising mission."

[79] On his trip to Mexico and the composition and printing of the "Informe", see my edition of "Píccolo", especially pp. XVI-XVIII, 8-10, 36-136.

[80] See "Píccolo", p. 45 n. 2; and Schaefer, "El Consejo" II, p. 493. This Antonio Vidal Abarca is the same as Antonio Abarca, recipient of Píccolo's autograph letter of July 4, 1698, reproduced in this edition as A.

[81] In "Píccolo", pp. 82 n. 13, 115 n. 6, 127, 278, 302, 476 (Index), She is called the Duquesa de Sesa (or Sessa); in the 1699 letters she is referred to as the Duquesa de Sesar; subsequent reprintings (DHM and Bayle) render the title unrecognizable.

[82] See Píccolo's letter to the Jesuit general, reproduced in "Píccolo", pp. 100-104.

[83] I published his "Informe" to Philip V, in "Píccolo", pp. 84-93.

[84] Published in the present edition as Letter XIV.

[85] Reproduced here as Letter XV.

[86] Edited in the present work as Letter XVI.

[87] Salvatierra states in his message to Father Juan Martínez Aigatón, October 9, 1706 (Letter XVII), that he had received up to that time four annual subsidies of six thousand pesos each for a total of twenty-four thousand, but that the enterprise had already cost 250,000 - an average of about twenty-seven thousand annually.

[88] See Rodero's report on the contributions of the missionaries published in "Píccolo", pp. 278-303, especially pp. 278, 301-302.

[89] Consult supra, note 76; section III of this Introduction and also "Píccolo", p. 10.

[90] Cf. "Píccolo", pp. 10-1 I, 163 n. 6, 230-266, 392-394.

[91] A general account is give in VW, pp. 196-210.

[92] He refers to this visit in his message to Father Juan Martinez de Aigatón, reproduced here as Letter XVII.

[93] See Letter XVII, and VW, pp. 196-197; d. ABZ IV, p. 192.

[94] Data from VW, pp. 198-199.

[95] Information from the original financial reports sent to Rome and preserved in ARSJ, "Mex. 6", ff. 209-'21 IV; cf. ABZ IV, p. 199.

[96] Consult ABZ IV, pp. 198-199, and VB, "Noticia II", pp. 111-112.

[97] So the authors cited in the preceding note; Salvatierra, however, states that the California enterprise had received by October 9, 1706, four annual subsidies (Letter XVII of the present edition); presumably, the failure to receive more than one annual subsidy refers to the mainland missions.

[98] Jaime Bravo, a lay brother at the time and later ordained a priest, became one of the most outstanding missionaries of Lower California and worthy successor to Salvatierra; cf. Dunne, BRLC, p. 526 (Index); ABZ IV, especially p. 202 n. 8-9; "Píccolo", p. 444 (Index). Bravo, born in Aragon, Spain, about 1683, entered the Order in his native province about 1700; shortly afterwards he went to Mexico. He accompanied Salvatierra to California in 1705, and to the mainland on his return in 1717; after our missionary's death in Guadalajara, on July 18, 1717, Bravo continued to Mexico City, where he gave the report on the enterprise for which Salvatierra had been summoned to the capital. On seeing Bravo's ability, Provincial Rodero authorized his ordination to the priesthood. Bravo then returned to the Peninsula, where he worked until his death at San Francisco Javier Viggé, on May 13, 1744. This information was gathered from the Mexican catalogues in ARSJ, and Sommervogel, op. cit. II, col. 99. See the Bibliography of this edition for Bravo's key writings.

[99] For the names of other Jesuit Brothers who worked in the peninsular missions, see my

editions of "Pícolo", pp. 304-312, and "Ducrue's Account of the Expulsion of the Jesuits from Lower California," pp. 9, 25-27.

[100] The passage which follows is cited from VW, p. 207. The beneficent results, however, of this new financial arrangement were not immediate; as is evident from Salvatierra's letters, it took several years for these investments to prove effectively helpful to the peninsular missions. Besides the report of Rodero in "Pícolo", pp. 278, 301-302, see Engelhardt, "The Missions and Missionaries in California" I, pp. 497-498.

[101] Information derived from the "Gálvez Papers" in the Huntington Library.

[102] For these years of his life, see VW, pp. 207-232.

"Selected letters about Lower California: Juan María Salvatierra"

Introduction

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Baja California Travels Series; No. 25

Excerpt: Jesuit Return to Baja California

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