

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Spreading the News of the California Conquest, 1769-1770

Translated and edited by

REV. MAYNARD GEIGER, O.F.M.

INTRODUCTION

José de Gálvez masterminded the California conquest. His goal for the initial stages of that conquest was the occupation of the ports of San Diego and Monterey.¹ San Diego was merely a stepping-stone to the latter port. Only with the occupancy of Monterey could the incipient conquest of California be considered a successful one. Through diary, log, letter, and report the facts of that conquest are known to us in great detail.

The purpose of this article is to show in narrative and documentary form the time element involved in relaying the news of the various stages of conquest back to official headquarters. Less than two hundred years ago, when "Operation California" was set in motion, it took a year and a half for Gálvez to learn that his project had been fully and successfully carried out!

The initial letters written on California soil were composed at San Diego, the very first indeed by Fray Juan Crespi who on June 9 wrote to Palóu, now president of the Baja California missions, and on June 11 and 22, to the guardian of the College of San Fernando, Mexico City, Fray Juan Andrés. Serra wrote to the same individuals on July 3. Lieutenant Pedro Fages on June 26 and Miguel Costansó on the 28th addressed letters to Gálvez, composing a joint letter to him on July 4. Portolá on the same day communicated with Marquis de Croix, while Fernando Rivera y Moncada sent a missive, undated, about the same time.² All of these letters, with the exception of those addressed to Palóu, were dispatched to San Blas via the SAN ANTONIO OR EL PRINCIPE, which sailed from San Diego on July 9. From the port of San Blas they were carried overland to Mexico City where they arrived on August 1.³ Thus the viceregal palace and the Franciscan college

The Historical Society of Southern California

learned that part of the conquest had been verified. Gálvez meanwhile had gone to Sonora. Palóu notified him from Loreto on September 9 that San Diego had been reached, and the visitor-general expressed his pleasure in answer to Palóu from Pitic on October 7.⁴

Viceroy De Croix communicated with Portolá on August 12 acknowledging the letters he had received, but addressed his answer to "Monterey" where he expected Portolá to be.⁵ The SAN ANTONIO, which had carried the first mail out of California, now brought the first mail into the territory. The ship was destined for Monterey. However, having lost an anchor in the Santa Barbara Channel and having learned from the natives that the first Portolá expedition had returned to its base at San Diego, it sought out that port where it arrived on March 21, according to Portolá, but on the 24th according to various other testimonies.⁶ Had it not arrived at San Diego when it did, not only would Monterey not have been occupied but even San Diego would have been abandoned.⁷ Meanwhile, De Croix on August 27 informed Julián de Arriaga of the royal court of the occupation of San Diego and of the proposed overland trek to Monterey on a second march.⁸

The return of the Portolá party to San Diego occasioned a new spate of letter writing. Portolá, Fages, Costansó, Rivera y Moncada, Ortega, Vila, Serra, and Crespí all took to their quills. These letters were addressed to De Croix, Gálvez, Palóu, and San Fernando College. Full details of the complex and changing situation on reverses and gains were spelled out between February 2 and April 17, 1770. Portolá, just before leaving on his march north, sent two Baja California Indian couriers as far south as Velicatá urging them to travel by night as less dangerous. From there the letters were forwarded by other riders to Loreto where Palóu received them.⁹ Even before that, however, some of the letters were sent south when Portolá dispatched Rivera y Moncada with a group of soldiers down into Baja California to obtain supplies for San Diego where provisions were running low. Rivera left San Diego on February 11.¹⁰ We know from the testimony of De Croix that the letters carried by Rivera reached Mexico City on April 24 who apprised Arriaga shortly thereafter that the first Portolá expedition had returned to San Diego without finding Monterey.¹¹

California Conquest, 1769-1770

The SAN ANTONIO set sail from San Diego on April 16, while Portolá and his soldiers set out overland on the following day. The land expedition arrived at Monterey on May 24, while the SAN ANTONIO hove into sight on May 31.¹² On June 3, Portolá took formal possession of the land in the name of the king and the presidio and mission of San Carlos were formally established.¹³ Meanwhile, Matías de Armona, now governor of California, informed De Croix that both the land and sea expeditions had set out for Monterey, nearly a full month after it had actually been reached!¹⁴

With the occupation of Monterey a third group of letters and reports came into existence to which the army, the navy, and the missionaries contributed. On June 3, Portolá drew up a document on the formal ceremony of taking possession of the port, to which were added the testimonies of Pérez, Fages, and Miguel del Pino. On the same day, Serra inscribed the initial pages of the three mission registers. On June 12, Serra wrote to Andrés and on the following day to Palóu. Fages wrote to De Croix on July 1. Crespi had written his diaries of the two Portolá expeditions.

The above-mentioned letters, with the exception of that by Fages, were now carried by "special delivery" by José Velásquez, a soldier, and an unnamed sailor, both of whom volunteered to deliver them to the governor at Loreto, a distance of over 1,500 miles. But Armona as well as Palóu were at Todos Santos much farther south, so the mail was taken there. It arrived on August 2. The couriers had traveled at a steady average of thirty miles a day for forty-nine days!¹⁵

On the very day of their arrival, Armona made a digest of the letters' contents and sent this to De Croix, hoping to inform him of the good news of Monterey's occupation as soon as possible. However, by a quirk of fate, this letter did not reach Mexico City before the news arrived from another source. Portolá and Costansó decided to return to Mexico by sea rather than overland. They sailed with Pérez out of Monterey on July 9, and arrived at San Blas on August 1. From there Portolá dispatched letters to De Croix which arrived at the capital on August 10.¹⁶ A special courier made the trip of 550 miles in nine days. The good news was now in the hands of Gálvez and De Croix. The jubilation in Mexico was celebrated with great festivity.¹⁷

The Historical Society of Southern California

Thus only after a year and a half did Gálvez learn that his plans for a successful conquest had been realized. De Croix on August 25 and Gálvez on the 28th informed Arriaga that Monterey was now a Spanish possession.¹⁸

In the letters and statements to follow, I have chosen three authored by Portolá relative to his orders and to the conquest. I am stressing his role rather than that of others since he was the commander-in-chief of the expeditions, the responsible leader of the enterprise. On him rested the final decisions all along the tortuous and perplexing chain of circumstances. Incidentally, these letters will reveal his characteristics of trustworthiness, competence, zeal, and soldierly devotion. Gálvez had set the conquest into motion. Portolá made the conquest effective.

* * *

TRANSLATIONS

Portolá to Marquis de Croix, San Diego, April 17, 1770

Your Excellency:

I am leaving here this letter written at this presidio of San Diego to be forwarded to you as soon as an occasion presents itself.¹⁹ It disturbs me very much that I cannot send it on to you now thus depriving you of the knowledge of the presence in this port of the packet-boat, *El Príncipe*, captained by Don Juan Pérez. He has delivered to me the favored letter of Your Excellency of August 18 of the past year.²⁰ He states that his reason for being here²¹ is that he lost an anchor at 35° latitude while taking on water. At the same time he learned from the pagans that the overland expedition had returned to this port of San Diego.²² Nor can I omit recounting that he had passed the approaches of this port on the feast of the patron of our expedition, St. Joseph, and that two days later²³ he entered the same port. I firmly believe that the saint had intervened in his not continuing his voyage to the port of Monterey in order that the expedition would be able to attain its objective in shorter time, a thing I desire so much.

Sir, while on the one hand the expedition had the great consolation of seeing this ship bring not only abundant supplies for consumption but also seamen who were in good health, I found

California Conquest, 1769-1770

myself, nevertheless, to my deep sorrow, with insufficient troops to retrace my journey to Monterey. But then when I reflected that if I lost this precious opportunity I might reach my objective only with difficulty. So I simply had to seize the opportunity confident that it was a work of God and that He would necessarily protect me. Therefore I resolved to march at the same time *El Príncipe* would sail with only seven leather jacket soldiers, the only ones I could release from the guard. To these I added twelve volunteers [of Catalonia] who are under the command of Lt. Don Pedro Fages among those who could go.²⁴ I am strengthened in my determination to go as a result of the exploration I made of the country and the disposition of its pagans.²⁵ I am persuaded that if I did not undertake it, I would fail God, the king and my own honor and also fail in gratitude to you for the confidence Your Excellency placed in me. So I make known to you the agreement reached with Captain Don Juan Pérez, namely, that both expeditions will proceed [to Monterey] which is now being carried out.

The first point which Your Illustrious Person laid down in the instruction given him [Pérez] concerns the latitude he is to reach and the need of his recognizing in passing the port of San Francisco. Then having anchored there he is to follow the coast somewhat to the south until he comes upon a large body of salt water which penetrates the land for twelve or sixteen leagues and which seemed to all serviceable as a good port as well as a very proper locale in which to establish a mission. The place is well known to Don Miguel Costansó who is to embark [with Pérez]. Having recognized that area he is to go in search of the port of Monterey for although the land expedition did not find it, I hope the mariners will do so.

In default of finding the bay, the Point of Pines²⁶ has been chosen as the spot where he is to wait if he arrives before the land expedition. Should the land expedition arrive first he is to do the same. And if because of weather conditions he cannot remain there he is to place there fixed signs indicating his arrival and state what plans he feels he should execute.²⁷ Don Miguel Costansó is well apprised of these arrangements.

If the port of Monterey exists in the place where history books point it out to be, then both expeditions will have obtained the satisfaction of finding themselves at their objective. But if it does

The Historical Society of Southern California

not exist, then if a mission and presidio be established either at the port of San Francisco or at the other place indicated,²⁸ I do not believe that Your Excellency will take it ill for the farther north we extend ourselves the greater will be the king's dominions and he will have better lands and many more pagans. But in any case, I shall always prefer the port of Monterey and so I shall never depart one iota from blind and perfect obedience.

I am only sorry, Sir, that distance and circumstances do not permit me to give an account of events—indeed, the most exact—to Your Excellency and thus carry out your orders. However, knowing Your Excellency's mind that this great work must be accomplished I have not hesitated in complying despite difficulties, obstacles and risks, for ever since I set out from [Lower] California *my resolve has been either to die or to discharge my commission.*²⁹

This mission [of San Diego] has been moved³⁰ to the satisfaction of the Father President³¹ and has a guard of nine men including the sergeant³² not counting three or four other individuals.³³ The area is fortified to advantage nor is there any fear on my part that it cannot but remain secure. When the soldiers return from [Lower] California who are to bring along cattle, I intend to increase the guard here as well as at Monterey and at the same time even though this may not be immediately effective, to establish the mission of San Buenaventura.³⁴ I will do all I can to complete the work, maintain the guard corresponding to said mission and conduct the cattle to both of the new missions.

As I write this on the sixteenth, *El Príncipe* is setting sail³⁵ and I shall start out tomorrow. This is as much as I consider proper to communicate to Your Excellency. May God, our Lord guard the person of Your Excellency for many happy years. Mission and Presidio of San Diego, April 17, 1770. Gaspar de Portolá.

* * *

*Official Document of the Taking Possession of Monterey,
June 3, 1770*

Don Gaspar de Portolá, captain of dragoons of the Regiment of Spain, governor of California and commander-in-chief of the expeditions to the ports of San Diego and Monterey located at 33 and 37 degrees latitude according to the royal decree:

California Conquest, 1769-1770

By this present letter may it be evident that in this presidio and at the port of Monterey on June 3 of this year in compliance with orders in my possession given me by the Illustrious visitor-general, Don Joseph de Gálvez, member of the royal and supreme Council and Chamber of the Indies of His Majesty as appears in the decree given me naming me commander-in-chief of the said expedition and by virtue of which he [Gálvez] finds himself vested with viceregal faculties;—noting among the chapters of the orders [one] which I have to execute immediately upon arriving at the said port of Monterey [namely, to take possession thereof] I did so in the name of His Catholic Majesty. I ordered the officers of the sea and land to convene and besought the reverend missionary fathers to assist thereat in obedience to the said order and I commanded the troops to stand by armed. Having thus disposed matters and chosen these circumstances, I went to take possession in the royal name of His Majesty under the conditions outlined in the decree, performing the ceremony of throwing earth and stones in the direction of the four winds and proclaiming possession in the royal name of His Catholic Majesty, Don Carlos III (whom may God preserve) by whom the said port of Monterey and adjoining lands are to be officially recognized as due and fitting according to law. Having raised the triumphant standard of the cross as the first object of interest of the Catholic, Christian and pious zeal of His Majesty, I manifested this through the orders given by my superiors. This interest is known by the generosity with which he has opened the royal treasury for the purpose of gathering the evangelical harvest and which is provided for the benefit of the numerous pagans who dwell here.

In order that this may be made evident for all time, I sign my name to which are added those of the officers as witnesses. And in view of the fact that the maritime officers had the consignment of recognizing the ports and were in a better position to do so than those of the land force, I wish that they also be witnesses so that their testimony may be more acceptable. They are the captain of the bark called *El Príncipe* which is at the said port commanded by Don Juan Pérez and whose pilot is Don Miguel del Pino, together with others of the land expedition. Port of Monterey, June 3, 1770. Gaspar de Portolá.

I, Don Juan Pérez, captain and pilot of the packet-boat of His

The Historical Society of Southern California

Majesty, called the *San Antonio* otherwise *El Príncipe*, and Don Miguel del Pino, deputy captain and second pilot of said packet-boat, testify to the fact that El Caballero, Governor Don Gaspar de Portolá, has taken possession of the port of San Carlos de Monterey and its lands in the name of His Catholic Majesty which said port is the one which is described in the history of the exploration made by Don Sebastián Vizcaíno³⁶ and in the description of the sea route written by the pilot, Don José Cabrera Bueno,³⁷ it having all the indications described by the said pilot, Bueno. In order that this be manifest as is fitting, we sign our names at the said port on June 3, 1770. Miguel del Pino, Juan Pérez.

Being lieutenant of the free company of the volunteers of Catalonia destined by His Majesty for this Kingdom of New Spain, I certify that the commander of this expedition, Don Gaspar de Portolá, has taken possession of the port of Monterey and its land on the day stated in the name of His Catholic Majesty. Due to what has been written in the history of the Californias, the exploration of Sebastián Vizcaíno and in the [description of the] sea route of Cabrera Bueno, he found the indications [of the port] both with regard to the sea and the land, nothing wanting. And in order that this be manifest as is fitting I sign my name on this eleventh of June, 1770. Pedro Fages.

* * *

Portolá to José de Gálvez, San Blas, August 1, 1770

Illustrious Sir:

In June 15 past I dispatched overland from the port of Monterey a letter I wrote through the soldier, José Velásquez, solely to notify Your Excellency that both the overland and maritime expeditions had arrived at the desired goal with the greatest of success. The expedition under me arrived after the short period of thirty-seven days. We had the satisfaction of witnessing the entire pagan population striving to please us and to regale us even more than on my first expedition. The sea voyage took forty-five days. In my letter to Your Excellency I included the testimony on taking possession of the said port and its lands on the third of the said

California Conquest, 1769-1770

month of June. This was not sent in duplicate to Your Illustrious Self for I am sending it to His Excellency [the Viceroy].

In view of the fact that Your Illustrious Self commanded me in your instructions to return to Mexico after having concluded the objective of establishing a mission and presidio, having done this and having left everything in a state of tranquility, I placed Lt. Pedro Fages in charge with twelve soldiers, seven leather-jackets, two muleteers all of whom were members of the expedition. And since Don Juan Pérez had orders to leave there some sailors if this were feasible, I arranged that ten should remain both to assist in the labors and to recuperate their poor health. To my manner of thinking they are as safe as if they were in Mexico.

I believe that Your Illustrious Self will consider it well that I embarked for I could not return by land owing to the fact that I was unable to release a single soldier among the leather-jackets of the presidio. The only one missing at Monterey—to complete the picture satisfactorily to Your Illustrious Self—is Captain Don Fernando Rivera who is conducting cattle to San Diego for which purpose I sent him to [Lower] California where he will collect the food supply he can and nothing else. From the port of San Diego he is to continue his journey to Monterey³⁸ and once San Diego is supplied with food he is to bring that portion destined for the founding of San Buenaventura if it can be established even if the Father President has to remain alone [at Monterey] which situation he is very content to face.³⁹

I had thought of stopping off at San Diego on my return trip but Don Juan Pérez did not consider it feasible.⁴⁰ Rather he judged that we should sail directly to San Blas where I have just disembarked. So I delayed no longer in writing to Your Illustrious Self and sent the mail overland which I trust will arrive in a few days. I shall stay for some days at Tepic to recuperate my health which Divine Providence has preserved.

May God, our Lord, preserve Your Most Illustrious Self for a long time, etc. . . . Port of San Blas, August 1, 1770. . . . Gaspar de Portolá.

* * *

To this letter were attached letters of Costansó, Fages, Pérez and Serra. Within ten days these letters were in the hands of

The Historical Society of Southern California

Gálvez and De Croix. Great jubilation prevailed. What Gálvez had meticulously planned, Portolá faithfully executed. California now belonged to Spain and became a part of western civilization. Her history now would be one continuous evolution.

NOTES

¹Maynard Geiger, "Instructions Concerning the Occupation of California, 1769," *Southern California Quarterly*, XLVII (June 1965), 211.

²Herbert E. Bolton, *Guide to the Materials for United States History in the Archives of Mexico* (Washington, D.C., 1913), pp. 139, 167, 196, and Bolton (ed.), *Palóu's New California* (hereinafter *PNC*), (5 vols., Berkeley, 1926), II, 377-378, for these and other letters of the period in question. Crespi's letter of June 22 is translated by Zephyrin Englehardt in *San Diego Mission* (San Francisco, 1920), pp. 13-17. Serra's letters in Spanish with English translation may be read in Antonine Tibesar (ed.), *Writings of Junípero Serra* (3 vols., Washington, D.C., 1955), I, 132-147.

³Bolton, *PNC*, II, 275, and Marquis de Croix to Julián de Arriaga, Mexico, August 27, 1769. Photostat (hereinafter cited Phg.) in Santa Barbara Mission Archives (hereinafter SBMA) from Archivo General de Indias (hereinafter cited AGI). See Charles E. Chapman, *Catalogue of Materials in the Archivo General de Indias* (Berkeley, 1919), p. 217, Doc. 1358.

⁴Gálvez to Palóu, Pitic, October 7, 1769. Biblioteca del Museo Nacional, Mexico. Phg. in SBMA.

⁵De Croix to Portolá, Mexico, August 12, 1769. Sección de Californias, Vol. 76, Archivo General de la Nación (hereinafter cited AGN). Phg. in SBMA.

⁶Crespi, who was an eyewitness, gives March 24 as the date of entry. Charles Piette, "An Unpublished Diary of Fray Juan Crespi, O.F.M.," *The Americas*, III (July 1946), 105. Serra, likewise a witness, states the *San Antonio* came into San Diego harbor "four days after" its appearance, hence on the 24th. Tibesar (ed.), *Serra Writings*, I, 163. Palóu follows their citations. Bolton, *PNC*, II, 277. An "Extracto y copia literal de diferentes articulos de cartas," gives March 23. López to Espinosa, Loreto, June 6, 1770. Sección de Californias, Vol. 66, AGN. Phg. in SBMA.

⁷For the varied testimonies that San Diego would have been abandoned, see Geiger, *The Life and Times of Fray Junípero Serra* (2 vols., Washington, D.C., 1959), I, 242-243.

⁸See note 5, *ante*.

⁹Bolton, *PNC*, II, 279-280. See also note 6, *ante*, concerning López to Espinosa. He wrote: "The said news came in letters which Portolá sent me carried by two Indians who traveled only at night for fear of the pagans. They made their journey in thirteen days," *i.e.* to Velicatá. On this occasion Palóu received from Serra the letter he finished on shipboard the morning of April 16, when the *San Antonio* was leaving port. Spanish and English translation of the same is found in Tibesar (ed.), *Serra Writings*, I, 162-165.

¹⁰Bolton, *PCN*, II, 262-263.

¹¹De Croix to Arriaga, Mexico, May 4, 1770. Sección de Croix, Vol. 13, AGN. Transcript in SBMA.

¹²Piette, "Crespi Unpublished Diary," pp. 377, 379.

¹³Original is in the Sección de Californias, Vol. 76, AGN. Phg. in SBMA. A translation of the same follows this introduction. For corroborating statements, see letters of Serra to Andrés, Palóu, and Gálvez. Tibesar (ed.), *Serra Writings*, I, 166-199.

¹⁴Armona to De Croix, Santa Ana, June 30, 1770. Museo Naval, Madrid. Transcript in SBMA.

¹⁵Bolton, *PNC*, II, 297-298. A brief account of his long journey was kept by Velásquez, his document being in the Biblioteca Nacional, Mexico. A translation of this was made by Arthur Woodward in the *Quarterly* of the *Museum Patrons Association of the Los Angeles County Museum* (Los Angeles, July, 1941), 13-18, under the title, "The First Mail of California," while the masthead title on the

The Historical Society of Southern California

subsequent pages has "in California." In either case the titles are misleading for this was the fourth mail taken out of California, three deliveries, all out of San Diego, one by sea and two by land, preceding it, on July 9, 1769, February 11, and April 17, 1770. Bolton, *PNC*, II, 106, 262, 279. Armona's extract of this news is entitled, "Noticias de Monterey sacada de las cartas que recibí el 2 de Agosto 1770." It is in Sección de Californias, Vol. 76, AGN. Phg. in SBMA.

¹⁶The letters dispatched were those of Portolá, Costansó, Pérez, written at San Blas, and letters of Fages and Serra written at Monterey respectively on July 1 and 3, and July 2, 1770. See Chapman, *AGI Catalogue*, pp. 234-235, Docs. 1528 through 1532. SBMA has a Phg. from the Huntington Library which in turn received its copy from AGI.

¹⁷An account giving a resumé of the letters received was published by the government printing office, Mexico, August 16, 1770. This important and culminating document of the story of the initial completion of the conquest was an excellent summary of the notices received. Palóu cites it both in his *Noticias* and his *Relación histórica*. See Bolton, *PNC*, II, 301-307, and Geiger, *Palóu's Life of Fray Junípero Serra* (Washington, D.C., 1955), pp. 98-100. SBMA also has a Phg. copy of the original printed version from the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.

¹⁸Chapman, *AGI Catalogue*, p. 236, Docs. 1539 and 1540.

¹⁹Portolá must have made up his mind quickly after writing the letter for he forwarded it the next day by means of two Indian couriers. See notes 6 and 9, *ante*.

²⁰Actually De Croix wrote his letter on August 12. Sección de Californias, Vol. 76, AGN. Phg. in SBMA. Portolá was anxious to thank De Croix as soon as possible for the Viceroy had lost no time in provisioning the *San Antonio* with men and supplies in order to succor the Portolá party.

²¹Pérez had orders to sail directly to Monterey.

²²Portolá returned to San Diego, January 24, 1770.

²³See note 6, *ante*.

²⁴This is corroborated by Crespí's diary of the second Portolá expedition. See Piette, "Crespí Unpublished Diary," p. 6.

²⁵Between July 14, 1769, and January 24, 1770.

²⁶Point Pinos, a name retained till this day, was the westernmost point of the southern end of Monterey Bay.

²⁷The land expedition arrived first and its members signalled the ship, when it appeared, by lighting fires. Bolton, *PNC*, II, 287-288.

²⁸This "other place" is mysterious. It is difficult to see in it anything else but the long-sought bay itself.

²⁹Portolá showed the same fortitude and tenacity as Serra. The latter said when urged to return to Loreto because of his infected foot and leg: "Even though I die on the road, I shall not turn back." Geiger, *Palóu's Life of Junípero Serra*, p. 67. (Italics are those of the translator.)

³⁰This is not to be understood in the sense that the mission was moved to an entirely different locale but to a different spot within the same locale.

³¹Fray Junípero Serra.

³²José Francisco Ortega.

³³Indian servants and workmen.

³⁴Gálvez had ordered Mission San Buenaventura to be established after the founding of those at San Diego and Monterey.

³⁵At precisely this time Serra had finished writing his letter to Palóu aboard the *San Antonio*. It was taken to land by sailors who had aided the ship to get launched. Tibesar (ed.), *Serra Writings*, I, 165.

California Conquest, 1769-1770

³⁶Vizcaino's description of the bay and surroundings of Monterey may be read in Henry R. Wagner, *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of North America in the Sixteenth Century* (San Francisco, 1929), pp. 242-244.

³⁷The nautical work of Joseph Gonzáles Cabrera Bueno is the *Navegación Especulativa y Práctica*, which was printed at Manila in 1734 at the printery of the Franciscan monastery of Nuestra Señora de Los Angeles. There is a copy of this work in the SBMA. Description of Monterey and its environs is given on pp. 302-304.

³⁸Unfortunately Rivera did not get to Monterey but was further utilized in Lower California. San Buenaventura was not founded until March 31, 1782, despite Serra's reiterated pleas. The military withheld its consent for lack of sufficient soldiers to adequately protect any channel establishments.

³⁹Serra as well as his superiors at San Fernando College was opposed to missionaries living alone at a mission. In this case Serra was willing to part with Crespí for a while so that San Buenaventura might be founded. He considered it the lesser of two evils, nor did he want blame attached to the Fernandinos for being the occasion of the mission's non-establishment. Serra to Gálvez, Monterey, July 2, 1770; Serra to De Croix, Monterey, June 18, 1771. Tibesar (ed.), *Serra Writings*, I, 191 and 199.

⁴⁰Palóu states the winds were unfavorable for entry. Bolton, *PNC*, II, 300. Vicente Vila, pilot of the *San Carlos* still in San Diego harbor, had learned from Velásquez that the *San Antonio* would sail south from Monterey in July, 1770, would make rendezvous with the *San Carlos* and travel in convoy with it to San Blas. Vila waited until August when he opined correctly that the *San Antonio* had bypassed him Bolton, *PNC*, II, 306-307.