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WHAT THEY BROUGHT: THE ALTA CALIFORNIA
FRANCISCANS BEFORE 1769

For a long period beginning in the nineteenth century, historians of California generally characterized missionaries during the Spanish and Mexican eras in one of two ways: as heroic agents of civilization or nefarious purveyors of destruction. The heroic interpretation became dominant in works influenced by the Spanish Revival movement, and it was also evident in the writings of the great Franciscan historians Zephyryn Engelhardt, Maynard J. Geiger, and Francis F. Guest, all of whom based their work on the trove of documents at the Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library. In the 1980s and 1990s, the nefarious interpretation became especially pronounced, due to a number of books that appeared in connection with the controversies surrounding the proposed canonization of Junípero Serra and the commemoration of the Columbus quincentenary.¹

In the past fifteen years, however, mission historians have consciously shifted their perspective to focus on Indians. In this new framework, the missionaries have been, very properly, de-centered. They tend to be regarded as an important set of people who—along with soldiers and settlers—made up part of the context and shaped part of the environment in which native Californians were active agents. As one set of actors among many, they were shaped in complex ways by all those with whom they interacted. Thus it is possible to see them in a more nuanced light.²

This essay is in that vein, for we endeavor to move beyond celebration or condemnation. Using Junípero Serra as an exemplar, we seek to determine how a person's identity as a Spanish Franciscan might affect both his choice to become a missionary in New Spain and how he lived out that choice. For Serra and his religious brothers, one of the most exciting things about Alta California was that they were in the first group of Spanish colonists to arrive there. They believed that elsewhere in New Spain, settlers, soldiers, and officials had oppressed the native peoples

and inhibited the spread of the gospel. They thought that Alta California offered them a chance to set things right. They idealized Alta California as a fertile and inviting field. These missionaries did not realize that their assessment was deeply colored by the militant religious suppositions they had brought from early modern Spain and by their struggles with other Spanish colonists over how to treat indigenous peoples, a question that had divided religious and civil authorities in New Spain since the early sixteenth century. They viewed Alta California and its inhabitants through a lens that owed far more to the history of Spain and central Mexico than to anything or anyone that actually existed in Alta California. What Junípero Serra wanted to accomplish with the native peoples of Alta California was shaped by what he and his order had learned from their experiences in Mallorca, Mexico City, the Sierra Gorda, and Baja California.

We chose to focus on Serra because he was father president of the Alta California missions, because his activities produced a rich documentary record, and because he has come to symbolize the entire California missionary enterprise. However, a cautionary note is in order. Serra's voice was not the only missionary voice. Indeed, even during his lifetime, his views were far from unchallenged. In 1771 his former student and closest missionary companion, Francisco Palóu, wrote to Mexico City to criticize Serra for wanting to establish too many missions too quickly. In 1775 his religious superior in Mexico City, exasperated by Serra's tendency to act without sufficient consultation, publicly chastised him and severely limited his powers in a strongly worded letter that he sent to all the California missionaries. We can learn much about the missionary experience by examining Serra—but not everything. His fellow missionaries could and did disagree with him. Tensions within the missionary community were more common than is often realized.³

Petra

Since this volume is occasioned by the completion of the Early California Population Project, let us introduce Junípero Serra with two baptismal entries contained in that marvelous database. One, dated December 26, 1770, records Serra's first baptism in Alta California. It reads:

In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Amen
On December 26, 1770, in the church of this mission,
San Carlos de Monterrey, I solemnly baptized a boy,

about five years old, the son of gentile parents who willingly presented him to the Catholic Church. And I named him Bernardino de Jesús. His godfather was Lieutenant Don Pedro Fages, an officer of the Company of Catalonian Volunteers and commander of the Royal Presidio of this port. I reminded him of the spiritual bond and obligation he entered into. And in order for it to be on record, I signed it.

Fr. Junípero Serra

Why did Serra name the first Indian he baptized in Alta California Bernardino? The answer most likely lies in the village of his birth, Petra, on the eastern side of the Mediterranean island of Mallorca. Petra had two churches. One was named San Pedro. This is where Miguel José Serra was baptized on November 24, 1713. The other church, where young Serra attended a Franciscan grammar school, was named San Bernardino.⁴

Another entry records a baptism he performed on September 3, 1782. It reads:

On September 3, 1782, in the church of this mission, San Carlos de Monterrey, I solemnly baptized a girl, about thirteen years old, the daughter of gentile parents from Sargenta-Ruc, the same parents of the boy Leonardo, number 300 in this book. I gave her the name María de Buen-año, (in honor of Most Holy Mary of my beloved homeland). Her godmother was María del Carmen Chamorro, wife of Corporal José Marcelino Bravo. I advised her of her responsibilities. And in order for it to be on record, I signed it.

Fr. Junípero Serra

Here the reference to Mallorca (“my beloved homeland”) is explicit. The name Serra gave the child was an allusion to a devotion to Mary under the title of “Bonany” (Catalán for “Buen Año” [good year]). This was a Mallorcan devotion dating from 1609, a year of bountiful harvests after many years of drought. The “good year” was attributed to the villagers’ prayers to Mary. A chapel to Mary was built outside of Petra to commemorate the happy result. As it happened, the harvest at Mission San Carlos was projected to be a poor one in September 1782. This baptismal record suggests

that Serra hoped to encourage the Virgin to act in Monterey Bay as he believed she had acted in Petra. Half a century after he left his ancestral village, its traditions were still very much a part of Junípero Serra.⁵

Petra was a very old rural settlement; its roots may have reached back to Roman times. Serra was proud of its history. In 1748 he boasted that his village was one of the four oldest *villas* on the island. Serra grew up close to the land in a region where the forces of nature determined much about the quality of life. Cycles of drought had long been a fact of life on Mallorca. During the Middle Ages, Mallorca had won the right to alleviate famines by trading for wheat among the Muslims of southern Spain and northern Africa. Engaging in such commerce thus became one of the traditional privileges (*fueros*) of the island. Drought likely featured among Serra's last memories of Mallorca. In 1747, two years before he left for the Americas, the harvests began to fail. By the end of the 1740s, the island's farmers were bringing in only one-sixth of the amount of wheat they had harvested only a few years earlier. A number of the wealthier Mallorcan families left for the mainland and their absence appears to have contributed to a further decline in the local economy.⁶

These Mallorcan agricultural catastrophes left a permanent mark on Serra. His correspondence demonstrates his insatiable desire to leave no detail of the agricultural and economic development of the missions unattended. Large sections of his 1773 *representación* to the viceroy, which is mostly remembered for Serra's successful appeal to get Pedro Fages replaced as military commander of Alta California, were devoted to the issues of maintaining and supplying the struggling missions. Serra's remarks covered a range of topics, such as the necessity of immediately readying a new frigate, the best way for invoices to be drawn up at San Blas, and the reasons why the missions needed another forge and a blacksmith.⁷

Another aspect of life in Petra continued to influence Serra. After around 1720, it appears that the production of textiles increased notably in the rural areas of the island. In Mallorca, as elsewhere in Europe, most of this work was done by women. Figures are hard to come by, but it appears that between 1720 and 1755, when Serra was growing up in Petra, studying and teaching in Palma, and traveling widely throughout the Mallorcan countryside as a preacher, textile exports from the island almost tripled. Women therefore played an especially important economic role in the communities in which Serra lived and worked during this period. For Serra and the Mallorcans who accompanied him to the New World, the well-ordered rural community included women who were engaged in weaving and other forms of domestic production. In his

laudatory biography of Serra, Palóu described his and Serra's missionary activities in the Sierra Gorda from 1750 to 1758 in terms that harked back to their experiences in the Balearic Islands. Under Serra's leadership, he said, "the harvests increased and became so abundant that some was left over," and the native women were employed "in tasks befitting their sex, such as spinning, weaving, making stockings, knitting, sewing, and so forth." In some ways, Serra's journey to the New World represented a journey back to Petra.⁸

Becoming Junípero

Serra left Petra when he was fifteen years old. He then spent a year studying with one of the canons of the cathedral in Palma. He applied for admission to the Franciscans soon after he celebrated his sixteenth birthday but his petition was denied. The reason may have been that people named "Serra" had been identified and punished by the Mallorcan Inquisition from the end of the fifteenth century until at least the beginning of the seventeenth century. Serra reapplied about six months later and was accepted. He spent a year as a novice, a period during which he lived in a Franciscan community and studied Franciscan spirituality. In September 1731, he formally became a Franciscan by taking solemn vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. On this occasion, he changed his name to Junípero.⁹

It was not unusual for young religious to take the name of a favorite saint or a holy person when they took their vows. They might add that name to their given name, as a type of middle name. In this way they were expressing their devotion to a significant figure in their religious development. However, it was unusual for them to use that new name in place of their given name. Of all the Mallorcan Franciscans who came to the New World, Serra seems to have been the only one to have done that. What was the significance of this choice?¹⁰

Brother Junípero was one of the companions of Francis of Assisi, the founder of the order. Brother Junípero was known for patience, humility, and simplicity. None of these are qualities that one spontaneously associates with Junípero Serra. Perhaps Serra knew himself well enough to realize that these were qualities that he would always have to struggle to attain. If so, then his choice of name suggests that he anticipated that life as a member of a religious order would be a challenging struggle to attain a series of ideals.¹¹

The name Junípero also had general connotations of strength. Francis is supposed to have once said, "Would that I had a forest of Junipers."

Perhaps this aspiration was personal as well, for Serra himself was small and slight and always seemed to be pushing himself to compensate for a lack of physical prowess. As a novice, he had been embarrassed that he was too short to reach a lectern to perform a regular duty of the novices—turning the pages of the book for the friar who was leading the chant.¹²

Finally, a local variety of the juniper plant, *ginebró*, flourished in the Mallorcan countryside. The choice of the name thus may also be another reference to his childhood and his place of birth—Serra’s way of saying that his new identity as a Franciscan would incorporate his older one as a resident of rural Mallorca.¹³

For centuries Spaniards and other Europeans had been changing indigenous names of people and places in the Americas to European names as an expression of the new colonial relationship. As we have seen, Serra did the same thing in California, but he had first done it to himself. In Serra, we encounter a man for whom adopting a new name to express a new identity and a new relationship was a normal part of life.

Ramón Llull

After Serra finished his novitiate on the outskirts of Palma, he moved into the city. He studied and taught at the university named for one of the most famous Mallorcans, Ramón Llull. Theologian, philosopher, mystic, poet, scholar, and the author of over one hundred works, Llull was born in Mallorca in 1232 and died in 1315. He was a member of the third order of Saint Francis, a group designed for those who wished to cultivate Franciscan spirituality in their lives without becoming priests, brothers, or sisters. Llull’s tomb was in the great Franciscan church in Palma, Sant Francesc, in whose convent Serra lived for almost twenty years.¹⁴

Llull was very interested in missionary work to the Muslims of North Africa. He traveled there a number of times to engage Muslim scholars and leaders in conversation and to preach there. In this he was reminiscent of Francis of Assisi, who had once traveled to Egypt to preach to Sultan Melek el-Kamel. In 1276, Llull even started a school on Mallorca to train missionaries in Arabic.¹⁵

Llull’s reputation in official church circles waxed and waned over the centuries after his death, but in Mallorca he was always regarded very favorably. The university in Palma, founded in 1483, was named the “*Estudio General Lulliano*.” Even after its name was officially changed in 1526, it continued to be called the “*Lullian university*.” In 1721 a definitive edition of Llull’s works was completed in Germany, and this gave rise to what one Llull scholar has termed a “*flurry*” of publications in Mallorca:

between 1720 and 1750, at least forty-three editions of various Llull works were published on the island.¹⁶

This growing of interest in Llull was part of a larger cultural development in Mallorca in the first decades of the eighteenth century. Since being conquered by King Jaime I of Aragón in 1229, Mallorca's primary association with the Spanish mainland had been with that northeastern region of the Iberian Peninsula. Like most Aragón-related jurisdictions, Mallorca favored the claim of Hapsburg Archduke Charles over that of the Bourbon Duke of Anjou, Philip, in the succession controversy at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Mallorca felt that the Hapsburgs would be more likely than the Bourbons to retain the traditional local privileges (*fueros*) that the island had enjoyed. When the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–14) ended with Philip on the throne, he was quick to extend his control over Mallorca. In 1714 the royal fleet appeared off of Palma and an army landed on the eastern coast. In 1715 the army entered Felanitx, about ten miles south of Petra. The conquest was achieved in short order and the traditional local privileges were superseded by a decree known as the *Nueva Planta*, issued in 1715. This was one of a series of decrees propagated in a number of localities by which the Bourbons imposed their central authority. The Mallorcan version of the *Nueva Planta* reduced local power, including the power of the Church.¹⁷

The new authorities took additional steps to exert control over the island. In 1721 the commander general ordered his troops to fan out through the countryside to put down remnants of local resistance. In the countryside, people often took refuge in churches, but the Bourbon troops disregarded the right of sanctuary and routinely entered churches to make arrests. And, in 1747, two years before Serra left for the New World, the army swept through Palma and forcibly conscripted a large number of young men, who were sent to join the royal forces in the siege of Naples.¹⁸

In the context of these events, the revival of interest in Llull can be seen as part of the reassertion of what one historian has termed an "insular nationalism" in the face of Bourbon initiatives. In another cultural assault, the Bourbon centralizers and the early patrons of the Spanish Enlightenment who were associated with them tended to disparage local cults. Benito Jerónimo Feijóo, one of the leading exponents of this trend, ridiculed Llull's most significant work, the *Ars Magna*, scornfully noting that in Mallorca, Llull was venerated as a saint and his words were regarded as "the trumpet of the Holy Spirit." Antoni Ramón Pascual, a

colleague of Serra's at the Lullian University, published a two-volume response to Feijóo and defense of Llull in 1749–50.¹⁹

As a result of the association of Llull with Mallorcan pride, one of the major annual events in Mallorca became the sermon preached on Llull's feast day, January 25, in the church of Sant Francesc. On January 25, 1749, that sermon was preached by none other than Junípero Serra. A copy of it has not survived, but Palóu tells us that a retired faculty member said that the sermon should be "printed in letters of gold." The sermon connects Serra very closely with the local tradition of Mallorca and suggests that he was among those who opposed the centralization and the military efforts that were used to enforce it.²⁰

By the time Serra arrived in New Spain, the tensions between missionaries and soldiers had a long history. Indeed, events in New Spain are sufficient to explain the quarrels between Serra and a series of military officers in Alta California. Serra's antipathy to the military, however, was particularly intense compared with other missionaries. It figured in a number of conflicts, but perhaps most forcefully in the disputes he had with military commander Fernando de Rivera y Moncada in the mid-1770s. Their quarrel was ferocious. When Serra wrote Rivera and rather sanctimoniously expressed the hope that God might forgive Rivera for all the trouble he was causing Serra, Rivera shot back that Serra was the one who needed divine forgiveness. He told Serra to stop whining: undiplomatically, he asked for "less noise." Serra was particularly irked when, in an echo of Bourbon behavior in Mallorca, Rivera personally entered a room that was being used as a chapel at the San Diego presidio and arrested a baptized Indian who had been one of the leaders of the 1775 Kumeyaay revolt and was claiming sanctuary there.²¹

"The Other"

As in many places in Spain, Mallorca's own identity was closely associated with struggles against the "other." The Inquisition had been set up on the island at the same time that it was established in the rest of the Iberian Peninsula in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. But at least in its formal activities, the Inquisition was less active after about the middle of the sixteenth century. The next hundred years were a time of economic troubles for both Spain and Mallorca. This period climaxed around 1650, when a plague ravaged the island, killing as much as 20 percent of the population. Prosperity began to return to Spain in the second half of the seventeenth century. The coastal areas were the first to experience this, and Mallorca participated in it. However, the gradual rise in prosperity

appears to have increased tensions on the island, sparking some resentment against the *conversos* (baptized Catholics of Jewish descent), who were the backbone of Palma's commercial class. These people found themselves targeted.²²

In 1675, the Inquisition condemned a Jewish man fleeing from North Africa to be burned alive in Palma. It conducted mass arrests and trials in 1679 and, in an *auto-da-fé* in 1691, burned three conversos alive. The Inquisition also seized large amounts of property as part of this persecution. According to Henry Kamen, the confiscations were the largest in all three centuries of the Spanish Inquisition. The moves against the conversos, who were called *chuetas*, a derogatory term probably derived from the diminutive of an old Mallorcan word for "Jew," basically involved the seizure and redistribution of much of the commercial wealth of Palma.²³

During the entire eighteenth century, conversos could live only in a specific part of the city. *Autos-da-fé* were held in Palma in 1722 and 1724, although no one was executed in connection with them. However, open hostility to the conversos continued throughout the eighteenth century. For example, in 1755 the Inquisition in Mallorca published a list of all the people on the island whom it had punished since 1645. Also in 1755, a 1691 book by the Jesuit Francisco Garau, describing in gruesome detail the executions at the end of the seventeenth century, was republished in Palma. In 1772 the *chuetas* of Mallorca addressed a formal petition and protest to King Carlos III, who issued three decrees in the 1780s forbidding various forms of discrimination against them.²⁴

During the 1740s, Serra was a *comisario* (investigator) of the Inquisition.²⁵ His formal participation mainly involved examining works for their orthodoxy to determine whether they should be published, a task not explicitly related to the treatment of conversos. Living in a city with a large and identifiable converso population, however, affected how Serra and Spaniards with similar experiences looked upon the fundamental task of a missionary: conversion. To put it simply, association with the Inquisition and residence in a city known for its anti-converso actions caused Serra and those like him to suspect the authenticity of conversions. The more the Inquisition took action against so-called Judaizantes, the more it raised doubts about the sincerity of the "conversion" of the conversos.

In this context, any deviation from the officially sanctioned norms of Christian behavior would be regarded as a deliberate turning away from the true religion. Much of Serra's later disagreements in Alta California with Governor Felipe de Neve revolved around Neve's attempts to hasten

what he regarded as the assimilation of the indigenous peoples by creating meaningful positions of local authority for them within the colonial order. Serra objected to this because he was convinced that these Indians were, in their own fashion, secret Judaizantes, that is, people who were holding on to their traditional ways after baptism. In 1780 Serra bitterly complained to Neve that Baltazar, a baptized Indian who had been elected *alcalde* at Carmel, had proven to be a “deserter . . . inciting the people here, meeting personally with those who leave here with permission, and thereby trying to swell the members of his band.” In Serra’s judgment, Baltazar’s behavior had proven that his conversion was insincere, and he was not the only false convert. At both San Gabriel and San Luis Obispo, Serra complained, the office of *alcalde* had been bestowed on native leaders who had not totally renounced their native traditions. These natives’ sexual activity was central to his complaints. He called Baltazar an “adulterer.” He also stated that the San Luis Obispo *alcalde* “kidnaped another man’s wife and took off with her,” and grumbled that the San Gabriel *alcalde*, Nicolás, “was supplying women to as many soldiers as asked for them.”²⁶

When contemporary historians, archaeologists, or anthropologists look at the two-millennia-long history of Christian evangelization, some conclude that most populations targeted by missionaries neither wholly accept nor wholly reject Christianity. In missionary preaching, Christian concepts were necessarily interpreted through the prism of indigenous religion. Christian words gained new meaning as they were filtered through indigenous vocabulary and grammar and as Christian elements were incorporated into an indigenous worldview. The result of all this was often a spirituality that was neither simply Christian nor simply indigenous, but was a fundamentally new blend of the two. Historians of European religion have taught us that the “spread” of Christianity there was often really the creation of a new type of religion. The religion that was created and often re-created in constantly evolving forms was derived from both Christian and pre-Christian elements.²⁷

Some Christian missionaries acknowledged this constant dynamic. Jesuit missionaries to China in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries largely based their evangelization strategies on emphasizing commonalities between Christian and local religious traditions. Sixteenth-century Franciscans in central Mexico did the same. But in Alta California, the early missionary approach tended to be less accommodating, in part because of Serra’s suspicions about converts, derived from his association with the Inquisition in Mallorca.²⁸

Some of Serra's contemporaries attempted to adopt a somewhat open view to indigenous forms of expression and to lay the groundwork for a less confrontational understanding of native California culture and religion. Thanks to the work of the late Alan Brown, we know that Juan Crespí's diaries recorded many detailed scenes of native life. But Brown also demonstrates how systematically both Palóu and Serra excised precisely those sections before allowing the diaries to be circulated. Father Vicente de Santa María's descriptions of native life in the San Francisco Bay region were rendered in an open and, for his day, generous fashion. Perhaps that was one of the reasons Serra branded him as "rather difficult to manage." Serra's background, by contrast, could make him somewhat uninterested in native spirituality and religion. For him, the persistence of these traditions created the temptation to backslide. In his mind, the Christian California Indians were like the chuetas of Mallorca, and he was always suspicious of them when they were out of sight. For instance, in a mission's early years, when the nascent complex was not a self-sustaining agricultural entity, priests had to allow mission residents periodic trips to their own home villages and landscapes. Serra tolerated this, but only barely. When he thought an individual was taking too long in returning, he would grow angry if the soldiers did not immediately organize a search party and go out after the "fugitive."²⁹

Serra's distrust of native beliefs and traditions did not persist among all the Franciscans who came after him. The Ohlone people who were painted by Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff as they danced at Mission San Jose in 1806 or the Petaluma people whom Louis Choris depicted as dancing in the plaza of Mission Dolores a decade later did so with at least the tacit approval of the resident missionary. Among these more tolerant Franciscans was the priest in charge at Mission San Luis Rey, Antonio Peyri, a Catalán who arrived in Alta California twelve years after Serra's death. Peyri had been living among the same group of native people for twenty-nine consecutive years, and he appears to have accepted the persistence of indigenous traditions. His approach was somewhat different from Serra's. When Auguste Duhaut-Cilly visited Mission San Luis Rey in 1827, he witnessed a native dance there and remarked of the Indians, "Although they may all be Christians, they retain many of their former beliefs, which the padres, as a matter of policy, pretend not to notice."³⁰

Jews were not the only "other" represented in eighteenth-century Mallorca. The island had originally been conquered from the Moors by King Jaime I in 1229. The memory of the event was rekindled in 1732, when Spanish forces conquered the city of Oran on the North African

coast. To celebrate this victory a grand celebration was held in Palma. The parades included many student and university groups, including students from the Lullian university. As part of the festivities, a group of Moorish slaves who were held on the island were paraded through the streets of the city in which Serra was living as a young Franciscan student. The Reconquista, when Islam was driven from the Iberian Peninsula, was still alive. Thirty-seven years later, in 1769, after Portolá left San Diego for Monterey, Serra decided to dedicate the fledgling mission on July 16. This was the date of the famous victory of King Alfonso VIII over the Almohades at Navas de Tolosa in 1212. Serra aimed to repeat the Reconquista, this time driving non-Christian native religion out of Spanish California.³¹

John Duns Scotus

At the Lullian University, Serra held the chair of Scotistic philosophy, named for the thirteenth-century Franciscan theologian John Duns Scotus. In the broad sweep of medieval theology and philosophy, Scotus was not typical. Indeed, he was rather eccentric, which was why the sarcastic name given to the followers of Duns Scotus has survived in the word “dunce.” For instance, he rejected the widely held synthesis of one of the most influential Christian medieval theologians, Anselm of Canterbury, about the doctrine of the redemption wrought through Christ, since he thought it placed insufficient emphasis on the boundless love of God for humanity. In his theology, Scotus, in common with many Franciscans, emphasized the will over the intellect. His philosophy and theology also tended to emphasize the qualities of relationships and aesthetics over the most static scholastic categories of substance and judgment. He explicitly understood moral goodness in terms of musical harmony and used the image of chords on a harp to underscore his insistence that morality involves, above all, a proper relationship among human actions. In another passage he spoke of the morally good act as a work of art, in which proportion and balance combine to produce something that is aesthetically pleasing.³²

Serra’s insistence on the catechetical benefits of art and music and his almost obsessive concern with obtaining good works of art from Mexico for the California missions stemmed in part from his absorption of Scotus. In addition, Scotus’s emphasis on relationships and his insistence on the Trinity as the model of relationships gave Serra’s Petra experience a philosophical and theological grounding. Well-ordered communities did no less than reflect the very nature of God.³³

Among Franciscans, Scotus was best known for his vigorous theological defense of the Immaculate Conception. Scotus's justification of this idea provided the basis for the Vatican's eventual acceptance of it as a Catholic doctrine. In the seventeenth century, the Immaculate Conception was championed both by Franciscans and, for their own reasons, by the Hapsburg monarchs of Spain. Devotion to the Immaculate Conception was an important part of Serra's identity, which helps explain his embrace of the works and writings of Sor María de Jesús de Agreda, best known for her alleged bilocations to New Mexico in the 1620s. Sor María was a member of the Conceptionists, a Franciscan group that was particularly devoted to the notion of the Immaculate Conception. She had said that God had revealed to her that Native Americans would be converted to Catholicism at the mere sight of Franciscans. She also said that other Franciscans had miraculously preached to some Indian nations during the seventeenth century. Serra regarded himself as literally following in their miraculous footsteps. At Mission San Antonio in the early 1770s, the missionaries reported that a very old Indian woman had said that her parents had told her when she was young that a man dressed like the missionaries and preaching the Christian gospel had come to the region many years ago. Serra and Palóu believed that this man had been one of the Franciscans to whom Sor María had referred.³⁴

Leaving Mallorca

Serra spent over eighteen years in academic life in Palma as a student and a teacher. He did extremely well in that career. Yet, at some point in the 1740s, when he was entering his mid-30s, he seems to have begun to become discontented with academics. It was not measuring up to his expectations and he felt that his own spiritual life was becoming stale. We have only Palóu's account of Serra's interior struggle, but it was obviously based on intimate conversations with Serra. According to Palóu, Serra "re-kindled in his heart those desires which had stirred him as a novice, but which had been deadened because of his preoccupation with study." In this crisis, Serra chose as his model the recently canonized San Francisco Solano, who had left Spain for a missionary career at the then-advanced age of forty. As a Mallorcan Franciscan who walked by the missionary Lull's tomb almost every day, for Serra the path to rekindling his religious zeal lay across the sea. When he arrived at his residence in Mexico City, his first request was to be allowed to live with the novices, whose life in the community was the most rigorous and whose youthful fervor Serra desired to reclaim. One of Serra's most famous phrases,

taken from a letter he wrote soon after he departed Mallorca, was “go forward, never turn back.” In fact, Maynard J. Geiger subtitled his biography of Serra *The Man Who Never Turned Back*. Yet, in a very fundamental fashion, Serra’s journey to the Americas was a type of journey backward, a quest to recover for himself the religious fervor he felt his academic career had stifled.³⁵

Mexico

On January 1, 1750, Serra arrived at the Apostolic College of San Fernando in Mexico City. The apostolic colleges were a comparatively recent development among the Franciscans in New Spain. They were an attempt to help the order recover for itself the intensity and perceived successes of the golden age of missionary activity in the sixteenth century after what was regarded as a stagnant time in the following century. These schools were modeled on colleges founded on the Iberian Peninsula starting in 1680. The Iberian missionary colleges were created to train and support the increasing number of men then engaged in itinerant ministry within Spain itself, preaching in the countryside to renew religion among the faithful.³⁶

The colleges were brought to the New World by a Mallorcan, Antonio Llinás. Like Serra, Llinás was something of a restless academic. He was twice turned down for positions at the university in Palma and he went to New Spain to accept a lectureship there. After teaching at Franciscan schools in Querétaro, Celaya, and Valladolid, Llinás experienced a religious transformation himself in 1675. He related that he had a vision in which God had shown him “the manifest deceptions of this miserable world.” So he went to Spain and consulted with the minister general of the order, José Ximénez Samaniego, a former spiritual director to Sor María de Jesús de Agreda and her biographer. From that experience, Samaniego already had developed a certain interest in New World missions. Llinás and Samaniego decided that the opening of apostolic colleges in the Americas could be an important way of renewing the Franciscan missionary enterprise there. Among Llinás’s first recruits for this new enterprise were twelve Mallorcan Franciscans who enlisted in the cause in 1682.³⁷

The first college was founded in Querétaro. Llinás had developed an interest in organizing missionary activity in the Sierra Gorda, and Querétaro was the gateway to that region. The college was named Santa Cruz, after a cross that supposedly had been erected on the location by an early missionary after the conquest of the region by the Spaniards in 1531. Thus



Colegio de San Fernando, Mexico City. Photo by Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M.
Courtesy of the Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library.

the founders of the first apostolic college consciously harked back to an earlier period of missionary activity. Two other apostolic colleges were eventually founded in Mexico: Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe in Zacatecas in 1707 and San Fernando in Mexico City in 1733. When Serra arrived at San Fernando, he found his perfect match. A man seeking personal renewal had found an institution, the apostolic college, dedicated to institutional renewal.³⁸

Sierra Gorda

After spending six months at the Apostolic College of San Fernando, in July 1750 Serra and Palóu were both sent to the mission of Jalpan in the Sierra Gorda. They spent the next eight years there and, for part of that period, Serra served as father president of the Sierra Gorda missions.

Both Serra and the apostolic colleges aimed to restore something they felt had been lost—they were looking for the past. In the Sierra Gorda, they found the past, but not the one they were seeking; instead they encountered what they regarded as a repetition of an unsavory part of the colonial past in New Spain. The story behind this perception started around the time of the founding of the College of San Fernando, as important voices in New Spain were beginning to wonder if the mission-presidio system had outlived its usefulness. In the 1720s, Pedro de Rivera, the military commander of Veracruz, had made an inspection tour of the northern presidios. He wrote a report concluding that the presidios were becoming too expensive to maintain. He also argued that, in some of them, soldiers were simply acting as *mayordomos* for the missions and were being forced to perform inappropriate tasks. He wrote that at one presidio, “The soldiers do nothing except assist the nearby three missions. Since they are not doing the job of military men, the presidio should be eliminated.” As Rivera’s report was being circulated and discussed over the next decade, similar accusations were being leveled against the missions. Staff members of the Ministerio de Guerra y Hacienda were complaining that the missions were also costing too much, especially because missionary salaries had to be paid from the treasury. In the 1740s, such views were shared by both the viceroy (the first Revilla Gigedo) and the auditor of the ministry (the Marqués de Altamira). In José de Escandón they found the man to carry out a different method of colonization.³⁹

Escandón arrived in Querétaro in 1721 as a low-ranking army officer and he gradually established himself as an important figure in the region. His name appears in the public records as both a purchaser and seller of

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slaves in the city. He also became the owner of an important textile factory in Querétaro. Escandón undertook military campaigns against the Jonace and other Indians of the Sierra Gorda as early as 1735. His success in these campaigns helped him move up the military ranks, and he became a colonel in 1740. In 1741 he was placed in charge of the Sierra Gorda. As one of his first tasks, Escandón sought to congregate the Indians into missions, and he looked to the College of San Fernando for assistance.⁴⁰

The College of San Fernando's first experience in the region was the year before, in 1740, when it founded a mission at Vizarrón, about halfway between the city of Querétaro and the highlands occupied by the Pame people. The existence of this mission is what encouraged Escandón to consider the College of San Fernando when he was thinking of missionaries for the highlands. Escandón assigned the college five missions—Santiago de Jalpan, Nuestra Señora de Purísima Concepción del Agua de Landa, San Francisco del Valle de Tilaco, Nuestra Señora de la Luz de Tancoyol, and San Miguel Arcángel de Concá. In his biography of Serra, Palóu implied that these missions were all new, but the mission at Jalpan was already in existence. The Franciscans took it over from an Augustinian priest, Lucas Cabeza de Vaca.⁴¹

The first few years of the College of San Fernando's experience with the Sierra Gorda were quite trying. Originally, the college did not have enough men to staff the five missions. Priests from the College of Santa Cruz in Querétaro had to fill in. In addition, two severe epidemics ravaged the region in the late 1740s, and four of the Fernandino priests perished in them in 1746–47. The future of the Fernandino mission enterprise in the region did not appear to be very solid.⁴²

Yet, that fragility was not a concern for Escandón and the government ministry in Mexico City. He repeatedly stated that he did not foresee an extensive formal mission period for the churches that he was setting up. In 1747 he reported that in a short time the missions could easily be converted into *curatos*, or regular parishes. According to historian Lino Gómez Canedo, Escandón's plan was for the colonists and the Indians to live close to each other, and for the colonists to be the primary agents of the assimilation of the Indians to the Spanish empire. Colonists would be attracted by offers of land, which meant that the missions could never become large landowners. If such a colonization effort succeeded, it could be carried out at little cost to the treasury.⁴³

In the 1740s, the College of San Fernando did not have the resources to oppose Escandón's plan. The Fernandinos were not entirely happy

with Escandón's government in the region. In 1742, for example, they denounced the use of Jonace people as involuntary laborers on the haciendas of two regional officials. But practical considerations forced them to temper their criticisms of his plans for temporary missions since the college did not have abundant manpower to send to the area in any case. The four missionary deaths the college suffered in the late 1740s put further severe strains on its ability to staff all of the missions. Therefore, the college found that it had to acquiesce with regard to Escandón's plans. In 1748, for example, Guardian José Ortés de Velasco, who founded the first Fernandino mission in 1740, San José de Vizarrón, agreed that the Sierra Gorda missions would soon be able to be turned into parishes and delivered to the bishop.⁴⁴

In 1751, a year after Serra's arrival in Jalpan, Escandón proposed the establishment of a civil settlement, the Villa de Herrera, near the mission lands. Soon settlers were complaining to him that they were unable to take possession of the lands they had been promised because the Indians (supported by the missionaries) were there and would not leave. Escandón exchanged a series of angry letters with the missionaries over the next few years until a compromise was engineered by military officer Vicente de Posadas in 1754. The settlers were given land around Saucillo, slightly farther away from Jalpan, while the mission itself was allotted its own land in the Tancama Valley. A 1762 Franciscan document still reported with irritation that the Villa de Herrera was "practically right in the middle of the five missions."⁴⁵

Unfortunately, we do not know Serra's reaction to this situation because very few Franciscan letters from the Sierra Gorda have survived. Of those that have come to light, none were written by Serra or Palóu. There are only a few hints. In a 1776 letter, Serra made a cryptic reference to "the time of the disputes" with Escandón. Most interestingly, we also know that in 1752 Serra traveled to Mexico City and got himself appointed as an officer to the Inquisition in New Spain. Because of his previous experience with the Inquisition in Mallorca, this was a natural move for him to make after he heard rumors that two women of the area were engaged in some sort of demon worship. It is also possible, however, that he was trying to equip himself with additional jurisdictional powers for potential use against the settlers.⁴⁶

When the College of San Fernando was finally able to devote greater manpower to the Sierra Gorda missions, it attempted to resist Escandón's goal of turning the missions into parishes, a goal it had only reluctantly supported in the 1740s. In 1761, for example, some settlers in Escanela,

just south of Jalpan, tried to stimulate secularization proceedings, and the then-president of the missions, Juan Ramos de Lora, resisted vigorously. The very next year, Serra and Palóu joined two other friars in stating that “considerable time, patience, and effort” would be necessary before the missions could be handed over to a bishop.⁴⁷

By this time, Escandón had long since left the Sierra Gorda. In gratitude for undertaking the colonizing task there and for his success in keeping costs down, Escandón was rewarded with the title Conde de Sierra Gorda in 1749. He was also given the opportunity to colonize Nuevo Santander, the area south of Texas on the Gulf Coast of New Spain.⁴⁸ There he was able to more fully develop the strategy he had initiated in the Sierra Gorda. He jettisoned the mission-presidio system in favor of a large number of pueblos of settlers. The missions were mostly reduced to simple churches and the missionaries became little more than chaplains to the settlers, much to the horror of the friars from the Apostolic College of Guadalupe in Zacatecas who staffed the missions. In this strategy, Escandón was reflecting Bourbon policy in New Spain, since by this time, most missions in central Mexico had already been secularized.⁴⁹

One result of this method was that settlements were frequently raided by the Indians whose lands were being taken, and the Indians were attacked in turn by the settlers (who doubled as militia) and soldiers. The authorities declared a sixteenth-century style “war of fire and blood” against the Indians. Captured Indians were often sent to the haciendas of the military leaders or to the textile works in Querétaro, where they labored as virtual slaves. The Indians who resisted had the choice of exile or extermination. By the end of the eighteenth century, no more than 1,700 of the approximately 25,000 Indians who had lived in the area at the beginning of the colonization activity were still there. According to Patricia Osante, the legal privileges granted to Escandón in this endeavor were very reminiscent of those granted to sixteenth-century Spanish colonizers.⁵⁰

The Fernandinos followed all these developments closely. They believed that diminishing the power of the missions would return New Spain to a very undesirable past. Escandón’s policies seemed to them to repeat the exploitation of the native peoples that had marked the first decades of Spanish colonization in the New World. In the narrative of Spanish expansion that was shared by most religious orders and that dated from the sixteenth-century writings of Bartolomé de las Casas, indigenous peoples needed to be grouped into missions to protect them from such oppression. Now, they feared, the brutal past had sprung to life again.

The college eventually accepted secularization of the Sierra Gorda missions in 1770, but that was only to free up men for the Alta California enterprise, which had begun the year before. California was the place where they were going to make their statement. Serra had come to the New World looking to recover the religious zeal of his own past. In New Spain he had found representations of two separate pasts. Escandón's methods recalled the oppressive colonial past, when conquistadores had virtually enslaved the native peoples. The apostolic colleges' activities recalled the missionary response to that oppressive past, when heroic friars gathered the native peoples into self-sustaining Christian communities in which they would be protected from secular domination. In California, first in Baja California and then in Alta California, Serra meant to make what he regarded as his order's heroic past come once again to life.⁵¹

Baja California

When the Jesuits were expelled from New Spain in 1767, the Fernandinos jumped at the chance to assume control of the seventeen missions the Jesuits had founded between 1697 and 1767 in the southern two-thirds of Baja California. Like most people in New Spain, they did not know very much about the peninsula, but they did know that the Jesuits had managed to attain a considerable degree of control over the military and that Baja California had not attracted a large number of civilian settlers. The balance of power, in other words, was reversed from that in the Sierra Gorda. This state of affairs explains an odd occurrence that happened while Serra and his fellow Franciscans were at Tepic waiting for a boat to take them on the next leg of the trip from Mexico City to Baja California. There were other Franciscans in the port as well, one group from the Apostolic College of Santa Cruz in Querétaro and the other group from the Province of Jalisco. Both of these groups were bound for the former Jesuit missions in Sonora, where Jesuits had waged hard struggles against settlers and soldiers for decades.⁵²

Suddenly, the viceroy ordered that the assignments were to be changed. The Jaliscans were to go to Baja California and the Fernandinos were to go to Sonora. The reason given was that since the Fernandinos and the Queretans were from apostolic colleges, they would probably be able to work better together in Sonora. The Jaliscans, coming from another type of Franciscan institution, should be the ones to work separately in Baja California.

Serra was furious. He quickly dispatched Palóu and another friar to Guanajuato so that they could personally lobby Visitor General José de Gálvez against the change. The effort was successful and the viceroy rescinded his earlier order. We suspect that the impetus for the proposed change in destinations was Manuel de Ocio, a Baja California entrepreneur who had long quarreled with the Jesuits about their significant control over the few settlers in Baja California. Ocio owned property in Guadalajara and his son had just married into a prosperous Guadalajara family. Ocio may well have hoped that Franciscans from the Guadalajara region might be more amenable to allowing settlers greater influence than yet another missionary group headquartered in Mexico City, as the Jesuits had been. But Serra's strong reaction to the proposal indicated that for him, Baja California had a particular attraction. With missionaries dominant over settlers, it was the mirror opposite of the Sierra Gorda.⁵³

When Serra and his fellow Franciscans arrived in Baja California, they soon discovered that its missions were in very bad shape. Four years of drought and other natural disasters, including plagues of locusts, had afflicted the Baja California peninsula in the mid-1760s. Nonetheless Gálvez, who personally came to Baja California in 1768, wanted the missions there to supply the expedition to the north that he was organizing. Therefore, he chose to present the poverty of the Baja California missions as being only a temporary state of affairs. He had to argue that these missions could afford to contribute to the northern expedition while still functioning. So he concocted a fiction that the poverty of the missions was the result of the greed of the *comisionados* who had been temporarily placed over them by Gaspar de Portolá after the Jesuits had left but before the new missionaries had arrived. These *comisionados*, the story went, had despoiled the missions. The Franciscans went along with the account that Gálvez put forth. A version of it appears in Palóu's *Historical Memoirs of New California*. In that volume, this story is used as an object lesson: only missionaries can be trusted with the mission temporalities.⁵⁴

Thanks to the research of Harry Crosby, we know the identities of these *comisionados*. They were generally soldiers from the presidio at Loreto. Not one of them ever enriched himself with mission plunder. The commander of the Loreto presidio was Fernando de Rivera y Moncada. He had been in that post since 1751, and he knew each of these soldiers extremely well. The missionaries' acceptance of the story of their alleged greed was probably one of the things that poisoned the relationship between Rivera and Serra. In fact, the poverty of the Baja California



Ruins of Mission San Fernando Rey de España de Velicatá. Photo by Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M. Courtesy of the Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library.

missions was not temporary, and their continuing decline was one reason the Fernandinos were quite happy to unload them on the Dominicans in 1772.⁵⁵

But for Serra, the story contained an important moral. If the Franciscan missions in Alta California were to be as successful as he judged the Baja California missions to have been, the soldiers should have no independent authority at the missions, which should be exclusively under missionary control. The military had as little place in his vision of a re-established heroic age of missions as settlers did.

In May 1769, Serra and Portolá departed from Baja California's most northerly mission outpost and headed overland for San Diego. Shortly

after the journey began, an event occurred that made a great impact on Serra. This is how he described it in his diary:

On May 15 . . . I had a great consolation . . . While I was within the little shelter of my dwelling place, I received notice that gentiles were coming and were already near. I praised the Lord and kissed the ground, giving thanks to His Divine Majesty that after so many years of longing He granted me the grace of being among them in their own land. I went forth and immediately found myself in the company of a dozen Indians, all men, all of whom were adults with the exception of two boys, the one about ten years old, the other about sixteen. Then I saw what I could hardly begin to believe when I read about it or was told about it, namely that they go about entirely naked like Adam in Paradise before the fall.⁵⁶

After nineteen years in the New World, for the first time Serra was finally entering upon the full-fledged missionary experience of being the first to work among non-Christian peoples in their own land. For as we have seen, the Pame among whom he had worked in the Sierra Gorda had been evangelized well before he and the Fernandinos arrived. Also, the indigenous peoples in Baja California among whom he had spent the past year had been evangelized decades before by the Jesuits. Serra was quite literally overwhelmed by this new experience. Finally, he was experiencing what he had hoped to encounter when he departed for America.

Junípero Serra would meet the inhabitants of Alta California as a man in search of his own past and his order's past. He would meet them as a man who, in his own mind, was fighting on their behalf against what he deemed to be the oppressive practices from the colonial past, which had erupted into the present. Many of the ways in which he would wage that fight had been forged as a result of the perspectives he had acquired during his long journey from Petra to Palma, then to Mexico City, the Sierra Gorda, and Baja California. He carried each of these places with him as he entered Alta California.

NOTES

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- 1 This trend was evident in the first systematic history of California written by a North American, Franklin Tuthill's *History of California* (San Francisco: H. H. Bancroft & Co., 1866). It persisted in various forms in the great multi-volume histories of Hubert Howe Bancroft and Theodore H. Hittell of the nineteenth century, and into the twentieth century in the work of historians like Zoeth Skinner Eldredge. A good example of the "mission revival" approach can be found in Helen Hunt Jackson, *Father Junípero and the Mission Indians of California* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1902). For an example of the anti-mission approach, see Rupert and Jeanette Costo, *The California Missions: A Legacy of Genocide* (San Francisco: The Indian Historian Press, 1987).
- 2 See, for example, Douglas Monroy, *Thrown Among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); Lisbeth Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities in California, 1769–1936* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Albert Hurtado, *Intimate Frontiers: Sex, Gender, and Culture in Old California* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999); James A. Sandos, *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2004); Kent G. Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants: The Legacy of Colonial Encounters on the California Frontier* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Steven W. Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of St. Francis: Indian Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769–1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005).
- 3 Francisco Palóu to Rafael Verger, October 19, 1771, in Francisco Palóu, *Cartas desde la península de California, 1768–1773*, ed. José Luis Soto Pérez (Mexico: Editorial Porrúa, 1994), 179; "Circular Letter of Fray Francisco Pangua, Guardian of San Fernando, to the Missionaries of California, Mexico, February 7, 1775," in Junípero Serra, *Writings of Junípero Serra*, ed. and trans. Antonine Tibesar, O.F.M., 4 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955–56), 2:459–63; Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, *Tensions Among the Missionaries in the 1790s* (Bakersfield, Calif.: California Mission Studies Association, 1996).
- 4 This record is San Carlos baptism no. 1 in the Early California Population Project database. The sacramental register in which the full record is contained is located in the Archives of the Diocese of Monterey, in Monterey, California. We thank Br. Lawrence Scrivani, SM, for locating this record and the record mentioned in the next paragraph for us when he served as archivist. Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M., *The Life and Times of Fray Junípero Serra, OFM, or, The Man Who Never Turned Back, 1713–1784, A Biography*, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1959), 1:5, 10; Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M., *The Serra Trail in Picture and Story* (San Francisco: Franciscan Fathers of California, 1960), 4–5.

- 5 San Carlos bapt. no. 750, Early California Population Project; Serra, *Writings*, 4:157, 269.
- 6 Serra, *Writings*, 4:298–99; Jaime Lladó Ferragut, “El Siglo XVII en Mallorca,” in *Historia de Mallorca*, ed. J. Mascaró Pasarius, 5 vols. (Palma: Mascaró Pasarius, 1975), 2:209–17; Román Piña Homs, “Del Decreto de Nueva Planta a las Cortes de Cádiz,” in Pasarius, *Historia de Mallorca*, 2:321; Gabriel Alomar Esteve, *Ensayos sobre historia de las Islas Baleares, hasta el año 1800* (Palma: Luis Ripoli, 1979), 365–66.
- 7 Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California*, 7 vols. (San Francisco: The History Co., 1884–90), 1:416; Serra, *Writings*, 1:294–329.
- 8 Carlos Manera, “Manufactura téxtil y comercio en Mallorca, 1700–1830,” *Revista de historia económica* 6, no. 3 (1988): 523–55; Francisco Palóu, *Life of Fray Junípero Serra*, ed. and trans. Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M. (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955), 32–33.
- 9 Geiger, *Serra*, 1:18–22; Sandos, *Converting California*, 33; Baruch Braunstein, *The Chuetas of Majorca: Conversos and the Inquisition of Majorca* (New York: KTAV Publ. House, 1972), 139–81.
- 10 Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M., “The Mallorcan Contribution to Franciscan California,” *The Americas* 4, no. 4 (1947): 141–50.
- 11 Regis J. Armstrong, O.F.M. Cap., J. A. Wayne Hellmann, O.F.M. Conv., William J. Short, O.F.M., eds., *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*, 4 vols. (Hyde Park, N.Y.: New City Press, 1999–2002), 3:125, 333.
- 12 Palóu, *Life of Fray Junípero Serra*, 5, 321.
- 13 Alomar Esteve, *Ensayos*, 393.
- 14 E. Allison Peers, *Ramon Lull, A Biography* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1929); Anthony Bonner, ed. and trans., *Doctor Illuminatus: A Ramón Lull Reader* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993).
- 15 Bartolomé Escandell Bonet, *Baleares y América* (Madrid: Editorial Mapfre, 1992), 292–93; Kieran McCarty, “Before They Crossed the Great River: Cultural Backgrounds of the Spanish Franciscans of Texas,” *Journal of Texas Catholic History and Culture* 3 (1992): 37–43; Bonner, *Doctor Illuminatus*, 13.
- 16 Palóu, *Life of Fray Junípero Serra*, 309; Bonner, *Doctor Illuminatus*, 59, 69–70; the number forty-three was derived from the online card catalogue of the Biblioteca Nacional de España, at <http://catalogo.bne.es>.
- 17 Piña Homs, “Del Decreto de Nueva Planta,” 292–308.
- 18 *Ibid.*, 263–64, 319–21; Alomar Esteve, *Ensayos*, 364.
- 19 Peers, *Ramon Lull*, 391; Bonner, *Doctor Illuminatus*, 70–71.
- 20 Palóu, *Life of Fray Junípero Serra*, 6.
- 21 Serra, *Writings*, 2:365–71, 448; 3:443; Rivera called for “less noise” (*menos ruido*) in Fernando de Rivera to Junípero Serra, October 26, 1775, in Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, *Diario del capitán comandante Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, con un apéndice documental*, ed. Ernest J. Burrus, SJ, 2 vols. (Madrid: Ediciones J. Porrúa Turanzas, 1967), 2:406.

- 22 Henry Kamen, "Vicissitudes of a World Power," in *Spain: A History*, ed. Raymond Carr (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 166; Alomar Esteve, *Ensayos*, 359; John Lynch, *Bourbon Spain, 1700–1808* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 8; Henry Charles Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, 4 vols. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1922), 1:335, 3:306.
- 23 Henry Kamen, *Inquisition and Society in Spain in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 232; Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998), 150; Braunstein, *Chuetas of Majorca*, 69–70; on the term *chueta*, see Kenneth Moore, *Those of the Street: The Catholic-Jews of Mallorca* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1976), 22. Families of those who were persecuted by the Inquisition in Mallorca suffered discrimination up to the twentieth century. See Moore, *Those of the Street*, 159–204.
- 24 Angela S. Selke, *The Conversos of Majorca: Life and Death in a Crypto-Jewish Community in XVII Century Spain*, trans. Henry J. Maxwell (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University, 1986), 3–5; Kamen, *Inquisition and Society*, 234; Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, 2:213, 3:307; Braunstein, *Chuetas of Majorca*, 122, 125.
- 25 Sara T. Nalle, "Inquisitors, Priests, and the People during the Catholic Reformation in Spain," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 18, no. 4 (1987): 559–60.
- 26 Serra, *Writings*, 3:406–17; see also Steven W. Hackel, "The Staff of Leadership: Indian Authority in the Missions of Alta California," *William & Mary Quarterly* 54, no. 2 (1997): 347–76.
- 27 Lamin Sanneh, *Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1989); Richard Fletcher, *The Barbarian Conversion: From Paganism to Christianity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Ramsay MacMullen, *Christianity and Paganism in the 4th to 8th Centuries* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997).
- 28 On China, see Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724* (Cambridge and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007); on central Mexico, see Francisco Morales, "Franciscanos ante las religiones indígenas," in *Franciscanos en América*, ed. Francisco Morales (Mexico City: Conferencia Franciscana de Santa María de Guadalupe, 1993), 87–102, and Jaime Lara, *Christian Texts for Aztecs: Art and Liturgy in Colonial Mexico* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2008); for these types of developments in Sonora, see José Refugio de la Torre Curiel, "Conquering the Frontier: Contests for Religion, Survival, and Profits in Northwestern Mexico, 1768–1855" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2005), 244–320, and his essay in this volume.
- 29 Juan Crespí, *A Description of Distant Roads: Original Journals of the First Expedition into California, 1769–1770*, ed. and trans. Alan K. Brown (San Diego: San Diego State University Press, 2001); John Galvan, ed., *The First Spanish Entry into San Francisco Bay, 1775* (San Francisco: John Howell, 1971), 11–76; Serra, *Writings*, 3:317 (for Santa María); 2:284–87, 3:411 (for "fugitives").

- 30 Auguste Duhaut-Cilly, *A Voyage to California, the Sandwich Islands and Around the World in the Years, 1826–1829*, ed. and trans. August Frugé and Neal Harlow (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 119.
- 31 Lladó Ferragut, “El Siglo XVII en Mallorca,” 311–12; Palóu, *Serra*, 75.
- 32 Mary Beth Ingham, *The Harmony of Goodness: Mutuality and Moral Living According to John Duns Scotus* (Quincy, Ill.: Franciscan Press, 1996), 55–72; Mary Beth Ingham, *Scotus for Dunces: An Introduction to the Subtle Doctor* (St. Bonaventure, N.Y.: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2003), 83.
- 33 See, for instance, Serra, *Writings*, 1:187, 221, 225; 2:311, 431; 3:55, 91.
- 34 Iván Martínez, “The Banner of the Spanish Monarchy: The Political Use of the Immaculate Conception,” in *Un privilegio sagrado: La concepción de María Inmaculada: Celebración del dogma en México/A Sacred Privilege: The Conception of Mary Immaculate: The Celebration of Dogma in Mexico* (Mexico City: Museo de la Basílica de Guadalupe, 2005), 123–54. We wish to thank Margo Gutiérrez, Assistant Head Librarian, Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas Libraries, for finding us a copy of this article. Clark Colahan, *The Visions of Sor María de Agreda: Writing Knowledge and Power* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1994); Serra, *Writings*, 1:267; Palóu, *Serra*, 112.
- 35 Palóu, *Life of Fray Junípero Serra*, 8; Serra, *Writings*, 1:3, 9.
- 36 Michael McCloskey, O.F.M., *The Formative Years of the Missionary College of Santa Cruz of Querétaro, 1683–1733* (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955); Félix Saiz Díez, *Los colegios de propaganda fide en Hispanoamérica* (Madrid: n.p., 1969); Carlos León Mujal, “Out of the Apocalypse to Alta California: Franciscans in the New World, 1524–1833” (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2002), 155–69.
- 37 McCloskey, *Missionary College of Santa Cruz*, 16; Escandell Bonet, *Baleares y América*, 241–43.
- 38 Isidro Félix de Espinosa, *Crónica de los Colegios de Propaganda Fide de la Nueva España*, ed. Lino Gómez Canedo (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1964), 103–39; Ellen Gunnardóttir, *Mexican Karismata: The Baroque Vocation of Francisca de los Ángeles, 1674–1744* (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 98.
- 39 Thomas H. Naylor and Charles W. Polzer, eds., *Pedro de Rivera and the Military Regulations for Northern New Spain, 1724–1729: A Documentary History of His Frontier Inspection and the Reglamento de 1729* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1988), 158; Patricia Osante and Rosalba Alcaraz Cienfuegos, *Nuevo Santander: Un acercamiento al origen de Tamaulipas* (Victoria, Mexico: Gobierno del Estado de Tamaulipas, 1999), 68; María del Carmen Velázquez, *El marqués de Altamira y las provincias internas de Nueva España* (Mexico City: Colegio de México, Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1976), 33–65; Patricia Osante, ed., *Testimonio acerca de la causa formada en la colonia del Nuevo Santander al coronel Don José de Escandón* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2000), vi; Patricia Osante, *Orígenes del Nuevo Santander, 1748–1772* (Victoria, Mexico: Universidad Autónoma de Tamaulipas, 1997), 146.

- 40 Osante, *Testimonio*, ix; Luz Amelia Armas Briz and Olivia Solís Hernández, eds., *Esclavos negros y mulatos en Querétaro, siglo XVIII: Antología documental* (Querétaro, Mexico: Gobierno del Estado de Querétaro, Oficialía Mayor, Archivo Histórico de Querétaro, 2001), 63–64.
- 41 Lino Gómez Canedo, *Sierra Gorda, un típico enclave misional en el centro de México, siglos XVII–XVIII* (Querétaro, Mexico: Ediciones del Gobierno del Estado de Querétaro, 1988), 61, 79, 81–85; Palóu, *Life of Fray Junípero Serra*, 25.
- 42 Gómez Canedo, *Sierra Gorda*, 115.
- 43 *Ibid.*, 81; Velázquez, *El marqués de Altamira*, 59.
- 44 Gómez Canedo, *Sierra Gorda*, 58, 121, 216; on the college's efforts to recruit men in Europe, see Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, "Uncertainty on the Mission Frontier: Missionary Recruitment and Institutional Stability in Alta California in the 1790s," in *Francis in America: Essays on the Franciscan Family in North and South America*, ed. John Schwaller (Berkeley, Calif.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 2005), 307.
- 45 Gómez Canedo, *Sierra Gorda*, 96–98; Fray Joseph García, Fray Francisco Palóu, Fray Pedro Pérez de Mezquía, and Fray Junípero Serra, "Estado de las misiones de la Sierra Gorda en 1761," San Fernando de México, January 11, 1762, in Gómez Canedo, *Sierra Gorda*, 240; Lino Gómez Canedo, "Fray Junípero Serra y su noviciado misional en América (1750–1758)," in Lino Gómez Canedo, *Evangelización, cultura y promoción social: Ensayos y estudios críticos sobre la contribución franciscana a los orígenes cristianos de México (siglos XVI–XVIII)*, ed. José Luis Soto Pérez (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1993), 913.
- 46 Serra, *Writings*, 3:59, 1:19.
- 47 García et al., "Estado de las misiones," 243.
- 48 María Elena Galaviz de Capdevielle, "Descripción y pacificación de la Sierra Gorda," *Estudios de historia Novohispana* 4 (1971): 137; Velázquez, *El marqués de Altamira*, 57; David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992), 194; Francis F. Guest, "Mission Colonization and Political Control in Spanish California," in *Hispanic California Revisited*, ed. Doyce B. Nunis Jr. (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library, 1996), 87–114.
- 49 William B. Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred: Priests and Parishioners in Eighteenth Century Mexico* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1996), 83–86; David J. Weber, *Bárbaros: Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2005), 107–9.
- 50 Osante, *Testimonio*, x, xxix; Osante, *Orígenes del Nuevo Santander*, 147, 234; Osante and Alcaraz Cienfuegos, *Nuevo Santander*, 82.
- 51 Gómez Canedo, *Sierra Gorda*, 121–22, 243; Palóu, *Life of Fray Junípero Serra*, 36–37.
- 52 Francisco Palóu, *Historical Memoirs of New California*, ed. and trans. Herbert Eugene Bolton, 4 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1926), 1:13–16; Francisco Palóu, *Recopilación de noticias de la Antigua y de la Nueva California (1767–1783)*, ed. José Luis Soto Pérez (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1998), 17; Gómez Canedo, *Evangelización*, 621–22.

- 53 Harry Crosby, *Antigua California: Mission and Colony on the Peninsular Frontier, 1697–1768* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), 362–63.
- 54 Harry W. Crosby, *Gateway to Alta California: The Expedition to San Diego, 1769* (San Diego, Calif.: Sunbelt Publications, 2003), 13–14, 38–41; Palóu, *Historical Memoirs of New California*, 1:32–37.
- 55 Harry W. Crosby, *Doomed to Fail: Gaspar de Portolá's First California Ap-pointees* (San Diego, Calif.: San Diego State University, Institute of Regional Studies of the Californias, 1989); Palóu, *Historical Memoirs of New California*, 1:236–40.
- 56 Palóu, *Life of Fray Junípero Serra*, 65. Here we are following Geiger's translation, with the exception of the word *gentiles*, which we render by the word "gentiles," which we think retains more of the biblical connotations Serra and most other missionaries intended. Geiger, on the other hand, followed the Bolton convention of translating this word as "pagans" or "heathens."