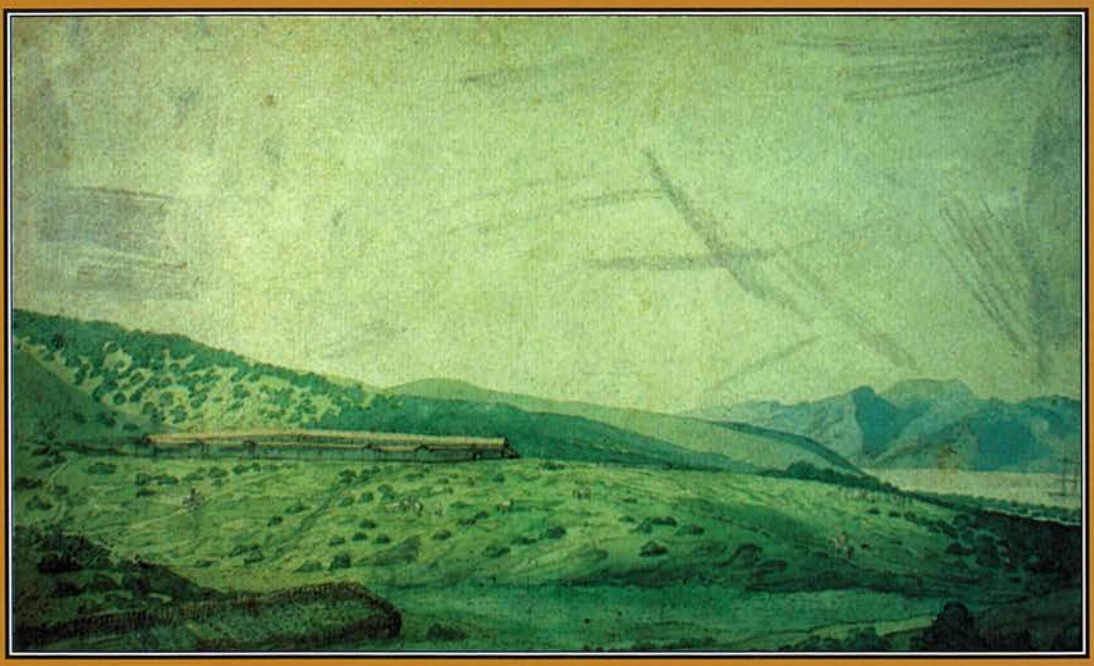
BRAND BOOK NINETEEN

EL PRESIDIO DE SAN FRANCISCO

A History under Spain and Mexico 1776–1846



by
John Phillip Langellier
and
Daniel B. Rosen

Los Angeles Corral

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Figure 1. "The Plan of the Great Port of San Francisco," prepared by Manuel Villavicencio relied upon José de Cañizares 1775 chart of the Bay Area. Villavicenio's version also included the symbols "V" ("New Mission of San Francisco founded on October 4, 1776") and "X" ("Royal Presidio of San Francisco established on September 17, 1776"), although he had juxtaposed the two locales. Also of note is the presence of "Point San Jose or the White cliffs," the spot selected by Juan Bautista de Anza for the presidio but rejected by José Moraga in favor of a more inland situation.

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Edited by Doyce B. Nunis, Jr.

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Contents

Figures and Illustrations

Acknowledgments

This study represents the culmination of research which began over thirty years ago. The resulting manuscript, however, only became possible because of considerable support and resources made available by many individuals and institutions.

First of all, the Spanish and Mexican officials, who labored to make multiple copies of reports and correspondence to their respective home governments and did so without adequate assistance due to wide-spread illiteracy during the era, provided the basic data on which this project was based. Given many drawbacks of living at the far end of the realm which they served meant their writings did not always provide in depth information. Nevertheless, the remaining records offer a tantalizing picture of the precarious existence of a frontier outpost. In many cases, the documents they provided are all that present-day researchers have to draw upon because inspectors and other visiting government agents from the central seats of power rarely saw fit to venture to Alta California in general and the Bay Area in particular.

Fortunately, foreigners from Russia, France, Great Britain, the United States, and elsewhere, occasionally landed, leaving behind mixed descriptions of what they saw. All too often, these outsiders made only brief statements about the physical conditions at the Presidio of San Francisco, dwelling instead on the lack of defenses for the great harbor of St. Francis, thereby implying the relative ease with which their own nations could seize the prize. Moreover, ethnocentricity regularly slanted their perceptions, to the point that some may have felt it unimportant to detail the "mean surroundings" they found in the Bay Area.

All this aside, a body of information survived to provide

glimpses of the Presidio of San Francisco as it evolved during its first half century. Much of the material which exists can be found in the fine collections of the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley. There, numerous original documents, illustrations, and manuscripts, along with published first-hand accounts and copies of original materials lost in the 1906 earthquake and fire can be found, making this the single most important facility in terms of this study. In addition, microfilm from archives in Spain and Mexico round out the holdings, all of which were made available over the years by a highly professional and considerate staff.

Similarly, the capable personnel of the Huntington Library in San Marino, California, extended every courtesy. So too did the University of Texas Library at Austin offer reference services for microfilm holdings. Likewise, the California Historical Society's Library and the Society of California Pioneers' Library, both in San Francisco, provided certain key original items, as did Cathy Rudolf of the Santa Barbara Trust for Historic Preservation.

Continuing, at the California State Library in Sacramento, Gary Kurtz showed his usual dedication and enthusiasm, as was the case with Dr. Kevin Mulroy, Emily Bergman, and Barbara Brauner at the Autry Museum of Western Heritage research center in Los Angeles. Moreover, Joanne D. Hale, chief executive officer and director of the Autry Museum of Western Heritage, provided encouragement and other support to make this project possible.

Other individuals who contributed in many ways also should be mentioned. For example, the former consul general of Spain in San Francisco, the Honorable José Urbina, contacted institutions in his country so that copies of important materials might be made. While completing her doctorate in Albuquerque, Dr. Salomé Hernández took time out of her busy schedule to translate a lengthy, important document on the *Castillo* de San Joaquín and read microfilm materials from Spain which were in the University of New Mexico Library. Dr. Eric Beerman found some hitherto unknown references and a diagram of that same coastal battery, *El Castillo*, in Spain and graciously shared the fruits of his discovery. Similarly, Dr. Joseph Sanchez, the direc-

tor of the National Park Service's Spanish Colonial Research Center in Santa Fe, copied the 1776 plan of the presidio.

Numerous other National Park Service members added comments and suggestions which improved this work. First of all, Gordon Chappell, the Western Regional historian, carefully reviewed our materials and saw to it that the comments of many of his colleagues were gathered for inclusion in the final text. Dr. Roger Kelly, Western Regional archeologist, and Diane Nicholson, former Western Regional curator and present Golden Gate National Recreation Area curator, raised issues of import. Stephen Haller, Golden Gate National Recreation Area curator of historic documents, clarified questions about the ship *San Carlos*. Leo Barker, historical archeologist for the National Park Service Western Regional Interagency Archeological Division, provided much encouragement. Thanks also are due to the National Park Service Presidio Planning Team including Roger Brown, Carey Ferirabend, and Frank Williss. All these people and C. Craig Frazier of the Denver Service Center facilitated the work in many ways particularly in the production of our Presidio historic resource study, "El Presidio de San Francisco...," from which much of the material in this book comes.

At the Presidio of San Francisco itself, Colonel Milton B. Halsey, Jr. of the Fort Point and Army Museum Association along with Presidio Army Museum director, Herbert Garcia, and staff member, J. Edward Green, did everything possible to assist this undertaking. In particular, Mr. Garcia's careful reading also ensured the accuracy of the manuscript's citations. Likewise, Roger Rhems, a member of "Los Californianos," extended many kindnesses.

Lastly, colleagues from the Los Angeles Corral of the Westerners were instrumental in improving this publication.

In particular, Dr. Doyce Nunis lent his able skills as editor while Siegfried Demke, Donald Duke and Norman Neuerburg patiently read the manuscript and offered useful suggestions. Despite the expert assistance any errors or omissions remain the responsibility of the authors.

JOHN PHILLIP LANGELLIER DANIEL B. ROSEN

Foreword

The Los Angeles Corral of Westerners is pleased to present *Brand Book Nineteen*. This publication was the result of a nationwide contest in which authors were invited to submit a book-length manuscript on any subject relating to the history of the American West. The Brand Book Awards Committee was composed of Siegfried G. Demke (chair), Donald Duke, Norman Neuerburg and myself as editor. The prize and guarantee of publication was awarded to John P. Langellier and Daniel B. Rosen for their splendid study of *El Presidio de San Francisco: A History Under Spain and Mexico, 1776–1846*, published herein.

John P. Langellier received his B.A., and M.A. degrees in history from the University of San Diego and earned his Ph.D. at Kansas State University. Subsequently he held various assignments with the U.S. Army for the ensuing twelve years, including the position of museum director, historic preservation officer, and post historian for the Presidio of San Francisco, 1973–1979, which stirred his interest in its historic past. Presently he is the director of publications and productions at the Autry Museum of Western Heritage in Los Angeles.

Daniel B. Rosen, a fourth generation Californian, holds his undergraduate and graduate degrees from the University of California, Berkeley. He has been the recipient of three post-graduate fellowships at the University of California, Los Angeles; Stanford and San Francisco State University. During the 1950s, while in the U.S. Army, Rosen was the post historian at the Presidio of San Francisco. Thus his interest was sparked, like Langellier's, to explore the historic past of that famed post. Currently he is an instructor on the faculty of Merritt College in Oakland, California, where he teaches history and environmental studies.

In bringing *Brand Book* to publication, the editorial work was shared by the Los Angeles Corral of Westerners' Brand Book Awards Committee. Therefore it is with genuine appreciation that thanks are extended to Sig Demke, Don Duke and Norman Neuerburg who shared with me in perfecting the award-winning manuscript.

The Los Angeles Corral of Westerners also wishes to extend its appreciation to Robert A. Clark of The Arthur H. Clark Company, Spokane, Washington, for jointly publishing this Brand Book as volume nineteen of *The Frontier Military Series*. Three hundred copies were especially designed for the Los Angeles Corral of Westerners.

DOYCE B. NUNIS, JR.
Editor, *Brand Book*

Prologue

At least some 1,500 years ago humans began to inhabit the area surrounding San Francisco Bay. One of the region's earliest inhabitants, the Ohlone, for whom considerable enthnographic information exists, formed at least eight major subdivisions. Each of the groups had "separate languages, as different from one another as Spanish and English."[1] Evidently, they had no common name for themselves but, "the label Costanoan had its roots in Spanish history [the term being taken from *Costaños* or coast people] and has long since established itself as a recognized language family."[2] More recently, "Ohlone" has been applied to the Costanoan. Descendants of this group tend to prefer the newer reference.

In those earlier times, however, when the people had no commonly accepted single name, language, custom, and outer appearances nonetheless reflected their ties. In the last mentioned category, men and boys commonly went about naked while a grass or tule apron, which covered the front and back below the waist, constituted the clothing for women. When the weather dictated, capes or cloaks fashioned from deer, rabbit, water fowl feathers, or sea-mammal skins provided protection.[3] Even mud occasionally served, "as insulation from the cold. . . ."[4]

1. Kathryn M. Lang, "Golden Gate National Recreation Area: The Indian and Hispanic Heritage of a Modern Urban Park," typescript, National Park Service, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, 1979, 3.

2. Ibid., 7.

3. An early Franciscan missionary noted many of the Ohlone men were bald and bearded and made, "a habit of pulling out the hair of their eyebrows by the roots...." The same source also mentioned observing capes of beaver skins and pelican feathers for the men and "plaited tules" skirt for the women, "for very few skins of animals are seen among them." Herbert Eugene Bolton, ed., *Historical Memoirs of New California by Fray Francisco Palou, O.F.M.*, 4 vols., (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1926): IV:121.

4. Lang, "Golden Gate National Recreation Area," 11.

The Ohlone regularly walked barefoot and without head coverings, except on ceremonial occasions. Painting and tatoos provided decoration and clan affiliation, the former practice being applied in patterns which made it appear as if the people wore striped tights as can be seen in the early nineteenth-century paintings rendered by Louis Choris. Pierced ears could be adorned with beads, feathers, flowers, or grass while pierced nasal septums might hold a small bone, although the custom was not universal and seemed only to apply to men. Both sexes often added necklaces of beads, feathers, and shells (abalone and olivella) to their wardrobe.

For shelter, poles bent into a conical shape and covered in brush or tule sufficed. Occasionally, split redwood or redwood bark constituted the basic construction material. The building of balsas was another use for tule. Double-blade paddles moved these light craft through the water.

These people produced other items as well. Baskets, frequently embellished with beads, feathers, and mother-of-pearl were typical. Wild onion or soaproot brushes, mollusk shell spoons, wooden stirring paddles, and various stone implements made many daily chores possible. Both self-bows and sinew-backed versions launched arrows with bone and stone tips.[5]

As with other material things, the Ohlone depended on nearby natural resources for food. The ubiquitous acorn, available from several types of live oak, served as the basis for flour to make mush and a form of bread. Other seeds could be roasted and ground into meal too, with chia, digger pine, and holly-leaf cherry offering other forms of subsistence, and which, according to the early missionary, Francisco Palou, could be made into, "a sort of dumpling, ball-shaped and the size of an orange, which was very rich and savory, like toasted almonds."[6] Strawberries, manzanita berries, and Christmas or the Toyon berry offered other treats in season. Roots, including "amole" (soaproot or

5. Robert F. Heizer and Adam E. Treganza, *Mines and Quarries of the Indians of California* (Ramona, CA: Ballena Press, 1972), provides more details about sources of materials for stone implement making.

6. Fray Francisco Palou, "The Founding of the Presidio and Mission of Our Father St. Francis," George E. Dane, trans., *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XIV (June 1935): 119.

Chlorogalum), along with wild carrots, onions, and the herb chuchupate could be obtained too.

Besides vegetable matter, dog, grizzly bear, mole, mountain lion, mouse, rabbit, raccoon, skunk, and squirrel could be taken on land, with snares serving to catch the smaller creatures. The Ohlone likewise hunted deer and did so with deer's heads masks as disguises. They took seals too, although the means of hunting these mammals is uncertain. Quail, hawks, doves, ducks, and geese could be had with nets and traps, depending on the type of the bird. Nets also brought in sturgeon and salmon. Shellfish, most notably abalone, clams, and mussels, offered fine fare when gathered from December through April when they were safe to consume. Shark, swordfish, and other salt-water species may have been killed with spears or taken by hook and line. Occasionally, when a whale washed ashore, the Ohlone held a feast for this specially prized meat.

The Ohlone considered certain food taboo for new mothers who abstained from meat, fish, salt, and cold water for a number of days after giving birth. As young adolescents, females observed these same dietary restrictions. Evidently, they observed some sort of puberty rite too, while males celebrated their entry into manhood by induction into a "datura" society.

Once of age, a young man might take a wife. He and his relatives provided a gift to the bride's family. Then, the couple started their life together with no further formalities. Padre Palou commented on the fact that he observed many of the couples living "in the most perfect union and peacefulness, loving their children dearly, as the children their parents."[7] In the event two people choose to end a relationship, they simply separated. Evidently, the children remained with the wife.

In the main, the Ohlone made contact with Europeans in the late eighteenth-century and soon thereafter provided the population required for the establishment of several Spanish mis-

7. Ibid., 120. Palou was not the only missionary to provide important commentary about early California Indians. Many of the other padres did so, one important example of this type of information being found in Maynard Geiger and Clement W. Meighan, trans. and eds., *As the Padres Saw Them: California Indian Life and Customs as Reported by the Franciscan Missionaries 1813–1815* (Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Mission Archives, 1976).

sions founded to the south of the Golden Gate.[8] They also served as a labor force for the Hispanic military who came to the region in 1776. This contact ultimately contributed to the rapid and widespread decline of the people who first ranged over the San Francisco peninsula as disease and other factors led to devastation of this Native American group's once vital culture.[9]

8. The northern Ohlone could be found at Missions San Francisco de Asís, San Jose, Santa Clara, and Santa Cruz, and the southern Ohlone made up the main numbers at San Juan Bautista, Soledad, and San Carlos. Here, as elsewhere throughout New Spain, the mission, a key colonial institution sanctioned by the Spanish sovereigns to deal with the native people, "had three fundamental purposes. They desired to convert him, to civilize him, and to exploit him." Herbert Eugene Bolton, "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish American Colonies," as reprinted in John Francis Bannon, ed., *Bolton and the Spanish Borderlands* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1974), 190. For more on certain aspects of native activities at this combined religious and civil complexes, see Edith B. Webb, *Indian Life at the Old Missions* (Los Angeles: Warren F. Lewis, Publisher, 1952).

9. For further information on the Ohlone consult Malcolm Margolin, *The Ohlone Way: Indian Life in the San Francisco-Monterey Bay Area* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1978) and Richard Levy, "Costanoan," in William C. Sturtevant, gen. ed., *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. VIII, *California*, Robert F. Heizer, ed. (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 485–495. Also see Robert F. Heizer, Karen M. Nissen, and Edward D. Castillo, *California Indian History: A Classified and Annotated Guide to Source Materials* (Ramona: Ballena Press, 1975), for additional references.

Chapter 1

"Certain Sign of Defense" 1769-1790

For some seven centuries the Iberian Peninsula witnessed a long struggle between Christians and Moslems which ended with Granada's fall in 1492. The victorious Catholic monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella, not only presided over the conclusion of this final period of the *reconquista*, but also became the rulers of one of Europe's first modern nation states. From this power base, they sent out explorers, including the bold mariner Christopher Columbus, in search of new lands and converts to Christianity. By the sixteenth century, Spanish conquistadors ranged wide and far in the "New World," carrying the cross of their religion in one hand and the sword of their sovereign in the other.

In the Caribbean, the Floridas, Mexico, Peru, and what was to become the American Southwest, the Spaniards established a far-flung empire that eventually ran from the tip of Tierra del Fuego to modern Canada.[1] One of the last regions to come under their influence was Alta California. Beginning with the 1542 voyage of Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo's two small ships up the Pacific Coast, Spain's leaders set in motion the slow process of exploration of the area.

Others continued to report from out to sea about this uncharted territory. Not all these ships flew Spain's ensign. For one, Francis Drake would put ashore to repair his vessel during the summer of 1579. Some of the Manila galleons also would sail off the coast, including those of Francisco de Gali (1584)

1. J. Leitch Wright, Jr., *Anglo-Spanish Rivalry in North America* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1971), 1–10.

and Sebastián Rodríquez Cermeño (1595). In 1602, after several previous rather haphazard efforts, the government sent out Sebastián Vizcaíno to make a concentrated exploration from Cabo San Lucas to Cabo de Mendocino and beyond. Having convinced his superiors of the efficacy of such a voyage, Vizcaíno received instructions to carry out his plan. On May 5, 1602, his three ships, *San Diego*, *Santo Tomás*, and *Tres Reyes*, left Mexico. By early November, the flotilla rode at anchor in a port which they named in honor of San Diego. Then, in mid-December, they continued north to Monterey. The subsequent reports exaggerated the size and nature of this harbor and caused no little confusion for future expeditions.[2]

In fact, in 1769, another group of Spanish explorers paid the price for this less-than-accurate description of Monterey. In that year, the government finally took steps to colonize the coast. New Spain's *visitador-general*, José de Gálvez, sought a means to increase the crown's revenues.[3] Likewise, he advocated a strengthening of defenses against the British and Russians, whose ships plied Pacific waters prior to establishing outposts in Alaska and Canada. To these ends, and out of his own political ambitions, the forceful Andalusian induced the viceroy (literally vice king) in Mexico City, the Marques Francisco de Croix, a colonial official of French descent, to order settlements at San Diego and Monterey.[4] Gálvez selected fellow *peninsular* (see the glossary

2. Charles E. Chapman, *A History of California: The Spanish Period* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936), 97–171, provides a useful overview of these early maritime activities related to Alta California. For further information also consult Harry Kelsey, *Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1986) and W. Michael Mathes, *Vizcaíno and Spanish Expansion in the Pacific Ocean, 1580–1630* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1968).

3. Perhaps the greatest of the *visitadores* or inspectors general sent out from Madrid, Gálvez arrived in New Spain in July 1765 and retained his position until 1771. For further information about the influential and powerful colonial administrator, consult Herbert I. Priestly, *José de Gálvez, Visitor General of New Spain, 1765–1771* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1916) and Iris Wilson Engstrand, "José de Gálvez After 200 Years: A Retrospective View," in *Some California Catholic Reminiscences for the United States Bicentennial* (New Haven: Published for the California Catholic Conference of the Knights of Columbus, 1976), 153–163.

4. Carlos Francisco de Croix, a knight of the Order of Calatrava and a lieutenant general of the royal army, spent fifty years in the uniform of the Spanish military. On August 25, 1766, he became the forty-fifth viceroy of New Spain. He retained this post until September 22, 1771, when he returned to Spain as a captain-general and viceroy of the Kingdom of Valencia. The Marques died at the age of eighty-seven, in 1786. Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of Mexico, 1600–1803*, 7 vols. (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Company, Publishers, 1884–1890), III: 368–370.

for a definition of this and other terms related to ethnicity) Don Gaspar de Portolá, then serving as governor of Baja California, to lead the undertaking.[5] On July 14, 1769, after establishing a precarious hold in San Diego, Portolá took a smaller party north in search of Monterey. Overshooting this mark, partially due to the fact that Vizcaíno had described the place so differently, they proceeded much further, halting south of San Francisco Bay. An advance party under Sergeant José Ortega, a *criollo* born in Guanajuato in Central Mexico who would be destined to serve at the garrisons of San Diego, Monterey, and Santa Barbara during his career, reported that they had seen a *brazo del mar* (an arm of the sea) and could make no further advance because this great body of water was "a chest with many locks" that blocked their way.[6] While it is not certain that Ortega's group actually spied the strait which forms the entrance to today's San Francisco Bay and which now bears the name the Golden Gate, the men probably were among the first Europeans to look on the waters of the bay. Regardless of who actually "discovered" the prize, this chance sighting inspired other expeditions sent by the crown in order to ascertain more about the great "harbor of harbors" potential.[7]

The first of these endeavors came in 1770, when Don Pedro Fages, a former member of Portolá's command, took it upon him-

5. Born around 1717 in Balaguer, a Catalonian city in the Province of Lérida, Portolá would come to Mexico as a captain of the Regiment of Dragoons of New Spain. This was in the year 1764. By 1767, he assumed the governorship of Baja California, then took on the post of military commander of the Alta California colonizing expedition. Having completed this assignment, he left Pedro Fages as military *comandante*, sailing away aboard *San Antonio*, on July 9, 1770. By 1777 with the rank of lieutenant colonel, he became governor of Puebla. In 1785, he returned to Spain, where he died on October 10, 1786. Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 171–172 and Donald A. Nuttall, "The Gobernantes of Spanish Upper California: A Profile," *California Historical Quarterly*, LI (Fall 1972): 265–267.

6. Ortega's summary, made in February 1770, can be found in the Marcellino de Civezza Collection, bundle 203, docket 12, University of Arizona Library, Tucson, microfilm 305. For an English translation of this account see Bolton, *Historical Memoirs of New California*, IV: 286–291.

7. For more on the topic of who deserved credit for locating the bay's entrance consult Theodore E. Treutlein, *San Francisco Bay: Discovery and Colonization, 1769–1776* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1968) and Frank M. Stanger and Alan K. Brown, *Who Discovered the Golden Gate: The Explorers' Own Accounts* (San Mateo, CA: San Mateo County Historical Society, 1969). It also should be noted that the Spanish had applied the term San Francisco to present-day Drake's Bay since Cermeño's time and continued to do so until about 1775 when they used that name to identify the great estuary spied by the various land expeditions between 1769–1774. Stranger and Brown, *Who Discovered the Golden Gate*, 10, 24–25.

self to forge a land route to the "Port of San Francisco."[8] Leaving Monterey on November 17, 1770, Fages and a handful of lancers, along with some muleteers, rode forth to the Santa Clara Valley. From there, they went east, encamping near the present city of Alameda. By November 28, the men viewed a large *bocana* or estuary mouth. Not being able to cross to Punta de los Reyes (King's Point), Fages halted, then made his way back to Monterey.[9]

Not until March 1772 did he again turn his efforts toward the north. Once more, Fages took six soldiers, a muleteer, an Indian servant, and the Majorcan-born Fray Juan Crespí to gain a clearer understanding of the port.[10] From the East Bay they saw the Farallones and three islets within the harbor that someday would be known as Alcatraz, Angel Island, and Yerba Buena.[11] Armed with this added intelligence, Fages' party concluded its

8. Born in the Villa de Guizona in the early 1730s, Fages entered the Light Infantry of Catalonia as an ensign in June 1762. He saw his first action in Portugal, a campaign which both Portolá and Felipe de Neve participated in before their service in the Californias. After this introduction to the profession of arms as part of the Seven Years War, Fages remained in quiet garrison service in the Old World until May 12, 1767, when as a newly promoted lieutenant, he received orders to accompany the *Compañia Franca de Voluntarios de Cataluña* to Mexico. Departing later that month in two ships, the entire force sailed for Vera Cruz. After landing, Fages and his men served in Mexico until being called to take a detail to Alta California. When Portolá departed, Fages assumed leadership from his post at Monterey. He remained in control from July 1770 through May 1774, most of the time of which he spent in conflict with Padre Junípero Serra.

Returning as a captain to Mexico, he prepared his *Noticia del Estado que Guardan Las Misiones de Monterey y California*, thereby establishing himself as one of the first authors to write extensively on the region. By 1776, Fages took command of the Second Company of Catalonian Volunteers, then stationed in Guadalajara. Later, he participated in a number of campaigns and assignments. In 1782, as part of a punitive expedition related to the Yuma uprising, in which his compatriot Fernando Rivera y Moncada died, Fages left New Spain and then came back to California. In 1783, he replaced Neve as governor, a post which he held until April 16, 1791. Now as a colonel, Fages proceeded to Mexico City where he lived out his final years until passing away in 1794. Donald A. Nuttall, "Lights Cast Upon Shadows: The Non-California Years of Don Pedro Fages," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, LVI (Fall 1977): 251-269 and Ronald J. Ives, ed., "From Pictic to San Gabriel in 1782: The Journey of Don Pedro Fages," *Journal of Arizona History*, IV (Winter 1968): 222–244.

9. Herbert E. Bolton, "Diary of Pedro Fages, Exploration to San Francisco Bay in 1770," *Publication of the Academy of Pacific Coast History*, II (July 1911): 141–159.

10. Crespí numbered among several of Junípero Serra's faithful students who accompanied their mentor to Mexico as a missionary. Born on March 1, 1721, he would be ordained as a Franciscan some twenty-five years later. Fray Crespí came overland with Fernando Rivera y Moncada's party, reaching San Diego on May 14, 1769, and accompanied Portolá's expedition to the vicinity of San Francisco during October of that year. He served at several Alta California missions, including San Carlos in Carmel, where he died on January 1, 1782. Dan L. Thrapp, *Encyclopedia of Frontier Biography*, 3 vols. (Glendale, CA: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1988), I: 344.

11. Herbert E. Bolton, ed., *Fray Juan Crespí, Missionary Explorer on the Pacific Coast, 1769–1774* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1927), 280–289.

journey with a report and chart that prompted additional interest in the region.

For one, Fray Junípero Serra pressed for the establishment of two more missions in the vicinity of what came to be called the Port of San Francisco.[12] He personally pled his case with the new viceroy, Antonio Bucareli y Ursúa.[13] Bucareli championed Serra's cause, relieving Fages and replacing him with Captain Fernando Xavier de Rivera y Moncada as military commandant of Upper California.[14]

Charged with another survey of the "Port and River of San Francisco," Rivera commanded sixteen lancers, a muleteer, two servants, and one priest, another native of Majorca, Fray Francisco Palou.[15] The twenty-one riders left Monterey on Novem-

12. Baptized Miguel José Serra in his native Petra, Majorca, this extraordinary man entered the Franciscan order at Palma, on September 14, 1730, just two months before his seventeenth birthday. He selected "Junípero" as his religious name in honor of St. Francis of Assisi's companion. Ordained in December 1738, he spent the next eleven years in his native land before sailing for New Spain on April 13, 1749. He remained in Mexico until 1767, when the expulsion of the Society of Jesus from the New World brought Serra an appointment as the head of the fifteen former Jesuit missions in Baja California. Soon, he took on the task of expanding this chain into Alta California, arriving in July 1, 1769, with Portolá's party at San Diego. There he began the first of twenty-one missions destined to be established along the *Camino Real* (the "royal road" which Spanish authorities established as the coastal trail in Alta California). During his years of service in Alta California, Serra traveled to San Francisco four times. He died on August 28, 1784, after thirty-five years of labor as a missionary. For further details consult Maynard J. Geiger's two works, *The Life of Fray Junípero Serra, O.F.M.*, 2 vols. (Washington, DC: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1919), and *Fray Palou's Life of Junípero Serra* (Washington, DC: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955). Also see Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California, 1769–1848* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1969), 174–180, for a brief overview on this important individual's life.

13. The forty-sixth viceroy of New Spain, Antonio Bucareli y Ursúa held the rank of lieutenant general of the royal armies. A native of Sevilla and related to nobility in both Spain and Italy, Bucareli served in many European campaigns before becoming viceroy in 1771. He assumed this post on September 22, and remained in this position until his death on April 9, 1779. One authority claims that, "The term of his rule was the happiest that New Spain experienced." Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, 6 vols. (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Co., Publishers, 1889), III: 370–372.

14. Rivera y Moncada was born near Compostela, Mexico, around 1710 or 1711. He would become an officer in the presidial forces. He spent more than a decade in Baja California before transferring in 1769 to Alta California where he played an important but often overlooked part in the Portolá expedition. He proved difficult to deal with for both Fray Serra and Juan Bautista de Anza. Rivera's abrasive nature partially accounted for his relocation to the ill-fated Colorado settlements where he was killed in the Yuma uprising of July 17, 1781. For additional details, read Ernest J. Burrus, "Rivera y Moncada, Explorer and Military Commander in Both Californias, in Light of His Diary and Other Contemporary Documents," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, L (November 1970): 682–692, and Nuttall, "The Gobernantes," 270–271.

15. Born on January 22, 1723, at Palma on the Balearic Island of Majorca, Fray Francisco Palou arrived in the New World some thirty-seven years later, along with his mentor, Father Serra. For further details on this influential early chronicler of California, see Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries*, 174–180.

ber 23, 1774. By December 4, they halted at "a long lake ending down at the shore" (now Lake Merced in the southwestern part of San Francisco). Rivera continued on with Palou and four troopers until they reached either what now is called Land's End or perhaps present-day Point Lobos, where they set up a cross. The next day they headed home, making their way to Monterey by December 13.[16]

Now Viceroy Bucareli turned to the intrepid Captain Juan Agustín Bautista de Anza, who long had dreamt of an overland route to the West Coast from Sonora.[17] In 1772, Anza made

16. Palou's account of the expedition is found in Bolton, *Historical Memoirs of New California*, III: 249–307, and Herbert E. Bolton, ed., *Anza's California Expeditions,* 4 vols. (Berkeley: University of California, 1930), II: 393–456. Rivera's journal is located in the *Archivo General de Indias* (hereinafter referred to as AGI), Audiencia de Guadalajara 514, microfilm reel 614/2–24, and the *Archivo General de la Nación* (hereinafter referred to as AGN), Correspondencia de los Virreyes, ser. I, tomo 67, microfilm reel 31, ff. 42–53, Bancroft Library, University of California.

17. Born in 1735 at the Presidio of Fronteras in Sonora, Mexico, Anza literally grew up in the army. Anza's grandfather spent thirty years on the northern frontier of Mexico as a soldier. Anza's father rose to command Fronteras as well as to serve as acting governor of Sonora. The son would inherit both an interest in the military and a desire to forge a path to California from his father.

Anza joined the colonial military as a volunteer in 1752. By 1755, he held a lieutenancy. Three years later, he fought the Apaches along the Gila, then earned his captaincy and became the commander of the Presidio of Tubac in present-day southern Arizona. With his new promotion, Anza soon left his bachelorhood behind, marrying Doña Ana María Pérez Serrano on June 24, 1761. A half decade later, he again fought the Apaches and from 1768 through 1771 he campaigned rigorously in Sonora. This record, and Bucareli's desire to colonize San Francisco, made Anza a logical choice for various California assignments.

For his success on the first expedition to Alta California, Anza became a lieutenant colonel. Upon his completion of the second expedition, the crown rewarded Anza with the rank of colonel of cavalry and transferred him to New Mexico where he became governor. He held this post until 1787, when he fell into disfavor. He received a transfer to Arizpe thereafter and died there on December 19, 1788, as the provisional commander of armed forces and nominal *comandante* of the Presidio of Tucson. For further information on the life of this able frontiersman consult J. N. Bowman and Robert F. Heizer, *Anza and the Northwest Frontier of New Spain* (Los Angeles: Southwest Museum, 1967); Alfred B. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers: A Study of the Spanish Indian Policy of Don Juan Bautista de Anza Governor of New Mexico 1777–1787* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969), and Henry F. Dobyns, *Spanish Colonial Tucson: A Demographic History* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1976), 95. Manuel P. Servin, "California's Hispanic Heritage: A View Into the Spanish Myth," *San Diego History*, XIX (Winter 1973): 3, speculates Anza "was in all probability a mestizo . . . ." If this were so, his mixed blood did not hold Anza back from advancement through most of his distinguished career as might have seemed the case in the caste-conscious Spanish colonial society of the era. In this article, Servin makes the point that, "Mexican mixed bloods, in addition to being the pioneer soldier-settlers who garrisoned presidios, guarded missions, carried the mail, erected buildings, farmed, and even took care of flocks, soon became the main source of 'Spanish' population for securing the territory" of today's California. They, and not the *peninsulares* or *criollos*, formed the mainstay of the *gente de razon*, in Servin's estimation. Navarro García, *Don José de Gálvez y la comandancia general de las prövincias internas del norte de Nueva España* (Sevilla: Publicaciones de la Escuela

known his thoughts to Bucareli. The viceroy granted him permission to take twenty *soldados* to Alta California. On January 8, 1774, Anza rode forth to demonstrate that he could tackle the task. Months later, on May 26, he returned to his starting point in today's Arizona, thereby successfully proving the merit of his proposal. The pleased viceroy recognized the importance of Anza's accomplishment. He instructed Anza to head a second expedition, "by way of the Colorado and Gila rivers" in order to establish missions in the area and to provide "in that port [San Francisco] a certain sign of defense to indicate that it belongs to his Majesty."[18]

To carry out his assignment, Anza gathered colonists for another westward trek. Anza went about recruiting in the Sinaloan town of Culiacán and the Sonoran Presidio of Horcacitas where he gathered supplies and settlers. One of those who heeded the summons recalled that nearly all these people had to be induced to leave their previous homes for the uncertainty of a new one:

> It is, I presume, that practically everyone in this group has some ulterior motive for being here. Many, undoubtedly, are running away from some horrendous situation. Also, the fact that the government has offered good money and land, in order to attract people to become part of this enterprise, is sufficient reason for others. Otherwise, who would leave the comfort and security of a civilized life in Sonora to travel hundreds of leagues loaded with hardships every moment of days and nights unless there was some more desirable reward?[19]

By May 1775, Anza took his hopeful flock northward from Mexico for the first leg of their journey. Passing through Apache country, his party arrived at San Ygnacio de Tubac. There, the caravan made its final preparations for the journey to Alta California.

In the meantime, thirty-year-old Juan Manuel de Ayala played another role in preparing the way for Spanish settlement

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de Estudios Hispano-Americano, 1964), 124–126, concludes that one-half of the population of 89,000 in Sonora were Indians and "the rest largely mestizo." For more on the subject within California, Alexander Avilez, *Population Increases into Alta California in the Spanish Period, 1769–1821* (San Francisco: R and E Associates, 1974).

18. Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions,* IV: 259.

19. Antonio Rosario Ortiz, *San Francisco Begins, 1776: The Bicentennial Diary of How it All Began*, ed., Parker L. Johnstone (Burlingame: Mission Publishers, 1976), 32.

in northern California.[20] As the skipper of the packetboat *San Carlos*, also called *Toison de Oro* (Golden Fleece), Ayala sailed from San Blas with supplies for the proposed colony.[21] His other duties included the charting of the bay and its shoreline, and ascertaining whether a navigable passage existed to the inland waterway from the sea. Finally, Ayala sought to learn whether a port could be established there. On August 4, 1775, *San Carlos* arrived just outside the present-day Golden Gate. The next morning Ayala sent his first pilot, José Cañizares, into the harbor with a long boat.[22] That evening he followed, anchoring somewhere near what became North Beach. During the next forty-four days Ayala and Cañizares completed a thorough reconnaissance before heading back to Monterey on September 18. (See Figure 1, frontispiece) Shortly thereafter, Ayala enthusiastically reported the fine harbor presented "a beautiful fitness, and it has no lack of good drinking water and plenty of firewood and ballast." He also concluded that it possessed a healthful climate and "docile natives lived there."[23]

Now, all stood ready for the long-awaited colonization. Anza's assembled 240 souls and 1,000 head of domestic stock ventured forth from Tubac, just over a month after Ayala's departure from San Francisco, leaving on October 23, 1775. Despite the arduous passage, the rugged men, women, and children reached Monterey on March 10, 1776. On March 23, 1776, Anza left his weary

20. Arriving from Spain in 1775 to report for duty in San Blas de Nayarit on the west coast of Mexico, Ayala was one of six naval officers dispatched by Madrid in that year. He conducted a number of explorations and supply cruises through the 1780s, when he transferred to the Philippines. Michael E. Thurman, *The Naval Department of San Blas: New Spain's Bastion for Alta California and Nootka 1767 to 1798* (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1967), 26, 150, 161.

21. For further information about this craft, "*San Carlos*, 1775–1975: The First European Ship to Enter San Francisco Bay," *Sea Letter of the San Francisco Maritime Museum* (Summer 1975), is recommended reading.

22. Referred to by Padre Serra as the "young inexperienced Cañizares," this man nevertheless compiled a distinguished record as a mariner and cartographer. He first arrived in San Blas in 1769, accompanying the original expedition to establish San Diego and Monterey. By 1774, he commanded *Principe*. During the following year he sailed under Ayala and made a chart of the Bay Area. In 1776, he returned and helped lay out the Presidio of San Francisco. During 1777, he received a promotion to *piloto* first-class. Two years later, he went with Juan Francisco Bodega y Quadra in *Favorita* to survey the Northwest Coast and evidently remained active until his death in 1802. Thurman, *The Naval Department of San Blas*, 150, 200.

23. John Galvin, ed., *The First Spanish Entry into San Francisco Bay 1775* (San Francisco: John Howell Books, 1971), 91.

fellow sojourners at this location and took an advance party from Monterey to select the new outpost of empire.

According to an account kept by Fray Pedro Font, on March 27, "the weather was fair and clear, a favor which God granted us during all these days, and especially today, in order that we might see the harbor which we were going to explore. . . ."[24] After a march of four hours, they "halted on the banks of a lake or spring of very fine water near the mouth of the port of San Francisco," today's Mountain Lake. This spot afforded a resting place for the tired riders. Then, Anza took Font, another officer, and four soldiers to scout further. Going to the northernmost tip of San Francisco Bay's peninsula and looking down from white cliffs, Anza had seen enough. He ordered the party back to camp. There, Font set down his somewhat over-optimistic impressions:

> This place and its vicinity has abundant pasturage, plenty of firewood, and fine water, all good advantages for establishing here the presidio or fort which is planned. It lacks only timber, for there is not a tree on all those hills, though the oaks and other trees along the road are not very far away. . . . Here and near the lake there are *yerba buena* and so many lilies that I almost had them inside my tent.

Font continued and, for one of the first times, clearly used the term San Francisco as the name of the great bay: "The port of San Francisco . . . is a marvel of nature, and might well be called a harbor of harbors, because of its great capacity, and of several small bays which it unfolds in its margins or beach and in its islands."

On March 28, Anza returned to the *Cantil Blanco* (white cliffs) of the previous day to erect a wooden cross. This action marked the formal act of possession for Spain. Anza also selected the ground where the cross stood as the spot for a presidio to protect the region. Then, the party further surveyed the immediate area. Fray Font recorded:

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24. Unless otherwise noted the following quotations from Padre Font were taken from Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, IV: 329–339. Father Font was another of the gifted Franciscans to chronicle early California history, albeit only for the short period he was here in connection with the second Anza expedition. Born in Gerona, Catalonia, he came to Mexico in 1763. Within a decade, he moved to Sonora as a missionary among the Pimas. Upon his return with Anza, in 1776, he went to Ures. There the priest completed the short version of the diary which gained him fame, the longer edition being completed in 1777. Three years later, Father Font died at Caborca. Thrapp, *Encyclopedia of Frontier Biography*, I: 504.

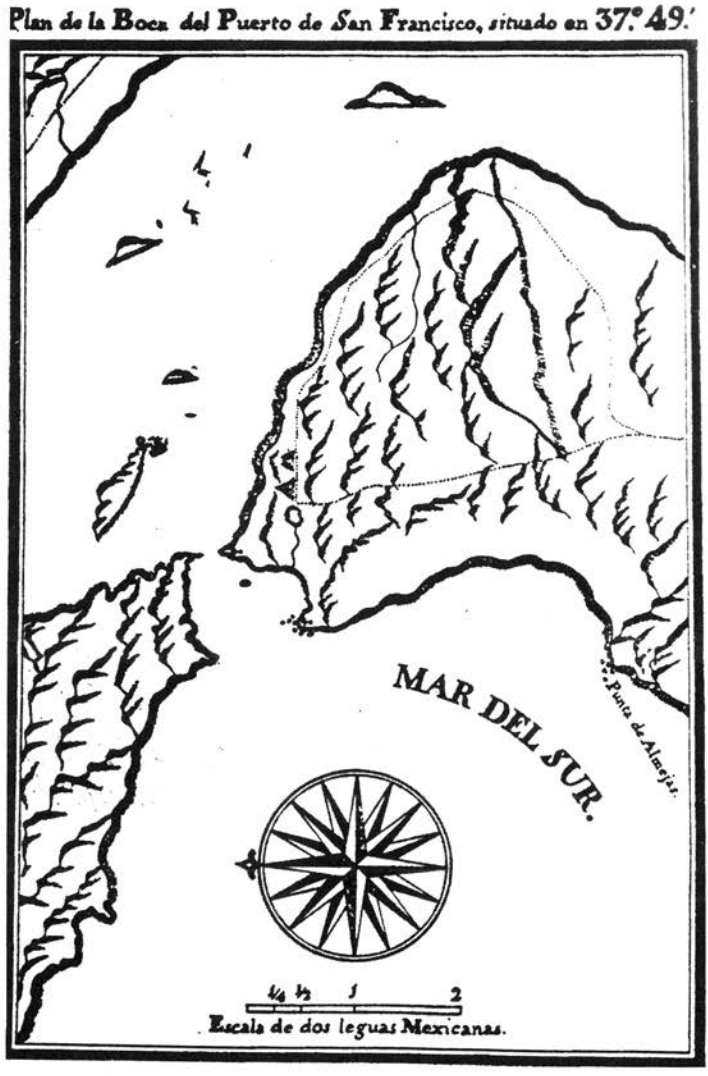


Figure 2. Padre Pedro Font's 1776 map of the route taken by Juan Bautista de Anza's advance party in March 1776 includes the Cantil Blanco [A], the site first selected for the Presidio of San Francisco and Mountain Lake [B], traditionally considered as the camp site for this exploration party. Original in the John Carter Brown Library.

> On leaving we ascended a small hill and then entered upon a mesa that was very green and flower-covered, with an abundance of wild violets. The mesa is very open, of considerable extent, and level, sloping a little toward the harbor. It must be about half a league wide and somewhat longer, getting narrower until it ends right at the white cliff. This mesa affords a most delightful view, for from it one sees a large part of the port and its islands, as far as the other side, the mouth of the harbor, and of the sea all that the sight can take in as far as beyond the farallones. Indeed, although in my travels I saw very good sites and beautiful country, I saw none which pleased me so much as this. And I think that if it could be well settled like Europe there would not be anything more beautiful in all the world, for it has the best advantages for founding in it a most beautiful city, with all the conveniences desired, by land as well as sea, with that harbor so remarkable and so spacious, in which may be established shipyards, docks, and anything that might be wished.

After expressing his delight and making some remarkable predictions about the Bay Area's future, Fray Font set down his thoughts about Anza's decision:

> This mesa the commander selected as the site of the new settlement and fort which were to be established on this harbor; for, being on a height, it is so commanding that with muskets it can defend the entrance to the mouth of the harbor, while a gunshot away it has water to supply the people, namely, the spring or lake where we halted.[25]

The men then went on to explore the hills which extended inland. Later that day, they returned. Font again noted the presence of some "timber and firewood, much water in several springs or lakes, abundant lands for raising crops and finally, a vast supply of pasturage in all the country. . . ." In short, everything existed for the new settlement in so far as "plentiful fuel, water, and grass or pasturage for horses" was concerned. The *padre* concluded, "The only lack is timber for large buildings, although for huts and barracks and for the stockade of the presidio there are plenty of trees in the groves."[26] Font's assessment echoed the admiration of previous Spanish visitors, but his comments about the absence of building material would have ramifications in the

25. Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, IV: 340–341. Font made a map of the exploration of that day which depicts Mountain Lake and the off flow of Lobos Creek to the sea.

26. Ibid., 343–344.

future. Neither Font nor Anza, however, would have to wrestle with the actual establishment of a settlement because both men left the Bay Area for Monterey on April 5, arriving there some three days later. By April 14, the two men departed once again, this time setting out for Mexico, where Anza would receive another promotion and a new assignment destined to take him away forever from California.

Thus, it fell to Anza's second-in-command, José Joaquín Moraga, to lead the final leg of the colonizing expedition northward.[27] Setting out from Monterey on June 17, 1776, some 193 settlers, both soldier and civilian; some with families and others single adventurers made ready for a new life. By June 27, this contingent under Moraga arrived in the Bay Area, halting at the site of what became the Mission Dolores. There the group rested and waited for supplies which the *San Carlos* carried. The next several weeks passed with Moraga actively exploring the region. On these forays he concluded that a plain to the southeast of the Cantil Blanco seemed more advantageous for a military outpost. Indeed, Moraga realized cold fogs often shrouded this windy spot favored by Anza. Consequently, he may have desired a slightly milder climate than the exposed cliffs selected by Anza. Certainly he sought convenient sources of water which he found on, "a good plain . . . in sight of the harbor and entrance, and also of its interior. As soon as he saw this location the lieutenant decided that it was suitable for . . ." settlement.[28] With this in

27. Moraga served both as comandante and *habilitado* of the Presidio of San Francisco from its founding until his death on July 13, 1785. The son of José Moraga and María Gaona, he haled from Mission Los Santos Angeles de Guevavi, in today's Arizona, being born on August 22, 1745. At nineteen, he married María del Pilar de León y Barcelo, when serving in the presidial garrison of Fronteras. She survived her husband, dying in October 1808, and was buried at Mission Dolores. According to one source Moraga stood about five feet two inches and two lines, "but there is some reason to suppose that the *pie del rey* used in measuring the height of soldiers was longer than the ordinary Spanish foot, which was 8 per cent shorter that our foot." Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 470; Marie E. Northrop, *Spanish-Mexican Families of Early California: 1769–1850*, 2 vols. (New Orleans, LA: Polyanthos Press, 1976), I: 211, and E. Eugene Early, "The Moragas: Soldiers, Explorers, Founders" (Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of San Francisco, 1950). See Appendix A for a listing of subsequent Spanish and Mexican regime commanders and caretakers for the Presidio of San Francisco.

28. In addition to Mountain Lake, where Anza had camped earlier, there would be *Ojo de Agua del Polin* (El Polin Springs) and *Arroyo del Puerto* (Valley of the Port and now called Lobos Creek) for water sources to supply the Spanish garrison. Paths or trails eventually provided a means to reach these various sources of water and pasture from the main compound. Similarly, a trail ran to Mission Dolores which, according to one source, passed near the *comandancia* and

mind, Moraga relocated the main force to the spot he selected.[29] On July 26, Moraga's party arrived at a clearing overlooking the bay, where they immediately began work on a chapel and some crude shelters for the garrison.[30]

In this, the group followed in a long series of ventures and drew upon extensive experience in colonization. By 1776, the Spanish method of settling new territories had developed into a rather rigid and complex series of legal and support systems.[31] The basic structure of Spanish colonization consisted of three inter-locking and complementary institutions, the pueblo, the mission, and the presidio.[32] The pueblo, a civilian settlement, aided in the provision of food for the region and a stable Hispanic population base. The mission was to help in these tasks by farming, ranching, and limited manufacturing, all performed by the indigenous, rather than a transplanted labor force brought from Mexico and Baja California. The padres of the mission assumed as their important responsibility the challenge of the Hispanization of the native peoples, a process which began with conversion to Catholicism and continued with training in various trades and a limited effort at education. Because Spain lacked

followed the little valley which runs southeast to the present boundary near Laurel Avenue then went on to the Mission. Workers of the Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in Northern California, "The Army at the Golden Gate: A Guide to Army Posts in the San Francisco Area" (Unpublished Ms, Presidio of San Francisco, c.1940), 68, 76. Presumably, a regular means of reaching, "The old Spanish anchorage at edge of Presidio Shoal, extending from about 600 to 720 feet east of Fort Point eastward to about due north of the Coast Guard Station and west of Anita Rocks," existed. This spot, which could be observed from the quadrangle, remained in use until the early 1820s when Yerba Buena cove supplanted the original site. J. N. Bowman, "The Spanish Anchorage in San Francisco Bay," *California Historical Quarterly*, XXV (December 1946): 323.

29. See Appendix B for a list of the individuals who came to establish the Presidio of San Francisco in 1776.

30. Bolton, *Historical Memoirs of New California*, IV: 121–122.

31. For background to provide context, consult C. H. Haring, *The Spanish Empire in America* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1963) and Frank W. Blackmar, *Spanish Institutions in the Southwest* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1891).

32. Discussions of these three pivotal institutions are found in Herbert E. Bolton, "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish Colonies," *American Historical Review*, XXIII (October 1917): 42–61; Oakah L. Jones, *Los Paisanos: Spanish Settlers on the Northern Frontier of New Spain* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979); Max L. Moorehead, *The Presidio: Bastion of the Spanish Borderlands* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975). This last mentioned works essentially excludes California, although Leon G. Campbell, "The First Californios: Presidial Society in Spanish California, 1769–1822," *Journal of the West*, XI (October 1972): 582–595, and Richard S. Whitehead, "Alta California's Four Fortresses," *Southern California Historical Quarterly*, LXI (Spring 1983): 67–94, somewhat make up for this situation.

a surplus of potential emigrants to relocate to her new lands, this missionary process became a key to the survival of Spanish expansion. Finally, the presidio functioned as the military and civil complex. Derived from the Latin term *presidium*, a fortified or garrisoned place, the Spanish presidio acted as the advance guard of territorial settlement. In addition to its martial service, it provided the core of governmental, social, and economic activity in the region.

Although these presidios fulfilled similar purposes to the forts of the French, British, and Anglo-Americans on the frontier, the Spanish faced different problems.[33] They maintained a much longer frontier line, which eventually stretched from Texas to Upper California, and for a short time, beyond. As the outposts multiplied, expenses to man and supply the garrisons grew. San Francisco, Alta California's northernmost bastion, especially suffered. The sites along the West Coast, as the last in the Borderlands to be settled, in their early years experienced many of the same difficulties as their comrades had in New Mexico generations before. Hundreds of miles from the nearest Spanish-speaking concentration, a handful of farmers, soldiers, and clerics held on to a thin strip of California, chiefly along the coastline.

This small group of Pacific pioneers also differed from their Atlantic counterparts in the degree to which they were controlled by their home government. San Franciscans "lived in the shadow of Spanish absolutism" with no encouragement toward becoming self-reliant. Regulations, supervision, and tradition carefully controlled every detail of life on the presidios. The body of laws even affected such decisions as how to make a living or whether or not to stay in the settlement. At times, this regimentation crippled the capacity of the people to adapt to new, unpredictable conditions, and in a more general sense, stifled the impulse to innovate and improve because everything supposedly "was carefully planned, minutely organized, and regularly oversupervised."[34] The need to comply with regulations and the realities of daily life were not always compatible; the interplay of these demands upon the Spanish colonizers resulted in the confusion

33. Bannon, *The Spanish Borderlands*, 5.
34. The above summary was taken from, ibid., 5–6, 158.

of both purpose and priority that characterized the Spanish settlement of San Francisco.

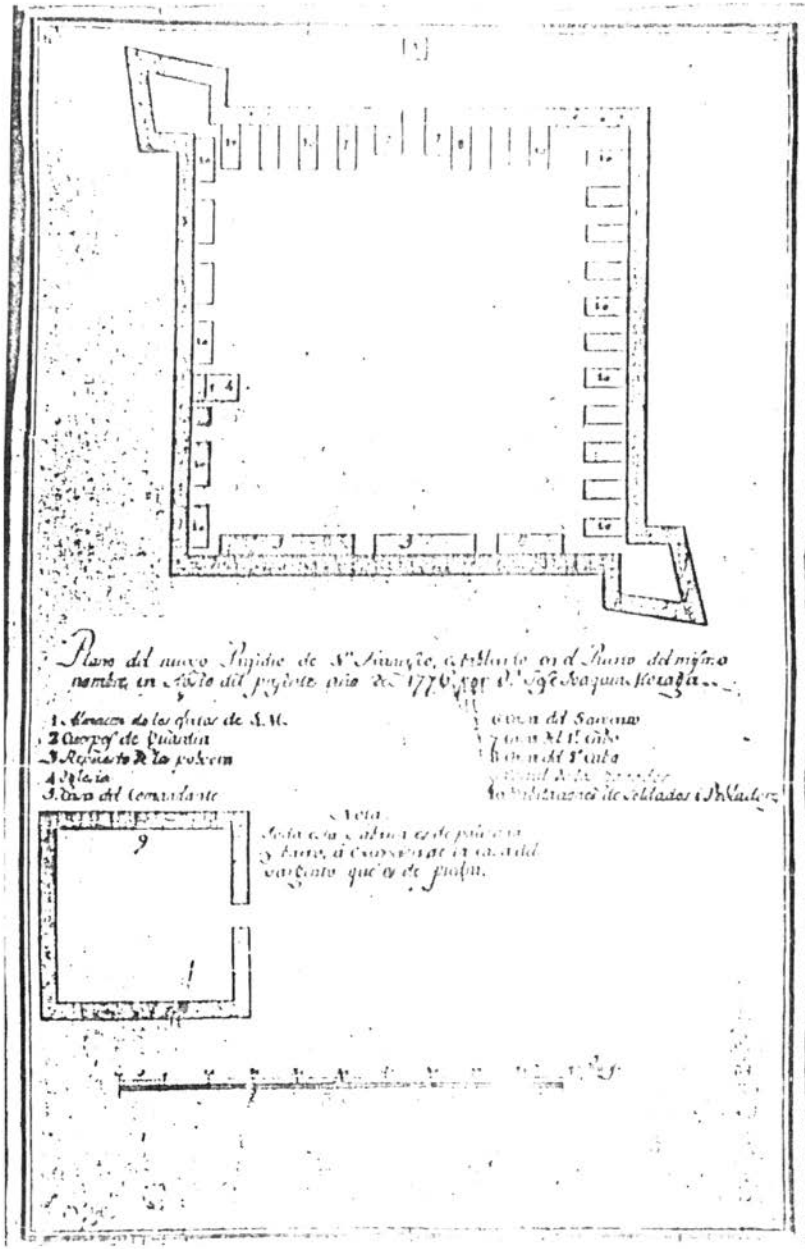
In the early stages the main priority was to survive while awaiting seaborne supplies. During this time, Moraga's force remained in its rudimentary encampment without any special military preparations. That situation changed when the *San Carlos* finally arrived on August 17. After the ship's captain, its pilot (Cañizares), and the ship's chaplain came ashore they concurred with Moraga's selection for the fort and presidio. With this, Cañizares laid out, "A square measuring ninety-two *varas* [roughly ninety yards square] each way . . . , with divisions for church, royal offices, warehouses, guardhouse, and houses for soldier settlers, a map of the plan being formed and drawn by the first pilot."[35] (See Figure 3) To expedite construction, a squad of sailors and two carpenters joined in to complete a warehouse, the *comandancia*, and a chapel, while the soldiers worked on their own dwellings. On September 17, 1776, with sufficient progress being made, the *San Carlos*'s crew joined the soldiers and citizens and four missionary priests at a solemn high mass, then performed the ceremony of formal dedication, followed by the singing of the *Te Deum*, "accompanied by the peal of bells and repeated salvos of cannon, muskets, and guns, whose roar and the sound of the bells doubtless terrified the heathen, for they did not allow themselves to be seen for many days."[36]

While the indigenous people may have been awed by the pyrotechnics, this place stood as a hollow symbol of Spanish dominion of the area. San Francisco's paltry and inadequate budget barely met the requirements of establishing this new community on the fringes of "civilization." Anza asked for nearly 22,000 *pesos* to set the San Francisco project in motion.[37] This sum included the annual salary for forty privates and allowed for other expenses, although it seems that the government only authorized two-thirds of the financial support requested. Lim-

35. Bolton, *Historical Memoirs of New California*, IV: 124–125. In 1568, the vara was set at 33.755 inches by Felipe II. The measurement fluctuated in the New World. For instance, in Mexico it ranged under 33 inches (32.96 or 32.9731 inches). For this and other measurements in Spanish Alta California see the glossary provided with this study.

36. Ibid., 125–127.

37. Bolton, *Anza's California Expedition*, I: 225.


Plano del nuevo Presidio de N.ª Señora, establecido en el Puerto del mismo nombre, en virtud del proyecto dado en 1770 por el Sr. Gefe Joaquin Moraga...
1. Almacen de las efectos de S. M.
2 Cuerpo de Guardia
3 Repuesto de los polvorin
4 Plaza
5 Quarto del Comandante
Nota
9
1

ited financial support, coupled with the lack of dependable seaborne or overland supply lines, meant that for the next three-quarters of a century, the settlers wanted for many basics. Contrary winds and storms often delayed the shipments from San Blas, a port located on Mexico's mainland along the Gulf of California, as much as did fiscal constraints.[38]

For instance, the San Francisco presidial district's annual inventory of arms and equipment for 1778 illustrated the poor preparedness of the garrison to repel a potential enemy. Just two years after their arrival, approximately half the troops lacked swords, lances, muskets, and pistols. Horses necessary for cavalry duty also were in short supply. Two-thirds of the men owned

38. Thurman, *The Naval Department of San Blas,* provides a useful overview on the attempt to supply Alta California by sea from this port that stood across from the tip of Baja California. The harbor there now is silted up and no longer serves its earlier purpose.

Figure 3 (at left). According to Palóu's *Historical Memoirs,* IV: 124, José Joaquín Moraga, possibly with the aid of José Cañizares, made a plan of the new post, the legend of which translates:

"Plan of the Presidio of San Francisco established at the port of the same name in August of the current year of 1776 by Don José Joaquín Moraga. . . . Note: all this construction is of palisade and mud, with the exception of the Sergeant's house which is made of stone. 90 varas [square?]

1 Storage room for goods of His Majesty
2 Body of men on guard [guard house]
3 Extra gun powder supply [magazine]
4 Chapel
5 Commandant's house
6 Sergeant's house
7 House of the lst Corporal
8 House of the 2nd Corporal
9 Cattle corral
10 Soldiers' and settlers' rooms"

This design, complete with bastions at opposite corners to provide flanking fire, follows the prescriptions of reforms instituted after 1772 for the entire *Provincias Internas,* and bespeaks of an effort to conform to norms found throughout the Borderlands of the period. No indication of orientation exists nor is the exact location of this site known today. It is possible, however, that subsequent construction simply replaced prior structures. Further, it cannot be ascertained whether this plat presents what actually was built or instead what was intended to be constructed, according to regulations, but which may not have been carried out in the precise manner indicated. Of particular note is the absence of the bastions in subsequent depictions. It may have been that these features never existed or at least did not remain in later rebuilding. Plan from archival sources in Spain provided by the Spanish Colonial Research Center, National Park Service, Santa Fe.

neither saddles nor the protection of the heavy leather *cueras*.[39] This garment, which one eighteenth-century account described as, "a coat without sleeves . . . made of seven plies of deerskin, proof against arrows of Indians except at a very short range," formed a basic article of issuance for the presidial soldiers.[40] The hot, cumbersome cuera, which reached to below the knees and which derived from a mixture of Old World armor and the Aztec *ichcipilli*, in some respects symbolized the many *mestizo* troops who wore the garment. In fact, the item became so associated with the lancers that they came to be called "leather jacket soldiers" (*soldados de cuera*).[41] Consequently, the absence of this hallmark of the Borderlands' horse soldier indicated the sorry state of affairs in San Francisco.

The reliance on the lance (*lanza*) as the soldier's main weapon followed another long tradition of the Borderlands' horse soldier which had been set down by Spanish military regulations. Effective against certain Native American groups, this relic of the Middle Ages possessed some utility into the late nineteenth-century. It offered several advantages over more modern weapons of the period because it took less skill to fabricate, repair, and maintain than firearms, consisting of little more than a shaft with a thirteen-inch iron blade. The lance likewise never misfired nor required ammunition, something that had to be manufactured elsewhere then transported via the sea to replenish exhausted ordnance stores.

The shield (*adarga*), which came in both oval and also hori-

39. Anonymous Report, San Francisco, August 20, 1778, *Archives of California*, Provincial Records, XXII: 84 (Ms transcripts made of Spanish records a century before the destruction of the originals in the 1906 earthquake and fire), Bancroft Library. (Hereinafter referred to as *Archives of California* with specific information.)

40. Ray Brandes, trans. and ed., *The Costansó Narrative of the Portolá Expedition* (Newhall, CA: The Hogarth Press, 1970), 114.

41. A number of studies provide coverage on the subject of these soldier-settlers of New Spain's frontier. Sidney B. Brinckerhoff and Odie Faulk, *Lancers for the King: A Study of the Military System of New Spain, with a Translation of the Royal Regulations of 1772* (Phoenix: Arizona Historical Foundation, 1965); Odie Faulk, *The Leather Jacket Soldier: Spanish Military Equipment and Institutions of the Late 18th Century* (Pasadena, CA: Socio-Technical Press, 1971); Max Moorehead, "The Soldados de Cuera: Stalwart of the Spanish Borderlands," *Journal of the West*, VIII (January 1969): 38–55. Christon I. Archer, *The Army in Bourbon Mexico, 1760–1810* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1977), also should be consulted to place California military operations in context.

zontal figure-eight shaped versions, was "Made of two plies of bullhide. . . ." Soldiers carried this device "on the left arm in order to turn aside spears and arrows, the rider not only defending himself, but also his horse."[42] In addition, they used a short leather apron, called *armas* or *defensas*, which fastened to the pommel of the saddle and hung down on both sides to cover the rider's thighs and legs.

The remainder of the lancer's rig consisted of a short broadsword (*espada ancha*), a carbine (*escopeta*), and, in a few instances, a brace of muzzle-loading pistols. Regulations further specified a uniform consisting of a "short jacket of blue woolen cloth, with small cuffs, and a red collar, breeches of blue, a cloth cap of the same color, a black neckerchief, hat [presumably black], shoes and leggings [*botas*]." An antelope hide bandolier with the name of the presidio embroidered upon it and which served as a sword carrier, a cartridge box that strapped around the waist, spurs, and a vaquero-style saddle with a horn and "corresponding *mochila*, saddle pad, leather leg guards, front mounted saddle bags, and enclosed wooden stirrups," supposedly made up the other basic elements.[43] As noted, however, the garrison often went without the specified issue.

Arrival of the supply ship *Santiago*, in mid-June 1778, after a three and one-half-month voyage from San Blas, did little to make up for such shortages.[44] In fact, the demands had increased by that time with the 1777 order for the founding of a pueblo near the southern end of San Francisco Bay on the Río de Guadalupe. This effort occupied much of Moraga's time in the autumn of that year. Five settlers with their families and nine

42. Brandes, *The Costansó Narrative*, 90.

43. Brinckerhoff and Faulk, *Lancers for the King*, 21, 69–77. Governor Neve proposed an improved pattern for the cartridge box as part of the 1781 regulations. He noted that the former pattern with its wooden block and double row of sockets for cartridges was uncomfortable to wear. He wanted new models to "be fashioned in one row with twenty-four sockets made of tin, lined with leather fitted close together on the strap encircling the body." The belt was to be "a vara and a half long with corresponding width." A flap covered the tins and a brass buckle held with two rivets served to fasten the belt. Lastly, two small pouches, one for a tin powder flask, and the other presumably for flints, cleaning brushes and like accessories, completed the new design. John E. Johnson, trans., *Reglamento para el Goberierno de la Provincia de Californias por S.M en Real Orden de Octubre de 1781*, 2 vols. (San Francisco: Grabhorn Press, 1929), II: 14–15.

44. Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 328.

soldiers with some knowledge of farming left San Francisco in November 1777 for the site of the new town to the south. From Loreto the governor selected San José de Guadalupe as the name for the settlement. Now with the pueblo and missions, the Hispanic male population in the San Francisco district increased by almost a third during the year; however, only two new soldiers joined Lieutenant Moraga's military force.

This "reinforcement" brought little relief. Indeed, circumstances continued to undermine efforts toward improvements in the first years. For instance, when the new governor of both Californias, Felipe de Neve, made an inspection in April 1777, he noted that while Moraga began work on enclosing the quadrangle with a wall, the completed commandant's quarters and warehouse, both of adobe, appeared to be very unsubstantial, findings which tend to indicate that Moraga's 1776 plan reflected what he had hoped to construct rather than what had been built.[45] Neve found all other structures to be "mere huts." Consequently, the governor ordered future construction to be of adobe built atop stone foundations. Unfortunately, this prescription came too late.[46] During the winter of 1778–1779, the presidio suffered heavy damage from the weather. Severe storms, especially in January and February, destroyed a major part of the palisade walls, the warehouse, and a casemate, this last named structure possibly standing outside the quadrangle near its entrance to protect the gate. By 1780, none of the buildings erected in 1778 and lit-

45. Neve, born in Baylen, Kingdom of Andalusia in 1728, became the first governor of both Lower and Upper California to reside in Monterey, which then became the capital when he relocated there on February 3, 1777. A lieutenant colonel when he first came to Monterey, Neve received his promotion to colonel on January 5, 1778. On September 10, 1782, he terminated his governorship in California and assumed the position of commandant inspector of the Provincias Internas. By August 12, 1783, he rose to the commandant general of this same jurisdiction having gained his brigadier generalcy earlier that year. Neve died on August 21, 1784, at Hacienda de Nuestra Señora de Carmen de Peñablanca, Nueva Vizcaya. Nuttall, "The Gobernantes," 272–273.

46. The foregoing represents a synthesis of Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 296–297, 309–312, 472, and Governor Felipe de Neve to Viceroy Bucareli, Monterey, June 6, 1777, *Archives of California*, Provincial Records, Tomo XXII: 80. Moraga's force in 1777, according to Bancroft, consisted of himself, *Guarda Almacén* Hermenegildo Sal, Sergeant Juan Pablo Grijalva, Corporals Domingo Alviso, Valerio Mesa, Pablo Pinto, Gabriel Peralta, and Ramón Bojórges, along with thirty-three soldiers, including mission guards at San Francisco and Santa Clara.

tle of the walls still stood, having been toppled by the intense rains and strong winds.[47]

More than nature conspired against the community. Internal friction existed too. Additionally, the post needed foodstuffs. Not until December 1777 did arrival of supplies bring the required corn, beans, lentils, chick peas, lard, brown sugar, and chili for the troops as well as coarse and refined flour and biscuits for officers. The storehouse at the presidio also carried such other goods as three and one-eighth pounds of jerky, one and four-fifths pounds of chili, and more than a pound of biscuit, any of which items could be bought for a single *real* (an eighth of a peso).[48] A real also purchased ten pounds of fresh meat, while a customer who "was willing to take it on the hoof . . . could get a calf, or a heifer, or a two-year old sheep" for two pesos. Two *reales* fetched either a dozen eggs, a pair of chickens, two hares, or four rabbits. Moreover, "A *fanega* (a little more than one and one-half bushels; see glossary for equivalent weights and measures) of wheat sold for $2.00, a fanega of corn for $1.50, or one peso, four reales."[49] The beans, lentils, and chick peas went for $3.00 a fanega. A range bull cost four pesos; an ox trained to the yoke brought six pesos. A saddle horse could be had for nine pesos; the saddle would cost an additional fifteen pesos. A mule broken to the saddle topped the list as the most expensive item at eighteen pesos. Ultimately, by the 1780s, the increase in the number of cattle in California brought an additional cost reduction. The expanded supply of beef

47. Governor Felipe de Neve to Commandant General Teodoro de Croix, Monterey, April 4, 1779, *Archives of California*, Provincial Records, XXII: 126; Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 472.

48. In order to understand the monetary system it should be explained that the *peso de ocho*, "was divided into eight *reales*. The real was in turn divided into twelve *granos*. One real therefore equalled roughly the value of twelve and one-half cents in United States money, while the *grano* was worth a fraction more than a United States cent. "It is of interest that under the Articles of Confederation, Congress recommended the Spanish peso as the "unit of United States coinage, and Alexander Hamilton acted on this in 1791." Edwin A. Beilharz, *Felipe de Neve First Governor of California* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1971), 40–41, 43, 104. Unless otherwise noted, all information about the 1777 status of supplies at the Presidio came from the above source.

49. For modern American equivalents consult J. N. Bowman, "Weights and Measures of Provincial California," *California Historical Quarterly*, XXX (December 1951): 315–338.

dropped the price to one cent per pound for fresh meat![50] Additionally, the townspeople at San Jose eventually began to provide some of the staples for the post, thereby making edibles fairly inexpensive and accessible.

Typical meals prepared with such ingredients included a morning starter at six or seven o'clock, at least for officers and *soldados distinguidos*, of chocolate or *atole de pinole* (a cereal meal gruel).[51] An hour later, a second breakfast consisting of cooked meat, *frijoles*, sometimes bread or, more often, *tortillas* might be consumed. At noon, those with the wherewithal might eat rice or noodle soup, meat stew with vegetables, beans, and sometimes ended with a dessert of sweet rolls or cheese. The women might take wine and the men brandy with this repast. The evening meal came about eight-thirty or nine, with beans and a cooked meat dish prepared with chili and accompanied by wine as typical fare for the more affluent.

Most of the soldiers, however, had to be content with a breakfast of roasted corn or boiled cereal served with milk. At noon meat, milk, beans, and tortillas made up the typical menu. Corn or cereal gruel and an occasional piece of cheese might complete the dinner. For supper, soldiers and their families consumed roasted or stewed meat, beans, cornmeal gruel, or *migas* (fried crumbs made of crushed corn). Rarely were wine or brandy available as these were both expensive and difficult to obtain in the early period of settlement, at least when it came to the enlisted men, their dependents, and most civilian settlers.[52]

Sometimes, short tempers seemed to coincide with short rations. An official report recorded an assault in July 1778. A recruit from Monterey accused Corporal Valerio Mesa of attack-

50. Chapman, *A History of California*, 401.

51. Any enlisted man who could show an official certificate attesting to his pure white ancestry (criollos or peninsulares) could be granted the status of a soldado distinguido and assume the honorific title of "don," along with enjoying certain other privileges which included, the right to wear swords such as those carried by officers; exclusion from menial labor, and extra consideration for promotions. At San Francisco usually only sons of officers qualified for this designation since regularly the enlisted men were classified mestizo, mulatto, or some other disignation of mixed blood. This represents one example of the class distinctions based on European or colonial heritage which grew up in Spanish California and throughout Spain's New World holdings.

52. José María Amador, "Memorias Sobre la Historia de California," Unpublished Ms, Bancroft Library, 114–117.

ing him and causing several wounds. Moraga held a hearing with the two principals and two witnesses.[53] Existing records fail to indicate whether Mesa received any punishment.[54]

The September 1778 appearance of *Princesa* and *Favorita*, under the command of Lieutenants Ignacio Arteaga and Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, indirectly led to another investigation. The ships, returning from exploration to the Northwest Coast, laid over at San Francisco for about six weeks while the men recuperated from scurvy. During this respite at the presidio, on October 11, 1779, fire destroyed the hospital tent used by the two crews and gutted one of the houses at the post.[55] Adding to the excitement, thieves robbed the presidio's royal warehouse of a great quantity of supplies. A quick inventory of the storehouse showed that the culprits removed goods to the value of 700 pesos. This sum—a large one, indeed for the period—equalled the annual salary of the commanding officer of the garrison. The thieves stole such things as pants, shoes, odd bits of hardware, shirts, bolts of cloth, and two pounds of chocolate. Two days after the theft, evidence implicated two soldiers, Marcelo Pinto and Mariano Castro, and two servants, Juan de Espinosa and José Tiburcio Altamirano, because the men tried to dispose of some of the loot to sailors of *Princesa*.[56]

53. Report, Anonymous, San Francisco, August 20, 1778, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, I: 306.

54. Moraga continued to find Mesa a troublesome member of the command. The corporal evidently spent much of his time quarrelling with the *alcalde* of San José. José Moraga to Pedro Fages, San Francisco, June 2, 1783, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, II: 422. By the following year, Mesa and one other corporal, Joaquín Alvarez, were replaced by Mariano Cordero and Nicolás Galindo. Letter from José Moraga, San Francisco, September 1, 1784, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, Sacramento, LIV: 49. Mesa first came to California from Sonora with Anza. His wife, María Leonor Borboa, accompanied him as did their six children.

55. Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 329–331.

56. Baptized José Marcelo Pinto, he came from Sinaloa as a youth with his parents, Pablo Pinto and Francisca Xaviera Ruelas. All were part of the second Anza expedition. Josef Mariano Castro also accompanied his parents, Joaquín Ysidro Castro and María Martina Botiller, and their eight other children when they followed Anza to California. Born sometime in the 1760s, he later transferred to the Santa Barbara and there married María Josefa Romero. Espinosa may have been one of Josef Joaquín Cayatano Espinosa and María Serafina Lugo's eight children. Finally, Altamirano evidently was the son of one other couple who came with Anza, Justo Roberto Altamirano and María Loreto Delfín. This information represents a compilation of Gloria Lawrence, Rudecinda Lo Buglio, Bartolemé T. Sepúlveda, and Nadine Marcia Vásquez, *Antepasados* (Janesville, CA: Los Californianos, 1977), II, *Sección* 2, 3–5; Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 297; Northrop, *Spanish-Mexican Families*, I: 95, 121–122, 260.

Lieutenant Moraga called for a trial at the presidio which may have lasted for several days. The non-commissioned officers, who took turns at writing the transcript, assembled more than a hundred pages of testimony. Witnesses were questioned, several being called back three or four times. When the hearing concluded, the thieves were put under guard. Moraga sent the records through official channels to the commanding general for his decision on the matter.

Justice moved slowly in eighteenth-century California. While Moraga awaited his superiors' decision, in March 1782, Pinto and Castro escaped from the post guardhouse. The prisoners enjoyed their freedom for only a brief time because troops sent in pursuit of the pair recaptured the two men. Moraga placed the corporal of the guard, Mariano Cordero, and the sentinel, Agustín Valenzuela, under arrest for permitting the escape.[57] The commander again conducted a long, formal inquiry. Nearly a year and half later, the prisoners received their sentences. Espinosa got six years and Altamirano four years at hard labor, both on short rations. The soldiers Pinto and Castro received sentences of four years each.[58] Orders called for the release of the two negligent guards, although by the time word arrived with this decision, they had served more than fifteen months in confinement.[59]

Even while Moraga investigated the 1780 warehouse robbery, he faced other difficulties with those under his command. Four soldiers refused to work on construction of a new chapel at the

57. On November 28, 1776, Cordero took Juana Francisca Pinto as his wife, this being the first marriage recorded at Mission Dolores. He came to California as a soldier sometime between 1769 and 1774. Lo Buglio, Sepúlveda, and Vásquez, "Lista de los Individuos Que Servieron en los Nuevos Establicimentos [sic]," *Antepasados*, II, *Sección* I, 9, and Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 296. Juan Agustín Valenzuela, along with his wife Petra Ygnacio de Ochoa and their daughter María Zeferina, arrived in California with Anza. "Members of the Second Anza Expedition," *Antepasados*, II, *Sección* II, 5.

58. After Pinto's release from labor on public works, he returned to plague local authorities. A soldier found the paroled man hiding under a bed in his quarters when he came back from duty one afternoon. Evidently, Pinto had been having an affair with the soldier's wife and his commander wanted to know what to do with the man. In turn, Pinto's mother pled for her son's return to the service. José Argüello to Pedro Fages, San Francisco, November 26, 1788, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, 250 and Francisca Ruelas to Pedro Fages, San Francisco, December 11, 1788, ibid., 251.

59. Moraga's Report, no place or date; Teodoro de Croix order, Arispe, June 7, 1783, AGN, Ramo de Californias, Tomo 71, Microcopy, Bancroft Library.

post. When Moraga reported the incident, Governor Neve reproached his subordinate for negligence in this case and for his general leniency with the men. Moraga denied the charge in his reply to the governor.[60]

With such insubordination and problems, the decade of the 1780s saw few improvements to the buildings at the Presidio of San Francisco. In a few cases, the soldiers had to build palisade huts for their families, when their adobe houses did not stand up well in unfavorable weather. By this time, one account indicated that the commandant lived in an adobe while four walls of varying heights from two and a half yards to four yards surrounded the compound, which also enclosed a stone facility and palisade with earth structures that served as stores, the church, and habitations of the garrison.[61] This undistinguished appearance resulted from a lack of timber and tules near the post, poor quality adobe, and a shortage of skilled workmen among the fifteen or twenty soldiers who, with their families, regularly made up the garrison during the late 1770s and early 1780s.[62]

An increase in personnel seemed desirable in order to accomplish all the tasks assigned to the post. In 1781, proposed new regulations for the government of California called for an

60. Felipe de Neve to José Moraga, Monterey, February 17, 1780; Moraga to Neve, San Francisco, February 29, 1780, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, I: 324.

61. Hermenegildo Sal to Governor José Antonio Romeu, San Francisco, March 4, 1792, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, XI: 49 and XI: 55.

62. For instance, in 1777, San Francisco had a lieutenant, a sergeant, four corporals, and twenty-nine privates on the rolls, but of these only nineteen actually could be found at the post with the rest scattered at the missions, pueblo, and on other duties. Beilharz, *Felipe de Neve*, 79, 84. In 1781, that figure rose to a lieutenant, sergeant, four corporals, and twenty-six soldiers. Report of José Moraga, San Francisco, October 4, 1781, *Archives of California*, Presidios, XXI: 32. Reports for three years later indicate the same number, with the exception of an additional officer, an *alférez*, in this case Ramón Lasso. Moraga remained as commander, Juan Pablo Grijalva was sergeant, the corporals were Valerio de Mesa, Joaquín Alvarez, Juan José Peralta, and Mariano Cordero. The remainder of the force, all privates, consisted of Ramón Bojórques, Juan Antonio Amézquita, Ignacio Linares, Justo Altamirano, Antonio Acevez, Phelipe Tapia, Agustín Valenzuela, Ignacio de Soto, Pedro Bojórques, José Valencia, Juan Bernal, Manuel Arellano, Nicolás Galindo, Ignacio Higuera, Phelipe Ochoa, Ignacio Castro, José González, Miguel Pacheco, Manuel Figueroa, Salvador Espinosa, Alejo Miranda, Nicolás Berreyesa, Pedro Peralta, Gabriel Moraga, Ignacio Pacheco, and Francisco Bernal. Inválído (retired or disabled veteran) Corporal Gabriel Bernal resided in San Jose and Soldado Pedro Peralta served on detached duty at Monterey. José Moraga Reports, San Francisco, February 1, 1784, May 1, 1784, and July 1, 1784, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, Sacramento, LIV: 38, 189, 211–212. Of these men, from fifteen to twenty supposedly remained at the Presidio while the rest formed contingents at San Jose and the two missions. Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 472.

increase in the strength of the garrison to a lieutenant, a sub-lieutenant, a sergeant, four corporals, and twenty-six men.[63] But the major change affecting the men of the Presidio of San Francisco involved the method of supplying California. As before, the governor submitted an annual *memoria* of all supplies needed to the viceroy. Goods shipped from San Blas then went to soldiers and servants in lieu of payment for their salaries. Prior to 1781, the government made a one hundred and fifty percent profit on commodities sent to California. The new *reglamento* reformed the system to one where the government supplied goods at cost in San Blas, and then made no charge for transporting them to California ports. To offset the reduction in prices to the soldiers, the government cut pay scales for most ranks by an average of forty percent, yet buying power essentially increased. Under the new scheme, commissary prices went down by sixty per cent. Moreover, the *habilitado* replaced the old *guarda almacén*, or storekeeper, who took care of receiving and distributing all pay and supplies. He handled the dual role of finance officer and quartermaster. This meant that he assumed responsibility for keeping the company accounts, for which he received two percent of the goods under his care. Each year, the habilitado made a list of all the articles needed for the soldiers and their dependents which could not be obtained in region. These orders went forward to Mexico every spring. Officials made deductions from the appropriation for drafts on the royal treasury used in funding supplies in California. Agents then purchased the goods as specified in *memorias* from Mexico and shipped the items via San Blas. The regular receipts, together with occasional ones, were kept where collected, and an equivalent amount deducted from the individual company's appropriation. Each presidio received equal amounts, but because San Francisco usually had the fewest men assigned to it, more often then not the balance proved more favorable to this northern garrison than for its three Alta California counterparts

63. Beilharz, *Felipe de Neve*, 91. For further details see Johnson, *Reglamento para el Gobierno de la Provincia de Californias*, vols. 1 and 2.

to the south.[64] Finally, the habilitado took charge of collecting tithes, money for postal services, and funds for the government tobacco monopoly.

Men of each presidial company chose the habilitado from among their own junior officers. The troops doubtlessly made the selection with some care because they would be held responsible for any shortfalls in the garrison's ledgers.[65]

Lieutenant Moraga assumed the job at San Francisco. Moraga, no doubt, found little to be happy about in terms of these reforms because, although the reglamento called for a fifty peso annual increase to 550 pesos, he already received 700 per year, and the governor even had requested the viceroy raise Moraga's salary to 1,000 pesos per year.[66]

Still, he had to be content with his lot because the cost of living dictated the pay of the soldiers in California. Regulations provided that goods supplied to them would be charged to the soldiers' wages. The government had an interest in keeping prices low. Officials judged price-fixing necessary in order to be fair to both producers and consumers alike.[67] The keeping of such outstanding debts in the presidial ledgers began to present a problem at San Francisco. The governor sent his adjutant-inspector to the post to check on the accounts of the acting habilitado, Lieutenant Moraga.[68]

In the same year, 1782, a royal order also officially conferred the rank of lieutenant on Moraga, a rank and pay he had held

64. On the other hand, it appears that the home government compensated for this paper advantage by sending fewer supplies to San Francisco, since the inventories for 1788 and 1789 consistently indicate smaller batches of goods going to San Francisco than the other three presidios. Microcopy, AGN, Californias, Tomo XXVII: *passim*. Likewise, this was the case in 1790. Goods and money sent to the Presidio in that year amounted to less than 4,800 pesos. Don José de Arvide to Viceroy, Mexico, December 29, 1790, Microcopy, AGN, Californias, Tomo LXX.

65. Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 333–335.

66. Governor Neve to Viceroy Bucareli, Monterey, June 4, 1777; Felipe de Neve to Teodoro de Croix, Monterey, December 28, 1778, *Archives of California*, Provincial Records, XXII: 78, 103.

67. Sanford Mosk, "Price Fixing in California," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XVII (June 1938): 118–122, offers additional insight into this system.

68. Governor Neve to Adjutant-Inspector Nicolás Soler, San Gabriel, August 4. 1782, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, II: 22.

as long as he had been in California serving with the company of the Presidio of San Francisco. Previously, he had been listed as an *alférez*, or ensign, in the company of the Presidio of Fronteras.[69] The crown likewise managed to finally approve a $1,200 expenditure for the Presidio of San Francisco's construction some six years after the fact. As this amount had been spent long before, the troops and servants would be reimbursed for their labors.[70] Consequently, in many instances, big and small, the home government moved at a snail's pace.

In certain matters, however, local authorities reacted swiftly. Indians near San José began to steal horses from the settlers early in the following year. In January 1783, the new governor of California, Pedro Fages, who returned as a lieutenant colonel, marched against them. He killed two Indians and frightened the rest to the degree that this harsh treatment halted further thefts. Another three of the Indians caught killing some of the settlers' horses went to the Presidio of San Francisco to work under guard for fifteen to twenty days. Every third day soldiers flogged the prisoners as part of their sentence.[71]

The rest of 1783 proved less eventful, although activities at the presidio warranted two ships instead of the usual one per year. In June, *San Carlos* and *Favorita* arrived in the harbor with supplies for the district.[72] Two new soldiers reported as transfers from Monterey to San Francisco. One of them, Luis Peralta, eventually reached the rank of sergeant in the presidial company.[73] Moraga notified the governor that he was releasing

69. Pablo Avila, trans., "Moraga Commissioned Lieutenant," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXVII (March 1948): 63.

70. Teodoro de Croix to Felipe de Neve, Arispe, July 19, 1782, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, II: 231.

71. José Moraga to Pedro Fages, San Francisco, February 13, 1783, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, II: 361; Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 479–480.

72. José Moraga to Pedro Fages, San Francisco, June 3, 1783, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, II: 403.

73. Luis María Peralta, a native of Tubac, was born in 1759, and came to California with Anza while still a teenager. He enlisted in the Monterey Presidial Company in the early 1780s and transferred to San Francisco in 1784. In addition to *escolta* duty, he served as *comisionado* (military liaison) to the Pueblo of San Jose until the end of the Spanish regime. He eventually fathered seventeen children. In 1820, the Spanish crown gave him a grazing license for Rancho San Antonio, in the East Bay. He received official title to the land in 1823. His sons occupied the grant while Peralta spent his retirement years in San Jose. The elder Peralta died from influenza on August 26, 1851. J. N. Bowman, "The Peraltas and Their Houses," *California Historical Quarterly*, XXX (September 1951): 217–219.

Peralta from his sentence. The records do not indicate on what charge Peralta had been convicted. Moraga also enclosed a petition with his letter to Governor Fages asking permission for Peralta to get married. A short two months later the fickle soldier married a different girl from the one named in his original request.

While Peralta's original intended probably bore something less than affection for her former suitor, her feelings paled by way of comparison with ill-will which grew between the missionaries and the military personnel of the presidio. This long-simmering feud came to a head in 1784 and 1785. Governor Fages, who had clashed with Padre Serra during his earlier assignment to California, made complaints that the priests had refused to provide chaplain's services at the San Francisco garrison for more than two years. The Franciscans replied to this charge that until 1784, when a new post chapel was readied, they had no suitable place to say mass. Furthermore, the soldiers' claims for their regular services at the presidio offended the priests who contended that their duties did not include attending to the spiritual needs of the post. Likewise, the friars asserted soldiers could come to the nearby mission for the sacraments. After the chapel was completed, the missionaries occasionally visited the presidio for liturgy and to minister to the garrison. The viceroy later directed that the padres be compensated with an allowance for their extra labors. Several times during the year 1784 Governor Fages visited San Francisco, possibly to enquire into the controversy.[74]

While the chapel completion seemed to solve the rift to some degree between clergy and military, other sections of the post did not fare as well. Early in 1784, a gale blew down one corner of the presidial square. Moraga's effort to build a guardhouse during the same year came to a similar end when the strong winds of October destroyed the partially completed structure because the men wanted for proper material to tie down the roof and brace the walls.[75]

74. Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 401–402, 473. Bancroft also indicates that Fages' daughter was born in San Francisco during one of his visits in 1784.

75. Ibid., 472; Moraga also requested shutters for the guardhouse. José Moraga to Pedro Fages, San Francisco, December 23, 1784, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, III: 117.

Also in 1784, a sailor from the *Princesa*, whose service had expired aboard ship, joined the presidio as a schoolmaster.[76] His efforts to provide education proved of little avail. Literacy, although a requirement for advancement through the ranks, was not common. For instance, just a year after the new teacher arrived still only seven of the thirty men assigned to the company of the Presidio of San Francisco could read. In 1791, the statistics indicated that only two out of the twenty-eight enlisted personnel could read, while in 1794, records revealed that none of the soldiers in the ranks could write.[77] As a consequence, Moraga and a select few took on the tedious business of record keeping in multiple copies.

These and many other tasks occupied Moraga as San Francisco's first *comandante*, a position he faithfully executed until his death on July 13, 1785. On that day, the command passed to Lieutenant Diego González, who reported from Monterey, while the alférez of the company, Ramón Lasso de la Vega, became the new habilitado.[78] Both of these men experienced considerable trouble during their assignments at San Francisco. Before coming to his new post, González had been arrested once for a variety of minor offenses. At San Francisco he continued his irregular conduct despite reprimands and warnings from the governor. Finally, Nicolás Soler, the adjutant-inspector, ordered González' confinement. After two or three months under house arrest, González returned to Sonora.[79]

76. Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 473–474.

77. Beilharz, *Felipe de Neve*, 74–75.

78. González arrived in California as part of reinforcements in 1781. He came to Monterey where he served as the commanding lieutenant until his 1785 transfer to San Francisco. González remained comandante there through 1787, when he replaced José Ortega on frontier duty. Evidently this assignment came as a punishment for his various indiscretions. Supposedly he tended to gamble, to be insubordinate, and to engage in smuggling. Consequently, he was removed from the rolls in 1793. Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 342, 467–468, and III: 760. Ramón Lasso de la Vega came to California from Mexico in 1781. He married Moraga's widow on February 29, 1792, at Mission San Carlos. Ibid., IV: 708 and Northrop, *Spanish-Mexican Families*, I: 211.

79. Captain Soler came to California as *ayundante-inspector* during 1781. Soler held the post until friction between him and Governor Fages caused him to be summoned to Arizpe where he then received orders to assume command at the Presidio of San Agustín del Tucson. He remained there until his death, possibly at the hands of the Apaches. Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 397–398; V: 727; Dobyns, *Spanish Colonial Tucson*, 95–96, 201, n.73, and James E. Officer, *Hispanic Arizona 1536–1856* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989), 66, 346, *n*.39.

Unfortunately, Lasso, the habilitado, likewise proved unqualified for his post. He could not keep his accounts in order. Contemporaries described him as being careless and stupid. Soler recommended clemency because apparently Lasso's continued deficits stemmed from poor record-keeping rather than dishonesty. In 1782, he had lost $800 during a temporary term as habilitado. Five years later, an audit revealed an additional discrepancy of several hundred pesos. Then, Soler relieved Lasso from his duties. For the next four years he received only twenty-five cents a day on which to live. The rest of his funds went to pay off his debt. When the government obtained most of the money due it, his superiors dismissed Lasso from the service. Subsequently, the crown granted him retirement on half pay. In the next decade Lasso made his living as a schoolmaster in San José. Hopefully the curriculum did not include arithmetic![80]

Lasso's problems would have increased had he remained as habilitado during the rest of the decade because, in 1786, the presidios of California became centers of a brief Spanish interest in the fur trade which presaged the future importance of this commodity. The viceroy decreed a plan whereby any Spaniard or mission Indian who acquired an otter pelt would sell it at a fixed price to a corporal or pueblo *alcalde* (akin to the town mayor). The skins would be turned over to the commanding officers of the presidios, who would ship them to San Blas on the empty supply ships. From San Blas the pelts would be sent on the Manila galleons to China, where they would be traded for quicksilver to be used in the silver mines of New Spain. Within the first three months after the plan's initiation, a thousand otter pelts went from California. One year later, the habilitados were put in charge of the otter skin purchasing. They exchanged goods for the pelts. In 1790, the government abandoned the idea when it decided that the cost of the project outweighed the profits.[81]

80. Ramón Lasso to Pedro Fages, San Francisco, February 4 and 18, 1787, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, II: 99–100; Nicolás Soler to Pedro Fages, San Francisco, July 13, 1787, ibid, 123–125; Governor Fages to Commandant-General Ugarte, Monterey, May 11, 1798, ibid., 353; Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 470–472.

81. Adele Ogden, "The Californias in Spain's Pacific Otter Trade, 1775–1795," *The Pacific Historical Review*, I (December 1932): 445–456.

Even while the experiment in international trade went forward, the presidio's new habilitado experienced other problems during 1787. Alférez Hermenegildo Sal, who had replaced Lasso, as well as doubled as acting comandante at that time, faced censure because of certain disciplinary breaches.[82] He received a warning from the Captain Soler about the shortcomings at the San Francisco post. Soler wrote Sal that henceforth the soldiers would wear their proper uniforms. This prescription presented a problem at times because clothing, cloth, and tailors were not readily available in the region. Furthermore, the officers at the presidio no longer would use soldiers as personal servants. In another letter, Governor Fages directed Sal to be more careful about preventing illegal trade with the supply ships. He was not to pay the troops when a ship was expected, so that none of the men could buy any liquor from the sailors.[83]

Captain Soler's dictums to Sal stemmed from his office as official inspector. In 1787, he came to San Francisco in an attempt to set the situation right there after González's and Lasso's poor handling of the post. While in the vicinity, Soler likewise found that dampness had damaged some of the powder stored at the installation. Consequently, he ordered the construction of a magazine to protect the gun powder from the weather, which he himself complained about to such an extent that he asked permission to quit the post.[84]

Some of the powder thus stored could be used for much needed target practice, as the local troops found little opportunity to use their firearms. In 1789, word came for the latest commander,

82. Born about 1746 at Valdemora, Toledo, Spain, Sal served as the Presidio's guarda almacén (storekeeper) leaving Monterey where he first was mentioned on May 30, 1775. However, he was not part of Anza's second expedition. Sal remained in this position until 1782, in that year being promoted to alférez. He married María Josefa Amésquita, a native of Tubac, on May 16, 1777, the ceremony taking place at Mission Dolores. They had eight children before she died in 1798, just months after the birth of their last baby. She would be buried at Mission San Carlos as would Sal after his death in 1800. He had retired in that year as a captain, having served at both San Francisco and Monterey in various positions of responsibility. Northrop, *Spanish-Mexican Families*, I: 271–272.

83. Nicolás Soler to Hermenegildo Sal, San Francisco, February 20, 1787, and Pedro Fages to Hermenegildo Sal, Monterey, January 12, 1788, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, IV: 169 and 172.

84. Nicolás Soler to Pedro Fages, San Francisco, May 31, and June 18, 1787, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, IV: 118 and 138.

José Darío Argüello, to have his men train with their weapons from two to three times per week.[85] Likewise, the troops supposedly drilled as a regular part of their regimen. Once a week they were to be reviewed both at the presidio and the missions to demonstrate their martial abilities, although, actually, other obligations often made it impossible for them to handle their weapons or attend religious services for much of the time.[86]

These conflicting activities included protecting the missions and missionaries with small detachments or *escoltas*. Soldiers assisted in overseeing the neophytes at their daily chores and kept guard even during church services. The corporal sometimes served as the mission's *mayor domo* and took charge of criminal justice, punishing minor offenses, making investigations, and sending periodic reports and suspects for more serious matters to the presidio.[87]

At the mission, soldiers lived in a common barracks arrangement if single and in small quarters if married. Bachelors gave

85. José Argüello to Pedro Fages, San Francisco, March 26, 1789, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, V: 84. José or Josef Darío Argüello was born sometime in 1753 or 1754 in Querétaro, Mexico. He became a soldier of the Regiment of Dragoons of Mexico on September 20, 1772, thereafter serving in expeditions against the Apaches and helping to found settlements along the Colorado River. Eight years after entering the military, he married María Ygnacia Moraga, the niece of José Joaquín Moraga, around 1780, at El Altar, Sonora. They would have thirteen children. On July 14, 1781, Alférez Argüello arrived in San Gabriel. He assisted in the founding of pueblos in Los Angeles and Santa Buenaventura. On February 9, 1787, he gained promotion to lieutenant and eventually reached captain on December 1, 1806. In California, he first served at the Presidio of Santa Barbara, being posted there even before the fort's construction. Argüello remained at Santa Barbara as alférez until his promotion to lieutenant took him to San Francisco as commandant. His tenure lasted until 1806 when, as a captain, he would leave and take command of Santa Barbara from 1807 through 1815. From July 24, 1814 through August 30, 1815, he served as governor *ad interim* of Upper California and then became governor of Lower California, from 1815 through 1822. He retired in 1822 in Guadalajara where he died sometime between 1827 and 1829. December 31, 1790, Hoja de servicio de José Argüello, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, Benicia, XV: 286–287; Northrop, *Spanish-Mexican Families*, I: 40–41; Nuttall, "Gobernantes of Upper California," 278–279.

86. Beilharz, *Felipe de Neve*, 74–75.

87. Amador, "Memorias," 4. The men tended to dislike this assignment, however, despite extra bonuses. Neither the monotonous routine nor the often strict discipline of the Franciscans appealed to them. The padres, in turn, complained about the quality of the troops. According to the priest, the soldiers consistently ignored all admonitions to provide good examples to the Indians. They accused the men of drinking, gambling, selling their equipment, and pursuing the Native American women. Moreover, the missionaries contended the soldados were lazy. Hubert H. Bancroft, *California Pastoral, 1769–1848* (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft Company, 1888), 239–240, 299; Beilharz, *Felipe de Neve*, 77.

their rations to the spouses of their married comrades. The wives prepared the meals, as well as assisted with other domestic chores. The same circumstances existed at the Presidio of San Francisco.

If not sent to the mission, soldiers carried on numerous other tasks. A non-commissioned officer (*comisionado*) provided a similar function for the Pueblo of San Jose to that of the corporals overseeing the mission escoltas.[88] Other men carried messages, dispatches, and the mail, much as pony express riders would in a later era.[89] Some guarded officials as they traveled in the district or looked after prisoners assigned to public works. Sentry duty, usually given out as a punitive measure to those who had committed some minor infraction, was a regular requirement with an average stint being three hours at a time. Exploration parties and punitive expeditions against the local Indians took up considerable energies, too.

When not occupied in strictly martial pursuits, the men watched over the growing herds of livestock at the *rancho del rey*, their *vaquero* functions extending to round-ups, branding, castrating bulls, and slaughtering. Likewise, they maintained plots for vegetables, as well as worked at various other food production related tasks.[90] They gathered wood and performed different jobs to help maintain their families. Those with the skills of carpenters, smiths, tailors, shoemakers, and potters found ample

88. Sometimes problems arose between the military and townsmen. A settler went into the stocks at the presidio guardhouse after assaulting the corporal of the guard at the Pueblo of San José. The fight started after the corporal accused the settler of taking improper care of the village's horses. The commander received a reprimand for jailing the civilian and the corporal an admonishment not to threaten people with his sword in the future. Diego González to Pedro Fages, San Francisco, December 27, 1787, and Nicolás Soler to Pedro Fages, January 12, 1788, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, IV: 136–137. The dates of these two letters may have been in error as it seems that González had left San Francisco by this time.

89. In regard to post offices, each presidio maintained one and charged a set rate of two silver reales an ounce for mail. Cabellero de Croix to Felipe de Neve, Arispe, March 18, 1781, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, Sacramento, LIV: 335.

90. During the Spanish regime, each presidio maintained a rancho del rey, the earliest in San Francisco being on the presidio reserve, at first, until relocation, in the 1780s, to San Mateo County. This establishment provided fresh meat to the troops and their families. The hides and the tallow obtained from the cattle later served as a valuable source for trade. Before that, the various tasks of taking care of the herds and slaughtering the animals caused the government to consider hiring vaqueros, sheepherders, and butchers so that the soldados would be relieved of non-military details. This well-intentioned plan never matured into reality. Real Tribuno y Audencia de la Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas to the Viceroy, Mexico City, November 18, 1795, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, VII: 397–404.

extra work as these craftspeople were in short supply in California. Individuals without specialized trades might hire on as common laborers, although much of this type of work went to prisoners or Indians who performed either for pay or as unpaid captives. Moreover, if a soldado distinguido had to do fatigue duty, he supposedly received an additional bonus of ten reales in advance. At a later date, when some men refused to do such manual labor because Argüello did not have the funds to pay them, the comandante placed the strikers in the stocks. Evidently, they did not remain there for very long, especially because one of those who led the "no pay, no work" faction was Argüello's young brother-in-law.[91]

With many problems, the grand vision for the Presidio of San Francisco waned as the decade of the 1780s came to an end. Its defects as a barren site, with harsh climate, and remote location from the rest of New Spain weighed heavily against the garrison's success. In fact, the adjutant-inspector of California even advocated the abandonment of the site but this suggestion went unheeded.[92] The need for an outpost to protect the northernmost missions and the strategic position of San Francisco Bay made it impossible to entertain the withdrawal of the troops. Yet, after more than a dozen years of precarious existence, San Francisco stood as an impotent sign of defense rather than a bastion of empire. Subsequent events would expose the sham in the not-too-distant future.

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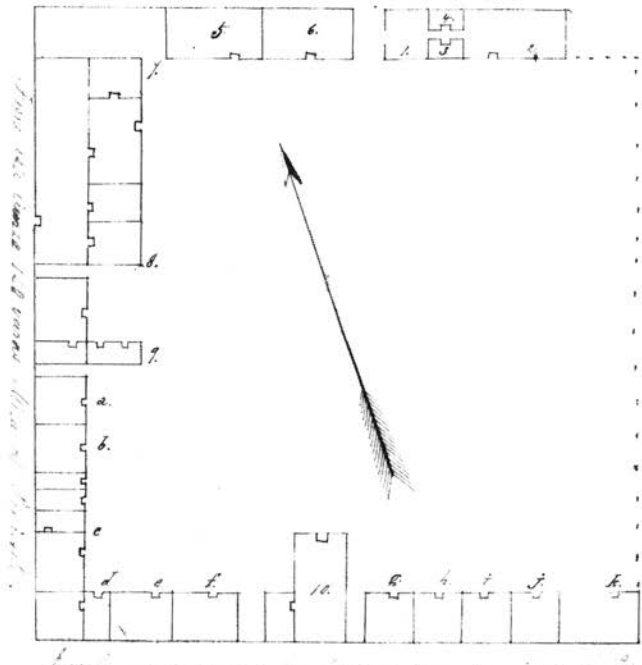
91. Amador, "Memorias," 204–205. Argüello's brother-in-law, Domingo Sal, also was related to Hermenegildo Sal. Officers and soldiers alike tended to marry the relations and offspring of their comrades, although records indicate that at least in two or three instances enlisted men took Indian women as wives.

92. Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 394.



(Los demas relativo á este edificio se copian en la pg. siguiente)
Los

Chapter 2

"The Appearance of Durability" 1791–1800

After halting beginnings during its first years of existence, the 1790s would prove the most important decade during the Spanish years of occupation at the Presidio of San Francisco. Much of the activity which took place during this dynamic period stemmed from a long standing feud between Spain and Great Britain, which dated back to the sixteenth-century and the days of the Great Armada. Hundreds of years later, the two nations

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Figure 4 (at left). Acting Commandant Hermenegildo Sal sent a plan of the Presidio with a report to Governor José Antonio Romeu on March 4, 1792. The legend translates:

Scaled drawing showing the rooms of the Presidio of San Francisco.
No. 1. Guard room being 6 1/4 varas long, 4 1/2 varas wide, and 3 1/2 varas high.
2. Soldiers' barracks: 16 varas long, 3 1/2 varas high, and 4 1/2 varas wide.
3 &4. Jail cells, 2 varas high, 2 varas long and 1 1/2 varas wide.
5. Clothing warehouse, 18 varas long, 4 1/2 varas high, and 6 varas wide.
6 The same for provisions [Provisions' warehouse], 18 varas long, 4 1/2 varas high, and 6 varas wide.
7 & 8. Quarters of the Commandant, 37 1/2 varas long, 6 varas wide, and 4 1/2 varas high.
10 Chapel, 19 varas long, 8 varas wide, and 4 1/2 varas high.
11 Casemate, 4 varas square and 2 1/2 varas high.
9. Sergeant's Quarters.
From a to k, habitations of the soldiers.
A copy taken from the original.
[above north facade] This facade 116 varas looking to the north.
[beside west facade] This facade is 120 varas looking to the west.

It should be noted that the east side of the quadrangle had no buildings at this point, but a crude brush work ran along this side to complete the enclosure of the plaza. Ms, Bancroft Library.

found themselves at opposite sides of the field during the Revolutionary War, when the Spaniards chose to ally themselves with their French cousins on the side of the Thirteen American Colonies. In addition to committing money to the war venture, King Carlos III's forces also attacked British outposts in the Floridas, which had been ceded to Great Britain at the end of the Seven Years War in 1763. After the American Revolution, the relationship between Spain and Great Britain in North America fluctuated uneasily between rivalry in territorial ambitions and cooperation in their fervent distrust of American radicalism.[1]

By the 1780s, the Spanish-British competition again flared. This time, their rivalry revolved around Nootka Sound, far to the north of San Francisco on the west coast of Vancouver Island. Both Madrid and London made claims and counter-claims to the area in a heated diplomatic exchange. The saga began in May 1789, when Estaban José Martínez, in command of *Princesa* and *San Carlos*, arrived at Nootka to fortify the harbor, ostensibly against Russians. Upon Martínez' arrival, he found five foreign vessels riding at anchor, including a pair from Great Britain. One of the English captains, James Colnett, contended the area belonged to his country, based upon the 1778 voyage of Captain James Cook. Conversely, Martínez asserted that Spain rightfully owned the region because Juan Pérez discovered Nootka in 1774. As a result of these conflicting assertions, war clouds gathered, especially when the Spanish seized the merchant vessels they found at Nootka. With this, and the potential interest in otter furs from the area acting as an incentive for both Spain and Great Britain, both sides held fast to their assertions of exclusive title to the place. Spain turned to France for support while ironically England asked her former colony, the United States, for similar favors.

In the end, however, diplomacy prevailed. With the establishment of the Nootka Convention of October 18, 1790, Spain reluctantly withdrew to California, again making San Francisco her northernmost base of military strength on the Pacific Coast.

1. Wright, *Anglo-Spanish Rivalry in North America*, xii, 108–110, 138, 144.

With wounded pride, the Spaniards regrouped their forces around San Francisco Bay.[2] International politics had entered firmly into the peaceful world of the San Francisco harbor. The tensions aroused by these national ambitions and international antagonism would not leave the area in peace again for quite some time.

In response to loss of the Nootka Sound, Spanish officials in Monterey and the viceroy of New Spain determined to secure their territory that stretched from San Diego to San Francisco. The diplomatic incident had exacerbated what one historian called Spain's "paranoic fear that California, their buffer Borderland province, was to be wrested away from them by the imperialistic Russians or English."[3]

Despite intentions to build up a martial presence in the Bay Area, progress to this end came slowly. In fact, 1791 started very much like previous years. Half of the soldiers served at the missions of Santa Clara and San Francisco (Dolores) as well as the civilian settlement at San Jose, while the rest kept busy with routines at or near the presidio itself. There the walls and the buildings required considerable renovation. The governor felt that two factors, a shortage of wood and a lack of skilled workmen and proper supervision, precluded improvements from being made.[4]

The governor's report also could have added the numerous duties which occupied the time of the soldiers likewise restricted their availability as laborers for construction. At least some of their burdens lightened in March 1791 when orders from Mexico City called for the abandonment of the rancho del rey. Evidently, the local Franciscans had complained that the royal ranch

2. In so doing, "Spain admitted what to others was obvious: that the Pacific was not a Spanish lake and that effective occupation was the only sure title to American territory." Ibid., 150. For an overview on Nootka see Warren L. Cook, *Flood Time of Empire: Spain and the Pacific Northwest, 1543–1819* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973) and Iris H. Wilson Engstrand, ed., *Noticias de Nutka: An Account of Nootka Sound in 1792 by José Mariano Mozino* (Vancouver, BC: Douglas & McIntyre, 1991). For a summary of the event and its relationship to California read Florian Guest, "The Establishment of Villa Branciforte," *California Historical Quarterly*, XLI (March 1962): 29–50.

3. Janet R. Fireman, *The Spanish Corps of Royal Engineers in the Western Borderlands: Instrument of Bourbon Reform* (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1977), 113.

4. Report of Pedro Fages, Monterey, February 26, 1791, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, VI: 152–169.

infringed on the interest of the Mission Dolores. Some 1,200 cattle previously pastured around the presidio went to Monterey. For the next few years, most of the beef needed for meat had to be driven from Monterey, or, periodically, the garrison purchased cattle and sheep from the mission. Nonetheless, the soldiers kept some cows for milk and other uses, a few sheep, and their horses. An inventory of livestock taken two years after the closure of the rancho indicated that the presidial company retained 115 head of stock, 298 sheep, and seventeen mares. The largest stockholder, soldado Juan Bernal, boasted twenty-three cattle and 246 sheep.[5] Sergeant Pedro Amador came next with thirteen cattle and fifty-two sheep, while the comandante of the time had only five cattle and three mares.[6] Most of the other soldiers averaged a half dozen animals apiece.[7]

During the period of the rancho's transfer, Lieutenant José Argüello also relocated to Monterey, where he remained as acting commander for some time. In fact, Hermenegildo Sal and José Pérez Fernández held Argüello's old assignment as commandant from 1791 through 1794 and 1794 through 1796 respectively, each doubling in their duties as habilitado charged

5. Juan Francisco Bernal accompanied his father and namesake and his mother, María Josefa de Soto (Sotomayor), to California from his birthplace in Sinaloa as part of Anza's second expedition. Born about 1763, he married María Petronia Guitérrez at Mission Dolores on May 17, 1782. He died in February 1803 and was buried at the same mission where he had been wed. The couple had four children, including a son, Juan, who also became a soldier at the Presidio of San Francisco. Sons commonly followed in their father's footsteps by enlisting throughout the period of both Spain's and Mexico's occupation of the site. Northrop, *Spanish-Mexican Families*, I: 65–66.

6. Amador, a native of Nueva Galicia (today's Coahuila) came to California from Mexico with Rivera y Moncada in 1769. He did not remain in the region, however, returning after the original expedition to Baja California and then to Mexico. During this period his first wife, María de la Luz, died. Amador remarried. His second wife and their three children left Loreto, where he had been a sergeant, and made their way to San Francisco for a new assignment. The arduous journey north took two and a half or three months. Amador's spouse supposedly put her babies in a saddlebag on the back of a mule, two in one side and the third in the other, using a stone in the latter to balance out the load. After some forty-seven years in the King's service, Amador retired around 1800 as a brevet alférez with a 200 pesos a year pension. During the last decade or so of his life, he failed to receive this money, although it proved a hardship as he was nearly blind. He died at the Pueblo of San Jose on May 8, 1825, according to his son at the ripe old age of ninety-nine years and one month. Amador, "Memorias," 1–5.

7. The above statistics came from Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 707–708; William Halley, *The Centennial Yearbook of Alameda County, California* (Oakland: W. Halley, 1876), 27. In 1792, the total number had been 304 cattle, 261 sheep, and 26 horses. Hermenegildo Sal to Governor Romeu, January 1, 1792, San Francisco, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, Sacramento, LIV: 441.

with all financial matters of the presidial district during their respective tenures.[8]

Much happened during the nearly half dozen years of Argüello's absence. For one thing, ex-governor Fages made a visit to the presidio during the spring of 1791 while the supply ship *Aranzazú* arrived that same summer. On September 25, Sal and several soldiers joined a pair of padres, a few servants, and some Christian Indians in the dedication of a new mission, Santa Cruz, marking the event with a mass, Te Deum, fireworks, and musket salutes.[9]

Not long after this celebration, Sal faced less happy times at his garrison. His 1792 report about the presidio's condition and the accompanying plan told a story of neglect and poor construction. (See Figure 4) He wrote:

> The store houses are built of mud without any support [plaster] and therefore exposed to rain.
>
> The guardia [sentry posts], the prison-cells, and the soldiers' houses are in stone and adobe; its [the guard house's] walls are crumbling and for this reason they have put in the side of the square [plaza] counterfort [buttresses] of stone to support [the walls].
>
> The sergeant's house is of stone without support and is falling down.
>
> The one of the commandant and others are of adobe. The soldiers' dwellings are not equal to it.
>
> All the walls of the church are crumbling and deteriorating and [the cracks] are wider in the upper-part than in the lower. All the roofs in what is built of the Presidio are of zacate [straw] and tule and are very much exposed to fire, as far as the authorities can realize it.
>
> The winds blow in such a way, in the summer from the northwest, and in the winter from the south and northeast, that they are like hurricanes which make notable harm in the said roofs and every year one must attend to them with endless work.[10]

Sal indicated that for most of the time his immediate command included only a sergeant, a corporal, and a few guards, the remainder of the contingent being stationed as escoltas for the missions or in other pursuits. This included carrying dispatches

8. Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 692.

9. Ibid., 493–495.

10. Hermenegildo Sal to Governor José Antonio Romeu, San Francisco, March 4, 1792, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, XI: 49, 55. This translation was extracted from one made by Mother Dolores Sarre, San Francisco College for Women.

to Monterey and providing detachments for the mail and funds destined to and from the district missions and the Presidio of San Francisco. Consequently, Sal requested more troops. In the bargain, irregular supply shipments made matters worse.

Then, Sal went on to describe the long history of problems with the post's construction. He recorded:

> I am eye witness that this presidio was begun on July 27th, 1776 [Moraga stated July 26] and at the end of 78 the house of Commandant was in adobe; one wall of 4 yards, height; a second 3 yards, the third 2 1/2; and the fourth also 2 1/2. The [illegible] house in stone, stores, church and habitations for the church in palisade and earth. During a rain fall in the month of February 1779, the stores, the casemate, the church, the house of the commandant and of the troops and the greatest part of four pieces of wall fell, in such a way that at the end of the year 80, none of the houses built in the year 78 were standing. The lack of intelligent workers for the construction and direction of the works contributed much to this; and at present they are still lacking.
>
> The adobe is bad in itself because of the dampness it crumbles; and thus, it is indispensable that the roofs in the South end and in the Southwest side cover [protect] the greatest part of the walls.
>
> The lumber is found at a distance of more than ten leagues and if everything is favorable a trip may be made every week and this is not in all seasons of the year.
>
> One can well inform the authorities of what has been done in certain occasions in this Presidio with what stands actually, considering that in the year 80 and 81 the soldiers built again houses of the palisade to shelter themselves and their families.[11]

Sal added that, in 1792, troops began reconstruction of the north wall (*lienzo* or piece of wall) of palisade once more, while "no more than six houses" plus the comandancia "which was built the year before," remained "in useful condition." Frustrated, his letter read more as an indictment of a remiss government than as an official report. He concluded with the sentence, "All this that I manifest and expose is notorious and therefore, I sign it."[12]

Later, Sal asked for ten sailor-workmen along with a carpen-

11. Hermenegildo Sal to Governor José Antonio Romeu, San Francisco, March 4, 1792, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, XI: 39, 55.

12. Ibid., 39.

ter to set things right.[13] While no succor came from Monterey, Sal continued to lament the situation to his superior, but to no avail.

In late 1792, he announced that the troops had completed renovations at the post with the building of a wall of twenty-six varas to close the section from the commander's house to the storehouse. They likewise finished roofs for the church and storehouse and for nine dwellings for the troops. Unfortunately, the rains continued to make short work of things, thereby exposing several of the families to the elements and requiring the replacement of the second-in-command's quarters.[14]

On December 29, 1792, Sal wrote Arrillaga, "The labor spent on the presidio is incredible and yet there are now but slightly more or less [buildings] than at first." He indicated that "three *lienzos* [row of rooms or wing] exist, but in one single parapet. In the first *lienzo* are the warehouses, *guardia* [guardhouse] and *cuartel* [barracks], which are crumbling." He went on to state, "I have found none who knew how to place a stone or adobe." Further, Sal said that the second line consisted of the comandancia, three soldiers' quarters, and the dwelling of the second officer, his, which was about to tumble down while the others required considerable repair. Along the third lienzo were the chapel and eight residences for troopers. The former edifice had no foundation and the walls were wider at the top than the bottom. The church and the domiciles on this third side needed to be raised and rebuilt with more stable coverings than the straw and tule then in use. The fourth side, a palisade, was new and in good repair, while only six of the quarters, including the new commander's house, built in 1791, remained in a serviceable state. While crews from visiting vessels usually aided in construction, none regularly called at San Francisco. The 1,200 pesos allotment for the place fell far short of the 4,000 provided to the other outposts in California. Sal asked for eight to ten workers from San Blas, including a master brick layer, to help set things right

13. Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 695–696.

14. Hermenegildo Sal to José Arrillaga, San Francisco, November 29, 1792, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, Sacramento, XIV: 119.

once and for all, or an additional appropriation of 3,000 pesos be sent to hire Indian labor.[15]

Eventually, Sal's requests received some attention as circumstances changed. For one thing, during the fall of 1792, unidentified ships began to appear outside of the entrance to San Francisco Bay. In the late summer of 1792, Sal ordered what may well be considered the only shots fired against a perceived threat to the Spanish occupants, when an unidentified vessel dared to anchor just outside the harbor. Whether he brought his field piece out from the presidio to the Cantil Blanco or some other vantage point to provide this salvo is not known. Suffice it to say, this hollow gesture meant nothing to the mystery ship. The crew did not identify itself and remained in place until the next day when they sailed away.[16] A Spanish craft, *Saturnina*, arrived thereafter, coming from San Blas and anchoring at San Francisco with dispatches for Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, the Spanish commissioner at Nootka.[17] After a month of waiting for Bodega y Quadra, the *Saturnina* left for Monterey because word came that the commissioner went directly to Monterey. Another time the garrison gave a four-gun salute to what they believed to be the frigate *Aranzazú* To this, they received no reply nor would they from another vessel thought to be of British origins.[18]

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15. Bancroft Reference Notes, Presidio State Papers, Tomo XI: 54–58, Presidio of San Francisco, 1790s, Bancroft Library. These were some of the materials transcribed from original Spanish and Mexican regime records used to produce Bancroft's various publications. (Hereinafter referred to as Bancroft Reference Notes.)

16. Hermenegildo Sal to José Arrillaga, September 9, 1792, San Francisco, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, Sacramento, LIV: 70–72. Details about the precise date and the actual location from where Sal had the salvo fired are unknown.

17. A criollo born in Peru, Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra gained the captaincy of *Sonora* in March 1775, when he sailed that craft from San Blas northward, under orders of Viceroy Bucareli. He made his way to Alaskan waters, going as far as approximately fifty-eight degrees latitude. Having succeeded in this venture, the officer rose to the rank of *teniente de navio* and received another assignment to go to sea on further northern explorations as skipper of *La Favorita*, in early 1779. Thereafter, "With the exception of one European tour of service from 1783 to 1789, Bodega y Quadra was attached to the Naval Department of San Blas, where he cheerfully accepted Pacific Coast duty." Thurman, *Naval Department of San Blas*, 151, 165, 171–179, 185, 250–251. For more on the expeditions to the far north read Christon I. Archer, "Spanish Exploration and Settlement of the Northwest Coast in the 18th Century," *Sound Heritage*, VII (January-March 1978):33–53.

18. Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 509; Hermenegildo Sal to Interim Governor José Joaquín Arrillaga, San Francisco, September 9, 1792 and October 31, 1792, *Archives of California*, LIV: 70–72.

Even providing these salutes presented a problem to Sal and his men because only one cannon existed in good repair at the post. During a July 1792 commemoration of a saint's feast day, the other of the two guns at the presidio exploded into ten pieces, some of which flew as far as one-hundred and twenty-five yards. Fortunately, no one sustained injuries, but the outpost lost a valuable and not easily replaced weapon.[19] Later that year, Sal noted that he had only one old cannon left and required powder for this piece, which he obtained from *Saturnina*. More importantly, he really needed from ten to twelve guns to be emplaced on Anza's Cantil Blanco in order to keep the English threat away from San Francisco.[20] To obtain this many additional guns would have presented great difficulties, however, because the Spanish had supplied California with only "twenty-three bronze cannons, large and small" as part of the stores brought along with Portolá.[21] These few weapons, many of which may have been have been of considerable age and well worn, provided the basic supply for the four Alta California presidios.

On November 14, 1792, Sal used his lone cannon for a two-gun salute to the long-awaited H.M.S. *Discovery* and her captain, George Vancouver.[22] The ship anchored for the night in Yerba Buena Cove. The next morning, Vancouver went ashore escorted by Sergeant Amador and one of the priests from Mission Dolores. They offered the Englishman anything he needed in the way of supplies and provided an ox, a sheep, and some vegetables to the crew who probably welcomed the fresh foodstuffs. They also requested the relocation of *Discovery* to the regular anchorage within sight of the presidio. After taking on wood

19. Hermenegildo Sal to José Arrillaga, San Francisco, July 31, 1792, *Archives of California*, LV: 74. Amelie Elkinton, ed., and Eric Beerman, trans., "A Listing of the Personnel and Materials of the First Expedition by land Sea to Alta California 1769," *Archivo Historico Nacional* (Madrid), *Papeles de Jesuitas, legajo* 1230 (3), Doc. 3 (Sacramento: State of California Department of Parks and Recreation, Resource Protection Division, 1986), 2.

20. Hermenegildo Sal to José Arrillaga, San Francisco, October 31, 1792, *Archives of California*, LIV: 120.

21. Elkinton and Beerman, "A Listing of the Personnel and Materials," 2.

22. The cannon evidently had become unserviceable and had to be repaired prior to Vancouver's arrival as it had been revented not long before the British landed. Hermenegildo Sal to José Arrillaga, San Francisco, November 14, 1792, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, Sacramento, LV: 116. The refurbishing must have been a stop-gap measure since, in 1793, the governor reported to the viceroy the undefended position of San Francisco due to the fact that both of the local cannon were useless. Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 515.

and water, Vancouver complied, although he could have resisted had he wished.

From this new position, Vancouver came ashore once more. On November 17, he visited the post, later setting down a vivid picture of what he saw:

> We soon arrived at the Presidio, which was not more than a mile from our landing place. Its wall, which fronted the harbour, was visible from the ships; but instead of the city or town, whose lights we had so anxiously looked for on the night of arrival, surrounded by hills on every side, excepting that which fronted the port. The only object of human industry which presented itself, was a square area, whose sides were about two hundred yards in length, enclosed by a mud wall, and resembling a pound for cattle. Above this wall, the thatched roofs of their low small houses, just made their appearance. On entering the Presidio we found one of its sides still unenclosed by the wall, and very indifferently fenced in by a few bushes here and there, fastened to stakes in the ground. The unfinished state of this part, afforded us an opportunity of seeing the strength of the wall, and the manner in which it was constructed. It is about fourteen feet high, and five feet in breadth, and was first formed by uprights and horizontal rafters or large timber, between which dried sods and moistened earth were pressed as close and as hard as possible; after which the whole was cased with earth made into a sort of mud plaster, which gave it the appearance of durability, and of being sufficiently strong to protect them, with the assistance of their firearms, against all the force which the natives of the country might be able to collect.[23]

Despite efforts to either replace or repair the fourth wall, presumably the east section which may have been in need of work due to the elements or poor original construction, Vancouver's trained eye could not help but notice the bastion's vulnerability to a European assault. He observed that the symbolic defense work would topple easily under sustained artillery fire. Because he also learned that the garrison boasted only thirty-five soldiers, their families, and a few Indian servants, he no doubt realized that the contingent could not repel a superior force with only the brass 3-pounder on a rotten carriage which protected the main post and another gun supposedly lashed to a log for want

23.George Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific and Round the World 1791-1795,* ed. by W. Kaye Lamb, 4 vols. (Cambridge, England: The Hakluyt Society, 1984), II: 708.

of a carriage and which overlooked the southeast entrance to the harbor.

Inside, Vancouver described the interior of the post:

> Their [the soldiers'] houses were along the wall, within the square, and their fronts uniformly extended the same distance into the area, which is a clear open space, without buildings or other interruptions. The only entrance into it, is by a large gateway; facing which, and against the centre of the opposite wall or side, is the church; which, though small, was neat in comparison to the rest of the buildings. This projects further into the square than the houses, and is distinguishable from the other edifices, by being white-washed with lime made from sea-shells; lime-stone or calcareous earth not having yet been discovered in the neighbourhood. On the left of the church, is the commandant's house, consisting, I believe, of two rooms and a closet only, which are divided by massy walls, similar to that which encloses the square and communicating with each other by very small doors. Between these apartments and the outward wall was an excellent poultry house and yard, which seemed pretty well stocked; and between the roof and the ceilings of the room was a kind of lumber garret: those were all the conveniences the habitation seemed calculated to afford. The rest of the houses, though smaller, were fashioned exactly after the same manner; and in the winter, or rainy seasons, must be at the best very uncomfortable dwellings. For though the walls are a sufficient security against the inclemency of the weather, yet the windows, which are cut in the front wall, and look into the square, are destitute of glass, or any other defense that does not at the same time exclude the light.[24]

Once inside Sal's dwelling, Vancouver judged the main compartment in the quarters to be thirty-feet long by fourteen-feet wide, with a twelve-foot ceiling and the other compartment to be of approximately equal size except a bit shorter. The floor consisted of packed earth raised about three feet from its original level. The inside walls showed evidence of having been whitewashed at one time. Moreover, he found spare and simple furnishings the rule, stating that Señora Sal received him seated cross-legged on a mat placed on a small wooden platform raised three or four inches from the ground. Vancouver indicated this was common practice.

After sharing some refreshments with Sal and his family, including the three children who struck the Englishmen as well-

24. Ibid., 709.

behaved and educated, Vancouver took a horseback tour of the immediate area. On his ride, the Englishman found the presidio to be situated on, "a plain surrounded by hills. This plain is by no means dead flat, but of unequal surface; the soil is of a sandy nature. . . ." Vancouver likewise spied several flocks of sheep and some cattle as well as saw that two small truck gardens existed outside the post, but it seemed that the soldiers expended little labor on their upkeep. The captain concluded that this bespoke "of the inactive spirit of the people, and the unprotected state of the establishment at this port, which I should conceive ought to be a principal object of the Spanish crown, as a key barrier to their more southern and valuable settlements on the borders of the North Pacific."[25] Ironically, the British naval officer reached a correct conclusion about the presidio's strategic importance as a buffer to the Borderlands, yet Spanish officials regularly overlooked this fact as evidenced by the lack of response to requests for additional resources.

After Vancouver's survey, Sal, his family, and some other ladies of the garrison dined on board *Discovery*. The next day, Vancouver accepted an invitation to visit Mission Dolores. A few days later, on November 20, he even went with seven of his officers on a three-day excursion to Santa Clara, being the first Europeans other than the Spanish to penetrate into the interior of California. When they returned on November 23, the British found their sister ship, H.M.S. *Chatham*, in port.[26] Archibald Menzies, the naturalist on board *Discovery*, made similar observations to those of Vancouver about the appearance of the post stating that they "entered through a breech in the Wall" to a square which measured approximately "four hundred yards on each side, walled in on three sides with Turf or Mortar Wall of twelve or fourteen feet high rudely fenced in on the other or eastern side

25. Ibid., 709-711. Sal told the governor that he could not salute *Chatham* when the ship arrived on November 22 because, by that point, he had no functioning ordnance and none of the guns promised by Bodega y Quadra had been delivered. Hermenegildo Sal to José Arrillaga, San Francisco, November 30, 1792, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, Sacramento, LIV: 306.

26. Alice Eastwood, ed., "Archibald Menzies' California Journal of the Vancouver Expedition," *California Historical Society Quarterly* II (January 1927): 270–271, 275.

with a dead hedge." The buildings were made of large earthen bricks incorporated with straw or grass and with roofs thatched with coarse long grass and bullrushes. He pronounced the quarters and warehouses which lined the walls as, shabby and mean, while he found the commander's "own dwelling could hardly be distinguished from the rest. . . ." Menzies also mentioned that a small cannon lashed to a log at the entrance of the port was the only defense. He regretted that he had arrived at a time of year when the plants were not in bloom as their were many species which he did not recognize and would have been interested in observing.

Although the botanical aspects were not as successful as hoped for, the ship did take on more supplies. Vancouver offered to pay for what they had acquired, but Sal declined because Bodega authorized some of the goods and, as comandante, he personally donated the remainder to the British as a gesture of good faith. Sal did accept a few implements and ornaments from Vancouver, as well as two hogsheads of liquor, one of rum and one of wine, to be distributed among the people of the presidio and the missions.[27] With the friendly exchange over, on November 26, 1792, the pair of British ships departed for Monterey.[28]

The after-effects of Vancouver's visit proved many and varied. The governor ad interim, José Arrillaga, twice reprimanded Sal, once for permitting Alférez José Pérez Fernández to go to

27. Sal provided eleven cows, seven sheep, and ten *arrobas* of *manteca* (lard) by order of the commander at San Blas, Juan de la Bodega y Quadra. He also turned over an additional two beeves, a pair of calves, four more sheep, one-hundred and ninety calabashes (pumpkins or squash), ten sacks of vegetables, one cart full of vegetables, a large number of fowls, and four hundred eggs. Hermenegildo Sal to Governor Arrillaga, San Francisco, November 30, 1792, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, Sacramento, LIV: 304; Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 510–511. Vancouver wrote to Governor Arrillaga with his regrets for not being able to pay for the bounty received both at San Francisco and Monterey, but Arrillaga replied that the Englishman should not trouble himself over the matter. This generosity also removed any pretext for Vancouver's return to obtain additional supplies. Arrillaga informed his commanders along the coast that there would be no need to cooperate in the future with the British naval officer as he would be using the pretext of obtaining food or water to gain intelligence about the countryside. Only in cases of urgency should foreign vessels be allowed access to any of the Spanish ports. Ibid., 521. Following this line of reasoning, Sal did not allow the next English ship bound for Nootka to remain long in port. Hermenegildo Sal to José Arrillaga, San Francisco, March 16, 1793, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, Sacramento, LIV: 262–264.

28. Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 510–511.

Monterey on Vancouver's frigate, and a second time for permitting the British to gain such an extensive knowledge of the weak state of San Francisco's defenses.[29]

Regardless of this censure, Comandante Sal at last received the much sought after strengthening of the presidial district which he previously had requested to no avail. The sudden interest of high level Spanish officials in the state of San Francisco's defenses began in earnest with a proposal to establish a new settlement at Bodega Bay. The governor traveled north to see the progress for himself but certain problems impeded the Bodega project. After only two weeks, the Spanish abandoned their efforts there while Arrillaga decided to divert the supplies and men provided for the settlement to the erection of a fortification the viceroy also had ordered for San Francisco. The site on the heights overlooking the harbor's entrance, originally chosen by Anza in 1776, once again had been selected. At first, Sal took charge of the project but heavy winter rains temporarily halted activity for two months.[30]

For all the good intentions, by 1793, only a temporary earthwork with six mounted guns had appeared. Consequently, when H.M.S. *Chatham* again dropped anchor in the bay on October 19, one of these on board, naturalist Archibald Menzies, commented, "eight long brass four-pounders" lay on the beach, but

29. Ibid., 514; Hermenegildo Sal to José Joaquín Arrillaga, San Francisco, December 31, 1792, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, Sacramento, LIV: 52. José Joaquín de Arrillaga came from Aya, in the Basque Province of Guipuzcoa, where he was born in 1750. A bachelor, he came to Nueva España as a member of the Volunteer Company of the Presidio of San Miguel de Horcasitas in Sonora, serving there from May 25, 1777 through March 30, 1778, when his promotion to alférez brought a transfer to duty in Texas. He continued to rise in rank. As a captain, he transferred to the Presidio of Loreto in Baja California to assume dual assignments as commander of that post and as lieutenant governor of the Californias, assignments he held from 1783 through 1792. On April 9 of that year, he assumed the position as governor ad interim of the Californias and remained in this capacity until May 14, 1794, when Diego de Borica replaced him. Again, between January 16, 1800 and March 26, 1804, he fulfilled this same duty. In between time, he continued as lieutenant governor and commander at Loreto. He became a lieutenant-colonel on December 15, 1794, and a colonel sometime in either 1809 or 1810. Arrillaga died at Mission Nuestra Señora de la Soledad, on July 24, 1814. Nuttall, "The Gobernantes," 275–276.

30. George Tays, "Castillo de San Joaquín, Registered Landmark #82" (Unpublished Ms for the State of California, Department of Natural Resources, Division of Parks, 1936), contains further details on the subject of this defense work. Later, Sal asked that material originally slated for the defunct Bodega Bay project be diverted to the San Francisco. Hermenegildo Sal to José Arrillaga, San Francisco, July 25, 1794, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, VI: 348.

the "battery for the defense of the Harbour remained unfinished."[31] Vancouver himself recorded counting eleven dismounted cannon, thought to be 9-pounders, and a large supply of shot of various sizes. He further commented that the Spanish worked along with many Indians atop the cliff at the harbor's entrance where they appeared to be erecting a barbette battery. He could only speculate on this from a distance as Sal, although evidently rather chagrined by his orders, restricted the English in their movements on this second visit, based upon Arrillaga's reminder that foreigners were not welcome in California.[32] For all this, Vancouver estimated that only 400 soldiers served from Loreto to San Francisco, "the most northern Presidio." Of these, he again noted that only about thirty-six men at arms garrisoned the Bay Area. While he found all of these men "very expert horsemen, and, so far as their numbers extend, are well qualified to support themselves against any domestic insurrection; but are totally incapable of making any resistance against a foreign invasion."[33] Once more, the savvy Englishman's words hit the mark.

Conversely, Vancouver and Menzies incorrectly recorded the number and caliber of the guns scheduled to serve as a protection for the harbor because they only spied a temporary earthworks on their landing.[34] This structure was to be replaced by

31. Eastwood, "Archibald Menzies' Journal," 306–307

32. Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 518–521; Zoeth S. Eldredge, *The Beginnings of San Francisco*, 2 vols. (San Francisco: The Century Company, 1912), II: 720; Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery*, ed. by Lamb, III: 1076-1078. The English accepted another 737 pesos worth of supplies on credit during this second visit and then went on to Monterey after only about four days in San Francisco. Hermenegildo Sal to José Arrillaga, San Francisco, October 22, 1793, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, Sacramento, LIV: 202–203.

33. Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery*, ed. by Lamb, III: 1132. Vancouver could also have noted that only 144 souls made up the entire Hispanic population at the presidio in 1792. Donald C. Cutter, *California in 1792: A Spanish Naval Visit* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 34.

34. It appears that neither Menzies nor Vancouver correctly counted the number or type of the guns at that time. One official Spanish report listed eight bronze 12-pounders at San Francisco and a like number at Monterey, along with seven 6-pounders for San Diego and two more for Santa Barbara. There were also 800 cannon balls on hand at San Francisco at the same time. Report, José Arrillaga, Monterey, March 8, 1794, Californias, AGN, legajo 49 #1, 3325 (Microfilm), University of New Mexico, Albuquerque. This last figure agrees with an earlier report which stated that 234 cannon balls of four and twelve pounds had been distributed and 800 remained on hand. There were also thirty stands of grapeshot or canister, fifty-two arrobas and seven ounces of powder, twenty-one arrobas and ten ounces of lead foil for wrapping flints, seven arrobas and 24 ounces of musket balls, 3,065 musket cartridges made-up, and 244 flints. The remainder of the ordnance stores had been distributed for use. Report of Hermenegildo

a more permanent work consisting of ten-feet thick embrasures on the seaward side of adobe faced with brick and mortar. Behind this stood an esplanade on which the heavy guns with their four-wheeled siege-type carriages rested. The esplanade, made of heavy timbers, had a plank flooring about twenty-feet wide, held together by nine-inch spikes. On the land side, the walls of unfaced adobe stood only five-feet thick. There, lighter guns on two-wheeled carriages sat on the ground.[35] Superintendent of construction for the Department of San Blas, Francisco Gómez, provided his expertise. Master gunner Don José Garaicochea directed the placement of the cannon. These men and three sawyers had come up from Mexico aboard the *Aranzazú* bound for Bodega Bay before being reassigned to the *castillo*.[36] Antonio Santos also arrived with the ship and took charge of the manufacture of tile and burnt brick.[37] The masters worked with Christian Indians provided by the missions and non-converted native people brought up from the area around Santa Clara. Woodchoppers went into the hills west of San Mateo for timber, going a distance of more than ten leagues to secure the redwood. It took about a week to bring back the lumber, weather permitting, while twenty-three yoke of oxen hauled the material northward.[38] Additionally, the laborers made many bricks and tiles before the rains halted work in January 1794.

At this point, Alférez José Pérez Fernández replaced Sal as

Sal, San Francisco, December 31, 1793, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, Sacramento, LIV: 463. A slightly later document noted that the same amount of canister remained on hand but that the cannon balls had been reduced to 767. Also, four arrobas of fuse was available for the seven twelve-pounders and one 8-pounder with their carriages. Evidently, the first statement that there were eight 12-pound pieces was in error. Finally, complete artillery implements, including rammers, swabs, powder scoops, and worms formed part of the inventory. Report of Diego de Borica, Monterey, March 3, 1795, Californias, AGN, legajo 9, 1625, Microfilm, University of New Mexico.

35. Tays, "Castillo de San Joaquín," 10–11.

36. Hermenegildo Sal to José Joaquín Arrillaga, San Francisco, July 25, 1793, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, Sacramento, LIV: 342.

37. José Pérez Fernández to Governor Diego de Borica, San Francisco, December 9, 1794, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, VII: 26.

38. Hermenegildo Sal to Governor José Antonio Romeu, San Francisco, March 4, 1792, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, VI: 53; José Pérez Fernández to Governor José Antonio Romeu, San Francisco, January 30, 1794 and March 1, 1794, ibid.

nominal director of work on the fort.[39] Timber felling went well and as soon as the workers received the requested boats and other associated implements, the lumber could be brought to the fort. This fact indicated that the beams and boards from the hills would be hauled overland and then probably floated to the beach between the presidio and the castillo. Even before this, a half dozen cannon had been placed and stood ready for action on the partially completed esplanade, although Pérez Fernández admitted the use of incorrect size timbers in its construction.

In early March 1794, when the rains ceased, efforts resumed. Pérez Fernández sent Sergeant Amador to San Jose to obtain non-Christianized Indians for heavy work, because they provided the only available labor force. They received a daily allotted wage, plus a pair of cotton breeches and a blanket as a bonus. Occasionally, difficulties arose from their employment because some of them ran away, causing the Spaniards either to give chase or find replacements. By April, seventy-eight Indians toiled on the castillo, including some thirty Christian Indians. All but one of the latter group, the sole volunteer, reported as a punishment for stubbornness or other infractions against the padres. There were also eight neophytes from Mission Santa Clara while the rest came from the local non-Christian inhabitants. The money and clothing earned by the mission Indians went back to the padres for disbursement. A sergeant, corporal, and two soldiers supervised the work of this group, who chiefly kept occupied at adobe brick making at the rate of 1,500 daily. Others cut wood. Before long, they provided fifty-two large square timbers for the esplanade's completion.[40]

While construction progressed at a steady rate, the viceroy changed his mind about the fort's construction, considering its cost excessive. For once, the long delays in communication with Mexico City worked to the advantage of the *Californios*. The viceroy's

39. Little is known of this officer save that Bancroft states he arrived in California some time after 1790 as a sergeant. Because he could not read or write, he received a promotion to ensign and came to the Presidio of San Francisco as acting commander while Sal rotated to Monterey.

40. Hermenegildo Sal to José Arrillaga, San Francisco, April 30, 1794, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, VII: 74–75.

instructions to stop construction of the fort took six months to reach Monterey. By that time, mid-June 1794, the governor replied that with completion so near, it seemed wise to finish the project. In his opinion no ship could enter or leave San Francisco once the fort stood as a guardian while enemy cannon from ships could not damage the fort to any great extent because of its superior construction. With enough artillery and artillerymen, San Francisco would be safe from foreigners once and for all.

Thus, ignoring the viceroy, California's leaders took local defense matters into their own hands. Consequently, with all the heavy masonry and timber work completed, after an expenditure of 6,400 pesos, 4 reales, and 7 granos, acting commander Pérez Fernández dedicated the new Castillo de San Joaquín.[41] On December 8, 1794, the priests of the mission said mass and chanted the *Te Deum*. Musket volleys and cannon fire concluded the festivities. Afterwards, the comandante saw to it that final details, including installing the flooring and gun racks in the barracks, the sentry box of the fortified tower, and the door of the messroom, also reached completion.[42] The commander summarized that the artillery had been set in place at small expense, the task requiring only two days for the Indian work-force. Soldiers accomplished the remainder of the job at no additional cost above their normal salary. A yoke of oxen from the presidio provided extra muscle. Only a few details remained to be received, including two boxes of eight-or nine-inch spikes so the roof could be nailed on and doors and windows from San Blas to enclose the buildings.[43] Additionally, the governor requested more artillery, writing to request four more 12-pounders and three 24-pounders along with carriages, implements, fuses, powder, cable, lead base plates for the primer mechanisms, burlap wrapped cartridges in 8, 12, and 24-pound calibers, and regular cannon balls for the 12-and 24-pounders.[44]

41. José Fernández Pérez to Diego de Borica, San Francisco, January 31, 1795, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, Sacramento, LIV: 52–53. The total cost increased with additional work to 6,503 pesos, 4 reales and 7 granos. Manuel Carcaba to Viceroy Branciforte, Mexico, January 5, 1796, Californias, AGN, legajo 9, 1648 (Microfilm), University of New Mexico.

42. The forgoing information represents a synthesis of Tays, "Castillo de San Joaquín," 9–17.

43. José Pérez Fernández to José Arrillaga, San Francisco, January 31, 1794, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, VII: 68.

44. Report of Diego de Borica, Monterey, March 3, 1795, Californias, AGN, legajo 9, 1624, Microfilm, University of New Mexico.

While improvements moved forward on coastal defenses, the extent of the accomplishment remained in doubt because the castillo progressed at the expense of the presidio's well being.[45] For one thing, the large number of marriages during this period created more families than shelters to house them. Pérez Fernández thought it wise to complete some new dwellings, as well as to repair old ones. He especially felt that the home of the second officer required the most attention. Because this was Pérez Fernández' own residence, the statement may have been self-serving.[46] Of more importance, the acting comandante examined the powder magazine after a heavy rain and found several leaks. He wanted tiles to protect the ordnance and recommended covering the powder barrels with hides as a further precaution. Adding to the problem, the oven to fire tiles had a crack in it, running from top to bottom on one side. This meant that a solution to the problem of leaking roofs was not immediate. Moreover, the sandy nature of the soil in the immediate vicinity resulted in inferior tiles and bricks being produced.[47] Perhaps the 1794 distribution of 1,200 pesos to troops engaged in presidial construction during the previous decade caused some to consider turning to such labors once again.[48] Even if so inclined, the soldados found little time for building.

Frequently throughout the period, missionaries of the district called upon soldiers for aid in controlling the Indians. Still not enough men could be found to perform this duty, so the escolta at Mission Dolores dwindled to three soldiers although the number of troops at Mission Santa Clara had increased from five to eight.[49] When, in 1794, the padres asked for soldiers to help round-up prospective converts on the eastern side of the Bay,

45. Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 697n.

46. José Pérez Fernández to Interim Governor José Joaquín Arrillaga, San Francisco, January 31, 1794, *Archives of California*, State Papers, VII: 67. Since the structure had only been constructed the previous year, according to Hermenegildo Sal to José Arrillaga, San Francisco, April 29, 1793, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, Sacramento, LIV: 407, one wonders how far the place had deteriorated in such a short period of time.

47. José Pérez Fernández to José Arrillaga, San Francisco, February 1, 1794, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, VII: 57 and ibid., February 28, 1794, 58.

48. Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 533. Actually, this increase brought no wild enthusiasm since no money changed hands: the bonus pay was credited to the accounts of soldiers for their supplies, thereby failing to put scarce specie in their hands.

49. José Pérez Fernández to José Arrillaga, San Francisco, January 1, 1794, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, VII: 78.

Pérez Fernández could not oblige. At that time, his command totaled thirty-five effectives, spread out from San Francisco to Santa Cruz.[50] Indeed, early in 1795, the presidio's immediate complement amounted to only two corporals and six privates, all of the latter being sick, detailed elsewhere, or assigned to semi-permanent sentry duty for minor breaches of discipline.[51] When anyone became ill or injured no replacements existed. A man who had applied for retirement could not be released either, as no one could be found to take his place.[52]

By 1795, a lieutenant, José Argüello, who served on detached duty at Monterey, an alférez (who doubled as commander) and habilitado, one sergeant, four corporals, and thirty-one soldiers formed the strength of the San Francisco presidial district.[53]

With these figures, little wonder that in September 1795, 280 neophyte men and women felt confident enough to run off from Mission Dolores. Their numbers included several who had lived

50. José Pérez Fernández to Interim Governor José Joaquín Arrillaga, San Francisco, January 1, 1794; José Joaquín Arrillaga to Governor Diego de Borica, San Francisco, November 30, 1794, ibid., 78 and 29–30, respectively.

51. Report of Pedro Amador, San Francisco, January 1, 1795, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, VII: 361 and Hermenegildo Sal to Diego de Borica, San Francisco, January 1, 1795, ibid., 375–376.

52. José Pérez Fernández to Diego de Borica, San Francisco, January 22, 1795, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, VII: 378–379. Only one of the corporals, Bartolo Pacheco, could write even passably. José Pérez Fernández to Diego de Borica, San Francisco, February 1, 1795, ibid., 381. Earlier, the comandante attempted to rectify the situation by requesting a soldier from Santa Barbara who could read and write to be promoted and sent to fill a corporal's vacancy at San Francisco. Another corporal, Nicolás Galindo, the man who requested retirement in 1794, may have found his replacement when his fifteen-year old son enlisted for ten years. José Pérez Fernández to Diego de Borica, San Francisco, July 4, 1795, ibid., Provincial State Papers, Sacramento, LIV: 23.

53. The ensign was José Pérez Fernández, Pedro Amador a fifty-three-year-old veteran of thirty years served as sergeant. Miguel Pacheco, Luis Peralta, Manuel Boronda, and Alejo Miranda performed as corporals over privates José Aceves, Pablo Aceves, Ignacio Alviso, Juan Alviso, Apolinario Bernal, Francisco Bernal, Joaquín Bernal, Juan Bernal, Francisco Bojórques, José Castillo, Francisco Flores, Isidro Flores, José Rafael Galindo, Venancio Galindo, Juan García, Ignacio Higuera, José Higuera, Juan José Higuera, Salvador Higuera, Ramón Linares, Joaquín Mesa, Bartolo Pacheco, Pedro Peralta, José Rosales, José Sánchez, I, José Sánchez, II, Francisco Soto, Francisco Valencia, and José Vizcarra. In addition, retired alférez Ramón Lasso and inválidos Gabriel Peralta (corporal), and Justo Altamirano, Ramón Bojórques, Ignacio Linares, and Ignacio Soto (privates) were carried on the rolls. Habilitado's Report, San Francisco, December 31, 1795, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, Sacramento, LIV: 8–10; ibid., March 1, 1795, 445; ibid., December 31, 1795, 56. See Appendix C for other examples. One cannot help but notice the many men who were fathers, sons, or brothers of other soldiers in the same garrison, not to mention several who were related by marriage. Since the soldados made up the mainstay of the gente de razon in Alta California this situation was common throughout the Spanish presence in the territory.

at the place for a long time. Troops could do little to respond, and lacking a sufficient force to pursue these run-aways, recapture proved all but impossible.[54]

In 1795, Indians living at Mission Santa Clara also tried to escape, but the escolta, having been increased slightly during the previous year, managed to organize an expedition to go after the deserters. Sergeant Amador headed off with a corporal and seven lancers. After three days of rounding up the runaways and a horse thief they managed to pick up, the "posse" returned. The captives faced whippings and a month of labor at the presidio, probably wearing shackles for the duration of their punishment.[55]

A tribunal in Mexico suggested that this situation had to stop. Members of this review committee recognized:

> California troops have duties distinct from other soldiers of the kingdom and suffer fatigues that do not belong to their profession, such as courier, vaquero, farmer, shepherd, laborer which barely leave them time for necessary rest. It is necessary to relieve them from these various duties, so that they may carry out their proper duty of promoting the spiritual conquest of the Peninsula.

The report concluded that the government "should appoint regular vaqueros, shepherds, and butchers so that the soldiers may be freed to encourage the mission and start new ones. . . ."[56]

All this sounded wonderful in theory but in practice the winter which followed saw no such revolutionary change for the

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54. José Pérez Fernández to Diego de Borica, San Francisco, September 13, 1795, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, VII: 375–376. Previously, the commander attempted to dissuade the local missionaries from looking for converts in the East Bay as not enough troops could be had to protect the priests as they went into this unexplored region. José Pérez Fernández to Diego de Borica, San Francisco, November 1794, ibid., VII: 29–30.

55. Report of Sergeant Pedro Amador, February 14, 1795, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, VII: 31–32; José Pérez Fernández to Governor Diego de Borica, San Francisco, March 20, 1795, ibid., Provincial State Papers, Sacramento, LIV: 31–32. In 1797, violence broke out at Mission Dolores with corresponding military expeditions and punishments against the Indians. José Pérez Fernández to Governor Diego de Borica, San Francisco, ibid., IX: 39–40, 77–79. Rumors of unrest at Mission Santa Clara and outbreaks in Marin during the period 1794 through 1800 occasionally caused soldiers to take to the field. Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 547–549.

56. Report of Real Tribunal Audencia de la Contaduria Mayor de Cuentas to the Viceroy, Mexico, November 18, 1795, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, VII: 397–404. The same rationale prompted Governor Borica to underscore the need for vaqueros and settlers to be brought from New Spain so that the soldiers could concentrate on their strictly martial duties. Governor Borica to Viceroy Branciforte, Monterey, August 4, 1796 in Expediente sobre la eleccion de la Villa de Branciforte en la Nueva California, 1796–1803, W.B. Stevens Collection, University of Texas Library, Austin.

troops or their surroundings. In fact, with every rain thatched-roofed adobes disintegrated. Local officials attempted to convince the governor to abandon the Presidio of San Francisco in favor of a more advantageous spot near Cantil Blanco. The site was to be about 481 varas from the battery rather than the 2,889 varas which separated the castillo from the main post, perhaps on the level plain where the parade ground now exists for Fort Winfield Scott. Governor Diego de Borica visited San Francisco and determined that 11,716 pesos would be required for the relocation and construction of the new presidio.[57] On June 27, 1795, he recommended that the funds be allotted to this end, also noting that, since 1776, the continual rebuilding at the old presidial site cost some 8,188 pesos, yet the structures could topple at any moment.[58] In fact, gales damaged the chapel and one of the houses early the next year while the poorly constructed warehouse (presumably a wooden edifice) represented a fire hazard and had to be replaced by one of stone or adobe by the late 1790s.[59] While all these reasons pointed to a need for a new post, the viceroy denied the governor's proposal to relocate and start anew due to the high costs, the distance to water, sandy ground, and exposure to winds and storms found at the proposed area behind the castillo.[60] As a result, San Francisco's garrison had to remain content with their lot. Then, in 1796, relief seemed on its way.

57. Another Basque from the province of Vizcaya, Borica became a cadet in the Infantry Regiment of Seville at age twenty-one. He served in this unit from March 15, 1763 through July 31, 1764, when his appointment as a lieutenant of the Infantry Regiment of America brought him to New Spain. For a decade he served in Mexico until a transfer to the cavalry, in 1774, brought him to Santa Fe, New Mexico. Thereafter, he performed a number of duties, eventually earning the rank of lieutenant colonel on February 5, 1785, and only twelve days later became a colonel. The year before he came to California as governor, a post he held from May 14, 1795 through January 6, 1800. He returned to New Spain on a leave of absence because of ill-health and died in Durango on July 19, 1800. Nuttall, "Gobernantes," 276–277.

58. The governor had examined the post and found it reduced to one four-room house for the commander and a dwelling for the habilitado, both of which threatened to fall down, plus thirteen small one-room quarters for the troops, a small chapel, a warehouse for grain, and a guardia, all of which, except the *habilitación*, had tule roofs which the winds carried off. Governor Borica to Viceroy, San Francisco, June 27, 1795, Bancroft Reference Notes, Presidio of San Francisco 1790s, Tomo VI: 51.

59. Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 697n.

60. Ibid., 697; Pedro de Alberni to Diego Borica, San Francisco, June 20, 1796, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, Sacramento, LIV: 361 and Alberto Córdoba to Diego Borica, San Francisco, July 20, 1796, ibid., 362.

In late March and early April of that year, Alta California became the home of the special infantry unit from Spain popularly known as the Catalonian Volunteers.[61] Most of the unit arrived aboard the *Valdes* and *San Carlos* with their leader, longtime veteran Lieutenant-Colonel Pedro de Alberni.[62] After three decades of service from Mexico to Nootka Sound, this organization played a new role in Spain's final major effort at increasing settlement and commerce for the protection of California. The dispatching of the Catalonians formed only part of an ambitious undertaking which sought an enhanced Spanish presence in the province. Other features of this plan included the establishment of batteries at the main ports of San Diego, Monterey, and San Francisco with eight 12-pounder cannon each.[63] Among other objectives, the Catalonian infantrymen were to provide

61. Joseph P. Sanchez, *Spanish Bluecoats: The Catalonian Volunteers in Northwestern New Spain* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990), provides an excellent overview of this military organization.

62. Alberni was born about 1745 to Jaime de Alberni and Josefa Texador in Tortosa, Catalonia. He married Juana Velez of Tepic and she bore his daughter. His military life began in 1757, while he was but twelve. By 1762, he served as a cadet in the Second Light Infantry Regiment of Catalonia. Over the next five years he rose to second sergeant and first sergeant. With that rank, he volunteered for service in the New World, where he went in 1767 as a sub-lieutenant in "the newly organized Company of Catalonian Volunteers." After a stint in Sonora on campaigns, from 1771 through 1781, Alberni, "served in the garrisons at Guadalajara in Jalisco and Mesa del Tonati in Nayarit. In 1782, Alberni assumed command of the Volunteers. . . ." At that point, his rather ordinary career transformed into a more important one. After eight years as captain of the company, he and his eighty men received orders for Nootka where they were, "to guard Spanish vessels and reestablish fortifications. . . ." Alberni received the title of commandant of arms and governor of the fort. Alberni's two years in the Northwest demonstrated his many abilities. Alberni returned to New Spain where he attended, "to his family and soldierly duties" until 1795. In that year, war with France stimulated action on Spain's part to send reinforcements to California. In 1796, Alberni headed some seventy-five men and became the commander at the San Francisco presidial district. As a lieutenant colonel in the Spanish army he was the highest ranking military man in the Californias. He remained in the Bay Area until 1800 when he relocated to Monterey as comandante. Alberni died there on March 11, 1802 from dropsy, leaving all his estate to his widow as their daughter had died earlier. Ibid., *passim*.

63. Eventually, four forts protected the corresponding Presidios of Alta California, including one named "Guijarros" in San Diego and castillos at Monterey (built c. 1794) and Santa Barbara (perhaps dating from the Mexican period in 1830). Additionally, in 1775, Bodega y Quadra had set up a temporary fortification at the bay that bore his name. In the late 1790s, another *batería* came into being to protect the Yerba Buena anchorage. Finally, in 1817, the governor ordered another battery built in Monterey, possibly to repel a threatened invasion by Bouchard. For an interesting comparison between San Francisco and Monterey see Diane Spencer-Hancock and William E. Pritchard, "El Castillo De Monterey Frontline of Defense: Uncovering the Spanish Presence in Alta California," *California History*, LXII (Summer 1984): 230–240.

reinforcements to the leather jacket soldiers.[64] The viceroy's authorization of more artillery, an engineer officer (Alberto Córdoba), three armorers to be classed as soldiers at 217.50 pesos per annum, and seventeen to eighteen artillerymen, with seven gunners assigned to San Francisco under Sergeant José Roca, indicated a willingness on the part of Spanish officials generally to follow this course of action.[65] The catalyst for this activity was war between Spain and France which began in the late eighteenth-century as the former allies now turned against each other with the rise of republicanism and Napoleon Bonaparte.[66]

Moreover, the Catalonians formed part of a scheme to establish a combined civilian-military community, the Villa de Branciforte, south of the Bay Area in present-day Santa Cruz.[67] This

64. Pablo Sánchez, a military officer, Salvador Fidalo of the Spanish Navy, and Miguel Costansó, an engineer officer who had been with Portolá in 1769–1770, served as the committee's members. See Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 534–535, and Miguel Costansó to the Marques de Branciforte, Mexico, October 17, 1794, Papeles referentes a México, No. 19266, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.

65. The actual number of artillery and workers exceeded this amount. In fact, Roca headed a detachment of a dozen and a half workers, artificers, and artillerymen sent out from San Blas for San Francisco. He and Private Mariano Brito were the only married men. The majority of the force hailed from Mexico, except for Roca, another native of Catalonia from the town of Tarrega, Second Corporal Gregorio Martínez of Cadíz, Juan Marine of Tarrega in Catalonia, and two workmen, the carpenter Rafael Lledo of Palma and the artificer Francisco Monteverde from Genoa, Italy. The rest of the group included Miguel Brito, José Cano, Matías Guerrero, José Medina, José Osorio, José Sarco, and José Villaseñor (all artificers and workmen) along with artillerymen José Francisco Argüelles (first corporal), Mariano Mercado, José Peña, and Juan Zúñiga. Most of the men were in their early to mid-twenties, with the exception of one seventeen-year-old (Monteverde), two nineteen-year-olds (Mercado and Medina), Roca who was thirty-seven, and Lledo who was forty-four. Report, Pedro Laguna, Royal body of Artillery, Department of New Spain, Mexico, October 15, 1795, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, VII: 289; Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 535–536.

Of Córdoba, or Córdova as it also was spelled, little is known. He held the rank of *ingeneriо extraordinario* (lieutenant) in the elite Royal Engineers when he came to California, remaining until the autumn of 1798. He performed many diverse tasks while in the province before his return to Mexico.

66. The crown called for voluntary contributions to help the war effort in Europe. The people of the San Francisco district gave 707 pesos, the second highest amount after that provided by Santa Barbara and Los Angeles (980 pesos, 4 reales). Governor Borica also contributed 1,000 pesos, a sum which represented one-quarter of his annual pay. No name, March 12, 1796, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, Sacramento, LIV: 500.

67. In addition to the company's captain, Lieutenant Colonel Alberni, the roster of Catalonian Volunteers dispatched to San Francisco included First Sergeant Joaquín Tico, Drummer Juan Tico, First Corporals Francisco Rubiol and Claudio Galindo, Second Corporal José Miranda, and Privates José Alari, José Barrientos, Manual Martínez, Diego Gálvez, José Palafox, José Gómez, José Murmanto, Juan Maldonado, Miguel Mendoza, Alejo González, José Acosta, Faustino Icequera, José Martínez, Juan Manuel de la Vega, José González, Juan Alvarez, José

establishment would "be populated by Catalonian Volunteers who. . . , finished with their term of service or not, wished to remain in California" along with retired soldiers from the presidios, landless people from Los Angeles and San Jose, plus *vecinos* (inhabitants or settlers) from New Spain.[68] For this reason, Alberni had hand-picked his force from two different companies of Catalonians in order to take men who were, "strong, robust, well-behaved, married (for the greater part, if possible)," and supplied them with new arms and outfits.[69]

The Catalonian Volunteers were dressed and accoutered in

María Serrano, José Espinosa, Benancio Ruelas, and Manuel Mallen. Pedro de Alberni, Roster of Catalonian Volunteers at San Francisco, San Francisco, May 30, 1796, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, Benicia Military, XVI: 53–54. The two other officers (Lieutenant José Font and Sub-lieutenant Simón Suárez), two second sergeants, five corporals, one drummer and the remaining thirty-nine privates went to San Diego, Monterey, and other assignments around the province, including twenty-five who served with Font at San Diego and eight who stayed with Suárez at Monterey. Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 540–541.

68. Guest, "Villa de Branciforte," 36. Under the plan for the Villa, when a Catalonian's enlistment ran out he could not reenter the military. Instead, he would become a landowner, take up farming, and form the basis of a militia as well in times of emergency. In turn, recruits from New Spain would fill the vacancy left be each retiring or departing Volunteer. Sanchez, *Spanish Bluecoats*, 148–149. To encourage enlistment within the province a directive went forward allowing anyone of sixteen years of age or older to join. Hermenegildo Sal to Gabriel Moraga, Monterey, October 24, 1796, San Jose Archives, II: 73, Bancroft Reference Notes, General Military, California, 1790s.

More than a year later, a report went forward with the names of all the young men in the San Jose military. The document included comments about what family they came from; whether they had any brothers who could assist the family if they entered the army, and like considerations. Anonymous Report, San Jose, September 29, 1797, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, VIII: 346–348. This latter document no doubt reflected the belief that either France, and later Great Britain, might attempt to strike San Francisco and seize it from Spain. For this reason, Argüello was to distribute muskets, cartridge boxes, and flints to those invalided soldiers and vecinos who had none. Governor Borica to José Argüello, San Francisco, April 20, 1797, Provincial State Papers, XVI: 55, Bancroft Reference Notes, Presidio of San Francisco, 1790s. For those inválidos who had not moved to a pueblo, they would not be allowed to move to ranches. If they remained at a presidio, they had to take their turn at guard. Governor Borica to Presidio Commanders, Monterey, October 15, 1797, ibid., IV: 159–160.

69. Viceroy Branciforte to Governor Arrillaga, Mexico, July 25, 1795, Provincial State Papers, XII: 115–117, Bancroft Reference Notes, General California Military, 1790s. Alberni felt that any soldiers who left the military for the settlement should receive double the allowance given to civilians as bounty. He thought this only fair because the Volunteers had provided fifteen to twenty years of faithful service to the crown already. During that period they became used to a soldierly bearing which meant, after keeping their body erect for so many years, they would find it difficult to perform back-bending work with the axe, hoe, and plow. Pedro de Alberni to Diego de Borica, San Francisco, July 1, 1796, I: 368–369, Bancroft Reference Notes, State Papers Mission and Colonization, Presidio of San Francisco 1790s. The men also could enlist in a presidial company if they wished when their service expired with the Volunteers. Unmarried men were encouraged to wed christianized Indian women. Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 635*n*.

the manner of their Old World counterparts. The enlisted men were attired in long quilted blue overcoats faced with yellow standing collars and cuffs. They also received a practical knitted woolen headpiece similar to a sailor's "watch cap." A yellow waistcoat, black cravat, black footgear, and blue breeches, which matched the regimental coat, completed the basic outfit. A short-sleeved cloak common to Catalonia (the *gambeto*) could substitute as an outer garment. Silver or white metal buttons accented the regimental coats. Musicians displayed an extra bit of ornamentation in the form of red and white (the colors of the Bourbon monarchs) "royal livery." Officers wore a black tri-corn hat with scarlet cockade and silver lace trim. In addition to their hats, their coats were of finer material, featured a different type of collar, and displayed various rank devices to set them apart from the men.[70] As a lieutenant colonel in the Royal Army, Pedro de Alberni may have displayed two silver galloons (narrow, close-woven ribbon or braid) on each of his sleeves which ran horizontally above the cuffs. If not, he sported a pair of silver bullion epaulets as the commanding captain of the company. Lieutenants and ensigns serving with the unit wore the same type of silver bullion epaulets but as a single on the right shoulder for lieutenants and on the left shoulder for sub-lieutenants.[71]

Muzzle-loading muskets functioned as the main armament for the rank and file with the light infantry fusils, possibly of the 1752 pattern, being used as a weapon which was influenced by French and German designs of the period. Long belt knives or machetes and swords were issued. Pistols, at least for officers, were carried in a broad bandolier. Evidently, the enlisted men were not given these small arms. A cartridge box for twenty

70. Detmar H. Finke, "La Organización del Ejército en Nueva España," *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación*, XI (October-December 1940): 636; Abelardo Carrillo y Gariel, *El Traje en la Nueva España* (Mexico City, DF: Instituto Nacional de Antropologia e Historia, 1959), 178–179; and Joseph Hefter, coordinator, *Crónica del Traje Militar en México del siglo XVI al XX* (Mexico, DF: Artes de México, 1960), 38–39.

71. *Ordenanzas de S. M. Para El Regimen, Disciplina, Y Servicio de Sus Exercitos*, Tomo Primero (Madrid: Oficina, Impresor de la Secretaria del Despacho Universal de la Guerra, 1768), 312–314. The presidial officers were authorized the same type of insignia of rank but in gold for their gala or "full dress."

Figures 5–6. In the late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century, the blue uniforms with yellow facings of the Catalonian Volunteers (right) resembled the traditional European infantry of their era, as did the blue uniform with red facings of the artillerymen (below) assigned to the castillo. Museo del Ejército, Madrid.

rounds and sword belts, when required, completed the basic arms and equipment typical to the unit.[72]

Thus, these foot soldiers cut a very different figure from their colonial comrades, the leather jacket soldiers who continued to wear the cuera which, about this time, was undergoing replacement by a shorter pattern because the old style proved cumbersome, interfering with certain of the soldados' duties, especially herding cattle and horses, escort and mail delivery, and a number of other assignments not in a combat situation. Consequently, the new short *chupa* (a sort of waist jacket) made of *gamuza* (antelope hide) with cuffs and collars edged in felt or velveteen (*tripe*) of red and which closed with gilded metal buttons, was authorized. So, too, were antelope hide breeches with gilded buttons. "On feast days, while on guard at the presidios or when off duty," the troops had to "make use of the uniform strictly by royal regulation." The uniform for enlisted men continued to be essentially that prescribed in the previous decade complete with scarlet waistcoat, blue jacket with red cuffs and collar (no red lapels after 1794), blue breeches, black scarf, black hat, and with *botas de gamuza* (antelope-hide leggings). Another addition to the kit of this period consisted of the addition of a pair of small protective cushions on all saddles, each to contain a packet of additional cartridges, besides those in the cartridge box worn by each soldier. The heavy leather covering for horse's hindquarters (*anqueras*) likewise were done away with in that same year.[73]

72. Hefter, *Cronica del Traje*, 38, asserts the Catalonians sometimes carried a "brass foghorn for intercom use when operating in dispersed order or broken territory." Beerman and Elkinton, "A Listing of Personnel and Materials," 2, indicates that, in 1769, 109 mountain machetes and 6 swords came as part of the armament with Portolá, while 122 muskets and shotguns with bayonets and corresponding leather slings also were included. Similar types of weapons probably came in 1796. For more on the arms of the Catalonians see Sidney B. Brinckerhoff and Pierce A. Chamberlain, *Spanish Military Weapons in Colonial America, 1700–1821* (Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1972), 24–25.

73. Taken from Hermenegildo Sal to Comisionado, Monterey, June 2, 1797, San Jose Archives, II: 79, Bancroft Reference Notes, General California Military, 1790s; Teodoro de Croix to Felipe de Neve, Arizpe, September 22, 1780, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, Benicia Military, XV: 145–147; José Argüello to Diego de Borica, Monterey, December 17, 1794, ibid., Provincial State Papers, VII, 379; Diego de Borica to José Argüello, San Francisco, April 20, 1797, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, Benicia Military, XVI: 55–56, and José Pérez Fernández to Diego de Borica, San Francisco, December 9–10, 1794, ibid., Provincial State Papers, VII: 29. A large cloak (the *manga*) provided protection in bad weather, being worn over the accoutrements to keep them dry. Eastwood, "Archibald Menzies' Journal," 295.

Figure 7. In contrast to figures 5 and 6, soldados de cuera (bottom center), shown in this 1804 illustration with the chupa, botas, and large spurs, departed from Old World fashion of the period. In addition to the pistol seen at the rear of the saddle, the carbine partially appears at the pommel on the left side. The trooper also continued to carry the lance and shield, in the latter instance bearing the coat of arms of the Spanish monarch. Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla.

The Catalonians also differed from the leather jacket soldiers in that they normally served on foot, thereby not incurring the expense of purchasing and maintaining mounts. As a result, these infantrymen received less money than that provided for the presidial soldiers. A comparison of the annual salary of the 1790s reflects this differential. Alberni, the highest paid individual, as captain, earned 840 pesos per annum while Pérez Fernández, as an ensign, received 400 pesos. Enlisted allotments in pesos were as follows:

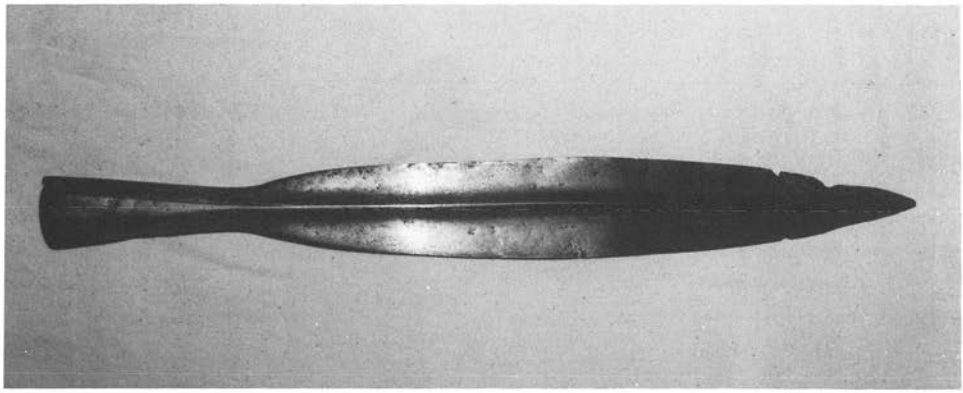


Figure 11. Examples of a lance head, an *adarga*, two *escopetas*, an *espada ancha*, and a bota are depicted in this exhibit as representative of the weapons carried in the eighteenth through nineteenth-century by soldiers throughout the Spanish Borderlands. Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Figures 8–10 (left, top to bottom). A lanza (lance) blade, ornate red with green trim waist-mounted *"caja" de cartuchos* (cartridge box), and a *pistola* typify some of the items carried by the soldados de cuera in the late 1700s and early 1800s. Autry Museum of Western Heritage, Los Angeles.

Rank	*Catalonian*	*Cuera*
sergeant	180–192 (lst and 2nd Sgt)	262
corporal	144–156 (lst and 2nd cpls)	225
private	132	217.50
drummer	144	(none authorized)[74]

The unequal pay scales for the two branches may be understood by reflecting on the costs cavalrymen bore for special accoutrements and mounts not required by the Catalonians. The cavalryman's lance might cost one peso and four reales, his saber two pesos, four reales, and the shield another two pesos. The cuera was valued at from ten pesos (used) to fifteen pesos for a new one. Each horse, of which the soldier kept several, required an expenditure of up to nine pesos, and mules would cost at least double that amount.[75] It should be noted that, by this period, unlike earlier times when shortages existed, all thirty-six soldados of the Presidio of San Francisco Company had cueras, cartridge boxes, carbines, swords, lances, and shields.[76]

74. Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 634*n*. Retirement pay amounted to 135 reales a month for an ensign with twenty-five years of service and 90 reales per month for sergeants with the same time in service. Sergeants with less than twenty-five years were to receive 80 reales and corporals or privates granted an invalído's certificate, were to have 64 reales (8 pesos) per month. Viceroy Branciforte to Governor de Borica, Mexico, August 9, 1796, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, VIII: 190–191. A soldier enlisted from ten to twelve years and could not retire until he had served a minimum of eighteen consecutive years in uniform. By 1799, pay for Upper California forces totaled between 73,889 pesos and 1 real to 80,107 pesos, depending on estimates used. See Diego de Borica, "Report of Officers, Troops. . . , Peninsula of Californias...," Monterey, March 18, 1799, Californias, XI: no page (Photostatic copy), University of New Mexico, AGN, and Viceroy to Governor of Californias, Mexico, August 21, 1798, Provincial State Papers, XVII: 35, Bancroft Reference Notes, General California Military, 1790s.

75. These figures are based upon the amounts allotted to a retiring soldier at the Presidio of Santa Barbara who turned in his kit for credit. The musket was valued at five to six pesos, the musket case at one, and the cartridge box at one peso and four reales. Unidentified Rosters, Santa Barbara, December 17 and 21, 1797, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, VIII: 244. Prices varied a bit since, three years earlier, retiring San Francisco trooper Justo Altamirano received twenty pesos credit for his cuera, five for his musket, plus nine pesos for five of his horses, eight for another, and seven for an unruly mount. José Pérez Fernández to Diego de Borica, San Francisco, December 1, 1794, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, VII: 35.

76. Report on Armament, José Argüello, San Francisco, December 31, 1797, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, Sacramento, LIV: 198. Argüello also noted that he had six arrobas of canister, 1,441 solid shot for calibers ranging from eight to twenty-four pounds, 223 arrobas of powder, 9,004 musket cartridges, an additional twelve arrobas of musket balls, and eight arrobas of lead. Report on Munitions, ibid. Some of the ordnance had been provided earlier in the decade since, in 1793, the presidios had a total of 161 muskets, 59 pistols, 177 swords, and 233 lances. Those numbers rose with a shipment that July from San Blas of another 158 muskets, 142 swords, and 96 lances valued at 2,650 pesos. Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 541*n*. Of these, evidently twenty-six carbines and eight swords went to San Francisco. Report on Arms Going to the Presidios of California, México, January 10, 1794, *Archives of Califor-*

Among the improvements of the 1790s were efforts to provide some formal education at the presidio. In the past, soldiers had been assigned as school teachers with limited success. For example, in 1791, a convict blacksmith taught at San Francisco. Years passed before Governor Borica, who took a personal interest in education, appointed the garrison's carpenter, Corporal Manuel Boronda, as the local instructor in addition to his other duties. The governor stressed that Christian doctrine would be studied first, "and afterward reading and writing would be taught. Paper was furnished by the habilitados, and after being covered with scholarly pothooks, was collected to be used in making cartridges." Boronda oversaw all these activities without increased pay.[77] This must have been a sore point with the man because, after only a year, artilleryman José Alvarez replaced him in the classroom.[78] It seems that Boronda had been locked up

nia, Provincial State Papers, VI: 340. Not three years later, 16,000 more flints, 200 additional muskets, and a like number of musket-cases, cartridge boxes, and pistols arrived in the province. Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 541n. The value of the last-named weapon, the pistol, previously had been questioned in terms of its worth. The governor believed them to be "useless and dangerous to the men." Governor Arrillaga to the Viceroy, Monterey, July 18, 1793, San Jose Archives, XX: 108, Bancroft Reference Notes, General California Military, 1790s. A later governor also found the idea of target practice of little value. He told the guard at Santa Cruz that rather then firing at blank walls the men should use the ammunition to hunt bears. Diego de Borica to Escolta at Santa Cruz, Monterey, May 30, 1797, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, VIII: 106. Just a few days before, each soldier in the San Francisco district had been instructed to draw twenty rounds and four flints per week for review and target practice, the officer in charge keeping strict accountability for the items issued. Hermenegildo Sal to Gabriel Moraga, San Francisco, May 2, 1797, San Jose Archives, XX: 30, Bancroft Reference Notes, General California Military, 1790s. The year before, in 1796, all the available lead had been made up into some 6,000 cartridges, so that it seemed enough ammunition was on hand to carry on this practice. José Argüello to Diego de Borica, November 29, 1796, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, VII: 120.

77. Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 606, 642–644. It is possible that Boronda was the same "convict blacksmith" who doubled as the school teacher in 1791 since he supposedly came to the Presidio of San Francisco the previous year. He also taught at Monterey for an unknown period of time and lived about three-quarters of a league from the post after he retired as did three other inválidos, Armenta, Cayuelos, and Toribio, about 1818. Possibly, he had a sister who kept a shop in Monterey from 1811 through 1836. Ibid., II: 383, 427, 785. He married Gertrudes Higuera and their son, José Canuto (born at San Francisco in 1792) later became a corporal having served at both Monterey and San Francisco presidial districts as well as holding the office of alcalde of Villa Branciforte in 1828. Other children included María Josefa who, in 1817, married Manuel Antonio Cota, a soldier at Monterey during that time, and María Guadalupe Marietta who married Josef Gabriel Símeon Espinosa on January 8, 1816. Northrop, *Spanish and Mexican Families*, I: 103, 119.

78. José Argüello to Diego de Borica, San Francisco, July 31, 1797, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, IX: 42. Argüello also suggested the individual receive a stipend of two or three pesos per month. Alvarez, a native of Mexico City, was twenty-three at the time. Little else is known of him other than his arrival with Roca in 1796.

for drunkenness by Sergeant Amador and the school closed as a result. Comandante Argüello found Boronda a very useful man except for this failing as he performed ably as a carpenter, smith, and school teacher. Without someone to conduct classes, though, the problem of illiteracy continued to plague the command.[79] Detailing Alvarez represented an attempt to relieve this situation.

As Argüello sought to improve the lot of the soldiers, Alberni, along with Córdoba, attempted to select the location for Villa de Branciforte. The two men looked at a number of possibilities for this new town. They even considered the district around the presidio and Mission Dolores but concluded that there was little to offer here among the sand dunes, problematical water and wood supplies, strong winds, and inadequate pasture lands.[80] In fact, they commented that the San Francisco garrison had been forced to dig wells to obtain sufficient water for their small numbers and had inadequate grazing for their limited stock.[81] It seemed that although Anza, Moraga, and Font had once praised the site for its water sources, San Francisco now proved less than attractive to a growing community.

Indeed, Alberni and Córdoba found the areas around Santa Cruz more to their liking. There, Córdoba drew up a plan based upon Spanish fortified-towns, complete with a central plaza. He saw that the planning of breastworks for fortifications began and procured some surplus artillery pieces from the San Francisco Bay Area and Monterey for this defensive position. Work did not move as rapidly as hoped due to the lack of suitable timber causing delay of the completion of ramparts and the erection of a barracks outside the palisade for the Catalonians.[82]

Presumably the troops likewise toiled at the presidio where a number of the Catalonians remained on duty, no doubt erect-

79. José Argüello to Diego de Borica, San Francisco, May 29, 1797, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, VIII: 199–200.

80. Guest, "The Establishment of the Villa de Branciforte," 35. This article provides excellent detail on the theory behind the creation of the new settlement and the history of the townsite.

81. Pedro de Alberni to Diego de Borica, San Francisco, July 1, 1796, in Expediente sobre ereccion, 1796–1803, Stevens Collection, University of Texas Library.

82. Sanchez, *Spanish Bluecoats*, 156–157.

ing their own meager quarters. On two occasions requests for funds went forward asking for nearly 594 pesos so that nine individual quarters and a barracks for the infantry and artillery, troops from both of these units alternating between duty at the castillo and the presidio, thereby requiring accommodations at both stations. By February 28, 1798, the viceroy approved the expenditure of a mere 192 pesos for this purpose, which means that most of the labor must have been furnished by the troops themselves.[83]

Not long after the completion of the infantry and artillery quarters, which may have been located along the east side of the quadrangle since that area often seemed void of any construction save some type of wall for a barrier, the need for reroofing arose. The same problem existed for the quarters of four married leather jackets soldiers and a barracks for the unmarried ones, along with the storehouses, and the guardhouse. In that instance, some 280 pesos, 5 reales, and 9 granos already had been expended while the governor wanted additional funding for the reroofing for the volunteers, the church, the house of the commander, and the family housing for the soldados de cuera. This request concluded with a reminder about the danger of fire because of the use of dry straw for roofing materials.[84] Later, Argüello transmitted a bill for reroofing the church, Alberni's home, a sergeant's house, and those of three of the cavalrymen. He notified the governor that he required even more funds because poor roofing and a general state of dilapidation existed in the line of buildings which housed the Catalonians.[85] Evidently, Argüello's own needs for a set of quarters also presented some urgency as he

83. Governor Borica to Viceroy Marques de Branciforte, Monterey, March 23, 1797, AGN, Californias, LXV: 3646, Microfilm, University of New Mexico, and [José María] Betrán to Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas, [México], November 8, 1797, ibid., 3647. This group then passed the recommendation on to their superior. [Fernando] Herrera, [Juan de la] Fuenta, and [Pedro Maria de] Montverde to Viceroy, [Mexico], November 30, 1997, ibid., 3648. Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 697 mentions the viceroy's provision of less than 200 pesos to the Catalonians for housings while Governor de Borica to Viceroy Branciforte, Monterey, August 27, 1799, Provincial State Papers, VI: 128, Bancroft Reference Notes, General California Military, 1790s, indicated artillerymen lived at the presidio when not serving at their emplacements.

84. Diego de Borica to Viceroy, Monterey, January 17, 1799, AGN, Californias, XLVIII: Pt. 2, 3090–3091, Microfilm, University of New Mexico.

85. José Argüello to Diego de Borica, San Francisco, January 12, 1800, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, XI: 26.

requested support for this building project as well.[86] Likewise, efforts continued to emplace additional artillery pieces which had been shipped with the Catalonians from San Blas for the castillo.[87]

That effort seemed of minor consequence given the still ineffectual state of local defenses. In 1796, Córdoba also inspected earlier construction efforts, must notably the Castillo de San Joaquín. Upon investigation he concluded that from its precipice at 260 varas, the fort suffered from "frequent landslides in this terrain" along with rains which could cause the merlons (solid portion of a crenelated wall between two open spaces) of adobe reinforced with brick and held together with mud to "give way." Engineer Extraordinary Córdoba went on to comment, "this battery is built for the main part on sand, and the rest on loose rock. . . . Just in answering signals from ships, firing of the cannon shakes the retaining walls." Furthermore, he found the cannons badly mounted and worn out. Of the thirteen pieces of artillery (three 24-pounders, two iron 12-pounders, and eight bronze half culverins), only two could fire across the 1,600 varas mouth of the bay. Even if these guns could send a projectile across the entrance of the port with any degree of accuracy, not enough ammunition existed to sustain the barrage. Further, the token garrison of a corporal and six privates from the Catalonian Volunteers who aided six artillerymen were not enough to man the guns. Even if reinforced by some of the thirty-eight cavalrymen of the presidio, many of whom assumed duties elsewhere away from the area, the castillo offered but token resistance to potential enemies.

Córdoba recommended that the fort be moved to the com-

86. Hermenegildo Sal to José Argüello, San Francisco, April 20, 1796, ibid., VIII: 176–178. This same document authorized a forge to be set up by the soldier, José Contreras.

87. For instance, *San Carlos* carried three more guns when it landed Córdoba and the Catalonians. Pedro de Alberni to Diego de Borica, San Francisco, April 28, 1796, ibid., 87, mentions that bad weather prevented the placement of the cannon brought by the ship so they remained on the beach after being unloaded. A second communication specifically mentions three guns being sent for the castillo and Córdoba later helped place these along with supervising repair work at the battery, the making of a double wall there for the powder magazine, and building a pair of sentry boxes (*garitas*) at the fort and the presidio. Governor de Borica to the Viceroy, Monterey, July 16, 1797, Provincial State Papers, Sacramento, XVII: 8, Bancroft Reference Notes, Presidio of San Francisco, 1790s.

manding high ground and estimated that a new structure would cost less than the repair of the old one. In addition, he called for a second battery on the other side of the bay entrance and for more troops, the shortage of which was made critical by the lack of training among them.[88] Action on Córdoba's proposal did not materialize. Córdoba gave further advice in the repairing of the presidio's powder magazine, tower, sentry box, and roofs.[89] Likewise, he drew up plans for a new presidio and made a drawing of the castillo and the Cantil Blanco upon which it rested. (Figures 12–13) Possibly, he also oversaw repairs to gun-carriages and other material which rains had damaged and sought ways to prevent a repetition of such destruction because despite the fort's shortcomings it retained some value so long as the enemy did not realize the poor state of the defenses.[90]

The ambitious engineer also made a case for two or three ships of war to be stationed at San Francisco as a headquarters to patrol the coast for added protection, a concept which the governor endorsed.[91] Carrying out these proposals probably seemed less urgent, however, when the conflict between Spain and France seemed to be heading toward a peaceful resolution.[92]

That lull lasted but a short time when word arrived that Spain and Great Britain had resumed fighting in late winter of 1797. Possibly *San Carlos* carried this news when it anchored in San Francisco Bay on March 11. By March 13, dispatches from the governor went out ordering the seizure of any English ships which attempted to land. Emergency plans circulated for driving livestock inland if an invasion took place. Sentinels stood guard at a number of potential anchorages or landing places throughout the province. Rationing went into effect in case sup-

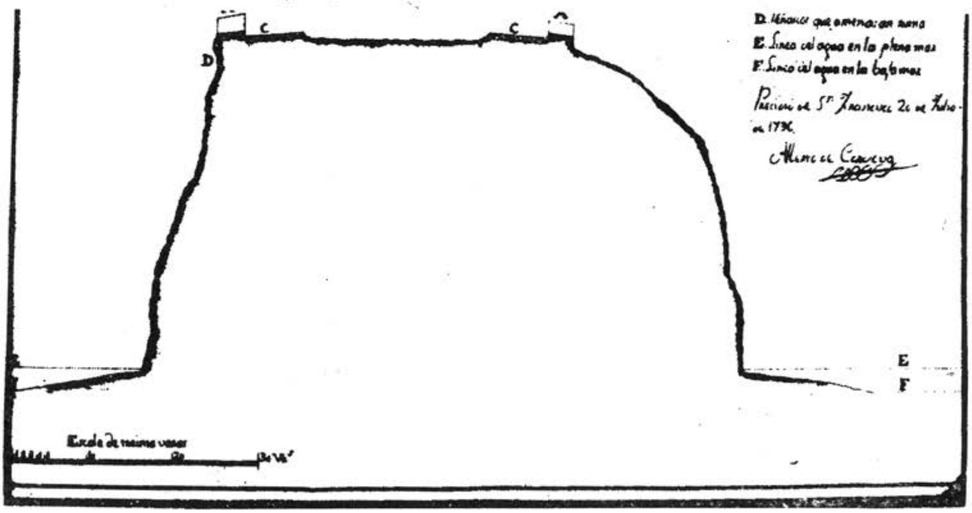
88. Fireman, *The Spanish Royal Corps of Engineers*, 210–212; Douglas S. Watson, "San Francisco's Ancient Cannon," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XV (March 1936): 61.

89. Fireman, *The Spanish Royal Corps of Engineers*, 128.

90. Governor Borica to the Viceroy, Monterey, December 6, 1796, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, Sacramento, LIV: 394 and Governor Borica to the Viceroy, Monterey, January 20, 1797, Provincial State Papers, VI: 78, Bancroft Reference Notes, General Military, California, 1790s.

91. Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 541; Governor Borica to Viceroy, Monterey, September 21, 1796, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Records, Sacramento, LIV: 381.

92. Hermenegildo Sal to Diego de Borica, San Francisco, March 30, 1796, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, VIII: 104 mentions that a special mass was celebrated by Padre Landaeta in thanksgiving for peace with France.


D
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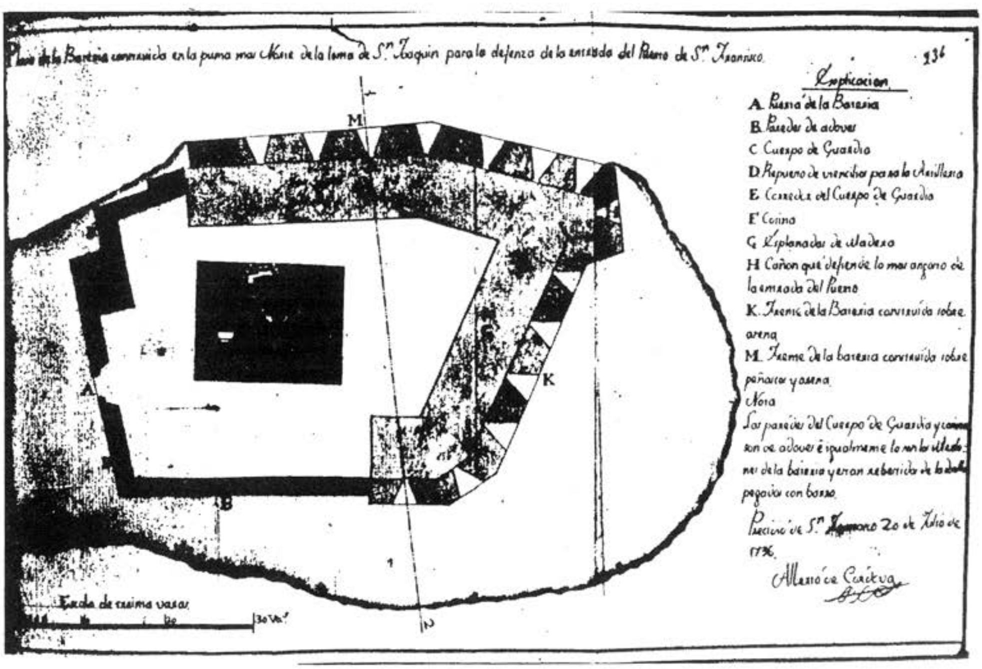
E. Linea del agua en la plena mar
F. Linea del agua en la baja mar


Plano de la Bateria construida en la punta mas Norte de la loma de Sn. Joaquin para la defenza de la entrada del Puerto de Sn. Francisco
136
Explicacion
A. Puerta de la Bateria
B. Paredes de adoves
C. Cuerpo de Guardia
D. Repuesto de utencilios para la Artilleria
E. Corredor del Cuerpo de Guardia
F. Cocina
G. Explanadas de Madera
H. Cañon que defiende lo mas angosto de la entrada del Puerto
K. Frente de la Bateria construida sobre arena
M. Frente de la bateria construida sobre peñascos y arena
Nota
M
K
A
B
N

plies from Mexico could not be obtained.[93] Once more, a collection for support of the war effort against the new enemy brought contributions, with 242 pesos, the smallest amount in the province, being given by the people of San Francisco.[94] Perhaps the population felt less threatened since *San Carlos* brought additional cannon for which Sergeant Roca took charge in order to emplace them at the Castillo de San Joaquín.[95] Luckily, these guns were brought ashore soon after the ship dropped anchor since a storm broke her up at the anchorage during the evening of March 23, 1797. The loss of cargo mentioned tobacco, hams,

93. Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 542.

94. Ibid., 545.

95. R. Carrillo to Diego de Borica, San Francisco, March 31, 1797, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, VIII: 202. It should be noted that this was the second ship to bear the name, the first *San Carlos* having been lost at sea some years earlier.

Figures 12–13 (at left). Spanish army engineer Alberto de Córdova executed two drawings related to the Castillo de San Joaquín, one which provided a cross section of the Cantil Blanco (top) and the other of which provided one of the most concise views of this approximately 40 varas by 60 varas emplacement. Positions exist for a dozen guns. The proximity of the west side of the fortification to the edge of the cliff stands out, this being one of the problems cited by Córdova in his analysis of the placement and construction of the battery. Provincias Internas, 216: 236, AGN, Bancroft Library. The information translates as follows:

Plan of the Battery of San Joaquín constructed on the northernmost point of land for the defense of the entrance to the Port of San Francisco.

Explanation

A. Gate of the Battery
B. Main Walls of adobe
C. Guard House
D. Storage for implements for the Artillery
E. Corridor to the Guard House
F. Kitchen
G. Wooden Esplanade
H. Cannon which the defend the narrowest entrance of the Port
K. Embrasures of the Battery constructed upon sand
M. Embrasures of the Battery constructed on rock and sand

Note

The main walls of the Guard House and kitchen are of adobe and equally are those utilized for the battery and which are brick fastened with mud.

Presidio of San Francisco July 20, 1796.

Alberto de Córdova

and clothing, but no ordnance. Córdoba examined the beached remains and pronounced the wreck unrepairable.[96]

Over the next two months two other supply vessels, *Concepción* and *Princesa*, arrived and fared better.[97] While decreasing the fear of the British cutting off supplies, the appearance of vessels contributed to local defenses in yet another way. Between twenty-four and thirty sailors from the former craft, along with three of the officers, remained as a detachment with the artillery to be employed in the fortifications. The mariners received two extra reales a day as additional pay for their services over the several months they laid over in the vicinity of the presidio.[98]

Quite probably some of them worked on a second emplacement which was to supplement the Castillo de San Joaquín. Rather than being located on the north side of the harbor's entrance as Córdoba had proposed, the Batería de San José would be built between April and June 1797 to the east of the harbor's entrance near the anchorage Vancouver first used earlier in the decade. Hastily prepared earthworks and brushwood fascines held together with leather and maguey cords to form eight embrasures, although the emplacement numbered but five guns deemed too small to be of use at the castillo.[99] A palisade and mud shelter served as a barracks since nothing more substantial could be brought there because of the inadequate roads from the presidio which meant no carts or other conveyances could be used to haul supplies over the alternately sandy and marshy terrain.[100] Cór-

96. Ramón Saavedra to José Argüello, April 26, 1797, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, IX: 59; Ramón Saavedra to Diego de Borica, April 19 and June 30, 1797, ibid., VIII: 375–376. Saavedra was the captain of *San Carlos* at the time. "This was not the original *San Carlos* of 1769, but her successor surnamed *El Filipino*." Bancroft, *History of Caliifornia*, I: 706.

97. Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 542.

98. April 1797, Provincial State Papers, XXI: 255–256 and Provincial State Papers, Benicia Military, XXIV: 12, Bancroft Reference Notes, Presidio of San Francisco, 1790s. Evidently, they left in September 1797, only one of their number, the ship's cabin boy (*grumete*), Diego Flores, electing to remain and enlist as a soldier. José Argüello to Diego de Borica, San Francisco, September 30, 1797, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, X: 29, 31.

99. Tays, "Castillo de San Joaquín," 24–25.

100. Josef de Itturigaray to Don José Antonio Cavalerro, Mexico, September 21, 1805, "Report Together With the Official Transcript of the Manuscript with Reference to the Damage Caused by Tempests in December 1798, and January 1799, to the Batteries of the Port of San Francisco in Upper California," Unpublished Spanish Ms, California Historical Society, San Francisco.

The road to the batería may have followed the mission trail, meaning it ran from the Presidio's north gate circling the quadrangle on the east side and descended the hill across Fun-

doba objected to the battery's poor construction which once more rested on a sand foundation, its distance from the fort at the mouth of the bay, and the shortage of artillerymen, already too few to manage the guns that had been mounted earlier in the decade. After the departure of the sailors, it appears that no garrison stood regular watch there. To at least the end of the eighteenth-century, a soldier simply paid Batería de San José a daily call and occasionally a non-commissioned officer from the artillery rode over for a brief inspection.[101]

While the two fortifications continued to require funds and manpower so, too, did construction at the presidio itself. Despite the viceroy's instructions to halt work at the main garrison, Argüello elected to continue his efforts at repairing the houses of the infantry and cavalry alike, and to renovate the warehouses, guard room, and other dilapidated elements of the post while making some additional improvements such as new doors and window frames to certain structures[102] Even while the presidial district's population attempted to improve their conditions, the governor sent some of the complement to assist in the establishment of a new mission in the southern portion of today's Alameda County. Sergeant Amador took a corporal and a five-man detail selected as the escolta for the proposed Mission San Jose (in present-day Fremont) on June 9, 1797. The group put up a temporary chapel (*enramada*) and participated in the usual dedication ceremonies on July 11, Trinity Sunday. Then, the party left. Five days later Amador returned with more men to cut lum-

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ston Avenue, then followed fairly closely along Presidio Avenue to the north of the main entrance to Letterman Hospital, where it crossed today's boundary walls about Filbert street. From there it meandered over high grounds above the early sloughs and wet lands dropping down to what became Fort Mason. The counterpart to this path led to the castillo and the landing, possibly taking the easiest contours above the cemetery and stables area to the west, where it forked off to reach the anchorage and the fort by the most direct routes. G. W. Hendry and J. N. Bowman, "The Spanish and Mexican Adobes and Other Buildings in San Francisco Bay Counties 1776 to about 1850," Vol. IX, "Presidio and Yerba Buena," 1143–1145, Unpublished Ms, Bancroft Library.

101. Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 701–702.

102. José Argüello to Diego de Borica, San Francisco, July 20, 1797, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, VIII: 208 noted that the comandante thought it best to "proceed with the utmost economy to finish the little work remaining on the fort and the battery at Yerba Buena" and also to expend the necessary funds for the presidio. Viceroy Branciforte to Governor de Borica, Arispe, February 28, 1798, ibid., X: 12, granted nearly 469 pesos for a door and window frames plus reroofing of the post blockhouse.

ber for construction. After two weeks he determined that most of the troops could go back to San Francisco with him while the escolta remained to complete the work.[103]

This withdrawal proved premature. Amador barely had time to reach the presidio when duty called him back to Mission San Jose. The local Indians threatened to kill the Christian natives living at the new mission. In response, the sergeant led twenty-two men as a show of strength. Two brief skirmishes ensued in mid-July. It seems that the warriors dug pits to impede the use of horses. This caused Amador's force to dismount and fight on foot. In the hand-to-hand struggle, seven or eight Indians died while two of the Spanish soldiers received wounds. Amador returned from this foray with eighty-three Christian deserters, who evidently had been at Mission Santa Clara, and nine of the non-Christians who supposedly were implicated in previous troubles. Some of these prisoners went off to perform hard labor in irons. Short rations and floggings completed the punitive measures taken to dampen any future thoughts about independence among the natives.[104]

In return for the presidio providing a mailed fist to support the conversion of the Indians, the missions theoretically helped support the garrison with food and other necessities. For example, in 1795 Mission Dolores sold 2,831 pesos worth of goods to the garrison. Sometimes, however, the local padre refused to provide certain things, such as sheep, to the comandante.[105] Since religious and military "cooperation" continued as a matter of frequent friction between the two institutions, Governor Borica thought it wise to reinstate the rancho del rey.[106] Rather than

103. Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 555.

104. José Argüello to Governor de Borica, San Francisco, July 30, 1797, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, IX: 39–40; Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 548, 710–712.

105. Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 713–714. In 1797, the governor ordered that all blankets be purchased from the San Francisco mission rather than importing this item from Mexico. Ibid., 715.

106. A fiscal rationale also prompted Borica's actions since incoming vessels had no choice but to buy their beef from the missions at high prices. The military could provide the meat at lower prices yet still obtain a profit to help offset local operations at the presidio. A herd of 510 cows, 6 bulls, 97 heifers, and 13 steers would start this project through purchase from the missions. Governor Borica to Presidio Comandante, Monterey, September 1, 1797, Provincial State Papers, IV: 255–256, Bancroft Reference Notes, Presidio of San Francisco, 1790s. At the end of September the stock arrived and Argüello saw to it that a corral and bull pen were made at

just pasturing the herds in the hills immediately surrounding the post, Borica wanted stock sent to a place called Buriburi, a location between today's San Bruno and San Mateo. In order to set up there, a mission herd then grazing at the site had to be relocated. The padres objected. Their complaints brought about an investigation of the matter.

Argüello reported to the governor that in his opinion the rancho del rey in no way threatened the mission's livestock. The padres had at least a half dozen other good places where they kept cattle and other animals. Argüello had no sympathy for the Franciscans' desire to maintain their monopoly on the peninsula, since he claimed the missionaries picked out their undersized beeves to sell to the troops and sailors. Additionally, he contended that the priests violated the posted price regulations by from twenty to twenty-five percent. The commandant sent along bills to substantiate his charges. Evidently, Argüello's words convinced his superiors because the viceroy elected to keep the rancho in spite of objections.[107]

The first year succeeded in proving the worth of this venture as stock increased considerably due to abundance of pastures.[108] This abundance seemed to trigger an attempt to rustle some of

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Buriburi where plenty of pasture and water existed. He wanted 200 more cows and stated that he would keep careful accounts of the whole enterprise. José Argüello to Diego de Borica, San Francisco, September 29, 1797, ibid., XVI: 92.

107. Frank M. Stanger, "A California Rancho Under Three Flags, a History of Rancho Buri Buri in San Mateo County," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XVII (September 1938): 246; José Argüello to Diego de Borica, San Francisco, July 28, 1798, *Archives of California*, Missions and Colonization, LII: 69–79, Bancroft Reference Notes, Presidio of San Francisco, 1790s. Permission to continue the operation came from Viceroy Azanza to Governor Borica, Mexico, March 13, 1799, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, X: 222. Argüello had also pointed out that when the rancho del rey had been situated at the presidio each family with children kept from three to four milk cows, and that these same cows furnished milk to the sick and the officers of incoming ships. He wanted to bring back this practice as a consequence of starting the new ranch. José Argüello to Governor Borica, San Francisco, July 24, 1797, ibid., I: 72.

108. José Argüello to Governor Borica, San Francisco, December 31, 1798, Provincial State Papers, Benicia Military, XVII: 2, Bancroft Reference Notes, Presidio of San Francisco, 1790s. The same document noted that a fair crop had been raised during 1798. Just two years before, some shortages existed, especially of beans. Hermenegildo Sal to Governor Borica, San Francisco, January 3, 1796, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, VIII: 5–6. Despite an increase in population then, the presidio's gente de razon of eighty men, forty-four women, thirty-six boys, and forty-six girls enjoyed a better food supply than in times past. Photocopy of Census dated December 31, 1798, Latulipe File, California Historical Society Library.

the herd. In April 1797, two soldiers caught stealing from the rancho were put into irons while their two accomplices suffered a similar fate.[109] A month later, Argüello complained that bears raised havoc among the Buriburi stock, attacking some of the cattle for food. He dispatched a pair of extra soldiers for protection. Soon, they killed six bears and captured four cubs.[110]

Unfortunately, Argüello could not handle all problems with the same ease. Late in 1797, misappropriations by the presidio's habilitado, Lasso de la Vega, caused a deficit of more than 1,400 pesos. The alférez responsible for the defalcation had half his pay attached until the government received repayment for the indebtedness. In the meantime, the shortage remained on the San Francisco Company's books, causing all supplies to be cut off except for a few necessities. This caused hardships for the men, especially those with families. Argüello also felt it unjust that the Catalonians and the artillerymen did not have to share the burden nor did Lasso de la Vega whose poor administration had cost the post revenues.[111]

Even as Argüello faced the challenge of balancing his company's books, he may have found some little solace from the announcement of his promotion to *capitan graduado* (essentially a brevet captain).[112] Previously, the governor noted that the commanders at the presidios performed functions far above their grade of lieutenant and deserved promotions. He underscored Argüello's twenty-four years of service, indicating that the man came up through the ranks and had served in the grade of a

109. José Argüello to Governor Borica, San Francisco, April 21, 1798, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, X: 112. Evidently they attempted to make off with a calf and a sheep. Earlier that year, authorities placed the soldier Joaquín Mesa in fetters for lack of a chain since he had been arrested for telling lies after having been sent to mend the corral. When challenged, he became insolent, struck the sergeant, then rode off on his horse. Raymundo Carrillo to Governor Borica, San Francisco, February 5 and February 28, 1797, ibid., IX: 64–64.

110. José Argüello to Governor Borica, San Francisco, May 29, 1798, ibid., X: 104.

111. Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 693n. Originally, Habilitado Raymundo Carrillo showed 3,234 pesos owing the presidial company in 1796. Ramundo Carrillo's Report, December 31, 1796, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, Sacramento, LIV: 10. The memoria for 1797, however, indicated an indebtedness of 1,431 pesos and figure which was adjusted to 1,425 pesos later in the year. Memoria para el Presidio de San Francisco, Mexico, January 31, 1797, ibid., VIII: 168 and José Argüello to Governor Borica, San Francisco, October 21, 1797, Provincial State Papers, XVI: 80–81, Bancroft Reference Notes, Presidio of San Francisco, 1790s.

112. José Argüello to Diego de Borica, San Francisco, March 8, 1798, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, X: 100.

teniente for nine and a half years.[113] Later, the governor attempted to obtain a commensurate pay raise for Argüello and all the other commissioned officers but his efforts came to no avail. Nor did his request for additional horse soldiers produce the desired result.

Borica proposed an increase of 150 pesos per annum for the ten subalterns in his command since they suffered great privations. They and their families had little means and lived far from decorous lives on their subsistence. He wrote, "I have seen the wives and daughters wash their own clothes, make bread for sale, sew clothes for others" and perform many other tasks, "yet they cannot get shoes and stockings for their children." Borica likewise requested more cavalrymen who could travel great distances on their speedy mounts and who, when married, would increase the population of the province. He also had asked for 105 more lancers in lieu of replenishing the ranks of the Catalonians and wanted three captains and an adjutant inspector, presumably promoting these officers from his senior lieutenants, all at a total increase in costs of 18,624 pesos per year.[114]

Despite such requests by the governor, pay raises and reinforcements did not come from Mexico in these last days of the eighteenth-century, but bad news did.[115] First, in May 1798, the usually happy announcement of the arrival of a transport from

113. Governor Borica to the Viceroy, Monterey, September 16, 1796, ibid., LIV: 379.

114. Governor Borica to the Viceroy, Monterey, March 18, 1799, Provincial State Papers, VI: 120–122, Bancroft Reference Notes, General California Military, 1790s; Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 545.

115. Comparative numbers of troop strengths for the remaining years of the eighteenth-century show a relatively static picture. In 1797 Argüello commanded Alférez Manuel Rodríguez, Sergeant Pedro Amador, four corporals, thirty-one soldiers, and seven inválidos (Alférez Lasso, two corporals, and four privates). The crown owed some 999 pesos to the company. José Argüello's Report, San Francisco, December 31, 1797, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, Sacramento, V: 10. The next year he turned in the same figure and noted that of the twenty-five men from the First Company of Catalonian Volunteers (Alberni as captain, a sergeant first class or first sergeant, one drummer, three corporals first class, two corporals second class, and eighteen privates), five soldiers and a corporal served at the castillo de San Joaquín and four soldiers with a corporal were stationed at the Batería de San Jose. Of the artillerymen in the district, five privates and a corporal occupied the castillo and the sergeant remained at the presidio. He listed the same seven inválidos, all of whom lived in San Jose. The artillery consisted of three iron 24-pounder cannons, one iron 12-pounder, eight bronze half-culverins of 8-pounds, all in the batteries and a pair of bronze swivel guns on useless carriages at Santa Cruz and Santa Clara. José Argüello's Report, San Francisco, December 1, 1798, ibid., Provincial State Papers, Benicia Military, XVI: 94; ibid., XV: 311. In terms of the soldado de cuera, their numbers scarcely had changed from the previous decade nor had their duties and daily life of military drill, cattle herding, and the like. Even many of the surnames remained the same as family members took up the profession of arms when their elders retired, transferred, or died.

San Blas received a less than warm welcome. The frigate *Concepción* carried more than just goods and nine new padres. It brought smallpox. Alberni intended not to let the infected victims land, but he changed his mind and provided a shelter which served to quarantine the ship's complement for thirteen days.[116] Moreover, Argüello stated that he would see to it that the instructions for inoculating against smallpox must be carried out and that he would be the first to vaccinate his family as an example to the rest of the inhabitants.[117]

Actually, smallpox proved a minor disease for Alta California's Hispanic population, although sickness, especially venereal and pulmonary diseases, ravaged the local Indian population in the district.[118] Many children died of the latter illness and dysentery. Some neophytes fled Mission Dolores in May 1798, perhaps to escape the grim reaper which visited the mission all too frequently. Shortly thereafter, they returned voluntarily and received no punishment.[119]

As usual, the weather made life miserable as well. Rain and winds damaged roofs.[120] Hurricane force gales of 1798 and 1799 destroyed the adobe of local construction, causing Alberni to echo Córdoba's earlier recommendations.[121] On February 28, 1799,

116. Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 544*n*.; 546*n*.; Pedro de Alberni to Diego de Borica, San Francisco, April 30, 1798, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, Sacramento, LIV: 209: ibid., May 31, 1798, X: 93.

117. José Argüello to Governor Borica, San Francisco, May 25, 1798, ibid., X: 105. As early as 1786 Spanish officials had expressed some concern over smallpox in Alta California but it appears that vaccination proper was not introduced for some time, perhaps no earlier than 1817. Certainly, by 1821 vaccine had been brought to the Californios aboard the Russian ship *Kutuzov* where it was administered to fifty-four inhabitants of Monterey. S. F. Cook, "Smallpox in Spanish and Mexican California, 1770–1845," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, VII (1939): 163ff, and Robert J. Moes, "Smallpox Immunization in Alta California: A Story Based on José Estrada's 1821 Postscript," *Southern California Quarterly*, LXI (Summer 1979): 125–145.

118. José Argüello to Governor Borica, San Francisco, December 31, 1798, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, Benicia Military, XV: 326–327. José Argüello's Report, December 31, 1800, ibid., XVI: 132–135. For more on this topic consult Sherburne F. Cook, *The Conflict Between the California Indian and White Civilization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976). Also see Cook's *The Population of the California Indians 1769–1970* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976).

119. Francisco de Argüello to Governor Borica, San Francisco, May 28, 1798, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, X: 93.

120. José Argüello to Governor Borica, San Francisco, December 31, 1798, ibid., Provincial State Papers, Benicia Military, XV: 326–327.

121. By this point Córdoba had completed his work on California fortifications, made his surveys, and produced a general map of the province before returning to Mexico in the autumn of 1798. Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 545.

the Catalonian conveyed the sad state of affairs. Of the castillo he wrote:

> 1. First, the two walls which serve as ramparts and defense for said fort were located east and south. The door is found in the latter of these. Because they are constructed of adobe of very poor quality, the storm demolished them.
>
> 2. The merlons which face north and were made of fascine were constructed by the Extraordinary Engineer don Alberto de Córdova. They have come undone and have fallen to the ground because water had seeped and rotted the leather and maguay cords with which they were tied.
>
> 3. The merlons built in an easterly direction and its building of adobe covered by bricks which were cemented with mud are all demolished.
>
> 4. The merlons situated to the northwest, although they are made from stone of the same terrain and constructed of sand from the bar at the mouth of the harbor, also are sagging out and at the point of falling into the sea. For this reason, I ordered the cannons and also the sentry box that were at the battery to be taken off in order to avoid a mishap.
>
> 5. The wall that serves as a rampart to the blockhouse [and] looks toward the south has its adobe building demolished. There is a sand dune that surrounds it at this time. It leans its full weight against said wall. The dune is raising above the wall and threatens its ruin.
>
> 6. The structure serves as a barracks for the troops of the garrison of the castillo and also for the defense of the stores. Its construction being of sandy adobe and so eaten away in the south wall, with another small storm it will come down. As its roof has little slope, and also because the roof tile which covers it is of such poor quality, the rains comes in everywhere.
>
> 7. It easily is noticed that the intermediate passage from the blockhouse to the fortification is so dilapidated on both sides of its narrow passage that it barely retains enough space to permit the ten to twelve varas width necessary to pass by. Since the precipice to the side of the fort is of pure sand, it is possible during one of the earth tremors that are experienced here, it can be split because of its narrowness, thus leaving the aforementioned fortification [cutoff from the mainland].

Alberni's description of the Batería de Yerba Buena gave just as bleak a prognosis. He advocated the razing of the two previous defenses and their replacement by two new, soundly-built forts at the mouth of the bay. Although none of the available cannons could fire across the channel, Alberni believed that a cross fire could inflict grave damage upon enemy craft, especially

if the ships fought against the prevailing winds as they left the bay.[122]

Despite the agitations of men like Alberni and Córdoba, who sent numerous official reports to Mexico City, major improvements in local defense works nearly ceased. Even a plan by Governor Borica for a rebuilding of the presidio itself on a grander scale, complete with shops and, for the first time, a hospital, never proceeded past the proposal stage due to the fact that the royal treasury had no money to spare. Manuel Ruiz' estimate of material to complete this ambitious project was too much for officials to fund. His list of requirements included 12,000 stones, 244,634 fired adobes, 9,000 regular tiles, 20,000 tiles for the main parts of the church, guardhouse, storehouses, and officers homes, 3,000 fenagas of lime for the walls, 22,000 stringers, 400 beams, as well as tools and supplies such as 12 small stone cutter's hammers, a dozen mason's trowels, a half dozen plumb bobs, 20 hundred-weight iron bars, 12 regular bars, 80 hatchets, and 50

122. Report of Pedro de Alberni, San Francisco, February 28, 1799, in Josef de Itturigaray, "Report Together With Official Transcripts. . . ," California Historical Society, San Francisco. This bound volume likewise contains a review of the state of the missions throughout California, its agriculture, and numerous other types of information concerning the defense of the province. For instance, a chart detailed the Presidio of San Francisco's cavalry strength by location during September 1799. Two privates guarded the herd, and two more stayed at the Royal Ranch. Escoltas consisted of a corporal and three privates at Santa Cruz, a corporal and four privates at Santa Clara, another corporal headed six privates at San Jose, while two privates remained at Mission Dolores. A pair of soldiers carried the mails, another was detailed to San Diego, one more provided escort to the local clergy, and two men carried salt from Monterey. This left only the commander, an ensign, a sergeant, one corporal, one cadet, and six privates free for duty at the post.

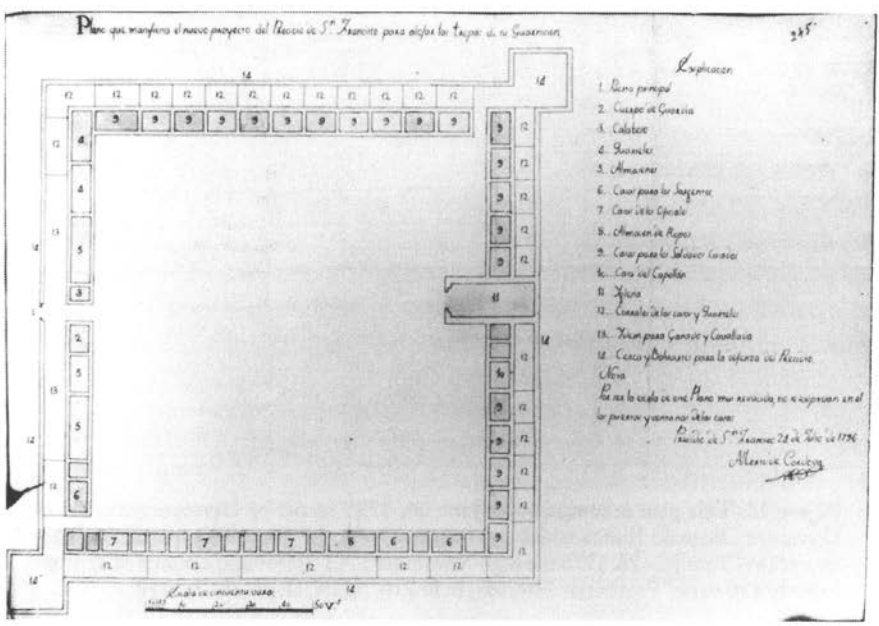
Another segment mentioned the three 24-pounder iron cannons, the broken 12-pounder iron piece, and the good 12-pounder iron gun, along with the eight bronze 8-pounder culverins. The two swivel guns at Santa Clara and Santa Cruz respectively remained unserviceable. Continuing, Argüello stated that in October 1799, he counted 300 solid shots of 24-pounds, 200 of 12-pounds, and 700 of 8-pounds. He had 6 *quintales* of wicks, 300 bags of coarse brown linen paper for 24-pounder charges, 783 for those of 12-pounder, and 200 for 8-pounders. Equipment consisted of two gunner's ladles for a 24-pounder, one of 12, one of eight, and one of 4. There were three rammers for use with a 24-pounder, three of 12, and seven of eight-pounder type. He had one each wad removers of 4, 8, and 24-pounder type and a scraper for the 24-pounder. There were six linstocks, thirty-six handspikes, two goat pouch priming horns, three vents for 24-pounders, a half dozen for the 12-pounders, and thirteen for the eight-pounders. There was a set of measures for powder to include 1, 2, 4, and 6-pounders, and a libra ball caliber gauge for 4, 6, 8, and 24-pounders. A complete crane, one press and two half-presses, five combat lanterns, two "secret" lanterns for use at night or in the dark, a pair of claw hammers, two mallets, two combat vats, twenty-one barrels of pitch, six casks, a large kettle, one arms chest with key and three shelves, seven basket lamps, a tin horn (a speaking trumpet?), and one flag with the royal arms completed the inventory.

hoes.[123] (See Figures 14-15.) The little funding which did exist went to repair the constant ravages caused by nature as strong summer winds and heavy winter rains destroyed the precarious overhead protection and damaged the poorly made structures which comprised the Presidio of San Francisco.[124]

123. Borica's Plan, Monterey, June 27, 1799, *Provincias Internas*, tomo 16, AGN, Microfilm, Bancroft Library. The inclusion of a hospital represented a much needed addition since the garrison depended principally on home remedies for its medical care and perhaps an occasional assist from a ship's surgeon when one was in port.

The plan also represented one of the most ambitious and detailed architectural proposals in Alta California of the era. For a comparison of work undertaken in Spanish California read Norman Neuerburg, *Agustin V. Zamorano, Architect* (Los Angeles: Zamorano Club, 1988).

124. José Argüello' Report, San Francisco, December 31, 1800, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, Benicia Military, XVI: 132–135. José Argüello to Governor Arrillaga, December 31, 1800, ibid., Provincial State Papers, XI: 29. The cost for repairs at the end of the decade amounted to 1,799 pesos but only represented a stopgap as damage constantly plagued the garrison. Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 697.



Figures 14. In the 1790s, a proposed relocation of the presidio toward the entrance of the bay brought about the drafting of two new plans for the facility, neither of which actually were constructed. The layout resembles the first plan of 1776 and follows the standardized configuration for presidios, including bastions. The main difference between the two designs is the placement of the gate in relation to the post chapel. Presumably, the new post would have been located at approximately the site of Fort Winfield Scott's parade ground.

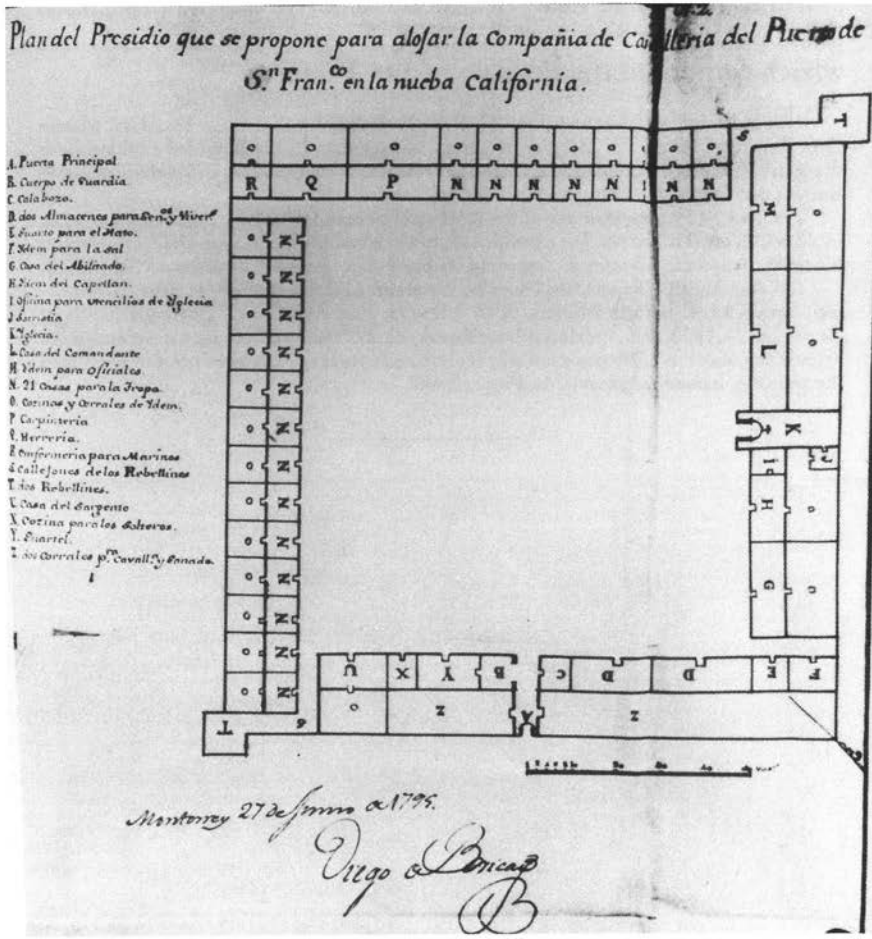


Figure 15. This plan accompanied a June 26, 1795 report by Hermenegildo Sal to Governor Diego de Borica which provided costs for the presidio's various construction efforts from July 26, 1776 through November 1781. It featured a square of approximately 130 varas. Provincias Internas, 6: 8: 216, AGN, Bancroft Library.

Even as the garrison attempted to cope with the elements, the presidial population met what ultimately would be a more potent threat. In 1799, the first "Boston Men" sailed into port aboard the armed merchant ship *Eliza* from the United States. The Yankees bought supplies and left with the promise that they would sail on without again touching ashore in California. Others of their fellow countrymen would follow, but, for the moment, this original exchange with people from the United States caused little concern.

More immediate troubles presented themselves in the last year of the eighteenth-century. From the southern part of the district a series of disturbances culminated in arson as some of the settlers at the Pueblo of San Jose set fire to the comisionado's residence while he held a party inside. Men from the presidio rode out to restore order in what proved to be the beginning of many challenges to authority throughout the province with the passage of years.[125] About the same time, Indians killed two neophytes and promptly fled into the hills around Mission San Jose. The experienced campaigner Sergeant Amador took to the field. After a brief skirmish he caught some suspects. Lacking an interpreter, Amador could not question his captives. Despite the lack of communications and evidence, he ordered the prisoners flogged with fifteen to twenty blows each.[126] This type of action reflected the attitude of the soldiers toward the local Native Americans.[127] Such disdain kept the two peoples separated rather than coming together as had been the goal behind Spanish colonization efforts.

Had the indigenous population united, they could have made matters even worse for the small Spanish-speaking complement, especially since the presidio's numbers dwindled further in the spring of 1800. At that time Pedro de Alberni took several of his infantrymen and their families to Monterey. Their reloca-

125. Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 718.

126. José Argüello to José Arrillaga, San Francisco, May 20, 1800, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, XI: 32.

127. Robert F. Heizer and Alan J. Almquist, *The Other Californians: Prejudice and Discrimination Under Spain, Mexico, and the United States to 1920* (Berkeley: University of California, 1971), provides thoughtful analysis of this subject.

tion left the outpost with a token force of thirteen foot soldiers, five gunners, and no soldados de cuera at the presidio, the last mentioned unit being scattered at the missions and various other detached assignments. Argüello did not have enough men to operate the batteries and guard the Indian labor force at the same time.[128] So it was that the considerable talents and treasure expended on the Bay Area martial establishment during the 1790s brought little improvement in securing Spain's claim to this strategic harbor. Only the international consequences of an attack and the great distance from a strong enemy power saved the forgotten garrison from collapse. Nevertheless, the troops held on despite an ever-worsening state of affairs. The outlook for the future was not promising.

128. José Argüello to Governor Arrillaga, San Francisco, May 28, 1800, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, XI: 29 stated that Alberni took his sergeant, the drummer, six soldiers with their families, and the carpenter Rafael Gledo (*sic*) under an escort led by Sergeant Amador to Monterey where they became part of the garrison. This move meant the abandoning of the batería. On a more positive note, the soldados all had eight horses apiece, besides the company's twenty-two pack horses and mules, along with 879 head of cattle at the rancho del rey. San Francisco, December 31, 1800, Provincial State Papers, Benicia Military, XXVIII: 5 and 13, Bancroft Reference Notes, Presidio of San Francisco, 1790s.

CHAPTER 3

"Weak as the Spanish defenses are. . ." 1801–1822

The new century brought few changes to the Presidio of San Francisco. In 1800, Governor Arrillaga found all of the California presidios in poor condition. Bad weather had ruined many buildings. Many of the shoddy forts with corroding cannons offered little coastal defense. The troops continued to be equipped and supplied poorly, and the government rarely expended any money to keep up the posts.[1] Such conditions would not improve during the last two decades of Spanish control in California.

Despite the sorry state of affairs, the new century opened on an optimistic note. Early in 1801, the habilitado general in Mexico announced that the presidial company of San Francisco requested memorias amounting to much less than the annual allotment of the company. Of the four presidios in California only the one in San Francisco recorded a surplus in its accounts. This fact insured that the soldiers at the northernmost Spanish military post on the coast of North America would get all of the supplies they requisitioned. Never again would this situation exist, because Spain found other problems more pressing than the concerns of her California subjects.[2]

At least the viceroy of New Spain notified the governor of the Californias that the government would reimburse the men of the San Francisco Company 282 pesos, 5 reales for expenses incurred in renewing the roofs of the church and the houses of

1. Rockwell D. Hunt and Nellie De Grift Sanchez, *A Short History of California* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1929), 131–132.

2. Report of Manuel Carcaba, Mexico, January 31, 1801, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, XVI: 143.

the company commandant, the sergeant, and three soldiers.[3] The rethatched roofs did not last very long. During the winter of 1801–1802 the buildings of the post suffered severely from strong winds. Commandant Argüello notified the governor late in February that "hurricanes" on the second and the seventeenth of the month destroyed many roofs, both old and new.[4] Work started on the much needed repairs. In July, the viceroy wrote the governor approving the expenditures for the renovating of the castillo. Ultimately, by 1805, an extensive reconstruction took place there with Indian captives erected a stone wall on three sides and a palisade on the fourth. They also provided a new casemate some three hundred yards behind the fort itself.[5]

The sergeant of the company did not have the opportunity of living under his new roof for long. In June, the viceroy sent the royal cédula which at last permitted Pedro Amador to retire. The news no doubt reached California late in the year.[6] Amador's departure brought a promotion for Corporal Luis Peralta to fill the vacancy.[7] He assumed his rank and occupied the house provided for the company sergeant.

Probably at the same time Amador received the royal cédula in San Francisco, an order from Governor Arrillaga arrived which notified the post commandant that a ship and two frigates of the British navy had come around Cape Horn. The governor urged his subordinant to be vigilant so that he would not be taken by surprise. To make certain that no British craft passed the fort disguised as the Spanish vessel bringing the memorias, Arril-

3. [Felix Berenguer de] Maquina to the Governor of California, Mexico, February 11, 1801, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, XI: 79.

4. José Argüello to Governor Arrillaga, San Francisco, February 25, 1802, ibid., 224.

5. Tays, "Castillo de San Joaquín," 24–25; [Felix Berenguer de] Maquina to Ad Interim Governor of California, Mexico, July 13, 1802, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, Sacramento, LIV: 65; Bancroft, *History of California*, II: 127.

6. José Argüello to Governor Arrillaga, San Francisco, June 9, 1801, *Archives of California*, Provinvial State Papers, XI: 96–97.

7. Born around 1760 in Tubac, of Corporal Gabriel Antonio Peralta and Francisca Xaviera Valenzula, Luis María was only fifteen when he left as part of the second Anza expedition for California. Following in his father's footsteps, he joined the San Francisco presidial company in 1782. Some eight years late he rose to corporal. From 1798 through 1800 he commanded the guard at Mission San Jose. By 1807, he became the comisionado at Pueblo San Jose. After retirement, he obtained the grant for Rancho San Antonio, in 1820, and became an elector and *juez de paz* from 1830–1833. He and his wife, María Loreto Aviso who also came with Anza, had sixteen children. She died in July 1836, while her spouse lived until August of 1851. Both are buried at Mission Santa Clara. Northop, *Spanish-Mexican Families*, I: 258–249.

laga arranged for some special signals to be used. Henceforth, the San Blas ships arriving at night would fire cannon shots at certain intervals which the fort's guns would answer.[8]

In July of 1802, the brigantine *Activo* arrived in port with the annual delivery of the memorias. In addition to the welcomed commodities the ship disembarked a corporal and five artillerymen to replace those recalled from the Castillo de San Joaquín.[9]

The royal cattle ranch at Buriburi (in present-day San Mateo County) no doubt supplied the men of *Activo* with meat for their return voyage, as was the usual practice. On the same day that the ship arrived in port, Argüello reported to his superior that the annual round-up had been completed. The presidial district soldiers had branded 330 cattle, which may have been additions to the herd that numbered almost 1,200 head during the previous year. The herd continued to grow at a steady rate to the point where its size became larger than needed. Finally, in March 1803, Governor Arrillaga ordered that all but twenty-five or thirty of the cows and heifers be driven to the Monterey presidio.[10]

In May 1803, the *Alexander* sailed into San Francisco Bay—the second American ship to arrive in the harbor. She stayed seven days taking on provisions, wood, and water. Four months later, the *Alexander* returned with another American ship, probably the *Hazard.* Argüello insisted that the former craft had been well supplied on her first visit to his port and ordered the captain to leave after a stay of only one day. However, Argüello permitted the *Hazard* to remain at San Francisco for eight days after he inspected the vessel and found that the ship badly needed supplies and repairs. The commandant gave strict orders to the Americans to have nothing to do with the Spaniards at San Francisco in part in obedience to directives from Mexico, and also because of his own worries over the preponderance of foreign military strength in the Bay. The *Hazard* carried twenty-two cannons and twenty swivel guns with a crew of fifty to man them. Comandante Argüello had only two cavalrymen, his few artillery-

8. José Arrillaga to the commandants of San Francisco and San Diego, Loreto, July 14, 1801, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, XI: 97–99.

9. José Argüello to Governor Arrillaga, San Francisco, July 28, 1802, ibid., 230.

10. José Argüello to Governor Arrillaga, San Francisco, July 24, 1802, ibid., Provincial State Papers, Benicia Military, XVI: 207, and Governor Arrillaga to José Argüello, Loreto, March 10, 1803, ibid., Provincial State Papers, XI: 227–228.

men, and some Catalonians with only nine workable cannon on hand in case of trouble.[11]

The effective strength at San Francisco shrank further at the end of the year. Argüello received a letter ordering him to send the last few men of the Company of Catalonian Volunteers back to Mexico.[12] Because infantrymen had not proved as useful in California as the cavalrymen of the presidial companies, they would not be ordered to California again until the end of the Spanish period of control. To augment the depleted California forces, recruiting began locally for horse soldiers.[13]

As the commander sought replacements, he also had to contend with the annual problem of winter rains which again caused damage at the presidio early in 1804. Argüello notified the governor that the precipitation ruined some of his powder. The commandant promised that he would repair the roofs when he had the time.[14] The destruction continued throughout the year so that by the end of November damage extended to the hut and walls of the Yerba Buena battery as well as to the presidio and Fort San Joaquín. Argüello suggested that, as the battery near the anchorage lay in near total ruins, it well might be relocated to a more favorable site on the hill overlooking the anchorage (present-day Telegraph Hill). The commandant made the mistake of admitting that it would be more expensive to relocate the battery than to rebuild the old one; it is not surprising that nothing came of his suggestion.[15]

Whatever his good intentions about repair work, Argüello probably did not get to that job for some time. A few days after the first winter storm the *Hazard* again sailed into port. The captain of the ship told the presidial commander that in his three-month voyage from the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands he had experienced

11. Bancroft, *History of California*, II: 16–17. For more on the *Hazard* consult, F.W. Howay, ed., *The Voyage of the New Hazard to the Northwest Coast; Hawaii and China, 1810-1813, by Stephen Reynolds, a Member of the Crew* (Salem: Peabody Museum, 1930).

12. Governor Arrillaga to commandants of the Presidios of San Diego, Monterey, and San Francisco, Monterey, July 23, 1803, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, Sacramento, LIV: 187.

13. Mariano G. Vallejo, "Documentos para la historia de California," Vol. XV: Pt. 1, Bancroft Library.

14. José Argüello to Governor Arrillaga, San Francisco, January 26, 1804, *Archives of California*, Provincial Sate Papers, Benicia Military, XVI: 262.

15. José Argüello to Governor Arrillaga, San Francisco, November 29, 1804, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, XI: 365–366.

severe storms which had caused him the loss of two officers, three men, three small boats, and the top of the ship's mizzen-mast. After Argüello confirmed the need for repairs, he permitted the Yankees to stay for a month at the Yerba Buena anchorage.

In spite of the fact that the American frigate had lost five crew members on the trip to San Francisco, the Spaniards still counted seventy-six men on the ship. Because Argüello only numbered eight men in his San Francisco garrison, he immediately withdrew more troops from the mission escoltas to increase his forces as long as the *Hazard* remained in the harbor. Temporarily, retired soldiers replaced the regular members of the mission detachments. Later in the year, Argüello received a royal order forbidding him to permit the entry into the port of any foreign ships.[16]

Indeed, Argüello needed his men in the interior rather than keeping watch over vessels entering the port. For one thing, during the years between 1800 and 1820 the deaths of neophytes at Mission Dolores continued to be incredibly high. On average, two hundred replacements each year over these two decades had to be brought to maintain the mission community at around a thousand. Besides rounding up potential converts for Mission Dolores and other missions in the district, the troops increasingly faced calls to apprehend runaway neophytes. They also went out in punitive expeditions against those local groups that maintained their autonomy in the face of pressures to convert. In this instance, most of the summer and fall of 1804, troops responded to Indian disturbances in the area around the missions of San Jose and Santa Clara. Sergeant Peralta led a small force into the hills after a group of Indians who had killed a neophyte. The soldiers could not find the suspects, wrote Peralta, because they lacked good guides.[17] A second expedition, again led by Peralta and made up of the few remaining Catalonians at San Francisco, turned in a more successful report. The soldiers caught eleven escaped neophytes and returned them to their missions, along

16. José Argüello to Governor Arrillaga, San Francisco, ibid., Benicia Military, XVI: 263; José Argüello to port commanders in California, San Francisco, January 31, 1804, ibid., Sacramento, LIV: 472; Sergeant Luis Peralta's Report, San Francisco, February 3, 1804, ibid., XI: 380, and José Argüello to Governor Arrillaga, San Francisco, November 28, 1804, ibid., XI: 336. Peralta listed sixteen of the crew as "Indians of San Blas," but he probably meant "Indians of Sandwich," a fairly common term in the reports from Spanish California for Hawaiians.

17. Alan K. Brown, "Pomponio's World," (San Francisco Westerners) *Argonaut*, VI (May 1975): 4–5.

with rounding up a large number of non-Christians. They turned over the women and children to the missionaries and put the thirty-two men to work at the presidio.[18]

The Indian prisoners confined at the presidio repaired the fortifications where they made a few new improvements at the castillo. Within the next year the Indians built a wall around the fort. Because storing powder in the guardroom presented a danger, they constructed a small powder magazine three hundred yards away, presumably to the rear. The soldiers also supervised the completion of a shed to shelter the animals. In spite of all these efforts, Argüello had to admit in his report that after a year's toil the fort and battery remained in poor condition.[19]

The Indians who started work at the Castillo de San Joaquín had much company during the first half of 1805; their numbers rose considerably as disturbances erupted again and again in the area near Missions San Jose and Santa Clara. In January, Sergeant Peralta led a campaign against the independence-minded inhabitants of the San Jose region which resulted in eleven killed and thirty captured.[20]

Other rumors of a suspected Indian uprising proved to be well founded when the presidio commander sent his son, Alférez Luis Argüello, to Santa Clara to conduct an investigation in February. Peralta, who went along, found one of the missionaries wounded by an arrow.[21]

Before the guilty parties could be identified, a more serious incident occurred near what is now the town of Livermore. The local inhabitants attacked the padre and four soldiers of the Mission San Jose escolta while this group went on a proselytizing expedition. They killed one soldier, whom they scalped and mutilated, and wounded the padre and another soldier. It took the group until nightfall to escape from the natives. The two unwounded soldiers galloped off to raise the alarm. Lieutenant

18. Luis Peralta [to José Argüello?], Santa Clara, September 27, 1804; José Argüello to Governor Arrillaga, San Francisco, September 29 and October 26, 1804, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, XI: 334, 354, and 358, respectively.

19. José Argüello to Governor Arrillaga, San Francisco, September 28, 1805, ibid., 31; José Argüello's Habilitado Report, ibid., Provincial State Papers, Benicia Military, XVI: 256.

20. Bancroft, *History of California*, II: 35.

21. Luis Peralta [to José Argüello?], Santa Clara, February 20, 1805 and Luis Argüello to José Argüello, San Francisco, February 20, 1805, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, XII: 29–30.

Gabriel Moraga led the punitive expedition to retaliate against the Indians for their attack.[22] A shortage of soldiers caused the temporary need to recruit a few civilians as reinforcements for the military forces.

A brief but successful campaign followed. After a skirmish, all of the members of the offending Indian village were taken prisoners. Once more, the women and children were sent to the mission, and the men were forced to labor at the presidio.[23]

Still more Indians involuntarily joined the work force at the presidio after a month-long foray led by Luis Argüello returned from the hills between the two missions of San Jose and Santa Clara. The troops captured thirteen escaped neophytes and brought them back to their mission, while they pressed into service nine other unconverted local tribesmen implicated in the killing of a Christian Indian at the presidio.[24]

As soon as temporary quiet settled over the district, Lieutenant Argüello turned his forces against other prey. His troops stalked various and sundry bears, wolves, and mountain lions which had been attacking the cattle herds at the royal ranch. Those cattle not killed and eaten by the wild animals were dispersed by them over a rough terrain that made it difficult for the soldier-herders to round them up.[25]

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22. Gabriel Moraga was only about ten when this native of Santa Rosa de las Fronteras, Sonora, went with his father, Josef (also known as José) Joaquín Moraga, and mother, María del Pilar de León, to start a new life in California as part of Anza's second expedition. He joined the San Francisco Company as a private in 1783, when his father still commanded there. The following year he married Ana María Bernal at Mission Dolores. She was born in Sinaloa and was about fourteen years old at the time. The couple had nine children before Señora Moraga died in 1802. Gabriel remarried in 1806, taking María Joaquína Alvarado as his second wife. They had five children.

During his military career he rose through the ranks to sergeant and by 1806 obtained his commission as an alférez. He would become a brevet lieutenant in 1811 and a lieutenant some six years later. By 1820, he boasted a thirty-seven-year record as a soldier and had served in forty-six expeditions against Indians in the San Francisco, Monterey, and Santa Barbara presidial districts where he served. Northrop, *Spanish-Mexican Families*, I: 209–210.

He would lead or be included in several other expeditions during the next several years in search of potential new mission sites, converts, and a land route, albeit never realized, between California and Santa Fe. These forays increased Spain's knowledge of the San Joaquin Valley and other portions of northern California. For a good example of these expeditions and Moraga's role see, Donald C. Cutter, trans. and ed., *The Diary of Ensign Gabriel Moraga's Expedition of Discovery in the Sacramento Valley, 1808* (Los Angeles: Dawson Book Shop, 1957).

23. Amador, "Memorias," 13–15.

24. José Argüello to Governor Arrillaga, San Francisco, June 25, 1805, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, XII: 32.

25. July 29, 1805, ibid., 32.

In mid-year the viceroy authorized the strength of the Presidio of San Francisco Company to be doubled. Lieutenant Argüello commented that he did not know where he would find recruits to fill the vacancies, but in case he did locate willing prospects it would be well to have non-commissioned officers all ready to train the new men. Nepotism being common, Argüello suggested his son, corporal distinguido Gervasio Argüello, for the job. For once José Argüello's political machinations to set his sons up with the good beginning to a military career did not work. The next year, when the ranks were filled, Governor Arrillaga sent to his superiors a list of officers at San Francisco. It included the following names: Lieutenant José Argüello, Ensign Luis Argüello, Cadet Santiago Argüello, and Corporal Gervasio Argüello.[26] Somehow or other an out-

26. José Argüello to Governor Arillaga, San Francisco, July 29, 1805, ibid., XII: 30–31 and Governor Arrillaga's Report, Monterey, April 12, 1806, ibid., Provincial State Papers, Benicia Military, XVI: 240. It should be noted that a cadet received his appointment from the viceroy and did duty with the enlisted men, although he lived with the officers. This meant that he required an outside income of some sort until he eventually received his appointment to alférez. Bancroft, *California Pastoral*, 295.

Argüello's oldest son, Josef Joaquín Maximo, became a priest, while the next oldest son, Luis Antonio, was born on July 21, 1784, at the Presidio of San Francisco and baptized at Mission Dolores the next day with his uncle and aunt, Lieutenant and Señora Moraga, as his godparents. By October 21, 1799, he entered the San Francisco Company as a cadet. When Manuel Rodríguez received a promotion to lieutenant, Luis filled the opening for ensign at San Francisco, the promotion being granted on December 22, 1800. He competed for the vacancy of alférez with two other candidates, Ignacio Martínez de la Vega, a cadet with sixteen months service at Santa Barbara and José Estudillo, a cadet stationed at Loreto for some forty months. The governor recommended Argüello for his ability, the fact that he came from San Francisco, and because Luis' father commanded there. The viceroy also provided his support with the observation, "young Argüello had the possibilities of becoming a fine officer," because he displayed "more aptitude, better attitude" and was the son of a commander. He also could help his father who had twenty-eight years "good military service, with ten children and supporting them on only 550 pesos annually." Mission Dolores, Book of Baptisms, I (Year 1784), folio 55v, document no. 389, item 3; Viceroy to José Darío Argüello, No. 173, Mexico City, December 27, 1800, *Archivo General Militar de Segovia* (AGMS), Section I, Expediente 2235; Governor Arrillaga to Señor [King Carlos IV], Loreto, December 13, 1800 and Viceroy Marquina to Señor, Mexico, No. 173, December 27, 1800, ibid., Section, Expediente 2235, and Viceroy Marquina to Antonio Cornel, Mexico, December 27, 1800, ibid.

Another son, José Gervasio, born July 1786, married Encarnación Dolores Bernal on May 31, 1803 at Mission Dolores. Three years earlier he had joined his father's command as a soldado distinguido, then remained a cadet from 1807 through 1817, serving for eight of those years as the San Francisco Company's habilitado. He would leave California to became the habilitado general in Mexico where he remained for the rest of his life.

Finally, Santiago Argüello was born on July 25, 1792. In 1805, while barely in his teens, he became a cadet at San Francisco but the following year he transferred to Santa Barbara. There, on May 30, 1810, he married María del Pilar Salvadora Ortega. The couple had fifteen children. In 1817, he returned to San Francisco as an alférez, a post he held for a decade. Then, in 1827, he transferred to San Diego as a lieutenant and by the next year became com-

sider named José Sánchez became the associate sergeant to Peralta.[27] The appointment must have been a blow to the father's prestige in the Argüello home.

Nonetheless, the family prospered. In August 1806, Don José, now a brevet captain, transferred to Santa Barbara, leaving behind his three sons, with Luis as the new presidial district commander in San Francisco and Gervasio taking over as habilitado.[28]

Luis Argüello not only assumed control of the Presidio of San Francisco but also received his promotion to lieutenant with its accompanying extra pay which came just in time. By October 8, 1806, he and Rafaela Sal, orphaned daughter of the late commander of the presidio, Lieutenant Hermenegildo Sal, exchanged

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mandant there. In 1831, he rose to captain. He retired from the military in 1836, although he continued in a number of influential civilian positions until his death in 1862 as the grantee of Rancho Tía Juana. Northrop, *Spanish-Mexican Families*, I: 41–45 and Bancroft, *History of California*, II: 702.

27. There was good reason for José Antonio Sánchez to obtain this promotion based on his record. A native of Sinaloa, he joined the San Francisco Company as a private in 1791, and rose to corporal fourteen years later, taking charge of Mission Santa Cruz' escolta for a short time thereafter. From 1806 to 1820, he served as a sergeant until a brevet ensign's rank was bestowed on him. Several years passed before he became an alférez, however. He remained in uniform after Mexico assumed control, retiring from duty in 1836, possibly to his grant, Buriburi, the former rancho del rey. A veteran of some twenty forays against Indians, Sánchez was pronounced "a good man, of known honesty and valor" by Bancroft, although the same source contended he was "very ignorant and unfit for promotion." Sánchez died in 1843, "being denied the comforts of religion on his death-bed, and for a time Christian burial, through some quarrel with the friars, to whom he was always hostile." Bancroft, *History of California*, V: 710*n*.

28. Ibid., II: 125. For a few years, Luis functioned as acting commander since nominally Captain Manuel Rodríguez was assigned as commandant, but never appeared in the Bay Area because he remained on duty in Mexico.

29. Rafaela Sal y Amésquita was born in Monterey on August 29, 1784 and baptized at the Mission San Carlos on August 30. When her father died, she came to live with her godmother, María Ignácia de Moraga Argüello and Don José became her official guardian at San Francisco. By 1805, Luis and Rafaela sought permission to marry with the approval of his parents, which they gave to both of the young people. The viceroy likewise assented. Certification of Guardianship of Rafaela Sal signed José Darío Argüello, San Francisco, 1805, AGMS, Expediente 2235; Luis Antonio Argüello to *Señor*, San Francisco, October 30, 1805, ibid.; Certification No. 4 and Certification No. 5, signed by José Darío Argüello and María Ignacia de Moraga, San Francisco, October 30 and October 31, 1805, ibid.; Viceroy Iturrigaray to dean of the Supreme Council of War in Madrid, Mexico City, May 27, 1806, ibid., and *Oficio* from José Caballero to Viceroy Iturrigaray, San Lorenzo (del Escorial), November 21, 1806, ibid. The last named document was the official authorization for the marriage to take place.

His first wife died just over a half dozen years later. Don Luis would not remarry until August 30, 1822, when he took the hand of María de la Soledad Ortega, born on April 13, 1797. The family increased by another eight children during this second marriage. In October 1818, Argüello received further recognition with a promotion to captain. Four years later, he became acting governor of Mexican California but still retained command of the San Francisco district, a post he continued to hold until 1828. He died on March 27, 1830. Northrop, *Spanish-Mexican Families*, I: 42–43; Bancroft, *History of California*, III: 9–13.

their wedding vows at Mission Santa Clara.[29] Nearly a year after, the viceroy forwarded the royal order which gave permission to Don Luis to marry. The document also stated that Doña Rafaela was not entitled to be a beneficiary of the *Monte Pío Militar* unless her husband should be killed in action.[30] This widows' and orphans' fund generally remained limited to the families of officers of the rank of captain or higher.[31] The government usually discouraged ensigns and lieutenants from marrying unless they had an outside income to augment their low pay. Rather than wait for approval under the circumstances, many junior officers married secretly. Argüello's connections helped remove this obstacle for the young couple who soon presented Don José with two new grandchildren.

Although the Argüellos became a California dynasty, not everyone enjoyed the same success. Few others found similar advancements, many individuals continuing a marginal existence at the bottom of a stratified society, albeit one which may have been less rigid and separated by material wealth than was evident in Mexico and Spain during the same era.[32] Nevertheless, the gente de razón of the district increased in numbers as the original Native American population gradually decreased, although they continued to outnumber the Hispanic sector an estimated six to one. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the former group had evolved into a homogeneous enclave which gradually achieved a certain degree of independence from Madrid, Mexico City, and even Monterey, largely because of isolation and distance from higher authorities. The very circumstances which created this semi-independent environment

30. Viceroy José de Iturrigaray to Governor José Arrillaga, Mexico, May 21, 1807, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, XII: 196–197.

31. The government withheld a small part of the pay of officers and enlisted men alike for various purposes. Soldiers had fifty pesos accumulated against the day they retired as a sort of muster-out pay known as the *Fondo de Retencion*. Another small sum of the soldier's salary went into the *Fondo de Inválidos*, used to pay pensions with officers drawing upon a similar fund called the *Fondo de Montepio*. Finally, the crown placed ten pesos annually for each man into the *Fondo de Gratificación*, to be used to cover miscellaneous company expenses. Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 635–636.

32. John P. Langellier and Katherine M. Peterson, "Lances and Leather Jackets: Presidial Forces in Spanish California, 1769–1821," *Journal of the West*, XX (October 1981): 9, concluded, "The real key to social status . . . in the Spanish frontier society seemed to be land acquisition" in so far as California was concerned, not ethnicity.

worked to the advantage of outsiders who would intrude into this tiny world.

Ripples in the small calm pool began even as Don Luis started up the ladder of command and began his married life. He and his family soon played host to a Russian visit to San Francisco. During the winter of 1805–1806, members of the Russian- American Fur Company settlement at Sitka in Unalaska suffered near-starvation and scurvy. The imperial inspector visiting the colony at the time, Chamberlain Nikolai Petrovich Rezanov, resolved to sail to California to obtain food for the company servants.

As a result, the Russian ship *Juno* arrived at San Francisco on March 28, 1806, with a load of merchandise to be used in trade for food supplies for its scurvy-ridden crew and the colonists to the north. As the vessel sailed by the Castillo de San Joaquín, a Spanish soldier shouted orders through a speaking trumpet to halt at the presidio anchorage. With this, *Juno* sailed on through the harbor's mouth and dropped anchor.[33]

Then they lowered a boat and came ashore where Alférez Luis Argüello, Padre José de Uría, and fifteen soldiers rode out to meet the delegation from the ship.[34] Georg H. von Langsdorff, doctor and naturalist on *Juno*, also disembarked. He observed that among the welcoming group awaiting on shore was

> a well looking man, who was not otherwise distinguished from the rest but by a very singular dress, was presented to us as the commandant of the place. He had over his uniform a sort of mantle of striped woolen cloth, which looked very much like the coverlet of a bed, his head coming through an opening in the middle, so it hung down over the breast, back, and shoulders. He, as well as the rest of the military officers, wore boots embroidered after a particular fashion, and extravagantly large spurs; most of them also had large cloaks.[35]

33. Bancroft, *History of California*, II: 64–68.

34. Padre Uría was born in 1769 at Azcoita in Spain and joined the Franciscans twenty years later. By 1796, he sailed from Cadíz to Mexico, where he remained for approximately three years before being assigned to Mission San Jose. He served at the latter post from August 1799 through 1806. The priest then transferred to Mission San Fernando and after two years there went to San Juan Capistrano. From there, health problems brought about permission for his return to Mexico in late 1812. He died in 1815. Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries*, 259.

35. Richard A. Pierce, ed., *Rezanov Reconnoiters California, 1806: A new translation of Rezanov's letter, parts of Lieutenant Khvostov's log of the ship Juno, and Dr. Georg von Langsdorff observations* (San Francisco, CA: The Book Club of California, 1972), 56–57. All other information about *Juno*'s visit was taken from this source.

None of the Russians understood any Spanish and none of the Spaniards knew any of the language of their visitors. They solved the problem of communication when the naturalist and missionary conversed in Latin, then still a sort of *lingua franca* of the liberally educated of the period. The Spanish government had already alerted the Californians that they might expect a visit from Russians, and that should visitors appear they were to be welcomed. Accordingly, young Argüello invited the Russian officers to his quarters for a reception and dinner. The distance from the landing being close, the Russian envoys elected to walk with their host to the quadrangle.

The post did not impress Langsdorff. He described the place as having "the appearance of a German *Metairie* [farmstead]," and an illustration he made of the place reflected this remark. (Figure 16) Most of the families lived in small, low, one-room houses. He considered Argüello's house as being small and mean with the parlor, where the commander received them, a scantily-furnished room with whitewashed walls and straw matting on portions of the floor. Much to Langsdorff's surprise, however, when the meal came he commented on the beautiful silver service in stark contrast to the humble surroundings. He concluded:

> this costly American metal is indeed found in the most remote Spanish possessions. Friendship and harmony reigned in the whole behaviour of these worthy kind-hearted people; indeed, in such a spot, they have scarcely any pleasures or amusements but what proceed from family union and domestic cordiality.
>
> The simple artless attachment which every part of this amiable family seemed to feel for the other, interested us so much, that soon we wished for a farther acquaintance with them, and were very desirous of learning the name of each individual. Madame Argüello had had fifteen children, of whom thirteen were at this time living; some of the sons were absent upon military services, others were at home. Of the grown up unmarried daughters, Donna Conception interested us more particularly. She was lively and animated, had sparkling love-inspiring eyes, beautiful teeth, pleasing and expressive features, a fine form, and a thousand other charms, yet her manners were perfectly simple and artless.[36]

36. Pierce, *Rezanov*, 58–59.

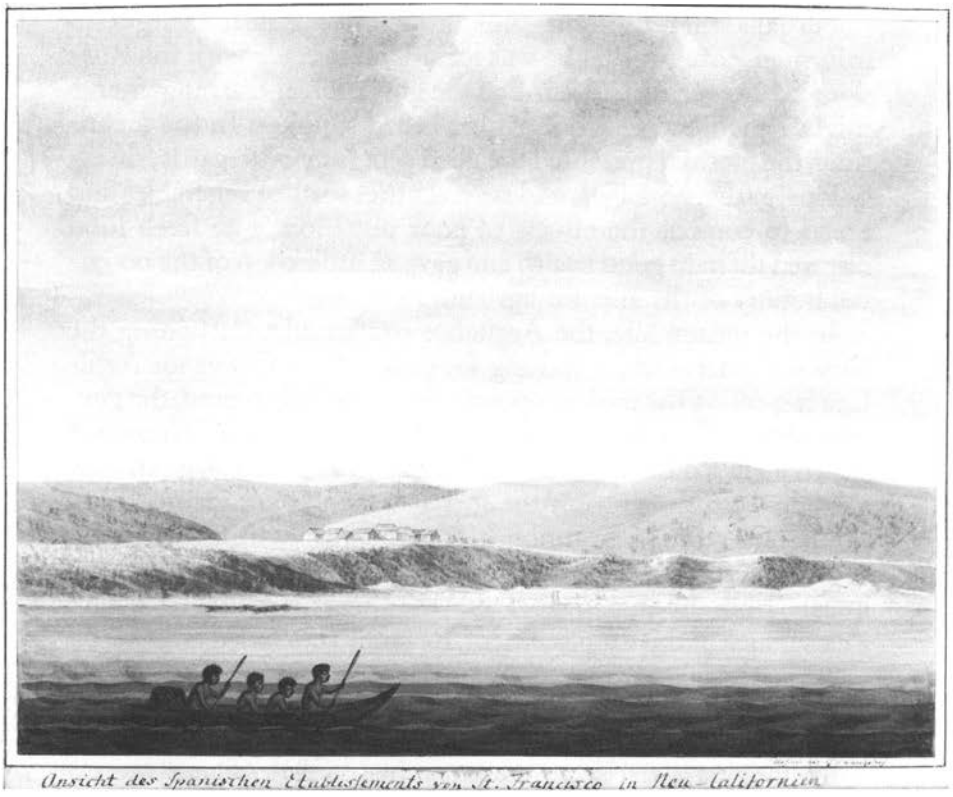

Figure 16. The first known work of art to provide an elevation of the Presidio of San Francisco appeared in 1806, based upon the earliest Russian visits to the port. Credited to Georg von Langsdorff, it depicted a group of structures huddled together in an irregular fashion (not unlike a German "farmstead") with no visible outer protective walls on the east and north sides. As indicated by this piece of art, little major vegetation grew on the surrounding hills. A low sandy dune below an abrupt rise that formed the plain on which the outpost stood also was evident. Bancroft Library.

The head of the Russian party, Rezanov, shared Langsdorff's attraction for Concepción. His interest stemmed not only from the lonely time he had spent during the Alaskan winter, but because a relationship with this young woman offered political advantages as much as romantic possibilities.

Perhaps that thought took hold once Alférez Argüello informed Rezanov that he was forbidden to trade with the Russians. However, he had notified the governor, and arrangements might be worked out to provide needed supplies. In the meantime, the presidio presented the ill crew of *Juno*, with cattle, sheep, onions, garlic, cabbages, and several other sorts of vegetables and bread to combat the effects of poor nutrition. The fresh food restored them to good health and gave an indication of the potential bounty of the area for agriculture.

In the meanwhile, the Argüellos continued entertaining the Russian officers while waiting for orders from Governor Arrillaga respecting the trade proposals. After ten days passed, the governor himself made his way to San Francisco with an entourage which included Lieutenant José Argüello. When Arrillaga arrived, a salute from the guns of the fort and the battery greeted him, the booms from the cannon hidden farther within the harbor surprising the Russians since the Yerba Buena battery could not be seen from the anchorage. Later, the Russians managed to have a closer look at this emplacement. Rezanov concluded afterwards:

> Weak as the Spanish defenses are, they have nevertheless increased their artillery since Vancouver's visit. We later secretly inspected the battery [Yerba Buena]. It has five brass cannons of twelve pound caliber. I heard that there are several guns in the fortress [the castillo]. As I have never been there and in order to disarm suspicion did not allow others to go either, I do not know if there are more or less guns there.[37]

Further surveys indicated that the north shore offered some excellent positions for forts which could control the bay without any danger of retaliation from the Spanish battery as the proposed sites for Russian defenses rose higher than those of the Spanish on the south side of the harbor and also were out of range. The Russians could not help but notice that a ship could slip pass the castillo's guns by hugging the out-of-range opposite shore as it entered port.

For the moment though, talks over other matters took precedence over martial affairs. Most notably, Governor Arrillaga admitted that the mutual trade arrangements would benefit both

37. Ibid., 7.

the Spanish and Russian colonies, but he said the viceroy strictly forbade such commerce with foreigners. The Russians attempted to win favor through the giving of presents such as cloth and a fowling piece to the locals, but to no avail.

Rezanov finally used a more subtle approach to win his point. The language barriers proved to be not much of an obstacle, for in a short time the Russian commander evidently managed to woo and win Concepción Argüello. The senior Argüellos reacted with something less than pleasure over this state of affairs, but their daughter persuaded them to give approval to a marriage. The local missionaries refused to perform a wedding for a non-Catholic until Rome authorized the union. Regardless, the parties agreed to the drawing up of a marriage contract. From that time Rezanov practically became part of the large Argüello clan. With the Argüellos won over to the arguments of the Russians, Arrillaga soon gave in to persuasion. Although one of the principal tenets of the mercantilist system which sustained the Spanish crown's monopoly over its empire would be violated, Arrillaga agreed to permit trading with the Russians.[38]

While trade negotiations inched forward and foodstuffs, including wheat, barley, beans, peas, flour, and lard, came aboard *Juno*, the ship's naturalist made various observations about the Presidio of San Francisco and its environs. He observed that the countryside appeared rather naked with the exception of a few low shrubs which afforded little variety. He saw rabbits, hares, eagles, cranes, curlews, ducks, pelicans, guillemots, and several sorts of fowls unknown to him. Seals of several types and sea otters swam in numbers. The latter creatures seemed of great potential for their fur and as another item of trade to Langsdorff's way of thinking. Deer grazed across the bay to the north while bears, which once abounded, had been reduced in numbers as one of the first local species to suffer at the hands of excessive hunting. One of the reasons for this decline grew out of a common practice to capture these animals alive and bring them back for combat with bulls as a form of popular entertainment.

38. All goods coming into the colonies supposedly went through the government's customhouse. Failure to follow this prescription would lead to confiscation of the goods and other sanctions. Tobacco particularly required high duties and the crown kept a tight control on this item.

The crew of *Juno*, on the promise of a bull and bear fight, waited to see this spectacle first hand but the bear that had been caught for the duel died the night before the intended performance. To keep the Russians from being too disappointed. José Argüello ordered an afternoon of bullfights. The soldiers used their lances, both on foot and on horseback. Langsdorff did not think much of the technique of the local performers.[39]

For other diversions, Langsdorff and his comrades attended daily entertainment at the presidio. Almost every afternoon one or the other side held a party. The visitors made a big success with the ladies when they introduced some of the newer dance steps from Europe to San Francisco society. In turn, the Russians learned some of the favorites of the locals. One dance, the *barrego*, required two couples, who stood facing each other. Humming a tune and stamping the measure with their feet they formed a half-chain figure, "then balance each opposite each other to a slow time, when they recommence the dance." Soldiers of the garrison who could play the violin and guitar provided music at these *fandangos*.

When not attending these gatherings, Langsdorff took interest in other aspects of local daily life. He commented on the cueras worn by the Spaniards as a defense against Indian arrows. The physician noted that these deerskin outer garments remained part of the dress uniform for parades and other special ceremonies. He also learned from Governor Arrillaga that the increase in cattle in the San Francisco district had been so great in recent years that they became a liability instead of an asset. The governor had to send a party of soldiers to kill thousands of cattle, so that there would be enough pasture for the rest.[40]

Military activities had to continue in spite of the distracting presence of visitors in the port. While Langsdorff visited Mission San Jose, a party of fourteen soldiers led by a sergeant returned from exploring the interior of the country. The soldiers went as far as the Sierra Nevada mountains. At this same time

39. Georg von Langsdorff, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise um die Welt* (London: Henry Colburn & Richard Bentley, 1813–1814), II: 158 and 170.

40. Diane S. Pritchard, "Joint Tenants of the Frontier: Russian-Hispanic Relationship in Alta California," in Barbara Sweetland Smith and Redmond J. Barnett, eds., *Russian America: The Forgotten Frontier* (Tacoma, WA: Washington State Historical Society, 1990), 83.

another party readied itself at San Francisco to go on another inland expedition. Newly-promoted Lieutenant Luis Argüello led the force which included the company ensign, Gabriel Moraga, recently promoted and transferred from the Monterey company, Cadet Santiago Argüello, Father José Uría, and twenty-one soldiers.

As the lancers went about their duties, *Juno*'s crew filled their ship's hold with provisions. They made ready to sail in the third week of May, leaving 11,174 rubles (an estimated $24,000) worth of goods in exchange for two thousand bushels of grain, five tons of flour, and other edibles. As the Russian ship sailed out of San Francisco Bay, she exchanged cannon salutes with the Spaniards at the entrance to the harbor. The Russians' last glimpse of the Spanish settlement was the large group on the high white cliff—Governor Arrillaga, the whole Argüello family, and many others, all waving goodbye with hats and handkerchiefs.[41]

After dealing with the Russians, Governor Arrillaga made an inspection tour of the port at San Francisco. He reported to the viceroy relatively fair condition of the presidio's buildings in general, but concluded that considerable repairs remained to be made. The guardhouse, missing a large piece of its roof, could no longer be used to confine prisoners. More importantly, only three of the cannon mounted at the Castillo de San Joaquín and the Batería de Yerba Buena functioned.[42]

Likewise, a half year after the San Francisco commandant and his bride moved into their home at the presidio, they experienced housekeeping problems. On July 17, 1808, Argüello wrote to Governor Arrillaga about the eighteen earthquakes which occurred in the Bay Area since June 21 of the same summer. Some

41. Bancroft, *History of California*, II: 72–78 and Zephyrin Englehard, *San Francisco or Mission Dolores* (Chicago, IL: Franciscan Herald Press, 1924), 401–405 provide accounts of what became of one of California's most famous romances. In brief, after *Juno* sailed, Rezanov returned to his native land. While traveling to make his report to superiors and set things in motion to realize his plans for California, his horse threw him and he died. In turn, Concepción never married, living the life of a devout lay person who performed works of charity throughout the community. Hector Chevigy's *Lost Empire: The Life and Adventures of Nikolai Rezanov* (Portland, OR: Binford & Mort Publishers, 1979) delves into this subject at some length but is more a historical novel than a scholarly history. It should be noted that the central figures of the story have become part of popular culture in the Soviet Union with Nikolai and Concita (as Concepción is known there) even being the subject of a rock opera!

42. Tays, "Castillo," 27.

of the shocks cracked all the walls of the Argüello's home and completely destroyed one room of the building. He noted considerable other damage, especially at the barracks at Fort San Joaquín where the tremors had rendered the place unsafe to keep men in the building.[43]

New problems arose during the year 1809, chiefly from unwelcome guests. The Russian-American Company began fur-collecting activities from an initial base at Bodega Bay early in the year. Local soldiers arrested Alaskan Indians caught chasing sea otters and fur seals in the Bay. Likewise, deserters from the Russian base appeared in the presidial district. The Spanish promptly took them into custody.

Some of the deserters turned out to be "Yankees" from the crew of the *Juno* which had visited San Francisco three years before. These men had tried to slip away in 1806, but Rezanov had made certain that he would have a sufficient crew by the simple step of storing all the potential deserters on Alcatraz Island until he was ready to leave the harbor. At the presidio the men, successful in their second desertion attempt, underwent questioning, imprisonment, and eventually transfer to Monterey. The Spanish also sent some of the Indian prisoners to Monterey, but most ended up in their usual capacity as workers at the presidio.[44] All through the remainder of the period of Spanish control at San Francisco, occasional Russian sailors and Alaskan Indians would desert or be captured by the soldiers of the garrison. Usually the prisoners would be confined and put to work at San Francisco until orders from the governor provided for their disposition. Most eventually were sent to Monterey.

During the French invasion of Spain, the soldiers in California, like Spanish Americans generally, remained loyal to the imprisoned Spanish royal family. To assure continued support, however, the authorities required the men to take an oath of allegiance to Ferdinand VII. Consequently, on March 5, 1809, the

43. Luis Argüello to Governor Arrillaga, San Francisco, July 17, 1808, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, XII: 235–236.

44. Luis Argüello to Governor Arrillaga, San Francisco, February 16, 1809 and José Arrillaga to José María Estudillo, San Antonio, October 5, 1809, ibid., XII: 249, 266–268.

soldiers of the San Francisco company drew up in their best uniforms under arms. Lieutenant Argüello read the general order and called out three times, "*Viva el Rey Nuestro y Señor Natural Don Fernando*" and "*Castilla por el Señor don Fernando VII.*" Each time the soldiers replied with, "Long live our king and natural Lord Ferdinand VII." Church services and the firing of salutes added to the ritual.[45]

With the mother country under Napoleon, political unrest heightened in Central and South America. The effects made their way to San Francisco. In 1810, insurgents on the high seas captured supplies and equipment destined for California. From this date until the end of the Spanish period in California, the soldiers never again saw their pay. The semi-annual supply ships rarely made the trip to California, dictating that the presidios had to rely on foodstuffs from the missions. The governor gave drafts on the royal treasury in exchange for the food, but never repaid the debts. These circumstances also forced Governor Arrillaga to ignore his orders to forbid foreign trade in order to supply the province with necessities.[46]

San Francisco suffered not only from a shortage of supplies in 1810, but also from a scarcity of workmen.[47] The winter rains took their usual toll of the buildings of the garrison. Several houses, a storehouse, barracks, and the chapel at the presidio suffered. Once more, the merlons and esplanade at Fort San Joaquín crumbled. The guardroom's damage rendered it dangerous to keep troops in it. The tule roof of a clothing warehouse fell apart and made it easy for three neophyte thieves to get into the building. Argüello asked for masons, carpenters, and blacksmiths to make repairs.[48] Official silence was the only reply.

45. Bancroft, *History of California*, II: 88.

46. Eldredge, *The Beginnings of San Francisco*, I: 226–227.

47. In the 1790s, efforts were made to become self-supporting in terms of developing skills in various crafts. This initiative came to little good, with a few exceptions, such as José Antonio Romero, a potter and soldier at San Francisco who went to Mission Dolores to instruct the neophytes in that art. Another soldier, by the name of Casero, was sent to help the missionaries at Santa Clara and Santa Cruz in setting up portable manufacturing elements to make earthenware. Sutil y Mexican, General California Military, 1790s, Bancroft Reference Notes; José Argüello to Governor Borica, August 30, 1796 and November 28, 1796, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, VIII: 22 and 119.

48. Luis Argüello to Governor Arrillaga, San Francisco, March 30, 1810, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, XII: 281–282.

Not many of the San Francisco soldiers were available for renovation or construction work during this last year of the decade. In May, Moraga took to the field in pursuit of Indians in the area of Suisun. The eighteen-man detail fought in two skirmishes with several of the soldiers being wounded. Despite casualties, the men's success on campaigns caused the regency acting for the imprisoned Spanish king to make Moraga a brevet lieutenant, promoted two wounded corporals to sergeant, and promised the wounded privates pay bonuses. All of the Spanish soldiers received the formal thanks of the nation. In August and mid-October, Ensign Moraga led soldiers and armed neophytes on two expeditions to the San Joaquin Valley to find some promising mission sites and to recapture some escaped Indians whom they sent to the missions under guard.[49]

One of those troops engaged in these actions, Corporal Francisco Soto, had recovered from his wounds by September.[50] At that time he and two soldiers caught three Russian-directed Indian fur hunters near Mission San Jose. Local Indians indicated many fishing canoes in San Francisco Bay; the occupants were going after sea otters. Reports of a large ship in Bodega Bay likewise reached San Francisco.[51] The governor in Monterey instructed Moraga to investigate the matter. He led a small group of soldiers to Bodega Bay and discovered an Indian *ranchería* and a small American ship in the harbor with several small boats used in otter hunting. He also saw a few Alaskan Indians in the area. After ten days the detachment returned to San Francisco.[52] Thereafter, they would encounter an ever-increasing number of foreigners in and around San Francisco during the remainder of Spanish rule.

49. Bancroft, *History of California*, II: 56–57; 91.

50. The first hispanic child born at San Francisco, Francisco Josef de los Dolores Soto, was the son of one of the garrison's original soldiers, Ygnacio Soto and María Barbara Espinosa, both of whom came with the second Anza expedition. Soto's father retired in 1785 and moved to San Jose. The son entered the military ranks at a young age and by 1810 had become a corporal. Prior to this, on August 13, 1795, he married Ana María Higuera, at Mission Santa Clara. Soto died in July 1836, and was buried at Mission Dolores, the site of his baptism. Northrop, *Spanish-Mexican Families*, I: 304, and Bancroft, *History of California*, V: 728.

51. Luis Argüello to Governor Arrillaga, San Francisco, September 19 and September 20, 1810, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, XII, 275–276.

52. Gabriel Moraga's Diary of his Expedition to the Port of Bodega, San Francisco, October 3, 1810, ibid., XII: 276–279.

Indeed, the last years before Mexico took control of California were ones of only nominal Spanish direction. The Spanish government provided a few reinforcements during the decade, but provided none of the equivalent of 89,000 pesos annual allowance due to the four presidial companies in the province.[53] Spain, too busy elsewhere with Central and South American revolts and problems in Europe, paid little attention to her California subjects.

Although the Spanish home government ignored the possibilities of developing the San Francisco Bay Area during this decade, the Russians continued as enterprising exploiters. All during the early part of the year 1811 many Russian-directed Indians appeared around the Bay. Mission Indians sent out to report on the interlopers' activities spied 130 canoes in the vicinity of the harbor's entrance, all hunting fur seals. The Russian supply ships for the fur-collecting expedition anchored in Bodega Bay. Some time during July the intruders left the area and were not seen again until the following year.[54]

In mid-1812, the canoes of Indian fur hunters returned. The Spaniards discovered intruders near San Mateo and received reports of others in San Pablo Bay as far as Carquínez. *Teniente* Luis Argüello could not discern whether the base ship at Bodega Bay flew a Russian or American ensign. With instructions from the governor to investigate the matter, Argüello sent Gabriel Moraga with four men to ascertain the truth. Lieutenant Moraga took only a week to make his reconnaissance. The ship, a Russian brigantine, rode at anchor about eight leagues north of Bodega. It carried eighty men from Unalaska and Kamchatka to the California site, where Russians already had begun the construction of a small fort (destined to become Fort Ross), some 150 yards square with cannon mounted behind the walls. In spite of the armament, Moraga noted the Russians treated the Spanish soldiers in a friendly manner.[55]

Late in the year some men appeared on the shore of the har-

53. Bancroft, *History of California*, II: 422.

54. Luis Argüello to Governor Arrillaga, San Francisco, May 30 and July 30, 1811, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, XII: 306–308.

55. Luis Argüello to José Arrillaga, San Francisco, July 31 and September 7, 1812, ibid., XII: 320–325.

bor opposite the Castillo de San Joaquín. The sergeant at the fort tried unsuccessfully to hail them through his speaking tube when the unidentified group waved a small flag. Argüello then sent over a small boat to investigate the unusual activity. The crew discovered three Russians in a most miserable condition. They came from Fort Ross, deserters who had fled the near-starvation situation prevalent at that settlement.[56]

While the Spaniards turned their principal attentions toward Russian activities during the year, they could not ignore the unrest of certain Indian groups living within the San Francisco area. Some time during the year Sergeant Francisco Soto, with twelve men from the presidio and one hundred Indian neophytes, marched from San Jose to the San Joaquín River to punish what his superiors considered to be trouble-makers. On one of the delta islands the soldiers and their native allies fought against a force of supposedly a thousand Indians. Because the Spanish proved victorious and the enemy fled, it seems unlikely that they faced anywhere near that number.[57] Indeed, had the various groups of original Indian inhabitants of the Bay Area ever banded together in such strength, they could have swept most of the Hispanic population aside.[58]

Between campaigns, the men of the garrison at San Francisco no doubt kept busy on the never ceasing repair work. Besides the usual and by now expected damage from wind and rain, the Presidio of San Francisco recovered from another earthquake in early December 1812.[59]

Existing records from the year 1813 disclosed only two items of a significant nature. Lieutenant Moraga again made his way

56. Luis Argüello to Governor Arrillaga, San Francisco, December 16, 1812, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, Benicia Military, XVI: 73–74.

57. Bancroft, *History of California*, II: 324–325.

58. A comparison of the estimated number of Indians of both sexes to the estimated number of "*Españoles y otras castas*" of both sexes of this period indicates that in the San Francisco district there were 4,111 *Indios* at the missions to the 388 gente de razón (including eight padres). This figure did not seem to indicate the numbers of those individuals and groups of Native Americans who remained outside of the Spanish sphere of control. The same report offered another telling statistic in that during 1813 there had been an increase of fifty-one Spaniards to a decrease of eighty-one Indians. Luis Argüello's Report of San Francisco District's Population, San Francisco, December 31, 1813, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, Sacramento, LIV: 200.

59. John B. Trask, *A Register of Earthquakes in California, from 1800 to 1863* (San Francisco, CA: Towne & Bacon, 1864), 5.

to Fort Ross. He even drove twenty cattle and three horses with him to turn over to the Russians.[60] The Russians desired to open up trade for foodstuffs based upon the lack of provisions for that outpost, an exchange which the Spanish governors eventually permitted to a fair extent when the memorias dwindled or no longer arrived from Mexico, a fate which, as noted, became the norm after 1810.

While attempting to reach some sort of understanding with the Russians, the Spanish still persisted in battling various Native American groups. Late in 1813, Sergeant Soto sallied forth with a dozen soldiers and a hundred Indian auxiliaries in the vicinity of Mission San Jose. This time Soto's objective was to round up escaping neophytes and their non-Christian friends.[61]

During 1814, two British ships visited the port of San Francisco. One was the armed merchantman *Isaac Todd*; the other was the man-of-war *Raccoon*. The Spanish returned eight deserters from *Todd* at Monterey when the ship arrived in San Francisco. Later, the captain of the twenty-eight-gun *Raccoon* requested and received permission to clean and caulk his vessel at San Francisco because the ship had been at sea far too long without overhauling the keel. Eventually, the ship would be repaired in present-day Marin County on the beach across from Angel Island, thereby giving its name to this body of water now known as Raccoon Straits. The 130 crewmen of the British naval vessel spent a month in the Bay Area. After buying provisions and a thousand pounds of gunpowder, *Raccoon* set sail for the Sandwich Islands on its mission to destroy American shipping.[62] The fact that the Spanish had a surplus of powder and felt secure enough to make it available to the British indicated a certain degree of self-assurance about local military might.

That attitude would soon change, perhaps in part because of Lieutenant Moraga'a observations. Moraga, by now almost a regular visitor to Fort Ross, again went to the Russian post in 1814.

60. Pritchard, "Joint Tenants," 85, notes that Moraga went back to Ross on January 27, 1813. Russian sources mention the livestock he brought with him.

61. Luis Argüello to Governor Arrillaga, San Francisco, January 31 and October 31, 1813, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers: XII: 342–348.

62. Captain William Black to Governor Arrillaga, San Francisco, March 4 and 29, 1814, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, XII: 371 and 373.

This time he took with him Cadet Gervasio Argüello, the San Francisco habilitado. At the conclusion of this tour Moraga prepared a short report describing the Russian fort. Forty gente de razón and many Kodiak Indians lived there, he recorded. A number of cannon guarded the place. The house built for the commandant and his pilot boasted a most remarkable luxury for the remote area—it had glass windows![63]

On this journey to Fort Ross Moraga carried official requests, orders, and threats warning the Russians to withdraw from Spanish territory. At the same time, however, Moraga and the Russian commander made additional arrangements for what became an illegal, yet thriving, trade between the subjects of Spain and Russia, with the unofficial blessing of Governor Arrillaga. Consequently, the governor did not discourage the activity, which he regarded as a profitable channel for obtaining much-needed supplies for his province. At least three Russian shiploads of goods were exchanged for foodstuffs at San Francisco during 1815.

Both the interim governor, José Argüello, and the new one, Pablo Vicente de Solá, made feeble gestures in the direction of stopping the contraband exchange.[64] Neither of them carried out any serious efforts to enforce the orders of the Spanish government in this respect.[65]

In fact, Solá soon learned about the poor state of affairs in his province and the many types of goods lacking there to carry on daily life. In San Francisco, tools represented the most needed trade items in order to assist with the extensive repairs and new construction carried on in the area during 1815 and 1816. Early in 1816, Lieutenant Argüello asked Governor Solá for some of the axes and other tools brought by the American ship *Prisionera*. At

63. Report, Anonymous [probably Moraga], San Francisco, July 30, 1814, ibid., XII: 364–368.

64. Pablo Vicente de Solá, a Basque from Villa of Mondragon, Viscaya, was born in 1761 into the *Hidalgo* class. From November 11, 1805 to February 20, 1807, this bachelor served as *ad interim habilitado general* of the Californias. On December 31, 1814, his appointment as governor of Alta California was made, although he did not reach Monterey to take charge until August 30, 1815. He remained in his office until late November 1822 when he set sail for Mexico. After that, few details are known about this last Spanish governor of the province. Nuttall, "Gobernantes," 279–280.

65. Bancroft, *History of California*, II: 303–308. Solá, upon observing the extreme poverty of the troops in California, came to grasp the need to deal with the Russians in terms of trade but all the while keeping up a protest over territorial encroachment, especially related to Fort Ross. Pritchard, "Joint Tenants," 86–87.

this same time Argüello reported the destruction of the presidio launch in a recent storm; the launch had been used for the vital task of carrying wood used in the repair work. Argüello promised to build a new launch after he recaptured his labor force of Indian prisoners—eighteen of them had escaped the day before.[66]

The first job of 1815 started with the post chapel. Laborers tore down the old chapel, which had been rendered unusable by the earthquakes of former years, to its foundation. A provisional chapel went into use in February 1816 as a stopgap until the proposed completion of a permanent structure during the summer (actually there was a two-year delay in the building of the permanent chapel). Elsewhere, new roofs of tile, presumably being made locally, finally replaced the old ones of tule, which so frequently had been destroyed by wind and rain. In other work, laborers built a corral at the king's ranch at Las Pulgas.

More significantly, the original Castillo de San Joaquín gave way to an entirely new fort. Brevet sub-lieutenant Manuel de Luz Gómez of the artillery supervised the work. Gómez, with the master carpenter and soldier, José Franco, along with five Indians from Mission Santa Clara and four from Mission San Jose, used 200 beams and 600 planks for the esplanade on which to place the guns. Work began in October 1815 in response to the Russian presence at Fort Ross.[67] Apparently the construc-

66. Luis Argüello to Governor Solá, San Francisco, February 29, 1816, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, XIII: 42–44, 46.

67. When Gómez came to California is unknown but he did not arrive with the first detachment of artillerymen in 1797. In 1818, he was at Monterey and some accused him of treachery in connection with the attack by rebels from Argentina which occurred there in that year. Gómez married the daughter of José María Estudillo and returned Mexico with Governor Solá, late in 1822. Bancroft, *History of California*, II: 470. Of José Franco, nothing is known. There is one reference to a man by the name of Pablo Franco being sent as a convict settler in 1797, arriving in that year with several artisans who landed in Monterey. Ibid., I: 606.

Luis Argüello to Pablo Vicente de Solá, San Francisco, December 30, 1816, AGMS, Section X. A plan of the new battery depicting the esplanade as a horseshoe rather than as an irregular quadrangle as had been the case in the prior construction efforts, went forward with various correspondence about this endeavor, lauding Argüello, Gómez, and Franco for their performance and sending the entire matter through the chain of command to Spain. Manuel Gómez to Governor Solá, San Francisco, December 31, 1816, ibid.; Governor Solá to Viceroy José Ruiz de Apodaca, Monterey, January 20, 1817, ibid.; Viceroy Apodaca to Governor Solá, Mexico City, May 22, 1817, ibid.; Viceroy Apodaca to Minister of War, Mexico City, May 22, 1817, ibid; Minister of War to Viceroy Apodaca, Madrid, November 8, 1818, ibid.

This plan and the accompanying letters shed light on the mystery of why Bancroft's *History of California* and other nineteenth-century works depict the semi-circular version of the castillo. Dr. Eric Beerman of Madrid discovered these materials and deserves credit for resolving this matter which has confused many earlier writers on the subject.

tion work went forward without the use of any of the nails and spikes because Solá continually received requests for 3,600-nine-inch spikes.[68]

Governor Solá promised some additional armament for the fort as well. After the workers completed the reconstruction on the castillo, Solá sent three eight-pounder cannons, with three hundred balls, to be mounted behind the merlons. The guns may have arrived in California with a shipload of military stores that included enough arms and ammunition to stage a small war. Evidently, the shipment did not include badly needed non-military supplies.[69]

In the meantime, the artillery detachment remained small. In 1802, a corporal and five privates came aboard the brigantine *Activo*. Shortly thereafter, one of the gunners left for Monterey.[70] By the end of the year, Argüello noted he only had an artillery corporal and three gunners. Two years later, under threat that all the cannoneers would be withdrawn from California, Arrillaga protested and managed to keep their removal from taking place.[71] That he succeeded in halting this movement is evident from the fact that a corporal and four privates of artillery appeared on the Presidio of San Francisco's rolls in 1806 and, in 1808, that same number were present with the detachment now being commanded by a corporal rather than a sergeant. Reports through 1817 read the same, with the exception that the non-commissioned officer, Manuel Gómez, was listed as a sergeant second class and a brevet alférez.[72]

In 1817, Gómez complained that he needed to recruit two or

68. Bancroft, *History of California*, II: 371–372; Luis Argüello to Governor Solá, San Francisco, February 29, March 31, April 15, May 31, and November 30, 1816, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, XIII: 45–46, 124, and 135–137.

69. Bancroft, *History of California*, II: 212–213; Luis Argüello to Governor Solá, San Francisco, November 30, 1816, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, XIII: 124.

70. José Argüello to Governor Arrillaga, San Francisco, July 28, 1802, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, XI: 230.

71. Bancroft, *History of California*, I: 26.

72. José Argüello's Report, San Francisco, December 31, 1802, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, Benicia Military, XVI: 116; José Argüello's Report, San Francisco, December 31, 1806, ibid., 322; Luis Argüello's Report, San Francisco, December 31, 1808, ibid., 378; Luis Argüello's Report, December 31, 1809, ibid., XVII: 14; Luis Argüello's Report, San Francisco, December 1, 1813, ibid., 17; Luis Argüello's Report, San Francisco, December 1, 1817, ibid., 100.

Figure 17. After a major rebuilding of the castillo in the late Spanish period, the fort took on a new horseshoe shape. This 1816 schematic, complete with Spanish flag and sixteen cannon, bears the legend: "Battery of San Joaquín of the Port of San Francisco in New California." The esplanade remained of wood and the walls of brick and of mortar. The placement of the guardhouse and its corridor shifted to the west rather than in the center as had been the case with the earlier accommodations for the artillery detachment. Double gates and walls protect the rear. *Archivo General Militar de Segovia*, Section X.

three more men because those he had on hand were not fit for duty, all being inválidos or so sickly as to be of little use. Later that year, he and one of his men went to Monterey for a short period, thereby leaving only two privates and a non-commissioned officer at the fort.[73]

Evidently, the situation remained the same throughout the Spanish period of occupation because both Gómez and Solá noted nine vacancies to fill the ranks but no one came forward to join. The only addition to his numbers was Antonio Montero, who had been sent to San Francisco as a punishment for bad conduct, thereby requiring Gómez to watch over his charge. Gómez soon found Montero too difficult to deal with as he proceeded on having an affair with a local married woman. Because of the "inevitable disgrace" that situation would cause, once the husband learned of the matter, Gómez wanted to transfer the culprit. It seems that not only did the husband, Tómas Patron, know about the adultery but also he even may have condoned his spouse's conduct.[74]

Gómez' plight continued as his numbers fell even further when artilleryman Juan Briones sustained an injury when firing a salute in 1819 and died shortly thereafter. Artillerist Joaquín Mendoza also passed away during the same month, leaving Gómez with three men besides himself.[75] No doubt, Gómez welcomed his departure, in November 1822, from California with Governor Solá. His replacement, a Lieutenant Ramírez, would have to deal with the problems of command after that.[76]

While the artillery attempted to man the castillo, most of the soldiers of the San Francisco garrison guarded work parties of Spanish and Indian prisoners. A few of the men performed less

73. Manuel Gómez to Governor Solá, San Francisco, March 31, 1817, August 31, 1817, and December 31, 1817, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, XIII: 175–177; Luis Argüello's Report, December 1, 1817, ibid., Benicia Military, XVII: 100.

74. Luis Argüello's Report, San Francisco, September 1, 1818, *Archives of California*, Sacramento, LIV: 111; Luis Argüello's Report, San Francisco, December 1, 1881, ibid., Benicia Military, XVII: 294–295; Manuel Gómez to Governor Solá, San Francisco, December 31, 1819 and April 21, 1820, ibid., Provincial State Papers, XIII: 257 and 263. [Governor Solá?] to Manuel Gómez, Monterey, January 10, 1820 and March 20, 1820, ibid., Sacramento, LIV: 249 and 254.

75. Manuel Gómez to Governor Solá, San Francisco, December 18, 1819 and December 31, 1819, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, XIII: 256.

76. Bancroft, *History of California*, II: 467–468.

onerous duties. Several troopers from the four presidial companies went to San Francisco to be trained as drummers by a member of the garrison. At one point the post commander notified the governor that the drummers could learn no more, chiefly because they had learned all the teacher knew.[77]

On October 2, 1816, the arrival of the Russian brig *Rurik* broke the regular routine at the Presidio of San Francisco. The voyage, under the command of Lieutenant Otto von Kotzebue of the Russian Imperial Navy, came as a scientific expedition, but the visit to San Francisco no doubt also served as an opportunity to check on the power of the Spanish government in California.[78]

Fortunately for posterity, the Russians came to observe more than just the state of defense. In fact, the expedition's translator in San Francisco, Adelbert von Chamisso, was a naturalist. He and his colleague, Johann Friedrich Eschscholtz, provided some of the first scientific information about the flora of present-day California, and most notably about the environs of the Presidio of San Francisco. They identified and named numerous species during the course of their work, including *Eschsholtzia Californica*, the "Golden Poppy," which was to become the state flower.[79]

In addition, Chamisso kept the most extensive journal of events at the port. When *Rurik* entered the harbor there Chamisso witnessed much activity at Fort San Joaquín. The Spaniards and the Russians hoisted their respective flags and exchanged cannon salutes. After the ship anchored in front of the presidio, Chamisso and one of the officers of *Rurik* went ashore to meet Luis Argüello. The Spanish commander sent some fruits and vegetables on board the ship for the crew and dispatched a courier to Monterey with the news of the visitors' arrival.

By October 4, the Russians had set up a camp on shore, in sight of the presidio, which Kotzebue said still appeared as it

77. Luis Argüello to Governor Solá, San Francisco, March 31, 1816, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, XIII: 135.

78. August C. Mahr, ed., *The Visit of the "Rurik" to San Francisco in 1816* (Menlo Park, CA: Stanford University Press, 1932), provides full details of this event.

79. Ibid., 127–177; Alice Eastwood, "The Botanical Collections of Chamisso and Eschscholtz in California," *Leaflets of Western Botany*, IV (1944): 17–32, and Ida Geary, "Chamisso, Eschscholtz, and the Plants of the Presidio," *Fremontia*, VI (January 1979): 3–9, and Mahr, *Visit of the "Rurik"*, 127–177, provide details on this pioneering botanical work. Likewise consult Appendix D for a list of the plants they cataloged on this and a subsequent trip to San Francisco.

had in Vancouver's descriptions. (See Figure 18) They would spend their days in various exchanges with the presidio and the San Francisco mission. On one occasion, they sent a sailor to repair the halyards by which the soldiers raised the Spanish colors on the garrison flagstaff because none of the Spaniards could climb the staff.

The Russians did more entertaining than did the Spanish officers, who explained that they had not the means to be proper hosts due to a severe shortage of supplies.[80] According to Russian accounts, the Spaniards expressed their unhappiness about neglect by the government in Mexico. Their bitterness extended to the grudging attitude with which the local missionaries suppled necessary provisions.[81]

Some two weeks after the *Rurik* arrived in San Francisco, Governor Solá came to confer with the Russians about the settlement at Fort Ross. Gervasion Argüello went to Fort Ross to deliver a request to its commander to come to the meeting. The cannon salutes that announced the arrival of the governor, at the same time injured two of the artillerymen. The ship's surgeon provided aid.[82]

While Governor Solá waited in all his regimental finery for Lieutenant Kotzebue to appear at the presidio, the lieutenant waited on board *Rurik* for Solá to come to him. This breach of protocol on the part of the younger, lesser-ranking officer briefly caused delay and hard feelings. Chamisso soon effected a compromise, and the two men met on the beach.

After exchanging visits and dinners, the Spaniards held a dance. Solá promised a bull and bear fight. Spanish soldiers bor-

80. Earlier in the decade Argüello commented upon the pitiful state of his troops, especially those with families. Some of the command did not have shirts; others no jackets or breeches. Many had no *sombreros*. Luis Argüello to Governor Arrillaga, San Francisco, January 31, 1813, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, XII: 342–343. It would seem that this condition fairly represented the poverty throughout the remaining years of Spanish rule.

81. Mahr, *The Visit of the Rurik*, 31–35.

82. Ibid., 83. The Russians also noted that the only medical skills the local population practiced was bleeding, a dubious treatment taught to them by a previous ship's surgeon and, "being since applied on every occasion, is more fatal than advantageous." Only in rare instances did medical personnel from Spanish ships come ashore to aid San Francisco's population. For the most part, the people lacked such services, which were restricted to Monterey, the capital. The matter of medicine in Spanish Alta California is discussed by S. F. Cook, "The Monterey Surgeons During the Spanish Period in California," *Bulletin of the Institute of the History of Medicine*, V (January 1937): 43–72.

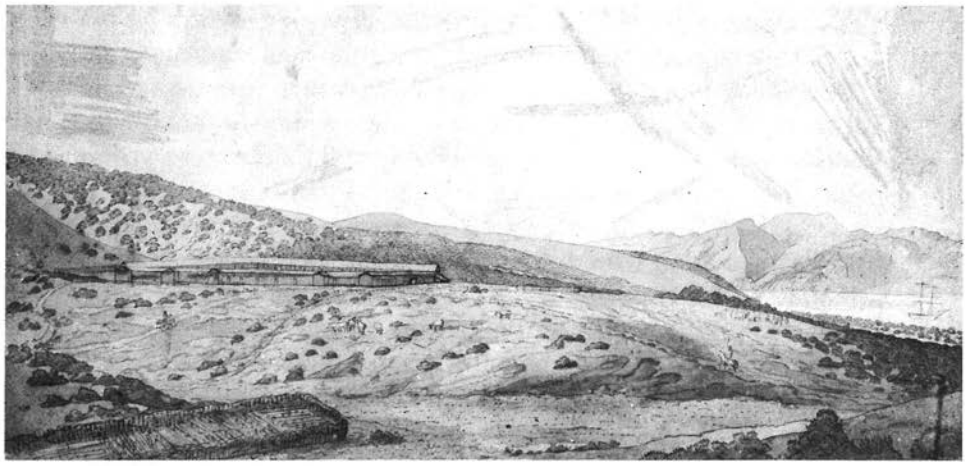

Figure 18. According to Kotezube, as quoted in Mahr, *The Visit of the "Rurik"*, 65, Louis Choris occupied himself on October 5, 1816 at painting. This watercolor and pencil on paper view of the presidio was one of his works while in the Bay Area and bespoke of improvements made since the previous decade. The entire quadrangle was more regular and provided an enclosed compound, the east side finally being protected by a wall. Gardens behind the south wall and to the northeast had been fenced off and a corral appeared just outside the main gate, toward the northwest. A lean-to, perhaps to cover forage for the stock in the corral, stood outside of the northwest corner. Trails led from the south garden and from the main gate, four being evident, all heading toward the east. Low scrub covered the dunes, while below, off the sandy beach, a ship rode at anchor approximately across from the site of the present U. S. Coast Guard Station. A group of men and livestock can be seen toward the north. Other horses graze freely in the foreground, while a pair of mounted soldados ride to and from the post. The published version of this illustration showed much of the same detail with additions of more troops. It also depicted Indian work-parties guarded by the leather jacket soldiers. Bancroft Library.

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rowed a boat from Mission Dolores and crossed the harbor entrance to the opposite shore, where they captured two bears, returning with one of them and held the fight on the beach near the landing. The bear won. Chamisso thought the performance was "shamefully handled" and reacted unfavorably. Kotzebue, however, found the blood sport quite interesting and termed the show "remarkable."[83]

83. Mahr, *Visit of the "Rurik"*, 37–41, 47.

Subsequent diplomatic discussions between Governor Solá and Lieutenant Kotzebue accomplished little. Solá requested that Fort Ross be abandoned. The Russian explained that he had no authority to order such a withdrawal. The conference ended with the two men signing a report which referred the matter to their respective sovereigns. Solá also returned three Russian deserters from Fort Ross to Kotzebue after extracting a promise from him that the men would not be punished. With these matters attended to, the Russians made a few last-minute repairs, loaded provisions and water, and prepared to set sail. A last round of dinner parties with accompanying toasts followed. On October 28, flag-hoisting and artillery fire provided *Rurik* with an exciting departure from San Francisco after its nearly one-month stay.

The visit of *Rurik* marked the end of Governor Solá's opposition to foreign trade. A critical need for supplies outweighed strict obedience of royal orders. During the last five years of Spanish rule in California, foreign ships frequently came to San Francisco to trade their goods for grain, tallow, furs, and produce. One of these ships, the French merchant vessel *Le Bordelais*, under the command of Lieutenant Camille de Roquefeuil of the French navy, visited the presidio. He noticed that the houses of the officers had attractive furniture. The Spaniards complained of the lack of artisans at San Francisco which for decades meant that only crude pieces existed. The availability of new furniture had become possible because of the presence of one of the Kodiak Indian prisoners, who had a talent for carpentry, and who was confined at the post.

In addition to being treated to the commander's hospitality, Roquefeuil and most of his fellow officers attended services at the temporary chapel at the presidio. He noted that mass took place "in a great hall, until the church which had been burned should be rebuilt." The Spanish kept the whitewashed interior in a neat fashion, while the Frenchman pronounced the altar "in pretty good taste" and described the surroundings as spare with only a few pictures and benches on the sides. At least the forty or so soldiers and their families all appeared neatly dressed and respectful. "After the service two children sang in a correct and agreeable manner an invocation, each verse of which was repeated

in chorus by the congregation."[84] Later, the local missionaries entertained the naval officer and acquainted him with the alarming decrease of the Mission Indians in California.[85]

The Indian death rate in California in 1817 ran highest at Mission Dolores. In an attempt to improve the health of the Indians, the missionaries at San Francisco opened a branch near what is now San Rafael as a place for sick neophytes to rest and recuperate. Because San Rafael Archangel was to be only an asistencia rather than a large-scale proselyting center, Governor Solá ordered a smaller mission guard than usual for the protection of the one Franciscan stationed there.[86]

Besides the troop transfers to San Rafael, several of the San Francisco officers received new orders. Cadet Gervasio Argüello, who had been the habilitado, went to Mexico, and Luis Argüello added his brother's duties to his own in 1816. In the following year Luis gained a promotion to captain. When Gabriel Moraga's rank of lieutenant came in 1818, the order listed him as being a member of the Santa Barbara Company. To avoid having to rectify the mistake, Moraga transferred to Santa Barbara, and another lieutenant, Ignacio Martínez, came to replace him at San Francisco.[87] Santiago Argüello rose to alférez and went to San Diego. A new cadet, Joaquín Estudillo, arrived from Monterey in 1818, while Moraga secured a cadet's position for his son, José Guadalupe, who left the San Francisco company for San Diego.[88]

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84. Englehardt, *San Francisco or Mission Dolores,* 161–162.

85. Camille de Roquefeuil, "A Voyage Round the World Between the years 1816–1819," in *New Voyages and Travels: Consisting of Originals and Translations* (London: Sir Richard Phillips and Co., 1823), IX: 23-27.

86. Bancroft, *History of California*, II: 329–330; [Governor Solá] to Luis Argüello, Monterey, December 14, 1817, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, Sacramento, LIV: 217.

87. A native of Mexico City, Martínez had entered the Santa Barbara Company some twenty-five years earlier as a cadet. He did not welcome the new assignment at first, having to relocate with his four daughters, "all of whom had taken their falls from horses at some point on the way; but none of them minded, or stopped galloping their horses in their haste to reach 'their country,' as they called it." He and his wife had five more children and remained in the Bay area for the rest of their lives. Martínez would hold many positions after leaving the military, including appointments at San Rafael and elsewhere. He died around 1850 at his ranch in Contra Costa County, the county seat being named in his honor. Brown, "Pomponio's World," 9.

88. Bancroft, *History of California*, II: 370; [Governor Solá?] to Gabriel Moraga, Monterey, April 15, 1818 and [Governor Solá?] to Luis Argüello, Monterey, July 4, 1818, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, Sacramento, LIV: 220 and 224. For more on the various troops strengths of the late 1780s through the early 1820s see comparative statistics in Appendix C.

Sergeant José Sánchez earned a brevet as an ensign because of his leadership in an October 1819 campaign against Indians in the San Joaquin Valley. At the head of twenty-five men, Sánchez marched from San Jose to near present-day Stockton. There his soldiers and Indian auxiliaries defeated warriors of a local tribe who fought fiercely. Again, Spanish firepower and horses won the day because only five soldiers received wounds while one of their native allies died. In turn, twenty-seven of the enemy were killed and another twenty wounded. Sixteen captives were taken as well and were put to work as forced labor upon the expedition's return at the end of the month. The prisoners were set to making adobes to replace the last of the wooden sections of the wall surrounding the presidio.[89]

Even before these punitive expeditions the troops faced potentially more formidable opponents. Early in October 1818, an American ship captain in from the Sandwich Islands warned the Californians of trouble on the horizon. Two vessels flying the flag of the Buenos Aires insurgents were outfitting in preparation for a cruise to the North American coast. Governor Solá immediately ordered an alert. He called for the boxing of any portable valuables and their movement to the interior, or making such things ready for removal at a moment's notice. Solá wanted women and children to be prepared for evacuation too. He told local officials to collect and store supplies in a safe place near the presidios for use in an emergency—San Mateo being picked as the best location for the San Francisco area. The governor dispatched sentinels to stand watch at strategic places along the coast aided by couriers ready to spread the alarm. A call went out for the few available militiamen and all able-bodied civilian males to obtain firearms, and Indian neophyte archers were to report to each presidio.[90]

With all the precautions, the next several weeks passed in watchfulness. Then, on November 20, 1818, the two dreaded

89. Bancroft, *History of California*, II: 335, and Amador, "Memorias," 15–16.

90. Governor Solá to Presidio Commanders, Monterey, October 8, 1818, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, XIII: 246–253. Even before all these precautions, the governor warned Argüello to be watchful of foreigners, European or American, and to report any activities in his area. [Governor Solá?] to Luis Argüello, Monterey, April 18, 1818, ibid., Sacramento, LIV: 221.

ships, *Argentina* and *Santa Rosa de Chacabuco*, appeared at the port of Monterey. When Solá refused to surrender his capital, a short battle ensued. After heavy cannonading back and forth, the some 260 insurgents made a landing, driving the greatly outnumbered and outgunned Spaniards from their defenses. Solá and his men retreated to the district's rancho del rey at what is now Salinas. There they waited for reinforcements. Meanwhile, the Buenos Airens, under the command of Hippolyte de Bouchard, sacked and burned the town.[91]

At 2:00 a.m., on the morning following the attack, a courier galloped into the Presidio of San Francisco. The sentry awakened Lieutenant Moraga, who promptly gathered all the available cavalry and headed for Monterey. As the unit moved south their numbers grew, the escoltas joining the main force as it went as reinforcements for the capital. Inválidos replaced the regular soldiers at the missions. Outside of Monterey, Moraga's troops rendezvoused with soldiers from the other three presidios of Upper California and briefly drilled under the command of Luis Argüello but did little to threaten the insurgents before they set sail, sometime between November 22 and December 1.[92] Once the invaders left, some of the San Francisco contingent remained for several months in Monterey.[93]

Bouchard's boldness prompted New Spain's authorities into sending long needed reinforcements to strengthen California. In the summer of 1819, two hundred men landed in the province with arms, ammunition, and artillery pieces. Some brought wives and children. San Diego and Santa Barbara split a cavalry company. Forty foot soldiers from the San Blas Infantry were sent to San Francisco, but they proved more of a liability than an asset. Most of the new arrivals had been kidnapped by press-gangs or recruited from jails in Nueva Galicia. Unruly and refusing to conform to military discipline, the newcomers caused considerable

91. Bancroft, *History of California*, II: 228–234; Kibbey M. Horne, *A History of the Presidio of Monterey 1770 to 1970* (Presidio of Monterey, CA: Defense Language Institute West Coast Branch, 1970), 19–23.

92. Horne, *A History of the Presidio of Monterey*, 21, states that the two ships left on December 1, 1818. For a fuller account of the entire episode read Frances Casey Jones, "California in the Spanish American Wars of Independence: The Bouchard Invasion," (Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1921).

93. Amador, "Memorias," 50–55.

trouble, yet their commander managed to employ them in enough tasks at the presidio and castillo to free Argüello's horse soldiers to greater advantage elsewhere in the district.[94] Indeed, as soon as the infantry gained a rudimentary knowledge of handling their weapons, Argüello sent Sergeant Sánchez with a force that included some of the newcomers to return fugitives from Mission San Jose and to put a stop to raids on that mission's horse herds.[95]

While their comrades kept busy in the field, the few remaining artillerymen at Castillo de San Joaquín supervised the building of esplanades to accommodate the additional cannon that accompanied the San Blas reinforcements. Argüello informed his superior that he had emplaced the four cannons, brought from San Blas, in the most advantageous positions. Construction of esplanades to accommodate them also was underway while an Indian woodcutting party provided materials for castillo rebuilding efforts. The commandant indicated that the other armament on hand consisted of three 24-pounders of iron, one 12-pounder, a cracked 6-pounder, one 8-pounder, six medium 8-pounder culverins, and two swivel guns.[96] This was the same number of artillery pieces reported in 1805. Consequently, it is difficult to ascertain why the four new guns did not appear in the report. Moreover, the 24-pounders were rusted and one of the 12-pounders was fair while five of the eight bronzes could be considered in good condition and three in fair shape only. Three cannons at Mission Santa Clara stored in the school of cantors were called to the governor's attention and he ordered them to be removed to San Francisco.[97]

By 1820, most of the twenty guns were in poor condition and,

94. Bancroft, *History of California*, II: 253–255.

95. [Governor Solá] to Luis Argüello, Rancho del Rey [at Salinas], September 22, 1819, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, Sacramento, LIV: 241–242.

96. Luis Argüello to Governor Solá, San Francisco, August 31, 1819, ibid., XIII: 235; Manuel Gómez to Governor Solá, San Francisco, March 21, 1820, ibid., XIII: 259, and Report of Luis Argüello, San Francisco, December 1, 1819, ibid., Benicia Military, XVII: 325.

97. Report of Mariano Fernández, San Francisco, June 30, 1805, ibid., XVI: 237; Manuel Gómez to Governor Solá, San Francisco, December 31, 1819 and April 21, 1820, ibid., Provincial State Papers, XIII: 257 and 263.

for the want of cannon scrapers, were unusable.[98] Meanwhile, the artillery complement decreased with the death of one of the men due to natural causes. Another member of the dwindling unit succumbed to mortal wounds sustained when firing a salute on the feastday of the Virgin of Guadalupe.[99] In order to make up for such reductions in force, infantrymen temporarily substituted as gunners until replacements could be obtained.

About 1820, circumstances improved when a detachment of nearly twenty artillerymen came from Mexico under Sub-Lieutenant José Ramírez. A few artisans numbered in the group whom one observer of the period described as "nearly all men of good character and Pure Spanish blood."[100] Their arrival represented the last important reinforcements to be sent from Mexico.

The completion of a shot furnace for the guns of the castillo followed shortly after the contingent took up its new post.[101] Perhaps the gunners occasionally halted their work to fire salutes on those occasions when foreign vessels entered the harbor.[102]

As some soldiers went about these fatigue details, others performed different duties. Because presidios functioned in both military and judicial capacities as well, one officer looked into the theft of a trunk or its contents belonging to Padre Ramón Olbes. The investigation revealed that José Antonio Robles and his son committed the crime. The penalty placed the younger man at hard labor for four years and the older one, due to the poor state of his health, at hard labor for two years.[103]

98. Anonymous to Manuel Gómez, Monterey, March 27, 1820, ibid., Sacramento, LIV: 255.

99. Luis Argüello to Governor Solá, San Francisco, August 31, 1819 and Manuel Gómez to Governor Solá, San Francisco, December 18 and 31, 1819, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, XIII: 235 and 256.

100. Bancroft, *History of California*, II: 263 and 371–372.

101. Gómez called the governor's attention to the fact that San Francisco should have a shot oven (*hornillo de bala roja*) similar to those at San Diego and Monterey. He received the reply to build one. Manuel Gómez to Governor Solá, San Francisco, April 21, 1820, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, XIII: 263 and [Governor Solá?] to Luis Argüello, Monterey, March 27, 1820, ibid., Sacramento, LIV: 255.

102. [Governor Solá?] to Luis Argüello, Monterey, April 27, 1820, ibid., LIV: 256.

103. Luis Argüello to Gabriel Moraga, San Francisco, March 27, 1819, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, Benicia Military, XVII: 296–297 and [Governor Solá?] to Luis Argüello, Monterey, June 4, 1819, ibid., Sacramento, LIV: 235.

In another instance, Ignacio Martínez served as prosecuting attorney and chief investigator in a criminal case against a Branciforte settler accused of raping his three stepdaughters, the eldest of whom had delivered a child, evidently causing the sordid affair to be known by the general public. Martínez recommended that the man serve four years at the Presidio of San Francisco in leg irons at hard labor, then be banished from California. Whether this sentence was carried out is unclear. Martínez further called for the admonishment of the mother to watch over her children with more care so that they would not be victimized again. Finally, he called for the trio of girls to receive twenty-five, fifty, and sixty lashes for the youngest through the oldest respectively. Evidently, he felt that they should have come forth to the authorities in this matter.[104]

When not serving as investigators, prosecutors, or judges, some soldiers continued to perform as a police force or even a posse. For instance, ninety soldiers, citizens, and neophytes pursued thieves who had robbed Mission San Jose. Attacking at dawn, the troops and their allies killed eight or ten of their quarry, while most escaped from this inland ranchería. They captured two of the survivors, however, and took them back for a public lashing as an example and warned that repeated activities would result in death.[105]

Another outing proved more peaceful as a detachment from the presidio journeyed to Fort Ross. Sometime around 1822, troopers made a good will visit to the Russians, who distributed small, useful articles to their Spanish guests. They made certain that each man received a silk shirt, for which the poverty-stricken

104. Ignacio Martínez, San Francisco, September 18, 1819, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, XVII: 307–319. In another rape case, Martínez recommended that a man who attacked his sister-in-law be confined at hard labor in leg irons in San Diego. He was to be fined 200 pesos to take care of the woman and the child she was expecting as a result of this attack. Ignacio Martínez, San Francisco, May 5, 1821, ibid., XVII: 348–349.

105. Amador, "Memorias," 16–17. This harsh sentence possibly was carried out in another instance when a Santa Cruz neophyte was accused of murdering Padre Andrés Quintana. Report of Ignacio Martínez, San Francisco, November 21, 1820, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, XVII: 248–250. The fate of this defendant and that of the soldier José Antonio Aguilar, accused of killing two Indian neophytes and then taking asylum with thirteen Indians who may have been his accomplices, is not known. Anonymous to Luis Argüello, Rancho del Real Hacienda, September 14, 1819, ibid., Provincial State Papers, Sacramento, LIV: 241.

soldiers expressed their gratitude. When the Spaniards returned to their homes, they were the envy of those not fortunate enough to have made the trip northward.[106]

Such intercourse bespoke of Governor Solá's decision to encourage foreign relations in so far as trade was concerned. Duties collected as an outgrowth of exchange with the outside world provided a primary means to sustain the troops and to obtain supplies for the province no longer available from the home government.[107]

In spite of substituting these sources of support for the negligent Spanish crown, the Californians remained loyal to their monarch for a short while longer. In fact, hearing rumors of Americans or Britons in the interior of northern California, local officials set out to halt encroachment into "His Catholic Majesty's" realm. On October 18, 1822, Governor Solá placed Luis Argüello in charge of a fifty-five man strike force of cavalry and mounted infantry, made up of individuals from the Monterey and San Francisco garrisons. Argüello had two ensigns, a cadet, a friar, and an interpreter-guide who spoke English, with his contingent. He also took along a small cannon and a herd of cattle for food.

The men sailed in boats to Carquínez. From the straits they rode up the Sacramento Valley for nine days. After following the Sacramento River for some distance, Argüello turned west and crossed the Trinity Mountains. Then, moving south along the Coast Range, one part of his unit passed near Fort Ross before swinging down to San Rafael. On the Marin shore, they boarded boats and returned to San Francisco on November 13 having been in the field for four weeks.

They saw no sign of the supposed invaders on what amounted to one of the most ambitious field exercises undertaken by San Francisco troops under Spanish rule. In addition, they gained more knowledge about the area they traversed, which prior to that time had been explored imperfectly. As a consequence, this foray represented the last major effort of its sort under the Spanish flag.

106. Amador, "Memorias," 24–25.
107. Ibid., 19-23; Bancroft, *History of California*,. II: 445–449.

Soon, a new regime in Mexico City would replace Madrid's nearly four decades of control at the Presidio of San Francisco.[108] Despite decades of neglect by Madrid the collapse of Spanish power in Alta California did not occur because of internal reactions or foreign intervention. Instead, revolution in Mexico broke the long-standing, albeit fragile ties between the King in Spain and his traditionally loyal Californio subjects.

108. Jorge I. Domínguez, *Insurrection or Loyalty: The Breakdown of the Spanish American Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980), offers contextual information about the break in the relationship between Spain and her New World colonies.

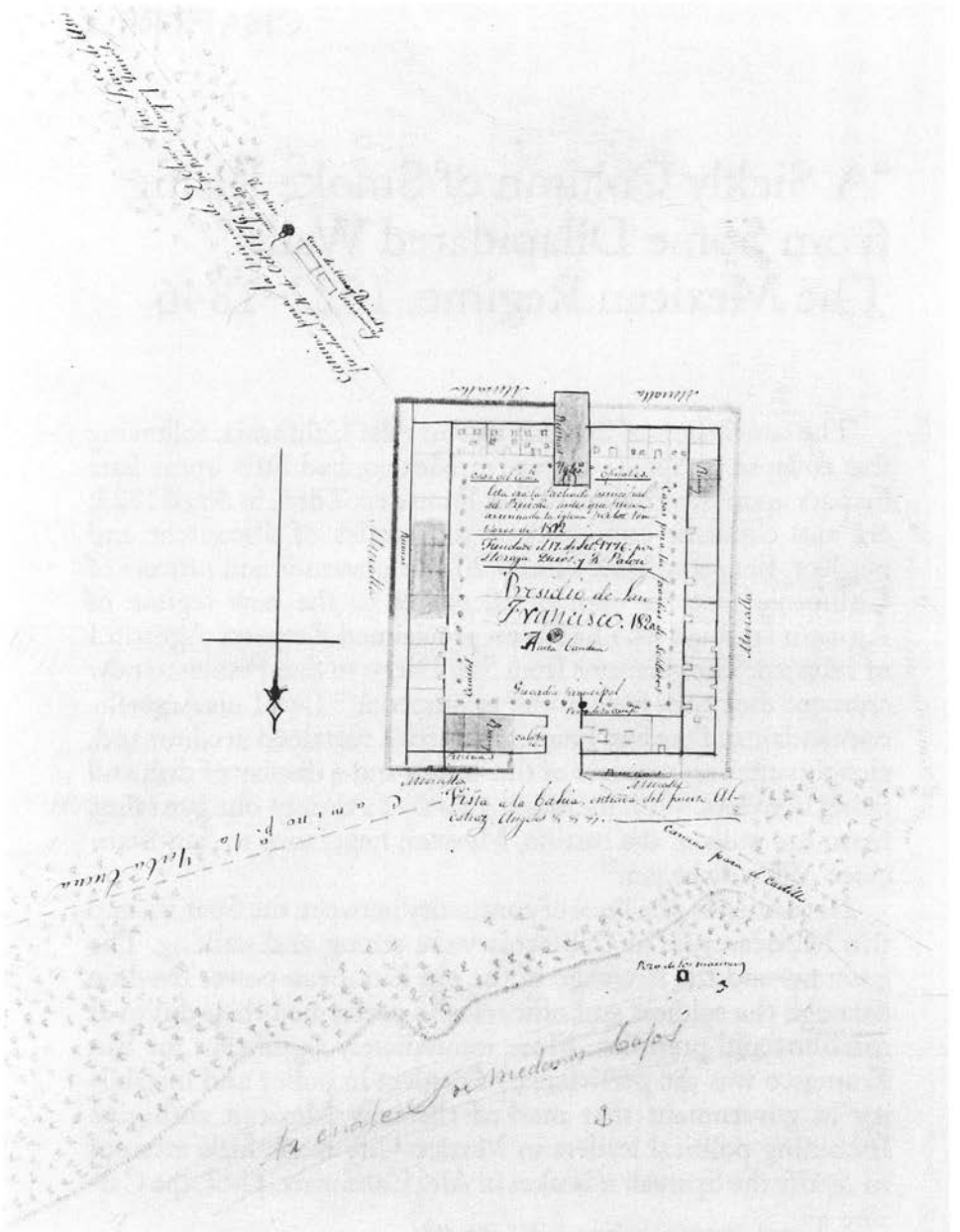
CHAPTER 4

"A Sickly Column of Smoke Rising from Some Dilapidated Walls:" The Mexican Regime, 1822–1846

The conclusion of Spanish rule in Alta California, following the collapse of Spain's empire in Mexico, had little immediate impact upon the Presidio of San Francisco. Then, in April 1822, an anti-climactic ending came to decades of discontent and neglect. Between April 11 and 20, the governor and officers of California took an oath of allegiance to the new regime of Agustín Iturbide who had been proclaimed Emperor Agustín I of Mexico. The garrisons from San Diego to San Francisco now changed their titles from "royal" to "imperial."[1] Don Luis Argüello, comandante of the San Francisco district, remained in command, simply ordering a review of the troops and a display of drill and firing of volleys. With the blasting forth of a twenty-one gun salute from the walls of the castillo, Mexican hegemony in San Francisco officially began.[2]

Nevertheless, the lines of continuity between the Spanish and the Mexican rule in California were strong and striking. The customs and the language of the old European power lived on through the soldiers and officers who performed their duties at missions and presidios. More immediately significant for San Francisco was the persistence of neglect in policy and instability in government that marked the new Mexican authority. Incoming political leaders in Mexico City made little attempt to rectify the Spanish mistakes in Alta California. Thus, the Cal-

1. Bancroft, *History of California*, II: 455, 466–468.
2. Amador, "Memorias," 44.


Presidio de San Francisco
Vista de la Bahia
Camino para el Castillo

ifornios remained dependent upon their meager resources and undeveloped initiative to maintain their presidios.

In November 1822, Argüello left San Francisco for Monterey to become acting governor of Alta California. Less than a year later, Agustín Fernández San Vicente came from Mexico to replace him. Fernández's concerns, as it soon became obvious, revolved around the supposed threat posed by Russian activity at Fort Ross. With the Spanish out of the way, Fernández feared that the Russians might take advantage of California's disarray and attempt to seize the land for themselves. The fear that Span-

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Figure 19 (at left). The files of Edward Vischer (1808–1878), a pioneer in the study of the missions and presidios of Alta California, included this diagram of the Presidio of San Francisco in 1820. While Mariano G. Vallejo certified a tracing based on this depiction, according to Zoeth S. Eldredge on December 25, 1908, its accuracy cannot be verified, especially since Vallejo did not report for duty to the post until many years after the date of this map. It does tend to conform to other earlier plans and follows the descriptions of various visitors to the post from the 1790s, thereby representing the general characteristics of the post through the late Spanish regime and into the early Mexican regime. The information translates:

Founded on September 17, 1776 by Moraga, Quiros and Fr. Palou
Presidio of San Francisco 1820

Below this legend was a symbol and the words *asta Bandero* (flag staff). Beyond this stood the principal defense (*Guardia Principal*), the walls being in ruins (*Ruinas Muralla*). The gate (*Porta de la Compa*) looked out to a vista of bay, the entrance of the port, Alcatraz, Angel Island, and the sand dune cape (*Arenas de Medanos Capas*) which formed a beach in front of the anchorage (marked by an anchor) and the pool (*Pozo de los Marineros*) which served as the source of water for ships' crews. The remaining structures of the north side included the jail (*Calabozo*), while the west side, with its walls intact, served as the dwellings for the soldiers. The remaining wall continued around to the southwest, ending at the ruins of the chapel, which was the principal structure of the presidio before earthquakes destroyed the church in 1812. ("Esta era la fachada principal del Presidio, antes que fuese arruinaba iglesia por los tremblores de 1812.") Facing the collapsed church, quarters for officers stood on the right and for the commander on the left. Most of the east wall and a center sector of the buildings laid in ruins. The barracks (cuartel) still stood, however, in the northeast section and its protective wall remained intact. Inside the square, symbols for posts, which possibly held up a veranda, appeared. Roads to the castillo, Yerba Buena, and Mission Dolores or San Francisco de Assisi, founded October 4, 1776, by Fr. Palou, Moraga, and Quiros, were included as were two symbols for the dwellings of Macros Briones y Miramontes. Behind this was a circular symbol for a waterhole (Ojo de Aqua) supplied by El Polin Spring.

ish Royalists would receive French support in any effort to regain control of Mexico further complicated Fernández' sense of insecurity. His response was to bluff the Russians into submission. He told them either to vacate Fort Ross in six months or face expulsion by military force.[3]

As had been the case with the Spanish before them, the Mexicans could not support their threat with military strength. The condition of the troops in northern California was sad. Stores of both ammunition and general supplies were low. Argüello, who had returned to his position of commander at San Francisco with the arrival of Fernández, requested 400 carbines, sabres, and cartridge boxes to bolster his military inventory.[4] Obtaining supplies, however, proved difficult because of troubles in Mexico itself. Indeed, Iturbide fell from power in Mexico City in March 1823. By April, the Republic replaced the Empire.[5] Fernández lost the governorship in Monterey, leaving Argüello alone in a possible confrontation with the Russians that he himself had not initiated.

Argüello soon made an about-face in his negotiations with the Russians. He contracted with the Russian-American Company to permit them to hunt otters off the California shoreline and in the San Francisco Bay. Some twenty to twenty-five *baidarkas* (kayaks) were to be sent with hunters and overseers by the Russian American Fur Trade Company to obtain and prepare the pelts. In return, inventories at the presidios periodically were to be enriched by an equal division of furs between the Russians and the Californios.[6]

Because of the financial woes which worsened during the Mexican administration the agreement was renewed several times over the next few years. In fact, Argüello's own ship, the *Rover*, transported the local government's share of furs to China where there was a demand for these warm pelts. This vessel was a eighty-

3. Bancroft, *History of California*, II: 464*n*.

4. Ibid., 673*n*.

5. Ignacio Martínez to Luis Argüello, San Francisco, May 1, 1823, *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, Sacramento, XXXI: 2.

6. Basil Dmytryshyn and E. A. Crownhart-Vaughn, trans. and eds., *Colonial Russian America: Kyrill T. Khlebnikov's Reports* (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1976), 110–111, offers more details on this first agreement.

three-ton schooner out of Massachusetts which Argüello obtained for $9,000, the proceeds coming from the otter agreement with the Russians. Thus, the savvy governor offered someone else's capital to back the venture. For the use of his ship, Don Luis received a percentage of the profit from sales. The involvement of monetary self-interest in the negotiation of international agreements became an increasingly common feature in the way in which the Californios managed the affairs of a far-off and inattentive central authority, but it also should be stated that this arrangement was sanctioned by local government authorities who saw this as a means to support operations that Mexico City failed to sustain.[7]

In addition to improved relations with the Russians, Argüello tried to improve life at the presidio through a series of semi-official acts. In 1824, he and a small committee called for the adoption of the Mexican *Plan de Govierno*, a temporary constitution which included important provisions for the organization and annual pay of the military.[8] In a separate decision, in January 1825, Argüello and the *junta* decreed that presidial company strength should henceforth stand at seventy to seventy-five soldiers, a considerable increase over previous official levels. Finally, he instituted a work plan for the improvement of the defenses, whereby vagrants, "evil-disposed persons," and if need be, Indians, were to be hired at low rates of pay to relieve the soldiers from menial and unskilled labor.[9]

The funds to carry out such well-meaning plans were, how-

7. Bancroft, *History of California*, II. 494. For more on this far reaching international activity which nearly exterminated this fur bearing animal off California's shores read, Adele Ogden, *The Sea Otter Trade, 1784–1848* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1941). Another more recent work, James R. Gibson, *Otter Skins. Boston Ships, and China Goods: The Maritime Fur Trade of the Northwest Coast, 1785–1841* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1992), likewise should be read to place this subject in context. This is not to say that the arrangement was perfect. In a short time several members of the garrison came to owe the Russians money as indicated in Leonid Shur, ed., *The Khlebnikov Archive: Unpublished Journal (1800–1837) and Travel Notes (1820, 1822, and 1824)*, John Bisk, trans. (Fairbanks: University of Alaska, 1990), 136.

8. Bancroft, *History of California*, II: 511–512. This document included pay scales which essentially remained the same as those allowed by Spain, starting at 1,200 pesos for captains down to 217.50 pesos per year for privates. In addition, the salary remained in goods and not in specie.

9. Ibid., 673*n*.

ever, nonexistent. The cost of running California's government, including the forts, required an estimated 130,000 pesos per annum. Even though the national treasury in Mexico City theoretically provided the money, in practice the Californios remained reliant on their own devices to generate revenue. Taxes and customs brought in only half the necessary funds. Consequently, deficit spending increasingly filled the gap.[10]

In an effort to rectify the financial woes, officials imposed duties on goods entering California. Moreover, they restricted the entry of trade goods to the two customs houses, one at Monterey and the other at San Diego. These practices split the officers into warring factions and indirectly encouraged the already popular practice of smuggling, which had begun in the Spanish era.[11] So widespread was illegal trade that high-ranking Mexican officials, such as Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, who later became the commander of San Francisco garrison, dealt in contraband.[12]

To add further insult, pay continually fell in arrears. The government responded by issuing a cargo of paper cigars (cigarettes) in lieu of cash. However, restrictions existed on the sale of tobacco. The troops reverted to black market channels and bartered for the necessities they lacked.[13] Corruption had so loosened the

10. Ibid., III: 58–59.

11. Nellie Van de Grift Sanchez, *Spanish Arcadia* (Los Angeles, CA: Powell Publishing Company, 1929), discusses smuggling, among other topics. Even published works became an item of illegal trade as noted in William F. Strobridge, "Book Smuggling in Mexican California," *The American Neptune*, XXXII (April 1972): 117–122.

12. Vallejo joined the Mexican military on January 8, 1824, as a cadet at Monterey, serving with the presidial company there for three years. He became a corporal in 1825, rather than advancing directly to ensign as had been the practice during the Spanish regime. The next year he went on to become a sergeant, proving, "an apt student, [who] learned quickly, and had a great liking for discipline, authority, and activities of military life." On July 30, 1827, just a week before his nineteenth birthday, this aptitude and interest brought the young Vallejo an ensignship when a vacancy came open at San Francisco with the transfer of Santiago Argüello to San Diego. He would remain at Monterey, however, until April 1830, when he joined the garrison in the Bay area. Thereafter, his career continued to move upward. At age twenty-nine he earned a captaincy and by 1836 he held a commission as a colonel. The man became a prominent figure in northern California history and enjoyed a long life. George Tays, "Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo and Sonoma," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XVI (June 1937): 991–121; (September 1937): 216–254; (December 1937): 348–372; XVII (June 1938): 141–167, and (September 1938): 219–242.

13. Frederick W. Beechey, *An Account of a Visit to California, 1826–1827 Reprinted from a Narrative of A Voyage to the Pacific and Bering Strait* (San Francisco: The Grabhorn Press, 1941), 6–7.

bonds of loyalty to any one government that, in 1824, José María Estudillo of the Presidio of San Francisco supposedly contended, "Our soldiers are all of one mind; whoever pays them the arrears due from the Spanish government is their master; he purchases him [*sic*] and to him they belong."[14] The decline in troop strength at the presidio followed inevitably upon the failure to solve the problem of how to pay the soldiers. On February 6, 1824, Argüello reported to the minister of war in Mexico City that he would be obliged to muster out the entire San Blas and Mazatlán companies as well as provisionally retire several presidial soldiers if money were not immediately forthcoming.[15] Increasing numbers of men left the service voluntarily to take up what they hoped would be more lucrative employment on ranchos or at the Pueblo of San Jose. With declining productivity at the *rancho de la nación*, the new name for the rancho del rey at Buriburi, the remaining soldiers could not count upon the steady supply of meat that made their diet slightly better than that of the average civilian.[16] Without loyalty, pay, or benefits, little remained to hold a soldier in the service of the Mexican Republic.

Several visitors from foreign nations testified in their travel accounts to the sorry state of affairs in San Francisco. In 1824, Otto von Kotzebue's ship entered the harbor in which he saw the Mexican flag flying over the castillo. As the Russian sailed into port for his second visit to the Bay Area his vessel fired a salute but heard no reply. Later, Kotzebue claimed that a soldier from the castillo came aboard his ship to beg for powder so that the Spanish might answer his salute.[17] Although Kotzebue's story itself is somewhat suspect, other visitors underscored the unpreparedness they observed.[18] On shore, Kotzebue found "The Presidio was in the same state in which I found it eight years before

14. Otto von Kotzebue, *A New Voyage Round the World in 1823, 24, 25 and 26*, 2 vols. (London: Henry Colburn & Richard Bentley, 1830), II: 110.

15. Luis Argüello to Minister of War, Monterey, February 6, 1824, *Archives of California*, Department State Papers, LXXVII: 214.

16. Frank M. Stanger, *South from San Francisco* (San Mateo, CA: San Mateo County Historical Association, 1963), 25–26.

17. Kotzebue, *A New Voyage Round the World*, II: 74–75.

18. Bancroft, *History of California*, III: 13.

[1816]; and, except [for] the republican flag, no trace of the important changes which had taken place was perceptible. Everything was going on in the old, easy, careless way."[19]

Another Russian ship, the frigate *Cruiser*, also anchored in the bay during 1824. One of her officers, Dmitry Irinarkhovich Zavalishin, noted that not one of the four presidios in Alta California "deserved the name fortress." He went on to indicate that originally a presidio consisted of:

> a large quadrangle, one-story building of unfired brick whose exterior was blank and hence had to be replaced by a wall or rampart to form the main defense against attacks of savages. Inside, around the entire building, ran a gallery or hedge which connected all the quarters. In front of the single gate on the inside stood two cannons; in San Francisco's presidio there was a special commander of artillery. He also commanded the battery erected on the promontory at the entrance to the bay, and ships had to pass under its line of fire. In case of danger livestock and fowl were driven into the spacious interior courtyard, and all belongings were brought there, since in such cases the residents of the surrounding settlements and missions withdrew to the presidio.

Then the young Russian continued to describe the state which existed rather than the ideal. He noted:

> But as danger of attack from savages diminished or, at least, came to affect only the more remote missions, they began to permit outside buildings at the presidios, and as a result it became necessary to make passageways through the heretofore blank outer wall. Lately, even Russian expeditions have had bakeries attached to the outer wall for the baking of both fresh bread and extra rusks for a cruise. This is how San Francisco's presidio became a rather formless pile of half-ruined dwellings, sheds, storehouses, and other structures. The floors, of course, were everywhere of stone or dirt, and not only stoves but also fireplaces were lacking in the living quarters. Whatever had to be boiled or fried was prepared in the open air, mostly on cast brick; they warmed themselves against the cold air over hot coals in pots or braziers. There was no glass in the windows. Some people had only grating in their windows. The entrance doors to some compartments (for example the president's [commandant's] room) were so large that one passed from the interior courtyard to the outside through the wall on horse-back.

19. Kotzebue, *A New Voyage Round the World*, II: 86. He noted that the soldiers continued to use the lance, large sword, and large spurs and were, "accoutered in a panoply of leather" which tended to indicate that they still wore the cuera. Ibid., 107.

Since Zavalishin's duties required that he remain on shore for extended periods, he had the frigate's carpenter fit out a portion of the commandant's quarters in European style complete, "with a wooden floor, glass pane windows, and European furniture." He smugly added that his quarters boasted a "a spare copper hearth from the frigate."[20]

Zavalishin's claim that the Russians set up some bakeries outside the walls of the protective quadrangle points to a practice that seemingly continued through the remainder of the Mexican period of occupation because during the Spanish regime commanders received permission to grant building lots to soldiers and other residents within the range of four square leagues, two leagues in each direction from the center of the presidio square, based upon a 1791 opinion interpreting Article 81 of the *Ordinanza de Indendentes*.[21] In 1825, American Captain Benjamin W. Morrell indicated that some 120 households existed in the district with approximately 500 gente de razón.[22] The only other brief comments Morrell made had to do with his estimation that the ten guns he saw at the castillo would be sufficient "to command the passage were the works kept in any kind of order." As usual, they were not. The American also stated in passing that the Presidio of San Francisco resembled Monterey with a ten-foot high wall "built of freestone" surrounding the compound, the houses, and church.[23]

Some eight years after Morrell's visit, another observer from the United States described the presidio as a series of "low buildings, with dark tile roofs, resembling prisons more than dwelling houses, and the residence of the Commandant was the most conspicuous amongst them." He noted the general state of ruin and

20. The preceding information and quotations were taken from James R. Gibson, trans. and ed., "California in 1824 by Dimitri Zavalishin," *Southern California Quarterly*, LV (Winter 1973): 378–379.

21. For a complete translation of this document which clarified the immediate lands under direct control of presidial commanders, see William Carey Jones, *Land Titles in California: Reports on the Subject of Land Titles* . . . (Washington, DC: Gideon & Co., 1850), 53–54.

22. W. W. Robinson, *Land in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948), 36, cites this figure and links it with the establishment of the common council or *ayuntamiento* established in 1834 that brought about the official recognition of the presidio as a pueblo under the Mexican government.

23. Benjamin W. Morrell, *Narrative of Four Voyages to the South Pacific Ocean* (New York: J & J Harper, 1832), 210–212.

the presence of "a few framed houses scattered about outside the square. . . ."[24]

These frame structures may have been built by Russians from Fort Ross. One old resident mentioned Teresa Villela de Higuera had a home provided by Russian carpenters, but where, when, and why the structure had been completed remains a mystery. About 1831, Francisco Sánchez also supposedly resided about 200 varas from the post as the nearest resident, possibly at a location near the road to Mission Dolores and toward the southeast of the presidio between today's Funston and MacArthur roads.[25]

El Polin Springs also seemed to attract the Miramontes family who lived, "about three-quarters of a mile southeast from the barracks. . . ." Local legend had it that the waters "possessed the remarkable power of producing fecundity in women who were childless, and who partook of the waters . . . In proof it may be mentioned that the Miramontes family, living on the spot, had twenty children. . . ."[26] Perhaps the large size of the family accounts for the fact that supposedly two structures existed at this locale, although it is possible that the family of Juana Briones and Apolonario Miranda also resided at this site for a time before taking up residence at Ojo de Agua de Figueroa, a grant which partially crossed the present presidio boundary around Green and Lyon streets. It seems the structures of this "homestead were located off the present reservation. A dam had been built south of the El Polin structures."[27]

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24. Alfred Robinson, *Life in California* (Santa Barbara, CA: Peregrine Press, 1970), 40.

25. G. W. Hendry and J. N. Bowman, "The Spanish and Mexican Adobes and Other Buildings in the Nine San Francisco Bay Counties 1776 to about 1850," IX: 1156–1157 (Unpublished Ms), Bancroft Library.

26. William Heath Davis, *Seventy-Five Years in California* (San Francisco: John Howell, 1928), 54–55 and Francisco Sánchez, "Pioneer Sketches," 16–17, Bancroft Reference Notes, Inter File, San Francisco, Bancroft Library.

27. For further details consult Hendry and Bowman, "Spanish and Mexican Adobes," 1145–1158. This study also notes the presence of adobes to the west of the quadrangle as indicated by sources from U.S. military records of the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century. The authors did not indicate the placement of the casemate but noted the presence of a corral in the 1816 art work by Choris to the northwest of the quadrangle. Ibid., 1159–1161. The same Choris image depicts gardens to the northeast and the rear of the quadrangle while the 1776 first plan of the post showed a corral to the rear (south) of the first palisade's construction.

On November 6, 1826, Royal Navy officer Captain Frederick W. Beechey anchored his ship, H.M.S. *Blossom*, at San Francisco. As soon as he anchored, Beechey visited the comandante, Don Ignacio Martínez, finding the officer living in an "abode in a corner of the presidio" which formed one end of the row while the chapel occupied the other end. His Majesty's sailor found, "the opposite side was broken down, and little better than a heap of rubbish and bones, on which jackals [coyotes?], dogs, and vultures were constantly preying; and the other two sides of the quadrangle contained storehouses, artificer's shops, and the gaol, all built in the humblest style with badly burnt bricks, and roofed with tiles." Beechey concluded:

> Whether viewed at a distance or near, the establishment impresses a spectator with any other sentiment than that of it being a place of authority; and but for a tottering flag-staff, upon which was occasionally displayed the tri-coloured flag of Mexico, three rusty field pieces, and a half accoutred sentinel parading the gateway in charge of a few poor wretches heavily shackled, a visitor would be ignorant of the importance of the place. The neglect of the government to its establishments could not be more thoroughly evinced than in the dilapidated condition of the building in question; and such was the dissatisfaction of the people that there was no inclination to improve their situation or even to remedy many of the evils which they appeared to us to have the power to remove.[28]

During the several weeks he remained in harbor (the British did not depart until December 28), Beechey had ample opportunity to make other observations about the area. He contended that the defense works at the entrance to the harbor mounted nine cannon. The fort rested upon a precipice that gradually, rock by rock, was falling into the ocean. He lamented that such a magnificent harbor, which could "contain all the British navy," appeared "in such a state of neglect." Once he had the opportu-

28. Beechey, *An Account of a Visit*, 3–8. On a second trip, in 1827, Beechey wrote, "San Francisco had undergone no visible change except that the presidio had suffered from the shock of an earthquake on the 22d of April. . . ." Ibid., 74.

A fellow British naval officer recorded much the same information as Beechey noting the ". . . Fort with 9 guns and about three-quarters of a mile from it the Presidio, a Barrack built on the sides of a square for the Commandant and his soldiers." Barry M. Gough, ed., *To the Pacific and Arctic with Beechey: The Journal of Lieutenant George Peard of H.M.S. "Blossom," 1825–1828* (Cambridge, England: Hakylut Society, 1979), 173.

nity to come ashore and pass many days on horseback in the region, Beechey could describe, with admiration and not a little envy, a land, "diversified with hill and dale, partly wooded and partly disposed in pasture lands of the richest kind, abounding in herds of cattle" and contrasted the natural beauty and potential with the Spanish-speaking settlement, "a sickly column of

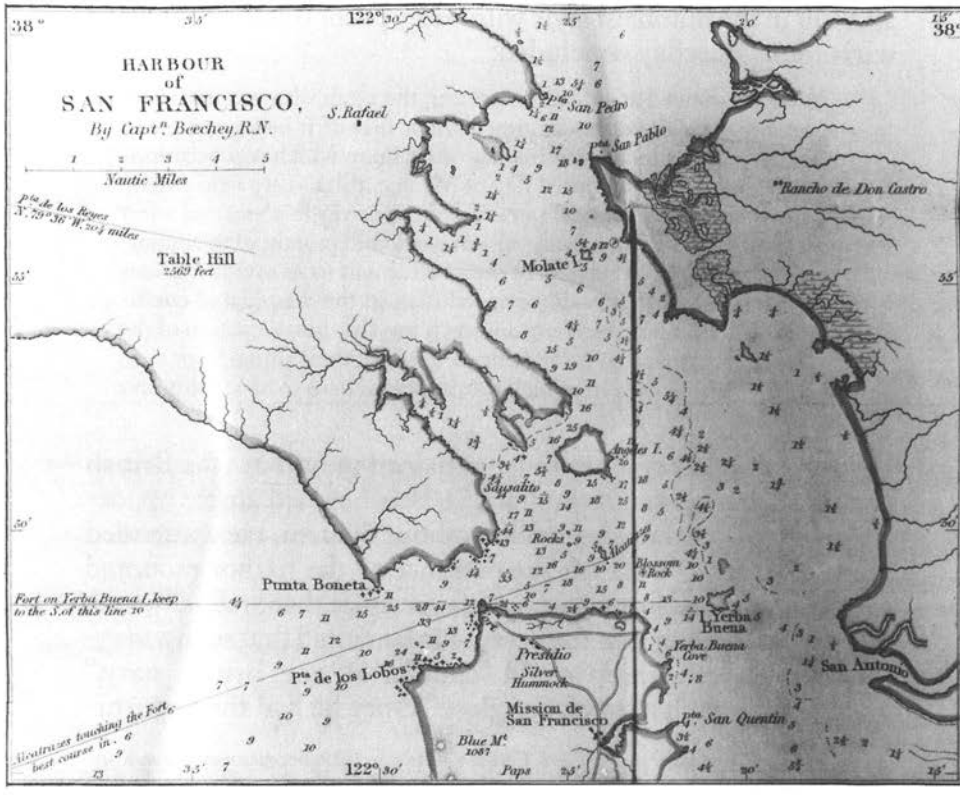

Figure 20. An 1839 map by Smith Elder of London, possibly based on Beechey's 1829 map, indicated the presidio, the fort (castillo), roads, and a pair of outbuildings toward El Polin Spring. Alexander Forbes, *California: A History of Upper and Lower California from Their First Discovery to the Present Time* (London: Smith, Elder and Company, 1839), after 352. Autry Museum of Western Heritage, Los Angeles.

Figure 21. Looking far from the northeast toward the Presidio and the Golden Gate, this rendition by Captain W. Smyth of the Royal Navy portrays the quadrangle (at the extreme left of the image) not enclosed on all sides. Further, Smyth portrayed the anchorage as having moved toward Yerba Buena Cove and gave a sense of the contour of the Cantil Blanco as it appeared when the castillo topped its heights prior to demolition in the early 1850s to make way for the fort at Fort Point. Alexander Forbes, *California: A History of Upper and Lower California from The First Discovery to the Present Time* (London: Smith, Elder and Company, 1839), between 126–127. Autry Museum of Western Heritage, Los Angeles.

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smoke rising from within some dilapidated walls, misnamed the presidio or protection. . . ."[29]

Not only did the appearance of the outpost bespeak of the long-standing tradition of neglect but, also, the troops themselves seemed wanting for the very basics from their masters in Mexico. Beechey noted this fact in his description of a soldier of the era:

29. Beechey, *An Account of a Visit*, 15. Another commentator of 1827 mentioned that after sailing into the harbor he and his shipmates found themselves "opposite a cluster of houses which all of us took for a farm; but on examining them more closely, . . . I recognized the presidio." Once ashore, this French visitor went to the post and enjoyed sweet wine, tortillas, cakes, and cheese which the commander's daughters served in a "reception room." A seven-gun salute also was to be fired but only three rounds could be discharged from the cannon. In the course of rendering the honors two of the cannon carriages fell apart. Charles F. Carter, trans., "Duhaut-Cilly's Account of California in the Years 1827–1828," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, VIII (June 1929): 140–141. For the complete text of this travel account, see A. Duhaut-Cilly, *Voyage autour du monde, principalement a la California et aux Iles Sandwich, pedant annees 1826, 1827, 1828, et 1829* (Paris: Chez Arthus Betrand libraire, 1834).

> His dress consisted of a round, blue-cloth jacket, with red cuffs and collar; blue-velvet breeches, which being unbuttoned at the knees, gave greater display to a pair of white cotton stockings, cased more than half the way in a pair of deerskin shoes; a black hat, as broad in the brim as it was disproportionately low in the crown, kept in order by its own weight; a profusion of dark hair, which met behind and dangled half-way down the back, in the form of a thick cue. A long musket, with a fox-skin band around the lock, was balanced upon the pommel of his saddle, and he was further provided with defense against Indians with a bull's hide shield, on which was emblazoned the royal arms of Spain, and, by a double-fold of deerskin, carried as a covering over his body. Thus accoutred, he bestrode a saddle, which retained him in his seat by a high pommel in front, and a corresponding rise behind. His feet were armed at the heels with a tremendous pair of spurs, secured by a metal chain, and were thrust through an enormous pair of wooden box-shaped stirrups.[30]

Despite the fact that Mexico had governed California for some three years, the presidial soldier depicted by Captain Beechey could have ridden with Anza in the previous century. The troops retained their old issue arms, equipment, and uniforms from the days of the Spanish regime because no replacements came from the Mexican government. Additionally, more than a decade passed before Mexico would make a drastic departure from the old regulations promulgated by Spain in 1772. By that time, the few remaining men at the Presidio of San Francisco probably did not adopt the latest military fashion, which for the most part resembled the old styles.[31]

30. Beechey, *An Account of a Visit*, 15–16. Gough, *To the Pacific*, 175, also noted the men wore "leather Caps, Coats and Shields that are Arrow proof. . . ."

31. By 1839, according to John N. Brown, Josef Hefter, and Angelina Nieto, *El Soldado Mexicano 1837–1847* (Mexico, DF: Editions Nieto-Brown-Hefter, 1958), 65, Mexican regulations prescribed two uniforms for the California companies. The first was, "a garrison dress with dark blue wool tailcoat, green collar and cuffs, deep red lapels and cuff bars, white piping, dark blue pants with deep red stripes, an ornamented shako. . . , and the initials AC [for Alta California] . . . embroidered on the collar." For a field uniform, the specifications called for, "a dark blue round jacket with deep red collar and cuffs, grey side-buttoned chaparral pants over boots, a cowman's saddle and shabrak [horse cloth for under the saddle], round hat with white band and a dark blue cape."

According to a British observer of the late 1830s, uniforms were anything but consistent on the northern frontier. Vallejo, having relocated most of the Presidio of San Francisco's troops to Sonoma just a few years previously formed an infantry company to supplement the cavalrymen. This former group consisted of a baker's dozen, and "if one may judge from the variety of uniforms, each of the thirteen warriors constitutes his own regiment, one being the 'Blue,' another the 'Buffs,' and so on. . . ." The only commonality among the lot was that everyone of them seemed to sport, "an enormous sword, a pair of nascent mostachios, deerskin boots, and

In certain instances, commanders at San Francisco would have been pleased even with outmoded items or worn-out stock rather than do without such much needed equipment as saddles. During the same year Beechey arrived, the troops required fifty saddles, because most of the company went about bareback in the performance of their duties.[32] An appeal to the padre at Mission Dolores for saddles failed to bring relief. The priest simply responded that the presidio should close if the post could not maintain itself. In reply, the comandante requested that his superiors in Monterey authorize seizure of these items. Word from the governor denying this action closed the issue for the moment, although the deep-seated rift between the military and religious authorities grew with the passage of years and culminated in the secularization of the mission lands starting in the next decade.[33]

The disarray and discontent, so obvious to Beechey and other visitors, had not been missed by the Mexican government either, but the measures they were willing to take to improve defenses in their California outposts amounted to little more than rhetorical proclamations. The arrival of a new governor, José María Echeandía, and some reinforcements in the form of a forty-man infantry unit known as the Fijo del Hidalgo, bound for Monterey, caused ill-will rather than increasing a sense of martial preparedness among the Californios who increasingly saw themselves as a people apart from the central republic.[34] An 1827 order from Mexico called for the construction of a guardhouse and barracks at Yerba Buena, east of the main San Francisco fort. No funds were provided, and the Yerba Buena landing remained unprotected. In 1828, the ten-man *Junta de Fomento*, a special council with wide-ranging duties at the federal level in Mexico City, called for the general strengthening of defenses, a military

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that everlasting serape or blanket with a hole in the middle of it for the head." Sir George Simpson, *Narrative of A Voyage to California Ports . . . Together With Voyage to Sitka, the Sandwich Islands, & Okhotsk* (San Francisco: The Private Press of Thomas Russell, 1930), 68–69.

32. Englehardt, *San Francisco or Mission Dolores*, 185–186.

33. Daniel J. Garr, "Power and Priorities: Church-State Boundary Disputes in Spanish-California," *California Historical Quarterly*, LVII (Winter 1978–1979): 364–375, provides useful background to a situation which finally came to a head under the Mexican regime. Other reasons for secularization besides the problem between military anc religious authorities were the growth of the anti-clerical movement in Mexico; ideological opposition to forced labor of Indians; increased interest by civilians in obtaining church land and its transfer to private hands.

34. Bancroft, *History of California*, III: 13.

academy, and a naval force which was to be stationed in the San Francisco Bay Area.[35] Nothing came of these grandiose schemes, except the arrival, a few months later, of a handful of cavalrymen. In April 1829, the Mexican authorities distributed the *General Spanish Regulations for Artillery Militia* to all California presidios. By May, the populace was supposed to be organized and schooled in the intricacies of artillery operations. The truth of the matter was that training never took place. Once again, Mexico City provided no money. Moreover, out of a total 24,000 weapons distributed at the time by the central government, California received only 320 to arm their 4,200 citizens.

Also, in 1829, Mexico's Congress enacted a new law providing for six companies of seventy-six men and four officers apiece to be stationed along the California coast.[36] This lack of support for legislation, in turn, came to nothing when men, well-aware of Mexico's frontier soldiers, declined to enlist.[37] Nonetheless, the dwindling number of soldiers continued to perform their traditional duties, including carrying out forays against Indians who resisted domination under the Mexican regime, just as they had under the Spanish.[38]

Meanwhile, troops at Monterey, joined by some mission detachments, refused further service in the military unless they received their pay. An officer managed to quiet the dissidents before the affair exploded into outright mutiny. Similar rumblings may have reached San Francisco about the same time. These tremors represented only the first signs of trouble. Discontent continued throughout the year. Troops blamed Echeandía, the comandante general at Monterey, for all their problems; moreover, the officers at Monterey and San Francisco probably shared

35. Ibid., 35–36.

36. Ibid., 67–68.

37. In 1829, the Presidio of San Francisco's commander unsuccessfully attempted to obtain recruits from San Jose, stipulating that men coming into the ranks, "must be well disposed, to be capable of duty; not publicly known as thieves nor habitual drunkards." Comandante of Presidio of San Francisco to Alcalde of San Jose, June 2, 1829, San Jose Archives, III: 11, Bancroft Reference Notes, California Military, Presidios, 1821–1830.

38. For an account of one such expedition related to the San Jose and Santa Clara missions, see Joaquín Peña, "Quaderno de las Novedades locurrados [dia]riamente de la Expedicion que marcha a las [or]denes del Sub-teniente de Cavall[eri]a a [M. Guadalupe Vallejo, y da principio el 19 Mayo de 1829." Unpublished Ms, Bancroft Library.

the soldiers' point of view.[39] Many among them, tired of the bad situation, began increasingly to believe they would fare better on their own.

Finally, in November, with California's governor temporarily in the south, the situation exploded. Joaquín Solís, who had been sent to California with a ten-year sentence for offenses in Mexico, led the rebellion. Together with a group of soldiers at Monterey, Solís seized principal officials at that presidio and demanded not only back pay and back rations, but the removal of both the governor and the new comandante general. The rebels then moved to San Francisco, arriving November 15, where support among the common soldiers overwhelmed the opposition of the officers. The Presidio of San Francisco surrendered, and Martínez was dismissed from his post as comandante.[40]

Solís now approached Argüello and asked him to take command of the force. No doubt guessing the outcome of the rebellion, Argüello shrewdly refused the dubious honor. The rebels then moved against the Presidio of Santa Barbara. Governor Echeandía, on his way north from San Diego with a punitive force, also headed for Santa Barbara. The two groups met at San Miguel in a short, comic-opera engagement. After a series of semi-theatrical forays, the rebels scattered and soon disbanded. The ill-fated rebellion came to an end after New Year's Day of 1830. In the brief investigation and trial that followed, sixteen of the major conspirators were sentenced to deportation, and California returned to its doldrums under the old lackadaisical regime.[41]

Governor Echeandía's successor, Colonel Manuel Victoria, seemed to sense the new unwillingness to accept the poor conditions of Mexican rule. In March 1830, in his first official act, he issued a document addressed to his "beloved fellow citizens." He assured them of improvements and stated that, "the laws must be executed, the government obeyed, and our institutions respected," if reforms were to be successful.[42] During his short

39. Bancroft, *History of California*, II: 674–675.
40. Ibid., III: 75.
41. Ibid., 68–86.
42. Manuel Victoria, "Manifestacion del Gefe Politico de la Alta California a sur habitantes, 1831," Unpublished Ms, Bancroft Library.

term in office, Victoria travelled on inspections throughout the territory and, by some accounts, visited San Francisco.[43] Yet, once again, great expectations ended in unfulfilled promises. Victoria succeeded in little more than the maintenance of the status quo. He failed to convene the *disputacíon*, a representative assembly for California, without which California was little more than a military comandancia. At a time when the ideas of republicanism began to seep into California both from Mexico and the United States, Victoria's action was not well-received, and he accomplished little during his tenure in office.

In the meantime, the troop strength in California continued to decline. The company at the Presidio of San Francisco dwindled to less than fifty men. Within the next four years, this number dropped to thirty.[44] The new commander of the presidio, Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, asked for replacements without expecting much success in recruitment.[45] He also reported the ruinous state of the presidio buildings and eventually received permission to save what he could of the standing equipment. Among the eight iron guns, including three 24-pounders, and eight brass pieces, six were deemed useless. Vallejo, in desperation, requested permission to appraise the best buildings at the post in order either to turn them over to the men as partial restitution for back pay or to purchase cattle for the men and their families. By this time, the government owed the troops 5,100 pesos for 1833–1834 alone. This figure rose to 30,000 pesos by 1837.[46]

In Mexico City, political instability and factional battling or power hindered the solution of urgent financial problems. In late 1832, the central government named José Figueroa as California's new political chief. Arriving in mid-January of 1833,

43. Bancroft, *History of California*, III: 186.

44. Ibid., 700.

45. Earlier in the decade, Governor Luis Argüello sought twenty-five recruits from Los Angeles and Santa Barbara to replenish the ranks. He hoped for volunteers but would take available vagrants and unmarried men drawn by lot if he had to do so. He also wanted a report "on all vagrants and evil-disposed persons, that the men might be set to work at 18 cents per day on the fortifications." Ibid, II: 673. Supposedly, many years later, some young men went to the altar to avoid being drafted into the Mexican forces, since only bachelors were subject conscription in the late 1830s. Similarly, a reputed underground network also kept families informed when details approached to take away their younger, unmarried sons. With advance warning, a pre-arranged plan went into effect and the would-be recruits would go into hiding for the time being. Davis, *Seventy-Five Years in California*, 161–162.

46. Bancroft, *History of California*, III: 701.

Figueroa carried instructions to restore tranquility throughout the territory; to inspire renewed confidence in the national government; to maintain a careful watch over the Russian and American activities along the coast, and to move toward the secularization of the missions. The latter requirement called for the division of mission lands into self-supporting ranchos and the replacement of the Franciscan missionaries by regular or parish priests. To assist Figueroa in attaining these objectives, Mexico City provided him with a force of seventy-five officers and men.[47]

In April 1833, Figueroa ordered Vallejo in San Francisco to survey the area north of the bay with an eye to the establishment of another outpost. Figueroa's attention again turned to Vallejo in October when a minor revolt took place in the district. A few soldiers, disgruntled at alleged mistreatment, attempted to depose their commander. Enraged at the mutineers, Vallejo demanded severe punishment. Nevertheless, a court-martial resulted only in the transfer of the conspirators to other presidios.

By 1834, Vallejo moved part of the San Francisco garrison to Sonoma after severe storm damage dictated another rebuilding, which never occurred because of lack of funds. Rains caused deterioration at the presidio and near destruction of much of the castillo.[48] Toward the end of the year, Vallejo recommended that the unrepairable conditions made it desirable to sell off what could be salvaged at the presidio to private individuals in order to obtain some back pay for the troops. The presidio's stock could be transferred to Sonoma to start a national ranch there.[49] The governor agreed to the relocation and the scheme to sell portions of the presidio so long as a part of the reservation remained for a barracks to lodge troops.[50]

By 1835, Vallejo had transported not only the last of the San Francisco garrison, but also his own family, to the new north-

47. Ibid., 248.

48. M. Vallejo to *Comandante General*, San Francisco, May 3, 1834, *Archives of California*, Department State Papers, Benicia Military, LXXVII: 5–6.

49. M. Vallejo to Governor Figueroa, San Francisco, November 11, 1834, Vallejo Documents, XXXI: 133, Bancroft Reference Notes, California Military, Presidios, San Francisco, 1831–1840.

50. Governor Figueroa to Presidio of San Francisco, Monterey, September 20, 1834, Vallejo Documents, III: 129, Bancroft Reference Notes, San Francisco 1776–.

ern outpost. Soon, the Presidio of San Francisco declined to a caretaker status.[51]

A number of accounts of this period underscored the ghost town atmosphere which existed by this period. A Yankee diarist described the presidio in his August 15, 1836, entry as "a most miserable place entirely in ruins, there being but two or three houses inhabitable and them apparently in a galloping consumption. There were but two men, some three or four women, and as many children in the whole place," while the port's customs collector resided "in a corner of a long row of adobe buildings that formerly formed the northern defense of the place."[52]

Just a little over a year later a British traveler also proclaimed the presidio a "miserable place . . ." which originally was ". . . a square enclosed by buildings of one story, tiled but only three sides are now standing and these in very dilapidated state. There is no regular garrison there and many homes are without inhabitants."[53]

One other visitor of 1837 went into even more detail, recording:

> Rode . . . to examine the Presidio and fort. These buildings were erected, I was told, about fifty-five years ago for the accommodation of the Spanish garrison. The Presidio is a building, the walls of adobes and the roofs of tiles, enclosing a square area, the sides of which are perhaps three hundred feet long. Since the expulsion of the Spaniards in the revolution, the place has been going into ruins. One entire side is fallen and parts of the others. All of the outer buildings, of which there were many, are now fallen except one. It is now inhabited by a

51. The post must have been maintained well into the year, however, since on December 27, 1835, Vallejo was present in the Bay Area and, "spoke English very well" while visiting with an American ship leaving the port. The same vessel received a salute from the castillo as it departed the Bay Area. Richard Henry Dana, Jr., *Two Years Before the Mast: A Personal Narrative* (Boston, MA: James R. Osgood and Company, 1872), 270.

The establishment of the pueblo in late 1834 and the relocation of the larger part of the garrison led to the decline of the presidio's importance in relation to the civilian port and Mission Dolores, where the local detachment commander moved his office and residence, by the 1830s, as well as the records of the pueblo council. At this point, "the Presidio ceased to be a factor of consequence and the urban history in this area centered in the port and in the Mission." Hendry and Bowman, "Spanish and Mexican Adobes," 1188.

52. Doyce, B. Nunis, Jr., ed., *The Diary of Faxon Dean Atherton* (San Francisco and Los Angeles: California Historical Society, 1964), 27.

53. Richard A. Pierce and John H. Winslow, eds., *H.M.S. Sulphur at California, 1837 and 1839: Being the Accounts of Midshipman Francis Gullemard Simpkinson and Captain Edward Belcher* (San Francisco: The Book Club of California, 1969), 8–9.

> half dozen families, too indolent to do anything to arrest the progress of decay. A sort of military burlesque is here still supported at times. I found the fort which once commanded the entrance of the bay in the same ruinous condition. Some of the cannon bore inscriptions dated A.D. 1648. Ruins, however diminutive, are melancholy mementoes of human blindness and folly . . . I am not gazing upon the ravages of war. These are simply the ravages of time—little time! A little circumspection and industry would have averted all.[54]

Movement to the north coincided with the establishment of the Pueblo of Yerba Buena, with some of the military families moving into the new settlement that was destined to become the City of San Francisco. For a while the presidio lot improved, according to one source, a newly arrived Yankee who claimed the post's "inhabitants . . . were well supplied with everything. There were several hundred cattle roaming the hills, besides sheep and horses." The people dined on beef, elk, deer, and bear. They had wine, brandy, and aquardiente to drink aplenty, "and as a result the inhabitants lived on the fat of the land." Indians performed the drudge work, according to this reminiscence. This allowed the remaining garrison to pass its time "in riding, racing and daring feats of horsemanship." They also danced to the strains of the guitar or gambled, with monte being "the craze in every household." Fond of amusement and fiestas, "the early settlers of California entertained like princes and were lavish with their hospitality." Thus, the informant recalled the presidio as "a paradise and nothing marred their haven of delight until the march of civilization reached the shores of the mighty Pacific." Only one note of this narrative spoiled the perfect picture because the presidio "was not maintained in a very effective condition, as the cannon were rusty and covered with mold. . . ."[55]

54. *The Diary of Philip Leget Edwards: The Great Cattle Drive from California to Oregon in 1837* (San Francisco: Grabhorn Press, 1932), 14.

55. "Reminiscences of Charles Lauff from the files of *The Independent* of San Rafael Jan. 25, 1916 to May 23, 1916" (typescript), Marin County Historical Society, San Rafael, CA, 2, 24–26. Lauff, a native of Strasboargh, France, was born on February 22, 1818. He came to the United States with his widowed mother around 1823. A dozen years later, he went to sea on the bark *Byron*. After a shipwreck, another craft bound for Sitka, Alaska, picked him up in South America and carried him to San Francisco. He remained in the Bay Area for the rest of his long life. At ninety-eight years of age, he told his story to the local newspaper, although much of what he had to say seemed clouded or distorted by the passage of time. His description of the Presidio of San Francisco, in the 1830s, seems unreliable as little of what he remembered squared with contemporary accounts.

In truth, the post's fall into ruin accelerated in the 1830s. In 1834, the presidial-pueblo of Yerba Buena was set up with a six-man district council and an alcalde, the latter position being assumed by one of the San Blas infantrymen, Francisco de Haro. With this, the anchorage also moved to Yerba Buena as did some of the population who began to strip the main garrison and the castillo as well of what little useful building materials they could find.[56]

As circumstances changed in San Francisco, the undisguised interest of the United States in the California territory added a troublesome new dimension to the longstanding problems of Mexico's California outposts. In August of that year, the United States *Chargé d'Affaires* in Mexico City approached the central government with an offer to buy San Francisco Bay Area for $5,000,000. The Americans wanted the harbor to serve as a home base for American whalers in the Pacific. Mexican authorities gave consideration to accepting the offer, but British diplomats finally convinced them to hold onto the territory.[57]

However, the situation in San Francisco over the next six years showed little sign of any increase in attention on the part of Mexico, although Vallejo evidently left a detachment of six artillerymen under Juan Prado Mesa to maintain a token presence at the reservation when the main force relocated to Sonoma.[58] By late 1839, that number fell even further, to only three men, who may have deserted, thereby leaving the place unmanned for a short period.[59] While the population of California had increased fourfold over the previous decade, and by 1840, more than 1,330 gente de razón lived in the district between San Jose and Sonoma, few could be induced to join the military. Those who retired from the military to take up life at ranches or civilian settlements seemed to outnumber replacements.

Coastal fortifications, originally built to protect this popula-

56. Workers of the Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration, comp., "The Army at the Golden Gate: A Guide to Military Posts in the San Francisco Bay Area" (Unpublished Ms, San Francisco: c. 1942), 45–46.

57. Bancroft, *History of California*, III: 400.

58. WPA, "Army at the Golden Gate," 46.

59. Bancroft Reference Notes, California Military, Presidios, San Francisco, 1831–1840.

tion, had meanwhile all but disappeared. The artillery stood unused and uncared for, although Vallejo recommended the castillo's rebuilding in the early 1840s, along with the construction of a jail, custom house, and a wharf. Likewise, Vallejo called for 200 more soldiers to be sent to California under competent officers.[60] As it was, in San Francisco, only one artilleryman remained to man the last six cannons, because Vallejo had ordered the relocation of several of the serviceable guns to Sonoma.[61]

Foreign visitors remained unanimous in their descriptions of the state of complete and unrelieved neglect of military establishments throughout Alta California in general and at the Presidio of San Francisco in particular. In the late 1830s, one Englishman summarized it best, "Any foreign power if disposed to take possession of California could easily do so." Continuing, the astute British commentator indicated that the 100,000 dollars required to operate the government in the territory fell beyond Mexico's ability to pay and, "Instead of money, military

60. Bancroft, *History of California*, IV: 204–205. Previously, in early 1839, Vallejo reported the gun mounts at the castillo remained serviceable but were not located in the right place. He found the seas undermining the walls and suggested that the guns ought to be sent to a more advantageous position such as Angel Island. February 6, 1839, Vallejo Documents, VI: 217, Bancroft Reference Notes, California Military, Presidios, San Francisco, 1831–1840.

61. By 1841, only twenty-four artillerymen remained in all of Alta California and they had charge of forty-three serviceable pieces along the coast, along with seventeen useless guns. Bancroft, *History of California*, IV: 197–198, 701*n*. Just eleven years earlier, the ordnance inventory consisted of fifty-four cannons, three of 24-pounds; two of 12-pounds; eighteen of 8-pounds; nineteen of 6-pounds; eleven of 4-pounds; and one of 3-pounds. Twenty-three of the guns were brass and thirty-one iron. Ibid., II: 673. An early 1840s description of the barbette battery at Monterey (El Castillo) indicated that, "The defense consists of 2 useless brass pieces, a brass falconet, 2 twelve-pounders, a sixteen-pound[er] gun mounted on half-rotten gun carriages, and 2 pieces of eight, mounted on cart wheels." Additionally, "these and those at San Diego and Santa Barbara, were cast in bronze in Peru or Manila, and bear the insignia of Spain with the inscription *Real Audiencia de Lima o de Filipinas*." Marguerite Eyer Wilbur, ed., and trans., *Duflot De Mofras' Travels on the Pacific Coast*, 2 vols. (Santa Ana, CA: The Fine Arts Press, 1937), I: 212.

According to a later report, Sonoma had nine brass guns including two 8-pounders, two 4-pounders, four 3-pounders, and one 2 1/2 conical gun. There was also one iron gun of the same type and caliber. J. Peña, Sonoma, March 24, 1839, Vallejo Documents, XXV: 63, Bancroft Reference Notes, California Military, Presidios, San Francisco, 1831–1840. Another source noted that of the six guns mounted at Sonoma, three had been purchased by Vallejo with his own funds. General Vallejo to President Bustamante, Sonoma, May 10, 1839, Vallejo Documents, VII: 37, ibid. When the "Bear Flag" Revolt broke out the rebels found eight cannon and 250 stands of arms at Sonoma. Oscar Lewis, ed., *California in 1846* (San Francisco: Grabhorn Press, 1934), 32.

officers and policemen are sent with reams of laws and orders to repair the system . . . leaving as heretofore the soldiers in rags and the employees without pay. . . ."[62]

More to the point, in 1840, one Yankee found the castillo in ruins, its guns corroding, and "one side of its walls tumbled down, and another strongly disposed to plunge into the sea, and not the tenth of a soldier's heart beating for a hundred miles around. . . ." The presidio itself consisted of the commandant's "respectable whitewashed pile of mud and bricks" in one corner and a chapel at the other corner "on the same side." Artificers' shops and a prison completed the few remaining structures as the two other sides of the quadrangle had "broken down, not by flying metal of brave conflict, but by gentle battering of the rains; the ruins covered with bones! not the bones of fearless men. . . ; but the bones of beeves that have been gnawed by the garrison. . . ."[63]

While less caustic, a French visitor of 1841 substantiated the American's overall view of the military establishments in the Bay Area, finding much to his surprise that, "the fort [the castillo] has been so completely abandoned that a ship could easily send its small boats over the shore below, and without attracting attention of the presidio, carry off the cannon that could be rolled down the cliff." He further described the decaying gun carriages and ruined barracks.[64] This individual, Duflot de Mofras, noted, "The presidio of San Francisco is falling into decay, is entirely dismantled, and is inhabited by only a sub-lieutenant and 5 soldier rancheros with their families." He described the surrounding land as being sand dunes covered with brush. Further, he stated that the castillo consisted of a horseshoe-shaped adobe battery with sixteen embrasures for cannon. Only three obsolete guns and two "good bronze pieces of 16 caliber [pounders], cast in Manila were in place, all "on wooden gun carriages which date from 1812 and are partially decayed. In the center of the

62. Alexander Forbes, *California: A History of Upper and Lower California from Their First Discovery to the Present Time* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1839), 147, 307–308.

63. Thomas J. Farnham, *Life, Adventures, and Travels in California* (New York: Sheldon, Lamport, and Blakeman, 1855), 352–353. This so-called first-hand account, however, is based upon other sources since the author did not visit San Francisco in 1840.

64. Wilbur, *Duflot de Mofras' Travels on the Pacific Coast*, I: 228–229.

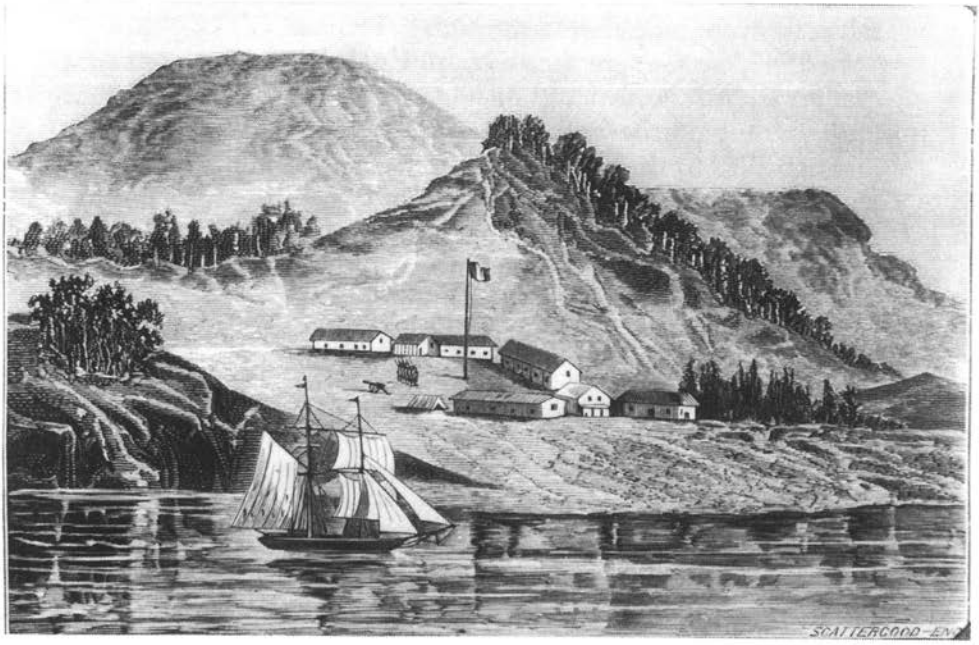

Figure 22. In 1843, Swedish visitor G. M. Waseurtz af Sandels, who referred to himself as "The King's Orphan," made two crude illustrations of an "Original Pencil Sketch of the Fort and Port of San Francisco in California" (shown above) and "The Military Barracks of Sn. Francisco in California." These pair of pictures differ little from those made by members of the Beechey party nearly twenty earlier. The sketch of the military barracks shows an irregular assembly of adobes forming only portions of three sides of "the barracks," with some of these being located outside of the boundaries of the old quadrangle, particularly one structure at the northwest corner. No flag flies from the staff, indicating that the place probably was deserted. In the sketch shown above, a flag was evident at the fort (castillo), however, at the port's entrance. The originals are in the Society of California Pioneers, San Francisco. An engraver by the name of Scattergood based this stylized and embellished view of the Presidio on "a sketch by the 'King's Orphan.'" While quaint, it offers nothing new of substance to an understanding of the Presidio during its final years under Mexican rule, as it chiefly replicates the Swedish physician's sketches. California Room, State Library, Sacramento.

horseshoe, the barracks, used originally to house the soldiers, have fallen into ruins. . . ."[65] No one lived there nor did a ditch or other protection to the rear exist to keep the place from being overtaken from the side should the battery be manned.

In 1841, Sir George Simpson, an Englishman, wrote of the castillo as, "dismantled and dilapidated . . . crumbling into the undermining tide beneath." Nearby, he spied "a square of huts, distinguished by the lofty title of 'Presidio of San Francisco' and tenanted—for garrisoned it is not—by a commandant and as many soldiers as might, if all told, muster the rank and file of a corporal's party. . . ."[66] The same year, a United States naval officer recorded that, "after passing through the entrance, we were scarcely able to distinguish the Presidio; and, had it not been for its solitary flagstaff, we could not have ascertained its situation. From this staff no flag floated; the buildings were deserted, the walls had fallen to decay, the guns were dismounted, and everything around it lay in quiet."[67] With internal strife and factionalism throughout the province and lack of resources from Mexico, the riches and attractions of San Francisco stood ripe for the taking. It seemed only a question of time before Mexican rule came to its long-anticipated end. Yet the next two years, 1841 and 1842, brought major changes that seemed at first blush to work to Mexico's advantage. To begin with, at last, the Russians withdrew from Fort Ross in 1841.[68] A drastic decline in the otter population, which brought with it a general falling-off in trade, had accomplished what no amount of threatening and posturing by the Spanish and Mexicans officials could achieve. At that point, the Russians no longer had an economic reason

65. Ibid., 229.

66. Simpson, *Narrative of A Voyage*, 87.

67. Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842*, 5 vols. (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1845), V: 152–153. A Swedish physician who came not long after Wilkes saw the ruins of the old castillo and also made two sketches of the presidio which showed only a few structures along the south and west side by this time. The original manuscript and illustrations are in the Society of California Pioneers in San Francisco, and one of the depictions appears with the reprint of the original diary account in G. M. Waseurtz af Sandels, *A Sojourn in California by the King's Orphan: The Travels and Sketches of G. M. Waseurtz af Sandels, a Swedish Gentleman who Visited California in 1842–1843* (San Francisco: The Book Club of California, 1945), 24.

68. John DuFour, "The Russian Withdrawal from California," *California Historical Quarterly*, XII (September 1933): 240–276 treats this topic.

to remain in Alta California. With the end of the long history of the fur trade in sight, the Russian American Fur Trade Company packed up and returned to the mother country.

To top off this changing situation, Mexico City sent a new man with a full complement of soldiers to the north. Brigadier General Manuel Micheltorena originally had intended to march into California at the head of a battalion of disciplined and freshly-uniformed men. Instead, the need for troops elsewhere in the Republic left him with a make-shift unit of vagrants, profligates, and penitentiary inmates. Not surprisingly, Micheltorena's arrival in San Diego in 1842 was greeted not with gratitude or fanfare but with outrage and increasing unrest.[69]

Mexico's repeated neglect and mismanagement of California affairs represented more than just the continuity of Spain's neglectful tradition. California in these years of Mexican rule acted as a mirror, faithfully reflecting back all the chaos, lack of direction, and serious political instability that characterized Mexico itself. At the Presidio of San Francisco, the Mexican presence, which never had been vigorous, finally slipped away almost entirely. The deserted castillo, the unmanned artillery, the forlorn cluster of huts called barracks and which housed at best a token garrison, from the late 1830s onward, bespoke of the fact that Mexico had neither the treasure nor troops to guard the Golden Gate. That country's inability to protect the harbor offered an open invitation to foreign seizure. A reply was not long in the coming.

69. Amador, "Memorias," 83–85 and Robert Kells, "The Spanish Inheritance: The Mexican Military Forces of Alta California," *Journal of the West*, XX (October 1981): 12–19.

Epilogue

In October 1842, Commodore Thomas Ap Catesby Jones of the U.S. Navy sailed into Monterey Bay with the Stars and Stripes flying. Landing on October 19, with little further effort he claimed Alta California's capital for the United States.

Jones' action stemmed from the belief that Mexico and the United States were at war.[1] He soon discovered that the nations were in fact at peace. In some embarrassment, the brash American sailed to Los Angeles to apologize personally to Governor Micheltorena, then embarked and sailed away. Mexican authorities accepted his explanation without comment. After all, their vulnerability to even the most modest invasion had been demonstrated, and they were in no position to force a diplomatic or military confrontation. Indeed, they were well aware that other nations coveted Mexican California.

Jones's misadventure in the Monterey Bay could not have come as a total surprise. By 1840, several countries looked with greedy interest upon an unguarded California. The United States was only the most eager among many. Some 380 foreign males already lived in California in that year. A half decade later, that number had nearly doubled. Over the next few years, an unsettling mixture of unofficial adventuring, semi-official maneuvering, official scheming, and a startling discovery pulled San Francisco and its presidio out of the backwater of Mexican colonialism into the center of ambitious nation building.

The official maneuvering of the United States Government began when the administration in Washington sent John Slidell

1. George M. Brooke, Jr., "The Vest Pocket War of Commodore Jones," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXXI (August 1962): 217–233 summarizes this incident.

to Mexico City in order to reopen the negotiations that had broken off in 1835. Slidell offered Mexican leaders as much as twenty-five million dollars for the California territory. Once again, Mexico refused the offer. The United States now tried less open channels.

The administration now considered encouraging a course of history in California which would repeat what previously happened in Texas.[2] With this end in mind, Thomas O. Larkin was appointed to the post of U.S. Consul for California in October 1843.[3] Although a merchant by trade, Larkin handled a multifaceted career with the skill of a juggler. While conducting his business interests and duties as consul, he kept a close watch on every development in California. Simultaneously, Larkin managed to balance the British and French competition for the area, insuring that these powers would not gain the upper hand over the Americans.

Meanwhile, U.S. forces began piece by piece and without official plan to gather in California. The U.S. Navy's Pacific Squadron hovered along the California coast, ready for whatever occurred and keeping an eye on its British counterparts. An even more eager participant in the California game was John C. Frémont, a U.S. Army officer who championed manifest destiny. Frémont and his well-armed band of civilian "explorers" arrived in California in the mid-1840s, much to the dismay of Mexican authorities and the approval of Larkin.[4] Underlying

2. Andrew F. Rolle and John S. Gaines, *The Golden State: A History of California* (Arlington Heights, IL: AHM Publishing Company, 1979, 2d ed.), 94

3. Larkin hailed from Massachusetts where he was born at Charlestown, in 1802. As a young man, he moved to North Carolina where he operated a business. He married Rachel Hobson Holmes in 1833 on board ship off Santa Barbara. She would be the first women from the United States to reside in Alta California and their child, born in 1834, the first offspring of U.S. citizens to be born in the region. His business acumen brought him a certain degree of respect and led to his appointment as Consul General, in 1843. He had dealings with many Californios which made him a good "confidential agent" for the U.S. Government. After the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, his services to Washington ended. He remained active in land development and other commercial dealings until his death in San Francisco, during 1858. Bancroft, *History of California*, IV: 706–707. Harlan Hague and David J. Langum, *Thomas O. Larkin: A Life of Patriotism and Profit in Old California* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), offers an in depth look at this fascinating figure.

4. Numerous works exist on Frémont's controversial life. One of the best of these biographies remains Allan Nevins, *Fremont, Pathfinder of the West*, 2 vols. (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Company, 1961).

the uneasy balance of the Mexican and American forces was a coded communique from Secretary of the Navy George Bancroft to the Pacific Squadron, which read, "If you ascertain with certainty that Mexico has declared war against the United States you will possess yourself of the port of San Francisco and blockade or occupy such other ports as your force may permit."[5] If Frémont received these orders or similar orders, they must have come as verbal instruction through U.S. Marine Corps Lieutenant Archibald Gillespie who ultimately linked up with Frémont.[6]

In the summer of 1846, these diverse elements working for change in California began to coalesce. Early in the summer, the frigate *Portsmouth* arrived in San Francisco Bay. Lying at anchor off Sausalito, the ship's captain, Jonathan B. Montgomery, received momentous news from the north. On June 14, 1846, nearly thirty men under the leadership of William B. Ide and Ezekiel Merritt had raised aloft the famed "Bear Flag" at Sonoma Barracks.[7] Frémont and party had by now joined the rebels and informed Comandante Vallejo through his brother-in-law, an American by the name of Jacob Leese, that they acted

5. George Bancroft to Commodore Robert Stockton, June 24, 1845 in "Manuscripts, Documents, Letters & C. Relating to the Conquest of California," Unpublished Ms, California Historical Society Library, Vault Ms 57. (Hereinafter cited by letter and date).

6. A native of Pennsylvania, Gillespie crossed Mexico with duplicate dispatches for Larkin, leaving Washington, DC in October 1845. The next April, the lieutenant arrived at Monterey aboard the *Cyane*. He ultimately joined Frémont and participated in various military operations during the fight against Mexican forces. After a brief return east, he came back to California, remaining there, until 1873, when he died at age sixty in San Francisco. Bancroft, *History of California*, III: 756. Werner H. Marti, *Messenger of Destiny: The California Adventures, 1846–1847, of Archibald H. Gillespie, U.S. Marine Corps* (San Francisco: J. Howell Books, 1960), offers additional biographical material.

7. Born on March 28, 1796 at Rutland, Massachusetts William Brown Ide inherited some of his father's wandering traits. He would marry Susan Grout Haskell in 1820. Some thirteen years later the frontier beckoned and he and his family left New England for Kentucky. From there, he went progressively westward, until Oregon was his next destination. He was diverted from this goal, however, and in 1845 came to California. He soon settled in the new region and became involved in local affairs, eventually participating in the Bear Flag revolt. Later, he became a judge. He died December 12–20, 1852. Fred B. Rogers, *William Brown Ide Bear Flagger* (San Francisco: John Howell Books, 1962). Merritt came to California by 1841, although some references indicate he may have been in the region as early as 1837. He was a trapper who became active in political intrigues and machinations of the mid-1840s, culminating with his assumption of leadership, for a short period, of the Bear Flag group. After the war, he became partners with William C. Moon at a rancho in Tehama, where he died during the winter of 1847–1848. Bancroft, *History of California*, IV: 738–739.

independently and with just cause.[8] The men sought to right the wrongs perpetrated upon their lives and honor by Governor José Castro. They assured Vallejo that no harm would come to him or to the other prisoners.

Vallejo wrote in considerable agitation to Montgomery on June 15. First, Vallejo informed the *Portsmouth*'s captain that an armed party had seized his fort. Further, he demanded to know what, if any, connection existed between the "Bear Flaggers" and Washington. Montgomery quickly replied, "I at once disavow this movement as having proceeded under any authority of the U.S. or myself. . . . This is a movement entirely local and with which I have nothing to do."[9]

To further allay Vallejo's apprehensions, the captain sent Lieutenant Jonathan Misroon to Sonoma to survey the situation. The young subordinate reported that the revolutionaries meant no harm to those who did not take up arms against their cause. However, they did intend to defend themselves against a counterattack, and Ide went so far as to request gunpowder from Montgomery for this purpose.[10] In view of the official neutrality of the Navy, Montgomery had little choice but to refuse the request.[11]

The Mexicans remained unconvinced by Montgomery's denial of U.S. involvement in the Bear Flag revolt. Mexican Governor José Castro lashed out with an indignant denunciation of Frémont's invasion of his country.[12] The accusation elicited a quick denial from the *Portsmouth*. Official U.S. statements at this time insisted upon the distinction between their presence in California and the "political movement" of the Bear Flaggers.[13]

The stalemate of accusation and denial began rapidly to give way to action. On June 18, 1846, Commodore John D. Sloat of

8. Leese was born on in August 19, 1809, in what is now St. Clairsville, Ohio. During the 1831, he engaged in the Santa Fe trade and, by 1833, was conducting business in Los Angeles. He married Ignacio Vallejo's daughter Rosalía in 1837, and became a naturalized Mexican citizen although, later, he essentially became a sub-agent for Larkin. Leese returned to the East in 1865, but came back to California in 1890. He died in San Francisco on February 1, 1892. Nunis, *The Diary of Faxon Dean Atherton, 1836–1839*, 181, *n*66.

9. Statement of Interview Between Don José de la Roas and Jonathan B. Montgomery, June 15, 1846, Vault Ms 57, California Historical Society.

10. William B. Ide to Commander Jonathan B. Montgomery, June 15, 1846. Ibid.

11. Commander Jonathan B. Montgomery to William B. Ide, June 16, 1846. Ibid.

12. Governor José Castro to Commander Jonathan B. Montgomery, June 17, 1846. Ibid.

13. Commander Jonathan B. Montgomery to José Castro, June 18, 1846. Ibid.

the Pacific Squadron pledged support to Ide's "declaration of independence." Within days, the Mexican force of Joaquín de la Torre clashed with the Bear Flag men at Rancho Olompali, just north of present-day Novato. Frémont, who by nature as well as conviction could not bear to miss the thick of the action, gathered his forces on July 5 and marched southward toward San Rafael. He hoped to engage de la Torre, but the Mexican unit moved too swiftly and soon joined their leader Castro at Santa Clara in the south.

Frustrated in his pursuit of the enemy, Frémont determined to disable the remaining guns of the Castillo de San Joaquín overlooking San Francisco Bay. He and his company of men, which included Kit Carson, Lieutenant Gillespie, and twenty Delaware Indians, approached the bark *Moscow* riding at anchor off Sausalito, where they asked for the loan of a longboat to transport them across the bay.[14] On July 1, the party rowed southward where the presidio was in total abandonment as was the castillo, the latter's guns being found in poor condition. Nevertheless, they spiked the eight brass pieces they found, according to a communication from Montgomery to Larkin, to ensure that the ordnance would not be pressed into service by the enemy.[15] Then, Frémont and his comrades returned northward to their stronghold at Sutter's Fort.

The following week, Commodore Sloat sent to Commander Montgomery on the *Portsmouth* the news of a declaration of war between Mexico and the United States. Sloat ordered Montgomery to "immediately take possession of Y[erba] B[uena], and hoist the American Flag within range of our guns; post up the

14. Captain William D. Phelps, *Fore and Aft or Leaves from the Life of an Old Sailor* (Boston: Nicolas & Hall, 1871), 290, briefly recounts this incident. What the author failed to state was his attempt to make good a claim for $10,000 against the federal government for use of his boat in this affair. A grateful Congress voted him fifty dollars for services rendered. Eldredge, *The Beginnings of San Francisco*, II: 712–713. Also see, Britton C. Busch, *Frémont's Private Navy: The Journal of Captain William Dane Phelps* (Glendale, CA: The Arthur Clark Company, 1982), 34–36, which states there were three "brass" and seven iron guns at the fort.

15. Jonathan B. Montgomery to Thomas O. Larkin, July 2, 1846 in, George P. Hammond, ed., *The Larkin Papers*, 10 vols. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1951–1967), V: 95. Phelps, *Fore and Aft*, 290, indicates an inventory of three "brass" guns and seven heavy iron cannon at the fort which coincides with later figures provided by U.S. Navy Lieutenant John S. Misroon. Phelps also indicated that he lent Frémont's group the crowbars, axes, and round files required to put the artillery out of action.

proclamation in both languages; notify Captain Frémont and others, put the fort and guns in order."[16]

Early on the morning of July 9, 1846, Montgomery and a watch of marines and sailors came ashore at Yerba Buena to the accompaniment of a two-man fife-and-drum band playing "Yankee Doodle Dandy." Receiving no challenge from the pueblo, the company advanced to the flagstaff where amidst, "three hearty cheers from the bystanders, a prolonged howl from the dogs, and a salvo of 21 guns from the ship," the stars and stripes ran aloft over the port of San Francisco. Turning about, the party headed back to the *Portsmouth* to the strains of "Old Dan Tucker," leaving U.S. Marine Corps Second Lieutenant Henry B. Watson on shore with fourteen of his fellow marines.[17]

With Old Glory flying over the pueblo, the Americans immediately marched on to the castillo, hoisted the flag, and began to take stock of the shocking state of decay and disrepair that prevailed in the fort. Navy Lieutenant Misroon described the walls as, "badly rent in several places, yet . . . capable of sustaining and rendering good service." He noted the guns that Frémont had spiked, ten altogether, and expressed the hope that, "the three brass guns, (12s and 18s) old Spanish pieces made in 1623 [*sic*, probably a misreading of 1673], 1628, and 1693" could be put back into service. The fort, itself, required the addition of a new outpost at its rear to guard against the high ground which commanded the defense works. Montgomery suggested that two more 18-pounders from Sonoma be sent to San Francisco and placed in a new defense work that he planned for the Yerba Buena anchorage. In anticipation of Sloat's approval for this project, Montgomery ordered construction of a gallery and platform to receive the guns.[18]

16. *Ex Doc 1*, 30th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1014.

17. Howard R. Lamar, ed., *The Cruise of the Portsmouth: A Sailor's View of the Naval Conquest of California 1845–1847* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), 132. Also see Busch, *Frémont's Private Navy*, 41.

18. Douglas S. Watson, "San Francisco's Ancient Cannon," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XV (March 1936): 64. For an interesting comparison of guns cast in Spain, see José Solano, *Cannon in the Collection of the Hispanic Society of America* (New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1935). For additional contextual data also read Jorge Vigon, *Historia de la Artillería Española*, 3 vols. (Madrid: Instituto Jeronimo Zurita, 1947).

In the next few weeks, the Americans gradually consolidated their hold on the presidio and the castillo. Montgomery brought a small gun, named the "Betsy Baker," from the *Portsmouth* and placed it in front of the flagstaff in the main plaza.[19] A newly-established lookout atop Telegraph Hill soon spotted the arrival of the British frigate, H.M.S. *Juno* on July 11. Although the English turned out to be friendly, Montgomery ordered the clearing of gun vents in the fort and recovered another gun, a "long twelve" or culverin, buried in the sand at the presidio.[20] For the first time in years, the presidio was buzzing with martial activity. East of the presidio, at the corner of present-day Green and Battery streets, Montgomery's sailors built a curious fortification known as "Misroon's Folly." One sailor described it as, "a sort of half-moon shape on the back side, and a kind of lozenge shape in front, in fact it was a *Chef d'Oevre* of engineering, and would bother any mortal to give a clear view of what its real shape was."[21] The officially-named Fort Montgomery mounted five guns, three from the old castillo and two from Sonoma. A sixth gun guarded the rear of the fort.

Despite the flurry of activity that contrasted so sharply with Mexico's lethargy, the United States suffered from a similar shortage of troops and trained artillerymen. Up and down the Pacific Coast, the outbreaks of fighting put extraordinary demands on its combined U.S. Navy, Marine, Army, and volunteer units. In the vicinity of San Francisco Bay, the situation never became desperate, because late in the month of July, a contingent of 230 Mormons arrived as reinforcements. Several months later, on March 6, 1847, Colonel Jonathan Stevenson sailed through the Golden Gate on the *Perkins* with his New York Volunteers. Since 1846, Stevenson had been raising a volunteer regiment to sail for the West Coast. The arrival of his "California Expeditionary Force," an infantry outfit also known as the First Regiment of New York Volunteers, nearly doubled the strength of the original American force in San Francisco. Moreover, Stevenson

19. Lamar, *Cruise of the Portsmouth*, 134.

20. Lieutenant John S. Misroon to Commodore John D. Sloat, July 11, 1846, Vault Ms 57, California Historical Society. Supposedly, Don Francisco Sánchez knew of the presence of several buried guns at the presidio.

21. Lamar, *The Cruise of the Portsmouth*, 134.

brought with him many skilled artisans to improve the defense works and sizable stores of ordnance material.

The instructions of the Secretary of War, "to have possession of the Bay of San Francisco and the country in that vicinity . . . as a permanent and secure position on the coast of California," finally began to be carried out.[22] With the welcome influx of men, material, and expertise, work started immediately on repairing quarters, storehouses, and the road from the presidio to the beach.[23] Troops cut down trees in Marin County where they built a sawmill at Corte Madera del Presidio, the shortened name being retained by the present town. They thereby provided sturdy redwood material for construction and repairs. They also restored and enlarged the castillo and built a new road to connect the fortress and the main post.[24] Nevertheless, this progress halted when the terms of enlistment for the New York Volunteers expired.[25] Replaced by only a small number of men from the Third U. S. Artillery Regiment, the garrison at the presidio further dwindled when the discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill in early 1848 brought about desertion. With an inadequate work force and limited funds, the presidio of the late 1840s through the late 1850s differed little from the past. Indeed, an 1850 visitor wrote of the post as consisting of, "a few dilapidated, old adobes, some long, shed-like barracks, and a cottage or two for the officers' quarters [presumably the latter structures being redwood additions built by Stevenson's New Yorkers]."[26] Just a few years later an official inspection recorded: "The quarters for the soldiers were miserable adoby [*sic*] buildings, the leaving of the Mexican Gov-

22. Secretary of War William L. Marcy to Jonathan Stevenson, Washington, September 11, 1847 as quoted in Donald C. Biggs, *Conquer and Colonize: Stevenson's Regiment and California* (San Rafael, CA: Presidio Press, 1977), 71.

23. Ibid., 96.

24. On May 7, 1848, the commander of Company K of Stevenson's regiment was "Detailed to take charge of the working party to repair the old Fort and mount the guns in Battery." This work commenced on May 8 and road repair between the presidio and castillo took place on May 9, according to the entries for those days found in "The Diary of Kimball Hale Dimmick While Stationed at the Presidio of San Francisco, San Francisco April 16 to October 23, 1848" (Unpublished Ms), Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, CA.

25. For an overview of th Mexican War, read Neal R. Harlow, *California Conquered: War and Peace on the Pacific, 1846–1850* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982)

26. T. A. Barry and B. A. Patten, *Men and Memories of San Francisco in the "Spring of '50"* (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Company, 1873), 15–16.

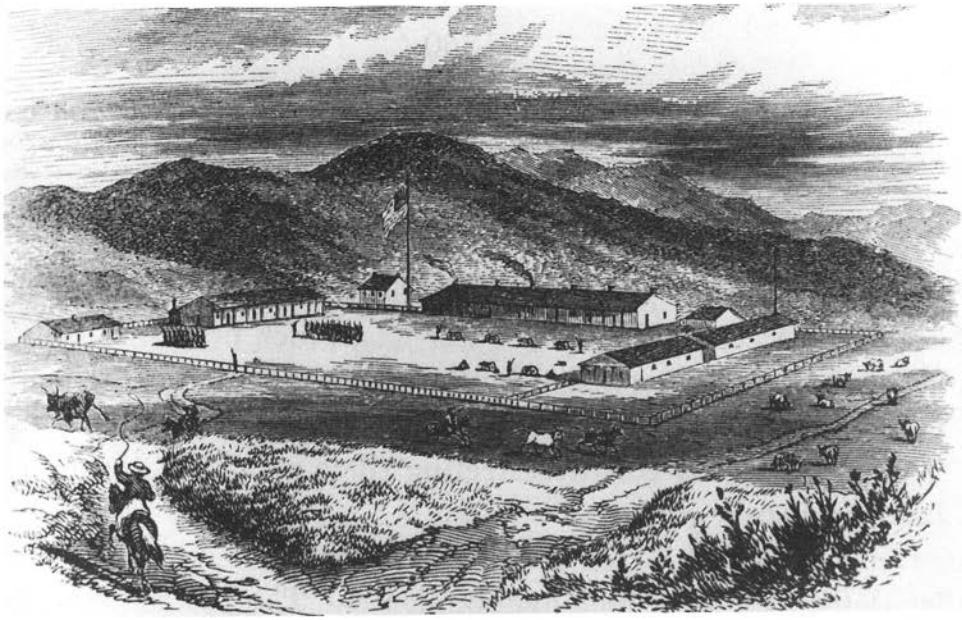

Figure 23. The U.S. Army incorporated the remaining adobes of the Presidio of San Francisco into the early post as indicated by this *circa* 1855 illustration of the garrison in Frank Soulé, John H. Gibson, and James Nisbet, *The Annals of San Francisco* (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1855), 263. For all purposes, only the flag represents a major change from G. M. Waseurtz' 1843 view of the south and west sections of the garrison as he saw it under Mexico. Autry Museum of Western Heritage, Los Angeles.

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ernment. . . ."[27] With the notable exception of the castillo and the Cantil Blanco upon which it stood, both being demolished and replaced with the impressive granite and brick fortress now known as Fort Point, the overall appearance of the presidio remained similar to that of the late Spanish through Mexican periods of occupation. (Figures 23–24) Not until the Civil War did notable changes begin extensively to alter the built environment. Conversely, by the early twentieth-century, little remained of the former regimes save the old south adobe which

27. Robert W. Frazer, ed., *Mansfield on the Condition of the Western Forts 1853–54* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 135.

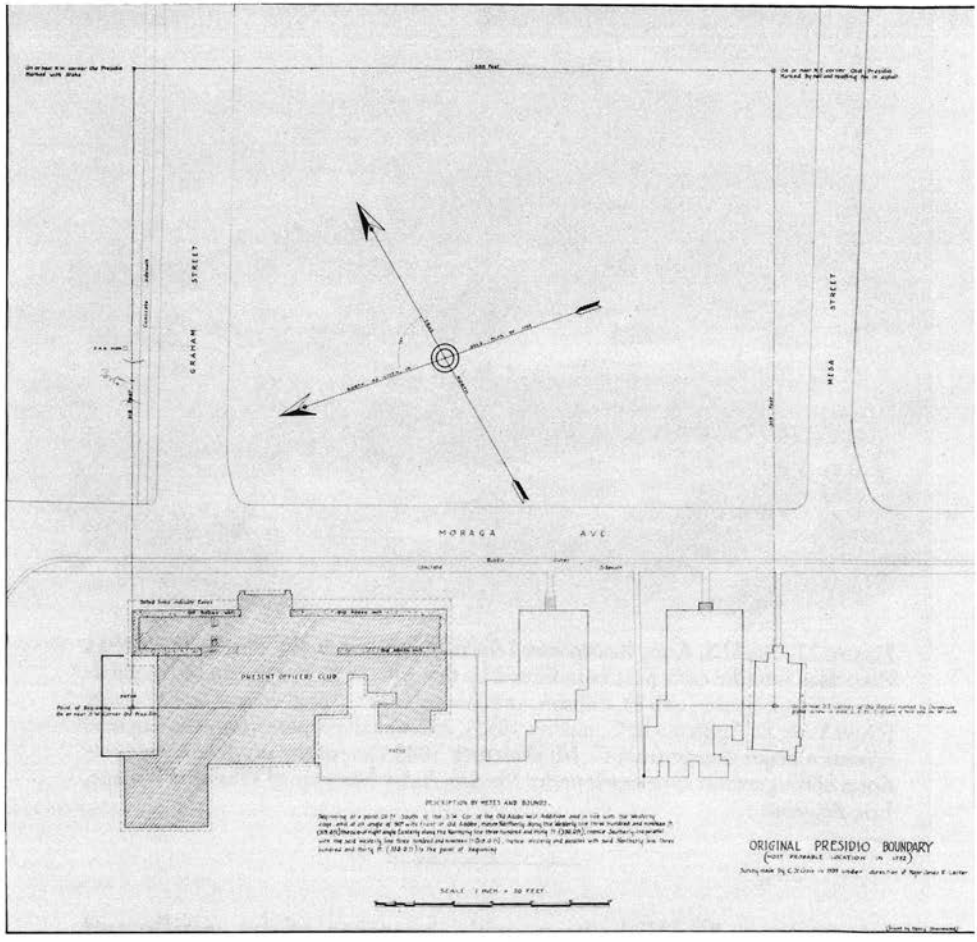

Figure 24. St. Croix's 1939 survey of the Presidio of San Francisco's "Original Boundary" indicated that the northern portion of the quadrangle extended far beyond the markers which now set off the northeast and northwest corners of the outpost. St. Criox based his conclusions on a 1792 plan of the presidio provided by Hermenegildo Sal. While St. Croix dimensions probably essentially are correct, he was in error by stating that Sal's north arrow actually pointed northwest. Because of this, he evidently assumed that the Officers Club was Sal's quarters (the comandancia), when in reality it seems to have been the area for enlisted billets during the 1790s. Bancroft Library.

had been incorporated into the installation's Officers' Club and the half dozen bronze cannon which formed decorative elements around the post and at Fort Point as well as Fort Mason until their move to their present locations much later in the century. These tangible links to the past, a number of streets named in honor of several former comandantes, and Mission Revival architecture found throughout much of the reservation continue to provide a sense of the presidio's Hispanic origins even into modern times. A slender legacy to be sure.

In conclusion, the Presidio of San Francisco came into being toward the end of nearly three centuries of Spanish colonial experience in the New World. As the northernmost permanent outpost of Spain, the garrison suffered under "the multiple problems of divided authority, conflicting orders, differing objectives and slow communications," but nevertheless, the troops carried out numerous functions from building their own quarters and defenses, drilling, mission and escort duty, exploration, military campaigns, livestock tending, "and caring for the million and one problems endemic at an understaffed and undersupplied frontier post surrounded by not always friendly natives. . . ."[28]

The Mexican forces assumed the mantle of problems which weighed down the presidial forces under Spanish rule. Nevertheless, they and their predecessors formed the Spanish-speaking European population (gente de razón) who established and maintained the presidio, civilian settlements (San Jose and Branciforte), ranchos, and, in concert with the padres, the missions of northern California. They likewise would form the basis for Yerba Buena, destined to become the City of San Francisco, and made up much of the new garrison which established the outpost at Sonoma, the northernmost seat of the Mexican government in what is now the United States and the only new military installation to be founded in California under the Mexican rule.

As was the case throughout Alta California until 1830, the Presidio of San Francisco's inhabitants constituted the main show

28. Robert L. Ives, *José Velásquez: Saga of a Borderland Soldier* (Tucson: Southwest Mission Research Center, 1984), 179, 202.

of force, first the Spanish and later the Mexican dominion, over the territory. This group helped to hold back British, Russian, and other significant foreign encroachment for decades. These few troops and their families offered symbolic resistance to those who would have wrested San Francisco from Madrid or Mexico City. Such an open act of aggression could have led to war among many world powers.

Moreover, the soldiers and their families brought with them their language, customs, traditions, and general expressions of Hispanic culture as it existed in the New World, especially as it was manifested in the Borderlands.[29] Hispanic heritage remains vital throughout California and much of the American West. The descendants of the former presidio population, many of whom continue to reside in the region, likewise provide a very real, direct link to the past. Additionally, architectural traditions, street names, and other influences still are evident at the Presidio of San Francisco today as it is throughout much of the region once governed by Spain and Mexico. Latinos of the Bay Area, both long established residents and new arrivals, can draw a source of pride and a sense of community from the presidio and its garrisons. This former outpost of empire provides a microcosm of much of what now forms our national character and can help people from many backgrounds to achieve a better understanding of themselves and others through this unique window to events and individuals of a bygone era.

29. See Antonio Blanco, *La Lengua Española en la historia de California* (Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispanica, 1971), 125–127, for similar rationale related to all of Alta California.

Appendices

Appendix A

Commanders and Acting Commanders of the Presidio, 1776–1846

José (f) Joaquín Moraga*	July 1776 to July 13, 1785
Diego González	July 13, 1785 to February 4, 1787
Hermenegildo Sal (also acting in lieu of González)	February 4, 1787 to June 12, 1787
José Darío Argüello	June 12, 1787 to August 2, 1806
Hermenegildo Sal	1791 to 1794; 1795 to 1796 (acting in Argüello's absence)
José Pérez Fernández	1794 to 1795 (acting in Argüello's absence)
Pedro de Alberni	1796–1801 (Catalonian Volunteers)
Manuel Rodríguez	1806–1813 (never present)
Luis Antonio Argüello**	August 7, 1806 to March 27, 1830
Ignacio Martínez	1822 to 1827; 1828 to 1830 (acting during Argüello's various absences)
José Antonio Sánchez	1829 to 1830; 1830 to 1831 (acting while awaiting Argüello's replacement)
Ignacio Martínez	March 27, 1830 to September 1831
Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo	September 1831 to 1834 (thereafter at Sonoma as commander of the Northern Department)
Dámaso Rodríguez	(acting and alternating with Mesa and Sánchez)

*First Spanish Regime comandante
**Last Spanish & First Mexican Regime comandant

Francisco Sánchez	1838 to 1839; 1841 to 1843 (acting and alternating with Rodríguez and Mesa)
Juan Prado Mesa	1835; 1839; 1841 to 1843; (acting and alternating with Rodríquez and Sánchez)
Santiago Hernández	1841 (caretaker)
Joaquín Peña	1844 (caretaker)

Appendix B

Inhabitants of the Presidio of San Francisco, December 31, 1776

1. Lt. José Moraga (originally unaccompanied by his family)
2. Sgt. Juan P. Grijalva, his wife María Dolores Valencia and their children María Josefa, María del Carmen, and Claudio
3. Cpl. Domingo Alviso, his wife María Angela Chumasero (a.k.a María Angela Trejo), and their children Francisco Xavier, María Loreto, and Juan Ygnacio
4. Cpl. Valerio Mesa, his wife María Leonor Borboa, and their children José Joaquín, José Ygnacio, José Dolores, María Manuela, José Antonio, and Juan
5. Cpl. Gabriel Peralta, his wife Francisca Manuela Valenzuela, and their children Luis María, Pedro Regalado, and María Gertrudis
6. Pvt. Juan Antonio Amésquita, his wife Juana María Gaona, and their children María Josefa, María Dolores, María Matilde, María Gertrudis, and María de los Reyes
7. Pvt. Ramón Bojórques, his wife María Francisca Romero, and their daughter María Gertrudis
8. Pvt. Carlos Gallego (unmarried?)
9. Pvt. Justo R. Altamirano, his wife María Loreto Delfín, and their children José Antonio and José Matias
10. Pvt. Ygnacio Linares, his wife María Gertrudis Rivas, and their children María Gertrudis, Juan José, María Juliana, and Salvador Ygnacio
11. Pvt. Luis Alvarez [de Acevedo], his wife María Nicolasa Ortiz, and their children Juan Francisco and María Francisca
12. Pvt. Juan Salvio Pacheco, his wife María Carmen del Valle, and their children Miguel, Ygnacio, Ygnacia Gertrudis, Bartolomé Ygnacio, and María Bárbara
13. Pvt. José Antonio García, his wife Petronila Josefa de Acuna, and their children María Josefa, José Francisco, and Juan Guillermo, as well as Señora

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Taken from Lo Bulio, "Presidio of San Francisco, 31 December 1776," *Antepasados*, II: sección 3, 21–32.

García's two children from her first marriage, María Graciana and José Vincente Antonio Hernández

14. Pvt. Pablo Pinto, his wife Francisca Xaviera Ruelas, and their children Juan María, Juana Francisca, and José Marcelo
15. Pvt. Antonio Quiterio Aceves, his wife María Feliciana Cortés, and their children María Petra, José Cipriano, María Gertrudis, Juan Gregorio, Juan Pablo, and José Antonio
16. Pvt. Ygnacio M. Gutiérrez, his wife Ana María Osuna, and their children María Petronila, María de los Santos, and Diego Pasqual
17. Pvt. Ygnacio Soto, his wife María Bárbara Espinosa, and their children María Francisca and José Antonio
18. Pvt. José Manuel Valencia, his wife María de la Luz Muñoz, and their children María Gertrudis, Francisco María, and Ygnacio María
19. Pvt. Pedro Anto. Bojórques, his wife María Francisca de Lara, and their daughter María Agustina
20. Pvt. José Anto. Sánz, his wife María de los Dolores Morales, and their children María Josefa, José Antonio, and their adopted son, Ygnacio Cárdenas
21. Pvt. Manuel [Ramírez] Arellano, his wife María Agueda López de Haro, their son José Mariano, and their adopted son, Matías Vega
22. Pvt. Joaquín de Castro, his wife María Martina Botiller, and their children Ygnacio Clemente, Ana Josefa, María de la Encarnación, María Martina, José Mariano, José Joaquín, Francisco María, Francisco Antonio, and Carlos Antonio
23. Pvt. Felipe Santiago Tapia, his wife Juana María Cárdenas (a.k.a. Juana María Filomena Hernández), and their children María Rosa, María Antonia, José Bartolomé, Juan José, José Cristóbal, María Manuela, José Francisco, María Ysidora, and José Victor
24. Pvt. Juan Francisco Bernar*, his wife María Josefa Soto, and their children José Joaquín, Juan Francisco, José Dionisio, José Apolinaro, Ana María, María Teresa de Jesús, and Tomás Januario
25. Pvt. José Anto. Sotelo, his wife Gertrudis Peralta (a.k.a. Manuela Gertrudis Buelna), and their son Ramón
26. Pvt. Juan Atanasio Vásquez, his wife Gertrudis Castelo, and their children José Antonio and Pedro José
27. Pvt. Agustín Valenzuela, his wife Petra Ygnacia de Ochoa, and their daughter María Zeferina
28. Pvt. Felipe Ochoa (unmarried?)

*No doubt Juan Francisco Bernal

29. Pvt. Nicolás Galindo, his wife María Teresa Pinto, and their son Juan Venancio
30. Pvt. Juan José Peralta (unmarried son of Gabriel Peralta and Francisca Manuela Valenzuela)
31. Pvt. José Migl. Silva (unmarried?)
32. Pvt. José [Manuel] Anto. Gonzáles, his wife María Micaela Ruiz, and their children Juan José, Ramón, Francisco, and María Gregoria
33. Pvt. Sebastián A. López, his wife Felipa Neri, and their children Sebastian, María Tomasa, and María Justa
34. Pvt. Santiago de la Cruz Pico, his wife María Jacinta Bastida, and their children José Dolores, José Maria, José Miguel, Francisco Xavier, Patricio, María Antonia Tomasa, and María Josefa
35. Pvt. José Vicente Felís (widower of María Ygnacia Manuela Pinuelas, who died on route to California) and their children José Doroteo, José Francisco, José de Jesús, María Loreto, María Marcela, María Antonia, and José Antonio de Capistrano
36. Pvt. Ygnacio Higuera and his wife María Micaela Bojórques
37. Storekeeper Hermenegildo Sal (unmarried)

Civilians:

38. Poblador Nicolas Berreyessa and his sister María Ysabel Berreyessa, both unmarried
39. Poblador Manuel Gonzáles and his wife María Michaela Ruiz

and their children Juan José, Ramón, Francisco, and María Gregoria

40. Poblador Casimiro Vaerla and his wife Juana Santos Pinto
41. Poblador Feliciana Arvallo the widow of José de Gutiérrez and their children María Tomasa and María Eustaquia Gutiérrez
42. Poblador Pedro Pérez de la Fuente
43. Poblador Manuel Amésquita (a.k.a. Salvador Manuel, Manuel Domingo, and Manuel Francisco) and his wife Rosalia Zamora
44. Poblador Tiburcio Vásquez and his wife María Antonia Bojórques
45. Ygnacio Archuleta** and his wife and family
46. Felipe Alondo**
47. Salvador Espinoza**
48. José Migl. Valez**

**Servants at the presidio and presumably unmarried unless otherwise stated.

Appendix C

Comparative Information for Representative Troop Strengths and Rosters Under Spain, 1787–1819

JUNE 18, 1787[1]

Presidio Company Officers and Non-Commissioned Officers:

Lieutenant José Argüello	Ensign Ramón Lasso de la Vega (in Monterey)
Sergeant Juan Pablo Grijalva	Corporal Mariano Cordero
Corporal Juan Josef Peralta	Corporal Ignacio Higuera
Corporal Nicolás Galindo	

Presidio Leather Jacket Soldiers:

Ramón Bojórques	Justo Altamirano	Ignacio Linares
Antonio Aceves	Agustín Valenzuela	Ignacio Soto
Juan Bernal	Salvador Higuera	Miguel Pacheco
Alejo Moranda	Luis Peralta	Nicolás Berreyesa
Pedro Peralta	Gabriel Moraga	Ignacio Pacheco
Francisco Bernal	Bartolomé Pacheco	Apolinario Bernal
Joaquín Bernal	José Altimirano	José Aceves
Marcos Chaboya	Francisco Valencia	Marcelo Pinto
Luis García		

Inválidos:

Corporal Gabriel Peralta	Soldier Manuel Butron

OCTOBER 15, 1795[2]

Non-Commissioned Artillerymen Dispatched from Mexico to San Francisco:

Sergeant José Roca	1st Corporal Francisco Argüelles
2nd Corporal Gregorio Martínez	2nd Corporal José Osorio

Enlisted Artillerymen, Artificers, and Mechanics:

Rafael Lledo	José Alvarez	Mariano Brito
Matías Guerrero	Juan Zúñiga	Mariano Mercado
Miguel Brito	José Sarco	Francisco Monteverde
Juan Marine	José Peña	José Villaseñor
José Medina	José Caño	

1. *Archives of California*, Provincial State Papers, Sacramento, LIV: 24–25.
2. Ibid., Provincial State Papers, VII: 289.

MAY 30, 1796[3]
Catalonian Volunteer Officers and Non-Commissioned Officers:
Captain (Lieutenant Colonel) Pedro de Alberni
Sergeant Joaquín Tico, Drummer Juan Tico
lst Corporal Francisco Rubiolst, Corporal Claudio Galindo
2nd Corporal José Miranda

Catalonian Soldiers:

José Alari	José Barrinetos	Manuel Martínez
Diego Gálvez	José Palafox	José Gómez
José Murnato	Juan Maldonado	Miguel Mendoza
Alejo González	José Acosta	Faustino Icequera
José Martínez	Manuel de la Vega	José González
Juan Alvarez	José María Serrano	José Espinosa
Benancio Ruelas	Manuel Mallen	

December 31, 1798[4]
Presidio Company Officers and Non-Commissoned Officers:
Brevet Captain José Argüello — Ensign Manuel Rodríguez
Sergeant Pedro Amador — Corporal Luis Peralta
Corporal Manuel Boronda — Corporal Alejo Miranda
Corporal Pedro Peralta

Presidio Leather Jacket Soldiers:

Juan Bernal	Salvador Higuera	Nicolás Berreyesa
Francisco Bernal	Bártolo Pacheco	Joaquín Bernal
José Aceves	Francisco Valencia	Juan José Higuera
Francisco Flores	José Castillo	Ramón Linares
Ignacio Alvisu (sic)	Juan García	José Sánchez
Venancio Galindo	José Higuera	Bartolo Bojórques
José Rosales	José Herrera	Francisco Soto
José Escamilla	Francisco González	Isidro Flores
José Galindo	Francisco Bojórques	Juan Contreras
Rafael Arrida	José Franco	Miguel Salazar
José María Pérez		

Inválidos:
Ensign Ramón Lasso de la Vega, Corporal Gabriel Peralta, and Corporal Miguel Pacheco. Soldiers: Ramón Bojórques, Ignacio Linares, Justo Altimirano, and Ignacio Soto

3. Ibid., Provincial State Papers, Benicia Military, XVI: 53–54.
4. Ibid., Provincial State Papers, XV: 320–321.

December 1, 1802[5]
Presidio Garrison and Inválidos Exclusive of Catalonians:
Brevet Captain José Argüello
Cadet José Echavarria
29 Leather Jacket Soldiers
Ensign Luis Argüello
1 Sergeant and 4 Corporals
4 Artillerymen (1 Corporal and 3 Soldiers)

Inválidos:
Ensign Ramón Lasso
2 Corporals and 5 Soldiers
Brevet Ensign Pedro Amador

DECEMBER 31, 1806[6]
Presidio Garrison and Inválidos:
1 Lieutenant, 1 Ensign, 1 Cadet, 2 Sergeants, 8 Corporals, 56 Soldiers, 5 Artillerymen (1 Corporal and 4 Soldiers), 11 Inválidos (1 Ensign, 1 Brevet Ensign, 3 Corporals, and 6 Soldiers)

DECEMBER 1, 1808 and DECEMBER 31, 1809[7]
Presidio Garrison and Inválidos:
1 Captain (absent), Lieutenant Luis Argüello, Ensign Gabriel Moraga, 1 Cadet, 2 Sergeants, 8 Corporals, 59 Soldiers, 5 Artillerymen (1 Sergeant and 4 Soldiers), 9 Inválidos (1 Ensign, 1 Brevet Ensign, 2 Corporals, and 5 Soldiers)

DECEMBER 1, 1813[8]
Presidio Garrison and Inválidos:
1 Captain (absent), Lieutenant Luis Argüello, Ensign (Brevet Lieutenant) Gabriel Moraga, 1 Cadet, 2 Sergeants, 8 Corporals, 57 Soldiers, 5 Artillerymen (Sergeant 2nd Class Manuel Gómez* and 4 2Soldiers), 13 Inválidos*Gómez also was a Brevet Ensign

DECEMBER 1, 1817[9]
Presidio Garrison and Inválidos:
1 Captain (vacant), Lieutenant Luis Argüello, Ensign (Brevet Lieutenant) Gabriel Moraga, 1 Cadet, 2 Sergeants, 2 Corporals with rank of Brevet Sergeants, 6 Corporals, 57 Soldiers, 5 Artillerymen (1 Sergeant 2nd Class Manuel Gómez and 4 Soldiers), 11 Inválidos (1 Ensign, 1 Brevet Ensign, 3 Corporals, and 6 Soldiers)

5. Ibid., Provincial State Papers, Benicia Military, XVI: 160.
6. Ibid., 322.
7. Ibid., 378 and 14.
8. Ibid., 177.
9. Ibid., 100.

SEPTEMBER 1, 1818[10]
Presidio Garrison and Inválidos:
Captain Luis Argüello — Lieutenant Gabriel Moraga
Ensign Santiago Argüello — Cadet José Joaquín de Estudillo
2 Sergeants, 8 Corporals, 56 Soldiers
4 Artillerymen (Sergeant Second Class Manuel Gómez and 1 Soldier at Monterey and 2 Soldiers at the Castillo de San Joaquín), 11 Inválidos (1 Ensign, 1 Brevet Ensign, 3 Corporals, and 6 Soldiers)

DECEMBER 1, 1819[11]
Presidio Garrison and Inválidos:
Captain Luis Argüello — Lieutenant Gabriel Moraga
Ensign Santiago Argüello — 1 Cadet, 2 Sergeants, 8 Corporals, 57 Soldiers, 5 Artillerymen (Sub-Lieutenant Manuel Gómez and 4 Soldiers), and 12 Inválidos

10. Ibid., Provincial State Papers, Sacramento, LIV: 111.
11. Ibid., Provincial State Papers, Benicia Military, XVI: 294–295.

Appendix D

Native Plant Species Identified at the Presidio of San Francisco During the Spanish and Mexican Periods of Occupation*

Family	*Scientific Name*	*Common Name*
Arrow-grass	Trilochin maritima	Arrow-grass
Bayberry	Myrica californica	California wax-myrtle
Borage	Allocarya chorisiana	Forget-me-not
Buckthorn	Ceanothus thyrsiflorus	California lilac
	Rhamnus californica	California coffeeberry
Buckwheat	Eriogonum latifolium	Buckwheat
	Polygonum paronchia	Sand jointweed
	Polygonum punctatum	Water smartweed
	Rumex salicifolius	Water-leafed dock
Dogwood	Cornus californica	Creek dogwood
Figwort	Castilleja latifolia	Indian paintbrush
	Diplacus aurantiacus	Sticky monkey-flower
	Veronica americana	Speedwell
Four o'clock	Abronia latifolia	Yellow sand-verbena
Frankenia	Frankenia grandifolia	Frankenia
Hazel	Corylus californica	Hazelnut
Honeysuckle	Lonicera ledebourii	Twinsberry
Hornwort	Ceratophyllum demersum	Hornwort
Mint	Stachys ajugoides	Hedge-nettle
	Stachys chamissonis	Chamisso's hedge-nettle
	Satureja chamissonis	Yerba buena
Mustard	Erysimum franciscanum	Wall-flower
Najas	Najas guadalupenis	Water-plant
Nightshade	Solanum umbelliferum	Nightshade
Oak	Quercas agrifolia	Coast live oak
Orobanche	Orobanche californica	California broomrape
Parsley	Hydrocotyle ranuculoides	Marsh pennywort

*This list is based on the observations of Adelbert von Chamisso and Johann Friedrich Eschscholtz.

Pea	Lupinus chamissonis	Chamisso's sand-lupine
	Trifolium wormsskjoldii	Cow clover
	Lotus scoparius	Deerweed
	Vicia gigantea	Giant vetch
	Lotus eriophorus	Lotus
	Astragalus gambellianus	Locoweed
	Lupinus arboreus	Yellow bush-lupine
Phlox	Gilia chamissonis	Chamisso gilia
	Navarretia squarrosa	Skunkweed
Pink	Silene verecunda	Silene
Plantain	Plantago maritima	Seaside plaintain
Pondweed	Pontamogeton americanus	Pondweed
Poppy	Eschsholtzia californica	California poppy
Rose	Fragaria chiloensis	Beach strawberry
	Rubus ursinus	California blackberry
	Rosa californica	California rose
	Rubus vitifolius	Grape-leaf blackberry
	Potentilla californica	Silverweed
	Photinia arbutifolia	Toyon
	Fragaria californica	Wood-strawberry
Saxifrage	Ribes malvaceum	Wild currant
Spurge	Croton californicus	Sand-croton
St. John's wort	Hypericum anagallodis	Marsh-St. John's wort
Sunflower	Agoseris apargioides	California dandelion
	Solidago californica	California goldenrod
	Artemissia californica	California sagebrush
	Ambrosia chamissonis	Chamisso's beachbur
	Gnaphalium californicum	Cudweed
	Gnaphalium chilense	Cudweed (hybrid)
	Gnaphalium palustre	Cudweed
	Baccharis pilularis	Coyote-brush
	Artemisia pycnocephela	Dune sagebrush
	Tanacetum camphoratum	Dune-tansy
	Solidago elongata	Golden-rod
	Solidago occidentalis	Golden-rod
	Solidago spathulata	Golden-rod
	Jaumea carnosa	Jaumea
	Lessingia germanorum	Lessingia
	Eriophyllum artemisiaefolium	Lizard-leaf
	Haplopappus ericoides	Mock-heather
	Anaphalis margaritacea	Pearly-everlasting
	Baccharis douglassi	Saltmarsh coyote-brush
	Erigeron glaucus	Seaside daisy

	Grindelia maritima	Seaside gumplant
	Helenium puberulum	Sneezeweed
	Wyethia angustifolia	Wyethia
	Achillea borealis	Yarrow
Violet	Viola adunca	Blue violet
Waterleaf	Phacelia californica	California phacelia
	Phacelia malvaefolia	Mallow-leafed phacelia
Water-Milfoil	Myriophyllum exalbescens	Myriophyllum

Glossary Bibliography and Index

Glossary

Adarga, shield of two to three thicknesses of hide
Adobe, brick made of dried mud or clay mixed with straw or other similar binding agent "fired" or dried by the sun, or a structure made of such material
Aguardiente, brandy
Alcalde, a combination of mayor and justice of the peace
Alférez, ensign; akin to a second lieutenant or sub-lieutenant
Almud, 1/12 *fanega*
Alta California, Upper California; territory approximating the present state of California
Arroba, weight of approximately twenty-five pounds
Asistencia, an outlying location visited from time to time by a missionary
Atole, drink of ground, dried seeds, mixed with water and sweetened
Batería, artillery battery
Baluarte, bastion or strongpoint on the corner of a fort or presidio to allow flanking fire along two adjacent walls
Botas, leather leggings
Capitan Graduado, "brevet" captain
Castillo, fortress; coastal defense battery
Cédula, official certificate
Comandante, commandant; commander
Camino Real, royal road; the coastal trail established by the Spanish in Alta California
Comisionado, military liaison between the presidio and towns
Criollo, person of Spanish parentage born in North America
Cuartel, barracks
Cuera, literally "leather" but meaning the protective jerkin or sleeveless jacket of up to seven thicknesses of hide worn by lancers. The troops who wore these came to be called *soldados de cuera* (leather jacket soldiers).

Culebrina, culverin or a type of cannon which is very long in proportion to the size of its bore

Distinguido, an enlisted man who was classified as "white" and thereby entitled to certain special privileges

Enramada, an open shelter, usually of logs and branches, which could be used as a temporary chapel

Escolta, detail of soldiers stationed at a mission

Espada Ancha, short sword

Español, Spaniard; individual born in Spain

Escopeta, musket

Fandango, type of dance or dance festival

Fanega, equivalent to about 1.6 bushels; varies regionally

Fijo, term applied to military units raised and stationed permanently in the colonies

Gente de Razón, people of reason; in the context of California, the Spanish-speaking Christian population or any individual except an Indian

Habilitado, quartermaster

Inválido, retired military man

Juez de Paz, local pueblo official somewhat akin to justice of the peace

Laguna, lake; large body of stagnant water; marshes

Lanza, lance

League, on land 2.633 miles or 5,000 *varas*

League square, 4,338.19 acres based on the early *vara*

Memorias, invoices for annual supplies

Mestizo, individual of mixed European and Native American parentage

Mila, half of a league

Neophyte, Native American undergoing religious instruction at a mission

Palizada, palisade or stockade

Peso, basic monetary unit; the Spanish "dollar"

Peninsular, individual born on the Iberian Peninsula or the islands off the Iberian Peninsula; essentially interchangeable with *Español*. They enjoyed many privileges not afforded to Spaniards born in the Americas including access to all top government positions and high church offices.

Pinole, a gruel or porridge made from various seeds, acorns, maize, or similar products

Poblador, citizen or resident of a town or *pueblo*

Pólvora, gunpowder
Poza, puddle; water-hole; well; small body of stagnant water
Presidio, outpost for soldiers responsible for a military district
Pueblo, civilian or civil-military settlement
Pulgada, 1/36th of a *vara*
Ojo, spring or water-hole
Pie, foot (actually eleven inches)
Ranchería, Indian village or settlement
Rancho, ranch; grazing lands
Rancho del Rey, "king's ranch" or the official government grazing ranch for the presidio garrison. Called the *Rancho de la Nación* under the Mexican regime.
Real, one-eighth of a *peso*
Reglamento, regulation
Soldado, soldier
Tule, a tall rush from flooded bottom lands
Vara, measurement akin to a yard; 32.99 inches in Alta California but this varied from time and place
Vecinos, settlers in civilian communities
Yerba Buena, "good herb" which is a kind of wild mint (*Micromeria Chamissonis*); name later applied to the civilian pueblo that would serve as one of the key elements for the founding of San Francisco

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Index

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