

28. To Antonio Maria de Bucareli y Ursua

Report on the general condition and needs of the missions of Upper California; thirty-two suggestions for improvement in the government of the missions. Written at Mexico City, March 13, 1773. Accompanying memorandum lists the church furnishings needed in some of the missions.

+

Jesus, Mary, Joseph!

Most Excellent Sir:

Fray Junípero Serra of the Order of our Seraphic Father Saint Francis, Apostolic Missionary of the College *de Propaganda Fide* of San Fernando of this Court of Mexico, President of the missions of the gentiles of Monterey, and those annexed to it; in obedience to orders emanating from my Superior, which are enclosed herewith; and, at the same time, being inspired with confidence and edification at the great zeal with which Your Excellency—as Vicegerent of our Catholic and Sovereign Monarch, whom God keep—desires the stability and the daily advancement of that new center of Christianity, that has already been started in five missions, and where there are proposals to increase the number by further foundations; and appreciating the great favor Your Excellency deigns to show me, without any merit on my part, because I have had a share in all that has been accomplished in these new establishments, since the first day they were begun; and, in that I have been an eyewitness of all the events which have taken place there, and can explain to Your Excellency everything that, in my judgment seems necessary and fitting to procure the fulfillment of the pious projects of our Great Monarch—whom God prosper—who is desirous of introducing, and spreading, in these extensive territories our Holy Catholic Faith, I, with all submission due to Your Excellency, wish to present the following suggestions.

1. As soon as possible, it is imperative that there be procured, from Vera Cruz, a shipmaster, and a pilot's mate, to sail the packet boat *San Carlos* to Monterey. The reason is that, if Your Excellency grants Don Miguel Pino permission, as he requests, to return to Cádiz, his home country, where he has a wife and mother he left many years ago, there are in San Blas no other navigating officers except the Frigate Ensign and Commandant Don Juan Pérez and the Pilot's Mate Don Joseph Cañizares. The latter, being a mere youth, does not seem qualified to be entrusted with the responsibility of being chief, and only navigating officer, for the said boat. But he could be used as assistant, or second

☞ 295 ☞

officer, to relieve the watch with the chief. It is, as you know, a very weighty matter to carry the whole responsibility, as was the case in the last trip with our friend Don Juan Pérez. I lay emphasis on the "as soon as possible" because the new frigate¹²⁸ is almost in readiness for sailing; and so another master, and his mate, are needed. All of which, briefly, is what I told Your Excellency in our talk about the necessity of two more navigators, and two more pilot's mates.

2. I consider it most advisable that the new frigate should be got in readiness with the utmost speed possible, because, seeing how large it is—I myself have been on board, and was amazed at its enormous capacity—one trip with it, added to what the two packet boats can carry, might save from the pangs of famine and starvation both the presidio and the missions—whether already in being or yet to be founded—and bring content and happiness to the hearts of all, a condition of things which will best serve the advancement and progress we are all so eager to see.

3. I might call the attention of Your Excellency to the fact that this year no *sinodo* has been received by me; it has been paid for the twelve religious, and no more. In other words, it has been paid for the ten that are at present in various places, and who administer, two in each of them, the said five new missions,¹²⁹ as is vouched for in the affidavit I am enclosing herewith, made out by the Officer of the presidio; and likewise, for the two others who are, at present, staying in San Diego, waiting for the foundation of San Buenaventura. Now since it is my intention—as soon as Your Excellency shall have decided what measures should most properly be taken—to take the road back to my San Carlos Mission, it does not seem the right thing that my brethren should have to maintain me with what they need for themselves.

And even though the objection might be raised that in such a case three ministers will have to be maintained in one mission, I reply that I see nothing extraordinary in that, since the third is the President. It is most advisable that the President be considered as supernumerary, so that he may be free to go here and there on his visitations of the missions, and be present at the foundation of the new ones. In carrying out these duties, he should be able to leave two Fathers for days of obligation, when one has to say Mass at the presidio, and the other at the mission. Or, in other words: the third may be maintained with the title of Captain of the Presidio—and his *sinodo* could well be four hundred pesos—the minimum, I believe, that would be given a secular priest, should he be appointed to the post. In any case, his residence should be at the mission. But about this point I wish to speak at greater length to Your Excellency.

The two religious staying in San Diego while they wait for the foundation of the San Buenaventura Mission are Father Preacher Fray Ramón Usón, and Father Preacher Fray Juan Figuer.¹³⁰ They have been there since the beginning of November of last year, 1772.

4. Various pious people of Tepic, Compostela, and thereabouts,

having heard something of the hardships we have had to undergo, promised me that, on my return to Monterey, they would send supplies of corn and other provisions for us and the newly converted Christians. I ask Your Excellency, then, that you would kindly give orders to the Commissary at San Blas to put on board what is sent to me as alms, along with an itemized account. The invoices should state that all such supplies belong solely to the missions, and are not to be inspected by the Officer of the presidio.

This same might be said concerning some cases that are awaiting shipment in Loreto, which contain books, images, crucifixes for the missions, and other minor objects, such as tools—all personal effects belonging to the religious of our College, who have left, or are about to leave, the old missions of California. In consideration of freight charges, since they were being returned to Mexico, where there is no shortage of such articles, they gave them all to the new missions, where everything is needed. All these cases were carefully examined, both inside and out, by the Reverend Dominican Fathers, a formality which allowed them to verify, with their own eyes, how unfounded was the claim, made and publicized by Governor Don Felipe Barri,¹³¹ that all these packing cases were full of furnishings stolen from the missions. If these cases cannot be taken by land to San Diego, Your Excellency might order the said Governor to send them on board ship to the Port of San Blas; and address them to the Commissary there, who might put them aboard the ship sailing for Monterey, and with the same stipulation on the invoices, that they belong solely to the missions.

5. It seems to me most appropriate that Your Excellency should authorize the Captain of the Tubac Presidio to undertake the expedition he was anxious to start, to discover a route to the Port of San Diego or of Monterey. Furthermore, for this reason, Your Excellency should not omit, in accordance with your own good judgment, to give also the order to some outstanding man from New Mexico to undertake the same exploration. According to the best of my information, if they start straight west from Santa Fe, with a slight deviation to the south, they will strike Monterey, since it is on the latitude of 36 degrees and 36 minutes; and Santa Fe, according to Don Pedro de Rivera's diary, is on the 37th degree and 28 minutes. Most assuredly, if, for our good fortune, a line of communication should be opened up from one or both of these ports to the aforementioned regions, and especially with New Mexico, their conquest would thus be hastened to a most notable degree, assuring a harvest of many souls for heaven.¹³²

6. A measure that seems to me of special importance is the removal, or recall, of the Officer Don Pedro Fages from the command of the Presidio at Monterey, and the appointment of another in his place. Otherwise there will be no stopping the desertions of soldiers and others, who, up to the present time, have caused so much trouble and will continue to do so. Nor can matters remain as they are, as far as those who still stay on are concerned—they stay because they can not get away. Every one of them is extremely wrought up. Their grievance is not

only because of long hours of work and a lack of food—as I have on numerous occasions heard them declare—but because of the harsh treatment, and unbearable manners, of the said officer.

Independently of what I already knew from long experience, I have just received, along with my last bundle of letters, copies of what, on the one hand, the volunteer soldiers of that presidio write to their Captain, Agustín Callis,¹³³ whom they suppose to be at your Court, and, on the other hand, what the leather-jacket soldiers think, as they write to their officer, Don Fernando de Rivera—whom, also, they suppose to be in Mexico. Both groups of men ask their respective Officers to free them in any manner they can from such harsh treatment and oppression. In the said writings there is no other complaint except that they have over them Don Pedro Fages.

If I were called upon to tell, not of the annoyances he has caused me, and the rest of the religious—a story that shall remain untold—but of the damage his conduct has continually done to the missions, it would be a long story. If details are required to supply further arguments to bring about the result desired, Your Excellency has only to say the word. But if what has already been said, as well as the information given in writing by the Reverend Father Guardian of our College, and by me, by word of mouth, be sufficient for the purpose we have in mind, I beg and beseech Your Excellency that he may be discharged honorably, and without any humiliation whatsoever; and I pray God to bless him.¹³⁴

7. My opinion is that, at the present time, it is inadvisable that the Officer to be put in command of the said presidio should be an officer of the regular troop, because they are not trained in the duties of leather-jacket soldiers—a totally different branch of the service—and we might find ourselves in the same predicament as before.

Appreciating fully the great compliment Your Excellency pays me in permitting me to suggest a candidate suitable for the place, I say that, as far as I can judge, among those belonging to the company, there is no more suitable man than the company Sergeant, Don José Francisco Ortega.¹³⁵

The reasons for my choice are his record, and his ability to take charge of such a command.

First, his record. After he had served the King for some years as a leather-jacket soldier in California during the time of the Jesuits and was promoted to the rank of sergeant, he left the service to spend all his time in the mines in the southern part of the peninsula. At that time, he, being clearly the man best suited for the post in that department, was appointed Associate Judge for all the King's mines there and administered justice with equity for a number of years.

When the new Governor, Don Gaspar de Portolá, came to take command of the province, at the time the Jesuits were expelled, he met him for the first time, and had numerous dealings with him, and insisted that he join the service once more with rank as sergeant. Ortega accepted and went in the Governor's company to Loreto. He

served the said Governor and the King in the management of the royal warehouse, being put in charge of all correspondence, accounts and administration for more than a year, while the said royal hacienda was under the control of Señor Portolá.

Then the new Commissary Don Francisco Trillo came, who employed him as secretary as long as he needed him. When the expedition to Monterey got under way, the Sergeant was appointed to the second part of it, with which I went myself, as well as the Governor. We set out on our way, and when we began to enter the gentile country we received the last letters from the Most Illustrious Inspector General. In the letter addressed to the Governor, which was read in my presence, His Most Illustrious Lordship said that Sergeant Ortega should follow the expedition with the assurance that, on his return, he was keeping for him his promotion as Lieutenant Officer of the company, for Don Blas Somera was leaving this post, having asked for his retirement. We all celebrated the good news and promise, repeatedly offering him our congratulations.

When the expedition started on its way, as soon as the short stretch of the road, familiar to some of the soldiers who had passed that way before, came to an end, the Governor instructed the Sergeant, accompanied by only one soldier, to explore ahead daily the road we had to follow the following day. And so, for more than a month that our journey lasted, he continued to go ahead the whole time, covering more than three times the distance that the rest of the expedition had to cover. He forged ahead in search of watering places and camping spots; then he would come back with the information, and guide us to the spots he had discovered. The single soldier who was his companion was sometimes changed, but the Sergeant never.

The risks he ran in going among so many gentiles, which became evident by what we saw later, kept me in continual anxiety; and, as a matter of fact, at times, it was only thanks to the protection of his favorite saints that he escaped unscathed.

After our arrival at San Diego, every one was elated, telling one another what a marvellous trip we had made. At that time the search for the Port of Monterey was decided upon. The Sergeant went along with the others. Fathers Crespí and Gómez, who accompanied the expedition as far as the Port of San Francisco, told me that, during all the trip, the part taken by Señor Ortega was most remarkable. Even though Captain Rivera was appointed as first explorer, always was the Sergeant employed in the same capacity, especially when they tried to find the port in various directions. And he was the man that went the farthest in exploring the estuaries of San Francisco, in search of a crossing to the other side, which was never found.

When the expedition came back to San Diego, the Governor was informed of what had happened to us on the Feast of the Assumption of Our Lady—that the gentiles had killed one of our men, wounded others, and tried to kill all of us. And while the return to Monterey was under consideration—as actually happened after the arrival of the

boat—he decided it was desirable that a man especially adapted to the work should take command of the escort, and remain in the Mission of San Diego. Accordingly the Governor appointed the said Sergeant. As for me, since I was going to Monterey with the greatest anxiety at leaving the two poor Fathers exposed to so many dangers and as many hardships, the greatest consolation I had, as regards their dangerous position, was that the Sergeant was there to defend them; and my confidence was not misplaced.

The expedition being at an end, he was sent to California. The Governor employed him in carrying provisions from Sinaloa, in going to and from San Diego, and in discovering and pointing out the proper sites for the five missions that are to be founded in the stretch in between. During these explorations, while he was climbing mountains and crossing valleys, over and above what he had principally in mind, he discovered a way from Velicatá to San Diego which saves a distance of some fifty leagues; and this he will soon shorten still more, I assure you.

This, Most Excellent Lord, is a short sketch of the record of the man I am recommending to Your Excellency.

Now as regards his fitness for the position, I can say that, as far as I have seen, in command of soldiers he is firm without rigidity, and has prudence and common sense. I believe they will love him without ceasing to fear him; they will fear him sufficiently without ceasing to love him. Since, in all the duties with which he has been entrusted, and which I have just now described, he has acquitted himself with honor, I feel confident that he will do the same with all future appointments. In his youthful days, in the town of Zelaya, his native place, he had the management of a storehouse and shop; he is alert and capable in the management of business. He writes a good hand, and I am sure that the storehouse will be well administered; and since he is most conscientious, the accounts will be as the law requires. When Pedro Fages got his appointment to the office in question, he had only the title of Lieutenant. With the same title this most deserving man could be given the same office. But let it be as Your Excellency shall decide; in any case you will decide what is for the best.

8. I suggest that Your Excellency give strict orders to the Officer who will be sent, that, as soon as the Missionary Father of any mission requests it, he should remove the soldier or soldiers who give bad example, especially in the matter of incontinence; he should recall them to the presidio and send, in their place, another or others who are not known as immoral or scandalous. And even when the Father does not specify the sin of the soldier, his request for removal should always be heeded, since, in certain cases, it is not advisable to give the reason, either to prevent making public a hidden sin, or for other reasons that can easily be imagined. As for the soldier who does not give grounds for complaint at the mission, you may be very sure the Father will not ask for his removal; and if the request is made, it is very evident that there are good reasons; and so it is right that his request should be granted. This is what a number of the most excel-

lent predecessors of Your Excellency have decided upon, at the suggestion of our College.¹³⁶

9. Your Excellency should notify the said Officer and the soldiers that the training, governance, punishment and education of baptized Indians, or of those who are being prepared for Baptism, belong exclusively to the Missionary Fathers, the only exception being for capital offenses. Therefore no chastisement or ill-treatment should be inflicted on any of them whether by the Officer or by any soldier, without the Missionary Father's passing upon it. This has been the time-honored practice of this kingdom ever since the conquest; and it is quite in conformity with the law of nature concerning the education of the children, and an essential condition for the rightful training of the poor neophytes. Having these as his basic reasons, as well as others that might be adduced, the Most Illustrious Inspector General gave instructions to this effect before leaving California. Yet, on the contrary practice has prevailed, which has resulted in the worst of evils. I had intended to explain myself at greater length on this most important topic but I leave it for later, should circumstances make it necessary.¹³⁷

10. Concerning the number of soldiers required in the missions as escort, I give my opinion as follows:

For Mission San Carlos de Monterey, established on the banks of the Carmel River, in consideration of its proximity to the presidio, eight leather-jacket soldiers are sufficient.

For San Antonio de Padua de los Robles: ten leather-jacket soldiers.

For San Luis Obispo de los Tichos: ten leather-jacket soldiers also.

For San Gabriel de los Temblores: likewise ten leather-jacket soldiers.

And for San Diego of the Port: thirteen or fourteen leather-jacket soldiers also. The reason for this increase in number is that, from this mission, very frequently a courier has to start, either for California, or for Monterey. If the number were less, what occurred when the boat last came there might happen again. Captain Don Juan Pérez found so few soldiers in the mission, that he deemed it advisable to order a number of sailors to disembark for the proper protection of the mission. This I mentioned in my letter to Your Excellency, if my memory serves me well.

As for the Missions of San Buenaventura and Santa Clara, at first sight it would seem to me that there should be twenty for the first mentioned, on account of its closeness to the Santa Barbara Channel, and for Santa Clara, fifteen.

With regard to the Mission of our Seraphic Father San Francisco, in his famous Port, I say nothing, because I am unaware of the manner and place in which Your Excellency has decided that it should be established.

The conclusion of all this seems to me to be as follows: that, for the presidio, and the missions already established or yet to be founded, it will be necessary and most suitable that the number of a hundred leather-jacket soldiers be realized, and that they be attached as a separate unit to the Presidio of Monterey, and should not be linked up, in any way, with those of Old California.

11. For these soldiers there should be in the Presidio of Monterey a store, with the merchandise they need, and a list of prices—something they have not had up to the present—and a regular accounting of their pay. They should be cut off from all dependence on the store at Loreto, which, because of its being so far away, is only a source of continual trouble. And, seeing that most of their salary has to be taken in kind from the royal warehouse, it should be allowed the usual percentage of profit, but the soldiers' pay should be increased. The last issuance of regulations decreased it considerably, while more work was exacted of them. The result will be that those who are there will be content to remain; and others, with their families, will wish to go there. The facts of the matter are that not long ago the career of a soldier was one that was sought for, and the family of such a man made out quite well. But today there is no one who is eager for it, or on the lookout for it.

It seems to me that, if things were put on a more satisfactory basis, some captain or other from Sinaloa, or from one of the other provinces, might be commissioned to recruit from thirty to forty leather-jacket soldiers; and, of their number, as many as possible with their families. They should be Spaniards with a good record, and they should be guaranteed the same treatment they have been receiving for the past years in California. Brought there by boat, they could continue by land to Monterey. They should have a supply of animals, arms and other things that are part of the service. And thus these missions would be well provided for, the land would be well settled, and the interests of all, whether spiritual or temporal, served the more efficiently.

Furthermore, it seems to me not at all necessary for all to be married men; provided that, at least, two such families be stationed in each mission, I think it is most probable that the others would not be long before marrying also. Even as it is, quite a number of them have come to me with that in mind.

As for pay in coin, my opinion is that when they ask for it, it should be given. After all, it all goes back to the store, except perhaps a little that they spend with those on board when the ship arrives. Then business could be put on a cash basis, as is done at Loreto. It might turn out in this way better for the treasurer, and for themselves. As it is, I fear they spend more for food and clothes, but get less for their money. I wanted to get to the bottom of the matter from exact figures. But I realized that it was impossible, because I did not know what was the cost price, and what the selling price, of the goods. And so I could not figure what profit was made. Yet, if there is any way at all to arrive at so desirable a goal, Your Excellency should not hesitate to order further appropriate measures to be taken.

12. It is of the utmost importance that the missions be provided with laborers, to till the land, and so raise crops for their maintenance and progress. We would already have made a start in so doing,

were it not for the opposition of the Officer at the presidio—a situation I have described recently in a letter to the Reverend Father Guardian of our College, written about the middle of October, from San Diego. The original of that letter was turned over to the government offices of Your Excellency, where you may see it.

The easiest method seems to me the one we have presented from the beginning. I explained it in the said letter. It is this. Along with the sailors aboard ship, there should be a number of young men from the vicinity of San Blas. I should think that it would not be hard to find among them day laborers, cowboys and mule drivers. These should be divided among the missions—six to each, or four at least. But a rule should be made that the Officer of the presidio has no right to change them for a whole year; and that stipulation will inspire confidence in their minds. Otherwise, not a single one will be found to be willing to stay, especially as matters go now. Also, during the year their pay should be on the same basis as that of the sailors at San Blas; and in the missions they should receive free rations. And if at the end of the first year they wish to stay a second year, the same treatment should be continued. If they prefer to return to San Blas, by boat, they should be granted their request, and others should be provided to take their place.

13. It is of no less importance that, when the livestock arrives, which Your Excellency, in virtue of your decree, orders to be forwarded from California for the equipment of the Monterey missions, some Indian families from the said California should come, of their own free will, with the expedition, and that they should receive every consideration from the officials. They should be distributed, at least two or three being placed in each mission. By taking such measures two purposes will be accomplished. The first will be that there will be an additional two or three Indians for work. The second, and the one I have most in mind, is that the Indians may realize that, till now, they have been much mistaken when they saw all men, and no women, among us; that there are marriages, also, among Christians. Last year, when one of the San Diego Fathers went to California to get provisions, which had run short in that mission, he brought back with him, along with the rest of his company, two of the said families. At his arrival, there was quite a commotion among the new Christians, and even among the gentiles; they did not know what to make of these families, so great was their delight. Just to see these families was a lesson as useful to them as was their happiness at their arrival. So if families other than Indian come from there, it will serve the same purpose very well—that is, if we can provide for them.

14. It was a practice of long standing in California that the Father maintained in each mission a soldier of his own choice, not so much as an escort but as a foreman; they called him the missionary-soldier. In his hands the Father would leave the responsibility both of the work to be done on the farm and any other business that might turn up. When the soldier turned out to be a man you could rely on, he often remained in that position till old age.

Today, just the reverse is happening. It is enough just to hear that a soldier is a good manager, and serves the Father well, to have him immediately dismissed, and sent elsewhere. "Because," says the Officer at Monterey, quoting the Governor of California, "when the soldiers see themselves beloved, and in good standing with the Father, they immediately get puffed up—and that leads them to lose respect for authority." If that line is followed, only those soldiers will be sent to the missions who care not at all what the Fathers think of them, and show them neither respect nor consideration.

If such be the case, I ask Your Excellency to be good enough to let the Commanding Officer of the presidio know that the old custom is to be re-established, and that the soldier whom, in each mission, the Fathers elect for said services should be relieved of guard and sentinel duty and the care of horses; that he is not to be removed without serious reason; and this removal—at least to keep peace and harmony—is to be made known to the Father in charge. Such an arrangement is of considerable importance for the progress and temporal prosperity of the missions. The Father minister is not able to take care of everything by himself; neither can he attend to all the varied occupations personally, because in the monastery he was not trained along those lines.

15. In my own name, and in the name of all the missionaries who are in that far land of exile, I ask Your Excellency that an invoice of everything that is sent by boat to the missions for their upkeep during the following year should be sent also, and that it should be separate from what is sent to the Commanding Officer of the presidio and the escorts. That was the arrangement for the first year, and it gave no occasion for disagreement. The two following years, the Commissary at San Blas sent everything to the Officer of the presidio, for him to pass on to us, to keep us for a year, whatever he had a notion to give. Even the bells for which I asked the Most Excellent Marqués de Croix, as well as the two others I sent to San Blas to be recast—they were both cracked, and I wrote about them both to Your Excellency and to the Commissary at San Blas—arrived addressed to Don Pedro Fages, and Señor Trillo never wrote me a line about the whole matter. When I wanted to take them over, the Officer told me that they had come addressed to him, without any other instructions, and that he would do with them what he pleased.

Even our letters in San Blas are placed in the Officer's envelope, so that we should receive none except from his hand. The time and manner in which we received them I will tell you by word of mouth. The equipment that reaches us from our College, he says, is sent to him, and he is giving it to us. And so receipts are to be made out to him, and not to the Captain of the boat.

As regards our food supply—to last us a year, and to leave something over to give, at least, to the little Christian boys and girls—I intended to say a great deal, but will limit myself to this: that our sufferings are great; never have we, the religious, been in such dire

straits, and never has the said Officer been living in such plenty, as since the time he and we arrived in Monterey. May our poverty be accepted for the love of God, and may his plenty—I do not envy him it—do him good. What I do want and ask for is, that the missions be maintained, that there should be a mouthful over and above to give to our Christians and catechumens, and that Christianity be extended.

Only two Indians from California still remain at my San Carlos Mission. The rest I distributed among the other missions. When the Officer was partitioning out what was brought by pack train, and marked for Monterey, I asked him to make an entry in his accounts for the two said Indians, to which he replied that he would not give anything to any Indian, and that if I wanted to chase them away, I should do so.

To sum up the whole situation, my opinion is that, without a doubt, whatever, in your goodness, Your Excellency, or the King—whom God keep—sends us—and without it at the present time we could not keep going, nor could the missions be kept in existence—should be sent from here marked and addressed separately. I have already mentioned in the letter referred to, that this year the Missions of San Diego and San Gabriel are in poorer condition than last year, even though two boats arrived, while there was only one the year before. The explanation is that last year there was sent from here the full quota of supplies for San Diego, on the supposition that the packet boat *San José* had never reached there. And, in point of fact, it never did arrive.

16. Seeing that Your Excellency has already ordered a forge to be brought in the last shipload for San Diego Mission—which, after many difficulties, I succeeded in having delivered by the Officer—one thing yet remains: that Your Excellency should send a blacksmith there. They are sadly in need of one there—both for the boats, which always need some shop repairs, and for the distant Monterey Mission. It will often happen that, while the men are at work, an ax head flies off the handle, a hoe or some other tool gets broken, and all they can do is to throw it aside. If they send it to the Monterey Presidio for repairs—and that is the only place where there is a forge and a blacksmith—it might be kept there a year. In my own mission, which is just a stone's throw away, it is quite usual for an ax, which could be mended in fifteen minutes, to be kept several weeks. And so the work has to wait.

17. In view of what I have just told you, I earnestly ask Your Excellency for an additional forge and blacksmith. If it were set up at the Carmel Mission it could also serve the Missions of San Antonio and San Luis. Not only would we get better service, but we would be able to have some of the newly converted youths learn the trade. This the Fathers of said missions, in their last letters, are most insistent upon. They are tired of dealing with the presidio, where the Officer does not absolutely refuse, but where repairs are done very slowly, and, all too frequently, a bad job is made of them.

With a blacksmith in San Diego, the missions nearby can be served from there, and the one in Carmel can serve those of San Antonio and San Luis.

18. I beg of Your Excellency that, for the setting up of the two said forges, you order that there be sent and delivered to the two missions a goodly supply of iron—partly in bars, partly in sheets—and that it be clearly stated that it is sent for the missions. In that way, so as to get possession of it, we will avoid any further difficulties or counterclaims on the part of the presidio.

19. We are in as much need of two carpenters as we are of two blacksmiths, one for the missions near Monterey, and the other to be located at Mission San Gabriel de los Temblores, where San Diego and San Buenaventura can make use of him. Both of them should come equipped with the tools of their trade. All of these matters could easily be attended to, if Your Excellency would give whatever orders seem suitable to you to someone in Guadalajara. There could easily be sent from there the two blacksmiths, the two carpenters, and all of their equipment. But they should be clearly given to understand that the equipment is not their own, but the property of the respective missions.

20. Keeping in mind that it is the practice of His Majesty—God bless him—to give to each of the newly founded missions two bells, a large and a small one, I make mention that, at the present time, there are needed: two for the San Gabriel Mission, already founded, two for the Santa Clara Mission, and two others for that of San Francisco, when founded. And if of the four cast in San Blas, the Officer takes one for the presidio, there will yet be one needed for the San Luis Mission. Therefore, I ask Your Excellency to be so good as to order the four bells that were recently sent to Monterey to be handed over to me, and that three more pairs of bells be sent for the three said missions. And if it suits Your Excellency to send one more to be placed at the presidio, to ring for Mass and the *Angelus*, etc., it seems a very fitting thing to do, and I will have it placed there without fail.

While we are on the subject, I might add that, having inspected those cast in San Blas, and comparing the expenses entailed with what it would cost to buy them in Mexico, plus the transportation—to have them cast in San Blas does not represent any great saving; therefore it would be better to have them sent from this city already cast. In addition, those made in San Blas are ugly and of poor quality. I am in no position to pass judgment on their tone, because I did not see them hung to test them.

21. Since it is the practice of His Majesty, whom God keep, to give the furnishings, the sacred vessels and the other church accessories connected with the administration of the Holy Sacraments to newly founded missions, the Most Excellent Marqués de Croix ordered each of the various commissaries to collect from the sacristies of the expelled Jesuits what had been assigned to each respectively and to

put into large and adequate packing cases all the types of articles mentioned in the memorandum which His Excellency sent them.

The result was that when I inspected the five cases that came to me at Monterey for the five new missions, I found that two were not merely of the kind we needed, but that the articles were costly and valuable. Of these, one is for the Mission of our Father San Francisco, and the other for that of Santa Clara. But of the other three, which I gave to the Missions of San Luis, San Antonio and San Gabriel, the furnishings were all old, broken, and in a sad state, with the one exception that the commissary who prepared the case that fell to the lot of Mission San Antonio took the pains to have all the furnishings repaired, and the white linens washed and cleaned, so that the whole collection, while being poor and old, was at any rate passable.

But the furnishings in the other two cases are falling to pieces, and dirty—in a word, unusable. And so I was obliged to give from the Monterey vestments, three chasubles of considerable value to the three said missions: one to each, so that they may celebrate with some sort of decency. But antependia and chasubles, of the full range of colors, I cannot give, because I do not have them. And so I ask Your Excellency, out of those that may be distributed from the belongings of the Jesuit Fathers, or if new ones are being made on order, to be so good as to order that the said missions be provided with proper vestments. Also that, whatever Mission Santa Clara is still without, as can be seen from the list I am enclosing herewith, be sent along. I have no doubt that such action would be most conformable with the mind and wishes of our Catholic Monarch, who, always zealous for the splendor of Divine Worship, has never stopped at any expense in order to promote it.

22. Your Excellency might be so good as to give strict orders to the Officer in command not to put difficulties in the way of communications by letter between the religious in the missions and those of our College; to prohibit, under severe penalty, the opening of letters or sending them astray; to give orders likewise that, when there happens to be a courier, he should notify us, and allow us sufficient time to write all we have in mind to write. Furthermore, I most humbly beg Your Excellency that the said letters from us be delivered to our College free, and without mail expense. The Reverend Father Guardian of this College tells me that he has to pay a large amount on that account. Seeing that the missions do not have any other funds than the *sinodo*—pure and simple—that my Lord the King—whom God keep—in his charity gives us, it seems to be an unnecessary hardship that we must pinch ourselves just to be able to get news of our own brethren and of activities in the missions. The worthy soldiers have that privilege. But who are more soldiers than we, who are continually on the battlefield, and as exposed as any soldier to the arrows of the enemy?

23. I suggest that the scales at San Blas should be regulated so

that one fanega contains twelve almuds, as is the common rule, and that they should not give us, as they have until now, nine and a half or ten to the fanega; and in that way we have to certify that we have received such and such number of fanegas, so that in looking over the receipts here, it is a very different story from what we have in reality and in truth received.

24. When once this improvement of measures has been made, orders should be given that a whole series of weights be cast in San Blas, viz.: a half-fanega, quartilla, almud, half-almud and quartillo,¹³⁸ for each of the missions; the official stamp should be marked on them, as is usual in Mexico and everywhere in proof of their legality. Thus fortified, both for the present and the future, we will be on a firm ground as to the exact weight of what is given out and what is taken in; and fraud will be eliminated—an impossibility without taking such precautions.

25. It seems to me that it would be most helpful if Your Excellency were to give strict orders to the said Commissary at San Blas, that he take greater care than he has till now taken in the packing of provisions forwarded for the maintenance of these missions and presidio. If the corn is put on board when it has already been attacked by grubs, and is full of maggots—and the same goes for the rest of the supplies—what will be its state when it arrives at its destination, and what condition will it be in when the time comes to eat it? The corn that has been put on board fresh and in good condition has arrived there in the same good condition. But sometimes, when we received it with the kernels empty, the Captain of the boat answered that that was the way it was loaded in San Blas. Last year there was no meat; and this year, what did come, besides being small in quantity, was so maggoty and putrid that very reasonably it was said to be the same that was to have come the year before; and not having much room in the boat, our meat supply was neither much, nor little, but nil.

There is nothing in greater abundance in the countryside around San Blas than herds of cows. Counting this year, it will now be two years since our poor men have been promised—ever since we got there—as part of their daily ration, half a pound or six ounces of meat. They have practically not tasted any other meat than what they have obtained from the gentiles or from hunting.

But, this last year the greatest pity of all has been concerning the flour, which is, of all the things that are sent us, or may be sent, the most helpful and most basic for the sustenance of life. It was put in plain sacks of poor material made of burlap or hemp, and consequently ran out at every motion or contact; and so the assignments arrived minus much that should have been there. And it is not hard to picture how much more they would be diminished when, after a lengthy journey, they arrived at their respective missions. How much money is thus thrown to the winds, both for what is lost—of the better quality—and for what is saved! If Your Excellency would kindly

order the said article to be sent under the same stipulations that the Most Excellent Marqués de Croix laid down, such great losses would be avoided; and, with the same number of boatloads, there would be food to eat for a much longer time.

26. I wish once more to remind Your Excellency that all the missions are in the direst need of mules, so much so that those at some distance from the ports cannot possibly carry their provisions from them.

Had the Officer at the presidio not taken away from the two Missions of San Carlos and San Diego the mules given them by the Governor in the beginning, as I mentioned in my previous letter—and for which I am looking to Your Excellency for an adequate remedy—then these two missions would have been able to help their next-door neighbors. But the presidio took them all into protective custody; and with their ill-planned and, for the most part, purposeless transportation of goods, they are in a fair way to be the death of them all, a consummation helped on by the deserters, who stole some of them, and by gentiles, who slaughtered others and ate their flesh. And, therefore, it seems to me a matter of the greatest importance that Your Excellency provide in this regard what you judge most fitting. Above all, a herd of mares and donkeys should be formed to breed mules; otherwise we will never emerge from our difficulties in this particular.

27. I earnestly beg of Your Excellency that the stock herd which, in the general distribution, was assigned to the two Missions of our Father San Francisco and of Santa Clara, together with the offspring from it, dating back to that day, should be handed over to me. I asked for it in the letter referred to, since there is every chance that we will take better care of the animals in the missions than they do in the presidio. This also will give us the chance to get a little more milk to help our little Christians—this being almost the only food we could afford to give them thus far.

28. May I recall to Your Excellency's memory that, at the time the expedition was setting out, a surgeon was appointed to it, by the name of Don Pedro Prat.¹³⁹ When we arrived at Monterey, the boat brought quite a supply of medicines for the use of the said surgeon, who was to keep what was needed for the presidio, and give to the missions what might be useful to them. He was to write down in a notebook the purpose for which each of the medicines was used, and how and when it should be used. But unfortunately it happened that on the day we found the Port of Monterey, the surgeon lost his mind. He remained a whole year at the presidio, completely out of his mind. Later, he was taken away, on board ship, and finally he died at the hospital conducted by the Bethlehemite Fathers in Guadalaxara. The medicines are still there. Should Your Excellency graciously send another surgeon to take the place of the one deceased, we would have the satisfaction of having a patient bled, if necessary, and having someone to attend to a wound, a cut, a sore, or any other emergency which the skill and dexterity of such a practitioner could properly handle.

29. I ask Your Excellency for leave of absence for five soldiers, volunteers from Catalonia who reside at Monterey, who were married in Spain; for another who is uncertain whether he is a widower or not; and for another who is a total invalid. It will give the poor fellows much happiness. Here are their names:

Sergeant Puig, married.	Gerónimo Planes, married.
Pablo Ferrer, married.	Valentín Planells, married.
Francisco Bombau, married.	Domingo Clua, invalid.
Domingo Malaret, uncertain.	

And of the leather-jacket soldiers, I ask the same favor for three who are married in faraway parts, and absent from their families for a long time.

The first is Miguel de Islas, an honest Spaniard, married in Mexico, where his wife and daughter are living; and he has been away from them for seven years.

The second, Juan Antonio Coronel, a mulatto, married in Sinaloa, and away from his wife for many years.

The third is married in San Luis Potosí; his surname is Sambrano; I do not remember his first name; I know only that he is married, and that he is a completely worthless fellow.

As regards these three, and also those mentioned above, it seems to me that it would be something most agreeable to God if Your Excellency would graciously allow them to return to their homes.

30. I also ask Your Excellency that you allow a bounty for those, be they soldiers or not, who enter into the state of marriage with girls of that faraway country, new Christian converts. On that point, the Most Illustrious Inspector General gave repeated orders to Don Pedro Fages, but I was not able to ascertain the exact terms and conditions.¹⁴⁰ However, whatever the case may be, it seems to me that anyone who marries after this fashion should be allowed to stay permanently attached to his wife's mission, without being removed to another; that he should be allowed an animal, immediately for his own use, if he is without one; and that, after he has worked a year or more on the mission farms, he be given from the royal herd two cows and a mule, or whatever may appear most suitable to Your Excellency. Lastly that, as time goes on, he might be assigned a piece of land for his own personal use provided he has nothing else to fall back upon.

31. I earnestly beg of Your Excellency that, when the new Commanding Officer shall be installed as Commandant of the Presidio of Monterey, he be allowed to publish, in the name of Your Excellency, a decree granting a general amnesty to deserters, if there are still any of them scattered among the gentiles. In this way, we will give peace of mind to the gentiles, and we will regain those wretched Christians who have gone astray. It would be a great encouragement for all to see so striking an example of Your Excellency's good will and leniency towards those poor culprits.

Lastly—and as a conclusion to so many requests, all directed towards the one purpose which I outlined in the beginning of this lengthy document—I ask, with all due respect, that whatever measures Your Excellency will be pleased to adopt in reference to my recommendations, you will be good enough to see that a copy, or exact duplicate, of everything be given me, for my own future guidance, and that of the other missionaries. The reason is that, if I know precisely what Your Excellency has ordered the Commissary at San Blas to do, I will be able to remind him of it, if the necessity should arise. If I am acquainted, also, with what is required of the Governor of California¹⁴¹ concerning such matters as the sending of livestock to the new missions; the arming and equipping of new soldiers, who will come from the other coast to Monterey—and they come at their own expense; the sending to San Diego or San Blas of the packing cases which are referred to in number 4 of this memorandum, and anything else that Your Excellency may order him, it will enable me to do the same thing.

But, first and foremost, and most emphatically, do I ask this as regards any order or instruction that may be given the Commanding Officer at the Presidio of Monterey; if we have any knowledge of the existence of such orders, Your Excellency may rest assured that neither I, nor any of my religious, will wish even in the slightest degree to do anything in opposition to such orders—a thing that might easily occur, if we were unaware of their existence.¹⁴²

To sum up: Your Excellency, in this matter, as in all others, will graciously decide, order and command whatever may seem most fitting to you. As for myself, I feel perfectly confident, knowing your great prudence and zeal, that whatever appears the proper thing for you to do will always be what is for the best.

My wishes are that you arrive at these decisions as soon as possible, so that I may be able the sooner to take to the road once more to return to that poverty-stricken and far-distant vineyard of the Lord. And seeing that at present the state of my health is none too good, I will have to make the trip somewhat slowly.

And, so as not to stop asking for something right to the end, I beg Your Excellency to order some small allowance for the expenses of my trip. I would take it as a sign of your very special graciousness and favor towards me.

May our Lord God keep Your Excellency for as many years as my sincere affection wishes for you, in His holy love and grace.

Apostolic College of San Fernando of the Franciscan missionaries of this Court of Mexico, March 13, 1773.

Most Excellent Sir,

Kissing the hand of Your Excellency,

Your most humble servant and chaplain, who holds you
in the highest respect, etc.,

Fray Junípero Serra

Memorandum

of church furnishings which were asked for under heading No. 21 in the present representation for the missions therein described.

For Mission San Luis Obispo:

1. Five chasubles of the five colors: white, red, green, purple and black.

Item: five antependia corresponding to the said chasubles in color and quality.

Item: three copes: white, purple and black, if at all possible of the same kind and colors as the chasubles and antependia.

Item: one humeral veil and stole together with a canopy for the administration of the Most Holy Viaticum.

For the San Gabriel Mission:

The same articles both as to number and color as are given and described for the previous mission.

For the San Antonio Mission:

Three chasubles: i. e., white, red and black.

Item: three antependia of the same kind and colors.

Remark: The green and purple, because they are less used, can be left as they are, although they have long been in use, as I have mentioned in the aforesaid heading.

Item: one humeral veil with its stole and a canopy for administering Viaticum.

For the Santa Clara Mission:

Although the said mission has very good vestments, as I have mentioned under the said heading, the Commissary noted, at the end of his report, that being pressed for time he had omitted to send out of what His Excellency had instructed him to forward, the following articles—thus making the consignment incomplete:

A case containing the three oil stocks made of silver, together with their box.

Item: a little salt container of silver for Baptisms.

Item: a Roman Ritual, with its Toledan Appendix.

Item: two surplices.

I do not know whether some other articles may be missing, because the report containing the said remark was left in Monterey; and in order that all the above be given credence I have placed my signature in this Apostolic College of San Fernando, March 15, 1773.

Fray Junípero Serra