

141 delegates present, representing fourteen States. It adopted a national platform and an address to the people. A second national convention met May 4, 1847, at Pittsburg, with eleven States represented. At its second session at Philadelphia, September 10, 1847, it recommended Zachary Taylor for President.

Six native American Congressmen (four from New York and two from Pennsylvania) were elected to the Twenty-ninth Congress. But one native American Congressman appeared in the Thirtieth Congress and none in the Thirty-first.

The Mexican war had come and gone (1846-8). A great event had set new currents afloat. Native Americanism began to disappear.¹² Both parties were again courting the naturalized citizen whom the Irish famine was sending to our shores in vaster numbers. Candidates were found purging themselves from the suspicion of affiliation with Nativism. Even Scott, the Whig candidate for President in 1852, said *peccavi*. In the lull which followed the prostration of the Whigs a new form of the old movement was, however, starting into vigorous growth. This was Know-Nothingism.

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SPANISH FRIARS IN CALIFORNIA.

THE settlement of Upper California was the last colonial expansion of Spanish rule in America. It was begun in 1769, the birth year of Napoleon when already the forebodings of the American Revolution were being heard in the colonies of England. Its motives and its methods were typically Spanish. They were almost identical with those of the settlement of the Philippines by Legaspi two hundred years earlier. Each was carried out directly under supervision of the Central Government and on the principles of public morality and policy recognized by the rulers of Spain. In this both California and the Philippines had a distinctive character of their own unlike that of most settlements in Spanish America. Mexico, Peru and Chile were each conquered by bands of private adventurers, who at the most received licenses

¹² Seisco, in his "Political Nativism in New York," page 252, says: "The Nativist political movement in national and State affairs was a sham and a pretext. The nation as a whole was never Nativist in feeling. Probably no one State, as a whole, was ever genuinely worried over the existence of the foreign element. In State and national campaigns Nativism was a politician's movement rather than a popular one."

to occupy new lands from the government, and who were practically independent of its wishes in the organization of the territories occupied. It is but reasonable to form our judgment of the real principles of Spanish colonial policy by their application in those cases where the government had the power as well as the will to apply them in practice.

The occupation of new lands as a field for European colonization or a source of revenue was not the motive which inspired the settlement of California. It was entirely too remote from the civilized world at the time and Spain's other colonies offered ample occupation for her population on more favorable conditions. The political interest of Spain in California was only to prevent its occupation by some other European power as Russia or England. As there was no threat of war a couple of small garrisons would suffice to secure Spanish occupation, and the material interests involved went no further. The conversion of the savages to Christian belief was, however, always regarded as a desirable object for its own sake by the public sentiment of the Spanish people and its rulers. It was provided for in California with as much care and detail as the military and naval details of the occupation. The earnestness with which Spanish public men sought such an end as the conversion of savages may seem fanaticism to modern non-Catholics, but there is no reason to doubt its existence and still less to attribute it to greed, ambition or hypocrisy.

The preparations for the colony were begun in 1766, when Jose Galvez was sent to Mexico as Visitor General to investigate the condition of the Viceregal government. His powers were superior to the Viceroy, and the details of the proposed colony were left entirely in his hands. His methods and personal activity show little grounds for unfavorable criticism and certainly are widely different from the popular ideas of Spanish colonial administration. Spain at the time had no naval force on the western coast of Mexico. Galvez began by building a dockyard at San Blas, where vessels might be built and repaired for a regular service to California. Three "packets" of about two hundred tons each were considered sufficient for this purpose and they were finished after considerable difficulty in obtaining materials and skilled mechanics in the remote settlement. It is an indication of the attention to details of the Spanish official that he introduced the culture of hemp to the country near San Blas to provide cordage for the new shipping there.

Two garrisons were to be established permanently in Upper California with a force of about a single company. The soldiers and a few mechanics and laborers were the only colonists Galvez proposed to send. If settlers desired to come from Mexico they would be

encouraged, but Galvez saw little reason to expect many. The soldiers were allowed to marry and bring their wives and families if they so desired. Their pay was fixed at the liberal rate for the time of twenty-five dollars a month each. For the conversion and civilization of the natives the Franciscan friars were selected as agents. The Visitor applied to the missionary college of San Fernando in the Mexican capital to supply whatever number of priests might be needed. He engaged that they should receive full control of any converts they might be able to win over without any interference from the military authorities, and he further provided cattle and other farming requisites for establishing agricultural settlements among the natives. Each missionary was also allowed a salary of three hundred dollars, but this was drawn not from the treasury, but from the Pious Fund. The latter consisted of some landed property which had been given by private charity for the support of the Jesuit missions, and which was now administered for that end by government.

Monterey and San Diego were chosen as sites. These ports had been known to Spanish navigators for a hundred and fifty years and their latitudes marked on the pilot books, but neither had been visited since the time of Philip II. There was some uncertainty whether they could be reached from Mexico owing to the prevalent winds, though the galleons from the Philippines were accustomed to sail down the coast from Cape Mendocino and were familiar with its chief landmarks. For this reason Senor Galvez sent two vessels by different courses, one keeping near the shore and the larger holding a course in the outer ocean. The event justified his precautions. The last to leave Cape San Lucas reached San Diego in forty-six days, while the San Antonio spent a hundred and ten on her trip and arrived with a crew decimated by scurvy. There were not enough healthy men left even to put out a boat when the anchor was dropped in San Diego.

The land expeditions crossed the two hundred miles between the most northerly mission of the peninsula and San Diego without any opposition. Each was made up of twenty-five or thirty soldiers with a few mule drivers and some Christian Indians from the peninsular missions. The soldiers were drawn from two branches of the Spanish military service—regulars of the Catalan dragoons and frontier militia of the corps known as "leather jackets," from the cuirasses of that material which they wore in Indian campaigns. The militia division under Captain Rivera was the first to reach San Diego after six weeks' journey across the desert. Both vessels were there before them, and the sick from the San Carlos had been landed and placed under tents. Captain Portola, the commander of the

whole expedition, got in six weeks later, and during that time nine sailors had died and the epidemic had spread to the soldiers and the crew of the other ship. There were not enough sailors left to work even one vessel up to Monterey, which was the second place Portola had orders to find and occupy. Twenty-nine more died in two weeks after his arrival, and the plague showed no sign of abating. Half the soldiers who came by sea were among the deaths. The outlook was a dismal one at fifty days' journey from any settlement. Portola carried out his orders, with military devotion to duty as best he could. Twelve of the sailors were still in a degree fit for duty, and with them Captain Perez in the San Antonio undertook to run to San Blas. It was a veritable race against death, as nine men died during the twenty days of the voyage and the survivors were so weak that they could not even drop anchor until succored from the shore. Vila, the senior captain, remained with five men and two boys on the San Carlos in the infected port. Portola had but forty soldiers left. He determined at all risks to make the long march of five hundred miles through the unexplored land to Monterey. Eight soldiers were left as a guard for the sick, and Portola with the rest and some muleteers and Indians set out on their march on the 14th of July, 1769.

They reached Monterey on the 1st of October, but in the absence of any seaman among the party none of them could recognize the wide roadstead as a port. They pushed northwards for another month until further progress was barred by the Golden Gate of San Francisco, then first seen by white men. The Governor had to turn back with his mission unaccomplished, though with a discovery of far more importance than Monterey. He reached San Diego in the end of January only to find that half of those he had left there had perished in the epidemic.

The Indian population had been friendly all through Portola's expedition. They brought fish and seeds to the Spaniards, conversed with them by signs and got beads and trinkets in return. The record of this Spanish military exploration, like that of Legaspi in the Philippines, was wholly bloodless. Its contrast in that respect with English or Dutch colonial history is marked. At San Diego there was a skirmish in the meanwhile. Some natives tried to rob the sick Spaniards and kill their guards. They came in a large body, killed a Mexican and wounded two others, but were driven off by the four soldiers on duty with the loss of two or three killed. A few days later the hostiles came to offer peace and even brought their wounded for treatment by the Spanish surgeon and the friars, which was cheerfully given. No attempt at reprisals was made by the Spaniards either at the time or after the return of Portola's force.

No tidings had been received from Mexico in the meantime, though it was six months since the packet had sailed for San Blas. Provisions were running out, and Portola decided to abandon San Diego if no vessel arrived by the 20th of March. By a providential concurrence of orders and mishaps the *San Antonio* appeared off the harbor on the 19th and then disappeared to enter it again three days later. She had been ordered to sail directly to Monterey, while a companion vessel was sent to San Diego. The latter was lost at sea and the *San Antonio* after reaching the Santa Barbara Channel had to put back in consequence of the loss of an anchor there. Her opportune arrival alone prevented the abandonment of California after all the efforts of the Spanish authorities to occupy its distant territory.

Portola journeyed again to Monterey, and this time had no difficulty in recognizing its anchorage. The sea breezes were blowing from the north and made the form of the harbor visible even to a landsman by the pondlike surface of the water sheltered by the promontory of Ano Nuevo. The *San Antonio*, too, arrived at Monterey, and the post was formally established just a year after Portola's arrival at San Diego. A stockade and cabins for the garrison were built, and California became for the first time a recognized province of Mexico. Portola, in obedience to orders, sailed to San Blas and never returned. A lieutenant of dragoons and about fifty soldiers remained to maintain Spanish authority in California.

Such were the methods used in the latest colonial enterprise of Spain, and it cannot be denied that they show small warrant for the current legends of Spanish cruelty or tyranny. During five years there is only record of a single affray between the soldiers thus left alone in the wilderness and the savages around them. At San Diego six years after the first settlement several hundred natives attacked and burned the mission which lay some miles from the soldiers' stockade. One of the priests and two workmen were killed on this occasion and the surviving friar with three soldiers had to stand a seige during a whole night with no better shelter than the mud walls of a kitchen, the roof of which was burned over their heads. A company of soldiers from Arizona arrived shortly afterwards, but at the urgent request of the Franciscan superior no punitive measures were adopted beyond flogging some of the leaders in the attack. The policy of forgiveness, it may be added, was formally enjoined by Bucareti, the Viceroy of Mexico.

When one compares this with the usual conduct of Europeans among savage races, with Grenville in early Virginia or Mason in Connecticut, it is hard to see on what grounds a writer like Lecky makes the assertion that "blind folly, ignoble selfishness, crushing

tyranny and hideous cruelty mark every page of Spain's colonial history." This remarkable judgment, by the way, forms the heading of Mr. Bigelow's chapter on Spanish colonization in a recent work.

It is in the Spanish friars, however, rather than in the Spanish soldiers or government that the interest of Californian history centres. There was no need for military exploits beyond the ordinary performance of soldiers' duty during the whole existence of California as a colony of Spain. There were few colonists and no special legislation during the fifty years which followed the discovery of San Francisco Bay and the settlement of Monterey. The chief work of settlement was the collection of the Indians into agricultural communities around the churches built by the Franciscan friars. In 1772 Father Serra gathered twelve priests in Monterey, while its garrison was scarcely twenty-five soldiers. Spanish friars all through were nearly half as numerous in California as Spanish soldiers, and the total of both scarcely equaled the American garrison of Guam at the present time. It was far less than the English detachments which exterminated the Tasmanians in about the same time at the other side of the world.

Five Franciscans accompanied the first settlement in 1769. Ten more were sent from San Blas in 1772, and seven came with Father Palou from the Lower Californian missions the next year. The president of all was Junipero Serra, who came with Portola by land to San Diego. The others of the first band were Fathers Crespi, Parron, Gomez and Viscaino. Fathers Serra and Crespi, with several of the other Californian missionaries, were natives of Mallorca, in the Mediterranean. They had entered the order in boyhood, and both had been sent to follow the courses of philosophy and theology in the University of Palma, the capital of that island. Serra had passed several years after his ordination in the usual work of a Franciscan in the country districts. He had been professor of philosophy in the university and distinguished as a zealous preacher before he volunteered for the task of missionary among the savage tribes of New Spain, at the age of 36. He had been employed among the savages of the Sierra Gorda in Mexico for over sixteen years before his mission to California, where he passed fifteen as president. Father Serra had the advantage of a biographer in his colleague Palou, whose friendship began in boyhood and continued all through his varied life in Mallorca, Mexico and California. Palou's life of his friend was published in Mexico in 1787, and thus gives a contemporary picture of the work of Spanish friars in California. Their motives and methods, their objects in life for themselves and others were different from those of modern Americans, but they were as far apart as heaven from earth from the pictures

of them so freely offered to-day in English and American literature.

Serra's first part in the California expedition was the arrangement with the Visitor Galvez of the location and naming of the first missions. The first point had necessarily to be determined by the position of the Spanish posts, but on the second there was a difference of opinion between the official and the friar. San Diego had already received the name of a national saint, Diego de Alcalá, and its mission should also bear his name. That of Monterey was given to the namesake of the King, St. Charles of Milan, and the third was by Galvez assigned to the Franciscan, St. Bonaventura. Father Serra urged the claim of St. Francis himself to a local habitation in the land which his spiritual children were to convert. Galvez was not disposed to change, and jokingly remarked: "If St. Francis care for a mission let him show us a port for its location." Serra accepted the remark seriously. As a matter of fact there was already a port near Point Reyes marked by the name of San Francisco on the Spanish charts, but it was beyond the limit of occupation planned by Galvez. On Portola's expedition to Monterey, however, his party went north in the belief that Monterey itself really was north of the latitude usually given it. The error was only recognized when the unmistakable Point Reyes came in sight of the travelers. It was impossible to reach it owing to the great bay without a name which lay south of the old haven. The enthusiasm of Serra transferred the name of the Franciscan founder to the new discovery, nor did he rest till a mission and garrison were formed on its shore under the venerated name of Francis d'Assisi, the first of the "degraded" friars.

Another characteristic incident marked his journey to San Diego in company of Portola. Serra was 56 years of age and had suffered for many years from an ulcer on one leg. He had contracted it on his first arrival in Mexico, when he and a companion as true Franciscans journeyed on foot, and with only sandals to cover their feet, up the steep road from Vera Cruz to the capital. Before setting out for San Diego he felt it his duty to visit all the missions of Lower California which had been placed under his charge and which he now was leaving to his friend Palou. This trip of several hundred miles brought on an inflammation, and a day after entering the desert beyond the last mission he was unable to mount his mule. The Governor urged him to return to the mission and offered to have him carried there in a litter, but Serra positively refused. He would go on to San Diego at any cost of pain, and as a friar he would not let men be made as beasts of burthen for him. There was no physician at hand, so the Franciscan called the help of one of the mule drivers and asked him to treat the inflamed leg as he would the chafed back

of a mule. The muleteer tried a poultice of herbs and tallow, and the next day Serra, though suffering much pain, was able to mount and go on. At the end of the forty-six days' journey he wrote joyfully to Father Palou that the afflicted leg was better than the other, though he still retained a lameness which lasted till death.

At San Diego the sufferers from the epidemic occupied his attentions for the first six months. Fathers Crespi and Gomez were sent with the party in search of Monterey, while the other three friars remained with the sick at San Diego. Serra formally founded his mission the day after Portola's departure, amid all the ravages of the plague. It was only a name and a large cross, with two or three huts of branches to shelter the friars at night and say Mass in the mornings. When the natives attacked the strangers a few days later Father Viscaino was wounded by an arrow, and all three priests subsequently caught the epidemic from their patients. They recovered, but food was scarce and none of the settlers was fit to work, so the mission buildings had to be postponed till the return of Portola.

The Governor's return was a fresh disappointment. Portola felt that San Diego must be abandoned unless help came, and he declined to let his men put up any buildings. The Indians showed no inclination to conversion during all this time. Once Father Serra asked to baptize a dying infant, but when he was beginning the ceremony an Indian snatched the child and ran off. Palou tells how the grief of this loss to the little savage remained keen with the old priest to the close of his life. Possibly such feelings indicate the "hideous selfishness" so strongly urged by Mr. Lecky as a prominent trait in Spanish character.

The most that Serra and his two companions could do for the conversion of the heathens was to make friends with a solitary boy. He came regularly to visit them and learned a little Spanish, but the feasts of his rancheria were always enough to carry him away. The friars labored hard to learn the dialects of their future flock, but with little result at first. Food, too, was running scarce, and Father Serra declared a tortilla a day with the Indian seeds was quite enough for his own needs. Under all these difficulties he determined not to abandon San Diego even if the garrison was withdrawn. He conferred with Captain Vila on the subject, and the sea captain also decided to remain with his vessel while an ounce of food was left. The appearance of the *San Antonio* on St. Joseph's day prevented the endurance of the friars being put to the test of solitary residence among the greedy savages of San Diego.

When Portola started again for Monterey Father Serra went there in the packet and Crespi again made the long land journey. The

wounded Father Viscaino had been sent back to Lower California. Fathers Gomez and Parou stayed with the corporal's guard of eight men which formed the garrison of the San Diego stockade and tried to win the good will of the fickle natives. The identity of the port of Monterey having been satisfactorily established, Portola took formal possession of California for Spain by raising the royal standard and the "usual pulling of grass, piling up stones and taking note of the same," as Crespi's diary quaintly puts it. Before the official ceremony Father Serra sang High Mass under the same old oak where Mass had been said a hundred and sixty-eight years before by Viscaino's chaplains. After its conclusion Father Serra as chief of the mission also formally founded the mission of San Carlos by the spiritual powers vested in him by the Holy See and the College of San Fernando. The distinctive functions of Church and State, though working together, were clearly defined by the Spanish friars. The mission's beginning was a very modest one. A palisade was built and a few huts run up within it to serve as church and residences, the soldiers and sailors helping in the works with four Californian Indians from the Peninsula. None of the natives appeared at either mission foundation for some days, but then they commenced to call on the strangers. Fathers Serra and Crespi made it their first care to study the dialects of the district and then gradually brought the main doctrines of the Catholic faith to their notice. The Monterey Indians made no objection to the new teachings, but it was a considerable time before the friars considered their intelligence of them such as to warrant their admission to baptism. The first baptism was administered in December, six months after the foundation of the mission. To make intercourse more free and also to get better land for cultivation, the mission settlement was removed about six miles from the presidio the next year. Five soldiers, four Christian Indians and the two priests were its first population. The Indians came in more freely and the friars began the cultivation of patches of wheat and corn, in which, too, the savages were invited to take part. The supplies for the first three years were chiefly drawn from the packets, which brought corn, flour and dried beef from San Blas for the friars and their help, as well as for the soldiers. With the increase of tillage and the small number of cattle which had been brought from Lower California the friars at the end of that time were self-supporting and had provisions to distribute to the natives. Some of the latter came regularly to instructions and were baptized, but only a part of these converts came to dwell in the mission settlement. Others still gathered nuts and seeds in the woods for their food while coming to Mass and teaching. By the close of 1773 a census made by Father Palou for the Mexican authorities

gave an account of the five missions then established. In that of Monterey a hundred and seventy-five converts had been baptized, and others were coming from their rancherias for instructions. Twenty-eight marriages of Indians and three between Spanish soldiers and Indian women had been blessed in the first three years, while eleven dead had got Christian burial. The harvest had failed the year before and only five fanegas of wheat were saved for seed. The mission establishment had forty-seven head of cattle, twenty-eight hogs, nine horses and twelve mules. It also had a carpenter shop and six plows, with other tools. Such were the beginnings of a Franciscan mission.

San Diego had even harder experience than Monterey. Fathers Gomez and Parron both broke down in health and had to be sent to Lower California to recover before Monterey was founded. Two new arrivals, Dumetz and Jayme, succeeded them, but Father Dumetz also had to be sent away, though he returned later and passed nearly forty years on the missions of Upper California. Father Fuster took his place, and the friars at last seemed acclimated in San Diego. The natives, however, still continued indifferent or unfriendly, and the crop of the first year was washed out by a flood, and that of the next season failed for want of rains. The country around the port was explored for a fertile tract for four or five years, and finally in 1774 the Indian mission was moved five or six miles away from the fort and buildings erected in the new site. Though there were eleven or twelve rancherias of natives within a radius of twenty miles, very few converts—only ninety-seven—were won in six years of dreary toil. The establishment of the mission in the new site brought an improvement, and in 1775 Fathers Jayme and Fuster enrolled sixty converts, though their first harvest of grain was a failure. The hostility of the heathen savages was aroused, and in November a band of several hundred attacked the mission by night. Its inmates beside the two friars and the Indian converts who lived in their huts near by were only seven or eight white men. Four soldiers and three mechanics with an invalid boy formed the number. The savages crept into the palisade in the darkness, having first put guards over the huts of the Christian Indians. They set fire to the church, which, like the other buildings, was only of rough timbers thatched with reeds, and in a moment its roof was in a blaze. Father Jayme rose hurriedly and came out to call help. He was pierced with a cloud of arrows, knocked down and beaten brutally till life was extinct. The mission smith was also killed and another man badly wounded. The survivors took refuge in the kitchen, which had adobe walls a few feet high on three sides, and in this they defended themselves stoutly all the night. Two of the

soldiers were disabled by arrows and the roof was burned over the heads of the occupants, but the three soldiers continued to load and fire, and the savages shrank from coming to close quarters despite their numbers. A sack of fifty pounds of powder was stored in the kitchen, and while the roof was burning Father Fuster, who as a priest would take no part in slaying men, even in self-defense, seated himself on the powder and covered it with his habit against the falling sparks and brands. The corporal was the best shot of the party, and the other two loaded the flint-lock muskets and handed them to him for use. He killed or wounded so many of the assailants that at daybreak the savages retired. Four soldiers came up from the fort near the port, which had also been attacked and successfully defended by the ten men who formed its garrison. Search was made for the bodies, and that of Father Jayme was found at some distance stripped and pounded out of all resemblance to human features. It was carried to the fort and buried there with due religious ceremonies as well as the other victim. The carpenter of the fort, who had been mortally wounded, died a few days later. The whole of the mission buildings were destroyed as well as the provisions and church furniture.

The action taken towards the treacherous natives after this destruction was somewhat uncommon. The twelve soldiers in San Diego could take no punitive measures beyond threatening the hostiles, but within a couple of months Captain Rivera came down from Monterey with twenty men and Captain Aroza, who was leading a colony from Arizona, also brought a similar force of frontier soldiers. The two Spanish officers visited all the lately hostile rancherias, who were now thoroughly scared, and arrested most of the leaders. Father Serra, as head of the Franciscans, interceded with Rivera that no death punishment should be inflicted for the murder of Jayme, and he wrote to the Viceroy Bucareli to the same effect. His own sentiments were expressed characteristically when the news of Jayme's death reached Monterey. "Thanks to God, the land is irrigated, and now the conversion of the San Dieguinos will come." Rivera yielded so far as to confine the punishment inflicted on the culprits to flogging and imprisonment until the Viceroy's letters should come to hand. Bucareli's answer arrived in June. It ran thus on Serra's request: "In view of the wise and Christian suggestions in the letter of your Reverence that it is better to win the rebels by kindness than to cow them by punishment, I have ordered Captain Rivera so to act. It may, too, be the best policy for winning over the other tribes, and I have ordered the officials to rebuild the ruined mission and found another." The murderers were all released on Michaelmas day except one who had

hanged himself while in confinement. Palou notes that this individual had attempted Serra's life just six years before.

Two other incidents are worth notice. The carpenter who was mortally wounded in the night attack bequeathed by will his accumulated wages to the benefit of the mission to the Indians from whom he had received his death. Later when Captain Rivera was arresting the hostiles a renegade Christian who had joined in the attack was denounced by his own people. He took sanctuary in the Presidio Chapel and Father Fuster maintained the rights guaranteed by the canon and Spanish laws to suspected criminals of exemption from arrest while within church walls. The fact that Carlos, the Indian in question, had been one of the murderers of his own colleague did not affect Father Fuster's determination. Rivera disregarded it and took Carlos by force out of the church. The friar thereon placed the Governor under interdict of attending Mass or receiving the sacraments until he should return the prisoner to sanctuary. He wrote his reasons to Serra as his superior and sent them by Rivera himself. Father Serra on examination approved of his subordinate's course. Rivera was much irritated and showed it by his refusal to allow the mission to be restored, an object specially desired by Serra. Neither the Governor's irritation nor its effects on his own interests could move the Franciscan to recede from the line of duty to the law of the Church. The incident throws strong light on the character which has generally marked the Spanish friars in America of strict devotion to law for themselves and indulgence for the defects of native character. The mission was finally rebuilt, after more than a year's delay, in obedience to the Viceroy's orders. Within the next six years Father Serra's anticipations were fairly realized, and over seven hundred Indians were enrolled as converts in San Diego.

San Diego and Monterey as ports and military posts might be regarded in a degree as European settlements. Most of the twenty Franciscan missions were pure Indian villages apart from European intercourse. There were usually two friars in each, with three or more soldiers as a police force and occasionally Spanish or Mexican mechanics as instructors or workmen. San Antonio and San Gabriel, the first founded, will show the ordinary mission better than Monterey or San Diego.

About a year after the occupation of Monterey Father Serra with two newly arrived priests and half a dozen of soldiers as an escort set out for a valley in the heart of the Sierra de Santa Lucia, which had been pitched on as a good location for a mission farm. It was about sixty miles south of the Monterey post and had wood, water and fertile land. Four Christian Indians went along as farm helpers,

and a train of mules carried enough corn meal, flour and dried beef to support the little body for a season until a crop could be raised.

Some cattle and sheep also were driven along. When the site was reached the church bells were hung on an oak, a large cross cut and raised and some cabins built of branches for shelter and one for a church. On the 14th of July, 1771, the President formally began the mission and placed Fathers Litjar and Pieras in its care as lawful pastors and legal administrators of its little possessions. The singing of High Mass began this function and the bells were pulled vigorously to announce it. There was no sign of human habitation in sight, but as Mass began a naked Indian stole up to gaze at the spectacle. Serra noticed him from the altar and drew glad augury of numerous conversions here from the fact that a heathen presented himself at its first Mass, a thing which had not happened at either of the two former foundations. Father Serra remained two weeks to make acquaintance with the natives, who did in fact come in numbers from the rancherias, but the difference of language did not allow him to offer any instruction to them. His brother friars when left to themselves took up the task of learning the native language with success while working at the buildings and plantation of the mission.

Another establishment was begun at the same time at San Gabriel, about fifty miles from San Diego. Two Franciscans, Cambon and Somera, were charged with its foundation. The Governor thought there might be danger from the Indians and sent ten soldiers along with the two friars. The latter spent some time in choosing a site suitable for an agricultural settlement, and finally decided on a spot near a flowing stream which since retains the name of the mission's patron angel. When the party began to raise the large cross which was the first work in every Franciscan establishment, a crowd of natives, armed with bows and arrows, gathered around. The soldiers prepared for an attack, but Somera suddenly displayed a banner bearing a representation of Our Lady which struck the admiration of the savages. They came to lay their arrows before the picture and friendly relations were at once established. The foundation was made in the same fashion as at San Antonio, except that it was not one, but over a hundred naked savages who witnessed its first Mass.

The good will thus established by Father Somera's presence of mind was soon disturbed by the misconduct of a soldier. Some of the Spaniards went to visit the rancherias and an insult to a woman brought on an affray in which an Indian was shot dead. The corporal in command thought it well to strike terror into the natives. He caused the body to be beheaded and the head placed on a pole

before the mission palisade. By urgent remonstrances the friars had it taken down and restored to the tribesmen, but a feeling of distrust on both sides remained. Comparatively few natives would come for instruction to the mission, and the commander at San Diego, though he recalled the homicide soldier, made matters worse by adding six men to the guard. Father Serra in his address to the Viceroy attributed the slow progress of the mission to the number and misconduct of the soldier guard there. Both friars also broke down in health and had to be replaced by new men, which also impeded the growth of intimacy between the Franciscans and the Indians. In addition to the local troubles Lieutenant Fages refused to allow other missions to be established on the plea that a larger force of soldiers was needed in California. Father Serra finally had to send to Mexico and obtain positive orders from the Viceroy before the nineteen Franciscans already in the country could go on with their work of conversion.

The troubles of early mission life are well shown in the report forwarded to Mexico in 1773 by Father Palou, who acted as superior in the absence of Serra. Five missions had been founded in four years and priests were waiting for three more which the military commander did not think safe. In two of the first the whole of the buildings had been changed to other localities five or six miles from the original sites after a year's experience. In San Diego crops had failed two years in succession, and the Christian Indians were living like the savages on wild seeds and berries. The missionaries had sent to San Blas for a fishing boat and nets to help in their support. The Franciscans had only baptized eighty-three, including children, in four years, and of those eight had died. They had married twelve who lived in huts of their own fashion beside the mission church. The priests and soldiers lived in log huts thatched with reeds within a little palisaded inclosure. The church was of the same material, but they had begun the foundations of a church eighty feet long of adobe and had made several thousand sun-dried bricks with the help of the natives when the friars had supplies to feed them. In cattle the establishment had fared better than in agriculture. It had begun with eighteen cows and calves and it now had forty head of beef cattle, twenty-nine horses, twenty-two mules, four asses, seventy-six sheep, fifty-two goats and nineteen hogs. Pasturage was abundant and the stock thrived and increased.

In Monterey at the time the Indian baptisms had been a hundred and sixty-five and there had been thirty-two marriages, of which three were between Spanish soldiers and Christian Indian women and one of a Mexican workman with an Indian. There had been eleven deaths, and there were several Indians coming for instruc-

tions who lived in their old savage way as far as cabins and food. They had raised a hundred fanegas or half bushels of wheat the year before, but the padres had thought best to reserve it for seed. The cattle were forty-six, with twenty-eight hogs, but no sheep. The mission had nine horses and twelve mules as well as a blacksmith's shop and carpenter house with all the necessary tools.

In San Antonio the site had been changed on account of the failure of water at the place first selected. In the new location irrigation ditches had been made and wheat, beans and corn planted. The friars, however, had only a bushel of seed wheat, and it would take some seasons before they could hope to have enough to give bread to their converts who meantime lived on pine nuts, acorns and rabbits which they snared. A hundred and fifty-eight had been baptized and fifteen Indian couples married. The latter were all living well content at the mission in their own huts as well as three of the Spanish soldiers who had taken Indian wives. The stock was thirty-eight beeves, thirty hogs, nine horses and eleven mules. The number of mules in all the missions is explained by the fact that all burthens were packed. There is no mention of carts or carriages in the primitive mission life.

In San Gabriel from the causes already mentioned the conversions had been only seventy-three. There were five married couples of natives of the Peninsula settled at San Gabriel and six other Californians and the farming had succeeded better than elsewhere. The live stock was a little less than at San Antonio or Monterey, but was thriving. The Indian population around the mission was very numerous according to Palou's report.

Palou's methodical story gives a clear view of the privations and disappointments of early mission life. The number of the friars who broke down under them was very large. The first missionaries at San Gabriel only lasted a few months, though they afterwards returned with renewed energy to Upper California. Father Cambon even crossed the Pacific as chaplain to a vessel which was transferred from San Blas to Manila. The few conversions of the early years must have been a keen trial to the zealous missionaries who had left home and friends for that object alone. The absence of hostilities with the natives is also noticeable. The burning of San Diego mission was the only real fight recorded. A conspiracy to the same end was discovered there in 1778, and Ortega, the military commandant, executed four Indians on that account. The killing of the Indian at San Gabriel was the only other incident of the kind in the first seven years of mission establishment in the wilderness.

The refusal of Lieutenant Fages to allow any new foundations threatened to stop all hope of making Christians of the Californian

Indians. In this emergency Serra went himself to Mexico and laid the matter before the Viceroy Bucareli. It was well he did, as at the time economists in the Mexican Council were seriously urging the removal of the dockyard at San Blas, without which regular communications would be impossible between California and the outside world. The Viceroy's Council on Serra's representations decided to continue it, and further ordered that every facility should be given the friars for as many missions as they could supply priests for. Fages was replaced as Governor by Captain Rivera, the second in command, formerly under Portola. On Serra's return the work of mission expansion was resumed. San Francisco, Santa Clara, La Purissima and San Juan Capistrano were established before the end of 1779. A new obstacle arose, however, when the northern provinces of Mexico were formed into a government independent of the Mexican Council about this time. De la Croix, a military officer, was appointed Captain General of the frontier provinces with residence in Sonora and a new Governor Neve was sent under his authority to California. The new officials were men imbued with what were called liberal ideas in the eighteenth century, and among them a desire to subject the clergy and religious observances to state regulations on an extensive scale. De la Croix decided to plant colonies of married soldiers and farmers as centres round which the savage Indians might be gathered and civilized by the mere force of example. The friars were to give instruction and administer the sacraments, but were to have no part in the management or settlement of the Indians otherwise. It was in fact a revival of the ideas put forward by the first settlers in the West Indies in the time of Columbus and which had been found so disastrous in practice to the natives. The Captain General went even further in his interference in religious matters. He endeavored to have the Franciscan missionaries in California formed into a custody or province independent of the Missionary College of San Fernando, from which they had been drawn. This in fact would make any regular supply of missionaries impossible, as it was not to be expected that friars like Serra, Crespi or Palou would be found among the newly converted savages. The friars themselves protested against this measure, which, however, was only dropped after several years. De la Croix pushed his meddling in Church affairs so far as to forbid Father Serra from confirming the Indians. Serra had that privilege by concession of the Holy See, but De la Croix insisted that his approval was also needed for the lawful administration of the sacraments of the Church.

His policy was only given up after events in Arizona had proved its folly. Two settlements were made near the Colorado on his

methods, and both were destroyed by an Indian rising. Four Franciscans, Captain Rivera, the former Governor of California, and twenty-five soldiers with their families were massacred in a night. It was only after this blood-stained lesson that the Franciscan friars in California were allowed to continue their work in their own way. San Buenaventura, on the Santa Barbara Channel, was established as a mission in 1782, fourteen years after it had been ordered by Galvez. It was in fact the tenth of the Franciscan missions and the last foundation of Junipero Serra.

Years and work were telling on the President of the missions. In 1784 the number of converts had grown to five thousand eight hundred and over five thousand had been confirmed by the hands of Father Serra. His faculties for confirmation expired in July, and to exercise them in every mission he made the journey from San Diego to Monterey on foot at seventy years of age. He suffered keenly from the inflammation of his leg and an asthmatic affection, but though visibly near his end he continued to teach and pray with the Indians in his mission. Three days before death he superintended a distribution of clothing and provisions among them which had just arrived by sea. The next two days he spent chiefly in prayer and made a general confession of his life to Father Palou. He insisted on going to the church to receive the Communion and received extreme unction while seated on a chair and surrounded by Indians. His bed was only of rough boards covered with a blanket, but even on it he only laid down for a few hours in the night. On the 28th of August he asked Father Palou to recite the prayers for a soul departing and answered the responses clearly himself. When the prayers were ended he remarked: "There is nothing more to fear," and "let us rest." He then lay down on the board couch while all left the room, and quietly passed away alone. It was a typical ending of the life of a typical Spanish friar.

It was noted that conversions increased notably immediately after Father Serra's death. Nearly a thousand Indians were enrolled within the four months following his death. Its lesson was not lost even on the limited intelligence of the natives. The movement continued under the administration of his successor, Father Lassuen, who directed the destinies of the missions for eighteen years in the same spirit as their founders. By the close of the century the Christians settled in the missions amounted to nearly fourteen thousand, and twenty-five thousand had been instructed and baptized during the thirty years of Franciscan work. The primitive huts and palisades of the first establishments had grown into villages of adobe houses with large central buildings for use as granaries, workshops, school rooms and lodgings for the priests and their assistants in the

general direction of the labor of the natives. The value of these buildings and the cattle and other property created by the labor of the Indians was reckoned at nearly a million dollars in 1796. This estimate does not represent anything like the same sum in our days. The missions in 1800 owned sixty-seven thousand head of cattle and horses and eighty-six thousand sheep, all sprung from the three or four hundred which had been driven across the desert from Lower California thirty years before. The industry of the Franciscans had got over the difficulties of the first dry years in the matter of cultivation. In 1800 the crop of Indian raising was seventy-five thousand bushels. That raised by the settlers of Spanish origin, who had gradually come in to the number of over twelve hundred was reckoned at only nine thousand bushels and their cattle at sixteen thousand, with about a thousand sheep. The comparative wealth of the white settlers and the converts under Spanish rule was not very unequal if divided proportionately among each class. To every white a dozen of cattle and a yearly yield of seven bushels of grain would be a fair distribution of the common wealth. Every Indian convert under a similar rule would receive five cattle, seven sheep and about six bushels of grain. It may be added that whatever manufactures existed were entirely confined to the missions and their value should be added to the common stock of the converts.

The list of these industries introduced among the native Indians was rather large. It included the making of wine and oil, of cordage from native hemp, of blankets and coarse cloth from native wool, of soap and tallow, tanned leather and coarse saddlery, salt, pottery and flour. Flouring mills run by water existed in several missions before the close of the eighteenth century. Stone cutting, brick making, carpentry and smelting were among the trades practiced by the California Indians. Mechanics had been brought from Mexico to act as instructors in those branches by Father Lassuen. In the management of cattle and horses the Indians were well skilled, and twice the Military Governors complained that the converts were liable to become as dangerous as the Apaches if any trouble should break out owing to their dexterity as horsemen. It was altogether a remarkable result obtained in thirty years among a race whose condition thirty years earlier was that of naked savages.

The means by which this change was brought about was equally noteworthy. The Franciscans brought the heathen natives to settle around the missions by persuasion alone. When enrolled as residents they had to submit to no more personal restraint than was the lot of most European communities. They were required to remain in their settlements and do the work allotted to them, but if any ran away or neglected work the penalties imposed were very light and

determined by the missionary. In San Francisco when at one time the friar in charge authorized some cases of flogging the Superior, Father Duran, forbade the practice. The military commanders were harsher, but their interference with the mission Indians was limited by the general law unless in cases of serious crimes like murder or rebellion. The instances of the latter were few indeed. The murder of Father Jayme at San Diego was the only instance of violence offered to any of the unarmed Franciscans during the eighty years of their mission experience. In two or three cases individual friars like Father Danti and Father Horra were removed by the Superior for undue severity in the management of the natives, but these exceptions only show the general character of a system which rested on the moral influence of unarmed priests as rulers of a savage population during over sixty years.

Father Lassuen died in 1803 at more than eighty years of age. Vancouver, who visited in California in 1792, describes him as a man of seventy-two, whose gentle manners, united to a most venerable and placid countenance indicated that tranquilized state of mind that fitted him in so eminent a degree for presiding over so benevolent an institution. The Protestant Bancroft declares him the first in California's history both as a man and missionary. "In him were united the qualities which make up the ideal padre without taint of hypocrisy or cant." His management of the missions affords abundant evidence of his untiring zeal and his ability as a man of business. His writings prepossess the reader in favor of their author by their comparative conciseness of style. Of his fervent piety there are abundant proofs, and his piety and humility were unobtrusive, blended with common sense." One asks how many Indian Agents in our own history have merited a character like this Spanish friar's.

Father Tapis succeeded Lassuen as Superior, and during the next ten years twelve thousand converts were enrolled, though only one new mission, Santa Inez, was founded. The lack of new missionaries owing to the troubled state of Spain and Europe during the wars of Napoleon was the chief cause of the arrest of mission development. The Franciscans explored to the east of the coast range and explored Tulare and Kern counties in different expeditions. They examined the San Joaquin and Sacramento rivers as far north as Shasta and found numerous sites for missions and thousands of natives, but they had no priests to spare. The whole number in California at the death of Father Lassuen was only forty, and ten years later it was thirty-eight, all employed in the nineteen existing missions. These averaged each a thousand of Indian population, and their management occupied fully the energies of the friars who in addition acted as priests to the white population, which was over

two thousand. The Indian industrial development, however, continued. Cattle of the missions numbered a hundred and forty thousand and sheep a hundred and sixty thousand. The grain yield was nearly ninety thousand bushels. The last companion of Serra, Father Dumetaz, died at the beginning of 1811.

The invasion of Spain by Napoleon and the rejection of Joseph Bonaparte by Spanish America made the arrival of new Spanish priests almost impossible. The College of San Fernando was entirely recruited by volunteers from the different provinces of the Spanish speaking Franciscans. The great majority had come from Europe, though three or four Mexican religious had volunteered for the Californian mission. It had been the rule of the college only to send priests for a term of ten years to the difficult task of administering a Californian mission, but in 1815 Father Payeras, the Superior, warned his brethren that they would have all to remain till death, as there was no prospect of others coming to relieve them. A circular of Father Payeras in 1821 on this subject gives a good illustration of the personal habits of the Spanish friars. He had previously warned his brethren against practices opposed to the spirit of the rule of poverty as vowed by Franciscans. The points mentioned were that some of the fathers occupied cells too large and better furnished than Father Serra's, and that others were accustomed to travel on horseback or even in carts instead of making their journeys on foot after the model of Francis of Assisi. The directors of San Fernando had even ordered in consequence that any carts for personal use of the friars should be burned. This regulation was modified by Payeras, who with much simplicity declared that there need be no scruples on the practice in view of the large number of old men among the missionaries. He added that it was their duty to save their strength as much as possible for the benefit of the Indians, even at the cost of abandoning the bodily mortifications which were so dear to most of them as Franciscans. The circular is a strange comment on the "hideous selfishness" in Mr. Lecky's words which marked the lives of Spanish friars in California.

In spite of the horrors of Napoleon's Spanish invasion, nine Spanish friars made their way to California between 1810 and 1820. There were thirty-seven in the missions in the latter year and about twenty-one thousand Christian Indians. The priests had baptized eighteen thousand in the decade, but the number of deaths from epidemics and other causes was very large. The white population had grown to thirty-five hundred, or about a seventh of the population of California. The chief material production, however, was in the missions under management of the friars. Five thousand horses, a hundred and fifty thousand cattle and two hundred thousand sheep

represented the possessions of the natives. In 1821 they harvested a hundred and eighty thousand bushels of grain and furnished flour, cloth, cordage and leather to the whole of California. Trading was carried on to some extent with both Mexican and foreign vessels, American ships being well represented. There were ominous mutterings of secularizing the missions among the politicians of Mexico and Spain, but the general opinion of all the Californians was opposed to it. With diminished numbers the Spanish friars continued to administer their missions for thirteen years after the separation of Mexico from Spain.

The Spanish Cortes, after the downfall of Joseph Bonaparte, had decreed the secularization of the California missions. In 1821 the Viceroy of Mexico notified the Governor of California of this order, but the Governor decided its execution would ruin the country. The independence of Mexico and the frequent revolutionary changes of government there which followed left the California mission system untouched till 1834. The Franciscans were then only twenty-six and the Indian population and their property slightly less than in 1820. Governor Echandia, on his own authority, in 1831, decreed that several of the missions should be made pueblos, and sent commissioners to hold elections among the Indians for town officials to control their affairs. At San Miguel, San Antonio and San Luis the natives voted to retain the existing administration of the friars, and the scheme was abandoned for the time. Ten Mexican friars were sent from Zacatecas in 1833 by the Mexican Government to take the places left vacant among the Spanish friars. Congress, however, did not give much time to try whether the newcomers could carry on the work. In 1834 sixteen missions were placed in charge of commissioners for their administration, and the priests were left to perform religious services exclusively. There were subsequently attempts made to restore the old order, but the mission property disappeared so rapidly under the commissioners that the native population had wandered away. In 1840 the Indians at the missions were less than six thousand, and their cattle had shrunk to one-third of its amount at the date of secularization. The decay continued under the American occupation. The mission buildings and a few acres of ground were confirmed to the authorities of the Church, but the Indian lands and herds were swept away by private spoliation, and the Christian Indians themselves have almost melted out of existence. The last survivor of the Spanish friars who had built up the old missions died in 1875. Father Gonzales, in the words of Bancroft, "was a man beloved and respected by all from the beginning to the end of his career."

One cannot but ask, in the face of the history of California, on

what grounds a large part of the American public is so ready to assume that the Spanish friars of the Philippines must have been an immoral and tyrannical body of men because they have been engaged on a larger scale in work like that of Junipero Serra and Fermin Lassuen. From the first settlements in what are now the United States the conversion of the natives to Christianity has been proclaimed as a desirable object. Men like Bishop Berkeley, Elliott and Mayhew have tried it in New England, but tried in vain. Almost since the foundation of the Republic the statesmen of America have proclaimed the desire of civilizing the savage tribes within its borders, and have spent many millions on the attempt. A hundred Spanish friars in California, with no financial aid beyond the Pious Fund of Mexico, created by private charity and which never gave them twenty thousand dollars a year, have done a work in the way of Indian civilization greater than all that has been accomplished by the Government of this great Republic. That it did not survive their extinction can hardly be laid as a charge against their methods until some agency can be named which even began a work like theirs. If every noble work be condemned because it is not eternal in duration, then the California missions may merit condemnation; but as it is, the Spanish friars must be allowed to have been the truest friends of the natives yet seen within the territory of the United States.

There is a curious resemblance between the old English Protestant idea of the Jesuits and the new American view of Spanish friars. Both legends have arisen from prejudices already accepted rather than facts. It is strange, indeed, for a Californian to find a man of Mark Twain's ability speaking confidently of the "degraded Spanish friars" and wondering whether heaven could inflict a greater curse than "friars" on the natives of the Philippines. The view of mankind which finds only degradation in fellowship with the names of Junipero Serra and Fermin Lassuen and Payenas and Gonzales, with the plea for mercy to the murderers of Father Jayme, with Fuster calmly covering the powder sack with his habit amid the brands of the burning building at San Diego, with the old mission prefect, Father Savria, dying of hunger at the altar in 1835 among the few Indians who still clung around the plundered church must be either superhumanly high or frankly idiotic. In justice to Mr. Clemens we may add that it may be supremely ignorant of the character and history of the Spanish friars so recklessly defamed by him.

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