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Gentile Recruitment and Population Movements in the San Francisco Bay Area Missions

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REGIONAL variations can be observed in the degree of Indian demographic collapse in the Alta California missions. The key factor in maintaining mission population levels, which were vital to the functioning of an economy characterized by access to abundant land but a variable labor supply, was the recruitment of gentiles (unconverted Indians) from the hinterland at increasing distances from the mission centers. Mission populations, therefore, depended on local native population levels and on the ability of the missionaries to penetrate interior valleys and successfully recruit gentiles.

The success of gentile recruitment varied from mission to mission, and among the different regions of coastal Alta California. The population base of the southern Alta California missions (e.g., those establishments south of La Purísima) was greater, and the mean mission population of the region was higher than the mean for missions to the north. For the southern missions the mean population was 1,077, in contrast to 653 for the central missions (those located between San Luis Obispo and San Juan Bautista), and 934 for the five missions located in the San Francisco Bay region (Jackson MS).

This paper examines population movements in the five San Francisco Bay missions.

The objective here is not to discuss the causes of high mortality in the missions, but rather to present in descriptive narrative form an outline of population movements as related to gentile recruitment. A regional approach makes sense for both geographical and historical reasons. Over a period of seventy years the Franciscans established four missions in the San Francisco Bay area, and a fifth, originally an *asistencia*, later attained mission status. San Francisco (1776) and Santa Clara (1777) were both established during the initial phase of the colonization of San Francisco Bay by Anza. San Jose (1797) was established to secure the conversion of Costanoans living in the east bay. San Rafael (1817) and San Francisco Solano (1823) resulted from the recruitment efforts of San Francisco missionaries in the north bay and, in the case of San Rafael, from the need to find a healthier spot for sick Indians from San Francisco mission.

SAN FRANCISCO DE ASIS

San Francisco missionaries recruited gentiles from three regions: the San Mateo Peninsula, the east bay, and the north bay. According to Cook (1976a: 8, 28), the Franciscans baptized 1,140 gentiles from the peninsula, 1,195 from the east bay, and 2,605 from among Coast Miwok, Pomo, Wappo, and Patwin after 1810 in the north bay.

Three phases of gentile recruitment are documented in the mission registers. Between

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Table 1
GENTILE RECRUITMENT AS RELATED TO POPULATION AT
SAN FRANCISCO MISSION, 1776-1840

Year	Gentile Baptisms	Natal Baptisms	Burials	Excess of Baptisms	Excess of Burials	Population
1776	0	0	0			
1777	31	0	3	28		
1778	41	4	2	43		133
1779	29	6	9	26		
1780	46	10	8	48		
1781	26	10	9	27		
1782	32	13	19	26		181
1783	34	4	25	13		215
1784	49	17	16	50		260
1785	19	15	24	10		
1786	114	15	48	81		354
1787	85	24	26	83		426
1788	9	20	38		9	
1789	22	20	31	11		429
1790	110	22	38	94		518
1791	102	18	54	66		590
1792	103	24	98	29		622
1793	167	25	102	90		711
1794	302	27	125	204		913
1795	143	21	207		43	872
1796	3	10	101		88	790
1797	1	30	105		74	790
1798	9	29	94		56	645
1799	1	24	65		40	
1800	70	35	74	31		635
1801	172	39	67	144		778
1802	154	38	130	62		814
1803	306	24	130	200		
1804	162	38	151	49		1,103
1805	155	47	159	43		
1806	72	22	471		377	886
1807	33	27	115		55	
1808	147	35	104	78		906
1809	194	25	120	99		
1810	160	39	151	48		1,057
1811	279	41	165	155		1,214
1812	128	62	180	10		1,224
1813	115	45	162		2	1,205
1814	97	45	167		25	1,180
1815	213	47	315		55	1,113
1816	226	43	332		23	1,091
1817	146	37	245		62	1,060
1818	24	33	157		100	1,100
1819	2	33	92		57	1,163
1820	14	36	60		10	1,252
1821	424	28	112	340		1,801
1822	51	34	159		74	958
1823	3	10	39		26	208
1824	1	7	15		7	265
1825	0	3	21		18	238
1826	0	9	19		10	232
1827	0	9	13		4	241
1828	0	11	19		8	236
1829	0	7	10		3	229
1830	0	5	8		3	219
1831	0	5	7		2	210

(Table 1 continued from preceding page)

1832	0	3	11	8	204
1833	0	4	9	5	
1834	0	3	21	18	
1835	0	3	9	6	
1836	0	5	9	4	
1837	0	1	7	6	210
1838	0	17	25	8	
1839	0	3	5	2	
1840	0	3	3	0	77

Sources: San Francisco Mission Baptismal and Burial Registers; annual and biennial reports from the Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library and the Archivo Historico de Hacienda, Mexico, D.F., Documentos Para La Historia de Mexico, Second series.

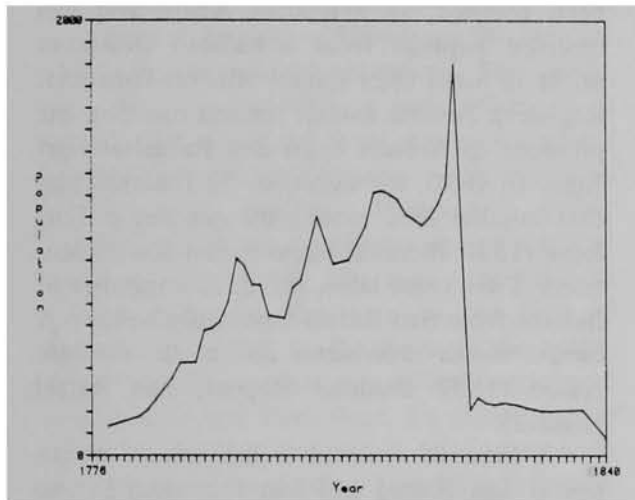


Fig. 1. Population of San Francisco Mission.

1777 and 1795, the Franciscans baptized 1,464 gentiles and recorded the births of 295 children. Burials totaled 882, with a net gain in population of 877 (Table 1; Fig. 1). The population reached 913 in 1794, but dropped to 872 in the following year. Over the next four years, 1796 to 1799, the number of baptisms dropped to 107 (14 gentile and 93 natal), as against 365 burials—a net population loss of 258. The Indian population was 645 in 1798 and 635 in 1800. After 1800, gentile recruitment picked up again, and the population continued to expand until 1821. After 1817, though, much of the population resided at San Rafael and most gentile baptisms occurred there. Between 1800 and 1822, the Franciscans baptized 3,384 gentiles

and 816 children born at the mission. Burials reached 3,818—a net gain in population of 382. The numbers fluctuated, but the population grew. There were 1,103 neophytes in 1804, and 1,801 in 1821. In 1822, with the transfer of population to San Rafael and elevation of the *asistencia* to mission status, 958 remained. With further transfers to San Rafael and newly established San Francisco Solano, 208 remained in 1823 (San Francisco Mission Baptismal and Burial Registers).

After 1823, the remnant Indian population experienced a net loss through mortality, but the numbers also dropped as a result of secularization. Between 1823 and 1840, the Franciscans at San Francisco recorded four gentile baptisms, 108 births, and 250 burials—a net loss in population of 137. Based upon recorded mortality, the population of the mission should have been in the neighborhood of 135. The record shows, however, that in 1840 a mere 77 Indians remained. As a result of the loosening of the controls the missionaries had formerly exercised over the neophytes, some 58 Indians left the mission. Most of the exodus occurred between the end of 1837 and 1840. In the former year, 210 Indians had reportedly lived at the ex-mission. Among the factors compelling neophytes to leave was the 1838 smallpox epidemic (San Francisco Mission Baptismal and Burial Registers).

In addition to the *asistencia* at San Rafael, San Francisco missionaries operated a second

major subsidiary settlement in the area of modern Pacifica, the *labor* de San Pedro y San Pablo. The missionaries began developing San Pedro y San Pablo about 1786 as an agricultural station, and the *labor* was a major population center drawing converts from Half Moon Bay and other villages on the seaward coast of San Mateo Peninsula (Dietz et al. 1979: 24). By 1791, as much as half the population attached to San Francisco lived at the agricultural station, perhaps 300 people (Dietz et al. 1979: 31). After 1792, however, the missionaries withdrew much of the population to San Francisco as a result of a major epidemic in 1792, hostilities on the coast, and the establishment of Santa Cruz mission in 1791 which reduced the need for a mission center on the coast (Dietz et al. 1979: 31-33). After 1793, San Pedro y San Pablo continued to operate as a ranch and agricultural station, but with a greatly reduced population. An 1828 census recorded a population of 26 at San Pedro y San Pablo, and 28 at Rancho San Mateo on the bay side of the peninsula (Dietz et al. 1979: 31-35).

Recruitment and conversion in the north bay region developed out of the activities of the Franciscans stationed at San Francisco mission. Initially, an *asistencia* was established at San Rafael and, later, one of the San Francisco missionaries proposed relocation of San Francisco and San Rafael missions to Sonoma Valley.

THE HISPANIC-RUSSIAN FRONTIER

The last two missions established in Alta California served as a buffer to the Russian operation founded in 1812 in the area of Bodega Bay. They also developed out of the recruitment activities of missionaries stationed at San Francisco and, to a lesser degree, at San Jose mission. In 1824, for example, 567 Indians from the bay area (322 from San Francisco, 153 from San Jose, and 92 from San Rafael) transferred to newly

established San Francisco Solano mission (Smilie 1975: 28).

Despite Spanish and Mexican attitudes toward the Russian intrusion into northern Alta California, there were instances of Indians from the two missions going to the Russian areas. The demarcation of spheres of influence in no way disrupted patterns of Indian trade. In 1826, San Rafael missionary Juan Amoros, O.F.M., baptized the family of a Bodega Bay woman who had previously been married to a Kodiak Aleut, and had received baptism from a Russian Orthodox priest in Sitka (San Rafael Mission Baptismal Register). Several annual reports mention the presence of Indians from San Rafael at Fort Ross. In 1830, for example, 32 Indians from that mission died among the gentiles at Fort Ross (1830 Biennial Report, San Rafael Mission). Two years later, in 1832, a number of Indians from San Rafael reportedly were *en el campo media sublevados* and at the *Presidio Russo* (1832 Biennial Report, San Rafael Mission).

A form of seasonal transhumance occurred at San Rafael and San Francisco Solano missions as gentiles came to work in the harvests in return for food. In 1827, Frenchman Duhaut-Cilly observed some 200 to 300 gentiles at San Francisco Solano in late summer (Smilie 1975: 29). The influx of people provided additional labor at a critical point in the agricultural cycle.

In short, the northern frontier in the 1820s and 1830s could be characterized as being fluid with the movement of peoples across spheres of Hispanic and Russian influence. It was also at times a violent frontier, and the establishment of the missions did not necessarily eliminate existing animosities among Indian groups. In 1824, gentiles killed a San Rafael mission Indian sent after *Cristianos cimarrones*. In 1832, a San Rafael Indian died at *Chacaalomi* rancheria at the hands of enemies (San Rafael Mission Burial Register).

Hostile Indians also killed neophytes from San Francisco Solano. In August of 1827, for example, gentiles killed two Indians living at the mission orchard (San Francisco Solano Mission Burial Register).

San Rafael began its history as an *asistencia* (visiting station) of San Francisco mission. The latter establishment was plagued with high mortality that resulted, in part, from a cold, foggy climate. Recruitment of large numbers of Indians from warmer areas in the San Francisco Bay region combined with increased exposure to disease at the mission only exacerbated the situation. The initial plan was to establish a sanatorium at a warmer site protected from coastal fog where the San Francisco missionaries could send sick Indians to recover (Engelhardt 1924: 162-163). Further, establishment of a settlement in the north bay area strengthened Spain's claim to the area in the face of Russian expansion in the form of the activities of the Russian-American Fur Company at Bodega Bay and Fort Ross. To attend to the needs of the sick Indians, a missionary with some medical knowledge, Luis Gil y Taboada, O.F.M., was assigned to the *asistencia* (Smilie 1975: 4).

In addition to the Indians transferred from San Francisco and San Jose, the missionaries stationed at San Rafael conducted active recruitment and conversion of the local Indian population which continued until 1831. After 1831, however, as deaths outnumbered births, the population of San Rafael began to decline. Short-term fluctuations in the population resulted as much from the fluid conditions on the frontier as from high mortality. In 1830, for example, burials exceeded baptisms by only six, but the population dropped from 1,008 to 970. The deaths of 32 Indians, of unspecified causes, away from the mission accounts for the difference and in most cases the officiating Franciscan provided an adequate explanation for such differences in the

annual or biennial reports (1830 Biennial Report, San Rafael Mission).

As noted above, active conversion continued for some 11 years (1817 to 1828) and the relatively small number of recruits reflects the fact that Franciscans from other missions had recruited heavily in the San Rafael area prior to 1817. The location of San Rafael in relation to the Russians in the area of Bodega Bay, and the establishment of San Francisco Solano mission in 1823 can be taken as secondary factors limiting population growth. The Russian settlements blocked recruitment to the northwest and, after 1823, San Francisco Solano mission blocked recruitment to the east. Nevertheless, over the short term, the missionaries at San Rafael managed to incorporate large numbers of Indians, and the mission experienced population growth. Between 1817 and 1828, the Franciscans baptized 1,392 gentiles and 191 children born at the mission, and recorded 537 burials—leaving a net gain in population of 1,046 (Table 2; Fig. 2). In 1828, the population stood at 1,026. A bad harvest in 1829, however, limited gentile recruitment over the next two years. In 1829 and 1830, only six gentiles received baptism and 34 children were born at the mission. Burials totaled 64, and the population declined to 970 in the latter year. In 1831, the Franciscans mounted a last effort at recruitment. Gentile baptisms reached 143, with 15 births and 29 burials—a net population gain of 129. The population increased from 970 to 1,073. Fluctuations in the population of San Rafael mission also occurred as a result of the movement of peoples between the missions, primarily with San Francisco Solano (San Rafael Mission Baptismal and Burial Registers).

After 1832, however, levels of gentile recruitment dropped. Between 1832 and 1839, the Franciscans baptized 107 (only 19 gentiles) and recorded 226 burials, a net loss in population of 119. Had secularization not

Table 2
**PATTERNS OF GENTILE RECRUITMENT AS RELATED TO
 POPULATION AT SAN RAFAEL MISSION, 1817-1840**

Year	Gentile Baptisms	Natal Baptisms	Burials	Excess of Baptisms	Excess of Burials	Population
1817	31	0	0	31		
1818	164	15	28	151		386
1819	123	18	25	116		509
1820	102	12	28	86		590
1821	145	11	46	110		696
1822	181	18	55	144		830
1823	96	23	43	76		895
1824	204	20	63	161		839
1825	135	22	70	87		1,008
1826	109	21	64	66		1,051
1827	29	15	38	6		1,050
1828	73	16	62	27		1,026
1829	2	15	35		18	1,008
1830	4	19	29		6	970
1831	143	15	29	129		1,073
1832	5	15	38		18	
1833	0	14	38		24	
1834	2	8	8	2		
1835	0	12	23		11	
1836	0	11	28		17	
1837	1	9	18		8	
1838	2	9	46		35	
1839	9	10	27		8	
1840						93

Sources: San Rafael Mission Baptismal and Burial Registers; annual and biennial reports from the Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library.

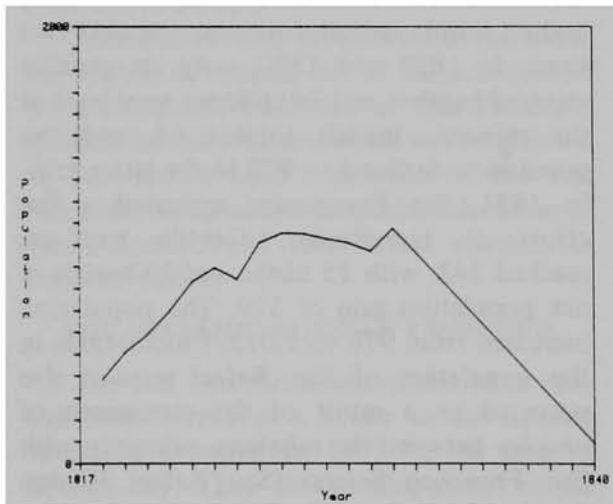


Fig. 2. Population of San Rafael Mission.

intervened, the population of San Rafael would have stood at 970, but the record shows that only 93 remained in 1840. As a

consequence of secularization some 877 Indians fled the ex-mission San Rafael or went to work on the ranches granted in the region to the incipient Californio elite (San Rafael Mission Baptismal and Burial Registers).

Establishment of San Francisco Solano mission in 1823 served two purposes: to strengthen Mexican claims to the region and to secure a larger degree of control over the Indian population. The desire to convert gentiles was, as always, a secondary motivation, but the potential and real Russian threat was stronger. The final agreement between the Franciscan leadership in the province and local civil officials, which regularized the founding of the mission, contained a provision that enabled the transfer of Indians living at San Francisco, San Jose, and San Rafael missions to San Francisco Solano, thus providing labor in the critical first year of its

operation. By 1824, 567 Indians from the three other missions were relocated to San Francisco Solano (Smilie 1975: 22). A later document, however, indicates that a number of Indians left San Francisco Solano for the three other missions; 35 returned to San Jose, 11 to San Francisco, and 20 to San Rafael (San Francisco Solano Mission Libro de Padron).

Between 1823 and 1832, missionaries stationed at San Francisco Solano baptized 832 gentiles and 178 children born at the mission as against 497 burials, leaving a net gain in population of 513 (Table 3; Fig. 3). The population reached a recorded maximum of 996 in the latter year. A bad harvest in 1829, however, temporarily slowed recruitment. Total agricultural production dropped to 343 *fanegas*, down from 797 in the previous year. In 1830, missionary Fortuny baptized only 10 gentiles, and the population dropped from 772 in 1829 to 760 in the following year. Agricultural production recovered to pre-1829 levels, and Fortuny baptized large numbers of gentiles in both years, 201 in 1831 and 101 in 1832. In 1833, high mortality and a decline in the number of gentiles recruited combined to reduce the mission population from 996 in 1832 to 781 in 1833 (San Francisco Solano Baptismal and Burial Registers).

In contrast to San Rafael mission, missionaries at San Francisco Solano continued to baptize gentiles following secularization. In 1835, 115 gentiles received baptism, and another 47 in 1837. Those baptized, however, did not necessarily settle at the ex-mission and community developing at Sonoma, but were probably put to work by the newly landed elite on the ranches being granted in the area. The Vallejo clan, for example, employed Indian laborers on the two ranches they received. Further, numbers of Indians took advantage of secularization to leave the mission. The net sum of baptisms and burials

between 1835 and 1839 would have left a population of some 958 in the latter year, but in 1840 only 144 Indians remained at the mission. Some 814 Indians left the mission and either entered the employment of the ranchers or returned to a greatly modified form of Indian life.

The "Hispanic-Russian" frontier was an open frontier, with Indians going between the two missions and the Russian settlements at Fort Ross and Bodega Bay. It was also relatively easy for Indians to leave the missions, and following secularization something of a mass exodus occurred. Some 1,700 Indians left the two missions, providing the ranchers who received land grants in the 1830s a large pool of disciplined Indian labor to draw upon. Assimilation worked at San Rafael and San Francisco Solano missions in the sense that a large number of Indians survived the process of relocation to the mission communities, and many of the survivors occupied a place in Mexican frontier society as laborers on ranches.

MISSION SANTA CLARA

A curious pattern can be observed at Santa Clara mission. In the early years of recruitment and conversion, from about 1777 to 1794, the Franciscans stationed at the mission converted local Indians and brought children from outlying rancherias to the mission for instruction and conversion. Since Santa Clara was established only eight years after the opening of the Alta California mission frontier, perhaps the missionaries did not want to leave adult converts without direction should their relatively isolated mission ever be abandoned. Moreover, leaving adults at the rancherias relieved pressure on precious food resources at the mission, while possession of the children served as a form of leverage over the adults. Such a pattern did not occur at San Francisco mission, so isola-

Table 3
GENTILE RECRUITMENT AS RELATED TO POPULATION AT
SAN FRANCISCO SOLANO MISSION, 1823-1840

Year	Gentile Baptisms	Natal Baptisms	Burials	Excess of Baptisms	Excess of Burials	Population
1823	0	0	1		1	
1824	64	32	36	60		692
1825	79	8	30	57		634
1826	96	11	64	43		641
1827	77	13	66	24		667
1828	110	19	89	40		704
1829	94	23	51	66		772
1830	10	15	37		12	760
1831	201	31	53	179		939
1832	101	26	70	57		996
1833	0	22	107		105	781
1834	174	13	46	141		
1835	115	18	49	84		
1836	6	26	1	31		
1837	47	19	24	42		
1838	1	26	92		65	
1839	0	14	40		26	
1840						144

Sources: San Francisco Solano Baptismal and Burial Registers; annual and biennial reports from the Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library and the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

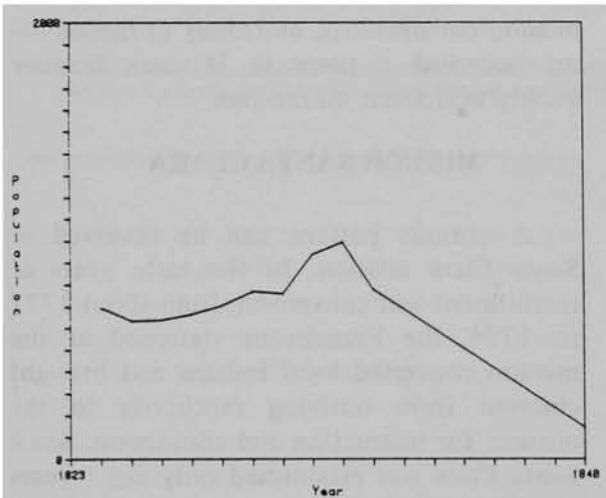


Fig. 3. Population of San Francisco Solano Mission.

tion in a densely populated area was probably a key factor.

Two detailed censuses from 1782 and 1783 shed further light on the early composition of the mission population. In 1782 the local population, Indians living at the mission site and converts from outlying rancherías

who formed families at the mission, totaled 134, and the number of children brought from the hinterland reached 308 (Noboa and De La Pena MS, June 20, 1784). In the following year the local population increased to 169, primarily through marriage of older children, and 449 aggregated children (Noboa and De La Pena MS, July 3, 1784). The two censuses give the ages of the Indians, and two significant patterns emerge. First, women married young. Many of the married women in both censuses ranged in age from 13 to 15 or 16 years old. Second, married adults had few children. In 1782, 26 couples had no children, due in part to the young age of the women, eight couples had one child, eight had two, one had three, and two had five. In the following year 24 had no children 17 had one child, seven had two children, four had three children, and two couples had five children. Some couples with three or more children showed an uneven spacing in the ages of their children, possibly indicating that they had lost children. One couple had children aged

ten, six, and three, and a second couple had children aged twelve ten, eight, six, and two, a more normal distribution.

A second source, the record of baptisms from the village or villages identified in the baptismal register as San Bernardino, further documents early patterns of conversion at Santa Clara mission. Between 1777 and 1804, Santa Clara missionaries baptized 765 gentiles from San Bernardino, 351 adults (46%) and 414 small children (54%). The conversion of children occurred at a much faster rate than that of adults. In the first 14 years 50% of the children and 23% of the adults from San Bernardino received baptism. In fact, most of the adults (74% of the total) were baptized in the seven years between 1789 and 1795. The Franciscans initiated mass baptisms of adults

Table 4
BAPTISM OF GENTILES FROM SAN BERNARDINO
AT SANTA CLARA MISSION

Year	Adults (over age 10)	Small Children (birth to age 10)
1777	0	3
1779	2	0
1780	0	1
1781	2	9
1782	1	6
1783	8	24
1784	6	13
1785	2	12
1786	7	20
1787	2	16
1788	5	22
1789	14	30
1790	31	50
1791	6	30
1792	28	40
1793	60	39
1794	90	35
1795	32	27
1796	2	12
1797	3	17
1798	18	2
1799	6	0
1800	18	3
1801	3	2
1802	1	0
1803	0	1
1804	4	0
Total	351	414

Source: Santa Clara Mission Baptismal Register.

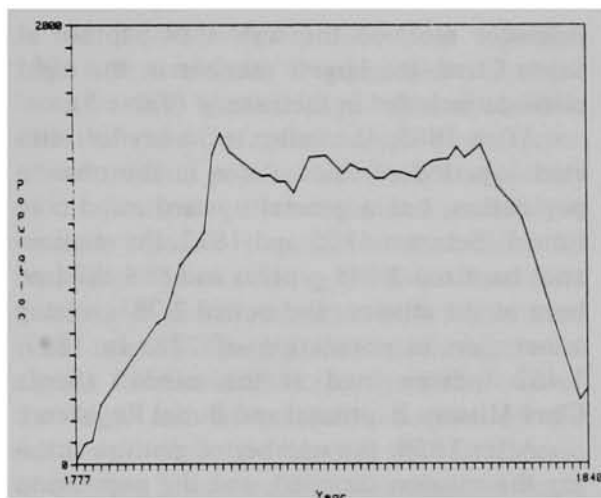


Fig. 4. Population of Santa Clara Mission.

in 1794. It must be pointed out, though, that San Bernardino was one of the first areas from which the Franciscans baptized adults (Table 4; Santa Clara Mission Baptismal Register).

Between 1777 and 1795, Santa Clara missionaries baptized 3,122 gentiles and children born at the mission. As a result of the pattern described above, the birth count at the mission until 1795 is inflated. Burials totaled 1,533, with a net population gain of 1,589. In the latter year the population stood at 1,541 (Fig. 4). As recruitment of the local Indian population ended between 1796 and 1804 and the number of recruits entering the mission dropped, the population declined. In nine years, 1796 to 1804, the Franciscans baptized 1,312 (872 gentiles and 440 children born at the mission) and recorded 1,652 burials. The net loss in population totaled 340, and in 1804 the population stood at 1,240 (Santa Clara Mission Baptismal and Burial Registers).

After 1805, the missionaries stationed at Santa Clara turned their attention to the Central Valley and began the recruitment of *tulareños*, Yokuts and Coast Miwok. According to Cook and Borah (1971 - 1979), 1,832

tulareños received the waters of baptism at Santa Clara, the largest number in the eight missions included in their study (Table 5).

After 1805, the influx of *tulareños* initiated a period of fluctuations in the mission population, but a general upward trend continued. Between 1805 and 1827, the missionaries baptized 2,145 gentiles and 868 children born at the mission, and buried 2,785, leaving a net gain in population of 228. In 1827, 1,462 Indians lived at the mission (Santa Clara Mission Baptismal and Burial Registers).

After 1828, the number of gentiles entering the mission dropped, and the population steadily declined. Further, the beginning of the secularization process in 1834 saw an acceleration in population decline as numbers of Indians, most likely recent recruits, fled the mission. In 1832, 1,125 Indians remained at the mission, but only 291 and 344, respectively, were left in 1839 and 1840. The decline in population cannot be attributed solely to high mortality. Baptisms and burials from 1828 to 1840 totaled 690 and 1,077, with a net loss in population of 387. The 690 individuals baptized consisted of 361 gentiles (106 after 1835) and 329 children born at the mission (Table 6). Had secularization not disrupted the functioning of the mission system, the population of Santa Clara would have been 738. Some 394 Indians either left the mission following secularization, or were gentiles brought to work on the ranches and baptized by the missionaries stationed at Santa Clara (Santa Clara Mission Baptismal and Burial Registers).

MISSION SAN JOSE

In terms of total population, San Jose was the second most populous of the Alta California missions. Missionaries stationed there recruited in the south and east San Francisco Bay region, the Sacramento - San Joaquin River Delta, and the Central Valley. In terms of patterns of gentile recruitment, the mis-

Table 5
BAPTISMS OF TULAREÑOS AT SELECTED
ALTA CALIFORNIA MISSIONS

Mission	Tulareño Baptisms	Years
Santa Clara	1,832	1805-1832
San Juan Bautista	1,095	1816-1833
Santa Cruz	526	1810-1835
Soledad	487	1806-1835
San Antonio	80	1834-1838
Total	4,020	

Source: Cook and Borah (1971-1979, Vol. 3: 198-203).

sionaries stationed at San Jose baptized the largest number of recruits after 1811, with 5,185 baptisms between that date and 1834.

During a first phase of recruitment and conversion between 1797 and 1805, San Jose missionaries baptized 1,361 gentiles and 152 children born at the mission. Burials totaled 699—leaving a net gain in population of 814. From a population of 33 in 1797, the number of Indians living at San Jose increased to 779 in 1804 (Table 7; Fig. 5). Over the next five years the number of gentile recruits dropped to 147 and the Franciscans baptized 80 children born at the mission. Burials reached 486, including deaths resulting from an 1806 measles epidemic, and the population suffered a net loss of 259. In 1810, 545 Indians remained at the mission (San Jose Mission Baptismal and Burial Registers).

As mentioned above, between 1811 and 1834 San Jose missionaries baptized 5,185 gentiles and 944 children born at the mission. Burials reached 4,094, for a net gain in population of 2,035. The population fluctuated with the success of gentile recruitment. It stood at 961 in 1811, grew to 1,754 by 1821, dropped to 1,620 in the following year, and had increased to 1,886 in 1831, the last recorded census. In 1834, the year before the complete implementation of secularization, the Franciscans baptized 892 gentiles, and based on the difference between total baptisms and burials, the population can be calculated to have been some 2,302 at the end

of 1834 (San Jose Mission Baptismal and Burial Registers).

After 1835, missionaries stationed at San Jose continued to baptize numbers of gentiles, but probably applied the waters to people brought to work on the growing number of ranches. Between 1835 and 1840, gentile baptisms totaled 323, with 293 recorded births. Burials totaled 1,036. The net loss in population was 420 if gentile baptisms are considered, 743 if they are not. Using these two figures, the maximum population of the mission in 1840 is projected to have been 1,840, the minimum 1,559. The recorded population stood at 1,332 in 1840, which indicates that between 227 and 550 Indians left the mission after secularization.

CONCLUSIONS

The mission was an artificial settlement form designed to settle Indians at a centralized location where they could be converted and made to work to support the colonial regime. The colonial policy of civil and religious *congregación* in different parts of Spanish America served as a model for the missions in Alta California. It should be pointed out that in the core areas of Mesoamerica and the Andean Highlands, the Spaniards erected a colonial society and economy based, in part, on the extraction of surplus goods and labor. The Spanish colonial regime in Alta California had its basis in the mission, which functioned as the basic unit of social and economic organization. The need for labor, generally used inefficiently, remained constant, but the supply of labor fluctuated as a result of high levels of mortality in the mission communities—a situation caused, in part, by the higher population densities of the new communities. The particular interpretation of mission history outlined above leads into an explanation of the causes and consequences of large-scale gentile recruitment in the mission communities.

As I have argued elsewhere (Jackson 1983), the need for labor provided a major incentive for large-scale gentile recruitment, and the extent of gentile recruitment determined mission population levels. The process of the formation of the mission communities created unstable populations that failed to reproduce in numbers sufficient to offset death rates that were consistently higher than birth rates. Following secularization, the incipient Californio elite appropriated much of the land and accumulated surplus of the missions, and Indian labor as well. In the case of the San Francisco Bay area missions, some 2,673 Indians left the ex-missions to work on ranches or return to a modified aboriginal life. One major incentive to leave was the fact that by the 1830s many of the neophytes in the missions were recent converts brought from some distance to the mission community. Two processes occurred in the missions: the destruction of the local Indian populations, and the beginning of the formation of a rural proletariat that formed the backbone of mission and rancho economies.

The economic argument provides one explanation for the Spanish and Mexican motivation to penetrate the hinterland in search of recruits. A second motivation was the desire to convert non-Christians to Catholicism. The question of Indian motivations for entering the missions, however, remains to be addressed. The answer is a complex one which defies a simple explanation. A number of possible push-and-pull factors can be identified. Push factors could have included periodic resource scarcity in the hinterland caused primarily by drought, which forced Indians to the coast in search of food. Pull factors may have included the attraction of trade with Indians living at the missions and of available material goods, and the presence of relatives already living at the missions.

Any discussion of recruitment, however, must deal with the controversial issue of

Table 6
GENTILE RECRUITMENT AS RELATED TO POPULATION AT
SANTA CLARA MISSION, 1777-1840

Year	Gentile Baptisms	Natal Baptisms	Burials	Excess of Baptisms	Excess of Burials	Population
1777	77	0	27	50		13
1778	56	2	1	57		91
1779	20	4	3	21		111
1780	79	9	6	82		270
1781	49	*19	14	54		
1782	47	35	36	46		373
1783	151	30	39	142		618
1784	41	39	61	19		
1785	54	62	103	13		
1786	97	59	73	83		
1787	97	50	61	86		647
1788	64	58	98	24		672
1789	169	76	128	117		787
1790	256	68	197	127		910
1791	96	69	117	48		957
1792	147	58	154	51		1,001
1793	140	50	132	58		1,062
1794	440	60	127	373		1,418
1795	233	61	176	118		1,541
1796	60	65	231		106	1,433
1797	67	51	191		73	
1798	134	59	176	17		
1799	105	53	196		38	1,343
1800	86	47	159		26	1,318
1801	85	49	134	0	0	1,322
1802	182	42	262		38	1,291
1803	86	40	147		21	1,291
1804	67	34	156		55	1,240
1805	283	52	112	223		
1806	160	42	227		25	1,406
1807	91	47	145		7	
1808	93	42	133	2		1,410
1809	55	34	101		12	
1810	64	22	151		65	1,332
1811	142	50	154	38		1,371
1812	55	44	125		26	1,348
1813	39	47	90		4	1,347
1814	13	33	86		70	1,306
1815	86	25	112		1	1,306
1816	102	36	107	31		1,336
1817	7	31	107	1		1,336
1818	55	29	105		21	1,321
1819	71	35	116		10	1,313
1820	87	44	94	37		1,359
1821	86	32	93	25		1,388
1822	112	40	143	9		1,394
1823	80	38	131		13	1,395
1824	114	36	94	56		1,450
1825	63	37	136		36	1,403
1826	99	42	117	24		1,428
1827	118	30	106	42		1,462
1828	92	34	191		65	1,369
1829	8	19	122		95	1,269
1830	12	19	67		36	1,226
1831	19	21	82		42	1,184
1832	0	15	74		59	1,125

(Table 6 continued from preceding page)

1833	9	21	96		66	
1834	51	18	66	3		
1835	64	29	65	28		
1836	60	35	76	19		
1837	25	31	61		5	
1838	5	29	80		46	
1839	10	32	53		11	291
1840	6	26	(44)		(12)	344

*Count of natal baptisms inflated for the years 1781 to about 1792.

Sources: Santa Clara Mission Baptismal and Burial Registers; annual and biennial reports from the Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library; 1839-1840 Report of William Hartnell, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; Archivo Historico de Hacienda, Mexico, D.F., Documentos Para La Historia de Mexico, Second series.

forced conversion first raised by the late Sherburne F. Cook, and discussed in a 1979 article written by Francis Guest, O.F.M. Recruitment, especially in the Central Valley, was but one aspect of a cycle of war and fugitivism from the missions identified by Cook (1976b). Fugitives from central California missions, usually recent recruits from interior valleys, fled to the Central Valley to escape mission life, and in turn frequently organized raids against mission and presidio herds of livestock. In retaliation for the raids, and as one aspect of an attempted expansion into the interior, Spanish and Mexican military authorities launched punitive expeditions to recapture fugitives and to punish gentiles who cooperated in the raids. In the process the military forcibly removed gentiles to the missions for conversion. Cook quite cogently argued that this constituted forced conversion.

Franciscan historian Francis Guest called the expeditions and subsequent capture of gentiles a just punishment for rebellious Indians who had violated Spanish law, and further stated that since forced conversion was illegal under Spanish law, it did not occur (Guest 1979: 8-9). On closer examination, Guest's arguments, based on a skillful use of semantics, are not very convincing. Guest assumed that Spain's claim to California was sufficient cause to identify any act of primary resistance as an act of rebellion against Span-

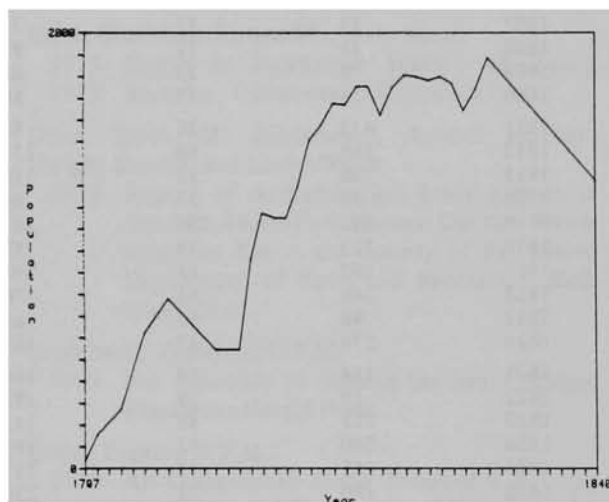


Fig. 5. Population of San Jose Mission.

ish and Mexican rule, and hence punishable by forced relocation. Further, Guest's argument about the law has no basis in the historical realities of colonial Spanish America. Spanish scholars have identified the institutional subversion of Spanish law by royal officials through the formula *obedezco, pero no cumpro* ("I obey, but I do not comply"), and the blatant violation of any laws formulated in Madrid that were contrary to the interests of local elites and officials. The burden of proof is on Guest to show conclusively that the rule of law was different in the isolated frontier post than it was in the core areas of colonial Spanish America, a point that he did not even begin to address.

Table 7
GENTILE RECRUITMENT AS RELATED TO POPULATION AT
SAN JOSE MISSION, 1797-1840

Year	Gentile Baptisms	Natal Baptisms	Burials	Excess of Baptisms	Excess of Burials	Population
1797	33	0	0	33		33
1798	130	8	8	130		154
1799	58	9	32	35		
1800	119	16	47	88		275
1801	221	22	63	180		
1802	233	15	91	157		622
1803	180	36	110	106		
1804	216	14	174	56		779
1805	171	32	174	29		
1806	28	14	198		156	662
1807	11	27	71		33	
1808	16	11	97		70	544
1809	78	11	62	27		
1810	14	17	58		27	545
1811	473	26	83	416		961
1812	288	60	137	211		1,172
1813	38	55	116		23	1,151
1814	48	33	84		3	1,149
1815	215	35	107	143		1,298
1816	323	39	157	205		1,508
1817	202	56	195	63		1,576
1818	246	55	176	125		1,675
1819	98	56	164		10	1,670
1820	234	47	163	118		1,754
1821	114	54	166	2		1,754
1822	19	39	193		135	1,620
1823	222	46	143	125		1,746
1824	300	32	195	137		1,806
1825	155	43	211		13	1,796
1826	190	25	230		15	1,783
1827	158	33	178	13		1,800
1828	194	21	259		44	1,766
1829	27	36	186		132	1,641
1830	191	30	118	103		1,745
1831	514	33	196	351		1,886
1832	1	26	203		176	
1833	43	49	209		117	
1834	892	42	225	709		
1835	56	51	180		73	
1836	67	44	165		54	
1837	8	58	140		74	
1838	12	40	252		200	
1839	9	39	136		88	
1840	171	61	163	69		1,322

Sources: San Jose Mission Baptismal and Burial Registers; annual and biennial reports from the Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library.

The case of the five San Francisco Bay missions clearly demonstrates the importance of gentile recruitment in maintaining population levels. The need to manipulate sufficient labor provided a powerful motivation for expeditions into the interior that provoked

armed clashes which merged into a larger pattern of increasing resistance to the Spanish and Mexican presence in Alta California. Interpretations differ as to the motivations for gentile recruitment, but from this author's perspective the Cook thesis, that forced relo-

cation to the missions did occur frequently, has more validity than Guest's interpretation. What happened, then, at least after 1800, was a large-scale population movement from the interior to San Francisco Bay that involved a degree of force.

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