

*Los Angeles Under The Spanish Flag*

— Spain's New World —

By

William M. Mason

Produced as a complement to:  
Spanish~Mexican Families of Early California  
Volume III

Southern California Genealogical Society, Inc.  
Burbank, California  
2004

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— Spain's New World —

Mason, William 1922—2000

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2004

1. Los Angeles History
2. Heritage, historical
  - I. Title

Spanish~Mexican Families of Early California, Volume III

ISBN: 0-9617773-3-8

Library of Congress PCN: 2004114976

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## FOREWORD

William M. Mason, for many years the historian at the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County, has written a highly readable history of the Los Angeles area, enriched with translations of contemporary documents. His account contains a background of Spanish colonial policy, and traces the founding of the pueblo, and its growth and development through the Spanish period to Mexican Independence in 1822.

Also added are eighteen different lists – padrones (censuses), militia lists, and others – many of which have never been published before. These enable the reader to trace movement of people to and from the pueblo of Los Angeles, from its founding in 1781 until the spring of 1823.

Mason along with Marie E. Northrop, have written a book and a compact disc for that period of time that historians, genealogists, and descendants will carefully study and enjoy.

Mary Triplett Ayers,  
*President, Los Californios*  
August 1993

*(Editors note: It took a decade to complete the information gathering and preparing the data and index for publishing.)*

## BIOGRAPHY

### WILLIAM M. MASON

William M. Mason, distinguished Los Angeles and Early California historian, opened our eyes to the ethnic richness of La Reina de los Angeles through his extensive personal research.

Mr. Mason, one of three founders of the Los Angeles Historical Society in 1976, found time to author six books and several articles regarding the early history and cultures around Southern California. It is said he held more knowledge concerning the many Southern California individual citizens of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries than he ever found time to write about.

To any audience he spoke of the Los Angeles pobladores and their families with the familiarity of a long time personal friend. His enthusiasm for the topic was contagious and via midnight telephone calls to colleagues he might share a research discovery. His immense knowledge and loyal friendship to the historical community was greatly missed.

This presentation of his insightful historical discussion and the accompanying censuses and population listings demonstrate his depth of unique knowledge to be treasured by those who now follow.

Christie Miles Bourdet

*(Note: Marie E. Northrop and William M. Mason initiated a project in 1993 to assemble genealogical and historical reference information relating to the Spanish heritage of Southern California. This is the historical portion containing a narrative plus many census-like tables. The genealogical portion is in book form.)*

## OBITUARY

William Mason; California Historian, Author

He told us what our little pueblo was like when the 13 colonies of the Atlantic coast created the United States of America.

He told us what developed over the seven decades before and the century and a half after that village joined the new nation.

But most important, he told us long before the word "multiethnic" came to be intertwined with "Los Angeles" that the pueblo-cum-megalopolis had been multiethnic from its very first encampment in 1781.

William M. Mason, veteran California historian and long the curator of Southern California history at the Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History, died on November 15 (sic 2000) in the city he worked so long to explain. He was 69.

As much a resource as any part of the archive he presided over, Mason steadfastly championed the rich blood lines of Los Angeles and the influence of each part of the whole.

"Of the 44 original pobladores [colonists] who founded Los Angeles, only two were white," Mason wrote in an op-ed piece for the Times on September 4, 1975. "Of the other 42, 26 had some degree of African ancestry and 16 were Indians or mestizos [people of mixed Spanish and Indian blood]."

Asians' contributions to local history also received Mason's attention. He curated several special museum exhibitions to illustrate Los Angeles' multiethnic character over the past centuries - among them "The Blacks of Los Angeles", "The Japanese of Los Angeles", and "The Chinese of Los Angeles".

Photographer Toyo Miyatake credited Mason for focusing the public attention on his extensive photos of the Manzanar internment camp, where many Japanese Americans from Southern California were held during World War II.

Mason disputed myriad 19th century histories of the Golden State, asserting that they wrongly maligned various ethnicities as lazy, useless and ignorant.

"If history is any judge," he wrote, "the pobladores were far from useless. In fact, considering their tiny numbers, the early years of their little agricultural colony were remarkably productive. Within four years of its founding, Los Angeles was producing enough grain to enable the governor to halt imports from Mexico. By 1802, the settlement's grain surplus was large enough for Los Angeles to request permission to export to Mexico itself."

Myrna Oliver  
Los Angeles Times, 2000

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# LOS ANGELES UNDER THE SPANISH FLAG

## Spain's New World

Spain's period of conquest in the New World which began with the Columbus voyages of 1492-1505 advanced rapidly during the first half-century after the Admiral's discoveries. With the conquest of Mexico (1519-1521) the North American continent was overrun quickly, considering how few Spaniards were involved in the actual conquest. Only fifty years after the discovery of America a series of explorations surveyed the continent in 1542-1543. One such survey skirted the coast of California. No permanent settlement, however, was to take place there for over two centuries. Though Spanish settlement in Mexico reached as far northwest as central Sinaloa, California was all but forgotten. An attempt to settle the southern tip of Baja California in the 1530s ended in failure, and there was to be no slow progression up the peninsula for nearly two centuries.

The first few decades had seen a rapid overrunning of the southern half of Mexico; the conquest northward slowed to a crawl, comparatively speaking. From central Sinaloa, reached by 1531, with a settlement at Culiacán established shortly after, the halting progress northward, accompanied by several setbacks, had not reached into what is now Sonora by 1600. Both north and south of Culiacán were subdued until the late sixteenth century. The all-important establishment of Villa Sinaloa, at first a frontier *presidio* (military post) founded about 1590, helped to cement Spain's rule of northwest Mexico. As a center of Spanish administration and population, the town also later was to play a role in the founding of California and of Los Angeles.

Northern Sinaloa was firmly within the Spanish orbit when El Fuerte Presidio was established in 1609 at the climax of a series of wars with the Yaqui Indians of Sonora. Within four years after the founding of El Fuerte, the adjacent Mayo Indians asked for missionaries to teach them some of the finer points of animal husbandry and horticulture known to the Spanish. The Jesuit order entered Sonora and the Mayo country in 1613; by 1617 the Yaquis also wished to know more about the new techniques. They too were interested in such innovations as cattle, horses, fruit trees, and other temporal benefits. In the bargain, these people were converted to Christianity. By 1620 the Jesuits had moved their frontier into central Sonora, and the conquest of Sonora by Spain seemed assured.

A conflict in jurisdictions occurred between 1635 and 1644, again slowing for a time the movement north. Pedro de Perea had managed to become governor of Sonora, with the provision that he established a colony there. Taking disappointed colonists from New Mexico who had not been provided with all the anticipated benefits of the overlordship of New Mexico, which had only begun as a Spanish colony in 1598, Perea moved with a few Spanish and *mestizo* families into Sonora, establishing himself at Tuape. He brought Franciscan missionaries with him to northern Sonora, which was the cause of some irritation to the Jesuits, who had regarded Sonora as their field of endeavor. After a five-year period, the viceroy felt that Perea was lagging in his efforts to colonize the area, so his governing of Sonora was ordered terminated. He had already died however. In 1644 the Jesuits were able to assume control of the missions in northern Sonora established by the Franciscans, and the Franciscans withdrew.

Both *presidio* and mission played an important part in the conquest of Mexico some two centuries before the move into California. Gold and silver mining had a definite role, as well. Northwest Mexico was dotted with *presidios*, missions, and mines before the end of the sixteenth century. Sixteenth-century mining discoveries were made at Zacatecas, Santa Barbara del Oro, Cosalá, Copala, and elsewhere before 1600. But it was in the seventeenth century that northwest Mexico's mineral wealth came to be known. The rich mines of Rosario, Parral, Alamos, and San Juan Bautista were discovered. Silver mining was a strong lure for many Spaniards to abandon more settled areas in Mexico and move to the frontier of Spanish control. Interest in Sonora continued into the eighteenth century, what with new mineral discoveries and mining rushes around the Arizona-Sonora border region.

The military establishments were forced to keep up with the moves north and the Indian (especially Apache) resistance to encroachment. In 1690, a century after Villa Sinaloa had been established, Fronteras Presidio was placed just south of the present international boundary. The mines of Nacozari and San Juan Bautista had been exposed to Indian attacks and raids against livestock prior to this time. A *presidio* on the frontier was a partial answer to the problem. Janos Presidio, just over the Chihuahua border, joined Fronteras with attacks in retaliation against Apache raids. As the years went by the Apaches became adept at raiding the regions settled by the Spanish. The revolt in New Mexico in 1680 had repercussions in Sonora, prompting more raiding and enabling Indians in the interior to acquire horses as a permanent asset in fighting the Spanish. Despite the instability of the frontier to the east, the Jesuit missions and explorations continued in the face of these changing conditions. Father Eusebio Kino explored the Arizona-Sonora region, founded missions from Caborca to Tucson, and established the Sonoran frontier as it was to be for over a century. His labors came at the end of the century, and by 1700 Sonora had reached its general geographic limits; further expansion was not possible. On the eastern sector were the Apache; Pimas and Papagos lay north and west of the settlements and missions. Projected movements into Pima country on the Gila River was suspended for lack of missionaries and soldiers, especially the latter in the face of flanking assaults from Seris to the southwest and Apaches on the northeast.

Jesuit interest had also shifted to another challenging field of missionization: Baja California. In 1697 Loreto was founded on the peninsula, and expansion from there was both north and south over the next twenty or thirty years. By 1730 the frontier had advanced midway up the peninsula of Baja California.

The 1730s proved difficult for Baja California, however, for in that decade the Indians in the southern part of the peninsula revolted, killing some missionaries and soldiers, and keeping the region in ferment through the latter 1730s. A series of military campaigns between La Paz and Cabo San Lucas finally extinguished the rebellion prior to 1740, when another revolt, this time in Sonora, again threatened the northwest. The Yaquis, tiring of their role as pawns between church and state, rebelled, placing Sonora in jeopardy until 1741, with the decisive and ruthless reaction of a military chief there. More *presidios* were founded in Sonora, as a result: Buenavista, Pitic, and Terrenate were placed along with Fronteras. Pitic was moved shortly after to Horcasitas, somewhat to the north, although it was still used in deployment against the Seris. Terrenate was placed on the Apache frontier along with Fronteras, a few miles to the west of the latter. Buenavista was on the Yaqui River.



A revolt of the exasperated Pima Indians in 1752 further complicated the northern frontier. An additional two *presidios* were put into the northern line — this time at Altar and Tubac, in the years following. But it seemed as if the Spanish defense system was barely keeping up with Indian responses; indeed, the frontier defense system was proving less than adequate by 1765. *Ranchos* and hamlets had been abandoned in the face of Apache raids. Seris, too, had made life on the Sonoran frontier risky, even in the south of Sonora. The frontier's advance northward had been stalled for decades as the result of revolts, inadequate subsidy, and the need for more religious and military personnel. The Spanish system of disbursements had creaked to a halt, owing in part to antiquated systems of assessment, corruption, and lack of a unified system of collection. The history of California's exploration and settlement has a coincidental tie-in with the effort at reform, because the effort was embodied in one person who took an additional interest in California.

José de Gálvez, a member of the lesser (and poorer) nobility in Spain, was the man selected by the Spanish government to survey the possibilities of placing Mexico on a more profitable footing. Ostensibly he was supposed to be a *visitador*, that is, a person charged with investigating the administration of the outgoing viceroy of Mexico. Gálvez's duties went beyond the usual process of giving the incumbent a clean bill of health. He was supposed to reform the fiscal structure of Mexico, and he set about doing so. His activities in the next few years (1766-1770) stepped on many toes, and many officials did not like him or his policies and reforms.

The impact of Gálvez in central Mexico was met with resistance in some areas, and he retaliated against those who actually revolted in the wake of the unwelcome new administrative decrees. In Michoacán and in San Luís Potosí there were outbursts; Gálvez felt constrained to execute a few examples to other potential rebels. He prevailed. He instituted taxes on liquors, playing cards, and tobacco, among other things. Gálvez also overhauled the defense forces in Mexico, a task which had been well begun before his arrival. He shored up the coastal militias, extended the military judicial privilege to them, and pressed for better equipment.

Gálvez shifted his activities to Sonora and Baja California by 1767; in the wake of the looming expulsion of the Jesuit Order from Spanish realms, he needed active forces in the area. The *Dragones de España* and *Voluntarios de Cataluña* moved into Sonora and confronted the elusive Seris. Surrounding them in the Cerro Prieto region, the Spanish troops were of little effect in the lava-encrusted hideouts the Seris knew so well. This was an extremely frustrating period for Gálvez, and he seems to have had a nervous breakdown for a time. The measures against the Apache went little better, and Gálvez faced the prospect of failure in Sonora, which to him would have meant disgrace. The Seris of the Cerro Prieto finally asked for terms, which were quickly granted. Sonora, which had been strapped for a decade by Apache raids, felt some relief as Gálvez's measures began to take effect. But the issue was still in doubt as far as complete success was concerned. Fate took a hand soon after the Sonora expedition was concluding. Gold — lots of it — was discovered at Cieneguilla, ensuring the successful image of Gálvez and his great plans. But he had already set in motion another plan to ensure his celebrity. He had begun efforts to extend Spain's frontier along the Pacific Coast northward. Explaining the need for defense in that quarter and hinting darkly of Russian and English designs on the northwest coast, Gálvez proposed to stall efforts at foreign occupation. The California coast had been explored several times by voyagers since 1542; it was not a completely unknown land. His proposal was a simple one: place a *presidio* at Monterey Bay and connect the new province with a

chain of five missions to the Baja California frontier, which was also slated for expansion northward. Land and sea expeditions would at last make serious efforts at colonizing the “New Establishments of Monterey,” as they were sometimes called.

Sending the mounted unit of cavalry by land from the Baja California frontier at the newly-established mission at San Fernando de Velicatá, which had been founded the year before by the Franciscans (who had replaced the Jesuits in 1768), the *soldado de cuera* (commonly called “leather-jacket soldier,” though *cuera* is correctly translated as “cuirass”) of Loreto moved up by land to San Diego Bay. When the cavalry arrived at San Diego, however, they found several of the newcomers by ship had come down with the “scurvy,” a probable mistake in diagnosis. It was more likely typhus, which had killed several of the crew and passengers of the seaborne members of the expedition, as they had been at sea for only a short time, not long enough to develop scurvy.

Gálvez’s rather rudimentary plan for only one *presidio* and five missions was deemed inadequate for what was discovered on the coast. For one thing, the Bay of San Francisco, one of the world’s great natural harbors, was discovered. Incredible as it may seem, none of the voyages which had passed along the coast had ever recorded this fine harbor. To leave it empty and unprotected would certainly flout one of Gálvez’s prime reasons for occupying California defensively. It was decided that both San Diego and San Francisco should have *presidios*, and that additional missions had to be founded.

By this time Gálvez had been lauded by the Spanish government and was later made Marquis of Sonora. He had set in motion the occupation of California and had restored a last-gasp expansion of the northern frontier. Whatever the conquest of California had as an influence in obtaining him the title he received is not at all certain. As it is mentioned in his patent of nobility, it may have had some. But the idea of occupying California as an additional ploy for recognition may or may not have been in his mind at the time.

### **1775: Anza Expedition**

By 1775 Juan Bautista de Anza had pioneered a land route to California and was moving both livestock and colonists overland into California, thanks in part to the new Governor Felipe de Neve’s decision to place not only a *presidio* (military post) at San Francisco, but also a civil agricultural colony at San Jose, a *pueblo* (town). The plan was to make the military less dependent on the missions for food and livestock since Neve had been warned by *Padre Presidente* Junípero Serra, head of the Franciscan establishments in California, that the missions had primary responsibility to their Indian converts, and the *presidios* should be required to make do with supplies from Mexico’s port at San Blas. Neve thereupon decided on an alternate plan, that of establishing *pueblos* to grow grain and raise cattle and horses for sale to the *presidios*. San Jose was the first such settlement, established in 1777, a few months after San Francisco Presidio. Northern California had two *presidios* and a *pueblo*, as well as five missions; southern California had three missions and a *presidio* (San Diego). A gap in California’s settlement program was evident by 1780: from San Luis Obispo to San Gabriel, a distance of over 200 miles, there were no Spanish establishments. To complete the chain of settlements it was decided to place a *presidio* (Santa Barbara) and a *pueblo* (Los Angeles) between the two missions mentioned, and also to establish three more missions.

### **1780: Rivera Expedition**

Therefore, in 1780, another recruiting expedition went into Sonora and Sinaloa with the purpose of finding enough recruits for the new *presidio* and *pueblo*. The Neve plan was to find 59 soldiers and 24 *pobladores* (settlers, literally “populators”) for these establishments. Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, commander at Loreto and former governor of California, was selected to go south and find enough families for California. He had done a similar, if smaller scale operation, back in 1774, when he found a dozen soldiers and their families for California.

Obviously, old soldier Rivera was more interested in filling out the roster for the *presidio*. He found enough recruits to do so. Though authorized to go as far south as Guadalajara, he went only to Rosario in Sinaloa and returned; he completed the soldier enlistments in Sonora later. But he clearly did not make a serious attempt to find *pobladores*, or at least not as many as Neve thought necessary. He managed to find fourteen men, most of whom were married.

The recruits were to assemble at Alamos and were to be provided with expense vouchers for their trip. Once at Alamos, they were to be outfitted for the journey and provided with enough clothing to last for some time; California, of course, did not produce cloth of any kind as yet. Horses and mules, too, were given them for the long trek, for they were going to carry many supplies. Half were to follow the Anza route through the desert, and the other half would cross the Gulf of California, then move up the peninsula of Baja California to San Diego and eventually to San Gabriel.

The scene at Alamos must have been most interesting, particularly to local merchants. Thousands of *pesos* were spent by the government in order adequately to prepare and supply the soldiers and *pobladores* destined for Alta California. A dozen recruits and young women were quickly married, for the men were aware of the lack of women in California and of the need to marry in Sonora if they ever expected to have families. The Indian women who were baptized into the new missions were more likely to be married to other Indian spouses who spoke the same languages and had similar cultural backgrounds.

The spectre of plague followed the expedition’s footsteps as it journeyed from Rosario to Alamos and across the Gulf of California. Smallpox, which had broken out in Mexico City and elsewhere, came into Sinaloa by 1780. At Villa Sinaloa about ten percent of the people in the town died of this plague. José Moreno and his bride, María Guadalupe Pérez, evidently holed up enroute to avoid this contagion and were presumed to be missing from the roster at Alamos. But it is more likely that they felt it best to lay low and avoid others, prudently biding their time and deciding to remain isolated for a time in order to avoid contagion while enroute. There is some suggestion that the troops and settlers who embarked for Alta California left smallpox in Baja California, where it further decimated the Indian population.

The recruits, both *pobladores* and soldiers, remained in Alamos for several months, drawing supplies, mounts, and clothing for the trip. Only eleven families had actually been readied at Alamos, although one additional *poblador* family, that of the tailor Luís Quintero, had been able to sign up on the eve of departure from Alamos. The fact that three of Quintero’s daughters had married recruits may well have induced him to join the expedition in hopes of seeing his grandchildren born to his daughters

Early in February 1781 that portion of the expedition which included the founders of the future *pueblo* of Los Angeles left Alamos, escorted by twelve of the recruits for

Santa Barbara and their families. They moved down the Mayo River to Santa Cruz *pueblo*, customary departure point to cross from Sonora to Baja California. They proceeded first to Loreto and remained for three or four months at that *presidio*, perhaps because they had some cases of smallpox on board the little ship that bore them across the Gulf of California. This ship, incidentally, was a *iaveque* (jebec, a small, lateen-sailed ship about the size of a sloop) named the *Dichosa*, and in a manner of speaking was the *Mayflower* of the Los Angeles *pueblo*. It took them first to Loreto and may have been the same vessel which carried them north to San Luís Gonzaga Bay in Baja California by June. From this point the little expedition proceeded by land through Baja California, passing the Rosario Mission by 1 July, and then up the western coast of Baja California to San Vicente which had been founded the year before. From this point on, Spanish control was limited; only an occasional mail delivery went to the capital at Loreto, and infrequent supply-trains of mules passed between San Vicente and San Diego. This meant that 140 miles of the mule-track was controlled by local Indians, some of whom were most unfriendly. Between Santo Tomás and Rosarito the Indians were particularly unwelcoming toward the Spanish soldiers who happened through the strip of coast. A corporal had been killed and some soldiers wounded in an attack near what is now La Misión, about forty miles south of the present international border. This had happened only about four years before the *pobladores* and soldiers made their journey through the disputed territory. This time the Indians contented themselves with burning the dry grass before the travelers, causing problems for the muleteers who were obliged to drive their train through the burning areas. This of course delayed the trip northward somewhat, although they all reached San Diego in safety. A few days later the party was camped about two miles from San Gabriel Mission, a measure prompted by the recent smallpox experience suffered by some of the children. Governor de Neve, the enthusiastic promoter of the new *presidio* and *pueblo*, did not want to take the chance of infecting the neophytes of San Gabriel with the scourge. The epidemic still raged in Baja California, perhaps caused by the expedition's crossing with the infection aboard the *Dichosa*.

The rest of the expedition had arrived in July at San Gabriel, having come overland from Sonora on the route pioneered by Juan Bautista de Anza. The seaborne portion did not arrive until 18 August. News of disaster on the Colorado River was already current in the camp when they arrived: Captain Rivera and several soldiers had been killed in the Yuma Indians' angry uprising of July 1781, closing the land route for all practical purposes. This event forced Neve to make other plans about immediately founding Santa Barbara Presidio. He put off founding the *presidio* until the end of the rainy season the following spring, but the *pueblo* was delayed only a few days. There is some reason to believe that a few of the *pobladores* had prepared the site in advance of the formal founding. Just what happened on 4 September 1781 is as yet not known to have been recorded. It is probable, however, that the *pobladores* were given their house lots and fields on that day, for five years later, to the day, confirmation of the lots and fields was made. Also, two documents indicate the date 4 September only months after the founding. While it is unlikely that a more symbolic founding was made, it is probable that this granting of house lots and fields was the reason for choosing that date. Sergeant José Darío Arguello was Neve's probable choice for overseeing the granting of sites. Five years later (4-5 September 1786) Lieutenant Arguello was sent south from San Francisco to confirm the lots. These slender bits of evidence do suggest that the date of 4 September has more than arbitrary significance.

### **1781: Founding of El Pueblo de los Angeles**

The *pobladores* were assembled at Los Angeles throughout the latter part of 1781, working on their houses. These initially were wattle-and-daub affairs called *palisadas*, made of willow poles in the ground and walled by weaving willow switches between the poles, then chinking the woven switches with mud. The roof was thatched with sedges and reeds from the nearby river. A *palisada* could be built quickly. These were but temporary dwellings and were replaced by *adobe* houses within a year or so. The houses were set about a *plaza*, and the lots for each house were evidently assigned along with each family's fields.

The precise location of the very first *pueblo* site is in doubt. Probably the one thing we do know is that it was not on the present *plaza*. Vague references indicate that it was to the south, perhaps as much as a mile, around Sixth and San Pedro Streets or Seventh and Alameda Streets. There is a suggestion in Bancroft's history that the *pueblo* was moved about 1792, but that reference may actually refer to San Jose, not Los Angeles. In any case, the *plaza* was probably well south of the present one and on ground which was subject to flooding during unusually heavy rains. It is assumed that it was to the east of what is now Main Street and somewhat south of Fifth Street. Judging from variations in the measurements of the *plaza* given in about 1786 and 1795 respectively, there was certainly a change in shape, which may also indicate a change of location. Later it was probably shifted northward further still, as the Los Angeles River changed course, endangering the eastern part of the village.

Within a few days after arrival of the *pobladores* at the townsite, they began an irrigation ditch from the river into their fields where they planted sixteen *fanegas* of wheat and four *almudes* of *garbanzos* and tares, in addition to corn and beans in unspecified amounts. By 27 October 1781 the main irrigation ditch was completed (perhaps too late for the crops already planted), corrals for the cattle and horses were readied, and the houses were well underway. The fields had been already plowed for the wheat mentioned, and the livestock was to be distributed as soon as the work on the townsite was completed. The year-end report indicated that it indeed had been completed, as the livestock had been distributed. Of the eleven families which had arrived, only eight were "useful" according to Neve. Three were not happy with their lot as *pobladores*. Much has been made of the "ejecting" of three families as an indication that they were not good material. More critical analysis, however, does indicate that at least two families were in favor of a change of residence within California; it was the prospect of becoming farmers that may not have set too well with them. José (de Velasco) Lara and Luís Quintero moved elsewhere in the province. Antonio Mesa, on the other hand, apparently wanted out of Alta California completely. He and his family vanish from California during 1782, presumably returning to Sonora and Alamos, where Mesa had been a miner employed by Ana María de Aragón, a wealthy woman of Alamos who owned a lucrative mine there, and incidentally owned Mesa's father in addition to several other slaves.

Luís Quintero, on the other hand, simply wanted to continue as a tailor, and went to Santa Barbara Presidio to practice his trade. His interest in going to Santa Barbara was most likely a desire to be near his daughters who had married soldiers of that *presidio*. Probably the distance between *presidio* and *pueblo* had not been made clear to the enlistees, and it may have surprised some to find they were 100 miles apart. Quintero was a fixture at that *presidio* for many years. One can imagine his delight when in 1784 his old *compadre* from Alamos, Felipe de Goycoechea, was made commander of Santa Barbara, for



Goycoechea was the godfather of Quintero's son, Clemente. The relationship of *compadrazco* was, and still is, a relationship not to be taken lightly in Latin America.

José de Velasco (known better as Lara, possibly a family name taken to disguise his identity) had a more compelling reason to keep moving. He had discovered that he was married to two women, according to a long letter he wrote defending his mistake. It developed that Lara (as he was known in California) was a native of Cádiz, Spain, the son of Manuel/Antonio de Velasco and Gertrudis Ronquillo; Lara had emigrated to Mexico around 1750. He eventually went on to Nayarit, where his brother served as a Jesuit priest in the missions established among the Cora and Huichol Indians of that region. There he married María Antonia Bravo, but they were not in the least compatible, according to Lara, so they separated. He served as administrator of various *haciendas* in the region, and was in Sinaloa when he heard that his wife had died at the home of her brother, Nicolás Bravo. By this time he had become involved with María Antonia Campos, a young Indian woman of Cosalá, Sinaloa. Lara agreed to marry her as she was to bear his child. Later Lara discovered to his consternation that the report he had received about his wife's death had been somewhat garbled: his brother-in-law's wife had died, not his. On hearing that his brother-in-law was enroute to Sinaloa to find him, Lara decided to enlist for California, taking his second family with him. But the long arm of inquisitorial inquiry reached out and tapped him on the shoulder. Father Junípero Serra, the Franciscan president of the California Missions, wanted an explanation of his situation. Lara replied in a long letter to Father Serra, outlining his decisions and the several choices he had made. By 1783, when he wrote his letter, he was at Mission San Antonio as *mayordomo* (foreman). Lara seems to have been a capable accountant and administrator, though a less than forthright spouse. He was soon sent back to Nayarit and perhaps on to Guadalajara to face the tribunal and explain just how he had come to be married to two women. His wife remarried to Luís Gonzaga de Lugo within a year or so, and bore him several children prior to her death in 1791 after a difficult childbirth.

It might be well to add that the *pobladores* Lara and Quintero both were released from the *pueblo* of Los Angeles after they had made "repeated requests," as Neve had put it. They were not thrown out of the *pueblo*, as implied by most secondary sources. Mesa, too, was included in the request at his own instigation.

**1782:** In 1780 King Carlos III of Spain had issued a request that all the militia contribute to the American Revolutionary cause. This finally went into effect in 1782, and on 20 May 1782 all *presidio* soldiers, had one or two *pesos* deducted from their pay as their contribution ["Instructions on collecting donations for the war . . .," C-A 2 p. 269, Arispe, Sonora, Mexico, 12 Aug 1781; "(Alta) California collected 4,215 *pesos* and 4 *reales* for the urgencies of the war," C-A 15 p.112, 7 December 1782; California Archives, Bancroft Library, Berkeley CA]. Even the Indians donated money to the war chest.

In September 1782, a year after the town was founded, Governor Neve summarized the recent events in the *pueblo*. While the site was most attractive, more so than that of San José in Neve's mind, he recommended placing a man in charge who would guide the *pobladores* in producing successful crops. He felt that they had exercised little care in husbanding the wheat crops. The *pueblo* had earlier bid to produce 400 *fanegas*, but production had been reduced to only 260 *fanegas*. The corn crop suffered from the same problem, for the irrigation ditch (*zanja madre*) had not been opened in time to save the corn from drying up when it was well on the way to maturity. A second sowing, though smaller,

was in excellent condition; it could produce some 300 to 400 *fanegas*, despite the loss of several stalks, which because of poor judgment had not been reached by the irrigation. Neve felt that the corporal in charge of the *pueblo*, while he was intelligent enough about farming, needed to be motivated more. Carelessness might be presumed as the cause of the lower harvest.

As Los Angeles was in the jurisdiction of Santa Barbara Presidio, reports throughout 1782 were handled by Lieutenant José Francisco de Ortega, commander of that *presidio*. He listed only nine *pobladores* from April on, as the result of the three defector families' leaving. Curiously, the inclusion of Antonio Miranda Rodríguez as a *poblador* continued, listed as *ausente* (absent), although he was serving as armorer at Loreto. He had been left behind with his daughter, who had contracted smallpox in Sonora. After the expedition left Loreto his child died, but Miranda remained there repairing guns and performing other tasks which fell to the armorer. When finally he was called to California in the latter part of 1783, he was to be the armorer of Santa Barbara Presidio, not a Los Angeles *poblador*. This man for decades posed an enigma to many historians of Los Angeles who were puzzled by the fact that he was listed as a *chino* on one of the lists of *pobladores*. Speculation has roamed from the possibility that the man was Chinese, that he was an Indian-African caste mixture, or that he was merely curly-haired. But to people in Mexico, *chinos* were from Asia, irrespective of nationality. Even Bengalis were *chinos* once in Mexico. The would-be *poblador*, however, was from Manila, and was quite likely a Filipino. Though perhaps not Chinese, Rodríguez was definitely from Asia. And while he was not a founder of Los Angeles, he was apparently Santa Barbara's first permanent Filipino resident. He is buried there.

**1783:** During 1783 the rations drawn by the *pobladores* were terminated on their enlistment dates' anniversaries of three years. It should be mentioned that the farmers were indebted for their tools and livestock, to be deducted from their yearly yields of crops and cattle. The advances received were not gifts but loans. Though several sources suggest that this was purely government largesse, that was not quite the case. Before the end of 1783 all *adobe* buildings around the *plaza* had been completed, and Neve's replacement, Governor Pedro de Fages, remarked that San Jose should do the same. San Jose's *pobladores*, however, had a problem with establishing permanent buildings on the selected site, for in the winter floods the water was dangerously close to the little village. To dismiss the citizens of San Jose as procrastinators is unfair; later events proved them right, and San Jose was moved a few years later to a more advantageous location.

**1784:** In 1784 Los Angeles is the subject of several letters to and from Governor Fages. In February he stated that his predecessor Felipe de Neve had placed a guard of four soldiers in the *pueblo* who were to remain for the first two years of the *pueblo's* existence and then withdraw. The soldiers were from the San Diego Company and under the leadership of Vicente Félix who, though not yet promoted to corporal, was the most able of the four. Fages regarded Félix as an intelligent soldier, capable of running the *pueblo*. Neve, it will be remembered, had less confidence in him. But Fages, on the other hand, felt that his absence would cause a loss of progress in Los Angeles and that the *pobladores* needed a guiding hand. In the *pueblo* were two soldiers, brothers Roque and Antonio Cota who, though technically soldiers of the *pueblo* guard, were farming there and were more adept as farmers than many of the (Santa Barbara) *presidio* company. They had raised 200

*fanegas* of corn in 1783 and, as older men with large families, it was better that they remained in the *pueblo*.

Vicente Féliz was an important resident of Los Angeles in its formative years. He was from Alamos, the son of José Féliz and María Manuela Esquer. Both his father and mother came from influential Alamos families. Gerónimo Féliz, Vicente's great-grandfather, had been *alcalde* of Villa Sinaloa in the 1600s when the town was the major settlement of Spain in northwest Mexico. Féliz moved to Alamos not long after the mines were discovered in 1683. His son Nicolás Féliz was a miner there. Vicente's mother's family had emigrated from Spain in 1692 led by her ancestor Salvador de Esquer. His son Blas de Esquer became *alcalde mayor* (governor of a district) of Ostimuri in southern Sonora in 1705. Vicente Féliz joined the Anza Expedition to California on 9 May 1775, bringing with him his wife, Manuela Piñuelas, and their six children. Féliz was 34 at the time and became a soldier of the San Diego Company. Enroute to California, near Tubac, Arizona, Manuela gave birth to a baby boy and died in childbirth. Féliz, now a widower, continued on with his family to San Gabriel where he was part of the mission guard in 1776. He was not made a corporal, even years later, perhaps because of an incident there in 1778 when he and other soldiers refused to go on to San Juan Capistrano and serve at the newer mission. Féliz probably felt that his children were better off at San Gabriel and did not want to make another move. In any case, although he was one of the more literate soldiers, he was not made a corporal while still serving in the army, but only on retirement was he promoted. Made *comisionado* of Los Angeles in 1787, he served there until his retirement from the army in 1794. Later he acquired the Rancho Los Féliz, which is now Griffith Park in Los Angeles, ending his days there. As *comisionado* of the *pueblo*, he was one of the most powerful privates in the army in California.

In April of 1784 Francisco de Ortega, lieutenant in command of Santa Barbara, visited Los Angeles and wrote a report about the crops just planted. The wheat sown was only 35 *fanegas*, two of which belonged to private individuals (the brothers Cota?). Twelve *fanegas* of corn had been planted, nine by *pobladores* and three by the same private individuals. The wheat crop was not as good as the previous year, but the corn was reasonably fair and there was no need to replant. The irrigation system watered a plain which stretched more than two leagues, all good land without the defect of nitrate salts in the soil or of alkali. Soon the *pobladores* would plant eight *fanegas* of beans. Ortega assumed that only because the *gentil* ("gentile"; *i.e.* non-Christian) Indians in the area were helping the farmers, had the *pobladores* been able to plant and harvest as much as they had. However, he noted, this April they were engaged in harvesting their own wild plants and seeds and consequently could not assist the *pobladores*, though they promised to do so as soon as they finished. This, he noted, might cause some setback in hoeing and weeding; there were but few settlers, and some were useless with respect to consistent irrigation of their crops and similar duties. Ortega praised Vicente Féliz's attention to the *pueblo*, crediting him with overseeing the construction of buildings there. The *plaza* had been formed with the Neve directives in mind, but the streets and other innovations had not yet been placed. The lines of houses were somewhat irregular for the time being (there were probably only nine, not twelve, as yet), but after the rainy season was over and planting done they would endeavor to close the square. This would leave room for future families to settle; moreover, the government buildings must be built (a public granary, *ayuntamiento* house, and guardhouse, as well as a chapel). This would be adequate for the nine *vecinos*, who with eight other families would make up the *pueblo*.



Later, in November, Fages reviewed the accomplishments of the past five or six months. Despite his earlier qualms, he was able to boast of a harvest of 1,888 *fanegas*, the completion of all houses, the guardhouse, and *ayuntamiento*; the chapel was under construction. All buildings were of *adobe* with *terrado* (reeds plastered with earth overlay) roofs. Francisco Sinova had requested to be admitted to the *pueblo*. He had served for some time as *mayordomo* of San Antonio Mission and wished status as a *poblador*, similar to that of Manuel Buitrón in San Jose.

Cattle were on the increase; Fages consequently took an interesting step to meet the increase in herds by granting *ranchos* to some persons. Pending approval of the superior authorities, he hastily added, he had conceded *sitios* (grazing lands, usually with water) to Juan José Domínguez, who had been a soldier at San Diego. Domínguez had four herds of horses and some twenty head of cattle and had received permission to pasture them on the lower part of the San Gabriel River, well south of Los Angeles. To Manuel Nieto he had granted La Zanja, which was on the road from San Gabriel toward El Encino (San Fernando). To the sons of the widow María Ignacia Carrillo, Mariano and José María Verdugo, he had given a *sitio* in the Arroyo Hondo next to Nieto's. The grantors were to ride herd continuously on their cattle and horses with two *vaqueros*, without coming near the *rancherías* (villages) of the *gentil* Indians, nor making the slightest trouble for them. They were in no way to make trouble for the livestock herds of either *pueblo* or mission. Fages was also pleased to report that the harvests of *pueblos* and missions had come to some 20,000 *fanegas*, and he had thankfully halted grain shipments from San Blas. The *presidios* had been supplied with grain from central Mexico, primarily the Jalisco region, since 1769; California, was no longer dependent on San Blas for grain. Spoilage and insect pests reduced the grain from ships' hulls to something less than ordered, in any case, and it had been expensive to haul from San Blas. From now on, such staples as sugar, chocolate, certain kinds of *chile*, and a few other items would still be imported, but the bulk of the imports were no longer needed. Corn, beans, and wheat were grown domestically, thanks in part to the new *pueblos*.

**1785:** In January 1785 four *pobladores* complained about Vicente Félix to José de Zúñiga, commander of San Diego and Félix's superior, telling him that Félix was unfit to guide the *pueblo* and should be replaced. Zúñiga sent on the request to the governor, saying he would comply with whatever Fages decided in the matter. It is not known who were the complainants, but probably Navarro and Villavicencio were two of them, as they had trouble with Félix during the year.

In May, Francisco Sinova was finally officially made a *vecino* of Los Angeles. He had been a resident of Los Angeles for not more than a year since he had left Mission San Antonio. Sinova had been one of the early soldiers to come to California; he is noted on lists as early as 1774. He later married María Gertrudis Bojórquez, who lived with her family at San Jose where Sinova settled for a time.

In August, José Antonio Navarro was apprehended with Tomasa García, wife of Manuel Camero. Navarro had been warned about his attentiveness to Tomasa but nevertheless was found in the willows near the river when he was supposed to be guarding the *milpas* (fields) against cattle and birds. Navarro remained a prisoner in leg-irons at the *pueblo* until September, when it was determined to send him north to Monterey. Félix was to ensure that his livestock and crops were taken care of, as well as his family, which remained in the *pueblo*. Navarro's daughter, Mariana, seems to have accompanied her father and may have joined him later. Navarro went first to Monterey, then after a similar

indiscretion with another married woman, he was sent to San Francisco Presidio by 1790. He died there in 1793, still in exile. José Vanegas cared for Navarro's children in his absence, and in December asked if it would be permissible for care to be transferred to José Moreno, pending Navarro's approval.

Also in 1785, a noted miscreant from San Jose was to be sent to Los Angeles. It seems that Sebastián Alvitre had become involved with a married Indian woman in Santa Clara Mission, and the *padres* of that mission had requested he be transferred elsewhere, as he was entirely too persistent. Before Alvitre could be sent south to Los Angeles, however, he and his married *india* fled together into the San Joaquin Valley and on to the western slopes of the Sierra Nevada, accompanied by another soldier-prisoner who later disappeared there. Sebastián Alvitre and his paramour re-emerged from the valley and surrendered at San Gabriel Mission. She was pregnant, and Alvitre did not think he could take care of her alone. After spending weeks in the guardhouse he was released to become a new member of the Los Angeles community although officialdom entertained thoughts about exiling him from California at this time.

**1786:** In March of 1786, Governor Pedro de Fages noted that the wheat crop was doing well in Los Angeles, and that there was a large crop of corn. The *ejidos* (public lands) were good pastures at this time.

Alvitre was still in jail with a pair of leg-irons at Santa Barbara. Presumably the irons would curb his wanderlust for the time being.

The problem of taxation came up in August, when the five-year exemption came to an end for the *pobladores*. Although the taxes, called *diezmos* (tithes), were intended for the Church, the Spanish government collected them and administered them because the government financed the Church within its domains. Payments were to be either in cash or in kind. Vicente Félix was to make a list of *pobladores* liable for such *diezmos* and state whether they paid in cheese, livestock, grain, cash, etc. An additional one-sixth of a *fanega* was to be collected for each *suerte* (planting-field) irrigated. Félix reported at that time that the corn crop had been attacked by rust which reduced earlier estimates of its bumper harvest. The bean crop was the subject of more optimism, according to Félix.

On 4 and 5 September 1786 the formal granting ofouselots and fields in Los Angeles took place. This is one reason why the date of founding on 4 September (1781) seems valid, insofar as the selection ofouselots and fields would appear to have been made then. The choice of José Dario Arguello as the officer in charge, though he was stationed by 1786 at San Francisco and other men of similar rank were much nearer to Los Angeles, suggests that he was in charge at the founding of the *pueblo* and was sent to confirm the lots five years later. In all probability Arguello was the person sent to found the *pueblo*, rather than Governor Felipe de Neve who had his hands full at San Gabriel, what with the aftermath of the Yuma debacle and the proposed new *presidio* at Santa Barbara.

Félix reported that 323 *fanegas* of wheat were planted in Los Angeles for the year, and there had also been 107 planted at Santa Barbara as well. The problem of supplies for the *presidios* was being relieved to a great extent. According to a list made in 1792 by Felipe Goycochea, commander at Santa Barbara, the garrison at Los Angeles consisted of no less than six men: Sergeant José Ignacio Olivera, corporal José María Verdugo, and privates Francisco Lugo, Vicente Félix, Roque Cota, and Antonio Cota. The addition of Sergeant Olivera and Corporal Verdugo is interesting and perhaps not accurate. Although they may well have been living in the *pueblo* for a time, they may not have been part of the

actual garrison. In a later (1789) note, Olivera is listed as a corporal; he was evidently not made sergeant until 1794. In the same note it is mentioned that he was about to move to Los Angeles. The above list was quite possibly the result of the rather vague memory of Goycochea concerning the whereabouts of some of the military personnel.

By September 1786 the *pobladores* owned 168 head of cattle, 119 sheep, 221 goats, 69 horses, and 16 mules. José Vanegas led the list with 26 cattle; Félix Villavicencio had 22 sheep. Pablo Rodríguez had a respectable number of goats with 31; José Moreno had the most horses with 10. Predictably, José Sinova had the least livestock, having been in the community for only about two years.

### **1787: Reglamento**

In January 1787 Governor Fages came to Los Angeles to codify certain regulations and amplify Neve's *reglamento* defining *pueblo* protocol in certain areas. He had just made a similar code for San Jose in December 1786. This embodied control of the *pueblo* in the corporal of the guard, hereinafter to be known as *comisionado* of the *pueblo*, at both San Jose and Los Angeles. On 13 January 1787 this document had the effect of abridging the powers of the *alcalde* and of his *ayuntamiento* of two *regidores*, or councilmen. Power in the future was to lay with the *comisionado*, much as it actually had prior to this time unofficially. Addressed to Vicente Félix, the document was as follows:

*INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE CORPORAL OF THE GUARD OF THE PUEBLO OF LOS ANGELES, AS COMISIONADO FOR THE GOVERNMENT TO DIRECT THE ALCALDE AND REGIDORES*

1. *He must observe section 14 of the Royal Reglamento for the development of the pueblo.*

2. *Vicente Félix is entrusted with the power of comisionado [commissioner] for Los Angeles, with his duties to direct the work, tasks, and other labor. He will pass on the orders and see they are obeyed as they come from the commander of Santa Barbara, ensuring that all vecinos and agregados [citizens of the town and less permanent residents — “attached” persons] attend to public works with dispatch, soldiers as well, and that the work be divided into equal shares for all.*

[It can be seen that Félix was to be the conduit for all orders passed through the military chain of command. In this manner the delays and presumed inefficiencies of the system as established by Neve could be circumvented, placing the *pueblos* directly under military supervision and command. There were to be no pretensions toward the “inefficiency” of normal democratic procedures in California.]

3. [The authority of the corporal in charge of the *pueblo* would be harmonized with authority of the *alcalde*. Fages' authority or that of the Santa Barbara commander would thus be smoothly placed in the chain of command, and the military would be in full control of the situation.]

4. *Though the royal statutes prescribed only three years for all pobladores to have two yoke of oxen, two plows with blades or points, two hoes, and other tools for cultivating the soil, not all have what is necessary. It is necessary to provide them. In the future, the*

alcalde will advise them should any person sell, gamble away, or render useless any part of his tools, and he shall be punished accordingly.

5. The comisionado will oversee the observance of the orders of articles 12 [concerning tools], 13, and 14 of the statute, and he shall note any absence of livestock of every kind each possesses. None may leave without permission [presumably to search for "lost" stock] unless circumstances so dictate.

6. He shall take care that all agricultural work be done well, allowing no excuses through him on their part, and that the water be distributed with justice, equality, and impartiality.

7. Through this year they must construct the church and the rest of the public buildings which are still wanting, with observance of the solares and their demarcation to the repartimiento, eight.

8. The comisionado will take care that all pobladores have arms and horses which the statute calls for, to provide defense and government service.

9. For the care of horses, cattle, and other herds, they will follow the established practice in which the vecinos, agregados, and soldiers take turns, as it is for the common good [in caring for the stock]. . . they should frequently place all stock in the corral and identify and recognize the brands of the commons, and they should keep them in the respective pastures indicated, making sure that they also care for the privately-owned herds.

10. One of the points to which the comisionado should give his attention and effort is the pernicious familiarity prevailing in the pueblo with the gentil Indians. It is worthwhile not to cause them any feelings nor surprise which could change their present peaceful demeanor. Impose a regular and mandatory method of meeting there [in the pueblo] and observe the following carefully: they are not to be permitted to enter the houses; when they are to grind corn, they shall do so in the corridors or patios, though they be women. They shall not be permitted to sleep in the houses. If they are from distant rancherías and wish to remain in the pueblo and work for some time, all shall be gathered together next to the guardhouse so they will be under the care of the sentinel.

11. Strict Regulations on Intercourse with Indians and Method of Obtaining Them for Work: When it is necessary to seek Indians in their rancherías so that they might be brought to work, it must be with the precise knowledge of the comisionado and the alcalde, who shall name two or more men, among them one of satisfactory character, to whom he shall give the necessary orders for such, and require their adherence. If it is at all possible they should ask the captains [leaders] of the rancherías. By no means should they [the Indians] be obliged to go, nor should they be promised that which there is no intention of giving them. It is absolutely forbidden that with this pretext [of seeking laborers] nor any other may anyone go alone to the rancherías, much less without permission of the alcalde and comisionado. If one should do so, he will be punished with one week in the stocks, and be obliged to pay another for the work he himself was to do. It is also prohibited for women and children to go to the rancherías, even the one next to the pueblo.

12. *It is recommended that the Indians be treated justly. It must be seen that they directly accomplish what corresponds to their work, in accordance with the current method, giving justice to those [Indians] who complain, and in particular that they be given no bad treatment. To forestall defects in their work it is well not to leave them alone, but have someone watch them. In this way it will be easier to excuse reasonable shortcomings in their work, and they will work more usefully for those who employ them.*

13. *Law Against Corporal Mistreatment of Indians: Whomsoever may mistreat or harm any Indian or Indians, though they [the wrongdoers] be but children, punishment will be given according to the harm done. When one does wrong, if it be a slight offense, he shall be punished by the comisionado or the alcalde in such a way that the Indian will understand the punishment, so he may be satisfied and not feel obliged for him or his companions to take revenge.*

14. *Method of Punishing the Indians: When Indians steal cattle or mules, or commit robbery or damage, and if caught in the act, or outside their rancherías, their captain will be sent for, to whom shall be made known the excesses committed; and in his presence [the comisionado] shall order 15 or 20 lashes administered, with mercy, and he shall admonish them not to give the full punishment out of consideration and because we hope for his betterment, and the demonstration is made in order to inspire fear and not out of thirst for vengeance, etc.*

15. *Governor Fages urges that the important statutes involving Indians be strictly enforced by the comisionado.*

16. *Rules for Security Against Indians: The rancherías which are established in the vicinity of the pueblo, being of Indians which have always been known as inhabitants of that district, will be required to move only a short distance away. Concerning those who are from the mountains or from other distant regions, they will not be allowed to establish themselves in the vicinity of the pueblo. The comisionado in both cases will be diplomatic in having them situate themselves in suitable locations, taking care by day as well as by night when the Indians meet for their dances, as in these cases there are larger groups of people and they could take advantage of such to attempt a revolt. By no means will it be permissible for them to enter in large groups or gangs for their simple amusement, for the reason that, as much as possible, we must avoid their gaining knowledge of our exact movements and the hours when the women and children are left alone.*

17. *Responsibilities of the Alcalde and the Comisionado: The observance of the above on the part of the vecinos and agregados is the entire responsibility of the alcalde and the regidores. Concerning the conduct of the latter, the comisionado shall direct and the alcalde and regidores shall consult with him whenever necessary. In case of a serious nature the comisionado shall tell either Fages or the lieutenant of Santa Barbara.*

18. *The alcalde shall defer to the comisionado in order to assure good judgment and to work in conformity with good government and the policing of the pueblo.*



19. Authorities are empowered to halt the games of chance between the soldiers and their families. The *alcalde* and the *comisionado* shall keep each other apprised about gambling among soldiers or *pobladores*.

20. They shall guard against scandalous concubinage and other excesses with care.

21. For going to Mass on days of order, half the soldiers and *vecinos* will alternate, as it is inconvenient for all to go, leaving the *pueblo* deserted.

22. *Vecinos* who are given sentinel duty have the same responsibility as soldiers, and infractions will be punished according to circumstances. *Inválido* [retired soldier] Domingo Aruz should take his turn as sentinel at night.

23. Every month, without fail, this *instrucción* will be read at the guardhouse with all the inhabitants assembled; the *instrucción* of the *reglamento* will also be read so that each and every one may know his respective obligations. In order that he might attend to the obligations of his office, the *alcalde* will be exempt from guarding the horses and cattle.

Given in San Gabriel, January 3, 1787.

By no means shall Christian Indians of the Mission be allowed [in the *pueblo*] without the *comisionado* being informed that they have permission [from the Mission *padres*]. For the first offense they will be warned and sent back to the Mission after being threatened, if they are men. If they are women it is only necessary to have the *padres* advised to correct them.

Signed by Fages and Vicente Félix

January 13, 1787

**1787-88:** February 1787 brought the announcement that Sebastián Alvitre had been freed from Santa Barbara's guardhouse and had been sent to Los Angeles. Vicente Félix was ordered to designate a house and farmland for him. It was also noted that the wheat had not sprouted because of heavy rains and snow; as a result the shoots had spoiled even before they sprouted. The people of the *pueblo* were studding their walls with bits of rubble to prevent the rains from damaging the *adobes*.

In July came a report that some Indians who lived on the ocean (evidently near Santa Monica) had killed and eaten some cattle belonging to persons living in Los Angeles. After reporting the incident, a month later it was decided that Félix was to investigate the cattle-theft by the Indians and was to submit a report. Governor Fages was not moved to hasty activity by this incident.

It was decided to give Sebastián Alvitre a *burro* so he could progress on his walls and cover them before the rains started.

José de Zúñiga, commander of San Diego, sent the pack-train mules of San Diego to the Los Angeles *pueblo* for supplies of corn, wheat, and other products for the *presidio's* sustenance. He sent along the families of Estevan Romero, Juan María Romero, and Francisco Xavier Alvarado who, with the soldiers themselves, were to be transferred to Santa Barbara Presidio. Alvarado appeared in Los Angeles a few years later when he became *comisionado* himself.

In April the new price index was issued by the Governor for items produced by the *pueblo* such as cattle and horses, grain, and other food. Neve's *arancel* (ceiling price) index of 1781 can be compared with the revisions by Fages in 1788 [see Appendix]. These were the maximum prices which could be charged for the articles listed. While the imports remained at the same level, farm produce was lower in price. This represents a loss in income, but the revision was made after the *pobladores* had paid their fees owed for advances made to them earlier.

José Antonio Navarro, still in exile in Monterey, asked for the return of a horse which he had bought from Vicente Félix earlier at Santa Barbara for five *reales*. The horse was kept by Santa Barbara soldier Vicente Quijada who was breaking it for him; Navarro was willing to pay Quijada for this.

In July the governor decided to allow persons who owned livestock to make free use of them — unless they were *pobladores* who had been in the *pueblo* five years or more, as they were required to retain fifteen females and at least one male of all kinds of stock.

Francisco Reyes requested leave to go elsewhere (perhaps to Monterey) and would be gone for some months. He left his family in the care of Roque de Cota, the trustworthy old soldier of the *pueblo* guard, in October 1788. In the same month Vicente Félix saw to the collection of *diezmos*.

In November the military received fifty new *escopetas*, or muskets, from Mexico, presumably from the arsenal at Perote. The older guns, which were of a different caliber, were ordered to be distributed to *pobladores*, who were also to receive target-practice.

**1789:** In February 1789 the commander at Santa Barbara, Felipe de Goycochea, wrote an aggrieved letter to governor Fages, explaining that the eight houses he had reported as being outside the *pueblo plaza* of twelve houses had been in keeping with Fages' original dictum earlier, when he and Goycochea had passed through the *pueblo* and there had been three houses outside; at that time Goycochea had understood from Fages that such was fine as long as they formed a street. Apparently Fages had changed his mind. Vicente Félix was ill at this time, and consequently *Alcalde* José Vanegas was running the *pueblo*. Félix had gone to San Gabriel to be attended by Doña Ignacia [Carrillo], who functioned at the Mission as a nurse and medical practitioner, administrating to both Indian neophytes and *gente de razón* ("people of reason," *i.e.* non-Indians).

*Alferez* Pablo Cota came from the Presidio of Santa Barbara to Los Angeles in order to officiate at the elections held in the *pueblo* that month. José Sinova was elected as *alcalde* for 1789, obtaining the *vara de justicia*, or staff of office, a black silver-tipped staff about a yard long, then common throughout Spanish America as a symbol of authority. The real authority was vested in *Comisionado* Vicente Félix. Joining Sinova were *regidores* (councilmen) Felipe Santiago García and Manuel Camero. García had come to California in 1774 with the early expedition of Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, one of the first to bring women into the province. Camero was one of the original Los Angeles *pobladores* of 1781. *Alferez* Cota permitted newcomers to the *pueblo* to vote in this election: José Miguel Silvas, Roque de Cota (who as a soldier had lived for some time in the *pueblo*, and was now discharged and a *vecino* of Los Angeles), Francisco Regis de Soto, José Villa, Francisco Lugo, Melecio Valdez, Rafael Sepúlveda, Francisco Reyes, and Mariano Verdugo, all of whom had been released from the army. *Alcalde* Sinova, who had been in California even longer than *regidor* García, had lived in San Jose before moving to Los Angeles. They were to be granted houselots and farmlands.

An unpleasant event occurred in June, and it was duly reported to the governor. Félix Villavicencio was imprisoned for having committed adultery with a gentile Indian woman. Prior to this time he had done twenty days imprisonment for neglecting to irrigate his crops. His rather weak defense was that he had been unable to find an Indian who would perform the work for him. It might be supposed that he had used the pretext of looking for an Indian laborer as a ruse for finding a woman he could induce to fornicate with him.

The governor commented favorably on the progress of the chapel under construction, which had two courses of rock foundation already half a *vara* high and a third wall in progress. As soon as the boxes of the *adobe* forms were dried they were to start on the walls, and as soon as the *carretas* were completed they could begin work.

Also in June, the families of *Alférez* Pablo Cota, Sergeant José de Ortega, Corporal Ignacio Olivera, and Joaquín Higuera had gone to the *pueblo* to convalesce, presumably from the epidemic of flu which periodically struck California.

Sebastián Alvitre had been a problem for the *pueblo* and had been caught meeting with Tomasa García, wife of *Regidor* Manuel Camero. The same Tomasa had also been involved with José Antonio Navarro who had been transferred to San Jose for his lapse.

A robbery or theft was reported by *Alcalde* Sinova who stated that Juan José Domínguez had complained of a theft in December. Xavier Pico had been caring for Domínguez' *rancho* when the theft took place, but few particulars were offered in the dispatch. Domínguez may have been referring to an altercation with San Gabriel Mission over the ownership of some of his cattle.

On December 31, 1789, Felipe de Goycochea submitted a report on Los Angeles for Governor Fages. In addition to the regular *pobladores* and the discharged soldiers living at Los Angeles, there were also a large number of officers and soldiers living there. A lieutenant, two *alféreces*, two sergeants, a corporal, and eight soldiers were in the *pueblo*. In addition to the nine *poblador* families (counting Alvitre and the children of the deceased Alejandro Rosas and wife) there were twenty-one families and individuals who were classed as *agregados*, which might be translated as "attached personnel" [names are given in the Appendix lists]. The total of livestock was 745 cows, 75 bulls, 298 bull-calves, 430 mares, 26 stallions, 139 fillies, 205 colts, 115 broken horses, 34 broken mules, and six young mules. Crops harvested and in storage were 3,672 *fanegas* of corn, 638 of beans, and a scant 38 *fanegas* of wheat.

The buildings of the town were twenty-nine family homes, a guardhouse, and two storehouses for grain — all the above of *adobe* — with a chapel begun, 2 *varas* in height, 23 long, and 6 wide. Goycochea pronounced the land under cultivation as faultless, producing abundant grain with plentiful water for irrigation drawn from the nearby Los Angeles River whose sides were graced with attractive groves of trees. The sides of the *pueblo*, stated Lieutenant Goycochea, were freely accessible from any direction on a plateau unmarred by underbrush or trees. This last statement is interesting, for the site of the *pueblo*, at least in later years, was against a hill, which lends credence to the idea that the *pueblo* had been moved somewhat. The climate was cool and healthful, and its inhabitants were healthy. The gentile Indians behaved quietly and tranquilly.

**1790:** Francisco Reyes was elected *alcalde* in 1790. In May of 1790, *Alcalde* Reyes complained that Alvitre continued to disregard the laws of the town. Sebastián Alvitre was shipped up to Monterey for a time where he continued his rebellious behavior. He was



shunted off to Loreto Presidio a few years later where he married and seems to have become a more orderly citizen, probably because he found a wife for himself who was not someone else's. Years later he returned to Los Angeles and adjusted rather well to life on Nieto's *rancho*.

Alvitre exited from Los Angeles in July of 1790 under an armed escort commanded by Sergeant Olivera, enroute to Monterey. During the same month *Alcalde* Reyes was removed from office for having been caught gambling with other *pobladores* and *agregados* of Los Angeles. An election was again held; Mariano Verdugo won with fourteen votes, nearly 3-to-1 over Manuel Arrellano's meager five votes. Verdugo seems to have been *alcalde* in 1791 as well, perhaps winning again in January.

Clemente Navarro, the younger son of José Antonio Navarro, was proposed as a good candidate for the army by Goycochea in September. The commander praised his ability on horseback which he said was superior to his aptitude for farming (certainly not an insult from the lips of an officer of the Spanish Army) and suggested him for the Santa Barbara Company.

Two more soldiers enlisted from Los Angeles in December of that year. Copies of their *filiaciones* (enlistment records) give us a glimpse of the two young Californians of 1790. Juan Ignacio Guillermo Cota was from Loreto, son of Roque Cota and Juana Verdugo. His height was five feet, two inches, his age 21, his description as follows: black hair, brown eyes, color of skin tan, black eyebrows, bulky nose, and a scar on his forehead. Cota enlisted for ten years, the normal period for enlistments.

Francisco Xavier Pico was from San Xavier de Cabazán, Sinaloa, son of Santiago Pico and Jacinta Bastida. His height was five feet, one inch; his age 20; his description as follows: curly red hair, brown eyes, heavy beard, color of skin tan, blond eyebrows, broad nose. Pico, too, enlisted for ten years.

It is well to remember that the *presidio* and *pueblo* personnel were frequently interchanged. Too often histories of California imply that the *presidios* were socially superior to the *pueblos*, but this seems to be some oversimplification of California society. With the ebb and flow of families from one to the other it is difficult to presume there was a social gulf between *pueblo* and *presidio*. In October, it was noted that soldier Pedro Romero had moved to San Diego Presidio from the *pueblo*, having sold a *milpa* (field — often planted in corn, beans, or wheat in California) for a nominal sum to newly-arrived settler Pío Quinto Zúñiga, himself a former San Diego soldier. There appears to have been a constant exchange of population between the *presidios* and the *pueblos* of California in general between Monterey and San Francisco *presidios* to San Jose in the north, and from San Diego and Santa Barbara *presidios* to Los Angeles in the south. Exchanges between northern and southern California were less frequent but did occur. What is worth noting here is that there was little, if any, difference in the population status between *presidio* and *pueblo*, though it has been repeated in more than one California history text that there was a great gap socially between the two. Though the army officers (two or three to a *presidio*) were considered supreme in their domain, and were quite autocratic on occasion, there were few of them and they were consequently likely to be rather lonely unless they unbent a bit socially. But the constant exchange of population between *presidios* and *pueblos* made a social distinction all but impossible. Several observers indicate California society was relatively democratic until distinctions of wealth began to manifest themselves in the 1840s.

The relative growth of Los Angeles' livestock numbers was recorded at the end of the year, with 953 cows, 222 bulls, 243 bull-calves, 254 heifers, 171 oxen, 416 female

sheep, 22 goats, 89 gelded horses, 599 mares, 33 stallions, 186 colts, 145 fillies, 133 broken horses, 29 mules, 10 young mules. Agriculture suffered a setback, or perhaps it was a cutback from overproduction, in the previous year. In storage were 1,848 *fanegas* of corn, 340 of beans, and a mere 9 of wheat.

In 1790 the buildings of the town were composed of a guardhouse, town meetinghouse, granary, and fourteen houses of *pobladores* with their square enclosed in an *adobe* wall; the houses also were of *adobe*. There were an additional seventeen houses of *agregados* which were separated from the square and formed a street.

Goycochea noted that the *gentil* Indians in the area continued to be peaceful, contributing, as usual, to the farm work in exchange for food and other payment. He sent on directives from Monterey to the acting corporal and the *alcalde* in the chain of command, and no difficulties had arisen. The local farmlands produced abundantly, for there was plenty of water and it was easily obtained. The site was beautiful and well appointed, safe even in floods.

This last point might have been debatable; floods seem to have prompted a move to higher ground a year or so later. The vagaries of the Los Angeles River were as yet not really known by the settlers. Shifts of the riverbed from the one nearer the bluff, known as *Paredón Blanco* or “white wall” (today vaguely if inaccurately known as “white fence”), to Alameda Street were known to have occurred later, such as the one from 1815 to 1825. Such movements of the Los Angeles River may well have influenced the site of the *pueblo* around 1792.

Several of the persons listed in the 1790 *padrón* [census] of Los Angeles had been discharged from Santa Barbara Company between 1787 and 1790. The following persons lived in Los Angeles between 1787 and 1790. The underlined are listed in the census:

Martín Reyes, discharged November 1788; Francisco Lugo, discharged 28 October 1788, appears in the 1789 list, but evidently went back to Santa Barbara by 1790 for he is in the census there; Francisco Regis de Soto, discharged 14 September 1787, apparently went to the Baja California frontier area by 1790, though he had been in Los Angeles in 1789; José Loreto Salazar, discharged 24 November 1787, moved to Los Angeles, dying there in 1790; Efigenio Ruiz, discharged 19 October 1789; Francisco Xavier Pico, discharged 14 September 1787; Felipe Moreno, discharged 30 April 1787 and died in Los Angeles in 1789; Joaquín Higuera, discharged 19 October 1789; José Lobo (also, Villalobo), discharged 14 September 1787; Guillermo Soto, discharged 28 October 1788, and may have been in Baja California by 1790, for although he was in Los Angeles in 1789 he was gone by 1790 and appears in none of the census data of 1790 in Alta California; José Villa, discharged 14 September 1787; Manuel Figueroa, discharged 12 May 1790.

José Villa, Efigenio Ruiz, and Joaquín Higuera appear in the 1789 list, as well as the 1790.

San Diego Company contributed several men between 1787 and 1789: Joaquín de Armenta, Roque de Cota, Juan Alvarez, Santiago de la Cruz Pico, and Domingo Aruz. These men are on both the 1789 and 1790 lists, though the precise date of discharge cannot be ascertained. Juan José Domínguez, an old veteran of California service from San Diego Company, had been discharged years earlier, appearing on the 1785 list. It should also be noted that the soldiers of the guard in the *pueblo* appear not on the Los Angeles *padrón* but on their Company census.

The *alcalde* removed in 1790, Francisco Reyes, was a veteran of the Monterey Company and had been in the *pueblo* for at least two or three years before his election in 1790. Reyes was again elected *alcalde* in 1793 after Fages had left California.

1790 was another wet year, and the harvest was expected to be good. It had rained from November 1789 to April 1790, and at the end of the year it rained again November through December. Mariano Verdugo seems to have continued as *alcalde* through 1791.

**1791:** In February 1791 Fages relinquished the government to the incoming governor, José Romeu. A long letter to Romeu from Fages explained his difficulties with several persons in California, among them the Los Angeles miscreants Sebastián Alvitre and José Antonio Navarro whose intrigues with the too-willing Tomasa García had gotten them dismissed from the *pueblo*.

He mentioned also the fact that, contrary to the original supposition made by his predecessor, Felipe de Neve, the military ought to have been in control. Therefore he ordered that the *pueblo* guard should be retained as long as necessary, as per Fages' order #523 of 5 June 1784. He cited San Jose's lack of progress in its earlier years; basing his premise on this, Fages had decided to tighten control over both *pueblos*, citing the fact that Neve had put Vicente Félix in charge of Los Angeles. Félix' powers had been greatly amplified by Fages, however, when he instituted the *comisionado* system. Elected officials, over whom he had only indirect control, were not sufficiently efficient in compliance with his wishes or with matters pertaining to common tasks such as caring for livestock or farming in the commons. Fages cited two other directives, #566 of 1 July 1785 and #611 of 24 March 1786.

Félix had petitioned to retire, and in August 1791 word came from *Comandante General de Provincias Internas* Pedro de Nava to the newly-installed Governor Romeu that Félix had but 13 years of service (evidently counted from his disobedience to Governor Neve by refusing to move from San Gabriel to San Juan Capistrano in 1778), and even with the requisite 18 years of service he could not be retired as a sergeant. In view of his good conduct and hard work, however, he could be retired as a corporal, for he was evidently still a private. This was an empty honor in terms of retirement pay, as privates and corporals received the same meager eight *pesos* per month. Such a salary was bare subsistence, amounting to only two *reales* per day, the minimum for a small family in Mexico. Given the greater expense of clothing and other imports into California, some farming and stock-raising was necessary to support a family in adequate circumstances.

Aside from the miniscule population of officers and their families (who associated freely with the enlisted families, a situation found shocking to foreign visitors at dances) there was little if any social distance between the rest of California's population, if we except the California Indian population which operated apart from the soldier-settler families. Significantly, Indians from Mexico, Spanish-speaking as they were, and dressing and behaving in the same manner as the non-Indian Mexicans, were included in this *gente de razón* social mix. Ultimately, those California Indians who adopted the Mexican pattern of speech, dress, and behavior would also be incorporated into the *gente* by the 1840s.

In November, José Francisco de Ortega, in preparation for retirement in California, had selected a spot for his *rancho* near San Gabriel Mission. He had begun a house and *corrales* and was also including a well or water-source of some sort. He had carefully measured the distances from one and another establishment: from the present site of San Gabriel to *Misión Vieja* (former site of Mission San Gabriel) was 7500 *varas* (four miles);

to the first ford of the River of San Diego (probably the San Gabriel River, boundary between San Diego and Santa Barbara jurisdictions) was 10,200 *varas* (about five and one-quarter miles); to the edge of Rancho La Zanja, 12,300 *varas* (seven miles); and to the place where he wished to build his house, two and three-quarters *leguas* (seven and three-quarters miles). It would appear from the wording of the document that Ortega was endeavoring to convince Governor Romeu that the *rancho* would not interfere with the mission. La Zanja was the name given to the grant of Manuel Nieto, also known as Rancho Los Nietos. By 1792 Ortega had changed plans and had moved to Baja California for a short time and by 1794 had acquired a fairly good title to Rancho del Refugio near Santa Barbara.

**1792:** It was reported in a letter of 1794 that there were some “rebellious persons or hotheads” in Los Angeles during 1792, but the exact nature of this dispute is unknown. It may have involved the interim governor Joaquín de Arrillaga who was obliged to take over on the death of Governor Romeu after the latter had governed California for about a year. The angry settlers were threatened with expulsion from the *pueblo* if they persisted, and the trouble ceased after this warning. The nature of their grievance is not known. Juan José Villalobo left Los Angeles during the earlier part of 1792, taking his family with him, but it is not known if the cause of his moving was because of the above dispute. Candelaria Redondo, widow of Francisco Xavier Sepúlveda, moved to the *pueblo* from Santa Barbara along with her younger children in 1792.

On or about 10 July 1792 the first homicide of record occurred in Los Angeles. Juan Alvarez, a middle-aged Yaqui Indian from Rahun, Sonora, who was a man of moderate means, was murdered. It appears that Alvarez’ wife, Bernarda Silvas, was having an affair with Ignacio Rochín, another settler. Rochín killed Alvarez, perhaps because he feared discovery, or perhaps to have freer access to the young widow. The details of the crime are hazy; we know only that the crime was committed through “treachery” of Rochín and that Bernarda Silvas de Alvarez was considered an accomplice in the case. Testimony was taken, and the case was sent to Guadalajara for sentencing. Two years later, Rochín was executed and Silvas was sent to Monterey to live with a family as a servant.

On 31 December 1792 the number of persons in Los Angeles was given as 148, a slight increase over 1790. There were: single males (including small boys), 50; married males, 24; widowers, 2; single females (including small girls), 43; married females, 24; widows, 5. By race: Europeans 2; *españoles* 57; *mestizos* 17; *mulatos* 57; *indios* 15. By occupation: with *fuero militar* (military privilege — meaning retired soldiers on pension), 2; farmers, 20; blacksmiths, 1; shoemakers, 2; ironmonger, 1; weaver, 1.

In January 1793 Francisco Reyes was elected *alcalde*, and within a year he was in possession of the area around San Fernando, that is, the northern part of the San Fernando Valley, as his *rancho*. This was El Encino, so called because of the many oaks in the vicinity, not to be confused with present-day Encino in the southern part of the San Fernando Valley. Santa Barbara lieutenant Felipe de Goycochea and Cornelio Avila also pastured their cattle on Reyes’ *rancho* by 1794.

Vicente Félix served as *comisionado* through 1793, and was finally replaced when he retired by Corporal Olivera in January of 1794. Félix had served 13 years as *comisionado* and 18 years as a California soldier. In later years he acquired the *rancho* that would bear his name, Los Feliz — today known as Griffith Park, although a Los Angeles boulevard is named Los Feliz.

**1793:** By 31 December 1793 Los Angeles had demonstrably lost population, for the total inhabitants numbered only 131: 48 men, 45 women, 19 boys, and 19 girls. The removal of the García family probably accounted for at least half of the decrease, for they had numbered some twelve persons in 1790, and not many less in 1793, perhaps even more. The incoming governor, Diego de Borica, viewed with some concern the loss of *pueblo* inhabitants, and later sought with some success to reverse this trend.

Livestock figures for the year include 1890 cattle, 1298 horses, and 66 mules. No figures for *burros*, goats, sheep, or pigs were given, and there may well not have been any. Crops in the same year totaled 101 *fanegas* of wheat, 2169 of corn, and 268 of beans. No barley, *garbanzos*, or other crops are reported.

**1795:** In January 1795 Bartolomé Tapia, a public-spirited *vecino*, voluntarily contributed to the survivors of the Sinova family in order to make up the deficit after it was discovered that Sinova did not leave enough assets to cover what he had owed at the time of his death.

In February 1795 Goycoechea sent a list of *ranchos* in the jurisdiction of Santa Barbara Presidio which included Los Angeles. He had four *ranchos* actually in the jurisdiction, but he included one on the edge of the *presidio* district although it probably belonged to that of San Diego:

First was that of Juan José Domínguez, who owned more than 400 head of horses, and over 500 head of cattle. His *paraje* (grazing area/pasturage) could support no more than these for lack of water, and consequently there were few *sitios* suitable for farming. This *ranch* lay about six *leguas* south of the *pueblo*, on the coast.

Next was that of Mariano Verdugo, who had a few horses and cattle pastured in the *paraje* of Portezuelo, on the Camino Real, some four *leguas* from the *pueblo*. He had good farmland, but not much water, so his site would be barely adequate for himself and one or two other *vecinos*.

San Diego Corporal José María Verdugo, whose *ranch* was a little below that of his brother Mariano Verdugo, by the side of the river on which the *pueblo* was located, in the *paraje* of La Zanja, some four *leguas* from San Gabriel. He had about 150 head of cattle and some herds of mares, and the site included good farmland, with water enough for himself and at least one other.

*Alcalde* of the *pueblo* Francisco Reyes had the *sitio* of El Encino, about nine *leguas* from the town. Here he had about 200 cattle and four small herds of mares. At this *sitio* some 100 head of cattle and horses of Cornelio Avila and others were pastured. However, there was neither farmland nor water-supply.

Soldier Manuel Nieto was on the other side of the San Gabriel River, in the San Diego district. This was the best *paraje*. From Nieto's *corral* southward, there were sufficient resources to form a town. His *ranch* was about four or five *leguas* from San Gabriel, and the same distance from Los Angeles. Here he had about 400 head of horses and a little more or less of cattle. With the combined livestock of others the total could have come to 1,100 head. His lands could have comfortably maintained 25 or 30 settlers, judged Goycoechea.

From the above it can be seen that the great *ranch* era of California was still far in the future. The Los Angeles area and the Monterey district had the most *ranchos* to report in this year. As the Monterey region was wetter and had better pasturage, there was less need for the large *ranchos* more characteristic of southern California at this time, though in later years northern California came to have some fairly large *ranchos* as well. Rancho del



Refugio had been granted to José Francisco de Ortega only the previous year, and consequently it is not listed here in Borica's inquiry. The governor later explained his reticence in granting *ranchos*. As he came to know California better and saw the density of the as-yet unconverted Indian population within the sphere of Spanish control, he hesitated to grant *ranchos* which might infringe on their rights to their gathering-areas, as cattle would certainly eat certain seeds and plants esteemed by these people. Borica recalled the friction between *rancheros* and New Mexico Indians over cattle grazing in their fields, one of the causes of the 1680 revolt, and cautioned against permitting such an occurrence in California. He estimated the Indian population along the Camino Real and within the mission chain as around 20,000 or more in 1795. Adding some 10,000 *neofitos* (neophytes) in the missions, the total for the coastal population would have exceeded 30,000, even after a quarter of a century of contact and consequent attrition from disease, to which the local Indians were quite susceptible. Also, the hiring of *gentiles* to work for isolated *rancheros* might lead to the abuses which had been noted in New Mexico a century or more earlier and cause the same angry response. Too, isolated *rancheros* were more difficult to control in this respect, given the distance from church and officials.

While Borica's concerns were phrased in a most pragmatic, self-interested way, there is no doubt that Spanish officialdom was at least casually concerned from time to time with the humanitarian aspect of dealing with the local peoples. The missionaries, particularly, were concerned about the attrition from new diseases, encroachment on Indian land, and the exploitation of Indians by soldiers and settlers. There was a quite different perspective in viewing Indians on the Hispanic frontier than on the Anglo-American frontier.

In March 1795 a wall was being built around the *pueblo* fields in order to keep cattle and horses from grazing on the plants. The mid-1790s were dry years, judging from mission crop yields and communiques from the governor who sought to see that irrigation was properly employed in watering fields and that a barrier was placed to protect the crops from ravenous cattle who had little to graze upon. If settlers in Los Angeles did not care to plant their fields, they would be given to others who would be willing to plant them. Borica ordered that work be done on the wall whenever possible. While the cattle in Los Angeles had eaten some of the wheat crop already, a good crop of corn and beans could be expected.

Borica had permitted the exchange of *pueblo* grain and livestock for either storehouse goods or money so that the *presidios* would have adequate supplies of food for the troops and their families. He referred to an order of 16 April 1795, perhaps in response to Zúñiga's suggestion of October 1794.

In September 1795 Borica ordered the Ripol guns turned over to the *pobladores* as defense weapons. Apparently these were older ordinance at the *presidios*, *escopetas* which had been made at Ripol in Cataluña; the *pobladores* would be given the weapons at cost. This suggests that the *presidios* had received newer models for their garrisons.

Borica's concerns for agricultural production were such that he suggested in October that if the *alcalde* and *comisionado* were not sufficiently zealous in promoting agriculture, then the latter could be removed and replaced. Ignacio Narciso Olivera was the new *comisionado* at Los Angeles, who had only recently replaced Vicente Félix in 1794. In December of 1795 Olivera was promoted to sergeant and sent to one of the mission guard detachments. He was replaced by Corporal Francisco Xavier Alvarado as the new *comisionado* of Los Angeles; Alvarado held that position for 14 years.

By the end of 1795 there were 186 inhabitants in Los Angeles; total grain production was up dramatically to 5,338 *fanegas* (unfortunately, which grains are not indicated) more

than double the previous year's total of 2,505 *fanegas*. Borica's promptings had been answered. Livestock, too, showed increase: 3,983 cattle, 3,974 horses, 159 mules, 64 *burros*, 458 sheep, and 128 goats now belonged to Los Angeles. The buildings of the town were the guardhouse, town meetinghouse, a granary for the *diezmos*, and a granary for the *pueblo*. There were ten houses arranged in a square for the *plaza*; two were 21 *varas* long, two were 17 *varas*, three were 12 *varas*, and three were 10 *varas* long. They were arranged in a square 122 *varas* long and 85 wide. The above arrangement is at variance with the 1789 and 1790 reports, suggesting again that the *pueblo* had been shifted from its original site, as oral tradition tells. An additional seventeen houses formed streets, and all were made of *adobe* with *terrado* roofs. The latter roof construction was of willow poles tied closely together, thatched with sedges of tules, with a coating of mud or clay on top to prevent leaking. Later *brea* (tar) was added as a topping instead of earth; it was certainly in use by the 1820s.

The chapel was 2(?) *varas* long and 8 *varas* wide, also with a *terrado* roof and *adobe* walls. [Two *varas* would be extremely small as a chapel; perhaps the original read 20 *varas* but was not properly transcribed.]

Santa Barbara received a schoolteacher, and Los Angeles was expected to send its children there for education. Not much seems to have been done for education in Los Angeles until about 1814, when there is record of a teacher in the *pueblo*.

**1796:** In January 1796 the governor requested a list of those who had been granted fields in Los Angeles and those who had not, so that documents and records could be processed for those who needed *milpas* to plant and irrigate, all free of charge. They were required to grow all that was possible. The *comisionado* was to ascertain how well they farmed their fields and to find out how much land was left for new farmers who wished to settle in Los Angeles.

Borica's concerns with the Californian grain supply should perhaps be put into context here. The war between Spain and France had recently caused great concern for Spain's vulnerability to attacks from the sea and to the interruption of shipping. Both Alta and Baja California could be supplied only by sea, should there be a need for grain for the *presidios*. The missions were not a reliable source for the *presidios*, given their responsibility to their neophytes. Moreover, by 1795 it had been determined to augment the troops in California precisely because of the vulnerability from attack by sea. The need for a reliable supply of corn and other grains was critical and Borica knew it, hence his concerns about production.

A tardy disposition was made of the assets of Juan Alvarez, the murdered man who had been killed by Ignacio Rochín in 1792. It was decided to leave his cattle, house, and other goods to his eldest daughter, María Gertrudis Alvarez, who was a daughter by Alvarez' deceased wife, María Lucinda Rodríguez. Pascuala Lugo, Bernarda Silvas' mother, had wanted to retain the assets for her daughter and grandchildren, as Bernarda was absent in Monterey working without pay for a family there in punishment for her part in the death of Alvarez.

Manuel Nieto, owner of the *rancho* to the southeast of Los Angeles, was ordered to show a document given him by Pedro de Fages in November 1784, which gave him the right to occupy the *rancho*. It seems that San Gabriel's missionaries were seeking to have him ejected from La Zanja, as it was then called, which appears to have been in the vicinity of what is now Whittier, California. Though San Gabriel had asked that he be restrained

from sowing at La Zanja, Borica asked him to do so, pending the resolution of his tenure there.

Wood arrived for the completion of the Los Angeles chapel altar in April 1796. Salvador Véjar, a carpenter from Tepic, Nayarit, was in Los Angeles by May of 1796, working on the altar for this, the first house of worship in Los Angeles, though there may have been a prior attempt at establishing a chapel at an earlier site of the *pueblo*, assuming it did move around 1792.

Also in April, it was decided that each *vecino* or *agregado* of Los Angeles, except for *inválidos* (retired soldiers), might vote in the yearly elections if in possession of a house and fields in the *pueblo*.

Santiago Pico had asked to be allowed to leave the *pueblo* and occupy his *rancho* at Simí, granted the previous year in conjunction with Luís Peña. The concerns of the missions, said Borica, must take precedence over such grants because the Indians are the legitimate owners of the territory. Consequently Borica refused to allow Pico to leave the *pueblo*, saying it would be better if one of his soldier sons were discharged to care for the assets of his father. To move his cattle away would be to damage the interests of mission, *pueblo*, and *presidio*, said Borica. In May, however, Pico seemed to have obtained a compromise, for a son of his was to move to Los Angeles and care for his father's interests, apparently leaving Pico free to move to Simí.

From a document we are able to ascertain that José Vanegas, one of the old *pobladores* of 1781 and the first *alcalde* of record, was once again *alcalde* of Los Angeles. He was evidently *alcalde* in 1792 as well, though this is less certain.

By August 1796, 200 more sheep had been distributed to the inhabitants of Los Angeles, and later in the year 140 *arrobos* [1 *arroba* = 25 pounds] of wool were sent from the *pueblo* to the *presidio*. This is perhaps a cumulative account on the number of sheep which had been distributed, for the yearly count of 1796 over 1795 does not show such an increase. There had been 340 sheep in December 1794, 458 in December 1795, and 599 in December 1796. The net increases suggest natural increase, unless there had been a greater presence of mutton in the *pueblo* larders.

In September, Fructuoso María Ruiz and family moved into the *Pueblo de los Angeles*. Francisco Lugo, Isidro Germán, and Guillermo Cota, with their families, moved into the *pueblo* as well. Corporal Francisco Alvarado was made an *inválido*, and with retirement his rank was raised to that of sergeant. He continued as *comisionado*, however. The governor disposed in October that each *fanega* of grain delivered to San Diego by the *pueblo* would be worth \$2.00 *pesos* at the *presidio* granary, while 14 *reales* (\$1.75 *pesos*) would be given for each delivered to Santa Barbara. Seven *reales* would be added to any *fanega* of grain for shipping cost.

By the end of 1796 the statistics for the *pueblo* were as follows: population, 199; livestock-cattle, 3,008; horses, 139; mules, 210; *burros*, 32; sheep, 599; goats, 83. Crops: corn, 4,382 *fanegas*; beans, 395 *fanegas*; wheat, 508 *fanegas*.

**1797:** In January 1797, Manuel Ramírez Arrellano was elected *alcalde*, with Miguel Ortega and Máximo Rosas as *regidores*. Ramírez Arrellano was from Puebla and a weaver by trade. His family was presumed to be descended from Hernán Cortez, the conqueror of Mexico. Ortega was from a town near Puebla and a Nahua Indian of San Andrés Chalchicomulas, one of several Nahua towns of Mexico. He later received as a *rancho* Las



Virgenes, located in what is now Ventura County. Máximo Rosas was a son of the *pobladores* Basilio Rosas and María Manuela Hernández.

Spain had moved her alliance from England to France by 1797, and rumors of attack by England as a result of hostilities between France and England, and France's new ally Spain, prompted Borica to ask for a conclave of the *inválidos* in Los Angeles in case of attack on the coast. They should be ready to fight.

Los Angeles evidently was able to distill liquor by 1797, for the law permitting the distillation and sale of spirits was finally extended to California. Ortega was encouraged by the governor to use his still for this purpose. As sugar cane is mentioned in this context, it is probable that either cane or molasses had to be imported; California did not grow sugar cane. *Regidor* Máximo Rosas died, leaving to his widow, Bernarda Alvarez, his ten mules. Her father, the San Diego soldier Pedro Alvarez, asked for a discharge, adding that he had also suffered from an affliction for some time. Captain Grijera of San Diego expressed the opinion that perhaps Alvarez' inheritance of ten mules were more than an inducement to leave the service and move to Los Angeles.

Francisco Reyes lost his *rancho* to the new mission of San Fernando which was founded at his house; in fact the *padres* were living in the house Reyes had built there. By October 1797 the guardhouse and storehouse had been completed, as well. Trouble of an unknown nature had come between Reyes and Cornelio Avila about this time, perhaps because of the division of cattle they had had at San Fernando, perhaps some other reason. *Alcalde* Ramírez Arrellano took Avila's side, but the commander of Santa Barbara and the governor were clearly allied with Reyes. Governor Borica dismissed the two former complainers as a pair of spoiled *bribones* (brats); whatever the complaint, there was a simple notation, "satisfaction for Reyes", later.

In November, Alferez Pablo Cota came to the *pueblo* in search of recruits for the army. He made a list of young men and the reasons, if any, they objected to military service:

*José María Valenzuela — His father says he needs him, but lets him go voluntarily.*

*Juan Pedro Ruiz — His father says he needs him, but he asked him and he says he wants to join the Santa Barbara Company. If this is your request, he shall send him there.*

*Cayetano Varelas — His father say he needs him, as he is old.*

*Ventura Zúñiga — His father says he is sick and feeble, and has nobody else to care for his livestock.*

*Cosmé Vanegas — His father says he has no other son and he needs him at home.*

*Lucas Olivera — [first part illegible] suffers from bad eyesight, and there is no other to care for the livestock of the four heirs left by his deceased father.*

*Antonio Rosas — His father says he needs him.*

*Teodoro Arellanes — His father says he is quite old, with a large family and no other son.*

*Teodoro Silvas — His widowed mother says she has nobody to help her.*

*José María Osuna — His widowed mother says she needs him greatly in order to care for her stock, as she has no other son to care for it.*

*Estevan Pérez—He lives with his father and wants to enlist in Santa Barbara only.*

*Widow of Efigenio Ruiz [María Rosa López] — She has one son in the army, and the one that is left cares for her stock. If he is taken, she wishes him to serve in the same company as his brother.*

*Cornelio Avila — He has two sons [Anastacio and Antonio Ignacio] who haven't been asked their preferences because he [Cota] has not had occasion to see them [the sons].*

In December, it was ordered that a corporal should go from Santa Barbara and acquire six young men in Los Angeles, then take them to San Diego. The commander of San Diego was then to release some of the older men and allow them to be retired, according to their ages.

Apparently the relaxation of the prohibition on the sale of liquor applied only to that made from cane. California wines and brandies could be sold to persons outside the province, but not to soldiers or *pobladores* on royal payroll, which limited consumption greatly. Only those settlers who were no longer subsidized by the government were permitted to sample the products of the California grape. There were but few producing vineyards as yet, at any rate.

Corporal José María Verdugo of San Gabriel garrison was discharged and became an *inválido* in December 1797, as Corporal Polloreña was able to take his place. Verdugo moved onto his *rancho*, receiving permission to do so before the end of the year.

Statistics for 31 December 1797 were as follows: 3,857 cattle, 3,272 horses, 280 mules, 80 *burros*; harvests were 2,085 *fanegas* of corn, 342 of beans, and 476 *fanegas* of wheat. Agriculture was less of an obsession with Borica by the end of 1797, for there was a standing surplus of 2,000 *fanegas* of grain as yet unsold, despite having supplied all the needs of the four *presidios*. There was no means of marketing the California grain except to the peninsula of Baja California.

**1798:** In January of 1798 a soap contract was offered to the citizens of Los Angeles with between \$800 *pesos* and \$1000 *pesos* per year as the price of soap once delivered to San Blas. In May the soap of Los Angeles was shipped to San Blas on the *Concepción*, one of the San Blas supply ships. The soap contract was eventually awarded to one Ignacio Guevara of Santa Barbara, some time after the offer was made, as he was considered the best *jabonero* (soapmaker) in the region. In January, also, Guillermo Soto was elected *alcalde*, and Fructuoso María Ruiz with José María Navarro were elected as *regidores*.

Governor Borica encouraged each resident of Los Angeles to contribute one *fanega* of corn or wheat each year to be added to the public fund for construction of a church, town hall, bridge, school, or any other civic improvement. He noted that San Jose had done so to good advantage for the past three years. Borica also noted with approval that master-weaver Enríquez was in Los Angeles, teaching weaving to the young men and boys there. A note of home remedy was made by him, suggesting that the epidemic of colds or influenza should be treated with *agua de borrajas*, literally “bush water,” perhaps a reference to the use of sage or some other plant to facilitate breathing during congestion.

In August the mention of an important agricultural advance in Los Angeles, another of Borica's innovations, was made when the Governor asked that the new irrigation ditch, or *zanja*, be quickly completed in order to water the newly-planted grape vines and olive trees. This planting was to take precedence over construction of a jail in Los Angeles. Again in October he asked that the *pobladores* be encouraged to plant fruits and develop orchards in Los Angeles. Hemp seed and cotton seed were to be sent to them in the hopes that new plants could be grown and harvested. Finally, in December, the ditch for irrigating the new plantings was opened and in use.

The presence of some money in Los Angeles by October 1798 attracted at least one enterprising person as a would-be merchant there. Referred to as the *comerciante* Gallego by Governor Borica in 1798, he had been hired ostensibly as a sculptor or stoneworker to teach Californians his trade, but instead had gone to the *pueblo* in order to sell a quantity of cloth and other bits of merchandise to the people of Los Angeles. Evidently he was also selling liquor and holding raffles, as well. Borica asked him to cease his efforts there. This enterprising merchant was sent back to Mexico a year or so later. His presence did illustrate the difficulty of purchasing cloth goods, however. Clothing, for example, was purchased from ships' crews at greatly inflated prices. The townsmen were sorely in need of cloth in both San Jose and Los Angeles, and were obliged to pay a fifty-percent markup over prices in Mexico.

A December 1798 report by Goycoechea recorded heavy rainfall and strong winds which, it was believed, caused the wheat and other crops to produce less. There were also heavy fogs in summer and autumn. Several cases of fever and influenza were noted as well during this year. Colds were common. Some showers came in August and September unseasonably, and they were accompanied by thunder and lightning. From November to the end of the year there were heavy rains, making the roads nearly impassable; the "roads" referred to were in reality little more than mule-tracks. Most grain hauled to the *presidios* came on the backs of the mules of the *pueblo*, usually in *aparejos*, huge packsaddles made of leather, which hung down either side of the patient mules. The *aparejos* could carry several types of articles and were the common carrier of the province.

**1799:** Little is known about Los Angeles in 1799, aside from a few isolated bits of information. In March a complaint surfaced over the placing of a *corral* in terrain regarded as part of the *pueblo's* pasturage, to the west of town and well to the west of San Gabriel Mission, which had placed the *corral* there. The *corral* was removed later.

In June, the *pueblo* of Los Angeles contributed \$175 *pesos* toward the war effort against England. The money was given to the Spanish government, as had been the case in 1782, to defray the expenses of defending the New World for Spain. An attack in the region of San José del Cabo in Baja California by the British was the occasion for anxiety in Alta California, although it was far away.

A former resident of Los Angeles, Anastacio Avila, had taken off for the *frontera* of Baja California without permission from the proper authorities, and this was viewed as a serious enough matter for the Governor to send out a circular for his apprehension. Movement from one place to another was watched; only those with legitimate business and permission from the authorities, in the case of Los Angeles the *comisionado* and the *alcalde*, could travel from one town to another, or, as in this case, from one province to another.

**1800:** In 1800 a number of people moved into the *pueblo*. This is not surprising for several men brought up by the Rivera expedition of 1781 were eligible for retirement, having served their eighteen years in the presidial companies, primarily those of San Diego and Santa Barbara. Segundo Valenzuela, Máximo Alanís, and Juan Antonio Ibarra were released from duty at San Diego Presidio in March; Juan José Alvarado, Estevan Pérez, and Ramón Buelna soon followed from that *presidio*. From Santa Barbara Presidio came Sergeant José de Ortega, with soldiers Juan Romero, Juan Valencia, Manuel Machado, Manuel Lugo, Juan Olivas, José Polanco, Cayetano Varelas, and Manuel Valenzuela. Some

of these men later moved to other places, such as the Baja California frontier or other areas, and some had already moved into the *pueblo* earlier. Most remained in Los Angeles. As a result of the influx around 1800, the town began to grow in population. By the end of the year the yearly census revealed 315 persons.

In April one of the early residents of Los Angeles, Melchor López, was killed by Indians and was buried 12 April 1800 at San Gabriel Mission. These Indians were disaffected gentiles of the area which today is the boundary of Ventura and Los Angeles counties, near Newhall. This was the area then known as San Francisco Xavier, where two soldiers had been killed in 1790 during an expedition to capture a runaway neophyte. López had ventured out to this area, perhaps to find some Indians as workers. Another man, young Francisco Xavier Avila, had been killed there in 1797. He had gone off without permission, and was joined by Indians of the area; they were attacked by a *ranchería* of enemy Indians from the San Francisco Xavier region and Avila was killed. His death was reported by his Indian friends who had survived the attack.

By 31 December 1800 Los Angeles had 5,206 cattle, 6,958 horses, 328 mules, 69 *burros*, 2,331 sheep, 347 goats, and as yet no pigs; during the year 2,090 *fanegas* of corn, 600 of wheat, and 404 of beans were harvested. There were no barley, *garbanzos*, or lentils of record.

**1801:** In January 1801 a note sent by the commander at Santa Barbara, Felipe de Goycochea, gave a report about the unusually cold, rainy weather experienced there and in the *pueblo*. He also noted that there had been several severe colds and lung infirmities. Among them, Cornelio Avila had died (in December 1800) from what seems to have been influenza, and several others in both *pueblo* and *presidio* were gravely ill. He also noted that there were contagious fevers in Los Angeles. The Indians of San Gabriel and San Juan Capistrano were beset by the epidemic, and they “hardly have time to complain that they are sick before they die.” Perhaps from these same epidemics, Miguel Espinosa died in March 1801 at Mariano Verdugo’s *ranchito* at Cahuenga.

In February 1801 permission was granted by the government to send wheat to San Blas, as it was needed there for ships’ biscuits. The request came for 1000 *fanegas* from California; a list of interested parties and the amounts they could send totaled twice that. A list sent by Goycochea and copied by Governor Joaquín de Arrillaga on 20 July 1801 at Loreto suggests that the dwellers of Los Angeles were not as lethargic as some have painted them. They were to receive 20 *reales* (\$2.50 *pesos*) for each *fanega*. The Ortega brothers of Rancho Refugio promised to send 300 *fanegas*; the rest was to come from the region of Los Angeles:

|                  |     |                |
|------------------|-----|----------------|
| Pedro Alvarez    | 100 | <i>fanegas</i> |
| Anastacio Avila  | 150 | “              |
| Juan Ballesteros | 100 | “              |
| Juan José Duarte | 50  | “              |
| Vicente Félix    | 150 | “              |
| Isidro Germán    | 20  | “              |
| Joaquín Higuera  | 50  | “              |
| Antonio Ibarra   | 50  | “              |
| Francisco Lugo   | 50  | “              |
| Manuel Machado   | 50  | “              |
| José Moreno      | 40  | “              |

|                    |           |                |
|--------------------|-----------|----------------|
| Manuel Nieto       | 100       | “              |
| Juan María Olivera | 200       | “              |
| Estevan Pérez      | 50        | “              |
| José Polanco       | 20        | “              |
| Francisco Reyes    | 100       | “              |
| Bartolo Tapia      | 40        | “              |
| Eugenio Valdez     | 100       | “              |
| José Vanegas       | 200       | “              |
| José María Verdugo | 200       | “              |
| Mariano Verdugo    | 100       | “              |
| Pío Quinto Zúñiga  | <u>50</u> | “              |
|                    | 1,970     | <i>fanegas</i> |

Including the Ortegas' 300 *fanegas*, the total in Santa Barbara jurisdiction was 2,270. This would have yielded a total of \$5,675 *pesos* yearly income, a goodly sum at the time.

By June 1801 the recent epidemic had ebbed. Its effect on the local *gente de razón* had been serious; what it had done to the Indian population, especially the *gentiles*, can be imagined as somewhat worse, given the lack of resistance to new diseases. It can be assumed that the attrition of the coastal Indians continued apace as the epidemics spread.

By 31 December 1801 the total population of Los Angeles was given as 331. There were 6,875 cattle, 7,627 horses, 363 mules, 64 *burros*, 2,713 sheep, and no goats or pigs recorded. The agricultural harvest included 550 *fanegas* of wheat (San Blas' request came too late for planting in 1801), 3,011 of corn, 445 of beans, but none recorded for barley, *garbanzos*, or lentils.

Goycoechea noted also that the lands suitable for farming around Los Angeles were still quite fertile, and that the cattle were increasing at a goodly rate, as well as the horses. He reiterated that the commands given to the *alcalde* and *comisionado* from the governor were passed on by him with good results, and that all buildings in the town were still in good repair.

**1802:** The elections of January 1802 made Mariano Verdugo *alcalde*, with Fructuoso María Ruiz and Ramón Buelna *regidores*.

In June 1802 Felipe de Goycoechea vouched for Mariano Verdugo's possession of Rancho de Cahuenga (spelled occasionally "Caguenga") and confirmed his possession. Verdugo evidently received the *rancho* in 1791-92 during the administration of Governor Romeu, and it was approved by Romeu's successor, Diego de Borica. Verdugo had lost his title somehow and was petitioning for a regrant. Goycoechea granted him title again on 27 June 1802.

Felipe de Goycoechea was about to end his nearly twenty years as commander of Santa Barbara, having served there since 1784. He prepared to turn over administration of the Santa Barbara district to Raymundo Carrillo, sending him a long discourse of what to observe and care for in both *presidio* (Santa Barbara) and *pueblo* (Los Angeles). With regard to the *pueblo*, Goycoechea is especially illuminating:

*All debts of the pueblo and ranchos must be paid in grain, cattle, or other produce of their harvests, manufacture, and freight. . . . Manuel Arrellano, deceased, left enough cattle and wool to pay [his debt]. . . . Juan Ignacio Cañedo has his reasonable mule team to pay what he owes by hauling freight, as well as paying his most urgent necessities. . . .*



*Before my term [as commander] expired, I had proposed to send the escolta corn, beans, lard, and meat, or live cattle, taking all these from the pueblo and ranchos in order to reduce the debts owed, so as not to have to aid the poor vecinos in their poverty, a method you would do well to adopt.*

*By disposition of the deceased Governor Diego de Borica, a contract was made with inválido Ignacio Guevara to supply soap [hence the soap contract must have been awarded to Guevara of Santa Barbara by 1799].*

*As the sergeant comisionado [Francisco Xavier Alvarado] has enough of a task in collecting diezmos, and as this is a great deal of trouble, what with straying livestock he has collected, the governor [Arrillaga] has determined that the stock collected shall be incorporated with the herd of the royal rancho at San Diego, and the horses with that of Monterey, as has just been so ordered.*

*The government of the pueblo is adapted to the [Felipe de Neve] Reglamento insofar as circumstances permit. The paraje of San Vicente is the most luxuriant for the community's livestock. Several have solicited it with the most persuasive arguments and I have refused all of them [out of respect] for the common good. Also, some have tried to put up corrales at various sitios, and with the definite knowledge that these are not beneficial, I've ordered them removed (even the Mission San Gabriel, for which reason it removed its cattle to the opposite side). By no means should you let them, for the convenience of one individual you allow to do this, it will injure all the rest. Let them have one common corral, which I have ordered placed in a convenient location, and aside from avoiding many disorders you will be free from many complaints.*

*The ranchos of Nieto, Domínguez, the two Verdugos [Mariano of Cahuenga and José María of San Rafael], and Félix are settled on by authority of the government, consistent with the law of today and under the resolution of Don Diego de Borica. Despite the suit instigated by San Gabriel Mission, Nieto remains where he is today.*

*Vecino Miguel Ortega has been conceded the paraje of Las Virgines by the present governor [Arrillaga], permitting him to live there with his cattle. Luís Peña and Santiago Pico own that of Simí with equal title, with the condition that they do not allow in the stock of other persons. The rancho of Conejo is being solicited from the governor by inválido José Polanco and vecino Ignacio Rodríguez. They are awaiting the return of the July mail for the result.*

*Among the government orders which I hand over to you is one of last November 21 [1801], which, with my advice declares with finality that the church of San Gabriel is common in its immunity to persons of San Diego and citizens of the pueblo, who must recognize it as its parish church. The inválidos of San Diego who are living in that pueblo and who have no other dependency on that presidio other than their pensions, are not subject to the authority of that commander, for they must be at the immediate orders of the commander of Santa Barbara, and of the sergeant comisionado he has placed there.*

*You have Ventura Zúñiga in the pueblo, a lad completely void of any sense of honor, of the most vile thoughts, and who has done much harm. I thought that no other punishment would cure him but to place him in my presidial company. Despite all hope I was obliged to exclude him, because I did not want to see him executed. There, also, is Francisco Sánchez, who has given signs of his inclination toward theft. I have corrected him with extreme severity, and it would be well not to lose him from sight.*

**1803:** Antonio Rosas was sent to the *pueblo* in January of 1803, after discharge. Clemente Navarro, another member of one of the founding families of the *pueblo*, was sent to Monterey

for his failing health; he later returned after discharge and lived in Los Angeles until he died in July 1807. Gil Ibarra wounded the *inválido* Segundo Valenzuela in a dispute, and in February Ibarra was sentenced to six months' imprisonment.

In April, Tomás Espinosa discovered Francisco Avila in intimacy with Espinosa's wife, María Rosalia Ochoa, and wounded him. This evidently took place at Rancho Cahuenga.

The wives of former *pueblo* residents Guillermo Cota and Julián Lara (now members of Santa Barbara Company) both died in an epidemic. What sort of epidemic this was is not stated, but as influenza was endemic in California at this time it could well have been such.

**1804:** In January 1804 Raymundo Carrillo, commander of Santa Barbara who had replaced Goycochea in 1802, prohibited the carrying of the *belduque*, or dirk, in both the *presidio* and the *pueblo*. Writing the *alcalde* of Los Angeles, he specified that it should be carried neither in the boot nor the belt within the *pueblo* or its environs, although on trips away from the *pueblo* it could be carried for personal protection. He added that such events as those which had transpired in Los Angeles (a possible reference to the Ibarra-Valenzuela dispute) could in Mexico City be punished with a public lashing *a los de color quebrado*, that is, to those of some African ancestry. This, however, was not done, neither in Los Angeles nor the *presidio*.

In June, Julián Lara was given a discharge; recently a widower, he moved to the *pueblo* and remarried. In September 1804 Serapio Zúñiga, brother of Ventura Zúñiga who was referred to in 1802 by Goycochea as a difficult lad, was arrested for having raped María Ursulina, a San Diego neophyte. He was given six months at San Diego Presidio in leg-irons, when his sentence was finally passed in February of 1805.

In September, Carrillo complained of the scarcity of corn at the *presidio*, adding that the *pobladores* were obliged to ship it on their mules, as the mules of the missions were not serviceable. The debts of the various persons in Los Angeles now came to \$3,449 *pesos*, owed to the *presidio* storehouses. There had been a good harvest of corn, pumpkins, and squashes, but the bean crop had failed at the *pueblo*. From early July to the end of September there had been many hot days which had caused sickness among the people of the *pueblo*: dysentery, vomiting, stomach-ache and fevers. Two *vecinos* of the *pueblo*, Manuel Nieto and Francisco Sánchez, had died as a result. Probably the heat had caused accelerated spoiling of food, promoting the illnesses described above.

Francisco Avila, a *vecino*, applied for a grant of land, Camulos, a place on the Santa Clara River, located just inside Ventura County today. The *padres* of San Buenaventura Mission protested the grant as they used the *sitio* for grazing dairy herds, and the Indians of Camulos were neophytes in the missions. It would be a betrayal of trust, they reminded the governor, should membership in the mission community become a pretext for seizing land belonging to the Indians. Moreover, it was not well that such a man as Avila, young and footloose, be placed so far from supervision of the community— perhaps an oblique reference to Avila's escapade with María Rosalia. The *padres* also complained about the lack of church attendance from the *ranchos*, the exposure of the *rancheros* to potential violence in disputes with Indians, and the demoralizing effect on Indian converts who could not see why the people of the *ranchos* were exempt from regularly attending Mass when they were punished for failing to do so. Resentment of both *pueblo* and *ranchos* is evident in missionary letters; the Indians, when given the material benefits of Hispanic

culture such as cloth and tools in exchange for their labor, saw no reason to become neophytes at missions where they could not simply come and go as they pleased from *ranchería* to *pueblo* to *ranchos*.

**1805:** In January 1805 Juan Bermúdez was discharged because he was sick; he joined the *pueblo* community that year but moved to San Diego in 1807.

In February the armorer of San Diego (Felipe García Romero) was given 74 carbines to try to repair. They were to be sent to Los Angeles when they were usable, assuming he was able to repair them.

On 16 April 1805, Bartolo Tapia was granted the coastal *parajes* between Topanga and Point Mugu, known later as Rancho Málibu. This was a long, narrow coastal shelf with some *sitios* for grazing, but it was not the best of all *ranchos* from the point of view of the average stock-raiser. The best sites for raising cattle were on the grassy plains west and south of the *pueblo*. Rancho Málibu's pasturage was not as bountiful as some, hence its long, narrow configuration.

In June a call for recruits came out in Los Angeles. There were seven places available in Santa Barbara Company and ten at San Diego. Soon several soldiers would be ready for discharge and replacements from the province were preferable to soldiers sent up from other parts of the viceroyalty. Even young men of sixteen, if they were from California, would be more suitable, given their ability on horseback and their knowledge of the country. There were also some vacancies at Monterey. This recruitment was reasonably effective, so the rosters were filled by 1807-08.

One of the recruits from Los Angeles in 1805 was Juan Silvestre Botiller. His enlistment record included a description, as follows: he was the son of Juan Botiller and María Celia Cota, a native of Loreto, and now a resident of Los Angeles; his occupation was grazier; his height, five feet, one inch and a fraction; he was nineteen years old; his hair, eyebrows, and eyelashes were dark brown; his nose was well-proportioned, and he had a wart on the right side of his face, below the ear; he was white complexioned, beardless, and had no scar.

A somber report on agriculture also came in June. Though there was a good wheat crop in the *pueblo*, but a plague of grasshoppers had eaten the corn, beans, and *garbanzos*. Even the vegetable gardens had not been spared, and some fruit trees and grapevines had suffered from grasshoppers. The pastures were not doing well this year either.

A dispatch from Goycochea (now governor of Baja California) states that one of the reasons for the prosperity of Los Angeles had been the ready availability of Indian labor, as contrasted with Branciforte where the Indians had been pre-empted by Santa Cruz Mission. His comment may have been directed toward efforts by missionaries to prohibit Indians from working in the *pueblos*.

A short statement about weather and crops was made in June 1805. From October 1804 until April 1805 there had been some good rains, but they ceased when winds from the northwest began, bringing dry weather; Captain Carrillo associated this with the wave of sicknesses producing fevers, constipation, and headaches, for which reasons some of the Indian children of the mission died.

Visits by foreign ships had become more common, and Yankee captains had become aware of the possibility of securing tidy sums from Los Angeles and environs through a lucrative trade which had developed for the skins of sea otters. All this had to do with the China trade. The Chinese weren't interested in most foreign goods which they considered



inferior to their own. But furs were another matter. At the trading port of Macao in southern China, a ready market was found. Lest it seem strange that tropical southern China was interested in furs, we should be reminded that they were worn in Peking, which is quite cold in winter. The furs of the sea otter were highly prized by wealthy people in Peking and other parts of northern China. In order to secure cargoes of tea, silks, and chinaware, American sea captains would take cargoes of cloth and what were called “Yankee notions” (thread, scissors, files, and other inexpensive household items) to the California or northwest American coast, trading them for furs. This was all quite illegal from the point of view of the Spanish government. It was discouraged greatly with fines and confiscation of goods, but Californians were not to be dissuaded from the illegal trade. It was a lucrative enterprise from the point of view of both Californian and Yankee.

Two vessels from which some idea can be gleaned about the nature of the trade through surviving ships’ logs were the *Mercury* and the *Tamana*, American and Hawaiian respectively. The logs indicate that though Spanish officialdom complied with the restrictions against trade with foreigners, there was little real support for these laws. For example, in 1807 some soldiers were sent to the *pueblo* from Santa Barbara with the order to oblige the *Tamana* to quit its San Pedro anchorage. After informing the captain of this order, the soldiers then sold some otter pelts to the *Tamana* and told the captain they were to withdraw as soon as he sailed — which of course meant that as soon as they were gone, the *Tamana* was free to return.

In Baja California, *Alférez* José Manuel Ruiz himself traded with the *Tamana* and *Mercury* but later hypocritically accused Goycochea, then governor of Baja California, of doing the same. Foreign trade in both Californias was enthusiastically embraced by the populace, both Indian and *gente de razón*. Indians along the coast seem to have routinely traded their sea otter pelts for goods and cash in the *pueblo* and on the *ranchos*, according to the entries in logbooks. The relatively high cost of goods shipped from Mexico was in great part responsible for the interest in foreign products, as was the availability of goods. The center of the trade was Hawaii, with China and the Americas on either side, so it was not strange that a ship of Hawaiian registry would be involved. Americans were uniquely suited for the Pacific trade between 1800 and 1808, the year of Jefferson’s unfortunate embargo, for they were not involved to the hilt in the Napoleonic Wars as were their logical rivals, Britain and France.

**1806:** In February 1806 the *comisionado* of Los Angeles was ordered by the governor to issue a roll call in the morning and again after the *oración* (evening prayer) to make sure that all were in the *pueblo* whenever a foreign ship was on the coast nearby. Apparently this had little effect, for the foreigners had much to do with the *vecinos* of Los Angeles in following months.

On 17 February 1806 Governor Arrillaga issued an order to the *comisionados* for San Jose and Los Angeles, explaining that the king had ordered an artillery militia formed in California, and the Viceroy of Mexico had commissioned *Alférez* José Roca to do so. Accordingly, a list was made of those men able to be members of the militia. Although the list was dated 28 August 1809, it would appear that it had been made shortly after selection had been made of the young men both from *pueblos* and from several *ranchos*. Judging from the ages of several of the men, it was probably made in late 1806 or early 1807. As might be expected, most of those over 35 were born outside California while the younger

ones, about half of the total, were natives of the province. There were 28 from Los Angeles itself and three from nearby *ranchos*.

In March 1806 some rulings were handed down concerning the *pueblo*. It was decided that old or ill *vecinos* did not need to stand watch at night, a community task shared by all along with the *pueblo* guard of four soldiers.

Also in March it was declared by the commander of Santa Barbara that the debts of Los Angeles *vecinos* did not exceed \$1000 *pesos*, and of this, \$300 *pesos* was owed by one man, Juan José Domínguez. The remaining \$700 *pesos* could be paid by the *vecinos* with the next harvest; as farmers they could pay in grain. Domínguez could be expected to pay in tallow or cattle. At least one Los Angeles *vecino* tried to avoid his debt by enlisting in the army. Lucas Olivera owed 65 *pesos* and 5 *reales*, having been loaned the money while a *poblador* in 1805. All this was to no avail, however, for he was instructed to pay from his army payroll. He was the same person who alleged bad eyesight in 1797 to avoid being recruited at that time. His eyesight must have improved over the past nine years.

In March a directive concerning the *diezmos* of the Nieto *rancho* was sent to Santa Barbara, asking for not only the amount due for 1805, which had been a most unproductive year, but also for the present year of 1806. Apparently 1806 was a better year for Juan José Nieto, if not for the *pueblo* in general. Governor Arrillaga's report for 1806 said that the *pueblo* had suffered much from the plague of grasshoppers which had destroyed the grain harvests; much of the corn and beans had been lost.

In April, *Alférez* Roca selected an artilleryman to go to the *pueblo* and instruct the new militia in the use and operation of cannon. He suggested that the cannon of San Gabriel be moved to the *pueblo* for instruction there, but Manuel Rodríguez, commander of San Diego, felt that the cannon was better left at San Gabriel for protection and that the militia could be instructed there after attending Mass.

In July eight recruits were enlisted in San Diego Company, and it was hoped that more would be enlisted after the *pueblo's* fiesta was over in August. The recruits were given three or four days of free time after being sworn in. Probably some were sent to Santa Barbara as well, in addition to the already-mentioned Lucas Olivera.

Governor Arrillaga had recommended that, given the hard times in the *pueblo*, hemp culture should be tried there. A subsidy for hemp was granted by the government; it was needed in order to make rope for the San Blas shipyards. Accordingly, the hemp seed was to be distributed, half to Santa Barbara Mission and half to the *pueblo*. Los Angeles was to be involved in the hemp-growing experiment in California.

In December 1806 there were eight *inválidos* from Santa Barbara Presidio living in Los Angeles of the twenty-five retirees from that *presidio*. They did not have to work very hard for a living, as they had their tidy pensions of 8 *pesos* monthly, though they should be persuaded not to be idle. They were to be permitted to live where they pleased, provided they did no harm to others. The presidial commander was to know how each *vecino* lived and how he maintained his family. If necessary, they were to be corrected, and if the first and second warnings had no effect, the commander was to notify the governor and obtain a decision as to what to do next. *Comisionado* Francisco Xavier Alvarado had his hands full about this time with the two Ventura brothers, particularly José Ventura, and Juan Manuel Zúñiga who had been committing excesses with married women. They were sent as enlistees to the Santa Barbara Company where Ventura had been a soldier beforehand until cashiered by Goycochea. From his second enlistment in 1806, his *filiación* described him as follows: *José Ventura Zúñiga, son of Pío Quinto Zúñiga and María Rufina; native*

of San Juan Capistrano and now living in Los Angeles; occupation, grazier; height, five feet two inches tall; age 25; hair and eyebrows black, eyes brown, aquiline nose, color of skin dark, beardless. Zúñiga eventually ended up at Monterey, while some of his family remained at Los Angeles.

**1807:** In June 1807 Governor Arrillaga optimistically reported on the hemp crop in Los Angeles. As a further inducement to the *vecinos*, the price of hemp was raised four more *reales*, now worth three *pesos* and four *reales* per *arroba*, to four *pesos*. The *vecinos* were obliged to use neophytes from the missions as laborers, who were paid one and one-half *reales* per day plus subsistence, since they no longer had the assistance of gentile Indians. This suggests that they had been obliged to refrain from using gentile laborers, perhaps from the objections of the missionaries. The prohibition did not last long, if there were such, for within a few years gentiles were again laboring in Los Angeles.

With the aid of the *condestable* (constable) in charge of hemp production, Joaquín Sánchez, the *pobladores* were able to begin hemp production in 1807. That year 133 *arrobas* and eight pounds were raised, making an income of \$533 *pesos* for the *pueblo*. The farmers were paid for their hemp on the beach where it was loaded aboard ship. Los Angeles was second only to Santa Barbara Mission in production; the hemp was sent on to San Blas. San Gabriel now was asking for some seed from *Condestable* Sánchez. Interest picked up in the *pueblo*, and more farmers were willing to try hemp production. Money was tight for many; one man, Pedro Polloreña, had been recently imprisoned in July for debts owed in the *pueblo*, and others were hard-pressed. Hemp production, with its fat subsidy, was a solution to the difficulties of several in the *pueblo*. One of these was the dependence on mission Indian labor, which, as the missions competed with the expanding hemp culture in the *pueblo*, created problems. The governor ordered hemp seed distributed to all *pobladores*.

Two soldiers of Santa Barbara retired to the *pueblo* in August. Bernardo Ramírez and Francisco Solórzano had served the required time of eighteen or more years and were eligible for the eight *pesos* monthly which they would receive.

Artilleryman José Peña was sent to the *pueblo* in September 1807 to instruct the militiamen in the use of cannon. The small cannon of San Gabriel was sent to the *pueblo* although, as might be recalled, the commander of San Diego had wished it to remain at San Gabriel. One of Santa Barbara's militiamen, Fermín Cordero, was in Los Angeles by October, and it was uncertain as to his exact whereabouts; the commander of Santa Barbara asked for some specifics — if he were by then enrolled in the *pueblo* militia, or if he had neglected to do so.

In November a *matanza* (slaughter) of stallions and mares was ordered. This meant that the several horse herds which had been allowed to proliferate around the *pueblo* were to be killed off in order to conserve pasture. Horses outnumbered cattle by the year 1800 and had continued to increase. As there were many more horses than necessary, it was hoped that the *pobladores* would save only the most necessary mares for future increase, killing the rest.

By the end of the year 1807 it was calculated that there were 400 persons in the *pueblo*: 210 males and 190 females. At Santa Barbara there were 380: 211 males and 169 females. It might be well to consider these figures in light of their distribution. There were more persons in Los Angeles than in any other settlement in California by this time. Los Angeles and the *ranchos* surrounding the *pueblo* extended from the Verdugo *ranchos* on

the northwest side of the *pueblo*, southeast to the Nieto *rancho*, and south to the Domínguez *rancho*. This would correspond roughly to the region now known as Glendale and Burbank in the northwest, Whittier to the southeast, and San Pedro in the south.

The 380 persons listed as being at Santa Barbara were somewhat more dispersed. The *presidio* garrisoned the missions of La Purisima, Santa Ines, Santa Barbara, San Buenaventura, and San Fernando. Included in Santa Barbara's total is Rancho del Refugio as well. The *presidio* had roughly half to two-thirds of the population of the district, with the rest distributed primarily in the missions as guards together with their families.

**1808:** In 1808 Corporal Joaquín de Osuna and private Juan José Sepúlveda received their army retirement certificates as veterans of San Diego Company. Both old soldiers had applied for their certificates in 1804, and it is hoped that they were accorded their retirement pay without a four-year delay. Corporal Osuna had already died in Los Angeles in July 1807, and Sepúlveda lived but four months after retirement, dying in Los Angeles in October 1808.

In November 1808 the hemp crop was assessed as it was sent out from San Diego. For 1808, there were 1,230 *arobas* and 20 1/2 pounds sent, of which 891 *arobas* were from the *pueblo*, 128 1/2 *arobas* were from San Gabriel Mission, and 211 *arobas* were from Santa Barbara Mission.

Some jealousy over hemp production seems to have arisen by 1809 in the *pueblo*, for in March 1809 the *pobladores* were objecting to the proposal of Joaquín Sánchez, who had initially brought hemp to California as a subsidized crop, to plant 40 *fanegas* of seed in the *pueblo* lands. *Alcalde* Guillermo Soto submitted their objections, noting that there was not enough water for the crops of corn, beans and vegetables which were usually sown, in addition to the hemp. Sánchez wished to go into partnership with Mariano Verdugo, and Verdugo was not a *vecino* of Los Angeles, but a *ranchero*, hence the *pueblo* water was not to be used by him.

Captain José Arguello of Santa Barbara Presidio immediately replied that the petition was denied. There was enough water for all *vecinos*, and *Comisionado* Alvarado had orders not to oppose Sánchez's project. Moreover, noted Arguello, Sánchez had repaired the *zanja madre* in order not to harm the *vecinos'* garden plots, small and large, and he had occupied only vacant lands. The townsmen were able to use the remaining land to their advantage if they chose. It would seem that the objections of the Los Angeles farmers were based on fear of some competition, rather than from any real danger to their crops.

In March also, a black deserter from an American ship was discovered to be at Rancho Simí, the *rancho* of Luís Peña and the Pico brothers. He was a sailor on a ship bound for the northwest coast.

In April, Corporal Antonio María Lugo was discharged for bad conduct after being punished for it. He was replaced by Anastacio Carrillo. Lugo soon went to Los Angeles and acquired a *rancho* in the following year. This was Rancho San Antonio, immediately southeast of Los Angeles. The original *rancho* was amplified several years later by adding Las Lagunas, adjacent to Lugo's original *rancho*.

**1809:** The owner of Rancho Las Vírgenes died, and his widow was permitted in 1809 to move to Los Angeles without losing her *rancho*. She was a neophyte of San Fernando, and as such quite properly entitled to some consideration for land tenure.

In June, San Fernando Mission announced that it wished to buy Rancho Cahuenga from Mariano Verdugo. Accordingly the sale was made later in the year, and the Mission made plans for a dam on one of the tributaries which ran into the Los Angeles River, occasioning protests from the *pueblo* in the following year.

In July 1809 a complaint from *Comisionado* Francisco Xavier Alvarado prompted *Alférez* Joaquín Maytorena to visit the *pueblo* and make some sort of determination as to what had transpired. Alvarado related that he had the jail and stocks full; despite threats that the Santa Barbara officers would be likely to intervene in the *pueblo* squabbles, the chaos had continued. He named as principals in the *pueblo* disturbances Ignacio Valencia, José Antonio Nieto, Cayetano Varelas, Manuel Moreno, and Isidoro Molina. After his investigations Maytorena determined that Valencia had chased *Alcalde* Guillermo Soto with a knife, wounded Cayetano Varelas with a spur, and generally behaved as if he were irrational. This occurred on 19 June when Valencia was drinking heavily; as a result Alvarado suspended liquor sales of wine and brandy obtained from San Gabriel Mission and also prohibited horseback-riding within the *pueblo* limits after 8:00 p.m. unless the rider was involved in legitimate business. Maytorena made a report to the governor, recommending that the miscreants be punished severely enough to frighten Valencia and his “satellites.”

In October the commissioner of hemp culture in California, Joaquín Sánchez, announced that the supply ship *Princesa* had left with 3,329 *arrobos* of hemp from southern California, leaving some left over on deposit in a storehouse made by San Gabriel Mission for the surplus. The growers of the *pueblo* were paid in full, for to have done otherwise, warned Sánchez, would have ruined hemp production in the district.

In November 1809 Manuel Rodríguez, commander of San Diego, complained of rising prices for grain because of the great drought in southern California. Corn was now worth \$10 *pesos* per *carga* (mule-load, or about 200 pounds); a *carga* of *garbanzos*, \$25 *pesos*; beans, \$18 *pesos*. So many sheep had died during the scarcity of pasturage that an *arroba* of uncarded wool was worth \$10 *pesos*, whereas before it had been worth but 20 *reales*, or \$2 1/2 *pesos*.

**1810:** In February 1810 Bernardo Ramírez was accused of having coerced his daughter María del Carmen into acts of incest. His wife was the principal accuser, and his daughter, aged 12, agreed that such had happened. When she confessed the act to *padres* of San Gabriel, they had told her to inform her mother. Ramírez, on his part, denied everything, insisting that his wife, Rosa Quijada, had brought the accusation on him to conceal her affair with Máximo Alanís and thus continue the affair unhampered by her husband, who presumably would be imprisoned. Xavier Alvarado investigated the case and interrogated various witnesses pro and con. As the case sounds suspiciously like an earlier one which involved Viviana Quijada in 1806, who was a victim of paternal incest from which she had a child, it may well be that her sister Rosa Quijada may have concocted the situation. In any case, the case against Bernardo Ramírez was not proven.

In March of 1810 a suit against the construction of a dam by San Fernando Mission at their newly-acquired Rancho Cahuenga was initiated by *Alcalde* Francisco Avila on behalf of the *pueblo*. *Regidores* Teodoro Silvas and Anastacio Avila took statements from *vecinos* concerning the cutting of Los Angeles' water supply, in that the dam was on the tributaries of the Los Angeles River. *Padre* Muñoz of San Fernando explained that the mission had no desire to harm the *pueblo* but only to irrigate a small area in crops at



Cahuenga, and if the governor decided that the dam was prejudicial to the *pueblo*, it would be removed — as it eventually was.

In April, 490 *fanegas* of hemp seed were planted by the southern missions and by the *pueblo*. About 100 *fanegas* were planted by the *pueblo*, and 40 were planted by Nieto and San Diego Mission together. By December the results were noted: 623 *arrobos* were sent by San Gabriel Mission; 397 *arrobos* by San Fernando Mission. A total of some 1,824 *arrobos* had been grown by the southern missions listed here.

From the *pueblo* came the following: Anastacio Avila, 101 *arrobos*; José Antonio Nieto, 75 *arrobos*; Antonio Yorba et al., 258 1/2 *arrobos*; Claudio López, 114 1/2 *arrobos*; Juan Verdugo, 156 1/2 *arrobos*; Xavier Alvarado, 178 1/2 *arrobos*; Francisco Avila, 107 *arrobos*; Juan José Nieto, 78 *arrobos*; Mariano Verdugo, 88 1/2 *arrobos*; Guillermo Cota, 85 *arrobos*; Xavier Morillo, 23 *arrobos*; *Presidio de Santa Barbara*, 1,158 *arrobos*; San Diego Presidio, 237 *arrobos*.

The most important event of 1810, at least on a local level, was the war between the Serrano Indians and San Gabriel Mission. Warning of trouble came by 28 October 1810 with the theft of several head of livestock a few nights before from one of the nearby *ranchos*. Some gentile Indians, in company with a few runaway neophytes, had raided the *ranchito*, which prompted the calling-up of the Los Angeles artillery militia into immediate service against the Indians. The new *Comisionado* Guillermo Cota, who had succeeded Alvarado earlier in the year, correctly felt that some trouble was about to happen. On the night of 4 November some 1,000 Indians, mostly Serranos with their allies from the desert *rancherías* such as *Angayaba* (a Chemehuevi village) and a few daring Mojaves from the Colorado *rancherías*, mounted an attack on San Gabriel Mission. They came within about five or six miles of the mission, but on being apprised of the reinforcements from the *pueblo*, decided against attacking the mission and instead raided the cattle and horse herds nearby. When a neophyte *vaquero*, Angel, objected to the thefts, they killed him.

The reaction was immediate. Sergeant Cota was to have fifteen men at his disposal from San Diego Presidio, and he was to take eighteen men into the field to pursue runaways from San Gabriel and San Fernando Mission, making these forays every two weeks. *Alférez* Gabriel Moraga was to take twelve men to San Gabriel where fifty men were stationed, counting the retired soldiers and *vecinos* of the militia. Sergeant Cota was to help him in the raids against the rebels, and the recently-retired Xavier Alvarado would take his place in pursuit of Indians. By December, Moraga had left Mission San Jose for San Gabriel and, although hampered by rain and muddy trails, managed to reach that mission within a month. He relieved the *pueblo* militia by 4 January and began immediately to make his expeditions against the gentile *rancherías*. The results of his raids were evident as early as February, when prisoners were being sent on to San Diego.

The reasons for the revolt and the involvement of so many gentile *rancherías* were not made clear to the participants involved in the defense of San Gabriel and the *pueblo*. What the grievances were are not easy to conjecture, but some guesses are possible.

Since about 1795, several Serrano *rancherías* had contributed neophytes to San Gabriel. By 1810 about 200 people from various Serrano villages were neophytes at the mission. This does not include the few who had died in epidemics which periodically struck the mission, nor the ones who had fled the mission more recently. Estimates of the population of Serranos made early in the twentieth century place the total aboriginal population for Serranos at about 500; the population even as late as 1800 was probably closer to 1500, after influenza and other diseases had significantly reduced the Serrano and



other interior California peoples in numbers. The reduction of people from some *rancherías*, such as *Guaschna* and *Amuscopiabit*, may have alarmed some of the leadership in the gentile villages. Others, although less affected by missionization, may have been worried about this population erosion which had affected their neighbors. When recent Serrano converts complained about not being able to leave the missions after they had agreed to become converts and accepted baptism, the leaders of some of the *rancherías* may well have agreed to aid them and effect their release.

The outcome for the Serranos, after only eight months of warfare, was disastrous. Many men were taken and sent on to Santa Barbara and San Diego *presidios*. Their wives and children had little option, in most cases, but to follow them. They were without food after several months of war and exhaustion of their stores of seeds. Several women and children were offered shelter at San Gabriel Mission where they later accepted baptism. After a year or so of resistance, the husbands followed their example, probably tired of working on the *presidios*' chaingangs. Nearly 1,000 Serrano became converts of San Gabriel and San Fernando Missions between 1795 and 1815.

The extent of this revolt is rather impressive. Villages from the San Bernardino Mountains, from Cajon Pass, the Mojave Desert, and even southwest of San Gorgonio Pass, are included in the mass baptisms and marriages in 1811 and into 1815. Evidently two or three Cahuilla villages, allied as they were with Serrano villages through marriage, were included in the revolt and subsequent baptisms by 1811.

In 1811 alone, some 450 adults from the area disturbed by the uprising were baptized, according to missionaries' correspondence. Within three years the number of converts had nearly doubled from the Serrano *rancherías* and their allies. The extraction of so many people from the region must have caused some dislocation and redistribution of several neighboring peoples. For example, it has been assumed by some anthropologists that the Gabrielino people extended into villages such as *Jurupet*, *Guaschna*, and the surrounding region. It is probable, however, that there was movement into the area after the Serrano had vacated. Also, confusion resulted in some minds as to just what a "Gabrielino" was. Indian informants may have used the term to describe any people who had been baptized in San Gabriel; this, then, would have included many Serrano and Cahuilla.

**1811:** A list of the Los Angeles militia on active duty between 28 October 1810 and 4 January 1811, sent by Corporal Bartolomé Tapia to the governor on 30 September 1812, is appended:

Corporal Francisco Félix  
Corporal Claudio López  
Corporal José Antonio Romero  
Corporal Bartolomé Tapia  
Corporal Salvador Véjar  
Soldiers:

|                       |                  |
|-----------------------|------------------|
| Nicolás Alanís        | Gerónimo Cañedo  |
| Anastacio Avila       | Juan José Duarte |
| Antonio Ignacio Avila | Adriano Félix    |
| Francisco Avila       | Pablo Franco     |
| Juan Ballesteros      | Juan José García |
| Eusebio Buelna        | Antonio Germán   |

|                     |                       |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| Ramón Buelna        | Bernardo Higuera      |
| Antonio López       | Tiburcio Tapia        |
| José Antonio Nieto  | Urcino Tapia          |
| José Antonio Ortega | Tomás Uribe           |
| Pedro Pérez         | Luciano Valdez        |
| Antonio Reyes       | José María Valenzuela |
| Jacinto Reyes       | Julio Verdugo         |
| Felipe Talamantes   |                       |

In August 1811 Bartolomé Tapia, the militia commander, donated \$150 *pesos* to the government at a time when it was sorely needed. As a result of the Hidalgo and Morelos struggle for independence from Spain then raging in central Mexico, neither payroll nor supplies were sent up from San Blas. This situation prevailed in Mexico for eleven years, and Californians were obliged to shift for themselves and bend the rules in securing supplies from foreign trade, although it was still illegal. Los Angeles was a major exchange point for foreigners as with the sea otter trade. Santa Barbara and Los Angeles were also involved in limited trade with Peru for tallow and hides, a trade which later became quite lucrative in the 1820s, although by that time the trade had expanded to other countries after the ban on foreign trade in California had been lifted.

By the end of 1811 a statistical report was given. Los Angeles had 354 people. Crops grown during the year included 286 *fanegas* of wheat, 3,282 *fanegas* of corn, and 152 of beans. There were 4,001 cattle, 1,687 horses, 458 mules, and 29 *burros*. Fruit trees and grapevines were now producing abundantly, and crops were as usual.

**1812:** In June 1812 Bartolomé Tapia was given some nails in order to spike the cannon captured from the *Mercury*, one of the ships smuggling offshore which had been apprehended by the warship *Flora*. Should any attempts to recapture the guns be made, Tapia was to spike them, rendering them useless to the enemy.

A list of *diezmos* from Nieto's *rancho* for December 31, 1812 is given here:

Sebasti, Crispín Pérez: 200 head of cattle, paid 20 head  
 Pedro Polloreña: 150 *fanegas* of corn, paid 15 *fanegas*  
 Juan José Nieto and brothers: 2,400 head of cattle, paid 240 head  
 Felipe Talamantes: 400 *fanegas* of corn, paid 40 *fanegas*

The corn was valued at 12 *reales* per *fanega*, the cattle at 10 *reales*, 8 *granos*, per head.

In December of 1812 a severe earthquake shook much of California including Los Angeles. Though there were no fatalities in the *pueblo*, some houses were damaged. According to Ramón Valdez, who was a boy of about nine at the time, it was difficult to remain standing, so severe were the temblors. San Gabriel Mission's church was cracked, and there was extensive damage there as well. La Purisima Mission was obliged to move; San Juan Capistrano Mission had a disaster when the roof of the church collapsed and more than forty neophytes were killed. Effects of the quake were felt as far north as Monterey and as far south as San Diego.

**1813:** In March 1813 it was duly reported to the governor by the *comisionado* that the guns left on the beach by Captain Noé of the *Flora* had been spiked on the order of Joaquín Sánchez who, alarmed by the approach of unknown vessels, had given the order to Corporal Bartolomé Tapia. Noé had left them in order to load tallow and subsequently seized the

*Mercury*, a noted smuggler on the coast. The two vessels which had so alarmed the locals turned out to be simple trading ships of American and Portuguese registry.

Juan José Higuera and Vicente Sánchez received discharges from the army in May 1813. As was the case with many unpaid and consequently disgruntled soldiers, they opted to live in the *pueblo* rather than continue to serve in an impecunious and increasingly unsupplied army. Since the revolts of Hidalgo and Morelos in Mexico from 1810 to 1815, there had been no payroll, supplies, nor replacements for the muskets and carbines which had to be either repaired or discarded over the years. Though the officers of California did their best to convince Viceroy Calleja that there was a similar situation in California as there was in central Mexico, citing the revolt of 1810-1811 in the area east of San Gabriel, they were not supplied or paid. Complaints from some of the *padres* about the undisciplined youth of the *pueblo* were penned to the governor. One chronicled the usual system of agricultural entrepreneurship with the Indians, grumbling that the farmers gave the neophytes brandy for their clothing, traded it to gentile laborers, who were put to work planting, harvesting, and processing grapes into wine, which was then distilled into brandy by the enterprising farmers and again traded to the neophytes for more clothing and other trade items. One said he would not be surprised to see a riot among the young men of the *pueblo*, as there had been in Mexico elsewhere, so capricious and independent were they becoming.

**1814:** As an illustration of growth in the *pueblo*, at least in terms of population, there are few statistics. As of 31 December 1811, there were 358 persons in Los Angeles; by 31 December 1814, there were 478. The *pueblo* continued to grow during the next decade, and the reason was largely the lack of interest in joining the army after the insurrection halted the pay and supplies, as was mentioned. Settlement populations were: San Francisco, 345; San José, 126; Branciforte, 32; Monterey, 481; Santa Barbara, 488; Los Angeles, 478; and San Diego, 420. Remembering the dispersal of mission garrisons, with a corporal or sergeant and at least four or five soldiers and their families, and occasionally as many as fifteen soldiers, it is not hard to believe that Los Angeles had a group of inhabitants larger than the *presidios* — even larger than that of Santa Barbara, which garrisoned missions from La Purisima to San Fernando, a distance of over 150 miles. The *pueblo* statistics must have included nearby *ranchos*, as well, but none were more than a dozen miles from the cluster of *adobe* and *palisada* houses called Los Angeles, making it undisputably the largest settlement in California by 1814.

The crops were not overabundant in 1814; only 885 *fanegas* of corn and 290 of beans were harvested. This may have been the results of overproduction earlier, but later dispatches also refer to extensive damage from gophers, grasshoppers, and other pests which preyed on the crops. As for livestock, there were 6,295 cattle, 2,499 horses, 346 mules, 39 *burros*, and 770 sheep.

**1815:** In September 1815 several Aleuts and a Russian were captured by Guillermo Cota and the *pueblo* militia at San Pedro Bay. They had been surprised hunting sea otters in the bay, and at least one of the Aleuts was seriously wounded. Twelve kayaks were taken along with the 22 men and their otter-hunting equipment. Unfortunately none of the prisoners spoke Spanish, and Cota was not at all adept in Russian, so they were unable to explain the circumstances of their visit. The Aleuts and the Russian, Boris Teresov, were to be sent to Monterey via Santa Barbara Presidio on horseback. Two Aleuts were to remain in San

Gabriel, the wounded man and one to care for him. The kayaks, it developed, could not be sent by sea as no one was expert in kayak-rowing; eventually they were sent to Monterey on *carretas*. This event occurred on 19 September in San Pedro Bay, and the Russian and his Aleuts remained in Los Angeles nearly a month. At least one Aleut remained in Los Angeles for years after his capture, perhaps one of those two who remained behind. In a list of 1823 for Los Angeles, we find one “Simón, *indio de Sitka*,” or Simón, Indian of Sitka, as the Russian establishments in Alaska were called in Mexico.

**1816:** According to the landholdings list of February 1816, twelve persons settled in Los Angeles, and nine of them appear to have had families. It is probable that a few of these men had been in Los Angeles prior to 1815 but had not been enrolled formally in the *pueblo* as *pobladores*. In all, there were about forty persons if family members are included. The names of the new dwellers in the *pueblo* were: Juan José Alvarado, Bruno Avila, José Bermúdez, José Manuel Cota, José María Farías, Francisco Olivares, José Ruiz, Francisco Sepúlveda, Gabriel Sotelo, José María Soto, Antonio Valdez, and Ignacio Varelas. Several of these men were discharged soldiers, and men from the *presidios* continued to augment the *pueblo*'s growth.

Guillermo Soto and Eugenio Valdez were embroiled in a brawl with one another; Soto was evidently the aggressor, to the point where he involved his son against Valdez. The cause of the bad feeling between them stemmed from a small disagreement years before which had been magnified by the consumption of freshly-produced brandy from the recent grape harvest. Valdez and Soto had gone about sampling the new vintage and had become rather drunk. Eugenio Valdez was wounded by a short sword, and Soto was imprisoned as a result.

Growth of the *pueblo* had created some complications; the office of *comisionado* by 1815 was not as easy as it had been in 1810 when Guillermo Cota had become the presiding official in Los Angeles. The vineyards of the *pueblo* were now producing well, local distilleries were producing a fair brandy and it is understandable that a few newly-discharged soldiers may have been only too willing to consume the local product, complicating Cota's job even more. But the Soto-Valdez conflict involved old soldiers who had lived in Los Angeles for many years. They do not fit the above category of discharged soldiers recently freed from the restraints of *presidio* and mission guard. Life in the *pueblo* does seem to have been more enjoyable, on the whole, with only the constraints imposed by the *comisionado* and by the *padres* of San Gabriel, who had charge of the parish (Los Angeles had only a chapel, with no resident priest). To a lesser extent the *alcalde* had some influence over the electorate, but even thirty years after the Fages *Instrucción* the real power rested with the *comisionado*.

In February 1816 Governor Pablo Vicente de Solá ordered Patricio Pico, owner of Rancho Simí, to permit the livestock of San Fernando Mission to graze on his *rancho*, as in former years. It seems Pico had made an effort to remove the sheep of the mission from his *rancho* earlier.

In April, Antonio Rocha, a Portuguese weaver and carpenter who had been left in California, asked permission to move from San Miguel Mission to San Gabriel. After moving to San Gabriel Mission where he refurbished the carpentry shop and worked on various jobs, he then settled in Los Angeles.

The new dwellers of Los Angeles, most of whom had come into the *pueblo* within the past four or five years, presented a legal problem to the governor. The commander of Santa Barbara, José de la Guerra y Noriega, wrote Solá advising him that the Neve

*Reglamento* of 1781 had provided that all *pobladores*, discharged soldiers, and other settlers should be exempt from paying *diezmos* for the first five years of residence. This also included soldiers in the *pueblo* guard, who usually had gardens and raised some livestock. This point was clarified in June 1816.

In June an alarm went out to the effect that pirates in the service of Chile were raiding the Pacific Coast, and some had been observed in Hawaii preparing to attack western Mexico, including California. The Los Angeles artillery militia was activated and sent to San Diego. José de la Guerra obtained a list of who possessed arms in the *pueblo* and at the *ranchos* of its jurisdiction. In July 1816 the list read as follows:

*PUEBLO DE NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LOS ANGELES:*

Inválidos - 4 sergeants with 2 muskets and 2 swords;

1 corporal, no weapons; 15 solders with 4 muskets,  
4 swords, 2 pistols, and 2 lances.

Vecinos de Los Angeles - 70 vecinos with 7 muskets,

9 swords, 2 pistols, and 1 lance.

Rancho de Simí - 3 vecinos with 1 musket, 1 sword, and 1 lance.

Misión San Fernando - 1 *inválido* and 1 *vecino*, no weapons.

*Total for the Los Angeles jurisdiction: 95 men with 14 muskets,  
four pistols, 16 swords, and 4 lances.*

It will be noted that San Gabriel Mission and Nieto's *rancho* of Santa Gertrudis are not on the list. They were parceled out to San Diego's jurisdiction, so Guerra did not include them.

Francisco María Ruiz, commander of San Diego, asked for and received the Los Angeles militia before Guerra, as the latter complained in July. The governor probably thought it just as well, for Guerra had complained of the ineptitude of the *pueblo*'s militia, who, according to him, could hardly fire a gun. Surprisingly enough, Guerra now wanted the militia nevertheless. They remained in San Diego, however, until the emergency was considered over. As a possible concession to Guerra's complaint of shorthandedness, the governor requested the *vecinos* of (Nieto's) Rancho Santa Gertrudis to guard the port at San Pedro although it was properly in Santa Barbara's jurisdiction.

A list of Los Angeles militia serving at San Diego Presidio as of 19 August 1816 indicates the following:

|                          |                       |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| Nicolás Alanís           | Francisco Félix       |
| Antonio Ignacio Avila    | Juan José García      |
| Francisco Avila          | Bernardo Higuera      |
| José Avila               | Antonio López         |
| Juan Antonio Ballesteros | Claudio López         |
| José Ramón Buelna        | José Antonio Nieto    |
| Juan José Buelna         | José Cosme [Olivas]   |
| José Vicente Cañedo      | Pedro Pérez           |
| Juan José Duarte         | José Antonio Reyes    |
| José Jacinto Reyes       | José Urcino Tapia     |
| José Antonio Romero      | José Luciano Valdez   |
| Felipe Talamantes        | José María Valenzuela |
| Bartolomé Tapia          | Julio Antonio Verdugo |

By the end of October the threat from the pirates was considered over, at least as far as the California coast was concerned, for it was known that they had gone south for a time. Accordingly, the militia was disbanded and sent back to Los Angeles. Commander Ruiz considered them well-instructed by then and ready for any additional emergencies. The men had served at San Diego Presidio from 8 July to 24 October 1816 and were to continue to assemble from time to time in Los Angeles for practice and to be ready to serve in any other emergencies. Most of the militia had been on garrison duty in the missions of San Diego's district and had instructions to round up all the cattle on the coast in the event of the appearance of a hostile or suspicious vessel on the horizon. This would prevent the enemy from taking provisions from the herds of cattle which abounded in the missions and in the *pueblo*.

By the end of the year 1816 the population of Los Angeles was given as 560, with 284 males and 276 females, a nearly equal ratio.

**1817:** Los Angeles was able to acquire a school in March of 1817, when retired soldier Máximo Piña was hired at \$140 *pesos* yearly to teach school in the *pueblo*. His little pension of \$72 *pesos* per annum from his status as a retired soldier was thus substantially augmented. In all likelihood, he never received much, if any, of his *inválido* retirement pay, since rebellion after rebellion continued to mar the quiet of the countryside, even after the execution of Hidalgo in 1811 and of Morelos in 1815 had decapitated leadership for a short time. No supplies and no military payroll continued to be major problems in California.

Progress in Los Angeles continued with the construction of a community church. The earlier chapel had been damaged in the 1812 earthquake, so it was determined to construct a church large enough for the amplified population of the *pueblo*, beginning in 1814. The course of the Los Angeles River altered, however, after a major flood in 1815, cutting into the embankment near what is now Alameda Street. The original site of the church was to have been near what is now the east side of the present *plaza*. But after a visit, governor Solá saw that the site had some potential danger from being further undercut by the river's new channel; he then required that the church be moved to a safer site opposite the first one selected. The *plaza* was accordingly moved a short distance away to a more secure location, for the east side was exposed to the same danger. For this reason the so-called "first *plaza*" is given as the location of this one, although it was probably the second or third location.

In April 1817 Father President Payeras wrote Guerra that the idea of adding a priest's house to the new church was a good one, in that there was no place for visiting *padres* to stay when they had said Mass in the *pueblo*. Presumably they had stayed in the house of one or another *vecino* or at the *comisionado*'s house when visiting the *pueblo*. In earlier years it had been the custom for all women and children who were able, plus half the men, to go to Mass. Men were supposed to go on alternate Sundays. To Mission San Gabriel was a nine-mile trip by *carreta* or on horseback, starting early Saturday and returning Sunday evening. Clearly, with the larger population, this was much more difficult. San Gabriel was hard put to accommodate the some 300 to 400 persons who made the journey; consequently it was more incumbent for *padres*, if not otherwise occupied (which was frequently the case), to administer in the *pueblo*. Requests for resident pastors in the *pueblo* were being made from time to time but had not yet been granted.

In August, Guerra reiterated a complaint from the *pueblo* that the wild horses kept by Manuel Gutiérrez were infringing on the pasture normally allotted to the *pueblo*, and



his herds had greatly increased over the past few years. Guerra reminded Governor Solá that such a complaint had been sent in November 1815 but had thus far gone unheeded. A *matanza* was perhaps the answer, as in other dry years when horses as yet unbroken would be slaughtered to conserve pasture.

In October 1817 Ramón Sotelo, an *inválido* resident at Nieto's *rancho*, was obliged to go to trial for blasphemy. It seems Sotelo had not taken the commandment about adultery seriously and said so to several witnesses, a serious matter to the Franciscans of San Gabriel. As Nieto's *rancho* was in San Diego's jurisdiction, Sotelo was sent on to that *presidio* for trial.

In October, also, Juan José Nieto complained that San Gabriel Mission employees had abducted his herds of stock from his *rancho* and that the missionaries were not willing to let him have them back. It does appear, however, that there was some conflict over which cattle were whose, and the mission wanted to have a ruling on the matter. In his letter to Governor Solá, Nieto has witnesses sign for him, including Juan Bautista Alvarado, José de la Guerra, Joaquín de la Torre, and others.

In November, Guerra wrote the governor that he had resolved to rid California of the "leeches" which had come there in recent years. He cites Jacobo Velarde in Los Angeles, Pedro Cabanos of Manila in Los Angeles, who had come in 1814, and another arrival, "*un tal chileno*" ("a certain Chilean") which is probable reference to José María Fariás of Chile, a supposition strengthened by the fact that this *chileno* was at Nieto's *rancho*, as was Fariás.

Preparations were to be made for Guillermo Cota's retirement as *comisionado* of Los Angeles, after eight years of service in the post. He was to go to the *presidio* at Santa Barbara in November and be retired on 1 January 1818, with sergeant Juan de Ortega taking over the *comisionado* position in his stead. Cota now had eighteen years of continuous service to his credit, enough for retirement. He had served for a few years earlier, enlisting in 1790, but his subsequent release from the army and re-enlistment dated from 1799. Others of the Santa Barbara Company who were ready to retire were corporals Vicente Villa and Juan Leyva, as well as privates José Lugo, José Leyva, and Ignacio Félix.

Ramón Sotelo had been arrested in October of 1817 for his unorthodox comments on the morning of 10 October concerning the Ten Commandments' ruling on adultery and the Sacrament of Penance. He was noted for his ignorance of Christian doctrine and for his "frivolous and intrusive chicanery," which was publicly known. He was sentenced to perform public works at San Diego Presidio, with a leg-iron, and was to give apology to the *pueblo* and to the priests who had been scandalized by him, *Padres* Nuez and Olbés.

Tiburcio Soto managed to enmesh himself in severe difficulties during 1817. On one occasion he slipped into the house of Encarnación Urquídez while Urquídez and his wife were at a dance. Soto carefully bundled up their sleeping twelve year old daughter in her blanket and walked out the door with her. Suddenly awake, Juliana Urquídez began screaming, whereupon Soto abruptly dropped her, telling her to say he was Joaquín Alvarado, not Tiburcio Soto. When her parents met her crying and upset as they returned from the dance, they immediately informed the *alcalde* and *comisionado*. Soto was arrested. While in jail he was also charged with cattle theft and changing brands on cattle. He was sentenced to two years of public works at a *presidio*.

At the end of the year 1817 Los Angeles had a population of 537 in *pueblo* and *ranchos*, with 274 in the actual *pueblo* and 263 in nearby *ranchos* and just outside the

*plaza* region. Those who lived in isolation from the town, although within the *pueblo* lands, were probably added to the later figure.

After the *matanza* in 1817, there were but 1,388 cattle, 398 horses in 21 herds (an average of 19 horses per *manada*, or herd), 561 sheep, and 63 mules. Livestock had decreased as the result of killing off the surplus in order to conserve pasture.

**1818:** Sergeant Juan de Ortega was disposed to report the escape of Ramón Sotelo from jail in the *pueblo* in February of 1818. Sotelo, it will be remembered, was punished for alleging that the sixth commandment (or seventh, in Protestant theology) was not binding to the unmarried, and that adultery was not such a major issue, in any case. He is remembered in at least one reminiscence as an old man, fond of telling stories, and a most unconventional fellow. While the Anglo-American model for the first odd character of Los Angeles was William Money, a Scot who arrived in Los Angeles about 1840, perhaps some glory should be reserved for Ramón Sotelo, our pioneer free-love advocate.

Some interesting facts are found in the memorial written by Governor Solá in April 1818 which pertain to Los Angeles. The *pueblo* had a population of 586 persons who were cultivating 53,686 grapevines and raising abundant harvests of corn, wheat, and beans, which were supplied to the *presidios* of Santa Barbara and San Diego. They did not sow more crops for lack of consumers and transport.

There were not enough *padres* to attend to the spiritual needs of the *pueblo*. It was increasing notably in population and consequently needed a resident priest. The river during the rainy season was frequently impassable; only a few young men took their aged parents to Mass at San Gabriel unless there were older daughters at home. As a result almost the entire citizenry was left without attending Mass. The many tasks and cares the ministers of San Gabriel had in attending their flock at the mission made it difficult for them to attend to the spiritual needs of the *pueblo*. The sick and aged were in danger of being left without last rites. The people of Los Angeles were in the process of constructing a new church, with the hopes that they would be able to have their own priest.

Crops were damaged throughout southern California by squirrels, rats, gophers, moles, and other pests which had increased since the Indians no longer ate them. Great swarms of locusts caused much damage from time to time. The "*chaguiste*" caused by coastal fogs burned the new plants and damaged crops (this was probably Solá's rendering of chahuistle, or rust, which also caused damage).

With regard to *pueblo* buildings in San José and Los Angeles, Solá was of the opinion that the *adobes* did not last longer than 25 or 30 years in that climate (though remarkably few California *adobes* were more than 30 years old) and needed to be reconstructed after a period of time. Moreover, in his opinion, the soil was not good for *adobe*-making. Concerning San José and Los Angeles, he remarked, "*House construction for the most part is of palisada and a very few of adobe roofed with straw [and] without regard for precise measurement in their positions.*" Certainly in the case of Los Angeles, rapid growth over the period 1812-1818 may have promoted some inconsistencies in house arrangement and alignment. Judging from very early surveys conducted in the 1850s, several houses even at that late date seem to have been placed with natural contours of the terrain in mind rather than with regard to the alignment with one's neighbors.

In April 1818 José de la Guerra called the militia to be ready to train at Santa Barbara Presidio, ordering six men at a time to be at the *presidio* each month. In May Alférez Estrada of Monterey Presidio was to go to Los Angeles and choose twelve to fifteen

young men as soldiers for Monterey Presidio. The *comisionado* was to make a list of the most apt for service, but they must be volunteers and should bring their own horses with them.

The militia experiment of Guerra's was abandoned in June, but the men were to continue training and were on call for any emergency. It was noted that the men could train with the two-pound cannon which was in the *pueblo*. As it developed, the militia was soon needed.

*Comisionado* Juan José Ortega died in Los Angeles on 24 September 1818, a month before his 42nd birthday. Guillermo Cota was reactivated from retirement to assume that role again. One of his first duties that week was to arrest Gabriel Sotelo, Rafael García, Pedro Arce, Andrés Ibarra, and Antonio Ibarra. The first three had stolen a large amount of tallow from Francisco Avila during the year. This may have been the *diezmo* tallow collected by Avila, as he was collector for a time in the *pueblo*. In October, Anastacia Zúñiga, the daughter of Pío Quinto Zúñiga and widow of Manuel Bustamante, was tried along with José Antonio Ramírez, master builder and carpenter of San Gabriel, for adultery. Ramírez was to have been jailed or put into the stocks for a month; Anastacia Zúñiga was obliged to be exposed at the door of the church with her hair shorn and one eyebrow shaved, and to stand there during the first feast day that came. After this she was to have been sent to the *presidio* at Santa Barbara where she was to live in a good religious household for a month.

In October 1818 news of the insurgent Chilean vessels was again circulated along the coast of California. This time the threat was much more real than the alarm of 1816. As of 11 October the militia had been activated by Guerra on the order of Governor Solá. Monterey was seized by the French adventurer, Hypolyte Bouchard, who had two ships and hundreds of men at his disposal. He looted and destroyed the capital, then turned his attention south. The raiders stopped at Rancho del Refugio near Santa Barbara, to do some extensive damage to the buildings. By this time, resistance from the Californians was having more effect. Some of the insurgents were captured, and they were consequently more careful in their next raid. The ships cruised down to San Juan Capistrano but were forced to leave by the soldiers and militia of the *pueblo*. Bouchard and his men remained at sea and did not return. He had sacked Monterey in November and raided San Juan in December, but by late December he was gone.

**1819:** Work continued on the Plaza Church during 1819, and it appeared as if the *pueblo* might have it completed within a year. Such was not the case, however, for several delays were impeding progress. Principal among these was the seizure of the contributions in cattle and other goods which the *pobladores* had donated toward the construction of the church. To repair the damage caused by Bouchard's attack on Monterey in November 1818, Governor Solá had taken the contributions for his reconstruction of Monterey Presidio and other buildings damaged by the piratical expedition. This allocation of *pueblo* church funds understandably made the local contributions diminish quickly. The *pueblo's* inhabitants nevertheless continued to work on the church. Men cut timber and made *adobe* bricks; women carried sand from the river's bank in their *rebozos* (shawls). But their contributions of money and livestock were not returned by the governor.

After a month or so of quiet, and once it was understood that Bouchard had left, the *pueblo* militiamen returned home. They were praised by officers and *padres* alike for their role in defending the coast and obliging the raiders from Chile to withdraw from San

Juan Capistrano. Hardly had they settled down at home when a new emergency arose. This time it was not from the sea but from the interior of the country.

The Mojave Indians of the Colorado River area were accustomed to send traders to Buenavista Lake in order to trade skins and blankets for shells and other items from the Pacific Coast peoples. The Indians which inhabited the region around Ventura and Santa Barbara were involved in this trade, and rendezvous at the lake were an annual event. In 1819, however, no coastal Indians appeared; the Mojaves therefore went on to the coast in search of willing traders.

At San Buenaventura Mission they were greeted civilly by the resident priest and lodged in the guardhouse next to the mission's church. Unfortunately, the man left to guard was one Luciano Féliz, a soldier of questionable character (he had been discharged earlier for bad conduct but resumed as a soldier during the recent emergency). On seeing some of the fine blankets offered for sale, he tried to take one from the Indians. The delegation of Mojaves, some 22 in number, understandably remonstrated, and a fracas ensued. Féliz ran to get help, for most of the soldiers were at Mass. Rufino Leyva and Mariano Cota arrived first and were killed, for the Mojaves were able to take lances from the arms cache in the guardhouse and ably defended themselves. One of the neophytes who attempted to aid the soldiers was captured, and the rest managed to escape. Ten Indians were killed from the Mojave delegation, four were captured, and the rest escaped. These latter made it back to the Colorado River to spread the word about their hostile reception. Reaction was almost immediate. This time, the warriors, not traders, went to the coastal area to avenge the wrong done to their compatriots. They took the route most familiar to them, as they had done in 1810-11, that of Cajon Pass from the Mojave Sink and into the San Bernardino region, pausing at *Atongaibit* where they killed some resident Christian neophytes. They crossed into the area of San Gabriel Mission's cattle grazing grounds near La Puente and drove off several cattle. So by June of 1819 the *pueblo* militia was again on the alert, guarding San Gabriel Mission and Los Angeles. Once again Gabriel Moraga was sent south to retaliate against the Mojave raiders.

Moraga arrived sometime later in the year; as late as September there were complaints about Mojave raiders stealing horses and abducting neophytes. Coinciding with Moraga's arrival from northern California with some of his men, was the timely arrival of the Mazatlán Infantry as support against further raids from the freebooters at sea such as Bouchard. In all, 200 men were sent to California, 100 from San Blas and 100 from Mazatlán. The latter men were stationed at Santa Barbara and at San Diego, while the San Blas units went to northern California. Moraga was able to appropriate some of the *mazatlecos* for the punitive expedition against the *Amajabas*, as the Mojaves were called in Spanish. These men had to be provided with mounts and suitable armor, as they had neither. *Cueras*, the leather armor jerkins worn by California cavalry and other frontier posts of Mexico, were improvised for the Mazatlan men out of sheepskins, which would keep them reasonably warm during the cold winter in the high desert.

In November 1819 Moraga left San Gabriel with 35 *soldados de cuera* and 15 Mazatlán infantrymen but failed to reach the Mojave villages on the Colorado River. They reached *Angayaba*, a village in the Mojave Desert, went onward, and finally concluded that they were in danger of starving their horses because of the lack of pasture. Although it was midwinter, it was virtually impossible to feed their mounts in the inhospitable wastes of the desert. The expedition returned to San Gabriel without any contact with the *Amajabas*

they had sought, though the bodies of some neophytes were found in the desert. It was decided that without elaborate preparation, no invasion of the Mojave region was possible.

In December a petition was sent to protest the granting of Rancho Ballona to the Machado brothers and to Felipe Talamantes and his son Tomás. The Ballona grant had belonged to Pío Quinto Zúñiga and his sons but had been rescinded after the death of Pío Quinto because the sons did not comply with the rules governing such grants, such as herding cattle in such a manner that they did not bother the neighboring herds. They lost the grant probably while the elder brother was in the army, about 1808 or 1809. A long list of *vecinos* protesting the regranteeing of the *ranchos*, which had reverted to public pasture, was added. Following *regidores* Anastacio Avila and Tomás Uribes were the names of persons who presumably had herds in the western coastal area:

|                          |                      |
|--------------------------|----------------------|
| Francisco Acebedo        | Juan Polloreña       |
| Máximo Alanís            | Ignacio Rendón       |
| Juan de Dios Ballesteros | Antonio Reyes        |
| José Bermúdez            | Jacinto Reyes        |
| José A. Botiller         | José Antonio Romero  |
| Ramón Buelna             | Mateo Rubio          |
| José Félix               | Santiago Rubio       |
| Pablo Franco             | Vicente Sánchez      |
| Bernardino Higuera       | Encarnación Urquídez |
| Juan José Higuera        | Segundo Valenzuela   |
| Andrés Ibarra            | Cayetano Varelas     |
| Antonio Ibarra           | Mariano Verdugo      |
| Desiderio Ibarra         | Francisco Villa      |
| José Palomares           | Vicente Villa        |
| José Polanco             |                      |

The population had roughly doubled in the Los Angeles district since the death of Zúñiga and there were many more families raising stock in the *pueblo* lands. A resumé of the *ranchos* in the jurisdiction were listed in Goycoachea's memorial of 1802. Rancho Ballona, also known earlier as Los Quintos (from Zúñiga's name, Pío Quinto, which was often used much like a surname in *pueblo* correspondence), was evidently granted shortly after 1802, probably about the same time that the grant of Malibu was made to Bartolo Tapia in 1804. Correspondence pertaining to the Ballona grant revealed interesting geographical information. Rancho de los Quintos is mentioned as being at the mouth of the Los Angeles River, and it is the one later confirmed as Rancho Ballona. This is a documentation of the tradition that the Los Angeles River at times changed course and ran out what was later Ballona Creek. According to oral tradition, the river changed course in the flood of 1815, running down the old channel roughly equivalent to Alameda Street and then turning west around the latitude of Exposition Boulevard (the present Martin Luther King Boulevard), down into swamps of La Cienega (*Ciénega*) and into Ballona Channel. In the flood of 1825 the river again changed its course, this time again running southward. There has been much debate about this matter, but it would seem that the tradition was accurate. Some earlier accounts of the river's course running down the same westward channel are extant, but the dates are less certain. Perhaps the vagaries of the river may account for the earlier location of the *plaza* being moved in the 1790s, for there seems to be, as mentioned earlier, a more southerly early location on lower ground noted in certain accounts of about 1790.



**1820:** In March 1820 the *pueblo* and San Gabriel Mission were at odds over the boundary between the mission and the *pueblo*. The San Gabriel missionaries had complained that both *Alcalde* Anastacio Avila and Antonio María Lugo had their stock on mission land. It was also noted that Lugo was a close relative of the new *comisionado*, Anastacio Carrillo, implying that the *comisionado* was not in a position to act effectively against Lugo. As a matter of fact, Lugo's older sister was Carrillo's mother. What the barb failed to point out, but was quite likely implicit, was the relationship between Commander of Santa Barbara José de la Guerra and Lugo. Guerra was married to Lugo's niece — the sister of Anastacio Carrillo.

In April came another petition for Camulos, the *rancho* bordering between what are now Los Angeles and Ventura Counties. José Antonio Romero asked for Rancho Camulos, but San Buenaventura Mission was quite opposed to the proposition as the mission's sheep grazed there. Inasmuch as the *presidios* were in need of woolens for their troops, it was not a good idea to limit the number of sheep in the missions. Camulos was again not granted.

In May came a petition from Mariana Verdugo, wife of José Antonio Tapia. Her husband was a prisoner at the *presidio* and she asked for his release. Tapia's crime was a serious one, however. He had raped a neophyte woman who later died. It was presumed that abusive treatment by Tapia had led to her poor health and eventual death. He remained in jail, despite the pleadings of his wife. About a year later, however, he was released, perhaps as the result of general indulgence.

A setback of work on the church and the new buildings for the guardhouse and government quarters came in June 1820 when the late rains melted about 50,000 *adobe* bricks scheduled for the new buildings. As it was not the rainy season the bricks were not covered, hence the loss.

Francisco Morales was made secretary of the new Los Angeles *ayuntamiento* in 1820, as he was quite literate and had a good hand. He had been schoolmaster for a time prior to this, as Máximo Piña had died. Los Angeles seems to have had a school fairly continuously from 1817 through the early 1820s, but little has been documented about it as sources are lacking for the period. Morales was replaced as teacher by José María Herrera.

A spring had been granted to Pedro Valenzuela in 1816 or 1817, probably in 1816, when Lugo was *alcalde* (in the document it states that Antonio María Lugo was *alcalde* and the *comisionado* was Guillermo Cota; in 1817, however, José Polanco was *alcalde*). Valenzuela had not used the spring, as he was quite old, and he did not build the fountain as he had intended. In October 1820 Francisco Avila made a request; it was heeded, and he received the spring in order to build a fountain. Avila had recently built a home which is still standing on Olvera Street, and perhaps the fountain was the same which was near the Avila *adobe*.

Although foreign trade was prohibited still, some trading with Spanish colonies was allowed. Peruvian ships called in California, and some were stopping in San Pedro Bay from time to time. Even some limited trade with Russian vessels was not unduly discouraged. In 1820 José Antonio Carrillo was involved in shipping tallow from San Pedro to Callao and San Blas. Tallow was placed in *botas de sebo* (bags of tallow) in the following fashion: a small hole was dug in the ground, a cow hide placed in it with the edges sticking out around the pit. Fat from slaughtered cattle was placed in a large kettle, melted down to a liquid, then poured into the depressed hide in the pit and allowed to cool. The ball of tallow was then wrapped into the hide, and the ends tied together by cutting



holes in it and cutting strips for tying it together. These were then placed on a *carreta* and carried to the port for shipping. Tallow was a commodity desired in Peru, and a fairly good trade in hides and tallow developed with California.

**1821:** In January of 1821 Anastacio Avila and his brother Antonio Ignacio Avila were elected as *alcalde* and *regidor* again, owing to their efforts to build the new *pueblo* church. Evidently Anastacio Carrillo made his younger brother, José Antonio Carrillo, a secretary for the *comisionado's* office. José de la Guerra seems to have objected, for Carrillo wrote a letter defending his reasons for appointing José Antonio his scribe. José María Aguilar served as the other *regidor*.

Inasmuch as the *pueblo* church was nearly completed, the residents of Los Angeles cast about looking for a priest for the new church. They asked for the services of Luis Gil y Taboada as priest for their little parish. Work continued on the finishing of the church in the meantime. Father Payeras, president of the Franciscan Order in California, sent back the answer in February that, in spite of his desire and that of Father Gil y Toboada to serve the *pueblo*, Father Gil could not be spared from his post with his neophytes.

Another protest of the grant of the Los Quintos *rancho* to the Talamantes and Machado families was signed and sent by Vicente Sánchez, Juan Nepomuceno Alvarado, Tomás Uribes, Ignacio Villa, and Segundo Valenzuela. They had several cattle on the *rancho* conceded to Felipe Talamantes and Agustín Machado. Commonly called El Rincón, or Los Quintos, and conceded by Gabriel Moraga on 30 December 1819 to Talamantes and Machado, it was needed for the *pueblo's* cattle. *Alcalde* Anastacio Avila had sent him a memo stating that the *pueblo* needed the site, but it was nevertheless granted to the applicants. Lieutenant Moraga at the time was evidently commanding Santa Barbara in Guerra's absence. Many stockraisers still owed cattle in order to pay for the church now being built, and they would need to strengthen their herds after removing the cattle owed. As this *paraje* was a good year-round grazing spot and needed by the community, it should not be granted to private persons, the petitioners urged. It was not the intent to remove the Talamantes and Machado cattle but only that they should share their *rancho* with the community. The *rancho* of Juan José Domínguez was used by the community in times past when necessary, with the permission of the commander of the *presidio* and of the governor.

In April 1821 *Comisionado* Carrillo sent a memo explaining the problems collecting the tithes and stated that some of the grain thus collected had gotten wet. Therefore he saw nothing wrong with distributing some of the grain to the *inválidos* living in the *pueblo*. Of ten *fanegas* and eleven *almudes* of beans in the granary, he had distributed six *fanegas* in the same manner, or roughly half the beans.

By April the circumstances at Nieto's *rancho* had taken a quarrelsome turn with the people living there. Juan José Nieto, owner of the *rancho*, wished to eject some of the people who lived there although they had had permission to settle there in earlier years. Included in the list sent by Nieto was one Pérez (perhaps a cousin) who had been commissioned by the government to police the *rancho's* residents. Part of the problem, suspected Commander Estudillo of San Diego, was the presence of Ramón Sotelo, an *inválido* who had settled there and who had become friendly with Nieto. Although Nieto maintained that his *rancho* was "*una pequeña Ginebra*" ("a little Geneva") so peaceful was it, Estudillo doubted his words about this aspect. A sergeant was to be sent there to see how the people lived and interacted. Sotelo's life and his relationship with his wife did not meet with Estudillo's approval, though he did not elaborate on this point. This was the

same Ramón Sotelo who had caused some difficulty in Los Angeles in 1817-1818 with his rather original doctrine. Estudillo called for his arrest and incarceration at San Gabriel.

In August the governor wrote a complaint to Guerra, fulminating against the slowness that the *pobladores* showed in getting their *diezmos* collected and sent to the government. He asked Guerra to prod Anastacio Carrillo into getting the *diezmos* collected more promptly and to collect the cattle promised in payment for the church. Payments for the church may have been more reluctant after Governor Solá took that already granted for Monterey's repairs.

In April 1821 Anastacio Carrillo had written Guerra that he was already busy at San Pedro with the *diezmo* collection and had for that reason not been in Los Angeles and in touch with him. Also, some persons had not yet complied with their yearly Confession and Communion for Easter, and he had to go warn them about that. He was sending 20 or 30 *fanegas* of corn to José Ignacio Lugo in response to a bill presented by the latter. It would seem that Anastacio was busy enough with the matter, in any case.

In June, Carrillo was again at San Pedro, busy with Manuel Gutiérrez' collection of *botas de sebo* to pay his share, and Gutiérrez could not attend to his *diezmo* cattle as yet. Verdugo (José María) was about to send his on as soon as possible. The water system was under examination by several *pueblo* residents who felt that the intake for the *zanja* was not in the right place. Accordingly, the intake was placed upriver, and those who had opposed the move were soon convinced that it was for the best. The projected intake, near the garden of Bartolo Tapia, was of some concern to several *vecinos*, as their gardens would be endangered. Therefore it was decided to place it in its present location. The church could not be finished this year of 1821, Carrillo argued, so why not use the available bricks and tiles to build a *comisionado's* house, guard house and jail? There were fifty neophyte laborers from San Luis Rey in Los Angeles who had arrived on 19 June, and they could be thus employed on such works of public utility. The guardhouse was constructed at the northwest corner of the *plaza* at this time, according to data from other reminiscences.

José Antonio Carrillo was still helping his brother in Los Angeles about this time despite Guerra's misgivings about his suitability, and he testily wrote his brother Anastacio that the *poblanos*, as he called them, had deceived him about the *botas de sebo* which he had been told were to be placed at the beach at San Pedro. They were still in Los Angeles, and had not yet been hauled to the beach.

Some miscreants in the *pueblo* were being punished at Carrillo's behest. José María Buelna was jailed for trifling with Justina Lisalde. Antonio Briones was given a week for an unspecified offense; he figured in a more publicized affray later in the year at Malibu.

Certain runaway neophytes had been discovered near Bartolo Tapia's *rancho* at Malibu, killing cattle and causing damage to other livestock. *Alcalde* Anastacio Avila and sundry *pobladores* were sent by *Comisionado* Carrillo to track them down and capture them, if possible. José Antonio Tapia and Cayetano Varelas discovered three Indians killing cattle. Two Indians managed to escape in the underbrush, but one was taken, probably because he was sick. They managed to recover several horses belonging to various residents of the *pueblo*. The sick Indian was turned over to the guard at the *pueblo*, and he was probably sent on to the *padres* at San Gabriel. Patrols by *vecinos* in the Malibu area were ordered continued. This was in July and August of 1821, and the patrols continued until at least November.

In August a list of donors for the church construction was updated, as there were several who claimed they had already paid, and a few had died. Those who had not yet contributed their shares would have to pay in grain, horses, and other products in kind, given the lack of money. There was wood enough for the completion of the church, it was true, wrote Carrillo, but that was not the reason it could not be completed this year. The wood had to be placed at the disposal of the carpenters and properly worked when seasoned, etc. There were no more bricks left and tiles were being made. If a jail and a *guardia* were to be built, it must be done soon, argued Carrillo, for the season was ending. Evidently the walls of the latter buildings had been completed.

In September 1821 the frigate *Reina de los Angeles* anchored in San Pedro Bay and received its cargo. What was not yet on the beach was not explained in this dispatch, but perhaps the *diezmos* and other payments were there. As late as August there had been several shortages in the collection.

In October 1821 the *padres* of San Gabriel requested the services of the “*Americano José*,” obviously José Chapman, one of the prisoners who had been taken from Bouchard’s raid in 1818 and who had been in the Santa Barbara area since then. He had constructed a water mill at the Santa Ines Mission, and the San Gabriel fathers wished for a similar mill at their mission. This request would tend to refute the contention that Chapman had built the *pueblo* church. It is more likely the builder was José Antonio Ramírez who appears to have taken on most of the responsibilities for building many of the missions as well. It is perfectly possible that Chapman may have been involved in putting on the roof of the church, however, because he was available in the area and was also a competent builder. But the foundations and walls of the church seem to have already been in place before his arrival.

In November 1821 some of the *vecinos* searching for Indian runaways at Malibu beach saw a small ship of foreign origin, the schooner *Eagle*, offshore. They hailed the *Eagle*, and as a signal to interest the foreigners, evidently a prearranged one then current on the coast, they placed a bundle with some money (about 100 *pesos*) on a pole at the beach. The foreigners swallowed the bait and came ashore with some trade goods. They were seized on the beach by the patrol consisting of five men: Antonio Briones, Máximo Alanís, Ignacio Valencia, Desiderio Olivera, and Desiderio Ibarra. Briones and Alanís appear to have been the leaders in the enterprise. The intention was to hold the two unsuspecting foreigners prisoner and ask for ransom. They sent back a man with the dinghy they had brought ashore and waited for the ransom. This part of the plan did not bear well, however. Captain Eliab Grimes sent a party of men ashore well-armed, and forced the five men to scatter into the brush, as they did not have firearms. Instead, some of the goods were appropriated by the worthies of the patrol and some were sold to such persons who happened to come to see what might be found there, having spied an interesting vessel. Patricio Pico was one such interested party who happened to buy some of the goods and who later testified that Alanís and Briones were heading the affair. All five were arrested and placed on public works, which meant that they helped to build the church. The goods were confiscated, but whether they were returned to the *Eagle* is not known, nor was it probable. By February of 1822 all the men had been released with the exception of old Máximo Alanís, who had been judged to have been the leader of the affair. A petition in February from the wives of the prisoners may have influenced the authorities to release the men. Luisa Varelas de Valencia, Demetria Ramírez de Briones, Juana Inocencia Reyes de Alanís, María Luisa Reyes de Olivera, and Valeriana Lorenzana de Ibarra appealed to

the commander of Santa Barbara for the freedom of their husbands. Even Alanís was apparently released by the end of February, 1822.

**1822:** On New Year's Day of 1822, Vicente Sánchez was arrested for having assaulted the Reyes brothers, Antonio and Jacinto, as well as Antonio María Nieto, with a lance. The three had been celebrating the New Year in front of the *comisionado's* house (with his permission), and had been wounded severely by Sánchez, who was arrested and sent to Santa Barbara for trial. Jacinto Reyes had been severely wounded in the hand, Antonio Reyes in the head, and Nieto in the buttocks. Sánchez was kept in Santa Barbara on public works for some time.

In February 1822 Ramón Sotelo was granted Paraje de las Lagunas, a *rancho* at the southeastern edge of the *pueblo* lands. This spot was judged to be vacant land, although it was admitted by Anastacio Carrillo, even as he granted the *rancho* to Sotelo, that the San Gabriel Mission herds used it for grazing. Sotelo did not retain the *rancho* for long, however, for on a return trip from Monterey he was killed at La Purisima Mission during the Indian revolt of 1824. Later his widow transferred the *rancho* to Antonio María Lugo, who held the adjacent Rancho San Antonio, thus enlarging San Antonio considerably.

In April 1822, probably during the third week of the month, an event of some significance was noted. *Comisionado* Carrillo swore allegiance to the newly proclaimed Empire of Mexico, with Agustín de Iturbide as Emperor. Mexico was now independent of Spain, and the long struggle within Mexico for independence was ended. How Los Angeles took the news is not recorded, but it was probably with some optimism, at least at first. Problems of self-government came later.

*Padre* Mariano Payeras, president of the Franciscan Order in California, wrote José de la Guerra in May 1822 complaining that, although the church in Los Angeles should have been finished last year, almost nothing was done. It was to be finished this year by the feast of Los Angeles, but now it appeared that the church could not be ready until mid-October, plastered, whitewashed, and painted. By 17 November it was finished, scheduled for dedication on 8 December, and José de la Guerra was selected by the Los Angeles *ayuntamiento* to be *padrino* of the new church, *Nuestra Señora Reina de los Angeles*. However, three years and more passed before the church received a resident priest. Not until March of 1826 did Father Gerónimo Boscana come to reside permanently in the *pueblo*.

In June some problems with cattle and pasture came up between San Fernando Mission and the Verdugo *rancho* southeast of the mission over possession of a cow, claimed by both interests. Anastacio Carrillo gave Antonio Reyes a permit to go into Santa Monica range and select a few cattle, as there were several wild unbranded cattle loose in that *paraje*. In cutting out a few cattle, Reyes accidentally killed one with San Fernando's brand on it. He informed the *jueces del campo* about it, and offered to replace the cow on behalf of the mission. Former *Comisionado* Guillermo Cota was now at San Fernando Mission in charge of the guard there, and was now placing the boundaries between Rancho Triunfo and other *ranchos*, mission property, and all. Carrillo also appends a note to the effect that he was making a list according to the formula which Guerra had asked for in the *pueblo*, perhaps the same which is dated 1821-22 [see Appendix].

Another complaint about the problem of mission and *pueblo* cattle range came from Los Angeles in June 1822. Antonio Reyes, Aniceto Zúñiga, Francisco Avila, José Polanco, and Nicolás Elizalde called to the attention of the *comisionado* the fence which

San Fernando Mission had placed between the Sierra de Santa Mónica and Rancho Cahuenga, on the *pueblo*'s side of the range, fencing off the springs and thereby fencing in the greater part of the cattle, branded as well as unbranded stock. The above petitioners had stock there. Antonio Reyes' late father had pastured his cattle in San Vicente for a time, around 1799, when he took his cattle to Valle de la Larga (near the present town of Santa María), but had left stock there as the area was quite brushy and concealed several cattle. Aniceto Zúñiga's deceased father had once had a considerable number of cattle at the mouth of the river of the *pueblo*, but the *ranchito* was taken away because of the little care they had taken of it after his death. The Zúñigas, too, had cattle in that area. Francisco Avila, who had also placed cattle in the *paraje* of San Vicente, lost some when they were obliged to move them into a common *rodeo* (cattle enclosure), leaving a great part of his cattle there. José Polanco, who had resided in the *pueblo* some 20 years, had a similar number of cattle. The deceased father of Nicolás Elizalde, Pedro Elizalde, had some cattle there, as he had lived there some 15 years. Others, in particular those who had lived in the *pueblo* over nine years, had cattle in the *paraje*; estimates of the number of head were: Antonio Reyes, 1000; Aniceto Zúñiga, 300; Francisco Avila, 500; José Polanco, 100; Nicolás Elizalde, 100. The *jueces de campo* were appointed to be present at all mission brandings of cattle in that area, and their fence should be placed in line with the peaks of the hills in order to avoid further disputes.

The Spanish period in Alta California ended with Mexican independence in 1822. The *pueblo* had grown from a tiny collection of 44 people to a town of about 650. The life of the town during that period was centered increasingly on the raising of cattle and grapes. Much of this early settlement of the 1820s was still visible when the American soldiers occupied the town in the late 1840s, though it had expanded to accommodate the 2,000 persons living there in 1847.

It is hoped that certain ideas about early Los Angeles may be altered, and that a more balanced view of the *pueblo* has been presented. One can logically suspect that early Anglo historians took a look at the *padrón* (census) of 1781 in Bancroft's work, which shows the castes of the founders, and with the racist logic of the day concluded that nothing good could come from such a community. They were wrong; the little *pueblo* did its job, which was to feed the *presidios* and provide livestock for the soldiers. The *pobladores* of Los Angeles are deserving of greater appreciation for their achievements than they have received in the past.





**TRANSCRIBED LISTS**

**1781: Rivera Expedition Members at San Gabriel Mission**  
(arranged alphabetically)

**Los Angeles pobladores:**

1. Manuel Camero
2. José Fernando Velasco y Lara
3. Antonio Mesa
4. José Moreno
5. José Antonio Navarro
6. Luís Quintero
7. Pablo Rodríguez
8. José Alejandro Rosas
9. José Antonio Basilio Rosas
10. Jose Vanegas
11. Antonio Clemente Félix Villavicencio

**Soldiers who accompanied pobladores from Mexico with Teniente José Zúñiga:**

1. Máximo Alanís
2. Ildefonso Domínguez
3. Isidro Germán
4. Felipe Gonzales
5. José Julián Guerrero
6. Justo Lorenzo Hernández
7. Juan Antonio Ibarra
8. Manuel Ygnacio Lugo
9. Juan Matías Olivas
10. José Antonio Ontiveros
11. José Polanco
12. Joaquín Rodríguez
13. Juan María Romero
14. Francisco Xavier Sepúlveda
15. Eugenio Valdez
16. José Manuel Valenzuela
17. Juan José Villalobo

**Officers and soldiers who accompanied Capitán Rivera:**

1. José del Carmen Arana
2. José Prudencio Aranguré  
[killed at Yuma]
3. José Dario Arguello
4. Francisco Xavier Calbo
5. José Xavier Cortés
6. José Miguel Espinosa
7. Juan Victorino Félix
8. José Rosalino Fernández
9. Diego Gonzales
10. Francisco Juárez
11. Agustín de Leyba
12. Gaspar López
13. José Manuel Machado
14. José María Martínez
15. Juan Ygnacio Martínez
16. Francisco Xavier Mejías
17. Juan Norberto Mejías
18. Pedro José Mejías
19. Juan Andrés Hilario Montiel
20. Francisco Ontiveros  
[left behind sick in Sonora]
21. José Antonio Basilio Parra
22. José Victor Patino
23. Vicente Quijada
24. Ygnacio Rochín
25. José Ygnacio Rodríguez
26. José Esteban Romero
27. Efigenio Ruiz
28. Fructuoso María Ruiz
29. José Pedro Loreto Salazar
30. José María Gil Samaniego
31. José Tadeo Sánchez
32. Guillermo Soto
33. José Melesio Valdez
34. Juan Ygnacio Valencia
35. Pedro Gabriel Valenzuela
36. Segundo Valenzuela
37. José Antonio María Velarde
38. Juan José Villa
39. Ramón Ybarra

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**1781: FIRST PADRON [census] OF LOS ANGELES**

*Padrón de El Pueblo de los Angeles, founded September 4th, 1781, on the banks of the Porciuncula River, including the names and ages of the residents, their wives and children:*

1. **José Lara**, *español*, 50; *esposa*, María Antonia Campos, *india ladina*, 23. *Niños*: José Julián, 4; Juana Jesús, 6; María Faustina, 2.
2. **José Antonio Navarro**, 42, *mestizo*; *esposa*, María Rufina Dorotea, *mulata*. *Niños*: José María, 10; José Clemente, 9; María Josefa, 4.
3. **Basilio Rosas**, *indio*, 67; *esposa*, María Manuela Calixtra Hernández, *mulata*. *Niños*: José Máximo, 15; Carlos, 12; Antonio Rosalino, 7; José Marcelino, 4; Juan Esteban, 2; María Josefa, 8.
4. **Antonio Mesa**, *negro*, 38; *esposa*, Ana Gertrudis López, *mulata*, 27. *Niños*: Antonio María, 8; María Paula, 10.
5. **Antonio Villavicencio**, *español*, 30; *esposa*, María de los Santos Seferina, *india*, 26. *Niña*: María Antonia Josefa, 8, *entendada*.
6. **José Vanegas**, *indio*, 28; *esposa*, María Máxima Aguilar, *india*, 20. *Niño*: Cosmé Damién, 1.
7. **Alejandro Rosas**, *indio*, 19; *esposa*, Juana Rodríguez, *coyota*, 20.
8. **Pablo Rodríguez**, *indio*, 25; *esposa*, María Rosalía Noriega, *india*, 26. *Niña*: María Antonia, 1.
9. **Manuel Camero**, *mulato*, 30; *esposa*, María Tomasa, *mulata*, 24.
10. **Luís Quintero**, *negro*, 55; *esposa*, María Petra Rubio, *mulata*, 40. *Niños*: José Clemente, 3; María Gertrudis, 16; María Concepción, 9; Tomasa, 7; Rafaela, 6.
11. **José Moreno**, *mulato*, 22; *esposa*, María Guadalupe Gertrudis, *mulata*, 19.
12. **Antonio Miranda**, *chino*, 50. *Niña*: Juana María, 11.

**Escolta (conjectural)**

1. *Cabo* [Corporal] **José Vicente Félix**, *español*, 40; *viudo de* María Ygnacia Manuela Piñuelas, 36. *Hijos*: José Doroteo, 21; José Francisco, 20; José de Jesús, 17; María Loreta, 16; María Marcelina, 12; María Antonia, 10; José Antonio de Capistrano, 6.
2. *Soldado* [Private] **Roque Jacinto Cota**, *español*, 57; *esposa*, Juana María Verdugo, *española*, 41. *Hijos*: María Beatriz, 25; María Celia, 23; Mariano, 16; Guillermo, 13; María Teresa de Jesús, 11; María Loreta, 9; María Josefa, 8; María Luisa, 4; María Ignacia Jacinta, 1.
3. **Antonio Cota**, *español*, 49; *esposa*, María Bernarda (Chujila), *india*, 17. *Niña*: María Antonia Marcela, 1.
4. **Francisco Salvador Lugo**, *español*, 41; *esposa*, Juana María Rita Martínez, 35. *Hijos*: Rosa María, 21; María Tomasa Ygnacia, 18; Salvador, 15; José Antonio, 8; José Ygnacio, 6; María Antonia Isabel, 5; Antonio María, 3; Juan María Alejandro, 1.

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**DECEMBER 31, 1785: PADRON**

**Felipe Villavicencio**, español - 50 años - labrador - casado con María de los Santos - de 20 años.

**José Vanegas**, indio - 33 años - labrador - casado con María Aguilar, india de 24 años - un hijo mayor de 4 años.

**Pablo Rodríguez**, coyote - 30 años - labrador - casado con María Rosalía Noriega - india - 28 años - 2 hijas, una de 5 años y otra de 2.

**Antonio Navarro**, mestizo - 47 años - sastre - viudo con 3 hijos - 1 mayor de 16 años - otro mayor de 14, y otra de 7 años.

**José Moreno**, mulato - 35 años - labrador - casado con María Guadalupe india - de 21 años - 2 hijas, una de 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> años otra 9 meses.

**Manuel Camero**, mulato - 35 años - labrador - casado con Tomasa mulata de 28 años.

**Basilio Rosas**, indio de 78 [?] años - labrador - casado con MaríaManuela Hernández - mulata de 35 años - con 4 hijas - 1 mayor de 12 años - otra de 11 otra de 6 y una de 1 año.

**Alejandro Rosas**, indio - 22 años - labrador - casado con Juana Rodríguez - coyota - de 21 años - con 2 hijos - 1 mayor de 5 años y otra menor de 2 años.

**José Sinoba**, español - 34 años - herrador - casado con Gertrudis - mulata - 35 años - con 3 hijas - una de 7 años - 1 de 4 y otra de 3 días.

**Carlos Rosas**, indio - 17 años - labrador - casado con Dolores - india de 15 años - con una hija de 9 meses.

**Máximo Rosas**, indio - 16 años - labrador - casado con María Antonia - india.

**Juan José Domínguez**, español - 58 años - campista - soltero.

**12 SEPTEMBER 1786:  
List of Cattle Owners in Los Angeles and  
the Year They Began As Herdsmen:**

|                             | <u>cows</u> | <u>bulls</u> | <u>ewes</u> | <u>goats(f)</u> | <u>goats(m)</u> | <u>mares</u> | <u>stallions</u> | <u>mules(m)</u> | <u>mules</u> |
|-----------------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------|------------------|-----------------|--------------|
| <b><u>Pobladores:</u></b>   |             |              |             |                 |                 |              |                  |                 |              |
| Félic Villavicencio, (1782) | 13          | 12           | 22          | 18              | 9               | 3            | 4                | 1               | 2            |
| José Vanegas, (1782)        | 13          | 13           | 13          | 8               | 4               | 5            | 3                | 1               | 1            |
| Pablo Rodríguez (1782)      | 9           |              | 13          | 11              | 31              | 18           | 4                | 3               | 2            |
| Manuel Camero (1782)        | 8           | 8            | 7           | 13              | 6               | 6            | 2                |                 | 2            |
| José Navarro (1782)         | 8           | 9            | 21          | 14              | 6               | 4            | 5                |                 | 2            |
| José Moreno (1782)          | 8           | 9            | 9           | 17              | 5               | 7            | 3                |                 | 2            |
| Basilio Rosas (1782)        | 9           | 7            | 20          | 22              | 6               | 4            | 5                | 1               | 0            |
| Alejandro Rosas (1782)      | 13          | 10           | 11          | 16              | 13              | 5            | 2                | 2               | 0            |
| José Francisco Sinova       | 3           | 3            | 5           | 4               | 1               | 2            | 2                | 0               | 0            |
| <b>TOTALS:</b>              | 84          | 84           | 119         | 143             | 68              | 40           | 29               | 7               | 9            |

**1787: LOS ANGELES POBLADORES**

31 December 1787 [dated 24 April 1788]

**POBLADORES**

*Alcalde* José Vanegas  
Sebastián Alvitre  
Manuel Camero  
Felipe García  
José Moreno  
José Navarro

Pablo Rodríguez  
Alexandro Rosas  
Basilio Rosas  
Francisco Sinova  
Félix Villavicencio

**SOLDADOS y VECINOS**

*Teniente* José de Ortega  
*Sargento* José Olivera

*Cabo* José Ortega  
*Cabo* José Verdugo  
*Cabo* Vicente Féliz

Roque Cota  
Francisco García  
Francisco López  
Francisco Lugo  
Ignacio Olivera  
Juan Osuna

Luis Peña  
Crispín Pérez [Nieto]  
Manuel Pérez [Nieto]  
Mateo Rubio  
[Pío] Quinto Zúñiga

**VECINOS**

Domingo Aruz

Santiago Pico

Francisco Reyes

**1789: PUEBLO de LOS ANGELES**

**31 December 1789**

**POBLADORES:**

Sebastián Alvitre  
Manuel Camero  
José Moreno  
José Navarro  
Pablo Rodríguez

Alejandro Rosas  
[deceased]  
Basilio Rosas  
José Vanegas  
Félix Villavicencio

**AGREGADOS:**

Juan Alvarez  
Joaquín Armenta  
Manuel Arrellano  
Domingo Aruz  
Roque de Cota  
Juan Domínguez  
Felipe García  
Justo Hernández  
Joaquín Higuera  
Ignacio Olivera  
Claudio López  
Ignacio Olivera

Francisco Lugo  
Pascuala Lugo  
(*viuda de Miguel Silvas*)  
Felipe Moreno  
Santiago Pico  
Francisco Reyes  
Efigenio Ruiz  
Rafael Sepúlveda  
José Sinova  
Mariano Verdugo  
José Villa

**MILITARES:**

*Teniente* José de Ortega  
*Alférez* Pablo Cota  
*Alférez* Pablo Grijalva

Antonio Cota  
Vicente Félix  
Francisco López  
Crispín Pérez (Nieto)

*Sargento* José Olivera  
*Cabo* José Verdugo

Manuel Pérez (Nieto)  
Juan Osuna  
Pío Quinto Zúñiga



## 1790: PADRÓN de LOS ANGELES

17 de Agosto 1790

1. **Mariano de la Luz Verdugo**, laborer, *español*, 44, from San Javier, Baja California, Mexico; married to Gregoria Espinosa, *española*, 28, widow (of José P. Salazar); daughter by his first marriage, María Concepción Verdugo, 12, *española*; *mestizo* stepchildren: José Salazar, 8; María Marta Salazar, 5; María Teodora Salazar, 2.

2. **María Ignacia Carrillo**, *española*, 65, widow (of Juan Diego Verdugo) from Loreto, Baja California. Her son, Leonardo Verdugo, laborer, 29, *español*; grandson, José Antonio Gongora, *español*, 12.

3. **José Sinova**, *español*, 40, blacksmith, from Mexico City; married to María Gertrudis Bojórquez, *mestiza*, 28; *español* children: Josefa Dolores, 12; Casilda de la Cruz, 9; María Julia, 4; María Seferina, 1.

4. **Felipe Santiago García**, muleteer, *español*, 40, from Sinaloa; married to Petra Alcantara de Lugo, *española*, 34; *español* children: Juan José, 16; Carlos María, 14; José Julián, 11; Felipe Santiago, 8; Pascual Antonio, 2; Pedro Antonio, 1; María de Jesús, 9; María Antonia, 7.

5. **Juan José Villalobo**, *español*, 47, muleteer, from Sinaloa; married to María Nicolasa Beltrán, *española*, 33, *español* children: María Rita, 14; María Antonia, 12; Pedro José, 9; Timoteo, 6; José Cecilio, 4; María Dionicia, 2; José Marcial, 2 months.

6. **Pablo Rodríguez**, laborer, 40, *coyote*, from Real de Santa Rosa; married to María Rosalía Noriega, *india*, 33; *indio* children: María Antonia, 10; María de Jesús, 8; María Patricia, 5; María Margarita, 2.

7. **Joaquín de Armenta**, laborer, *español*, 55, from Sinaloa; married to María Loreta de la Vega, *coyota*, 40; one godchild: María Manuela Lisalde, *española*, 12.

8. **Efigenio Ruiz**, *español*, 43, *vaquero*, from El Fuerte; married to María Rosa López, *española*, 37; *español* children: José Pedro Ruiz, 16; María Dolores, 7; María Sirilda, 5; Rosa María, 1.

9. **Manuel Ramírez de Arrellano**, *español*, 46, from Puebla; married to María Agreda López de Haro, *española*; *español* children: Teodoro, 7; Rosalía, 5; Martina, 3; Rafaela, 7 months.

10. **Pedro José Romero**, laborer, *coyote*, 32, from Guadalajara; married to María García, *española*, 13.

11. **Roque de Cota**, *español*, laborer, 66, from El Fuerte; married to Juana María Verdugo, *española*, 47; *español* children: Guillermo, 22; Loreta, 18; Ignacia, 11; Dolores, 7.

12. **Juan Alvarez**, *coyote*, *vaquero*, from the Yaqui District; married to Bernarda Silvas, *española*, 17; one child from his first marriage: Gertrudis, 3; and from his second: María Rufina, one month.

13. **María Simona Rodríguez**, *mestiza*, 33, from Real de Loreto, widow (of José María López); *mestizo* children: Francisca, 7; José Antonio, 3; José María López, 2.

14. **Manuel Camero**, laborer, *mestizo*, 34, from Chametla; married to Tomasa García, *mulata*, 32.

15. **José Moreno**, laborer, *mestizo*, 34, from Real de Rosario; married to María Guadalupe Pérez (Gaspar), *coyota*, 27; *mestizo* children: María Gertrudis, 7; María Marta, 5; Juan, 3; María Lorenza, 8.
16. **Basilio Rosas**, mason, *coyote*, 72, from Nombre de Dios (Durango); married to María Manuela, *mulata*, 47; *mulato* children: José Máximo, 23, widower; Antonio Rosalino, 12; José Marcelino, 11; Juan Estevan, 10; Diana María, 7; Gil Antonio, 4; orphan grandchildren: José Antonio, 3; María de la Asunción, 7.
17. **José Villa**, laborer, *español*, 43, from Pitic; married to María Paula Martínez, *mestiza*, 30; *mestizo* children: Vicente Ferrer, 19; María Estéfana, 8; María Antonia, 6; José Francisco Antonio, 2.
18. **José Vanegas**, *mestizo*, 47, shoemaker, 43, from Real de Bolanos; married to María Máxima Aguilar, *india*, 28; one child: Cosmé Damién, 9.
19. **José Ontiveros**, shoemaker, *mestizo*, 43, from Real de Rosario; married to Ana María Carrasco, *mulata*, 36; one child: María Encarnación, 7, *mulata*.
20. **María Ignacia Alvarado**, *española*, 28, from Loreto, widow (of Juan Ismerio de Osuna): *español* children: José María, 12; Francisca, 7; Juan María, 6; Juan Nepomuceno 3.
21. **Santiago de la Cruz Pico**, *vaquero*, *mestizo*, 60, from San Javier de Cavasán; married to Javinta de la Bastida, *mulata*, 53; *mulato* children: Javier, 23; Patricio, 27.
22. **Domingo Aruz**, 43, from Gerona, Spain, *español*, laborer; married to Gertrudis Castelo, *mulata*, 26; children from his first marriage: Martín, 7; Domingo, 12.
23. **José Antonio Navarro**, *español*, 53, tailor, from Real de Rosario, widower; *mestizo* children: José María, 19; José Clemente, 18; María Mariana, 11.
24. **Félix Antonio Villavicencio**, *español*, *vaquero*, from Chihuahua; married to María de los Santos, *india*, 37.
25. **Manuel Figueroa**, *español*, *vaquero*, 40, from Sinaloa; single.
26. **Joaquín Higuera**, *mestizo*, 35, laborer, from Sinaloa; married to María Teresa Cota, *española*, 24; *mestizo* children: Juan José, 3; Ignacio, 2.
27. **María Pascuala de Lugo**, *mestiza*, 40, widow (of José Miguel Silvas), from Sinaloa; children: Gertrudis, 11; Teodoro, 10; Rafael, 6.
28. **Francisco Reyes**, *mulato*, laborer, 43, from Zapotlán; married to María del Carmen Domínguez, *mestiza*, 23; *mestizo* children: Antonio Faustino, 4; Juana Inocencia, 3; José Jacinto, 2.
29. **Faustino José de la Cruz**, *mulato*, 18, servant, from San Blas, single.
30. **Martín Reyes**, *mestizo*, from Sinaloa, blacksmith, 58, single.
31. **Juan José Domínguez**, *español*, *vaquero*, 53, single, from Sinaloa.

PADRON de LOS ANGELES, 17 de Agosto 1790

(Eldridge Translation, Bancroft Library)

The terms for races and racial admixtures are left as originally listed; there are no equivalents in English, as the terms are not always precise. Children of a *mestizo* (half-breed) and a Spaniard may be listed as either *mestizo* or *español*; those of mixed *mulato* (mulatto) and *español* origin are sometimes call *mulatos*. *Coyotes* were persons three-fourths *indio* and one-fourth *español* or *morisco* (one who is one-fourth *negro*).

## LIST: 1790 PADRÓN

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Apparently the frontier was not as particular to racial origin as was then considered fashionable in Mexico City, where the peninsular Spaniard was more common.

It is interesting to note that certain individuals are altered racially as compared to the 1781 census of *pobladores*: Navarro was listed as a *mestizo* in 1781, but became a Spaniard by 1790; Basilio Rosas was an *indio*, and became a *coyote*; José Vanegas was an *indio*, and became a *mestizo* in 1790; Rodríguez was an *indio*, and became a *coyote*; Camero was a *mulato*, and became a *mestizo*; Moreno was a *mulato*, and became a *mestizo*; but Villavicencio remains a Spaniard in both reports. These are the seven *pobladores* remaining in 1790 of the eleven who founded Los Angeles in 1781.

This *padrón* (census) lists 139 people instead of the 141 listed by Bancroft for 1790; he counted Aruz's children from his first marriage twice, as they're named again.

William M. Mason, 2 May 1957  
[as edited by Marie Northrop]

[Note: Because the persons above are listed in the geographical order of their houses, they are left as in the original census rather than rearranged in alphabetical order.]

**1790: PUEBLO de LOS ANGELES**  
**31 December 1790**

**ALCALDE:** Mariano Verdugo

**POBLADORES:**

Sebastián Alvitre  
*Alférez* Pablo Grijalva  
Manuel Camero  
Felipe García  
José Moreno  
José Navarro

heirs of Alejandro Rosas  
Basilio Rosas  
Pablo Rodríguez  
José Sinova  
José Vanegas  
Félix Villavicencio

**AGREGADOS:**

Ignacia Alvarado,  
(*viuda de* Juan Osuna)  
Juan Alvarez  
Manuel Arellano  
Joaquín Armenta  
Juan Domínguez  
Joaquín Higuera

Pascuala Lugo  
(*viuda de* Miguel Silvas)  
Felipe Moreno  
Santiago Pico  
Roque Cota  
Francisco Reyes  
Efigenio Ruiz  
José Villa

**MILICIAS:**

*Teniente* Don José de Ortega  
  
*Alférez* Don Pablo Cota  
*Alférez* Pablo Grijalva  
*Sargento* José Olivera  
*Sargento* José de Ortega  
*Cabo* José Verdugo  
*Cabo* Antonio Yorba

*Soldados:*  
Antonio Cota  
Vicente Félix  
Francisco López  
Manuel Pérez Nieto  
Mateo Rubio  
Pío Quinto Zúñiga

*Inválido:*  
Domingo Aruz

*alcalde* = mayor  
*alférez* = ensign (2nd lieutenant)  
*cabo* = corporal  
*inválido* = retired soldier

milicias = military  
sargento = sergeant  
teniente = lieutenant

**1798: PUEBLO de LOS ANGELES**

**31 December 1798**

|                                   |                                               |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| Sebastián Alvitre                 | José Moreno                                   |
| Joaquín Armenta                   | Manuel Nieto                                  |
| Manuel Arrellano                  | <i>Sargento</i> Ignacio Olivera               |
| Cornelio Avila                    | Juan María Olivera                            |
| Ramón Buena                       | Lucas Olivera                                 |
| Antonio Cota                      | Miguel Ortega                                 |
| Beatriz Cota, viuda               | José María Osuna                              |
| Guillermo Cota                    | Crispín Pérez (Nieto)                         |
| Roque de Cota                     | José Polanco                                  |
| Juan José Domínguez               | Candelaria Redondo, <i>viuda</i>              |
| José María Duarte                 | Francisco Reyes                               |
| Anastacio Félix                   | [Felipe Romero] <i>el armero de San Diego</i> |
| Doroteo Félix                     | Basilio Rosas                                 |
| Francisco Félix                   | Mateo Rubio                                   |
| José Félix                        | Hilario Ruiz                                  |
| Vicente Félix                     | Francisco Serrano                             |
| Isidro Germán                     | Bartolo Tapia                                 |
| <i>Alférez Don Pablo Grijalva</i> | José Vanegas                                  |
| Joaquín Higuera                   | Mariano Verdugo                               |
| Melchor López                     | José María Verdugo, <i>cabo inválido</i>      |
| Francisco Lugo                    | Pío Quinto Zúñiga                             |

[Livestock and crop data omitted.]

**1799: Pueblo de los Angeles**

**31 December 1799**

|                        |                                          |
|------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| Pedro Alvarez          | Lucas Olivera                            |
| Joaquín Armenta        | Manuel Orchaga (Machado)                 |
| Manuel Arrellano       | Miguel Ortega                            |
| Cornelio Avila         | José María Osuna                         |
| Antonio Cota           | Crispín Pérez                            |
| Guillermo Cota         | Manuel Pérez (Nieto)                     |
| Juan José Domínguez    | Patricio Pico                            |
| Juan José Duarte       | José Polanco                             |
| Anastacio Félix        | Francisco Reyes                          |
| Doroteo Félix          | Basilio Rosas                            |
| Francisco Félix        | José Tadeo Sánchez                       |
| José Félix             | Francisco Serrano                        |
| Vicente Félix          | Bartolo Tapia                            |
| Isidro Germán          | Eugenio Valdez                           |
| Alférez Pablo Grijalva | Pedro Valenzuela                         |
| Joaquín Higuera        | José Vanegas                             |
| Pedro Lisalde          | José María Verdugo, <i>cabo inválido</i> |
| Melchor López          | Juana Verdugo, <i>viuda</i>              |
| José Moreno            | Leonardo Verdugo                         |
| Juan Olivas            | Mariano Verdugo                          |
| Juan María Olivera     | Pio Quinto Zúñiga                        |



**1804: A list revealing the number of persons who are obliged to fulfill the precept of Our Holy Mother, the Church, who correspond with the residents of this Pueblo of the Queen of the Angels and Ranches under its Jurisdiction in the year 1804**

|                 |                                                                                                                       |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Sargento</i> | <b><u>Xavier Alvarado</u></b> and his wife María Ygnacia Amador, Ana Joaquina Alvarado and an orphan María Anastasia. |
| <i>Inválido</i> | <b><u>Eugenio Valdez</u></b> , his wife Sebastiana Quintero, Antonio María, Basilio and María.                        |
| <i>Inválido</i> | <b><u>Juan Olivas</u></b> , his wife Juana Ontiveros, Cosme, Juana, María Olivas and Pedro Olivares.                  |
| <i>Vecino</i>   | <b><u>Pedro Valenzuela</u></b> , his wife Dolores Parra, Antonio and María Antonia.                                   |
|                 | <b><u>Rexis de Soto</u></b> and his wife Maria de la Luz Castro.                                                      |
|                 | <b><u>Juan López</u></b> and his wife Dolores Salgado, Juan, Antonio and another Antonio López.                       |
| <i>Inválido</i> | <b><u>Mateo Rubio</u></b> and his wife Vicenta Mora, Juana Rubio.                                                     |
|                 | <b><u>Antonio Ybarra</u></b> and his wife María Velásquez, Desiderio and Andrés.                                      |
|                 | <b><u>Joaquín Higuera</u></b> and his wife Teresa Cota, Juan, Ygnacio, Bernardo and María Antonia.                    |
|                 | <b><u>Manuel Machado</u></b> and his wife María Valenzuela, Candelaria and Antonio.                                   |
|                 | <b><u>Manuel Camero</u></b> and his wife Tomasa García.                                                               |
|                 | <b><u>Guillermo Soto</u></b> and his wife Juana María Pérez.                                                          |
|                 | <b><u>Basilio Rosas</u></b> and his wife Manuela Hernández.                                                           |
|                 | <b><u>Antonio Rosas</u></b> and his wife Petra Lugo.                                                                  |
| <i>Inválido</i> | <b><u>Máximo Alanís</u></b> and his wife Juana Miranda, his son Isidro Alanís.                                        |
|                 | <b><u>Miguel Blanco</u></b> , widower of Juana María Rosas.                                                           |
|                 | <b><u>María [Véjar]</u></b> , widow of the deceased Marcelino Rosas.                                                  |
|                 | <b><u>María [Victoria Martínez]</u></b> , widow of José [Victor] Patiño.                                              |
|                 | <b><u>Rita Uribes</u></b> , widow of Francisco Talamantes.                                                            |
| <i>Inválido</i> | <b><u>Segundo Valenzuela</u></b> and his wife Agustina Alcántara, María Dominga and Juana.                            |
|                 | <b><u>Ramón Buelna</u></b> and his wife Petra Mexías, Ramón and María Francisca.                                      |
|                 | <b><u>Juan José Alvarado</u></b> and his wife Antonia Valenzuela.                                                     |
| <i>Inválido</i> | <b><u>Tadeo Sánchez</u></b> and his wife Petra Montiel, Juana María and Petra.                                        |
|                 | <b><u>Pedro Poyorena</u></b> and his wife Rosalía Cota – rather Ochoa.                                                |
|                 | <b><u>Antonio Ygnacio Avila</u></b> and his wife Rosa María Ruiz.                                                     |
|                 | <b><u>Anastacio Avila</u></b> and his brothers, José María, Ylaria Avila.                                             |

LIST: 1804 EASTER LIST

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*Inválido* **Francisco Acevedo** and his wife María Concepción Verdugo.

*Sargento* **Bartolomé Tapia** and his wife María Lobo, Tomasa and Tiburcio Tapia.

*Inválido* **Felipe Santiago Tapia** and his son Ursino Tapia.

**Antonio Cota** and his wife María Bernarda, Matilde Cota.

**Juan de Dios Ballesteros** and his wife María Teresa Sepúlveda, Juan.

*Viuda* **María Candelaria Redondo**, *viuda* [de Francisco Xavier Sepúlveda].

*Viudo* **Joaquín Armenta**, widower of María Loreta Vega.

**Esteban Pérez** and his wife María Ontiveros.

**Fructuoso María Ruiz** and his wife María Dolores Lugo.

*Viuda* **María Ana Carrasco**, widow of José Ontiveros.

*Viuda* **Rosa María Lopez**, widow of Efigenio Ruiz, Catarina Ruiz.

*Inválido* **Don Manuel Gutiérrez**, *soltero*.

**Francisco Sotelo** and his wife Gabriela Silvas, José Antonio Sotelo.

**Ramón Sotelo** and his wife Marcela Lislade.

**Manuel Figueroa** and his wife Gertrudis Silvas.

*Viuda* **María Pascuala Lugo**, widow of José Miguel Silvas.

*Inválido* **Pedro Lisalde** and his wife María Encarnación Perez, Diego Lisalde.

*Inválido* **Francisco Bruno García** and his wife María Ygnacia Cota.

**Isidro Germán** and his wife Manuela Ochoa, María Antonia Germán.

**Pedro Alvarez** and his wife Teresa Graciano, Luisa Alvarez.

*Inválido* **Manuel Valenzuela** and his wife Alvina Alvarez, Gaspar Valenzuela.

**Casimiro Varelas** and his wife Santa Ana Pinto, Ygnacio Varelas.

**Pío Q. Zúñiga** and his wife Maria Rufina, Serapio, José Manuel Zúñiga.

**Ventura Zúñiga** and his wife Dionicia Germán.

**Juan Ygnacio Cañedo** and his wife Brigida Leyba, Tomás and Gerónimo.

**Faustino de la Cruz** and his wife María Cañedo.

**Francisco Sánchez** and his wife Manuela Cañedo.

**Juan Francisco Reyes** and his wife María Carmen Domínguez, Antonio, Jacinto and Juana.

*Viudo* **José Vanegas**, widower of María Aguilar.

*Inválido* **Manuel Ygnacio Lugo** and his wife Gertrudis Limón y Sánchez.

*Viudo* **Francisco Lugo**, widower of Juana María Martínez Vianazul

**José Moreno** and his wife Guadalupe Pérez, Juan Moreno.

**Juan José Duarte** and his wife Gertrudis Moreno.

LIST: 1804 EASTER LIST

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|                 |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Viudo</i>    | <p><b><u>Pedro Mexía</u></b> and his wife Ana Ortega.<br/> <b><u>Vicente Féliz</u></b>, widower of María Manuela Piñuelas.<br/> <b><u>Francisco Féliz</u></b> and his wife María Josefa Cota.<br/> <b><u>José Féliz</u></b> and his wife María Celia Cota, widow of Juan Botiller, Gertrudis and Joaquín.<br/> <b><u>Doroteo Féliz</u></b> and his wife Juana Lobo, Petra.<br/> <b><u>Anastacio Féliz</u></b> and his wife Gertrudis Valenzuela, Juan.<br/> <b><u>Juan Estevan Rocha</u></b> and his wife Matilde Mora.<br/> <b><u>Lucas Olivera</u></b> and his wife María Manuela Cota.</p> |
| <i>Soltero</i>  | <b><u>Diego Olivera</u></b> .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>Inválido</i> | <b><u>José María Verdugo</u></b> and his wife María Cabo Encarnación López, María Antonia, María Ygnacia, Julio.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>Viuda</i>    | <b><u>María Josefa Verdugo</u></b> , widow of José Antonio Lugo.<br><b><u>Leonardo Verdugo</u></b> and his wife María Josefa Rubio.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <i>Soltero</i>  | <b><u>Pedro Miguel Alvarez</u></b> .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| <i>Soltero</i>  | <b><u>José María Navarro</u></b> .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| <i>Soltero</i>  | <b><u>Ygnacio Sonora</u></b> .<br><b><u>José Polanco</u></b> .<br><b><u>Tomás de la Cruz Rayales</u></b> and his wife María Rosalía Valenzuela.<br><b><u>Manuel Pérez Nieto</u></b> and his wife Teresa Morillo, Juan Josef, Josef Antonio, Manuela.<br><b><u>Crispín Pérez Nieto</u></b> and his wife María Reyes Armenta.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| <i>Viuda</i>    | <b><u>María Potenciana [Feliciano]</u></b> , widow of José María Duarte.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>Viuda</i>    | <b><u>María Loreta de Carpio</u></b> [widow of Felipe Moreno].                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <i>Soltero</i>  | <b><u>Pedro Pérez</u></b> .<br><b><u>Vicente Villa Rodríguez</u></b> and his wife María Gertrudis Pérez.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |

*Misión de San Gabriel y 15 de Abril de 1804*  
Fr. José de Miguel (*rúbrica*)

Taylor Papers - 1804

*cabo* - corporal  
*inválido* - retired soldier  
*sargento* - sergeant

*soltero* - single  
*vecino* - resident  
*viudo/viuda* - widower/widow

**1807: LIST of MILITIAMEN**

| <u>Name</u>             | <u>Age</u> | <u>Birthplace</u> | <u>Present Home</u> |
|-------------------------|------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| Cpl Bartolo Tapia       | 43         | Sonora            | Los Angeles         |
| Cpl Claudio López       | 42         | Baja California   | " "                 |
| Cpl Francisco Félix     | 43         | Sonora            | " "                 |
| Cpl José Antonio Romero | 37         | New Spain         | " "                 |
| José Jesús Rodríguez    | 18         | New California    | Santa Barbara       |
| José Carmen Rodríguez   | 16         | " "               | " "                 |
| José Dario Rosas        | 28         | New Spain         | " "                 |
| Hilario Jiménez         | 42         | New Galicia       | " "                 |
| José Romero             | 16         | New California    | " "                 |
| José Luciano Valdez     | 20         | " "               | " "                 |
| José Antonio Reyes      | 20         | " "               | Los Angeles         |
| Antonio Germán          | 19         | " "               | " "                 |
| José Tiburcio Tapia     | 19         | " "               | " "                 |
| Juan Ballesteros        | 20         | " "               | " "                 |
| Francisco Avila         | 35         | Sonora            | " "                 |
| Antonio López           | 16         | Baja California   | " "                 |
| Felipe Talamantes       | 38         | " "               | " "                 |
| Bernardo Higuera        | 16         | New California    | " "                 |
| José Jacinto Reyes      | 19         | " "               | " "                 |
| Juan José Buelna        | 16         | " "               | " "                 |
| Juan Ignacio Avila      | 28         | Sonora            | " "                 |
| Juan José Duarte        | **         | "                 | " "                 |
| Juan José García        | 34         | New California    | " "                 |
| José Avila              | 32         | Sonora            | " "                 |
| José Cosme Olivas       | 20         | New California    | " "                 |
| José Ramón Buelna       | 20         | " "               | " "                 |
| Tomás Cañedo            | 24         | Baja California   | " "                 |
| José Vicente Cañedo     | 19         | " "               | " "                 |
| Nicolás Alanís          | 23         | New California    | " "                 |
| Pedro Pérez             | 25         | Sonora            | " "                 |
| Teodoro Silvas          | 28         | " (?)             | " "                 |
| José María Valenzuela   | 26         | New California    | " "                 |
| Pablo José Franco       | 36         | Nueva Galicia     | " "                 |
| Tomás Uribe             | 44         | " "               | " "                 |
| Salvador Véjar          | 30         | " "               | San Diego           |
| José Antonio Romero     | 17         | New California    | " "                 |
| José Antonio Yorba      | 22         | " "               | " "                 |

## 1807 LIST OF MILITIAMEN, cont.

| <u>Name</u>           | <u>Age</u> | <u>Birthplace</u> | <u>Present Home</u>    |
|-----------------------|------------|-------------------|------------------------|
| Manuel Verdugo        | 17         | New California    | Rancho San Rafael      |
| Julio Antonio Verdugo | 17         | " "               | " " "                  |
| José Antonio Nieto    | 23         | " "               | Rancho Santa Gertrudis |

(signed) *José Roca*  
1809

[There were in 1807 thirty-one militia from Los Angeles and nearby *ranchos*, six from Santa Barbara, and three from San Diego, making a total of forty men from Southern California. There were also twenty-two from San José, two from Branciforte, two from Monterey, and five from nearby *ranchos*, making a total of twenty-nine from Northern California.]

The terms designating birthplace are at best approximate; Sonora probably included Sinaloa, New Galicia is the area around Jalisco, and New Spain was the area of the central Mexican highland.]

C-A 17; pages 18-21  
-- William M. Mason; July 1959

**1812: Census of the Families of Retired Soldiers Who Belong to the  
Presidio of San Diego  
Who Reside in the Pueblo of Los Angeles**

**Sergeant José María Berdugo**, his wife, María Lopes, and family: Julio María, María Catarina, the widow María Josefa and her sons, Juan and Francisco.

**Sergeant Francisco Acebedo**, his wife, Concepción Verdugo, their family: José Antonio, Antonio, Julián, Tomasa, Ana María and Mariana.

**Pedro Lisalde**, his wife, Encarnación Pérez, and family: Francisco, Juan, José Ygnacio, Nicolás, Antonio María, Justina, María Josefa and Catarina.

**Juan Segundo Valenzuela**, his wife, Agustina Alcántara. There are no children. Máximo Alavís, and his wife, Juana María Miranda. There are no children.

José Monrroy and his wife, Rita Lovo, and family: Lino María, María Vitoria and Vibiana.

**Leandro Duarte**, his wife, María Briones, and family: Juan María, Francisco, Juan José, Andrés Abelino, Antonio Ygnacio, María Antonia, Joaquina, Encarnación and Balbina.

**Francisco Bruno**, his wife, María Ygnacia, and family: Gabriel, Calletana, Cresencia and María de Jesús.

**Antonio Cota**, and his wife, María Bernalda. There are no children.

**Doroteo Felis**, his wife, Juana Lovo, and family: José, Lusiano, Bicente, Diego and María.

**Antonio Ybarra**, his wife, María Velasques, and family: Antonio, a second Antonio, Quirina, Natibidad.

**Mateo Rubio**, his wife, Bicenta Mora, and family: Rafael, Tiburcio, Francisco and Juana.

**Ramón Sotelo**, his wife, Marsela Lisaldi, and family: José Antonio, Ramón, and María Santos.

**Francisco Sotelo**, his wife, Gabriela Sibvas, and their child: José Marillita.

**Felisiano Ríos**, his wife, Catarina Romero, and family: Silberio, Juan, Santiago, Quintín, Soledad, María de la Luz and Rosa.

**Crispín Péres**, his wife, María Antonia, their family: Juan and Yrenio.

**Manuel Bustamante**, his wife, Patricia Rodríguez, and family: Juan Bautista and María Dominga.

**Patrisio Ontiveros**, his wife, Antonia Rodríguez, and family: Juan Pasífico, Tomasa, Felipa, Apolinaria and Gregoria.

**Luís Manríquez**, his wife, Juliana Alanís, and family: Julián, Juana María, María Luz, Cesaria and Eginia.

*I, the undersigned, certify that all those named accompanied by a cross, have not complied with [the precept] of Holy Mother, the Church, in this year of 1812. In testimony of the facts I sign my name today, June 1, 1812.*

*Fray José de Miguel [rubric].*

[Note: the above list is as shown as originally written, with the phonetic spelling used. "B" and "V" are interchangeable, and "S" is often used in place of "Z".].



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## 1816: El Pueblo de los Angeles

**A list indicating the settlers, retired soldiers and citizens, noting [the year of] their arrival to this pueblo, lands that have been given to them, the length of time they have possessed them from the time of distribution and at what type of work each one is employed.**

**Manuel Camero**, married [Tomasa García], came in August 1781. He was given two *suertes* which he has ceded to others for he was not able to utilize them.

**José María Navarro**, single, arrived as a settler with his father in the year 1787. He received the same land given to his father which he has ceded to others for the same reason as given above.

**Basilio Rosas**, now deceased, arrived in 1781 when he was given two *suertes* of land which he left to his wife, Manuela Hernández. These he cultivated until his death and she ceded them to Bartolo Tapia, who retains them to this day.

**Guillermo Soto**, married [Juana María Pérez Nieto], arrived in 1798 when he was given land which he cultivated for some time but has not done so for the past three years. He has handed them over to others who are away from here. He has a garden.

**Joaquín Higuera**, married [María Teresa Cota], arrived in 1791. He was given land which he cultivated until he died. At present his children cultivate it.

**Mariano Berdugo**, married [Gregoria Espinosa], arrived in 1787 and was given a *sitio* in the place called Caguenga [Cahuenga] which he retained until 1810. Here he retains only a garden.

**Bartolo Tapia**, married [María Villalobo], arrived in 1791 and was given two *suertes* of land which he still owns as well as two gardens. He also has a *sitio* where he maintains his cattle.

**Francisco Reyes**, married [María Luisa del Carmen Domínguez], arrived in 1787 and was given land which he cultivated until his death. Now his children possess it together with a garden.

**Felipe Talamantes**, married [Idelfonsa Avila], arrived in 1794. He was not given any land. Nevertheless, he has sown plantings in the *pueblo* lands.

**Mateo Ruvio**, retired soldier, arrived in 1794. He was given land but has not cultivated it because he had little opportunity to do so.

**Francisco Felis**, married [María Josefa Cota], arrived in 1781. He was given a *sitio* by his now deceased father in the same lands of the *pueblo* where they are maintained to this day.

**Juan de Dios Ballesteros**, married [Teresa Sepúlveda], arrived in 1796. He was not given land but he has sown plantings in the *pueblo* lands. He has two gardens.

**Casimiro Barelás**, married [Ana Pinto], arrived in 1790. He was given land which he cultivated until he died and which were afterwards cultivated by his sons. They also have a garden.

**Bruno García**, married [María Ignacia Cota], a retired soldier, arrived in 1796. He was not given land because he was ill.

**Ramón Buelna**, married [Petra Mejías], arrived in 1793. He was not given land but he sows in the *pueblo* lands.

LIST: 1816: POBLADORES

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**Pedro Albares**, married [María Lorenza García], arrived in 1799. He was given land which he cultivated during the first years. Since then he has maintained himself by working at *ranchos* and missions.

**Pedro Balenzuela**, widower [of María Dolores Parra], arrived in 1798. He was not given land but he has maintained himself at other occupations.

**Pedro Lisalde**, retired soldier, married [María Encarnación Pérez], arrived in 1798. He was not given land but has sown in the *pueblo* lands and besides he has a garden.

**Ygnacio Lugo**, retired soldier, married [Gertrudis Limón?], arrived in [1800?]. He was not given any land.

**Manuel Balenzuela**, retired soldier, married [María Josefa Alvarez], arrived in 1800. He was given land but left it. He has maintained himself on *ranchos* joining the labor of others.

**Juan Olivas**, retired soldier, married [Juana Ontiveros], arrived in 1800. He was given land which he cultivated until his death.

**Manuel Machado**, retired soldier, married [María del Carmen Valenzuela], arrived in 1800. He was given land which he cultivated until his death and which his sons cultivate at present. They also have a garden.

**Eugenio Baldes**, retired soldier, married [Sebastiana Quintero], arrived in 1800. He was given land which he has cultivated. He also has a garden.

**Frutoso Ruis**, married [María Dolores Lugo], arrived in 1799. He was given land and has cultivated it.

**José Polanco**, married [María Norberta de León], arrived in 1804. He was given land which he has cultivated. He also has a garden.

**Pedro Pollorena**, married [María Rosalia Ochoa], arrived in 1805. He has no land but has a garden and he has maintained himself with his mules employed in drawing water from wells by means of a wheel.

**Segundo Balenzuela**, retired soldier, married [Agustina Alcantara], arrived in of 1800. He has no land but sows in the *pueblo* lands and has a garden.

**Tomás Orives**, married [Marcela Cota], arrived in 1798. He was given land which he continues to cultivate.

**Pedro Peres**, married [María Guadalupe Pérez], arrived in 1805. He has no land but has a garden.

**Cayetano Barilas** [Varelas], married [María Hilaria Avila], Entered in 1809; he has no land; he has a garden.

**Ygnacio Balencia**, married [Luisa Varelas], arrived in 1808. He has no land but has a garden.

**Ramón Sotelo**, retired soldier married [María Marcela Lisalde] entered in 1805, he has no land.

**Francisco Sotelo**, retired soldier married [María Josefa Silvas], entered in 1803. He has no land.

**Francisco Asebedo**, married [Concepción Verdugo], retired soldier, entered in 1808, he has no lands; he has a garden.

**Doroteo Felis**, retired soldier, married, entered in 1803. He has a *sitio* and *rancho* which he inherited from his deceased father

LIST: 1816: POBLADORES

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**Leandro Duarte**, retired soldier, married [María Briones], entered in 1809; he has no land.

**Antonio Ygnacio Avila**, married [Rosa María Ruiz], entered in 1799 he was given land which he cultivated for some time and now with permission lives at the Gutiérrez **Wlanchoa**

**Francisco Avila**, married [María dela Rosa Verdugo], arrived in 1804. He owns no land. He has sown in the *pueblo* lands. He also has two gardens.

**Máximo Alanís**, retired soldier, married [Juana Reyes], arrived in 1800. He has no land but has a garden.

**Juan López**, married [Feliciano Arbayo], arrived in 1799. He owns no land but has sown in the *pueblo* lands.

**Xacinto Reyes**, married [María Antonia Machado], arrived in 1804. He sows in the land of his deceased father.

**Nicolás Alanís**, married [María Fernanda Tapia], arrived in 1807. He has no land but has maintained himself as a *serviente* [employee].

**Antonio Romero**, married [María Dorotea Alanís], arrived in 1807. He has no land. He worked at his trade as a potter.

**Urcino Tapia**, married [Mariana Lorenzana], arrived in 1809. He has no land.

**Xavier Albarado**, retired soldier, married [María Ignacia Amador], arrived in 1810. He has no land but labors on the *pueblo* lands and has a garden.

**José Palomares**, retired soldier, married [María Bendita Saez], arrived in 1810. He has land and cultivates it.

**Rafael Arriola**, married [María Manuela Cañedo], arrived in 1811. He has no land. He has maintained himself as a *serviente* at the missions.

**Anastacio Avila**, married [Juana Ballesteros], arrived in 1799. He had land which he cultivated and now lives at the *rancho* of Manuel Gutiérrez with the permission of Captain *Don* José Arguello.

**José Felis**, retired soldier, married [María Celia Cota], arrived in 1813. He has no land but has a garden.

**Mariano Cota**, retired soldier, widower [of María Guadalupe Márquez; died 6 February 1816], arrived in 1814. He has no land.

**Bicente Sanches**, married [María Victoria Higuera], arrived in 1814. He has no land but has a garden.

**Encarnación Urquides**, married [María Dolores Urquides], arrived in 1812. He has no land but has a garden.

**Dolores Sepúlveda**, married [María Ignacia Avila], arrived in 1814. He lives at the *rancho* of Gutiérrez.

**Ygnacio Almenares**, married [María Emigdia Secaña], arrived in [1813?]. He has no land. He maintains himself as a *serviente*.

**Francisco Villa**, married, arrived in [manuscript torn]. He has no land.

**Ygnacio Rendón**, married [María Matilde Cota], arrived in 1810. He has no land but has a garden.

**Claudio López**, married [María Luisa Cota], arrived in 1811. No lands were given to him but he has a garden.

**Juan José Duarte**, married [María Gertrudis Moreno], arrived in 1814. He has no land.

LIST: 1816: POBLADORES

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**Calletano Duarte**, married [María Vicenta Lorenzana], arrived in 1813. He has no land but maintains himself as a *serviente*.

**Juan Nepumoseno Albarado**, married [Bárbara Palomares], arrived in 1812. He has no land but maintains himself with his father and has a garden.

**Joaquín Ruis**, married [María Quirina Ybarra], arrived in 1813. He has no land.

**José María Aguilar**, married [María Ignacia Lisalde], arrived in 1814. He has no land but sows in the *pueblo* lands.

**Juan José Albarado**, married [María Antonia Valenzuela]. He has no land.

**Miguel Sois** [Saís], married [María Encarnación Varelas], arrived in 1806. He has no land but maintains himself as a *serviente*.

**Cosmé Olivás**, married [María Victoria Monroy], arrived in [no year given]. He has no land but maintains himself as a *serviente*.

**Desiderio Hibarra**, married [María de Jesús Valeriana Lorenzana], arrived in 1814. He has no land but has a garden.

**José García**, married [María Guadalupe Uribe], arrived in 1808. He has no land but maintains himself as a *serviente*. Earlier he cultivated the *pueblo* lands.

**José Bermudes**, retired soldier, married [María Estéfana Villa], arrived in 1815. He has no land but sows in the *pueblo* lands.

**José Ruis**, retired, married, entered 1815, he has no lands; he sows in the *pueblo* lands.

**Francisco Sepúlveda**, married [María Ramona Serrano], entered in 1815, he has no lands; he sows in the *pueblo* lands.

**Ygnacio Barilas**, married [María Antonia Valenzuela], arrived in 1815. He has no lands but sows in the *pueblo* lands.

**Antonio María Lugo**, *alcalde*, married [María Dolores Ruiz], arrived in 1809. He was given a *sitio* by Don José Arguello. He cultivates *pueblo* lands and has a garden.

**Antonio Baldes**, married [María Antonia Féliz], arrived in [1815?]. He has no land. He sows with his father, Eugenio Baldes.

**Carlos García**, married [María del Carmen Ayala], arrived in 1813. He has no land. He maintains himself as a *serviente* at the missions.

**José Manuel Cota**, married [Bárbara Machado], arrived in 1815. He has no land but cultivates the *pueblo* lands.

**José María Soto**, married [Crecencia García], arrived in 1815. He has no land but maintains himself with his father, Guillermo Soto.

**José María Balenzuela**, married [María Jesús Rodríguez], arrived in 1805. He has no land but maintains himself by working on *ranchos*.

**Antonio López**, widower [of María Bibiana Monroy], arrived in 1813. He has no land but maintains himself with his father and sows with him.

**Agustín Carabantes**, single, arrived in 1807. He maintains himself as a *serviente*.

**Francisco Solórzano**, widower [of María Anastacia Rochín], retired soldier, arrived in 1816.

**Teodoro Silbas**, married [María Luisa Alvarez], arrived in 1816.

**Juan Ruis**, single, arrived in 1812. He maintains himself as a *serviente*.

**Bruno Avila**, single, arrived in 1815. He maintains himself with his brothers.

**Gerónimo Cañedo**, single, arrived in 1812. He maintains himself as a *serviente*.

LIST: 1816: POBLADORES

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**Ramón Buelna**, single, arrived in 1808.

**Bicente Lorenzana**, single, arrived in 1812. He maintains himself as a *serviente*.

**Francisco Olivares**, single, arrived in 1815. He is a *serviente*.

**José María Farias**, single, arrived in 1815. He maintains himself as a *serviente*.

**José María Rocha**, single, arrived in 1805. He is attached to the family of Encarnación Urquíez.

**Manuel González**, single, arrived in 1814. He maintains himself as a *serviente*.

**Manuel Gutiérrez**, arrived in 1811 and went to the *rancho* of Juan José Domínguez as possessor as appears in papers given him by the *Señor Gobernador Don José Joaquín de Arrillaga*.

**José Berdugo**, single, arrived in 1814. He maintains himself as a shoemaker.

**José María Berdugo**, retired soldier, married [María Encarnación López], arrived here to be a rancher in [year not stated]. He has a small field and a garden.

**Gabriel Sotelo**, married [María Agustina Amesquita], arrived in 1815. He has no land.

*Note: This report lacks certain data concerning lands that have been granted and the work that is done on them, this defect being due to the fact that not all those concerned subsist from these labors at all times and it is impossible to ascertain with certainty just what periods these are in which the persons are or are not engaged in their usual labors. Those who have papers or certificates from the superior government are the following:*

*The brevet sergeant, José María Berdugo, Manuel Gutiérrez, and the corporal of militia, Bartolo Tapia.*

*By the Sr. Commandante Don José Arguello and Antonio María Lugo  
Pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Angeles,  
February 4, 1816*

[signed] *Guillermo Cota*

[Names given are in the original order, which presumably would be by household and in order as the lots were laid out. Names of wives added by Marie E. Northrop. Note that the term "*serviente*" means employee, not servant.]

**1821: Los Angeles Padrón**  
[determined date; original list undated]

*Estado qe. manifiesta el número qe. tiene este Pueblo de Ntra. Sra. de los Angeles con expresión de los nombres de cabeza de familia y por número de hijos, de estos con los diferentes edades qe. se manifiestan. Como también los viudos y viudas y solteros existienes en el día de la fecha. [Hombre = man; muger (mujer) = woman]*

| HOMBRES y MUGERES                                                                                                                  |   | M | H | M  | H  | M  | H  | M  | H  | M  | H  | M  | H  | M  | H |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| AGES                                                                                                                               | 1 | 7 | 7 | 14 | 14 | 21 | 21 | 35 | 35 | 49 | 49 | 60 | 60 | 80 |   |
| 1. <b>Sargto. Comdo. Don Anastacio Carrillo</b> ,<br>y su muger Concepción<br>García, ambos color blanco,<br>hijos seis, color id. | 2 | 3 | 2 |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |   |
| 2. <b>Mateo Rubio</b> , belga<br>[Belgian], blanco, su muger<br>María Vindiana, india,<br>hijos cinco, color rosado.               | 2 | 1 |   | 2  |    |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    | 1  |    |   |
| 3. <b>Ramón Buelna</b> , y su muger,<br>color blanco, Petra Mejías,<br>hijos siete, color blanco.                                  |   |   | 2 | 2  |    | 2  | 1  |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    | 1 |
| 4. <b>Juan [S.] Valenzuela</b> ,<br>color prieto, su muger<br>Agustina Alcántara.                                                  |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 1  |    | 1 |
| 5. <b>Máximo Valenzuela</b> , y<br>su muger Trinidad García,<br>ambos color rosado,<br>hijos tres, color id.                       |   | 3 |   |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |   |
| 6. <b>Juana Valenzuela</b> ,<br>vda., color prieto,<br>hijos dos, color id.                                                        |   |   | 1 | 1  |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |   |
| 7. <b>Felipe Talamantes</b> , y<br>su muger Ildelfonsa<br>Avila, ambos color rosado,<br>hijos tres, color id.                      |   | 1 |   | 1  |    |    | 1  |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |   |



|                                                                                                             | M | H | M | H  | M  | H  | M  | H  | M  | H  | M  | H  | M  | H  |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| HOMBRES y MUGERES                                                                                           | u | o | u | o  | u  | o  | u  | o  | u  | o  | u  | o  | u  | o  |
| AGES                                                                                                        | g | m | g | m  | g  | m  | g  | m  | g  | m  | g  | m  | g  | m  |
|                                                                                                             | 1 | 7 | 7 | 14 | 14 | 21 | 21 | 35 | 35 | 49 | 49 | 60 | 60 | 80 |
| 8. <b>Tomás Talamantes</b> , su muger Petronilla Olivas, color rosado, hijos dos, color id.                 |   |   |   |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 9. <b>José Palomares</b> y su muger, color blanco ambos, María Vendita Saís, hijos seis, color id.          |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |
| 10. <b>Carlos Castro</b> , su muger Augustina Avila, ambos color blanco hijas, color id, huérfanos, indios. |   |   |   |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |
| 11. <b>José Polanco</b> , color prieto, su muger María Norberta de León, color rosado, huérfana india.      |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 1  | 1  |
| 12. <b>Máximo Alanís</b> , su muger Juana Reyes, color rosado, hijos dos, color id.                         | 1 | 1 |   |    |    |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |
| 13. <b>Francisco Villa</b> , su muger Eulalia Soto, color prieto ambos, hijos seis, color id.               |   |   |   |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 14. <b>Ignacio Almenares</b> , su muger María Emilia Ceseña, color prieto, hijos seis, color id.            | 1 | 4 | 1 |    |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |

| HOMBRES y MUGERES                                                                                                                                       |   | M | H | M  | H  | M  | H  | M  | H  | M  | H  | M  | H  | M  | H |   |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|---|
|                                                                                                                                                         |   | u | o | u  | o  | u  | o  | u  | o  | u  | o  | u  | o  | u  | o |   |
|                                                                                                                                                         |   | g | m | g  | m  | g  | m  | g  | m  | g  | m  | g  | m  | g  | m |   |
| AGES                                                                                                                                                    | 1 | 7 | 7 | 14 | 14 | 21 | 21 | 35 | 35 | 49 | 49 | 60 | 60 | 80 |   |   |
| 15. <b>Luciano Féliz</b> , su muger Micaela Higuera , color blanco hijos uno, color id.                                                                 | 1 |   |   | 1  |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |   |   |
| 16. <b>Desiderio Ybarra</b> , color prieto, su muger Ma. de Jesús Valeriana Lorenzana, color blanco, hijos siete, color blanco.                         |   | 1 | 5 | 1  |    |    | 1  |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |   |   |
| 17. <b>Francisco Acebedo</b> , color rosado, su muger Concepción Verdugo, color blanco, hijos tres, color blanco.                                       |   | 2 |   | 1  |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |   | 1 |
| 18. <b>Pablo Franco</b> , y su muger María Clara, color ambos, indios, hijos cinco, color id.                                                           | 3 | 2 |   |    |    |    |    | 1  |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |   |   |
| 19. <b>Francisco Avila</b> , y su muger María Rosalía Verdugo, color blanco, hijos tres, color blanco, huérfano, color rosado, sus padres en San Diego. |   | 1 | 1 | 1  |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |   |   |
| 20. <b>Cavetano Varelas</b> , viudo, color rosado, hijos nueve, color rosado.                                                                           | 2 | 4 | 2 | 1  |    |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |   |   |
| 21. <b>Vicente Lorenzana</b> , color indio, su muger Mariana Verdugo, color rosado, hijo color prieto                                                   | 1 |   |   |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |   |   |

|                                                                                                                                                          | M | H | M | H  | M  | H  | M  | H  | M  | H  | M  | H  | M  | H  |   |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| HOMBRES y MUGERES                                                                                                                                        | u | o | u | o  | u  | o  | u  | o  | u  | o  | u  | o  | u  | o  |   |
| AGES                                                                                                                                                     | g | m | g | m  | g  | m  | g  | m  | g  | m  | g  | m  | g  | m  |   |
|                                                                                                                                                          | 1 | 7 | 7 | 14 | 14 | 21 | 21 | 35 | 35 | 49 | 49 | 60 | 60 | 80 |   |
| 22. <b>Antonio Ignacio Avila,</b><br><i>color blanco, su muger<br/>Rosa María Ruiz, color<br/>rosado, hijos siete,<br/>color id.</i>                     |   |   |   |    |    | 1  |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |   |
| 23. <b>María Valenzuela,</b><br><i>vda., color blanco, hijos<br/>tres, color rosado;<br/>huérfanos cinco, sus<br/>padres en San Diego,<br/>color id.</i> |   |   |   |    |    |    | 3  |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |   |
| 24. <b>José María Aguilar,</b><br><i>su muger María Ignacia<br/>Elisalde, de color<br/>blanco, hijo color id.</i>                                        |   |   |   |    |    | 1  |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |   |
| 25. <b>Juana Ontiveros,</b><br><i>vda., color prieto, hijos<br/>cuatro, color id, huérfana<br/>de pa. y ma., color id.</i>                               |   | 1 |   | 2  | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |   |
| 26. <b>Francisco Olivares,</b><br><i>color prieto, su muger<br/>Prudencia Morillo, color<br/>rosado, hijos uno, id.</i>                                  |   |   |   |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |   |
| 27. <b>Gertrudis Silvas,</b><br><i>vda., color blanco,<br/>hijos tres, id.</i>                                                                           |   | 1 |   |    | 2  |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |   |
| 28. <b>Pascuala Lugo,</b> <i>vda.,<br/>color blanco, hijos uno.</i>                                                                                      |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    | 1 |
| 29. <b>María Ontiveros,</b><br><i>vda., color prieto, hijos<br/>cinco, color id.</i>                                                                     | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1  |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |   |

| HOMBRES y MUGERES                                                                                                                          |   | M | H | M  | H  | M  | H  | M  | H  | M  | H  | M  | H  | M  | H |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| AGES                                                                                                                                       | 1 | 7 | 7 | 14 | 14 | 21 | 21 | 35 | 35 | 49 | 49 | 60 | 60 | 80 |   |
| 30. <b>Mariano Verdugo</b> , color blanco, su muger María Gregoria Espinosa, color id, agregado sus padres en Santa Barbara color prieto., |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 1 |
| 31. <b>José Antonio Tapia</b> , y su muger María Ana Verdugo, color blanco ambos, hijos dos, color id.                                     |   | 1 | 1 |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |   |
| 32. <b>Bartolo Tapia</b> , color prieto, su muger María Villa Lobo, color rosado, una huérfana[sin] padres.                                |   |   |   |    | 1  |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |   |
| 33. <b>Nicolás Alanís</b> , color blanco, su muger María Fernanda Tapia, color rosado, hijos cinco, color rosado quatro y uno blanco.      | 3 | 1 | 1 |    |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |   |
| 34. <b>Juan de Dios Ballesteros</b> , y su muger Teresa Sepúlveda, ambos color blanco.                                                     |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |   |
| 35. <b>Juan Ballesteros</b> , su muger María Figueroa, ambos color blanco, hijos dos, id.                                                  |   |   | 2 |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |   |
| 36. <b>Anastacio Avila</b> , su muger Juana Ballesteros, color blanco ambos, hijos ocho, id.                                               | 2 | 4 | 1 | 1  |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |   |

| HOMBRES y MUGERES                                                                                                                            |   | M | H | M  | H  | M  | H  | M  | H  | M  | H  | M  | H  | M  | H |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| AGES                                                                                                                                         | 1 | 7 | 7 | 14 | 14 | 21 | 21 | 35 | 35 | 49 | 49 | 60 | 60 | 80 |   |
| 37. <b>Ignacio Rendón</b> , color blanco, su muger Matilde Cota, color mestiso, hijos siete.                                                 | 2 | 4 |   | 1  |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    | 1  |   |
| 38. <b>Francisco Sepúlveda</b> , y su muger Ramona Serrano, ambos color blanco, hijos ocho, color id.                                        | 2 | 4 |   | 1  | 1  |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    | 1  |   |
| 39. <b>Vicente Sánchez</b> , y su muger Victoria Higuera, ambos color blanco, una huérfana, color prieto, sus padres en San Diego, hijo uno. |   |   |   | 1  |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |   |
| 40. <b>Antonio Briones</b> , color prieto, y su muger Demetria Ramérez, color blanco, hijos dos, color mestiso.                              |   | 2 |   |    |    |    | 1  |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |   |
| 41. <b>Julián Lara</b> , y su muger María Antonia Moreno, color trigueño ambos, hijos seis, color id.                                        | 3 | 2 |   | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 1  |   |
| 42. <b>María Rochín</b> , vda., color id, hijos uno, color id, dos huérfanas sin padres.                                                     | 1 |   | 1 |    |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |   |
| 43. <b>Antonio María Lugo</b> , color rosado, su muger Dolores Ruiz, id, hijos seis, color rosado.                                           | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2  | 1  |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |   |

| HOMBRES y MUGERES                                                                                                        | M | H | M | H  | M  | H  | M  | H  | M  | H  | M  | H  | M  | H  |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
|                                                                                                                          | u | o | u | o  | u  | o  | u  | o  | u  | o  | u  | o  | u  | o  |
| AGES                                                                                                                     | g | m | g | m  | g  | m  | g  | m  | g  | m  | g  | m  | g  | m  |
|                                                                                                                          | 1 | 7 | 7 | 14 | 14 | 21 | 21 | 35 | 35 | 49 | 49 | 60 | 60 | 80 |
| 44. <b>José María Lugo</b> ,<br>color blanco, su muger<br>María Antonia Rendón,<br>color rosado, hijos dos.              |   |   |   |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
|                                                                                                                          |   |   |   |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
|                                                                                                                          | 2 |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 45. <b>Ignacio Valencia</b> ,<br>color trigueño, su muger<br>Luisa Varelas, color prieto,<br>hijos ocho, color trigueño. |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |
|                                                                                                                          |   |   |   |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |
|                                                                                                                          | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1  | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 46. <b>Juan Moreno</b> , su muger<br>María Antonia Cañedo,<br>color prieto.                                              |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |
|                                                                                                                          |   |   |   |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 47. <b>Gertrudis Moreno</b> , vda.<br>color id, hijos siete id.                                                          |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
|                                                                                                                          | 2 | 2 |   | 2  | 1  |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |
| 48. <b>Rafael Rubio</b> , mestiso,<br>su muger Petra Varelas,<br>color prieto, hijos dos,<br>color rosado-trigueño.      |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
|                                                                                                                          |   |   |   |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |
|                                                                                                                          | 2 |   |   |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 49. <b>Manuel Moreno</b> , color<br>prieto, su muger Ana Pinto,<br>color trigueño.                                       |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |
|                                                                                                                          |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |
| 50. <b>Bernardo Higuera</b> , color<br>blanco, su muger María<br>Rosalía Palomares, color id.                            |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
|                                                                                                                          |   |   |   | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 51. <b>María Rufina Zúñiga</b> ,<br>india vda., hijos dos,<br>color trigueño.                                            |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 1  |
|                                                                                                                          |   |   |   |    | 1  |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 52. <b>Anastacia Zúñiga</b> , vda.,<br>color rosado, hijos cinco,<br>color id.                                           |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
|                                                                                                                          | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1  |    |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |



|                                                                                                                                                                                        |   | M | H | M  | H  | M  | H  | M  | H  | M  | H  | M  | H  | M  | H |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| HOMBRES y MUGERES                                                                                                                                                                      |   | u | o | u  | o  | u  | o  | u  | o  | u  | o  | u  | o  | u  | o |
| AGES                                                                                                                                                                                   | 1 | 7 | 7 | 14 | 14 | 21 | 21 | 35 | 35 | 49 | 49 | 60 | 60 | 80 |   |
| 53. <b>Guillermo Cota</b> , <i>color blanco, su muger Manuela Pérez (Nieto), color rosado, hijos nueve, color blanco.</i>                                                              | 4 | 1 |   | 3  | 1  |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |   |
| 54. <b>Juana Verdugo</b> , <i>vda., color rosado, huérfanos dos.</i>                                                                                                                   |   |   |   | 1  |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 1 |
| 55. <b>Antonio María Nieto</b> , <i>color rosado, su muger María Josefa Cota, color blanco, hijos cuatro, color blanco.</i>                                                            | 1 | 3 |   |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |   |
| 56. <b>Nepomuceno Alvarado</b> , <i>su muger María Bárbara Palomares, ambos color blanco, hijos cuatro, color blanco.</i>                                                              | 2 | 1 |   | 1  |    |    |    | 1  |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |   |
| 57. <b>Xavier Alvarado</b> , <i>su muger María Ignacia Amador, ambos color blanco, hijos seis, color id, huérfano agragado, color rosado, sus padres en el Rancho Santa Gertrudis.</i> |   | 1 |   |    |    | 1  | 3  | 2  |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |   |
| 58. <b>Juan López</b> y su muger Dolores Salgado, <i>color trigueño [no ages given], hijos dos, color trigueño.</i>                                                                    |   |   |   | 1  | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 1  |    | 1 |

|                                                                                                                                 |   | M | H | M  | H  | M  | H  | M  | H  | M  | H  | M  | H  | M  | H |  |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|--|
| HOMBRES y MUGERES                                                                                                               |   | u | o | u  | o  | u  | o  | u  | o  | u  | o  | u  | o  | u  | o |  |
| AGES                                                                                                                            | 1 | 7 | 7 | 14 | 14 | 21 | 21 | 35 | 35 | 49 | 49 | 60 | 60 | 80 |   |  |
| 59. <b>Antonio López</b> , color<br>trigueño, su muger<br>Concepción Palomares,<br>color blanco,<br>hijos cuatro, color rosado. |   |   |   |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |   |  |
|                                                                                                                                 |   |   |   |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |   |  |
|                                                                                                                                 | 2 | 2 |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |   |  |
| 60. <b>Julio Verdugo</b> , su<br>muger María de Jesús<br>Romero (viuda), color<br>blanco, hijos tres.                           |   |   |   |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |   |  |
|                                                                                                                                 |   |   |   |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |   |  |
|                                                                                                                                 | 2 | 1 |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |   |  |
| 61. <b>Desiderio Olivera</b> ,<br>color blanco, su muger<br>María Lucía Reyes, color<br>rosado, hijos dos.                      |   |   |   |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |   |  |
|                                                                                                                                 |   |   |   |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |   |  |
|                                                                                                                                 | 2 |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |   |  |

**1823: List of individuals who comprise the local Militia Company resident in the Pueblo of Los Angeles in the jurisdiction of the Presidio of Santa Barbara, 20 January 1823, recognized to date as having arms. Those who live here are:**

|                         | Gun | Musket<br>carrier | Cartridge | Lance | Sword |
|-------------------------|-----|-------------------|-----------|-------|-------|
| Don Francisco Ortega    |     |                   |           |       |       |
| Antonio María Lugo      |     |                   |           |       |       |
| Dolores Sepúlveda       |     |                   |           |       |       |
| Martín Ortega           |     |                   |           |       |       |
| Joaquín Ortega          | 1   | 0                 |           | 0     | 1     |
| José Dolores Ortega     |     |                   |           |       |       |
| José Ortega             | 0   | 0                 |           | 0     | 1     |
| Pedro Saldiva           |     |                   |           |       |       |
| Manuel Gutierrez        |     |                   |           |       |       |
| Teodoro Arellanas       |     |                   |           |       |       |
| Jacinto Lorenzana       |     |                   |           |       |       |
| José de Jesús Rodríguez | 1   | 0                 |           | 1     | 1     |
| Carmen Rodríguez        |     |                   |           |       |       |
| Luis Rodríguez          |     |                   |           |       |       |
| José Rodríguez          |     |                   |           |       |       |
| José María Rodríguez    |     |                   |           |       |       |
| Prudencio Ayala         |     |                   |           |       |       |
| Juan Pablo Ayala        |     |                   |           |       |       |
| Felipe Quixada          |     |                   |           |       |       |
| Francisco Quixada       |     |                   |           |       |       |
| Rafael López            |     |                   |           |       |       |
| Xabiel Higuera          |     |                   |           |       |       |
| Mariano Higuera         |     |                   |           |       |       |
| Blaz Solórzano          | 0   | 0                 |           | 0     | 0     |
| Pedro Ygnacio Olivera   |     |                   |           |       |       |
| Xaviel Valenzuela       |     |                   |           |       |       |
| Pablo Banegas           |     |                   |           |       |       |
| Daniel Ximenes          |     |                   |           |       |       |
| José Cordero            |     |                   |           |       |       |
| Matías Cordero          |     |                   |           |       |       |
| José María Romero       |     |                   |           |       |       |
| Ygnacio Loyola          |     |                   |           |       |       |
| Tomás Olivera           |     |                   |           |       |       |
| Vicente Valenzuela      |     |                   |           |       |       |
| Salvador Valenzuela     |     |                   |           |       |       |
| José María Valenzuela   |     |                   |           |       |       |

## LIST: 1823 MILITIA

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|                       | Gun | Musket<br>carrier | Cartridge | Lance | Sword |
|-----------------------|-----|-------------------|-----------|-------|-------|
| Máximo Rodríguez      | 0   | 0                 |           | 0     | 0     |
| Francisco Domínguez   |     |                   |           |       |       |
| José Ygnacio Olivas   |     |                   |           |       |       |
| Juan Olivas           |     |                   |           |       |       |
| José María Valenzuela |     |                   |           |       |       |
| Rafael Peña           |     |                   |           |       |       |
| Julio Básquez         |     |                   |           |       |       |
| Carlos Lorenzana      |     |                   |           |       |       |
| José Antonio Lugo     |     |                   |           |       |       |
| Trinidad Lugo         |     |                   |           |       |       |
| Estevan Sánchez       |     |                   |           |       |       |
| Santiago Lugo         |     |                   |           |       |       |
| Joaquín Cota          |     |                   |           |       |       |
| Julean [?]            |     |                   |           |       |       |
| Antonio Valenzuela    |     |                   |           |       |       |
| Juan Felix            |     |                   |           |       |       |
| Joaquín Botiller      |     |                   |           |       |       |
| Pasqual García        | 0   | 0                 |           | 0     | 0     |
| Vicente Pico          |     |                   |           |       |       |
| Ygnacio Romero        |     |                   |           |       |       |
| Vicente Sánchez       | 1   | 1                 |           | 1     | 1     |
| Antonio Reyes         | 0   | 0                 |           | 1     | 1     |
| Don Juan Ballesteros  | 1   | 1                 |           | 1     | 1     |
| Deciderio Olivera     | 0   | 0                 |           | 0     | 0     |
| Antonio López         | 0   | 0                 |           | 0     | 0     |
| Miguel Cota           | 0   | 0                 |           | 0     | 0     |
| Rafael Valdes         | 0   | 0                 |           | 0     | 0     |
| Juan Valdes           | 0   | 0                 |           | 0     | 0     |
| Bernardo Higuera      | 0   | 0                 |           | 0     | 0     |
| José María Lugo       | 0   | 0                 |           | 0     | 0     |
| Gerónimo Higuera      | 0   | 0                 |           | 0     | 0     |
| Vicente Lorenzana     | 0   | 0                 |           | 0     | 0     |
| Ramón Figueroa        | 0   | 0                 |           | 0     | 0     |
| Tomás Serrano         | 0   | 0                 |           | 0     | 0     |
| Pánfilo Bermudes      | 0   | 0                 |           | 0     | 0     |
| Francisco Bermúdez    | 0   | 0                 |           | 0     | 0     |
| Nicolás Alanís        | 0   | 0                 |           | 0     | 0     |
| Eugenio Morillo       | 0   | 0                 |           | 0     | 0     |
| José María Herrera    | 0   | 0                 |           | 0     | 0     |
| Joaquín Velásquez     | 0   | 0                 |           | 0     | 0     |

## LIST: 1823 MILITIA

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|                          | Gun | Musket<br>carrier | Cartridge | Lance | Sword |
|--------------------------|-----|-------------------|-----------|-------|-------|
| Antonio Botiller         | 0   | 0                 |           | 0     | 0     |
| Nicolás Olibas           | 0   | 0                 |           | 0     | 0     |
| Clemente Navarro         | 0   | 0                 |           | 0     | 0     |
| Deciderio Ybarra         | 0   | 0                 |           | 0     | 0     |
| Manuel Balenzuela        | 0   | 0                 |           | 0     | 0     |
| Antonio Ygnacio Avila    | 1   | 0                 |           | 1     | 1     |
| Balentin Rosas           | 0   | 0                 |           | 0     | 0     |
| Tomás Sánchez            | 0   | 0                 |           | 0     | 0     |
| Simón Sánchez            | 0   | 0                 |           | 0     | 0     |
| Marcos Reyes             | 0   | 0                 |           | 0     | 0     |
| Eugenio Ortega           |     |                   |           |       |       |
| Juan Lugo                | 0   | 0                 |           | 0     | 0     |
| Domingo Romero           | 0   | 0                 |           | 0     | 0     |
| Pedro Felix              | 0   | 0                 |           | 0     | 0     |
| Antonio Felix            |     |                   |           |       |       |
| Seferino Reyes           | 0   | 0                 |           | 0     | 0     |
| <i>Don</i> Diego Olivera | 1   | 0                 |           | 0     | 1     |
| Francisco Pico           |     |                   |           |       |       |
| Manuel Gonzales          | 1   | 0                 |           | 0     | 0     |

**1823: List of the retired soldiers and militiamen of artillery with their families who are obliged to fulfill their annual Easter precept according to the law of Our Holy Mother, the Church in the year 1823.**

Sergeant **Guillermo Cota**, his wife, **María Manuela Peres** and children: Miguel Gregorio, María Gracia, María de Jesús, María Antonia, María de la Ascensión and José María.

Sergeant **Jabiel Albarado**, his wife, **María Ygnacia Amador**, and children: Francisco Jabiel, Ygnacio María, María de Jesus, María Josefa and María Ygnacia.

Sergeant **José Palomares** (in Monterey), his wife, **María Benedita Sais** and children: Francisco, Ygnacio María, Estéfana and Dolores.

Sergeant **Francisco Asebedo**, his wife, **María Concepción Berdugo** and children: Juli n and Ana María Asebedo.

Sergeant **José María Berdugo**, widower, and his children: María Josefa, a widow, Catalina, Juan Lugo, a Grandson, Juana María, a widow, María Josefa Cota and Manuela Cota, grandchildren.

Retired soldier, **Ygnacio Lugo** and his wife **Gertrudis Limón**.

Retired soldier, **Eugenio Baldes**, his wife, **Dolores Morillo** and children: Rafael and Juan, the latter in Monterey.

Corporal **Vicente Villa**, his wife, **Rita Baldes** and children: Mariano, Demetrio and Teresa.

**Julián Lara**, his wife, **María Antonia Moreno**, and their daughter, Viviana.

**José Bermudes**, a widower, and his children: Pánfilo, Francisco and Domingo.

**José Polanco**, his wife, **María de León** and Soledad, a neophyte.

**Bernardo Ramires**, his wife, **Francisca Soto** and son, Juan.

**Hilario Ruis**, his wife, **Julia Sinova** and children: Martín, José, Agatón and Cleto.

**Máximo Alanís**, his wife, **Juana Relles** and their grandson, Juan Manrriques.

**Francisco Sotelo**, [his wife], **Grabiela Silbas**.

**Ramón Sotelo** (in Monterey), his wife, **Marcela Lisalda**, and children: José and Ramón.



LIST: 1823 EASTER LIST

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Mariano Domínguez, his wife, **Benancia Sotelo**, and children: Carlos, José, Josefa and Felipa.

Patricio Ontiberos (in San Diego), his wife, **Antonia Rodríguez**, and their daughter, Gregoria.

Segundo Balenzuela, his wife, **Agustina Alcántara**, a daughter, Juana, who is a widow, a grandson, Joaquín Albares, and Rafaela Albares.

José María Monrroi [Monroy], his wife, **Rita Lobo**, and child, Lino.

Leandro Duarte, his wife, **María Briones**, and children: Francisco, José, María de la Encarnación and Alvina.

Doroteo Felis, his wife, **Juana Lobo**, and children: José María, Vicente, Diego and María Antonia.

**Militiamen of Artillery:**

Corporal Bartolomé Tapia, his wife, **María Lobo** and Josefa Rocha, an orphan.

Pablo Vejar, his wife, **Josefa López**, and their children: Ricardo, Emidio and Ramona.

Teodoro Silvas, his wife, **Juana Albarado**, and children, Benvenuta and Pasquala.

Antonio María Nieto, and his wife, **María Josefa Cota**.

Yrenio Peres and his wife, **María Vicenta Lugo**.

Justo Morillo and his wife, **María Eulogia Nieto**.

Jaime Carriaga and his wife, **Dolores Cañedo**.

SINGLE PERSONS: Juan Pacífico Ontiberos, Meregildo Bermudes and Domingo Balleras.

*Pueblo de Nuestra Senora Reina de los Angeles*

February 15, 1823

*Guillermo Cota* [rubric]

**1823: A list pertaining to the inhabitants of this jurisdiction of the town of Our Lady of the Angels, from nine years and up who have complied with the annual precept of our Mother, the Church in the present year of 1823, namely:**

Don Antonio Carrillo.

Anastacio Avila, his wife, **Juana Ballesteros**, and their children: Petra, Juana, Luisa, Juana Josefa and Cornelio.

Antonio Ygnacio Avila, his wife, **Rosa María Ruiz**, and children: Francisca, María Concepción, Juan and Martín.

Antonio Briones, and his wife, **Demetria Ramires**.

Andrés Ybarra (in San Diego), and his wife, **Juana Moreno**, and daughter, María Consesión.

Antonio Baldes and his wife, **María Antonia Félix**.

Antonio Botiller, and his wife, **María de la Lus Morales**.

Antonio María Lugo, his wife, **Dolores Ruiz**, and children: Felipe, María Antonia and José del Carmen.

Antonio López, and his wife, **Concepción Palomares**.

Antonio Machado.

Antonio María Nieto, and his wife, **María Josefa Cota**.

Antonio Reyes and his wife, **María Clara Cota**.

Antonio Tapia, and his wife, **Mariana Berdugo**.

Vicente Lorenzana, and his wife, **Mariana Berdugo**.

Vicente Villa, and his wife, **Rita Baldés**, and children: Mariano, Demetrio, Teresa and María del Pilar.

Bernardo Higuera, and his wife, **María del Rosario Palomares**.

Bernardo Ramires and his wife, **María Francisca Soto**.

Bartolo Tapia, his wife, **María Villa Lobo**, and an orphan, María Josefa Rocha.

Vicente Sánchez, his wife, **María Victoria Higuera**, and child, Pedro; also living with them, **José Armas**.

Ursino Tapia (in Monterey), his wife, **Mariana Lorenzana** and child: Ancelmo.

Calletano Barelás, widower [of **María Hilaria Avila**], and his sons: Hilario and José Sérbulo.

Carlos García, his wife, **María del Carmen Ayala**, and children: Tomás, Eugenio, José and Rafael.

Carlos Castro (in Monterey), his wife, **Agustina Avila**, and child: María Rafaela, together with an orphan, María Armenta.

Calletano Duarte, his wife, **Vicenta Lorenzana**, and children: Trinidad and Martín.

Cornelio López, and his wife, **Rafaela Romero**.

Claudio López, his wife, **Luisa Cota**, and children: Tivurcio and Bernardino.

Casimiro Oribe, his wife, **Marcela Cota**, and children: Juana María, José María, Ricardo, María Ysabel and Francisca.

Deciderio Ybarra, his wife, **Baleriana Lorenzana**, and children: Juana and José Sérbulo.

Domingo Romero and his wife, **María Francisca Félix**.

LIST: 1823 EASTER LIST, POBLADORES

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**Demesio Domínguez**, and his wife, **Simona Villa**, and children: María Baleriana, María Luiza and María Conseción.

**Decidero Olibera**, and his wife, **Luisa Reyes**.

**Dolores Sepúlveda**, and his wife, **María Ygnacia Avila**, and child: Juan. Also an orphan: **Joaquina Sepúlveda**.

**Daniel Rosas Ygles** [Inglés]

**Encarnación Urquides**, his wife, **Dolores Elizalde**, and children: Tomás, María Josefa, Juleana, María del Rosario and Loreta.

**Enrique Sepúlveda**, his wife, **Soledad Baldez**, and son, Dolores. Also an orphan: **José Alipaz**.

**Eugenio Baldez**, his wife, **Dolores Morillo** and children: Rafael and Juan who is in Monterey.

**Eugenio Morillo**, and his wife, María Francisca García.

**Francisco Avila**, his wife, **Encarnación Sepúlveda**, and children: María Ysabel, Yanuario and Petra.

**Francisco Olibares** and his wife, **María Prudencia Morillo**.

**Francisco Villa**, his wife, **Eularia Soto**, and children: Rafael, María Ygnacia and José Matías.

**Francisco Félix**, his wife, **Josefa Cota**, and children: Marcelina, Antonio (in San Diego), Domingo, María del Pilar, María Trinidad, and María Dolores.

**Don Francisco Morales**, his wife, **Rosa María Garibay**, and children: José Pío, Luís Cornelio and María de Jesús.

**Francisco Juares**, his wife, **Dolores Cota**, and children: Manuel and Mateo.

**Felipe Talamantes**, his wife, **Idefonza Avila**, and children: Pablo, María Guadalupe, the first, María Guadalupe, the second, and the orphans: **María Felipa Saís** and **Dolores Barelás**.

**Francisco Sepúlveda**, his wife, **María Ramona Serrano**, and children: José, Ramona, Ysabel and Fernando.

**Francisco Sotelo**, and his wife, **Gabriela Silbas**.

**Guadalupe Carriaga**, and his wife, **María Dolores Cañedo**.

**Gracia Valenzuela**, and his wife, **María Gracia Félix** [Félix].

**Gabriel Sotelo**, his wife, **Agustina Amesquita**, and children: Dominga Altamirano and Loreta Altamirano.

**Guillermo Cota**, and his wife, **Manuela Nieto**, and childrn: Miguel, María Gracia, María de Jesús, María Antonia, José María and María Asención.

**Gregorio Romero**.

**Gertrudis Silbas**, widow [of **Manuel Antonio Figueroa**], and children: Ramón Figueroa and María Pasquala Figueroa.

**Gregoria Espinosa**, widow [of **José Pedro Loreto Salazar**].

**Gertrudis Moreno**, widow [of **Juan José Duarte**], and children: Christoval Duarte, María Filomena, María Francisca, María Ygnacia, Narciso and Francisco María. [On side] **Gil Ybarra**, single.

**Hilario Ruiz**, his wife, **Julia Sinoba**, and children: Martín, José, Agaton, Cleto and Bárbara.

**Ygnacio Almenares**, his wife, **Emigdia Seceña**, and children: José María and María Nepomucena.

LIST: 1823 EASTER LIST, POBLADORES

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- Ygnacio Balencia**, his wife, **Luisa Barel**, and children: Manuel, María de la Luz, Aconcio[?] and Antonio.
- Ygnacio Rendón**, his wife, **María Matilde Cota**, and children: Juana de Dios, María Vicenta and María.
- Ygnacio Lugo**, retired soldier, and his wife, **Gertrudis Sánchez**.
- Yrenio Pérez** and his wife, **Vicenta Lugo**.
- José Ygnacio Lugo**, retired soldier, his wife, **Rafaela Romero**, and children: Magdalena and Luís.
- Don Juan Nepomuceno Alvarado**, his wife, **María Bárbara Palomares** and child: María Tomás.
- José María Avila**, his wife, **María Andrea Yorba**.
- José María Aguilar**, his wife, **María Ygnacia Elizalde**, and child: Christóbal.
- Jacinto Albitre**, his wife, **Lugarda Moreno**, and child: Ysidro.
- Don Juan de Dios Ballesteros**, his wife, **Teresa Sepúlveda**, and child: Josefa.
- Don Juan Ballesteros**, his wife **María Figueroa**, and affiliated with the family, **José María Félix**.
- José Bermudes**, widower [of **María Estéfana Villa**], and children: Pánfilo, Francisco, Domingo and Antonio.
- José María Valenzuela**, his wife, **María de Jesús Rodríguez**, and children: María Asención, Tomasa, and affiliated with the family, **José María Cañedo**.
- Joaquín Velásquez**.
- José María Berdugo**, widower [of **María Encarnación López**], and child: María Catalina.
- Julio Berdugo**, and his wife, **María de Jesús Romero**.
- Juan María Duarte**, and his wife, **Tomasa Asebedo**.
- Juan José Duarte**, and his wife, **María Serrano**.
- José María Herrera**.
- José María Farías**, and his wife, **Sesaria Manrriques**.
- Juan José Higuera**, his wife, **Marta Salzar**, and children: Fermina, Estevan and Eulogia.
- José María Lugo**, and his wife, **María Antonia Rendón**.
- Julián Lara**, retired soldier, his wife, **María Antonia Moreno**, and children: María Margarita, Paula and Juan.
- Juan López**, his wife, **Dolores Salgado**, and children: Pedro, María, Ramona and Nieves. Also an orphan, **Nicolás Navarro**.
- Juan Moreno**, and his wife, **María Antonia Cañedo**.
- Julián Manrriquez**, and his wife, **Trinidad Domínguez**.
- José María Monrroy**, and his wife, **María Rita Lobo**, and child: Lino.
- José María Navarro**.
- Juan José Nieto**, and his wife, **Tomasa Tapia**.
- José Antonio Nieto**, and his wife, **Catalina Ruiz**.
- Don José Palomares**, retired soldier in Monterey, his wife, **Benedita Sais**, and children: María Estéfana, Francisco, Ygnacio María and Dolores.
- José Polanco**, retired soldier, his wife, **María de León**, and a neophyte, **María Soledad**.
- Juan Pérez**, his wife, **Tomasa Ontiveros**, and child: María Francisca.

LIST: 1823 EASTER LIST, POBLADORES

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- Jacinto Reyes**, his wife, **María Antonia Machado**, and children: Domingo and María Gracia.
- José el Ynglés** [**Joseph Chapman**] and his wife, **Guadalupe** [**Ortega**].
- José Antonio Romero**, his wife, **Seferina Rosas**, and children: María Matilde, Manuel, José de Jesús and María Guadalupe.
- José María Silvas**, and his wife, **María Antonia Duarte**.
- José Albares**.
- Juan Pedro Albares**, and his wife, **Lorenza García**.
- Juana Ontiveros**, widow (of **Juan Matías Olivas**), and children: Nicolás, Olivas, Domingo, Raymundo, Gertrudis and an orphan, **Pulqueña Olibares**.
- Juana Balenzuela**, widow (of **Buenaventura Alvarez**), and children: María Rafaela Albares and Joaquín.
- Juana Berdugo**, widow (of **Roque Jacinto Cota**), and orphans: **Josefa Cota** and **Manuela Cota**.
- Luciano Baldez**, his wife, **Albina Albares**, and children: Luís Valenzuela, María Ricarda, Casimiro, Francisco, Manuela and Desiderio, all with the surname of **Valenzuela**.
- Leandro Duarte**, his wife, **María Briones**, and children: Francisco, Andrés, María Encarnación and Albina.
- Luciano Félix**, and his wife, **Marcela Higuera**.
- Loreta Carpio**, widow [of **Pantaleón Higuera**].
- Gracia Valenzuela**, and his wife, **Gracia Félix**.
- Maximo Alanís**, his wife, **Juana Reyes**, and the orphans, **Juan Manrriques** and **Ramón Manrriques**.
- Máximo Valenzuela**, and his wife, María Trinidad Romero.
- Mariano Domínguez**, and his wife, **Benancia Sotelo**, and children: Carlos, María Josefa, Felipa and José.
- Manuel Antonio Duarte**, and his wife, **María Apolinaria Ontiveros**.
- Miguel Sais**, his wife, **Juana Pérez** and children: María Angela, Teodosa and Domingo. Also the orphans **María Tridad Soto** and **Seferina Soto**.
- Máximo Reyes**, and his wife, **Feliciana Baldez**.
- Don* **Manuel Gutierrez**, the first, and *Don* Manuel Gutierrez, the second.
- Manuel Moreno**, and his wife, **María Ana Pinto**.
- Miguel Balenzuela**, his wife, **María Vicitación Rodríguez**, and children: Gertrudis and Secundino.
- Máximo Rodríguez**.
- María** [**Tomas**] **Ontiveros**, widow [of **Juan Antonio Lazaro Pérez Nieto**], and children: José, María Luisa and Francisca - all with surname of Pérez.
- María Rita Uribe**, widow [of **Francisco Talamantes**].
- María** [**del Carmen**] **Balenzuela**, widow [of **José Manuel Machado**], and children: Agustín Machado and Ygnacio Machado. Orphans: **María Ygnacia Aguilar** and **Masedonio Aguilar**.
- María** [**del Carmen**] **Domínguez**, widow [of **Juan Francisco Reyes**], and children: María de la Lus Reyes, Gertrudis, María Acensión, and Marcos, all with surname of Reyes. Also the orphans **Vicente** and **María Elizalde**.
- María Loreta Carpio**, widow.

LIST: 1823 EASTER LIST, POBLADORES

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- María Silbas**, widow [of **Francisco Serrano**], and children: Tomás, Rosa and José Serrano.
- María Rosalía Ochoa**, widow [of **Pedro Polloreña**], and children: Juan, María Gabriela, Angel and María Miquela, all with surname, Polloreña.
- María Rochín**, widow [of **Juan Francisco Solorzano**], and a boarder, **Blas Solórzano**.
- María Tomasa García de Camero**, widow [of **Manuel Camero**].
- Micaela García**, widow [of **Doroteo Villa**].
- María Antonia Valenzuela**, widow [of **Ygnacio Varelas**], and children: María Ygnacia Barelas and J. Ygnacio Barelas.
- María del Carmen Rochín**, widow (of **José Clemente Navarro**), and children: María Urgida, María Nicolasa, María Dolores, Concesión and Clemente, all with surname, Navarro. The latter is absent.
- María [de los Reyes] Armenta**, widow [of **Juan Crispín Pérez-Nieto**], and her child, Dolores Pérez.
- María (Rufina) Hernández**, widow (of **Felipe Sebastián Alvitre**) and children: Claudio and María Florentina Albitre.
- María Cañedo**, widow [of **Juan Francisco Sánchez**], and the orphans: Simón, Francisca and Tomás Sánchez.
- María [Victoriana Martínez] Patiño**, widow [of **José Victor Patiño**].
- Nicolás Alanís**, his wife, **María Fernanda Tapia**, and children: María Vasilía, Bernarda, María Ricarda and María Felipa.
- Nemecio Domínguez**, his wife, **María Simona Villa**, and children: María Baleriana, María Luisa and Conseción.
- Segundo Valenzuela**, his wife, **María Agustina Alcántara** and the orphan, **María Petra Valenzuela**.
- Simón**, *indio de Sitka* [Sitka, Alaska - an Aleut]
- Salvador Béjar**, his wife, **María Josefa López**, and children: Ricardo, Egmidio, Lázaro, Juan Crisóstomo, María Nazaria and María Romana.
- Santiago Rubio**, his wife, **María Petra Guillen**, and child: Antonia.
- Santiago Rios**, and his wife, **María Ysabel Oribe**.
- Santiago Ruiz**, and his wife, **María Sotelo**.
- Tomás de la Cruz**, his wife, **Rosa Valenzuela**, and children: José María, José Manuel, Eustaquia and Claudio.
- Teodoro Silbas**, and his wife, **Juana Albarado**.
- Tomás Talamantes**, and his wife, **Petronila Olivas**.
- Tomás Gutierrez**, and his wife, **María Antonia Cota**.
- Tomás Olivera**, his wife, **María Antonia Cota**, and daughter, **María Martina Osuna**.
- Xabiel [Xavier] Alvarado**, his wife, **María Ygnacio Amador**, and children: Francisco Xabiel, María Josefa, Ygnacio María, Ysidro, and an orphan, **María Ygnacia Duarte**.
- Xabiel Morillo**, widower [of **María Lucia Pérez**], and son, Pablo.
- Pedro Valenzuela**, [widower of **María Dolores Parra**] and children, Estanislao and J. Antonio.
- Patricio Ontiveros**, his wife, **Antonia Rodríguez**, and children: Juan Pacífico, María Gregoria, and an orphan, **Juan Bautista Bustamante**.
- Pedro Mexías [Mejías]**, widower [of **Ana María Ortega**].



LIST: 1823 EASTER LIST, POBLADORES

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**Pablo Franco**, his wife, **María Clara**, india, and children: María Antonia, Lazaro, Narziso and Tomás.

**Pedro Félix**, his wife, **María Josefa Berdugo**, and child, Juan, and an orphan, **Anastacio Valdazo**.

**Pedro Pérez**, his wife, **María Guadalupe Moreno**, and child: Marcos.

**Potenciana Graneno**, widow.

**Pasquala Lugo**, widow [of **José Miguel Silvas**], and orphans: **Pasquala Romero** and **Benvenuta Silvas**.

**Patricia Rodríguez**, widow [of **José Manuel Bustamante**], and child, Dominga Bustamante.

**Pasqual García**, his wife, **María Antonia Higuera**, and child: Joaquín.

**Ramón Buelna**, his wife **María Colorada Mexías**, and children: Francisco, María Manuela, J. Antonio, Encarnación Colorada, María del Pilar and Mariano.

**Ramón Quixada**.

**Rafael Rubio**, and his wife, **Petra Guillen Barelás**.

**Ramón Sotelo**, his wife, **Marsela Elizalde**, and children: José Antonio and Ramón.

**José Manuel Arriaga Sileno**.

**Mariano Barbosa Alegría**.

## LIST INDEX

The Appendix contains a number of *padrones* (censuses), as well as other lists. The following table shows which persons are included on Pueblo de Los Angeles lists for the years indicated. Persons appearing on more than one list in the same year are so marked.

|                          | 1781 | 1786 | 1789 | 1798 | 1804 | 1812 | 1821 |    |
|--------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|----|
|                          | 1785 | 1787 | 1790 | 1799 | 1807 | 1816 | 1823 |    |
| Acevedo, Francisco       |      |      |      |      | x    | x    | x    | xx |
| Aguilar, José Ma.        |      |      |      |      |      | x    | x    | x  |
| Alanís, Máximo           | s    |      |      |      | x    | x    | x    | xx |
| Alanís, Nicolás          |      |      |      |      | x    | x    | x    | xx |
| Alegría, Mariano         |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Almenares, Ygnacio       |      |      |      |      |      | x    | x    | x  |
| Alvarado, Ma. Ignacia    |      |      | xx   |      |      |      |      |    |
| Alvarado, Juan José      |      |      |      |      |      | x    | x    | x  |
| Alvarado, Juan Nepo.     |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |    |
| Alvarado, Xavier         |      |      |      |      | x    | x    | x    | xx |
| Alvarez, José            |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Alvarez, Juan            |      |      | x    | xx   |      |      |      |    |
| Alvarez, Pedro           |      |      |      | x    | x    | x    |      | x  |
| Alvarez, Pedro M         |      |      |      |      | x    |      |      |    |
| Alvitre, Jacinto         |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Alvitre, Sebastián       |      | x    | x    | x    | x    |      |      |    |
| Armenta, Joaquín         |      |      | x    | xx   | x    | x    |      |    |
| Armenta, Ma. Reyes       |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Arrellanes, Teodoro      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Arrellano, Manuel        |      |      | x    | xx   | x    |      |      |    |
| Arriola, Rafael          |      |      |      |      |      | x    |      |    |
| Aruz, Domingo            |      | x    | x    | xx   |      |      |      |    |
| Avila, Anastacio         |      |      |      |      | x    | x    | x    | x  |
| Avila, Antonio Ygnacio   |      |      |      |      | x    | x    | x    | xx |
| Avila, Bruno             |      |      |      |      |      | x    |      |    |
| Avila, Cornelio          |      |      |      | x    | x    |      |      |    |
| Avila, Francisco         |      |      |      |      |      | x    | xx   | x  |
| Avila, José              |      |      |      |      |      | x    |      |    |
| Avila, José Ma.          |      |      |      |      | x    | x    |      | x  |
| Avila, Juan Ygnacio      |      |      |      |      |      | x    |      |    |
| Avila, Ylaria            |      |      |      |      |      | x    |      |    |
| Ayala, Juan Pablo        |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Ayala, Prudencio         |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | xx |
| Ballesteros, Juan        |      |      |      |      | x    | x    | x    | xx |
| Ballesteros Juan de Dios |      |      |      |      | x    |      | x    | x  |
| Bermúdez, Francisco      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Bermúdez, Hermangildo    |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Bermúdez, José           |      |      |      |      |      | x    |      | xx |
| Bermúdez, Panfilio       |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Blanco, Miguel           |      |      |      |      | x    |      |      |    |
| Botiller, Antonio        |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | xx |
| Botiller, Joaquín        |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Botiller, Juan           |      |      |      |      | x    |      |      |    |
| Briones, Antonio         |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Buelna, Juan Jose        |      |      |      |      |      | x    |      |    |
| Buelna, Ramón            |      |      |      | x    | x    | x    | xx   | x  |

|                        | 1781 | 1786 | 1789 | 1798 | 1804 | 1812 | 1821 |    |
|------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|----|
|                        | 1785 | 1787 | 1790 | 1799 | 1807 | 1816 | 1823 |    |
| Bustamante, Manuel     |      |      |      |      |      | x    |      |    |
| Camero, Manuel         | xx   | x    | x    | x    |      |      | x    |    |
| Cañedo, Gerónimo       |      |      |      |      |      |      | x    |    |
| Cañedo, José Ignacio   |      |      |      |      | x    |      |      |    |
| Cañedo, Ma.            |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Cañedo, Tomás          |      |      |      |      |      | x    |      |    |
| Cañedo, Vicente        |      |      |      |      |      | x    |      |    |
| Carabantes, Agustín    |      |      |      |      |      |      | x    |    |
| Carpio, Ma.Loreta      |      |      |      |      | x    |      |      | x  |
| Carrasco, Ma. Ana      |      |      |      |      | x    |      |      |    |
| Carriaga, Guadalupe    |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Carriaga, Jaime        |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Carrillo, Anastacio    |      |      |      |      |      |      | x    |    |
| Carrillo, Antonio      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Carrillo, Ma.Ignacia   |      |      |      | x    |      |      |      |    |
| Castro, Carlos         |      |      |      |      |      |      | x    |    |
| Chapman, José          |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Cordero, José          |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Cordero, Matías        |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Cota, Antonio          | xx   |      |      | x    | x    | x    | x    |    |
| Cota, Beatriz          |      |      |      |      | x    |      |      |    |
| Cota, Guillermo        |      |      |      |      | x    |      |      | x  |
| Cota, Joaquín          |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Cota, José Manuel      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x    |    |
| Cota, Mariano          |      |      |      |      |      |      | x    |    |
| Cota, Miguel           |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Cota, Pablo            |      |      |      | x    | x    |      |      |    |
| Cota, Roque Jacinto    | xx   |      | x    | x    | xx   | x    |      |    |
| Cruz, Faustino de la   |      |      |      |      | x    |      |      |    |
| Cruz, Tomás            |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Domínguez, Dem         |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Domínguez, Francisco   |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Domínguez, Juan José   |      | x    |      | x    | xx   | x    |      |    |
| Domínguez, Ma.         |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Domínguez, Mariano     |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | xx |
| Duarte, Calletano      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x    | x  |
| Duarte, Juan José      |      |      |      |      | x    | x    | x    | x  |
| Duarte, José Ma.       |      |      |      | x    |      |      |      | x  |
| Duarte, Leandro        |      |      |      |      |      |      | x    | xx |
| Duarte, Manuel Antonio |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | xx |
| Duarte, Ma.Potenciana  |      |      |      |      | x    |      |      |    |
| Espinosa, Gregorio     |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Farias, José Ma.       |      |      |      |      |      |      | x    | x  |
| Félix, Anastasio       |      |      |      | x    | x    | x    |      |    |
| Félix, Antonio         |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Félix, Doroteo         |      |      |      | x    | x    | x    | x    | x  |
| Félix, Francisco       |      |      |      | x    | x    | x    | x    | x  |
| Félix, José Vicente    |      |      |      | x    | x    | x    |      |    |
| Félix, Juan            |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Félix, Luciano         |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Félix, Pedro           |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | xx |

|                          | 1781 | 1786 | 1789 | 1798 | 1804 | 1812 | 1821 |     |
|--------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-----|
|                          | 1785 | 1787 | 1790 | 1799 | 1807 | 1816 | 1823 |     |
| Félicz, José Vicente     | xx   |      | x    | x    | x    | x    | x    |     |
| Figueroa, Manuel         |      |      |      | x    |      |      | x    |     |
| Figueroa, Ramón          |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x   |
| Franco, Pablo            |      |      |      |      |      | x    | x    | x   |
| García, Bruno            |      |      |      |      |      |      | x    |     |
| García, Carlos           |      |      |      |      |      |      | x    | x   |
| García, Felipe           |      |      | x    | x    | xx   |      |      |     |
| García, Francisco Bruno  |      |      | x    |      |      | x    |      |     |
| García, José             |      |      |      |      |      |      | x    |     |
| García, Juan José        |      |      |      |      |      | x    |      |     |
| García, Ma. Tomás        |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x   |
| García, Micaela          |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x   |
| García, Pasqual          |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | xx  |
| Germán, Antonio          |      |      |      |      |      | x    |      |     |
| Germán, Isidro           | s    |      |      | x    | x    | x    |      |     |
| González, Manuel         |      |      |      |      |      |      | x    | x   |
| Granerio, Poten          |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x   |
| Grijalva, Pablo          |      |      | x    | x    | x    |      |      |     |
| Gutiérrez, Manuel        |      |      |      |      |      | x    | x    | xx  |
| Gutiérrez, Tomás         |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x   |
| Hernández, Justo         | s    |      | x    |      |      |      |      |     |
| Hernández, Mar           |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x   |
| Herrera, José Ma.        |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | xx  |
| Higuera, Bernardo        |      |      |      |      |      | x    | x    | xx  |
| Higuera, Gerónimo        |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x   |
| Higuera, Joaquín         |      |      | x    | xx   | x    | x    | x    |     |
| Higuera, Mariano         |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | xx  |
| Higuera, Juan José       |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x   |
| Higuera, Xavier          |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x   |
| Jiménez, Daniel          |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x   |
| Juárez, Francisco        | s    |      |      |      |      |      |      | x   |
| Lara, José Fernando      | xx   |      |      |      |      |      |      |     |
| Lara, Julián             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | xxx |
| Lisalde, Pedro           |      |      |      |      | x    | x    | x    |     |
| López, Antonio           |      |      |      |      |      | x    | x    | x   |
| López, Claudio           |      |      | x    |      |      | x    | x    | xx  |
| López, Cornelio          |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x   |
| López, Francisco         |      |      | x    | x    | x    |      |      |     |
| López, Juan              |      |      |      |      |      | x    | x    | x   |
| López, Melchor           |      |      |      | x    | x    |      |      |     |
| López, Rafael            |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x   |
| López, Rosa Ma.          |      |      |      |      | x    |      |      |     |
| Lorenzana, Carlos        |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x   |
| Lorenzana, Jacinto       |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x   |
| Lorenzana, Vicente       |      |      |      |      |      | x    | x    | xx  |
| Loyola, Ygnacio          |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x   |
| Lugo, Antonio .Ma.       |      |      |      |      |      | x    |      | xx  |
| Lugo, Francisco Salvador | xx   |      | x    | x    |      |      |      |     |
| Lugo, José Antonio       |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x   |
| Lugo, José Ma.           |      |      |      |      |      |      | x    | xx  |
| Lugo, José Ygnacio       |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x   |

|                           | 1781 | 1786 | 1789 | 1798 | 1804 | 1812 | 1821 |    |
|---------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|----|
|                           | 1785 | 1787 | 1790 | 1799 | 1807 | 1816 | 1823 |    |
| Lugo, Juan                |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Lugo, Manuel Ygnacio      | s    |      |      |      | x    |      |      |    |
| Lugo, Ma.Pascuala         |      |      | x    | xx   | x    |      | x    | x  |
| Lugo, Santiago            |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | xx |
| Lugo, Trinidad            |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | xx |
| Lugo, Ygnacio             |      |      |      |      |      | x    |      | xx |
| Machado, Antonio          |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Machado/Orchaga, Manuel   | s    |      |      |      | x    | x    | v    | v  |
| Manríguez, Julián         |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Manríguez, Luís           |      |      |      |      |      | x    |      |    |
| Mesa, Antonio             | xx   |      |      |      |      |      |      |    |
| Mexías, Pedro             |      |      |      |      | x    |      |      | x  |
| Miranda, Antonio          | x    |      |      |      |      |      |      |    |
| Monroy, José              |      |      |      |      |      | x    |      | xx |
| Morales, Francisco        |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Moreno, Felipe            |      |      | x    | x    |      |      |      |    |
| Moreno, José              | xx   | x    | x    | x    | xx   | x    | x    | x  |
| Moreno, Gertrudis         |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Moreno, Juan              |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Moreno, Manuel            |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Morillo, Eugenio          |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | xx |
| Morillo, Justo            |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Morillo, Xabiel (Fran.J.) |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Navarro, Clemente         |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Navarro, José Antonio     | xx   | x    | x    | x    |      |      |      |    |
| Navarro, José Ma.         |      |      | x    | x    |      |      | x    | x  |
| Nieto, Antonio Ma.        |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Nieto, José Antonio       |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Nieto, Juan José          |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Ochoa, Ma.Rosalía         |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Olivares, Francisco       |      |      |      |      |      |      | x    | x  |
| Olivares, José Ignacio    |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |    |
| Olivares, José Ma.        |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |    |
| Olivares, Lucas           |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |    |
| Olivas, José Cosme        |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |    |
| Olivas, José Ygnacio      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Olivas, Juan              | s    |      |      |      | x    | x    | x    | x  |
| Olivas, Nicolás           |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Olivera, Desiderio        |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Olivera, Diego            |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Olivera, Ignacio          |      |      | x    | x    |      |      |      |    |
| Olivera, José             |      |      | x    | x    |      |      |      |    |
| Olivera, Juan Ma.         |      |      |      |      | x    | x    |      |    |
| Olivera, Lucas            |      |      |      |      | x    | x    |      |    |
| Olivera, Pedro Ygnacio    |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Olivera, Tomás            |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | xx |
| Ontiveros, José           |      |      |      | x    |      |      |      |    |
| Ontiveros, Patricio       |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Ontiveros, Juan Pacífico  |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Ontiveros, Ma.Tomasa      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Ontiveros, Patricio       |      |      |      |      |      | x    |      | xx |

|                        | 1781 | 1786 | 1789 | 1798 | 1804 | 1812 | 1821 |    |
|------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|----|
|                        | 1785 | 1787 | 1790 | 1799 | 1807 | 1816 | 1823 |    |
| Ortega, Eugenio        |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Ortega, Francisco      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Ortega, Joaquín        |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Ortega, José [1]       |      | x    | x    | x    |      |      |      |    |
| Ortega, José [2]       |      | x    | x    | x    |      |      |      | x  |
| Ortega, José Dolores   |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Ortega, Miguel         |      |      |      | x    | x    |      |      |    |
| Ortega, Martín         |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Osuna, Juan            |      | x    | x    |      |      |      |      |    |
| Osuna, José Ma.        |      |      |      | x    | x    |      |      |    |
| Palomares, José        |      |      |      |      |      | x    | x    | xx |
| Patino, Ma.V. Martinez |      |      |      |      | x    |      |      | x  |
| Peña, Luís             |      | x    |      |      |      |      |      |    |
| Peña, Rafael           |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Pérez Nieto, Crispín   |      | x    | x    | x    | x    | x    |      |    |
| Pérez Nieto, Manuel    |      | x    | x    | x    | x    | x    |      |    |
| Pérez, Esteban         |      |      |      |      |      | x    |      |    |
| Pérez, Juan            |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Pérez, Pedro           |      |      |      |      | x    | x    |      |    |
| Pérez, Yrenio          |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | xx |
| Pico, Francisco        |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Pico, Patricio         |      |      |      |      | x    |      |      |    |
| Pico, Santiago Cruz    |      | x    | x    | xx   |      |      |      |    |
| Pico, Vicente          |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Polanco, José          | s    |      |      | x    | x    | x    | x    | xx |
| Poyorena, Pedro        |      |      |      |      | x    |      | x    |    |
| Quintero, Luís         | xx   |      |      |      |      |      |      |    |
| Quixada, Felipe        |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Quixada, Francisco     |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Quixada, Ramón         |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Ramírez, Bernardo      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | xx |
| Rayales, Tomás         |      |      |      |      | x    |      |      |    |
| Redondo, Ma.Candelaria |      |      |      | x    | x    |      |      |    |
| Rendón, Ygnacio        |      |      |      |      |      | x    |      | x  |
| Reyes, Antonio         |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | xx |
| Reyes, Franciso        |      | x    | x    | xx   | x    | x    |      |    |
| Reyes, Jacinto         |      |      |      |      |      | x    |      | x  |
| Reyes, José Antonio    |      |      |      |      |      | x    |      |    |
| Reyes, José Jacinto    |      |      |      |      |      | x    |      |    |
| Reyes, Juan Francisco  |      |      |      |      | x    |      |      |    |
| Reyes, Marcos          |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Reyes, Martín          |      |      |      | x    |      |      |      |    |
| Reyes, Máximo          |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Reyes, Seferino        |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | xx |
| Reyes, Xacinto         |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |    |
| Rios, Felisiano        |      |      |      |      |      | x    |      |    |
| Rios, Santiago [1]     |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Rios, Santiago [2]     |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Rios, Valentín         |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Rocha, Juan Esteban    |      |      |      |      | x    |      |      |    |
| Rocha, José Ma.        |      |      |      |      |      | x    |      |    |

|                          | 1781 | 1786 | 1789 | 1798 | 1804 | 1812 | 1821 |    |
|--------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|----|
|                          | 1785 | 1787 | 1790 | 1799 | 1807 | 1816 | 1823 |    |
| Rochín, Ma.              |      |      |      |      |      |      | x    | xx |
| Rodríguez, Carmen        |      |      |      |      |      | m    |      | x  |
| Rodríguez, José          |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Rodríguez, José Jesús    |      |      |      |      |      | m    |      | x  |
| Rodríguez, José Ma.      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Rodríguez, Luís          |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Rodríguez, Máximo        |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | xx |
| Rodríguez, Ma.Simona     |      |      |      | x    |      |      |      |    |
| Rodríguez, Pablo         | xx   | x    | x    | x    | xx   |      |      |    |
| Rodríguez, Patricio      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Rodríguez, Victor        |      |      |      |      | x    |      |      |    |
| Romero, Antonio          |      |      |      |      |      | x    | x    |    |
| Romero, Domingo          |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | xx |
| Romero, Felipe           |      |      |      | x    |      |      |      |    |
| Romero, Gregorio         |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Romero, José Antonio     |      |      |      |      |      | m    |      | x  |
| Romero, José Ma.         |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Romero, Pedro José       |      |      |      | x    |      |      |      |    |
| Romero, Ygnacio          |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Rosas, Alejandro         | xx   | x    | x    | x    | x    |      |      |    |
| Rosas, Antonio           |      |      |      |      |      | x    |      |    |
| Rosas, Basilio           | xx   | x    | x    | x    | xx   | x    | x    |    |
| Rosas, Carlos            |      | x    |      |      |      |      |      |    |
| Rosas, Máximo            |      | x    |      |      |      |      |      |    |
| Rubio, Mateo             |      |      | x    | x    | x    |      | x    | x  |
| Rubio, Rafael            |      |      |      |      |      |      | x    | x  |
| Ruiz, Efigenio           | s    |      |      | x    | xx   |      |      |    |
| Ruiz, Fructuoso Ma.      | s    |      |      |      |      | x    | x    |    |
| Ruiz, Hilario            |      |      |      |      | x    |      |      | xx |
| Ruiz, Joaquín            |      |      |      |      |      |      | x    |    |
| Ruiz, José               |      |      |      |      |      |      | x    |    |
| Ruiz, Juan               |      |      |      |      |      |      | x    |    |
| Ruiz, Santiago           |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Sáis, Miguel             |      |      |      |      |      |      | x    | x  |
| Saldivia, Pedro          |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Sánchez, Esteban         |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Sánchez, Francisco       |      |      |      |      |      | x    |      |    |
| Sánchez, Simón           |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Sánchez, Tadéo           | s    |      |      |      | x    | x    |      |    |
| Sánchez, Tomás           |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Sánchez, Vicente         |      |      |      |      |      |      | x    | xx |
| Sepúlveda, Enrique       |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Sepúlveda, Dolores       |      |      |      |      |      |      | x    | xx |
| Sepúlveda, Francisco     | s    |      |      |      |      |      | x    | x  |
| Sepúlveda, Rafael        |      |      |      | x    |      |      |      |    |
| Serrano, Francisco       |      |      |      |      | x    | x    |      |    |
| Serrano, Tomás           |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Sileno, José Ma. Arriaga |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Silvas, Gabriel          |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Silvas, Gertrudis        |      |      |      |      |      |      | x    | x  |
| Silvas, José Ma.         |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |



|                         | 1781 | 1786 | 1789 | 1798 | 1804 | 1812 | 1821 |    |
|-------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|----|
|                         | 1785 | 1787 | 1790 | 1799 | 1807 | 1816 | 1823 |    |
| Silvas, Ma.             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Silvas, Teodoro         |      |      |      |      |      | x    |      | x  |
| Silvas, Tomás           |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Sinova, José Francisco  | x    | x    | x    | x    | xx   |      |      |    |
| Solorzano, Blas         |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Solorzano, Francisco    |      |      |      |      |      | x    |      |    |
| Sonora, Ygnacio         |      |      |      |      | x    |      |      |    |
| Sotelo, Francisco       |      |      |      |      | x    | x    | x    | xx |
| Sotelo, Gabriel         |      |      |      |      |      | x    |      | x  |
| Sotelo, Ramón           |      |      |      |      | x    | x    | x    | xx |
| Soto, Guillermo         | s    |      |      |      | x    | x    |      |    |
| Soto, José Ma.          |      |      |      |      |      | x    |      |    |
| Soto, Rexis de          |      |      |      |      | x    |      |      |    |
| Talamantes, Felipe      |      |      |      |      | x    | x    | x    | x  |
| Talamantes, To          |      |      |      |      |      |      | x    | x  |
| Tapia, Antonio          |      |      |      |      |      |      | x    | x  |
| Tapia, Bartolo          |      |      |      | x    | x    | x    | x    | xx |
| Tapia, José Tiburcio    |      |      |      |      |      | x    |      |    |
| Tapia, Felipe           |      |      |      |      | x    |      |      |    |
| Tapia, Ursino           |      |      |      |      | x    | x    |      | x  |
| Uribes, Casimiro        |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Uribes, Ma.Rita         |      |      |      |      | t    |      |      | t  |
| Uribes, Tomás           |      |      |      |      | x    | x    |      |    |
| Urquides, Encarnación   |      |      |      |      |      | x    |      | x  |
| Valdez, Antonio         |      |      |      |      |      | x    |      | x  |
| Valdez, Eugenio         | s    |      |      |      | x    | x    | x    | xx |
| Valdez, Juan            |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Valdez, Luciano         |      |      |      |      |      | m    |      | x  |
| Valdez, Rafael          |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Valencia, Ignacio       | s    |      |      |      |      | x    | x    | x  |
| Valenzuela, Antonio     |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Valenzuela, Gracia      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Valenzuela, José Ma.    |      |      |      |      |      | x    |      | x  |
| Valenzuela, Juana       |      |      |      |      |      |      | x    | x  |
| Valenzuela, José Manuel | s    |      |      |      | x    | x    |      |    |
| Valenzuela, Manuel      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Valenzuela, Ma.Antonia  |      |      |      |      |      |      | +    | x  |
| Valenzuela, Ma.Carmen   |      |      |      |      |      | #    | #    | x  |
| Valenzuela, Máximo      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Valenzuela, Miguel      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Valenzuela, Pedro       | s    |      |      |      | x    | x    | x    | x  |
| Valenzuela, Salvador    |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Valenzuela, Segundo     | s    |      |      |      | x    | x    | x    | x  |
| Valenzuela, Vicente     |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Valenzuela, Xavier      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Vanegas, José           | xx   | x    | x    | x    | xx   | x    | x    | x  |
| Vanegas, Pablo          |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Varelas, Casimiro       |      |      |      |      | x    |      | x    |    |
| Varelas, Cayetano       |      |      |      |      |      | x    | x    | x  |
| Varelas, Domingo        |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Varelas, Ygnacio        |      |      |      |      |      | x    |      | w  |

|                          | 1781 | 1786 | 1789 | 1798 | 1804 | 1812 | 1821 |    |
|--------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|----|
|                          | 1785 | 1787 | 1790 | 1799 | 1807 | 1816 | 1823 |    |
| Vásquez, Julio           |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Véjar, Ma.               |      |      |      |      | r    |      |      |    |
| Véjar, Pablo             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Véjar, Salvado           |      |      |      |      | m    |      |      | x  |
| Velásquez, Joaquín       |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | xx |
| Verdugo, José            |      |      | x    | x    |      |      | x    |    |
| Verdugo, José Ma.        |      |      |      | x    | x    | x    | x    | xx |
| Verdugo, Juana           |      |      |      |      | x    |      |      | x  |
| Verdugo, Julio           |      |      |      |      |      | x    |      | x  |
| Verdugo, Leonardo        |      |      |      |      | x    | x    |      |    |
| Verdugo, Manuel          |      |      |      |      |      | x    |      |    |
| Verdugo, Ma.Josefa       |      |      |      |      | x    |      |      |    |
| Verdugo, Mariano         |      |      | x    | x    | x    |      | x    | x  |
| Villa, Francisco         |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Villa, José              | s    |      | x    | xx   |      |      |      |    |
| Villa, Vicente           |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | xx |
| Villalobo, Juan .José    |      |      |      | x    |      |      |      |    |
| Villa[vicencio], Antonio | xx   |      |      |      |      |      |      |    |
| Villa[vicencio], Feliz   |      | x    | x    | x    | xx   |      |      |    |
| Ybarra, Andrés           |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Ybarra, Antonio          |      |      |      |      |      | x    |      |    |
| Ybarra, Desiderio        |      |      |      |      |      |      | x    | x  |
| “El Ynglés” Daniel       |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Yorba, José Antonio      | s    |      |      | x    |      | m    |      |    |
| Zúñiga, Anastacio        |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Zúñiga, Ma.Rufina        |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | x  |
| Zúñiga, Pío Quinto       |      |      | x    | x    | x    | x    |      |    |
| Zúñiga, Ventura          |      |      |      |      |      | x    |      |    |

s = soldier with Zúñiga or Rivera in 1781;

not in Los Angeles in 1781, but subsequently settled there

m = soldier stationed elsewhere in Alta California in 1807

v = family carried forward under name of widow, Ma. Carmen Valenzuela

w = family carried forward under name of widow, Ma. Antonia Valenzuela

# = family listed under name of late husband, (José) Manuel Machado

+ = family listed under name of late husband, Ygnacio Varelas

r = widow of Marcelino Rosas

t = widow of Francisco Talamantes

