

CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, NORTHRIDGE

HISPANIC POPULATION IN ALTA CALIFORNIA:

"

1790 AND THE 1830'S

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in

Geography

by

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ABSTRACT

HISPANIC POPULATION IN ALTA CALIFORNIA:
1790 AND THE 1830'S

by

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Master of Arts in Geography

This study investigates the relationship between demographic change and the persistence of two Spanish institutions in Alta California: the presidio and pueblo. Three objectives were established for this task: (1) to survey the growth of Hispanic population from 1769 to 1846; (2) to reconstruct two demographic cross-sections which focus on the distribution and structure of the Hispanic population in 1790 and the 1830's; and (3) to identify the relationship between a change in the demographic structure of these frontier institutions and their persistence through time. Available Spanish and Mexican Padrones provide the primary basis for population estimates. Secondary sources were employed to supplement these totals.

The findings of this study indicate that during the period of 1769 to 1846, one cause of institutional persistence in Alta California was the development of a broader population structure. This change in structure was caused, for the most part, by migration and the adaptability of the pueblos to the unique conditions associated with a rising secular authority. In general, population mobility initiates a redistribution of a population's internal structure, thereby supplying the principal means for the persistence of frontier institutions.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Settlement of Alta California, one of New Spain's far northern frontier provinces, proceeded through the traditional use of missions, presidios, and pueblos.¹ However, only the latter two survived the impact of the two political transitions which occurred: from Spanish to Mexican, and finally American possession.² While the success of colonization and population growth during Alta California's Hispanic period is debatable among scholars, the persistence of the presidios and pueblos demonstrates the adaptability of these institutions to changing socio-economic and political conditions.³ Contributing in part to this pattern of institutional persistence was the effect of population mobility in stimulating the general trend toward a stable demographic structure that was evident at the close of Mexican rule.⁴

Purpose, Objectives, Methodology

This thesis examines institutional persistence patterns by means of a demographic analysis of Hispanic California's presidio and pueblo populations, for 1790 and the 1830's. Three objectives were established: firstly, to

survey the growth of Alta California's Hispanic population during the period 1769 to 1846, thus providing a basis for analysis; secondly, to reconstruct two modified demographic cross-sections for 1790 and the 1830's; and thirdly, to interpret patterns of persistence by comparison of these cross-sections.

Two methods have been combined to demonstrate the relationship between institutional persistence and change in demographic structure. First, two cross-sections, which focus on population distribution and structure, are employed. These have, however, been slightly altered from the traditional static format in that comparisons of population growth with the previous decade precede the cross-sections. Second, by linking the two cross-sections with a dynamic, or vertical theme, based on an analysis of population growth and distribution, a singly static or excessively time-oriented focus is avoided.⁵

Census records for each of these cross-sections were tabulated in detail for 1790 and the decade of the 1830's to provide a basis for the demographic analysis. The dynamics of population growth and distribution were analyzed by decade, and for convenience a grouping of three periods was used: pre-1790, interim 1790 to 1830's, and post-1830's. This dynamic analysis provides an invaluable foundation for interpreting the two selected cross-sections.

Scope

The Hispanic period of Alta California extended from 1769 to 1846, and it serves conveniently to define the temporal scope of this study. The specific dates for each demographic cross-section were selected on the basis of relative population stability and data availability. 1790 represents the culmination of early Spanish settlement. By this time the impact of initial colonization attempts had waned, since the majority of Spain's civil and all of her military institutions had been established. The frontier character reflected in the population structure of this early period is important to this study.⁶ The fragmentary nature of data available for Alta California's Mexican period, however, had to be compensated for by examining the 1830's decade. Fortunately, this decade succeeded the major impact of the enactment of Mexico's colonization laws, thus providing a second relatively stable period for demographic analysis.⁷ Any notable changes in the population structure of this period, when compared to 1790, should reflect a general trend toward stability.

Justification

Trewartha and James urged geographers to examine population, the unifying thread of the social sciences, in terms of its structure, density, and characteristics

or quality.⁸ Their urging, however, is not reflected in the literature. A survey of historical population studies from selected demographic, geographic, and other journals and books has found little on population and institutional persistence.⁹ An apparent emphasis in these studies has been placed on distribution patterns alone, with only recent interest evident in population structure.¹⁰ This study attempts to contribute to an area that has so far been overlooked by population geographers.

Furthermore, the study of Hispanic population in early California may contribute to a better understanding of frontier demography.¹¹ The findings of this analysis lend support to Leffert's contention that the growth of frontier regions are more accurately examined in terms of age-structure, sex and dependency ratios, and migration fields, rather than simply by population increase.¹² As a first attempt to do more than merely describe Alta California's population growth, this study paves the way for future comparative frontier studies.¹³

Finally, in focusing on Hispanic California, the relationship between persistent colonial institutions and change in demographic structure can be identified by the developmental trend from frontier character toward population stability.¹⁴ Thus, this investigation illustrates an alternative approach for interpreting the particular population growth pattern of a region.

Data

Data for this investigation came primarily from the Spanish and Mexican padrones, census reports, available in the Thomas Workman Temple Collection at Old Mission Santa Barbara Archive; the Eldredge Collection at Bancroft Library; Summary Censuses of Presidial Districts at the California State Archive; and a series of published censuses by the Historical Society of Southern California.¹⁵ Where data were not available, secondary literature was used to provide estimates of the Hispanic population. A main source consulted was Bancroft's History of California. Other sources occasionally used include: Eldredge, History of California, and Smythe, History of San Diego 1542-1908. From both primary and secondary sources, continuous data for 1790 was compiled. For the decade of the 1830's, however, the following census records were employed: Villa Branciforte, 1830; Monterey, 1836; Santa Barbara, 1834; San Francisco, 1842; San Jose, 1840; and Los Angeles, 1836.¹⁶

Data Evaluation

A number of weaknesses characterize this data base in terms of its historic quality. Common to most archival sources, such as those employed here, is the systematic bias of inaccuracy introduced by the researcher's lack of control over the precision of measurement when the

information was originally recorded.¹⁷ Also, imperfect census enumerations provide only samples of the population. Incomplete listing such as names, ages, sex, and nativity, plus physically damaged documents, and translation errors, contribute to the general weakness of this data base.¹⁸ Furthermore, inaccuracy caused by partial preservation is illustrated by the fragmentary nature of the documents for the Mexican period, which lack census records for San Jose, and San Diego. Finally, cross-cultural communication errors as seen in the California 1850 Census are minimized here, since compilation of these enumerations were done by related cultural groups.¹⁹ Yet, despite these problems, ample information remains to provide a reasonable estimate of Alta California's population, which can be used to measure persistence patterns.

Organization of Thesis

Following this introduction, chapter two provides a historical background of Alta California prior to 1790. The third chapter, focusing on a reconstruction of the Hispanic population in 1790, begins with a comparison of this population's growth and distribution with the 1820's decade. Next, in this same chapter, a demographic analysis of population structure based on age/sex pyramids, sex and dependency ratios, and migrant nativity regions is provided. In order to bridge the time gap between 1790 and the 1830's, chapter four presents a historical background and

examines the changes in population distribution during this interim period. Chapter five duplicates the demographic analysis used in chapter three, but examines the 1830's. A demographic comparison of 1790 and the 1830's follows in chapter six. When the changes in the demographic character of Alta California's Hispanic population are investigated, an attempt is made to link institutional persistence with change in demographic structure. Brief attention is also given to the distribution and growth of the presidio and pueblo populations for the post 1830's period. Finally, chapter seven provides a summary of findings, and an evaluation of this study.

Footnotes, Chapter I

¹Frank W. Blackmar, Spanish Institutions of the Southwest (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1891): Chs. 7-9; During the Mexican Period, 1821-1846, a fourth institution, the rancho, was employed in Alta California. An in-depth study of its impact on this province is provided by David Hornbeck, "Land Tenure and Rancho Expansion in Alta California, 1784-1846," Journal of Historical Geography, forthcoming.

²In 1821 the first of these political transitions occurred as Alta California passed from Spanish to Mexican possession. During Mexican rule, the missions were secularized, thus, by the time of American acquisition in 1846, only the presidios and pueblos remained, see John Walton Caughey, California (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1940): Chapters 11 and 15.

³For varying interpretations concerning an assessment of colonization and population growth see: Leon G. Campbell, "The Spanish Presidio in Alta California During the Mission Period 1769-1784," Journal of the West: Western History and Geography, 16 (October 1977): 63-77; Daniel J. Garr, "A Rare and Desolate Land: Population and Race in Hispanic California," Western Historical Quarterly, 6 (April 1975): 143-144; Doris Marion Wright, "The Making of Cosmopolitan California: An Analysis of Immigration, 1848-1870," California Historical Society Quarterly, 19 (December 1940): 323; Mary Floyd Williams, "Mission, Presidio, and Pueblo," California Historical Society Quarterly, 1 (July 1922): 28 and 34; Blackmar, Spanish Institutions, p. 187; Alexander Avilez, Population Increases into Alta California in the Spanish Period: 1769-1821 (San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1974): 53.

⁴For a brief discussion of population structure of a newly settled region see Roland Pressat, Demographic Analysis (Chicago: Aldine-Atherton, Inc., 1972): 275; Donald J. Bogue, Principles of Demography (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1969): 764-765.

⁵Robert Newcomb, "Twelve Working Approaches to Historical Geography," Yearbook, Association of Pacific Coast Geographers, 31 (1969): 30-31; John A. Jakle, "Time, Space, and the Geographic Past: A Prospectus for Historical Geography," American Historical Review, 76 (October 1971): 1090.

⁶For a brief discussion of Spanish Colonization in Alta California see Leon G. Campbell, "The Spanish Presidio," pp. 63-77.

⁷For a discussion of these colonization laws and their impact see: C. Alan Hutchinson, Frontier Settlement in Mexican California: The Hajar-Padres Colony, and Its Origins, 1796-1835 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969.)

⁸Glenn T. Trewartha, "A Case for Population Geography," Annals Association of American Geographers, 43 (June 1953): 563-592; P. James, "The Geographic Study of Population," in American Geography Inventory and Prospect, eds., Preston E. James and F. Clarence Jones (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1954): 107.

⁹This review covered the past thirty-five years and was based on selected sources from Wilbur Zelinsky, A Bibliographic Guide to Population Geography (Chicago: University of Chicago, Department of Geography Research Paper, no. 80, 1962). The following journals were reviewed for historical studies on population: Annals Association of American Geographers, The Geographical Review, Canadian Geographer, Economic Geography, Journal of Historical Geography, Historical Methods Newsletter, Population Studies, and Demography. Finally, an assortment of miscellaneous books and discussion papers were consulted. For an interesting study on population distribution and structure, see D. J. Robinson, M. M. Swann, M. D. Miller, "Distribution and Structure of the Population of Spanish America, 1760-1800: A Framework for Computer Analysis," a paper presented in Special Session no. 7, Historia y Ethnohistoria: Demografia Historica, at the Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, Mexico, 2-7, September 1974.

¹⁰Simple population distribution studies abound, however, for examples of the progress made in viewing change in population distribution see: Arthur Geddes, "Variability in Change of Population in the United States and Canada, 1900-1931," The Geographical Review, 44 (January 1954): 88-100; Wilbur Zelinsky, "Changes in the Geographic Patterns of Rural Population in the United States, 1790-1960," The Geographical Review, 52 (October 1962): 492-524; Geoffrey Bannister, "Population Change in Southern Ontario," Annals Association of American Geographers, 65 (June 1975): 177-188.

¹¹David Harry Miller and Jerome O. Steffen, eds., The Frontier: Comparative Studies (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1977): 3-10; D.E.C. Eversley, "Population History and Local History," in D. E. C. Eversley, Peter Laslett, and E. A. Wrigley, An Introduction to English

Historical Demography From the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1966): 14.

¹²H. L. Lefferts, "Frontier Demography: An Introduction," in Miller and Steffen, eds., The Frontier, pp. 37-48.

¹³A singular effort to actually map Alta California's population is provided by David Hornbeck, "A Population Map of California, 1798," The California Geographer, 14 (1973-1974): 52-53; the need for comparative studies of this nature is discussed by Marvin Miksell, "Comparative Studies in Frontier History," Annals, Association of American Geographers, 50 (March 1960): 73-74; David J. Weber, "Mexico's Far Northern Frontier, 1821-1854 Historiography Askew," Western Historical Quarterly, 7 (July 1976): 280.

¹⁴This study supplies a complementary approach to understanding Hispanic America's Far Northern Frontier as called for by Silvio Zavala, "The Frontiers of Hispanic America," in Walker D. Wyman and Clifton B. Kroeber, The Frontier in Perspective (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1965): 57. An indepth historical study of the Hispanic-American Borderland as a culture region is provided by Richard L. Nostrand, "The Hispanic American Borderland: A Regional Historical Geography," unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1968; see also, idem, "The Hispanic-American Borderland: Delimitation of an American Culture Region," Annals Association of American Geographers 60 (December 1970): 638-661.

¹⁵I am deeply grateful for the generosity and scholarly attitude of the late Father M. Geiger, O.F.M., for the assistance that he provided, and for the personal inspiration that he inspired.

¹⁶A complete listing of sources and population estimates have been appended. Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of California, 7 Volumes (Santa Barbara: Wallace Hebbert, 1966); Zoeth Skinner Eldredge, History of California, Volumes 1 and 2 (New York: The Century History Co., 1915); William Smythe, History of San Diego, 1542-1908 (San Diego: The History Company, 1908).

¹⁷Peter J. Taylor, Quantitative Methods in Geography: An Introduction to Spatial Analysis (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1977): 66.

¹⁸For translating Spanish documents, see J. V. Haggard, Handbook for Translators of Spanish Historical Documents (Oklahoma City: Semco Color Press, 1941).

¹⁹Such was not the case for the United States Census of 1850 which is permeated with a variety of census enumerator interpretation errors, see David Hornbeck and Mary Tucey, "The Sumergence of a People: Migration and Occupational Structure in California, 1850," Pacific Historical Review, 46 (August 1977): 474.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF ALTA CALIFORNIA TO 1790

The historical background of early colonization and population growth in Alta California presented in this chapter is designed to augment the interpretation of the relationship between institutional persistence and demographic change examined later in this work. Primary consideration is given to Alta California's location relative to the empire of Northern New Spain. Next, aboriginal occupancy is briefly examined, since their presence played a part in Spain's desire to secure a holding of this region. Thereafter, Spanish colonial institutions employed in Alta California are considered, and subsequently, the founding and development of California's presidios and pueblos prior to 1790 is traced. A discussion of Hispanic population growth and distribution within these secular institutions concludes this chapter.

Orientation

In relation to the empire of New Spain, Nueva California is aptly described as "the tail of the dog"¹ because of the vast expanses of ocean and land separating it from Central Mexico, the core of Spain's New World

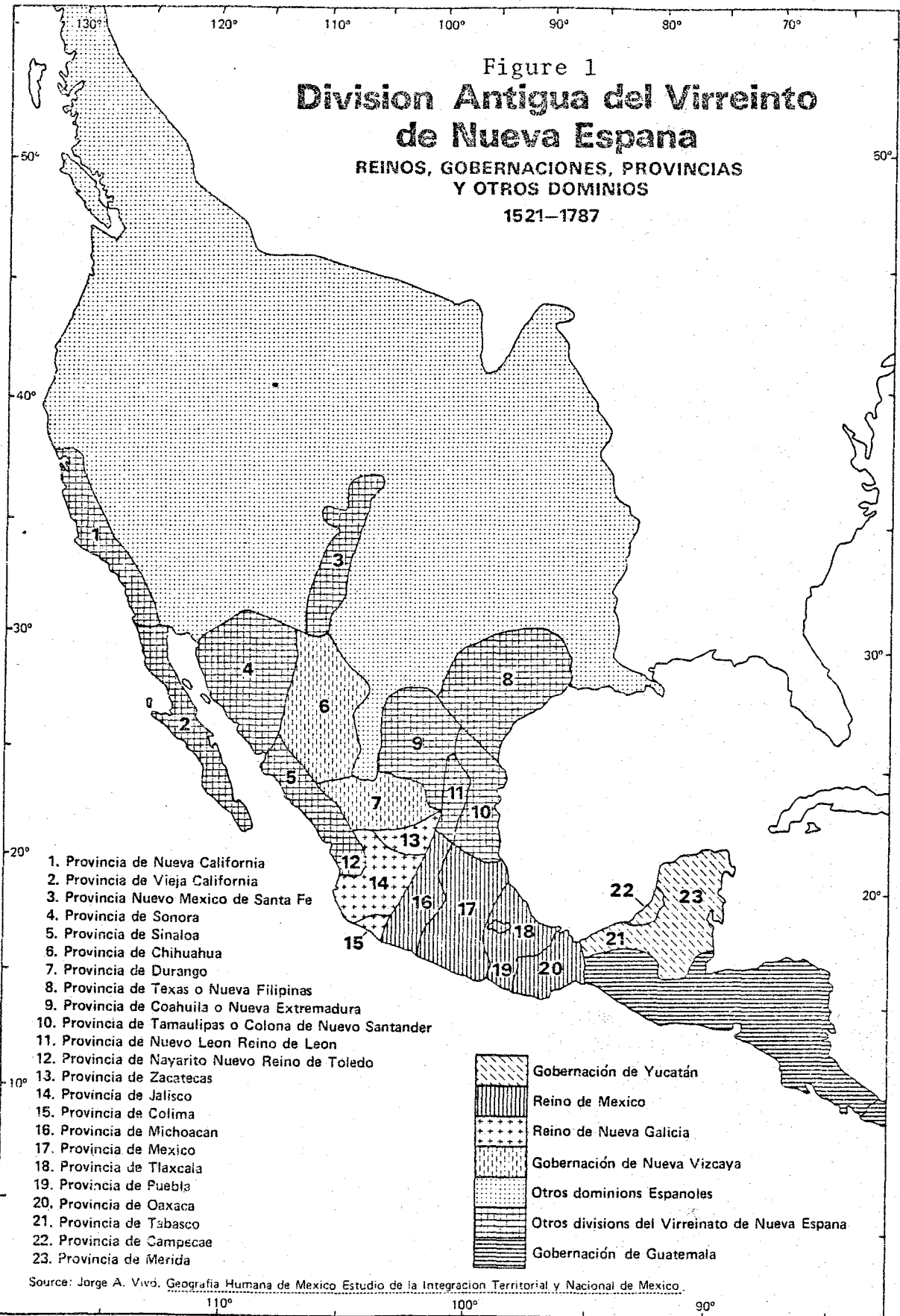
Empire (figure 1). This isolated position served not only to impede the initial discovery and subsequent colonization of Alta California, but provided an additional buffer against effective Spanish and Mexican rule.

Although the Manila Galleons sailed regularly from Acapulco to the Philippine Islands, Alta California remained in a dense pall of fog, both physically and in the minds of Spanish authorities. In spite of a series of sea explorations, resulting in the initial discovery of San Diego by Cabrillo in 1542, colonization efforts did not materialize for over one-and-a-half centuries.² The existence of vast desert lands in Sonora and southeastern California and the indigenous hostile Indians inhabiting this region combined to create an effective land barrier. However, in 1696 Father Kino proposed a land route between Pimeria Alta and coastal California and initiated a new period of exploration. Additional stimulus for settlement of Alta California was provided by a continuing need of the Manila Galleons for a port-of-call, as well as the mounting threat of foreign aggression.

With sea and land barriers overcome, colonization commenced, permanently disrupting California's state of slumber with the sound of Spanish cannons.³ Alta California in the eighteenth century is not to be regarded as a desolate and uninhabitable place; indeed, the next section

Figure 1
**Division Antigua del Virreinato
 de Nueva Espana**

REINOS, GOBERNACIONES, PROVINCIAS
 Y OTROS DOMINIOS
 1521-1787



1. Provincia de Nueva California
2. Provincia de Vieja California
3. Provincia Nuevo Mexico de Santa Fe
4. Provincia de Sonora
5. Provincia de Sinaloa
6. Provincia de Chihuahua
7. Provincia de Durango
8. Provincia de Texas o Nueva Filipinas
9. Provincia de Coahuila o Nueva Extremadura
10. Provincia de Tamaulipas o Colona de Nuevo Santander
11. Provincia de Nuevo Leon Reino de Leon
12. Provincia de Nayarito Nuevo Reino de Toledo
13. Provincia de Zacatecas
14. Provincia de Jalisco
15. Provincia de Colima
16. Provincia de Michoacan
17. Provincia de Mexico
18. Provincia de Tlaxcala
19. Provincia de Puebla
20. Provincia de Oaxaca
21. Provincia de Tabasco
22. Provincia de Campeaca
23. Provincia de Merida

- Gobernación de Yucatán
- Reino de Mexico
- Reino de Nueva Galicia
- Gobernación de Nueva Vizcaya
- Otros dominions Espanoles
- Otros divisions del Virreinato de Nueva Espana
- Gobernación de Guatemala

Source: Jorge A. Vivó. Geografía Humana de Mexico Estudio de la Integración Territorial y Nacional de Mexico.

indicates that its salubrious environment supported an extensive native population.

Aboriginal Population

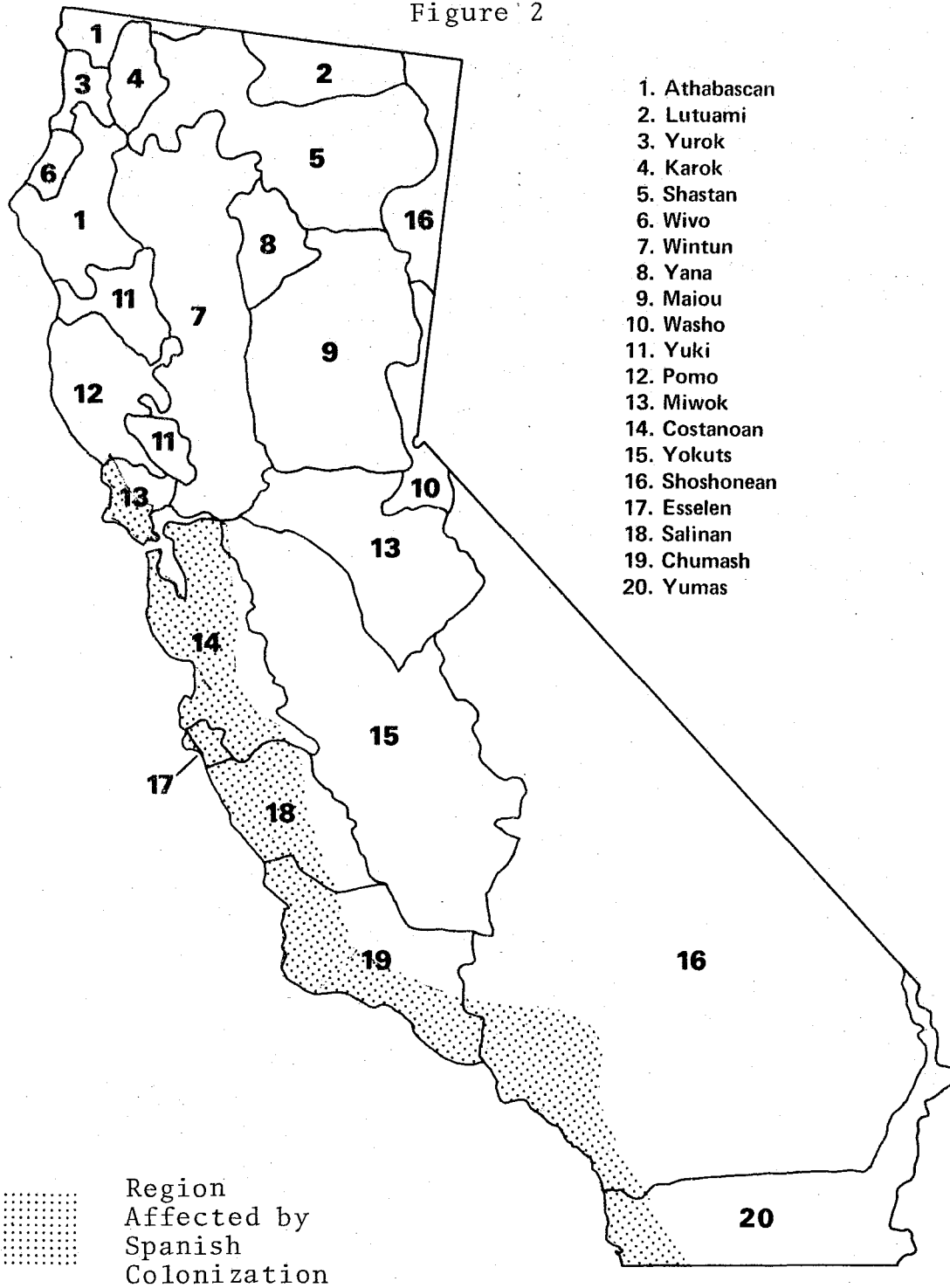
Subjugation of the aboriginal population in Alta California provided an additional stimulus for Spanish settlement, since the coastal margin of this province was densely populated with twenty aboriginal stocks of diverse tribal composition (figure 2).⁴ According to Kroeber, the total number of Indians occupying this coastal zone was approximately 64,000 in 1770, and in some way all were eventually affected by Spanish settlement (table 1).⁵ Reduction of these Indians to virtual slavery within the mission system enabled the Crown to secure Alta California's economic basis. However, exposure to European diseases and the unsanitary conditions within the mission compounds caused severe losses in the native population, which in turn precipitated the eventual destruction of the mission system in 1834.⁶ Yet, for over sixty years the Spaniards exploited these indigenous tribes to perpetuate the existence of the Hispanic colony established in Alta California.

Spanish Institutions of Colonization In Alta California

With sufficient stimulus provided by the discoveries of Kino and the threat of English encroachment, coupled with the advancement of Russian settlement south from

Aboriginal Stocks of Alta California

Figure 2



Source: Alfred L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*

TABLE 1
 ABORIGINAL POPULATION OF 1770 AFFECTED
 BY SPANISH MISSIONS

Aboriginal Stock	Native Population
Pomo	3,000
Yukian	1,000
Miwok	4,000
Maidu	1,000
Wintun	4,000
Yokuts	13,000
Costanoan	7,000
Esselen	500
Salinan	3,000
Chumash	10,000
Shoshonean	15,000
Yuman	2,500
Total	64,000

SOURCE: Kroeber, Handbook of the
 Indians of California, p. 885.

Canada, Spain began to colonize Alta California in 1769. To operationalize this program, three institutions, previously tested in Northern New Spain, were employed; these were (1) the mission, (2) the presidio, and (3) the pueblo.⁷ By the close of the Hispanic period twenty-one missions, three presidios, and four pueblos had been founded within Alta California (figure 3). Although the focus of this study is confined to the latter two institutions, a brief discussion of each is necessary to establish a basis for understanding why the presidios and pueblos persisted, while the mission system, then Spain's most powerful colonial institution, crumbled into ruins.

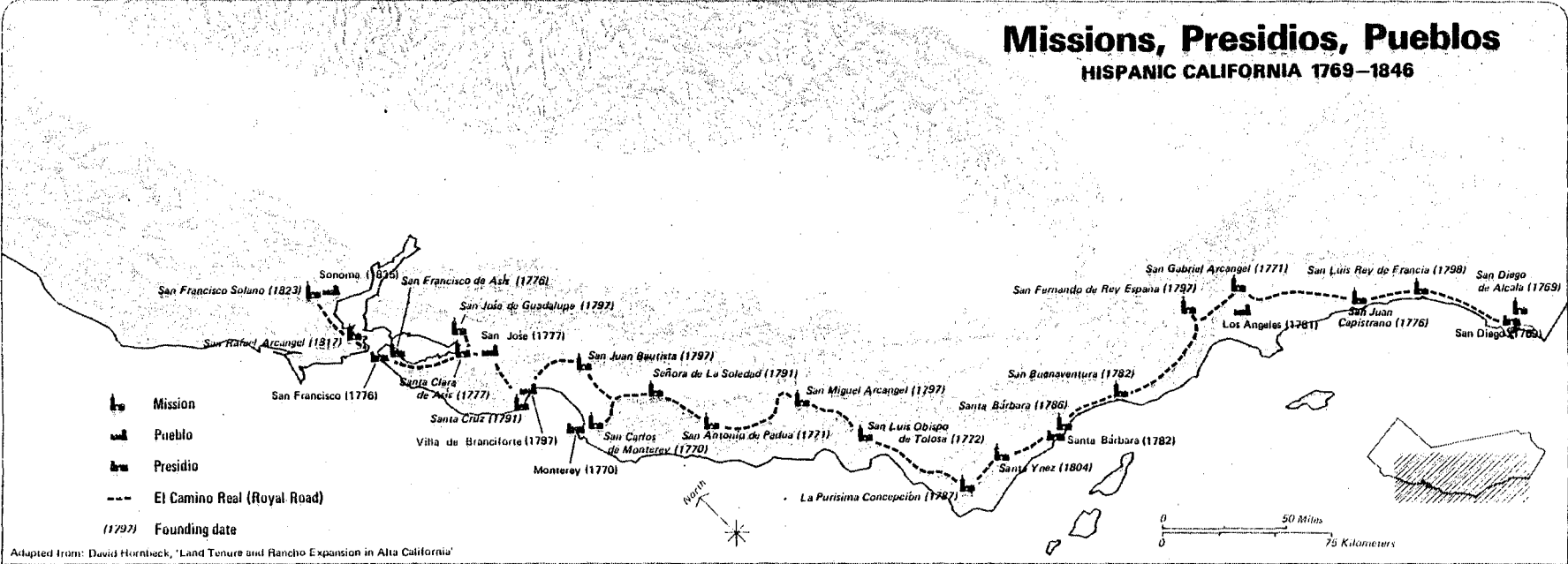
Missions

In colonial New Spain the missions functioned primarily as institutions to acculturate the Indians. Their task was to mold the natives into independent, industrious Christians, fit for Spanish citizenship within ten years time.⁸ Since it held a position of utmost authority through the colonization of Northern New Spain during the sixteenth century, the mission was essential for the advancement of a stable frontier edge because it effectively monopolized the labor and lives of the Indians.⁹

Based on the precedent set in the colonization of Central Mexico, the mission as a vital economic component in Alta California quickly rose to power during the early occupation period. Not only did it directly control the

Missions, Presidios, Pueblos

HISPANIC CALIFORNIA 1769-1846



Adapted from: David Hornbeck, 'Land Tenure and Rancho Expansion in Alta California'

Figure 3

native population, but as a food supplier to the presidios, it controlled the entire province.¹⁰ However, its dominance in this remote territory was challenged by the presidios, as the government shifted from aggressive expansionism to defensive policies during the 1770's.¹¹ In addition, its powers were gradually eroded by the near extermination of the native population.¹²

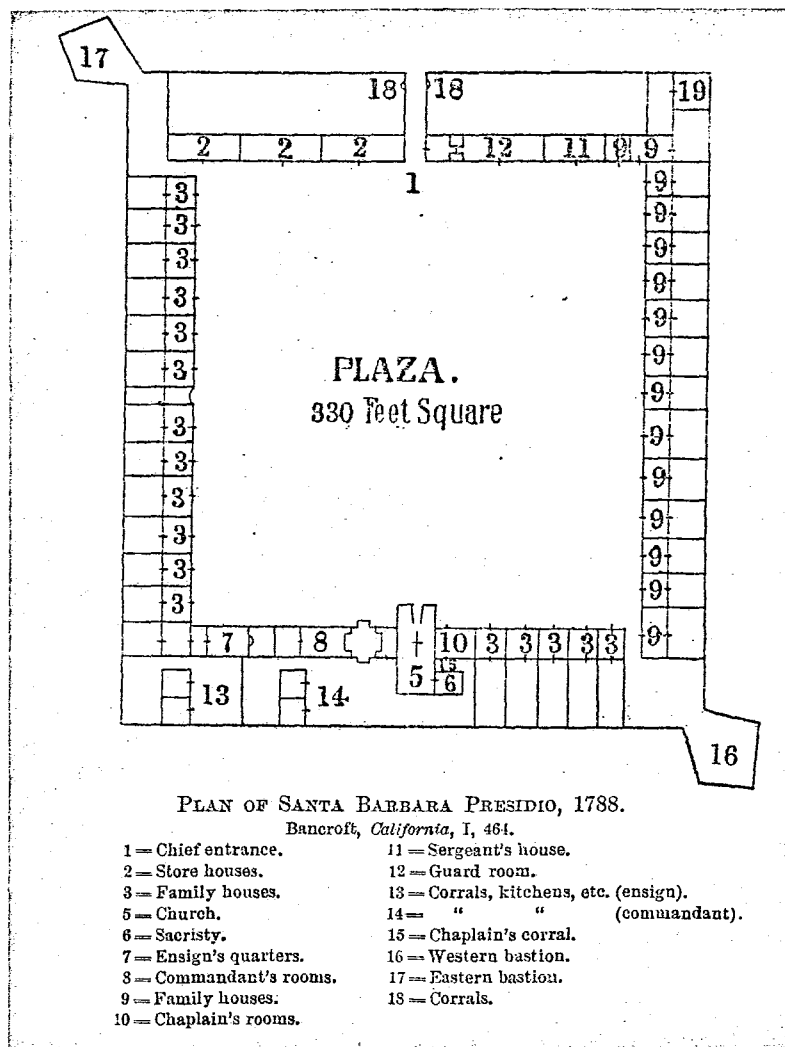
Presidios

The concept of the presidio, or garrisoned town, evolved from the Roman presidium.¹³ Located in strategic military positions, they functioned primarily as defensive units. As the "key-stone of military organization" on the frontier of sixteenth-century New Spain, they offered protection to settlers against Indian attack. Their presence also served to dissuade foreign invasion.¹⁴

Strictly organized in plan, the presidio was allotted four square leagues of land, and usually consisted of barracks for the soldiers, public buildings for the military community they housed, and a castilla, where cannons were mounted (figure 4). Located at some distance from the presidio was the King's farm which provided pasturage for the garrison's livestock. Although these settlements were planned to be eventually converted into pueblos, during California's Spanish period no such efforts were attempted.

Incessant conflicts between the missions and presidios in Alta California arose as a result of their ill-defined

EXAMPLE OF A PRESIDIO: SANTA BARBARA.



SOURCE: Blackmar, Spanish Institutions of the South West, p. 212.

Figure 4

grounds of authority:

Each presidio had a number of missions within its jurisdiction, for which it had to furnish a military guard (escolta) under command of a petty officer--generally a corporal. The military also exercised a semi-civil and criminal jurisdiction, and consequently there was continual friction between these soldiers and the padres.¹⁵

However, with Spain's shift to a defensive orientation, Alta California became dominated by military rule, which was insured by Neve's Regulation of 1775-1776.¹⁶

Furthermore, Moorhead notes of the presidios that:

Although primarily a military institution it came to exert a pervasive influence on the political, economic, social, and even demographic development of its environment.¹⁷

One source of influence came to be felt when soldiers began to raise families and presidial towns evolved around these forts. The laws relating to the municipal governing of these communities were based on "The Plan of Pitic," which originated in Sonora.¹⁸ According to this scheme, the citizens of these garrisons were to receive the same privileges that the pobladores in the pueblos had. In Alta California, this plan specifically applied to Monterey, San Francisco, Santa Barbara, and San Diego--where mission, presidio, and civil functions overlapped.

These "bastions" were important to any successful Spanish conquest of an area, in that by providing stability through a defense orientation, the presidios promoted the development of farming and ranching.¹⁹ With the end of Spanish control, the presidios ceased to function as

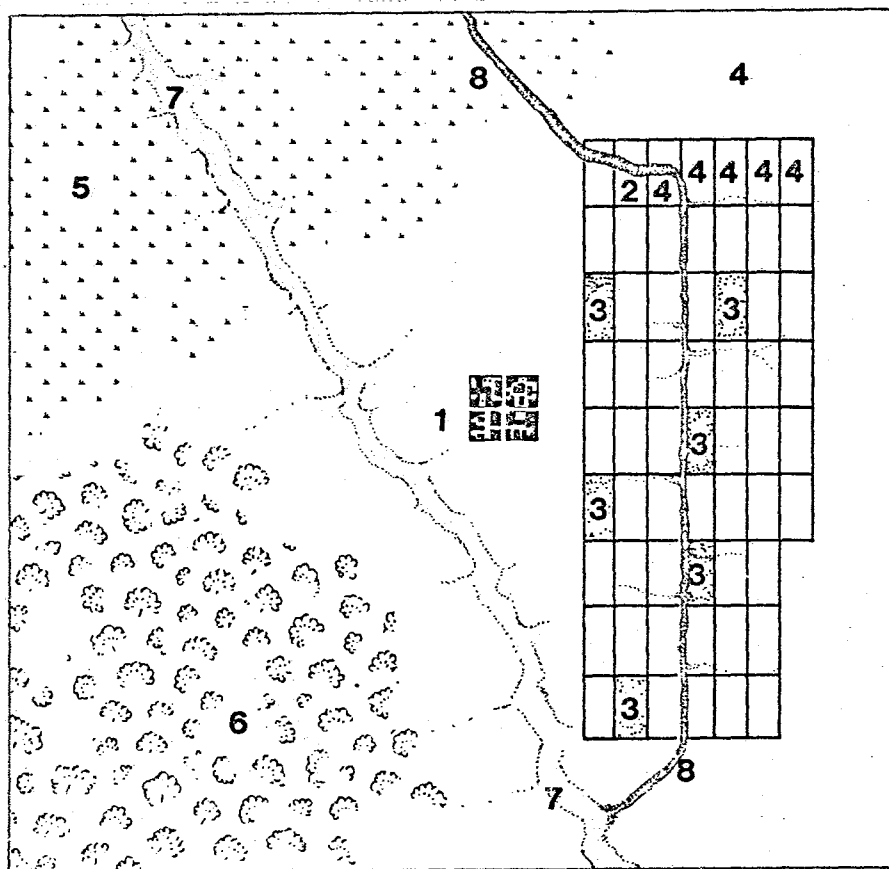
military units, and the presidio towns which remained were eventually converted during the 1830's into civil communities, as had been originally planned.²⁰ Emerging from the defensive shadow of the presidios, the pueblos came to form Spain's third, and initially weakest, colonial institution.

Pueblos

Originating from Roman municipalities, but greatly modified by medieval colonization methods employed during the feudal days of Charlemagne, the pueblos, or corporate towns, possessed rights of jurisdiction and administration. A branch of law called the fueros, a component of Siete Partidas (Alfonso X, 1258) formed the nucleus of common law in Spain, and it pertained to the settlement and governing of these civil colonies on both the Iberian peninsula and later abroad in the New World.²¹ Although rights to self-government and representation in the Cortes were guaranteed, the use of this institution in Alta California during the Spanish period completely suppressed the rights of the individual settlers for the sake of the government. It was not until the mid-1830's that these laws were activated.²²

The pueblo was planned as a developed civic unit (figure 5). Explicit instructions existed for the founding of these communities as well as for their spatial arrangement. Each pueblo was allotted four square leagues of land, which designated its official boundaries. The standard plan consisted of a plaza or official center

IDEALIZED PUEBLO



- | | |
|------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Town | 5. Common pasture |
| 2. Public land | 6. Common woodland |
| 3. Agricultural land | 7. River |
| 4. Unappropriated land | 8. Irrigation canal |

SOURCE: Hornbeck, "Mexican-American Land Tenure Conflict in California," p. 212.

Figure 5

surrounded by solares or house lots, and beyond these were the outer ejidos or public lands. The ejidos were subdivided into suertes or actual farmland, and beyond these were the dehesas lands for pasture or timber.²³

Introduced into Alta California by the Neve Regulation, the pueblos were supposed to be occupied by pobladores of the gente de razon class or "people of reason," and these pueblos functioned as food producers for the presidios. Eventually three pueblos were founded in this province, and are represented by San Jose, Los Angeles, and the "special" pueblo of Villa Branciforte.²⁴ Since these units were primarily agricultural establishments, it was necessary that they be located on good land, where irrigation was possible, where pasture land was available, and, in addition, where ample water and timber existed. The locational factors of the pueblos paralleled those of the missions, and it was from these common demands on the environment that conflicts developed between them.

The missions fought to prevent the use of civil institutions in California, arguing that their maintenance would require resources located on lands which were being held in safe-keeping for the Indians. Pueblo growth, though initially slow, took firm hold after the mission system began to crumble. Aided by its ability to adapt to changing socio-economic conditions, this institution

survived the onslaught of two political transitions to endure and to persist on California's landscape.

The Spanish mode of colonization, modeled after the Roman ideal, consisted of three inter-related institutions which had withstood severe testing during the conquest of the northern interior provinces of New Spain during the sixteenth century. Missions, serving to pacify hostile tribes, were supported by the military protection of the presidios. After this early stage of Spanish infiltration was completed, pueblos were introduced in order to encourage civil growth and economic development within the region. However, in the California example, the ability of these institutions to persist was tested once again. While the missions crumbled, the presidios and pueblos were able to survive as a result of their adaptability to the unique conditions of a rising secular authority.

Spanish Colonization in Alta California,
From 1769 to 1789

When the expected logistic difficulties of colonizing a remote frontier are coupled with socio-economic, and political instability, the chances of success for such an enterprise would seem to be slim. Yet, under these very conditions, Alta California was not only successfully colonized, but it managed to grow steadily, although at a painfully slow pace, and the seeds were planted of a Hispanic legacy which remains today.

The decadence of Spain's empire stifled attempts to colonize Alta California. However, the threat of England in the Philippines and Russians on the north coast forced Spain into a definite and eventually successful effort to occupy this northernmost province.²⁵

Colonization of this region prior to 1790 may be conveniently divided into an early "experimental" period from 1769 to 1776. This interval marked the long struggle for a rising secular authority over ecclesiastical rule, which culminated in the development of the presidio system which typified the Mexican period. A second period of colonization, beginning in 1777, saw another secular institution, the pueblo, introduced, which was destined to complete the undermining of mission authority begun earlier by the presidio's challenge.

Early "Experimental" Period, 1769-1776

First by sea, then by land, the aboriginal solitude in San Diego was broken irretrievably by the arrival of the Spaniards in 1769 (figure 6). Two expeditions later, a presidio was founded at Monterey in 1770.²⁶ Although its harbor was inferior to San Diego's, its strategic central location with ample wood reserves, good pasture and water made Monterey become the capital of Alta California in 1775, and it remained so throughout the Spanish and Mexican periods.²⁷ San Diego, adjacent to Mexico and possessing a harbor second only to San Francisco's, required

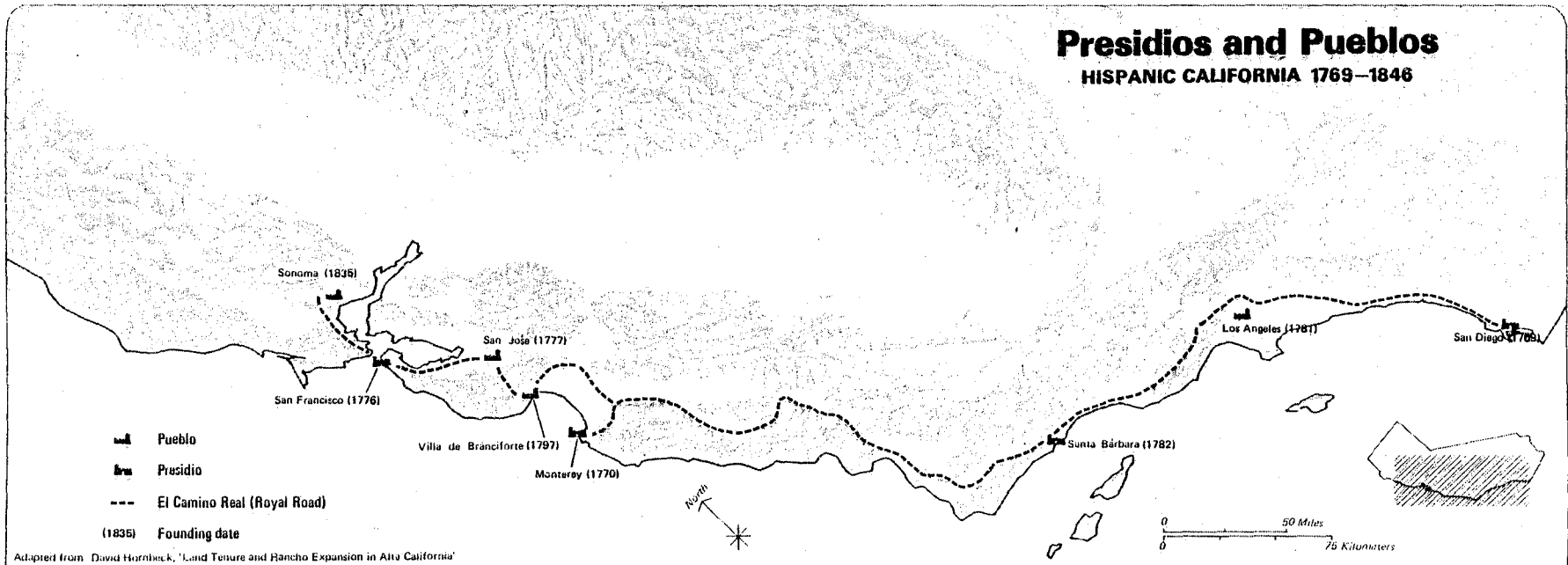


Figure 6

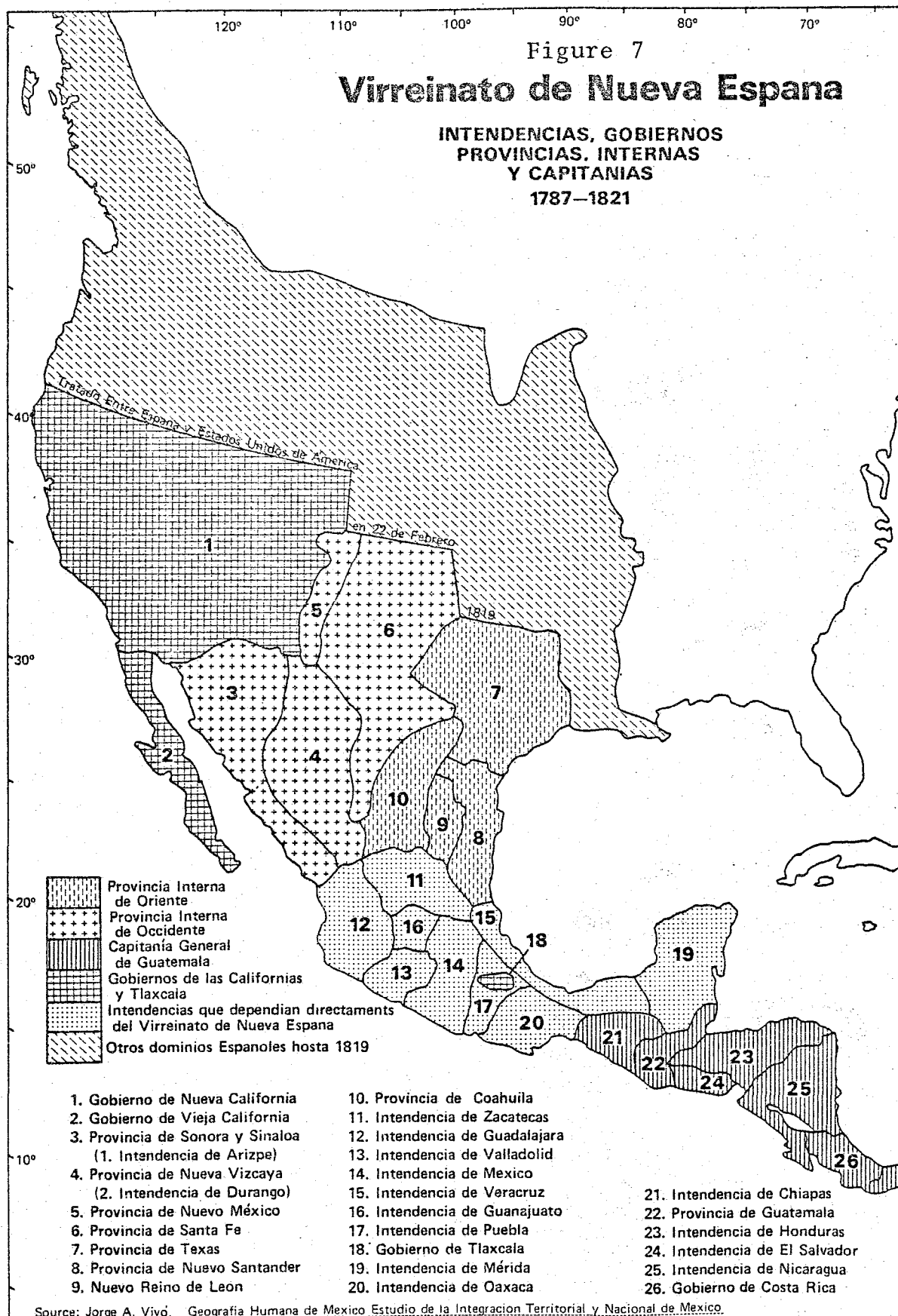
fortification in order to assure coastal defenses. However, this presidio never prospered because it possessed only inferior grades of soil and water, which were insufficient for the production of essential agricultural crops.²⁸

Early settlement of Alta California was, of course, not without its problems. Its precarious existence was threatened in 1770, 1772, and 1774 because of the irregular appearance of supply ships from San Blas.²⁹ The long and often stormy voyage to Alta California, plus the bad climate for storing supplies for shipment, contributed to the problems of keeping the colony adequately supplied. Additional reasons for the near collapse of this province include the fact that the Spanish constituted a minority; the Indians were hostile, especially in San Diego; local agriculture was inadequate; and friction mounted between the military and religious sectors. Furthermore, the non-voluntary state of celibacy imposed on the soldiers erupted into trouble with the Indians. Also, California had become an expensive burden on the Crown, offering few benefits to Spain or New Spain, except for the political advantage of controlling this province.³⁰

However, the opening of a land route between Tubac and the San Francisco Bay area by Anza resulted in the founding of the presidio of San Francisco in 1776, and this breakthrough provided an avenue for much needed land migration to Alta California.³¹ At this time there began an era of

Spanish consolidation, in which a shift from expansionism to a defensive posture occurred.³² With this event, the Royal Instruction of 1776 was enacted, thereby instituting a new government of the comandancia general, placing the northern provinces under the command of Croix (figure 7). Occupied with the task of reducing Indian hostilities in the older northern provinces, Croix neglected California, thus precipitating the Yuma Massacre of 1781, which interrupted land access to the province.³³ With migration to California reduced once again to sea routes, thereafter no major colonization programs were attempted.

By 1776, three presidios had been successfully founded. Problems arose, however, relating to the military emphasis placed on this initial era of colonization.³⁴ Among them was the persisting lack of a female population, and, since it proved difficult to induce women to migrate to a land devoid of cultural amenities, the problem remained unsolved.³⁵ Also, regulations denying military personnel the right to establish residence and to till the land countered the basic purpose of colonizing Alta California. Had these rules not existed, the need to establish pueblos might have been averted.³⁶ However, the mounting friction between the military and ecclesiastical sectors precipitated a proposal to establish pueblos in the province in an effort to relieve the presidios from their dependency on the missions. Furthermore, mission



dominance over both Indians and the agricultural land was not viewed favorably by the Spanish authorities, who felt that Hispanic "men-of-the-soil" were needed to stimulate the colony's growth.

Later Period of Spanish Colonization, 1777-1789

Under the authority of Governor Neve, secular institutions were more effectively championed in Alta California. His Regulation of 1777 designed to introduce civil communities into the province marked the beginning of a new and important enterprise.³⁷

According to title 14 of the Laws of Indies, towns were to be established in the interest of the state to encourage agriculture and the cattle grazing to supply the presidios.³⁸ Furthermore, Governor Neve recognized that the mission system, dependent on Indian labor, would never produce a legitimate industrial community, therefore he made provisions for Indians to live temporarily at the missions for training, and later live independent of them. This overthrow of the old mission system brought no immediate opposition from the padres, perhaps because they doubted it would be effectively instituted.³⁹

The first pueblo, San Jose de Guadalupe, was founded on the Guadalupe River in 1777. Governor Neve recognized the superior environment of the Santa Clara valley for agriculture and livestock grazing. Its growth was initially slow but steady, and eventually it became a

thriving agricultural community by the 1830's.⁴⁰ From this experimental colony, an additional pueblo was conceived by Governor Neve, to be established in the San Gabriel area, plus a presidio in the Channel Island area.⁴¹ Less than two hundred people were gathered for this migration project, yet the plans were carried out. In 1781 the pueblo of La Reina de Los Angeles was founded with 46 individuals arriving under this plan.⁴² Neve's colonization project was complete one year later, with the founding of a presidio at Santa Barbara by 150 persons.⁴³ Thereafter the only additional migrants to arrive in Alta California were discharged sailors enlisting as settlers or soldiers.⁴⁴

Colonization of Alta California prior to 1790 is marked by an initial emphasis on the development of a presidial system, to buttress the province's defenses, with pueblos being inaugurated thereafter. The original presidial system, composed of San Diego, Monterey, and San Francisco, concentrated development in the northern region. However, in an attempt to relieve these garrisons from their reliance on the missions for food supplies, and because of the inadequate progress of the missionary's efforts to effectively convert the natives into productive citizens, pueblos were introduced during the later period of this colony's development. San Jose was founded in the north and Los Angeles in the south. Despite this shift to civil development, an additional presidio, Santa Barbara,

was added, bringing the total to six, with three each in the north and south. The effect of this development pattern on the distribution and growth of Alta California's Hispanic population is considered next.

Pre-1790 Population

Alta California's tenuous existence during the years of initial settlement is reflected in its languid growth of population. The military orientation of this enterprise fostered an emphasis on presidial growth, as well as a northern concentration of settlements.⁴⁵

In 1770, the two presidios of San Diego and Monterey, separated by a vast expanse of territory populated with hundreds of natives, manifest this early phase of Spanish occupation (figure 8). The total Hispanic population within these settlements is estimated at 129 persons, more than half of which were concentrated in the southern presidio of San Diego. The proximity of this location to Mexico generated its early importance as a base point for Spanish occupation of Alta California.⁴⁶ Despite this, the Spaniards planned to focus their activities in Monterey, which possessed a strategic military location.⁴⁷

From 1771 to 1780, however, settlement concentration shifted to the north, and presidios remained as the primary centers of population (figure 9). Approximately 450 Hispanic persons occupied Alta California during this period, representing an increase of almost 250 percent since 1770.

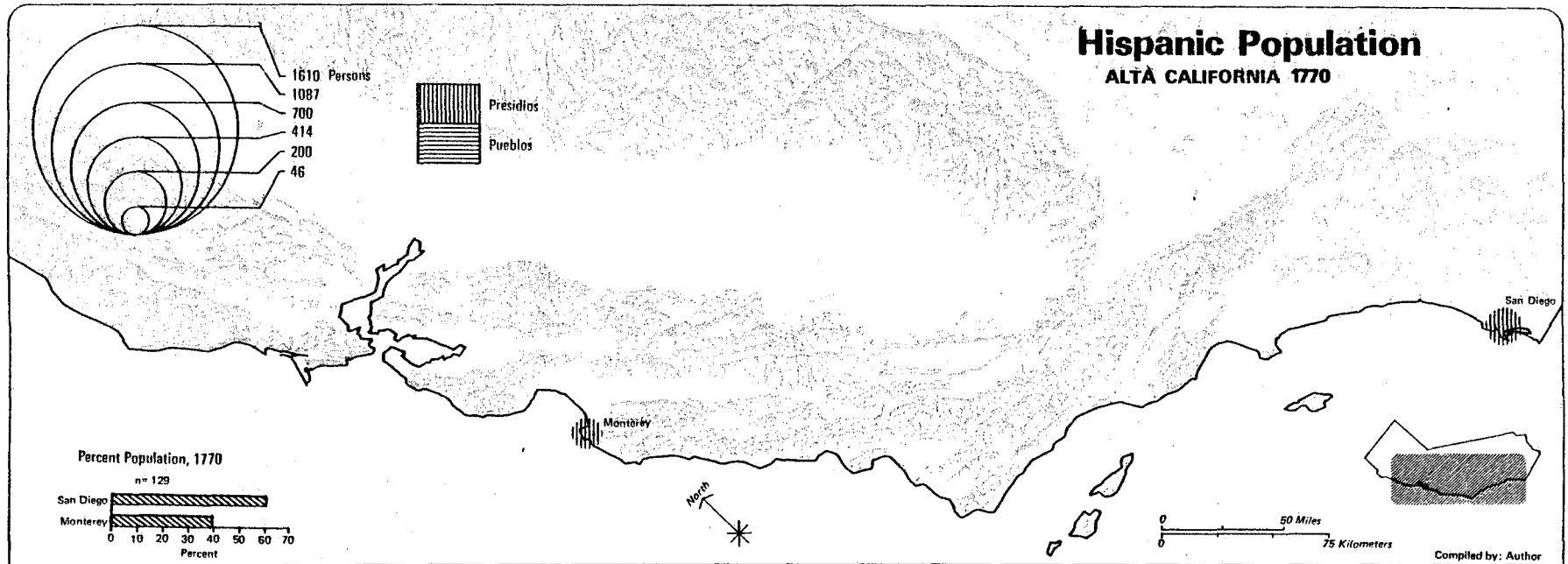


Figure 8

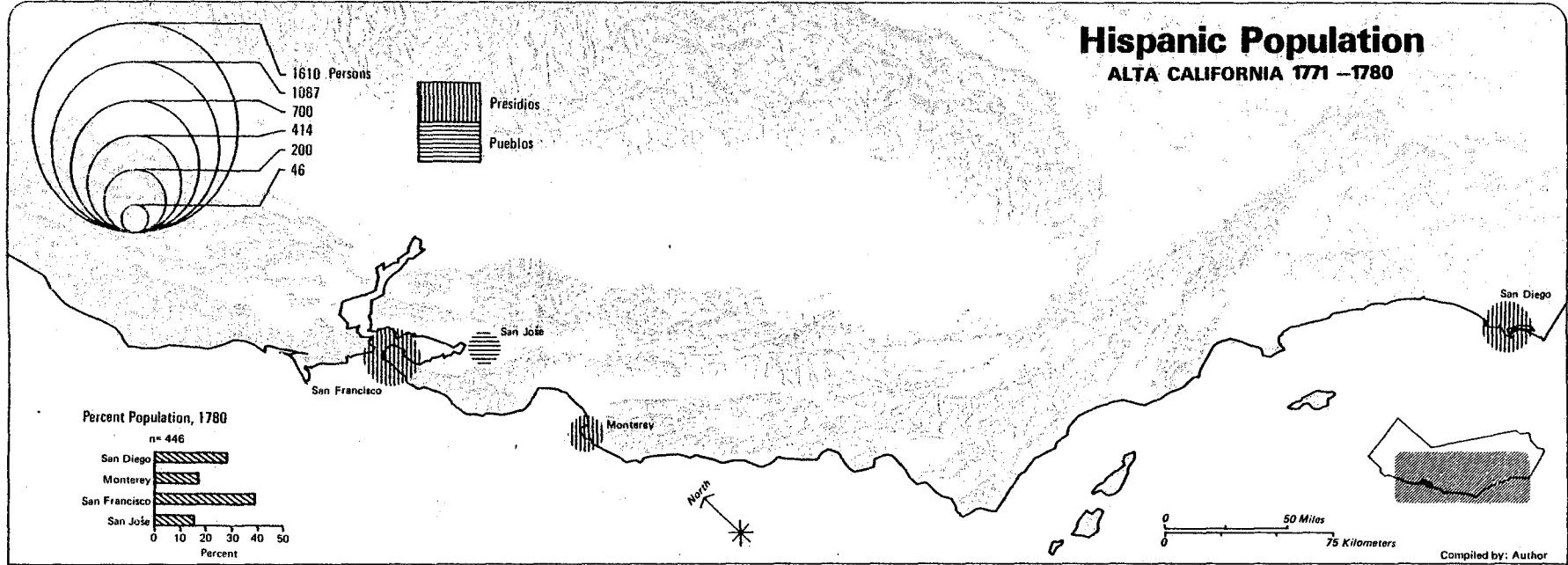


Figure 9

The northern region, designated here as that area between San Francisco and Monterey, contained more than 70 percent of this total. Contributing to this regional concentration was the recent settlement of the San Francisco Bay area. Its superior natural harbor, and position as a strategic military outpost, had attracted the founding of the presidio of San Francisco, which contained 40 percent of the population, in addition to the pilot pueblo of San Jose, which was equivalent to Monterey in total population, at 15 percent.⁴⁸ Remaining as the only southern settlement, San Diego declined in importance as the proportion of population declined to 28 percent. The military emphasis during Spain's early colonization period is indicated by the focusing of approximately 85 percent of the total population in the presidios. The small percentage of pueblo population emphasized this colony's dependence on government supply ships from San Blas, since agricultural production in this institution was still insufficient.

After 1780 Neve's colonization project resulted in the founding of Los Angeles and Santa Barbara.⁴⁹ Thus a pattern of regional equality in the number of settlements was formed. Considering the proximity to Mexico, and mild climate of this area, an eventual population shift to the southern section seems reasonable. However, since this colonization program was not completed until 1782, continued presidial importance as population centers is expected.

Summary

Remaining in undisturbed silence until the threat of foreign aggression boldly asserted itself, the remote province of Alta California emerged as a flourishing Spanish colony by the close of the 1780's. A chain of missions, presidios, and pueblos was gradually formed, dotting its coastal margin from San Diego in the extreme south, up to the San Francisco Bay area. Initially the development of a presidial system took precedent, however, the need for civil communities became rapidly apparent, hence, the latter period was focused on pueblo development. A pattern of irregular population growth corresponds to the founding of these six establishments, concentrated initially in the north, but with the additional settlements acquired in the south at the close of the 1780's, a shift in population concentration is expected. However, a persisting military orientation is reflected in the preponderance of population within this institution.

With the conclusion of major Spanish colonization projects in 1782, the demographic structure of population in these institutions by 1790, examined next, should resemble these conditions of early Hispanic occupation of Alta California.

Footnotes, Chapter II

¹Herbert E. Bolton, "Defensive Spanish Expansion and the Significance of the Borderlands," reprinted in John Francis Bannon, ed., Bolton and The Spanish Borderlands (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964): 34.

²For a synopsis of early Spanish exploration of Alta California see: Arda M. Haenszel, "The Visual Knowledge of California to 1700," California Historical Society Quarterly, 26 (September 1957): 213-240; Jack D. Forbes, "Melchior Diaz and the Discovery of Alta California," Pacific Historical Review, 27 (November 1958): 351-357; Peter Gerhard, "Pearl Diving in Lower California 1533-1830," Pacific Historical Review, 25 (August 1956): 239-250; Richard F. Pourade, "Juan Rodrigues Cabrillo: Discoverer of California," Journal of the West: Western History and Geography, 1 (July and October 1962): 11-23; Henry R. Wagner provides a series of articles in the California Historical Society Quarterly, "The Discovery of California," 1 (July 1922): 36-56; "The Voyage of Pedro De Unanuno to California 1587," 2 (1923-1924): 140-160; "Voyage to California of Sebastian Rodrigues Cermen, in 1595," (April 1924): 3-24; "The Voyage of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo," 7 (March 1928): 20-77; "Father Antonio de la Ascension's Account of Vizcaino's Voyage," 7 (December 1928): 295-394.

³Pourade, *ibid.*, pp. 21-23; Schurz, *ibid.*, pp. 120-126; Gerhard, *ibid.*, pp. 242-247; Haneszel, *ibid.*, pp. 233-235.

⁴For a discussion of the California Indian Population see: Alfred L. Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1976): Chapter 5; *Idem*, Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939): Chapter 11. In this latter work Kroeber discusses the density pattern of the Indian population, in addition to providing a map on pages 153-155.

⁵Kroeber, Handbook, p. 885.

⁶The decrease in native population from 1770-1910 illustrates the magnitude of this decline, Kroeber, *ibid.*, pp. 886-888. David Hornbeck's investigation of the decline in mission Indian population provides an invaluable population map series of this process, "The California Missions: Was Secularization Necessary," Paper submitted at the Association of Borderland Studies (27-29 April 1978) Denver, Colorado (Mimeographed).

⁷For an extensive investigation of Spain's Colonial Institutions see: Frank W. Blackmar, Spanish Institutions of the Southwest (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1891); Florian Guest, Municipal Institutions in Spanish California, 1769-1821 (A dissertation, University of Southern California, August, 1961); H. F. Raup and William B. Pounds, "Northernmost Spanish Frontier in California," California Historical Society Quarterly, 32 (March 1953): 48.

⁸J. M. Guinn, "California Under the Rule of Spain and Mexico," Historical Society of Southern California, 7 (1907-1908): 119-128.

⁹Herbert E. Bolton, "The Mission as a Frontier Institution," reprinted in John F. Bannon, ed., Bolton and the Spanish Borderlands (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964): 187-211.

¹⁰Leonard Pitt, The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish Speaking Californians, 1846-1890 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966): 2.

¹¹Leon G. Campbell, "The Spanish Presidio in Alta California During the Mission Period, 1769-1784," Journal of the West: Western History and Geography, 16 (October, 1977): 64.

¹²Hornbeck, "The California Missions."

¹³A discussion of the origin and evolution of Northern New Spain's presidios is contained in Max L. Moorhead's, The Presidio: Bastion of the Spanish Borderlands (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975). See also, Blackmar, Institutions, pp. 192-204; P. W. Powell, "Presidios and Towns on the Silver Frontier of New Spain," Hispanic American Historical Review, 24 (May 1944): 179-200; Paige W. Christiansen, "The Presidio and the Borderlands: A Case Study," Journal of the West: Western History and Geography, 8 (January 1969): 29-37.

¹⁴Christiansen, *ibid.*, p. 32.

¹⁵H. A. Van Coenen Torchiana, Story of the Mission Santa Cruz (San Francisco: Paul Elder and Company, 1933): 132; see also, Campbell, "Spanish Presidio," p. 64.

¹⁶Campbell, *ibid.*, pp. 70-71. This regulation corrected the inequalities of Echeveste's Regulation of 1773, which had favored mission authority.

¹⁷Moorhead, Presidio, p. 3.

- ¹⁸Blackmar, Spanish Institutions, pp. 199-200.
- ¹⁹Guest, Municipal Institutions, p. 370.
- ²⁰Mary F. Williams, "Missions, Presidios, and Pueblos," California Historical Society Quarterly, 1 (July 1922): 28.
- ²¹Blackmar, Spanish Institutions, p. 159; Zoeth S. Eldredge, History of California (New York: The Century History Company, 1915): Volume 1, p. 130 and Volume 2, pp. 29-30.
- ²²Blackmar, Spanish Institutions, pp. 188-191; Williams, "Missions, Presidios, and Pueblos," pp. 26-29.
- ²³Blackmar, Spanish Institutions, pp. 165-173.
- ²⁴Villa Branciforte was atypical of previous pueblos in Alta California since it was designed to be settled by soldiers who would be ready to defend the province at a moment's notice, see Florian Guest, "The Establishment of Villa de Branciforte," California Historical Society Quarterly, 1 (March 1962): 29-50.
- ²⁵Zoeth S. Eldredge, History of California, Volume I, Chapter 4; William L. Schurz, "The Manila Galleon and California," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, 21 (October, 1917): 120-123; Henry R. Wagner, "Memorial of Pedro Calderon y Henriquez," California Historical Society Quarterly, 23 (September 1944): 220.
- ²⁶Herbert H. Bancroft, History of California, Volume 1 (Santa Barbara: Wallace Heberd, 1963): Chapter 5; Theodore E. Treutlein, "The Portola Expedition of 1769-1770," California Historical Society Quarterly, 67 (December 1968): 291-314.
- ²⁷Blackmar, Spanish Institutions, pp. 204-207.
- ²⁸Ibid., pp. 213-215.
- ²⁹Charles E. Chapman, "The Alta California Supply Ships 1773-1776," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, 19 (October 1915): 184-194.
- ³⁰For a synopsis of the problems Spain incurred in colonizing Alta California, see: Bernard Bobb, The Viceroyalty of Antonio Maria Bucareli in New Spain, 1771-1779 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1962): Chapter 6.
- ³¹It is ironic that San Francisco Bay remained undiscovered by the Spanish Galleons, though they

frequently by-passed this magnificent natural harbor. Finally, Portola's land party accidentally found the bay in 1770, while in search of Monterey Bay. Fages' discovery of a shorter route to San Francisco in 1772 and detailed description convinced the Spanish authorities of the need to occupy this area, for a discussion of this see Treutlein, "The Portola Expedition," pp. 291-314, idem, "Fages as Explorer, 1769-1772," California Historical Society Quarterly, 51 (December 1972): 338-356.

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³²For a discussion of the reorganization of the Interior Provinces see: Bobb, Antonio Maria Bucareli, Chapter 5; and Sidney B. Brinckerhoff and Odie B. Faulk, Lancers for the King; A Study of the Frontier Military Systems of New Spain: With a Translation of the Royal Regulation of 1772 (Phoenix: Arizona Historical Foundation, 1965).

³³Alfred B. Thomas, Theodore de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain, 1776-1783 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941): 64-68.

³⁴Blackmar, Spanish Institutions, pp. 193-194; Leon G. Campbell, "The First Californios: Presidial Society in Spanish California, 1769-1822," Journal of the West: Western History and Geography, 11 (October 1972): 586.

³⁵Daniel J. Garr, "A Rare and Desolate Land: Population and Race in Hispanic California," Western Historical Quarterly, 6 (April 1975): 133-134.

³⁶Bancroft, History of California, 1, p. 507.

³⁷Ibid., Volume 1, pp. 333-338; Thomas, Theodoro de Croix, pp. 231-242; Blackmar, Spanish Institutions, p. 163; John W. Caughey, California (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1940): 141-142.

³⁸Caughey, California, pp. 163-164.

³⁹Bancroft, History of California, Volume 1, pp. 374-375.

⁴⁰Oscar O. Winter, "The Story of San Jose, 1777-1869, California's First Pueblo," California Historical Society Quarterly, 14 (1935): 3-27; Bancroft, History of California, Volume 1, pp. 311-314.

⁴¹Bancroft, History of California, Volume 1, pp. 335-340; Marion Parks, trans., "Correspondence Pertaining to Reglamento and to Recruiatal of Pobladores," Historical Society of Southern California, 15 (1931): 133.

⁴²Bancroft, History of California, Volume 1, pp. 344-346 and Chapter 17. Closing of the Anza route is discussed in: Moorhead, The Presidio, pp. 86-87; Frobes, "Development of the Yuma Route," p. 105; idem, Warriors, Chapter 6; Beattie, "Reopening the Anza Road," p. 52.

⁴³Bancroft, History of California, Volume 1, pp. 377-378; Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., Mission Santa Barbara, 1782-1965 (Santa Barbara: Franciscan Fathers of California, 1965): 22.

⁴⁴Bancroft, History of California, Volume 1, p. 388.

⁴⁵Intermittent conflict with England and the encroachment of Russian trappers south from the Aleutians forced the Spanish authorities into a defensive position. For a discussion of this topic see: Bancroft, History of California, Volume 1, pp. 426-428; C. Alan Hutchinson, Frontier Settlement in Mexican California: The Hajar-Padres Colony and its Origins, 1769-1835 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969): 14-18.

⁴⁶Blackmar, Spanish Institutions, pp. 213-215.

⁴⁷Ibid., pp. 204-207.

⁴⁸Ibid., pp. 207-208, 174-180.

⁴⁹Ibid., pp. 180-183, 211-213.

CHAPTER III

ANALYSIS OF THE 1790 HISPANIC POPULATION

The sporadic founding of presidios and pueblos during early Spanish colonization of Alta California created an irregular pattern of population growth. However, with the curtailment of settlement activities after 1782, a period of stability followed, characterized by gradual population growth. Despite this tranquillity, the population structure of Alta California should retain remnants of its frontier origins. Therefore, this chapter is devoted to analyzing the 1790 Hispanic population in the presidios and pueblos of Alta California. First, population growth and distribution between 1780 and 1790 is described. Next, the population structure in 1790 is examined by age/sex pyramids, sex and dependency ratios. Finally, the effect of migration is considered.¹

Population Growth and Distribution

Between 1780 and 1790 Alta California's Hispanic population grew considerably, and a shift in its concentration to the southern region occurred. Efforts to encourage pobladore settlement, however, failed to erode the presidios' position as major population centers.

Alta California's population more than doubled since 1780, increasing from 446 to 955 persons, or approximately by 114 percent. The most recently founded presidio, Santa Barbara, had the largest portion of population, at 24 percent of the total (figure 10). Its population size may be attributed to the salubrious environment of this area, especially for retiring Spanish soldiers. Monterey and San Diego were of tantamount importance, with each containing almost 20 percent of the total population. Drastic reduction in the percent of total population at San Francisco occurred, declining from 39 percent in 1780, to 15 percent by 1790. Unlike Santa Barbara, the incessant fog, and lack of arable land encompassing this presidio restricted its growth. Los Angeles, equivalent to San Francisco in population, did not experience the rapid growth pattern of Santa Barbara, although it possessed a similar environment. Finally, the pueblo of San Jose, though older than Los Angeles, accounts for about 7 percent of the total population.

Settlement along the Channel Island area catalyzed a population shift to the southern region. The percentage of total population in this southern region increased from 28 percent in 1780 to 59 percent by 1790. In view of the importance attached to securing northern Alta California against foreign aggression, a shift of this proportion was unexpected. However, a corresponding displacement of

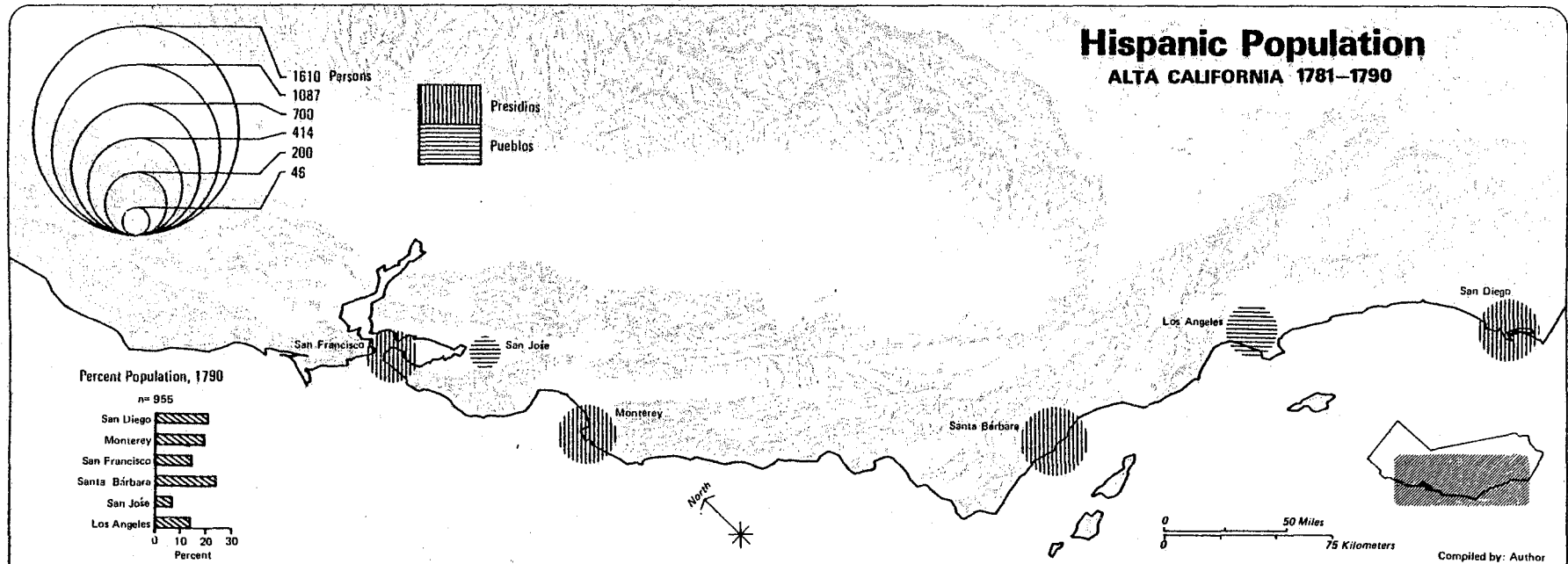


Figure 10

presidios over pueblos as major population centers did not accompany this trend. In response to the introduction of pueblos during this decade, the presidios declined only slightly, from 85 percent in 1780 to 79 percent by 1790.

The Hispanic population by 1790 was, for the most part, concentrated within the southern region of Alta California. The presidios, especially Santa Barbara, remained the primary centers of population. Early Spanish California's military orientation, as reflected in the sustained growth of the presidios as centers of population, should be mirrored by a "frontier quality" in the population structure of these institutions, a contention which is addressed next.

Demographic Structure

Investigation of Alta California's population structure by 1790 illustrates its "frontier quality." Age/sex pyramids, followed by sex and dependency ratios are examined for this task. As a remote colony of military orientation, its population is characterized by an enlarged adult male group and imbalanced sex and dependency ratios.²

Population Pyramids

Perusal of the population pyramids representing these institutions reveals a number of similarities, the most notable being that they are all structurally asymmetrical in comparison with balanced populations (figure 11).³

Population Structures, 1790

ALTA CALIFORNIA'S PRESIDIOS AND PUEBLOS

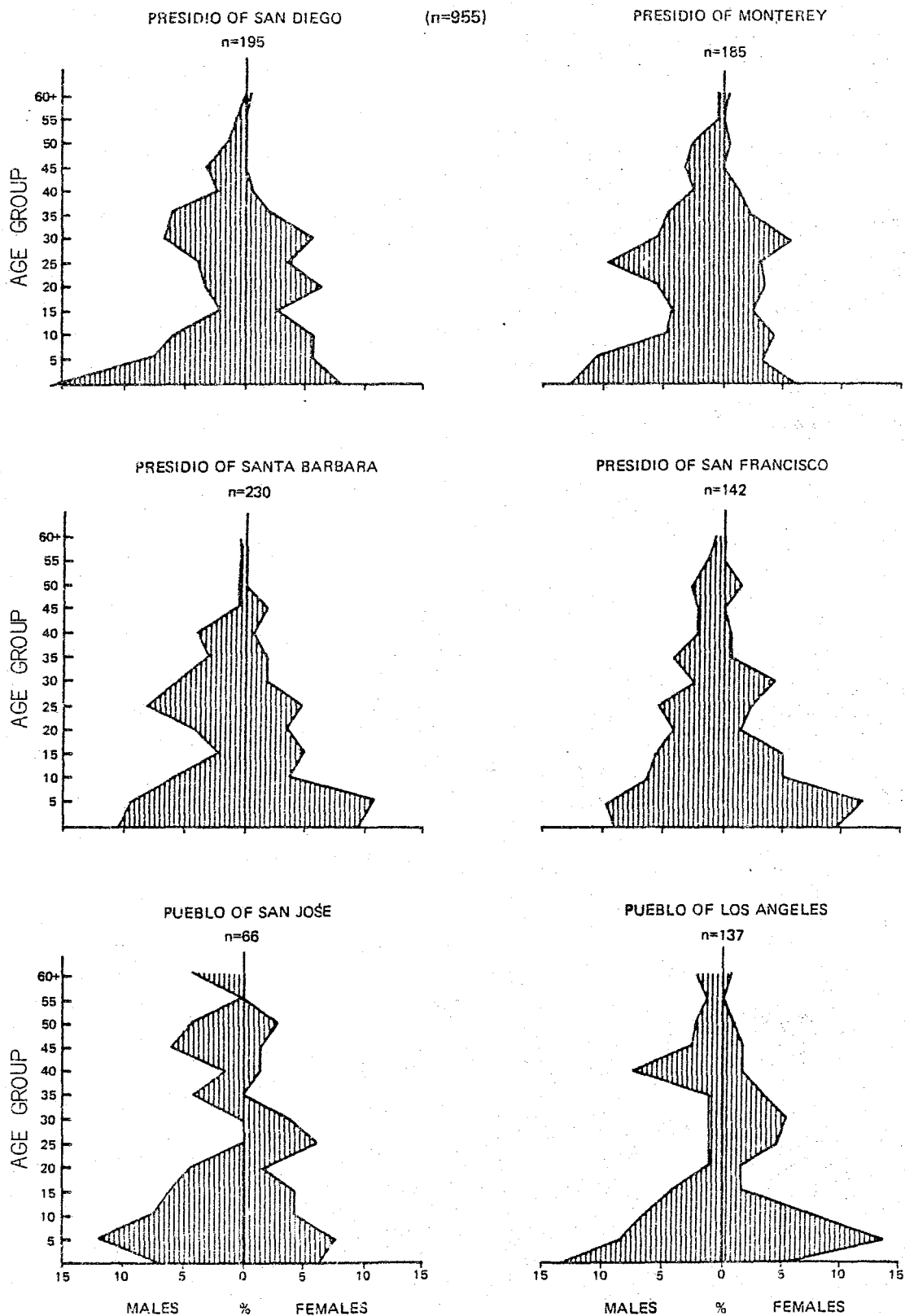


Figure 11

San Jose and Los Angeles are both deficient in adult males within the 25-30 age-groups. However, these groups are over-sized in the presidios, except for San Francisco, which lacks males in the 20 year age category. In general, the adult female population concentrates on the 20-30 age group, although the presidios of San Diego and Santa Barbara lack females of the 20-25 age groups. Also, females between 15-20 are wanting in the Los Angeles pueblo. Finally, the large population base common to each settlement supports the notion which equates high fertility rates with females in a frontier colony.⁴

Consolidation of these age categories lends additional insight into the pyramid analysis (table 2). Again, males form the better part of the population at 59 percent or 576 persons. The large population bases previously noted are represented here by youths between <1-14, which totaled 462 individuals or 48 percent; males within this group represent 27 percent and females 21 percent. Few persons over 60 years of age were found. Lastly, the sexual imbalance of the adult population, at 431 persons or 50 percent of the total, is further evidenced by the sizable male component, constituting 31 percent or 298 persons, and again points to the frontier character of Alta California.

The irregular population structure of Alta California's presidios and pueblos, indicated in this discussion, may be attributed to a large adult male and sibling

TABLE 2
 HISPANIC POPULATION
 AGE/SEX GROUPS, 1790^a

Sex	Age Group			Total
	<1-14	15-59	60+	
Males	260	298	9	567
Females	202	183	3	388
Total	462	431	12	955

SOURCE: Compiled by author.

^aBased on 1790 census totals for: San Diego, Monterey, San Francisco, San Jose, and Los Angeles.

population; hence, investigation of sex and dependency ratios affords a refined evaluation of this population's structure.

Sex and Dependency Ratios

Computation of sex-ratios reinforces previous observations based on the pyramid analysis of the 1790 population.⁵ The sex-ratio of the total population was 146, indicating that there were 146 males for every 100 females (table 3). Regionally, higher sex ratios characterize the north. Also, distinctions by institution are clear; for example, Monterey has the highest sex-ratio, at 198, almost 2 males for every female. The sex-ratio of the Los Angeles pueblo, however, approaches a reasonable balance, at 117. In general, both the presidios and pueblos are characterized by a preponderance of males, which again is indicative of Spanish California's frontier condition.

The immoderate number of children exhibited by both institutions justified calculation of dependency ratios.⁶ In total, the value for these locations was 1.0, or that an equivalent number of children and aged adults, to adults existed. A correspondence between sex and dependency ratios is illustrated by Monterey, which possessed the highest sex-ratio, and a minimum dependency ratio, 1.3, concurrent with its balanced sex-ratio. Finally, both of these ratios are on the average slightly greater in the northern portion of this province.

TABLE 3
DEMOGRAPHIC STRUCTURE, 1790

Institution	Total Population	Sex Ratio	Dependency Ratio
<u>Presidios</u>			
San Diego	195	150.0	.93
Monterey	185	198.4	.73
San Francisco	142	132.8	1.12
Santa Barbara	230	137.1	3.80
<u>Pueblos</u>			
San Jose	66	144.4	1.0
Los Angeles	137	117.5	1.3
Total	955	146.1	1.0

SOURCE: Compiled by author.

Values for sex and dependency ratios demonstrate that the population in Alta California by 1790 was composed largely of males and youths. Furthermore, the inordinate adult male population focused primarily in the presidios, and in the north, reflects the military emphasis given to this region. The impact of migration on characterizing the structure of this population is addressed in the following section.

The Effect of Migration

In general migrants represent a sizable portion of the population in a newly occupied frontier colony. Alta California is no exception to this rule, wherein migrants contributed more than half the Hispanic population in 1790. The impact of this sector on the structure of total population warrants investigation of the following: (1) the percentage of migrants as a part of the total population; (2) sex-ratios of the migrant stream; and (3) migrant nativity patterns.

In this analysis, "migrants" were defined as individuals who were not native to the specific location in Alta California where the census was enumerated. Using this definition, both internal and external migration can be accounted for.

Although approximately 507 migrants fell into the above categories, 14 percent of these or 131 persons could not be located because of insufficient information

concerning nativity origins, or the origin itself could not be located.⁷ However, 376 migrants, representing 74 percent of the total, were identified by nativity regions, thereby providing a basis for the analysis of nativity patterns presented here.

Percent of Migrant Population

The fact that over 50 percent of Alta California's population in 1790 were furnished by migration reflects the period of initial Spanish occupation some twenty years earlier (table 4). This group forms at least half the total population in each establishment of the colony, and as a separate population they are concentrated in the south.

Migrants constituted more than half of the population in each of the six presidios and pueblos, with the exception of Los Angeles. Yet, considering sources of error in the data employed, especially incomplete listings, it is safe to assume migrants comprised the majority of Los Angeles's population as well. Based on these data, no apparent regional nor institutional pattern is evident. However, a different view of the migrant sector emerges from examining them as a separate group.

Migrants are focused in the southern portion of Alta California, confined largely within the presidios (table 4). Over 56 percent of this population inhabited the southern establishments of Santa Barbara, San Diego, and Los Angeles.

TABLE 4
MIGRANT POPULATION, 1790

Institution	Total Population	Total Migrant Population	% Migrants of Total Population Per Location ^a	% of Migrant Population By Location ^b
<u>Presidios</u>				
Santa Barbara	230	122	53.0	24.1
San Diego	195	98	50.3	19.3
Monterey	185	113	61.1	22.3
San Francisco	142	71	50.0	14.0
<u>Pueblos</u>				
Los Angeles	137	65	47.0	12.8
San Jose	66	38	57.6	7.5
Total	955	507	53.0	100.0

SOURCE: Compiled by author.

^a $\frac{\text{number of migrants at location}}{\text{total population of location}} \times 100$

^b $\frac{\text{number of migrants at location}}{\text{total migrant population}} \times 100$

Their concentration was highest in Santa Barbara, at 24 percent, while for the north, another presidio, Monterey, represents their principal center, at 22 percent. Furthermore, evidence of institutional imbalance is clearly illustrated by the convergence of 80 percent of this population in the presidios.

An earlier discussion of population growth indicated that both a dramatic increase occurred, as well as a regional shift to the southern portion of the state. Based on the corresponding pattern of influx by migrants examined here, it can be surmised that a large portion of this population increase was caused by the migration necessary to colonize Santa Barbara and Los Angeles. Whether a complementary pattern for sex ratios exists is examined next.

Migrant Population Sex Ratios

An analysis of sex ratios indicates that as a group, the migrant population of 1790 was comprised largely of males; centered on the presidios, and in the northern region of Alta California (table 5). The increased sexual dissimilarity of this population is demonstrated by a comparison of its overall value, 178, to that of the total population, 146. This type of disparity in sex ratios among migrants is characteristic of populations in a remote frontier.⁸ Santa Barbara and Monterey, which have the largest migrant populations, also have the highest sex ratios, with 189.7 and 165.2 respectively. Except for

TABLE 5
MIGRANT POPULATION
SEX RATIOS, 1790

Institution	Total	Sex Ratio
<u>Presidios</u>		
Santa Barbara	96	165.2
San Diego	82	139.0
Monterey	93	189.7
San Francisco	63	173.0
<u>Pueblos</u>		
Los Angeles	30	150.0
San Jose	12	153.3
Total	376	178.0

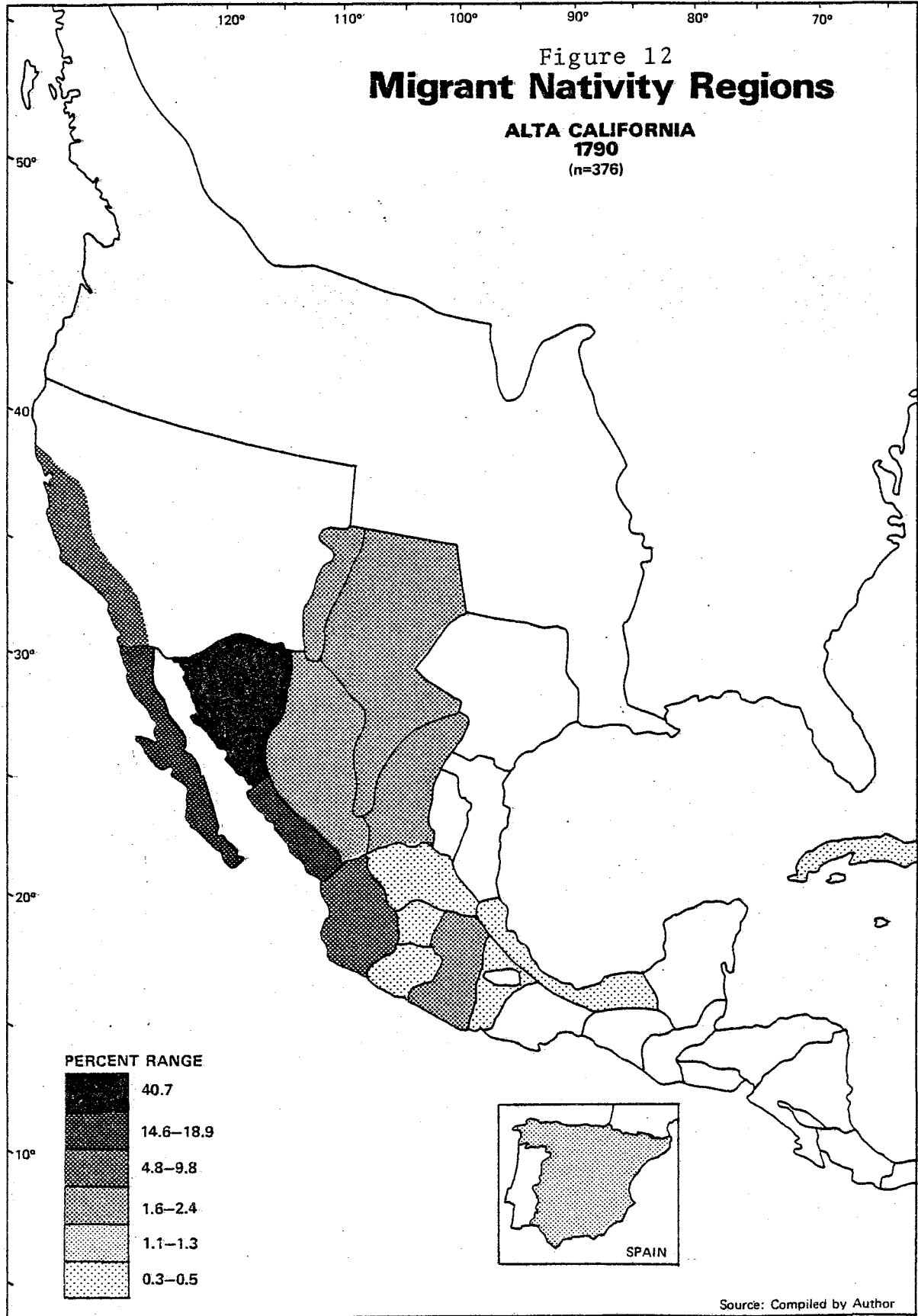
SOURCE: Compiled by author.

San Diego, where the sex ratio most approaches a balance at 139, the presidios are more unbalanced in male and female composition than the pueblos, indicating the sexual selectivity of these institutions. Finally, the average sex ratio of the northern settlements is higher than that of the south. Based on these findings, and coupled with the earlier analysis, one can infer that most of the females in Alta California were natives. The continuing problem of procuring females willing to migrate to this remote military province is implicitly stated by these sex ratio values.

Migrant Nativity Regions

Nativity regions furnish a basis for examining the migratory stream.⁹ As a group, the bulk of these colonists, 79 percent, were from northwestern New Spain (figure 12). The effect of Spain's isolation policy is suggested by the negligible contribution of foreign migrants, all of whom were from the mother country.

Important among these northern provinces were Sonora and Sinaloa, providing a combined contribution of 60 percent to the total migrant population. Jalisco, Baja, and internal migration in California account for another 19 percent of the total. Also, the remaining migrants came from a small number of provinces in Mexico. Paralleling the pattern for sex ratios, almost 90 percent of this



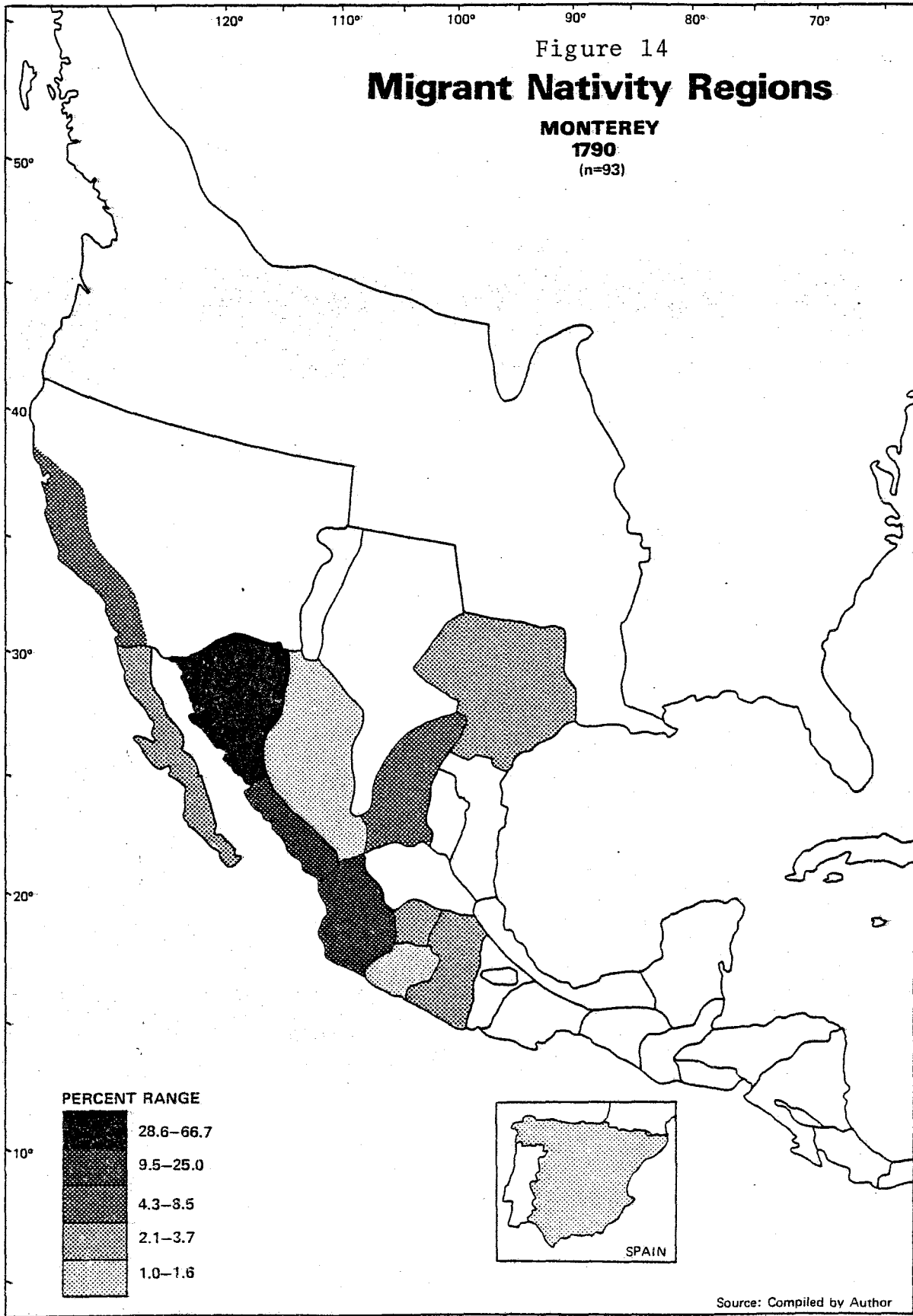
population converged on the presidios, especially in Monterey, Santa Barbara, and San Diego.

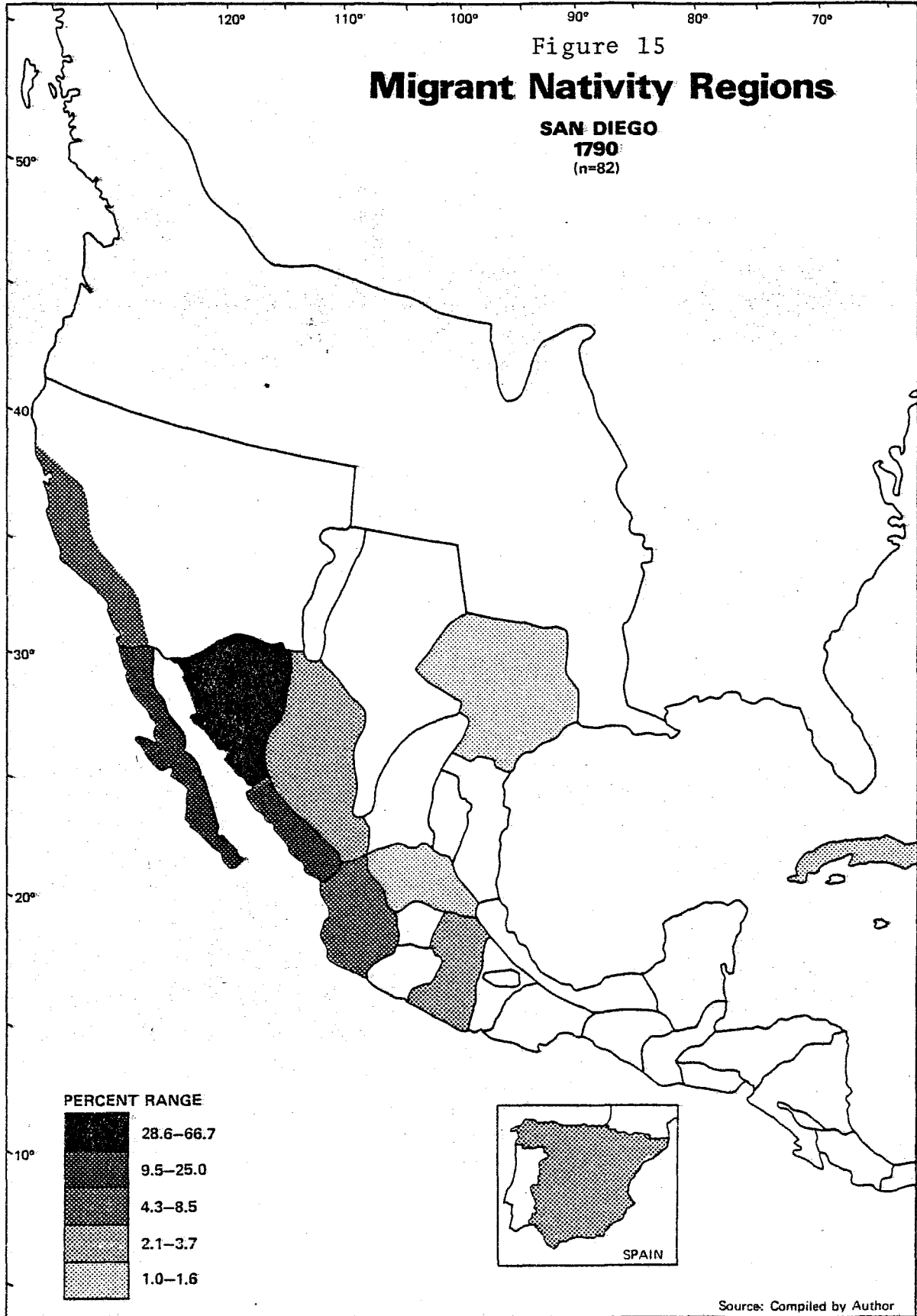
The general pattern of contributing migrant nativity regions described above is duplicated, for the most part, in each settlement. The northwestern provinces of Sonora, Sinaloa, Baja, and Jalisco are consistently important contributors to most locations in the colony.

The presidio of Santa Barbara attracted the largest number of migrants overall, most of which were from Sinaloa and Baja (figure 13). Monterey, the capital, had a similar pattern, but slightly broader in migration field than Santa Barbara, which can be attributed to its status as the capital of Alta California (figure 14). The pattern of migrant nativity regions for San Diego closely resembles that of Monterey, except for the importance of Baja, which is expected considering its proximity to San Diego (figure 15). Finally, the presidio of San Francisco received the smallest number of migrants (figure 16). San Francisco's nativity pattern corresponds to that of the other presidios except for the addition of Vera Cruz and Puebla (which supplied convicts), plus a notable lack of migrants from Spain. This diversity of migration fields may be attributed in part to the use of Alta California as a penal colony, beginning in the 1790's.

In comparison with the presidios, the migration field for the pueblos is somewhat reduced, although the







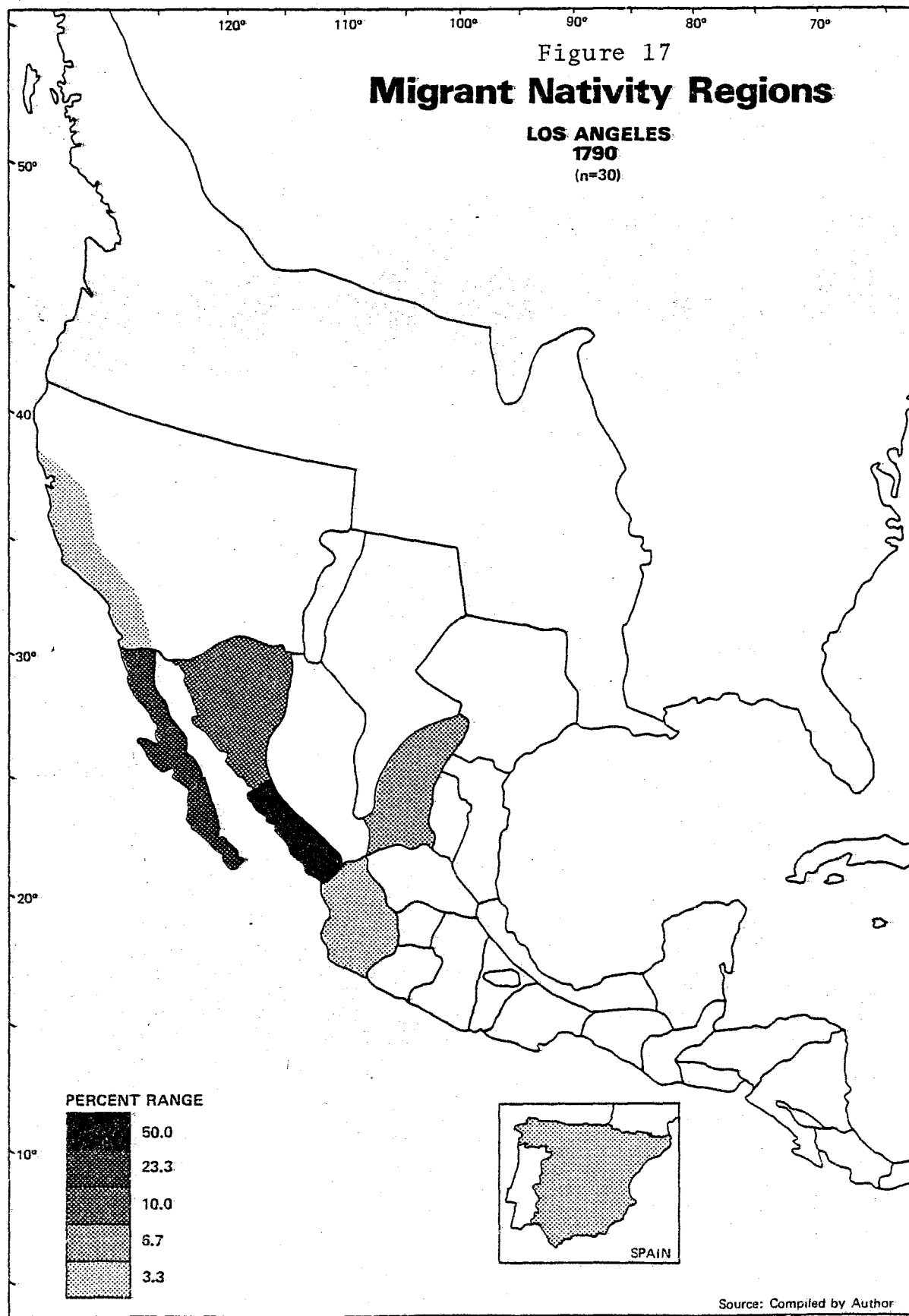


northwestern provinces remained as major contributors. For Los Angeles the provinces of Sinaloa and Baja are most important (figure 17), in contrast to San Jose, where Jalisco and Baja contribute the most number of migrants (figure 18). The reduced importance of the pueblos may be attributed to government trade restrictions which in part suppressed their growth.

This description of migrant nativity patterns and the previous sex ratio analysis indicate that of those migrants in Alta California by 1790, a majority were males from the northwestern provinces of New Spain, and settled in the presidios rather than the pueblos.

Summary

This chapter has provided an analysis of Alta California's Hispanic population in 1790. Colonization in the southern portion of this province accounts for a large portion of the 114 percent increase in total population that occurred. Although this growth generated a shift in the concentration of population from the north to the south, it remained focused on the presidios. A demographic analysis of this population demonstrated that its asymmetrical structure was caused by an enlarged adult male and sibling group. Furthermore, sex and dependency ratios were concentrated regionally in the north as well as within the presidios. This distribution suggests that adult males were centered on the presidios and in the northern region,





a pattern which reinforces the presumed frontier-military character of this colony. Finally, that migration furnished a basis for the initial growth of this province was demonstrated by the fact that over 50 percent of the total population were migrants. The sex ratio of the migrant sector was high, particularly in the southern region, as well as within the presidios. The bulk of this migrant population came primarily from the northwestern provinces of New Spain, and foreign migrants were insignificant at this time. Furthermore, the broader migration field found for the presidios suggests that distance was unimportant.

On the basis of this analysis, it appears that from 1780 to 1790 Alta California had acquired a population base capable of sustaining itself. Growing rapidly as a result of migration, though attracting a large number of males, it appears that in time the population structure would include more females. This question will be pursued in Chapter 6; in the meantime it is necessary to examine pertinent political and economic events occurring during the interim period from 1791 to the 1830's.

Footnotes, Chapter III

¹Copious literature is available which describes these standard forms of measurement, see Donald J. Bogue, Principles of Demography (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1969): Chapter 7; H. S. Shryock, et al., condensed edition by E. G. Stockwell, The Methods and Materials of Demography (New York: Academic Press, 1976): Chapters 7 and 8; J. I. Clarke, Population Geography (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1965): 65-79. For a brief article, particularly germane to frontier demography, see H. L. Lefferts, "Frontier Demography: An Introduction," in David H. Miller and Jerome O. Steffen, eds., The Frontier: Comparative Studies (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1977): 33-55.

²Lefferts, "Frontier Demography," pp. 37-48.

³For a population to be considered in balance, a large portion of it would be composed of infants and children, with the number of each respective age group decreasing proportionately as age increases, see Roland Pressat, Demographic Analysis (Chicago: Aldine-Atherton, Inc., 1972): 275.

⁴Lefferts, "Frontier Demography," pp. 49-51.

⁵Sex ratios were computed from:

$$\frac{\text{number of males}}{\text{number of females}} \times 100$$

See Shyrock, Methods and Materials, pp. 106-107.

⁶Dependency ratios were computed from:

$$\frac{(\text{population } +60) + (\text{population } <1-14)}{(\text{population } 15-59)}$$

See Shyrock, Methods and Materials, pp. 133-134; Clarke, Population Geography, pp. 66-69.

⁷The assumption was not made that in the case of a child young enough to have been born in Alta California he was necessarily a native, since the year of immigration was not listed.

⁸Lefferts, "Frontier Demography," p. 37.

⁹This analysis of migrant nativity regions is limited, in that the date of immigration was not enumerated, thus temporal variations in the concentration of migrants from these regions cannot be ascertained.

CHAPTER IV

THE RISE OF A SECULAR AUTHORITY:

HISPANIC CALIFORNIA, 1791 TO THE 1830's

The years between 1790 and the 1830's were replete with historic events which contributed to the growth, distribution, and structure of the 1830's Hispanic population. To recount all of these occurrences would command a separate study. This chapter presents those circumstances most crucial to the rise of a secular authority in Alta California. First, the remaining thirty-one years of Spanish rule, during which anti-mission sentiment mounted, are examined. Next, the critical events of the Mexican period are treated. During this period the mission system crumbled and colonization laws were enacted. The end effect of these changes brought new life to this stagnant province. In addition, the growth and changing distribution of Hispanic population during the interim period of 1790 to the 1830's is considered.

Spanish Period, 1791-1821

The Arcadian Age which characterized the 1790's was steadily eroded by Spain's involvement in military conflict with European rivals, the long-term effects of its

colonization system, and the mission land monopoly. All of these factors led to the eventual transition from Spanish to Mexican rule in 1821.

Over-extended, the crumbling Spanish empire was crippled by incessant political conflict with England and France, which led to the neglect of her colonies. Alta California steadily declined from the prosperous years of the 1790's and early 1800's into a state of economic stagnation.¹ In a final effort to buttress this far northern frontier from additional English and Russian encroachment, Spain planned to establish a defensive pueblo.²

In 1797, the special pueblo of Villa Branciforte was founded directly opposite the mission of Santa Cruz by a group of seventeen pobladores. The villa was originally planned to function as both a presidio and a pueblo.³ However, several factors barred its success. Handicapped by underpopulation, the colony was unable to develop strength. Also, Spain's continued war commitments finally resulted in cancellation of additional economic aid for the settlement's development.⁴

Furthermore, a minor colonization program, involving the use of Alta California as a penal colony, was practiced by Spain. Between 1791 and 1800, approximately fifty convicts were sentenced to serve out their prison terms in this remote province.⁵ Nineteen female orphans were also brought to Alta California, in response to Governor Diego

de Borica's concern over the paucity of members of this sex, a fact which reflects the continued difficulty in cajoling single females to migrate.⁶

The general reluctance to migrate to Alta California, on the part of both sexes, and the increasing stagnation setting in at the presidios and pueblos, though attributed to pabladore idleness by Spanish authorities, may be more accurately ascribed to Spain's stifling colonial system which reduced its individuals to government ownership.⁷ Also, the Spanish mercantile system forbade foreign trade, thereby forcing the pabladores to sell their goods to the government, whose practice of price fixing nullified individual motivation.⁸ Yet the factor perhaps most responsible for sluggish presidio and pueblo growth was the existence of a mission land monopoly. In the case of Villa Branciforte, the unavailability of arable land has been cited as the principle reason for its lack of growth.⁹ Even though the declining years of Spanish rule were characterized by a mounting sentiment for mission secularization, however, a measure of this institution's strength is indicated by the fact that such action did not fully materialize until 1834.

Termination of Spanish control over New Spain came with the Spanish American Wars, from 1808-1820's.¹⁰ Throughout the struggle, Alta California remained marginally affected, but its economy continued to fail within the

secular institutions, and no additional colonization of import occurred.¹¹ Yet mission agriculture and stock-raising prospered, generating further resentment on the part of colonists and presidial soldiers.¹² The presidios, miserably neglected, had come to depend once again on the padres for survival.¹³ Yankee traders, and to a lesser extent Russians at Fort Ross, took advantage of the colony's conditions, quickly making contraband trade the most stimulating activity in Alta California.¹⁴ Though reduced to a subsistence level economy at the close of the Spanish period, basic conditions were present for the burgeoning Hide and Tallow trade which followed the transition from Spanish to Mexican control.

Acceptance of the liberal constitution of 1812 enabled the Spanish Cortes to pass the mission secularization decree of 1813, and to permit the reduction of public land to private ownership.¹⁵ Mexico's declaration of independence from Spain in 1821 ushered in a new period of freedom, which led to the demise of the mission system and encouraged the rise of a secular authority.¹⁶

During the fifty-two years of Spanish control, Alta California was successfully colonized with a chain of coastal settlements. Hardships incurred during the closing years of Spain's control tested the adaptability of the presidios and pueblos. It appears that the pueblos, long accustomed to subsistence level living, fared better than

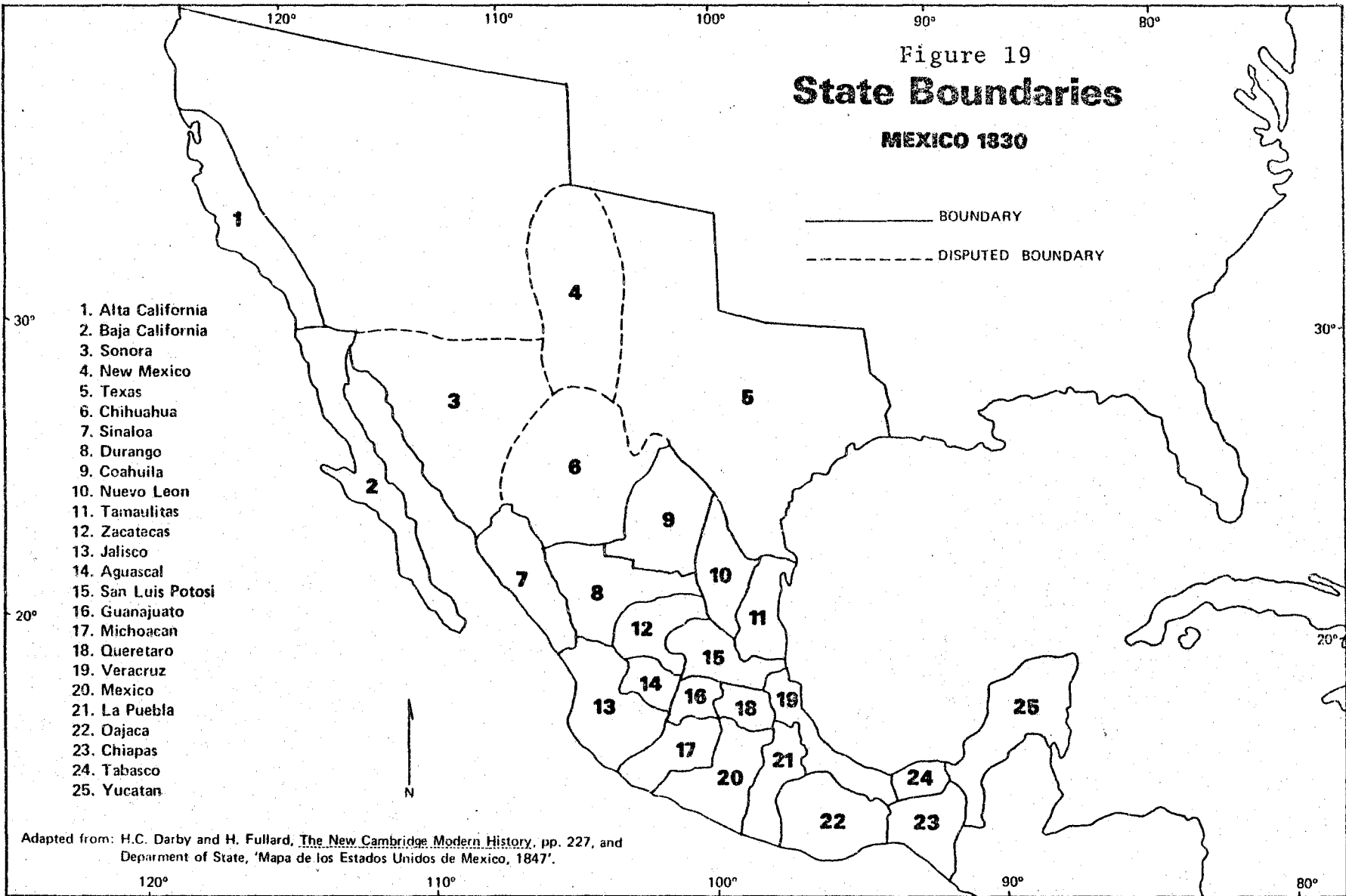
the presidios, which had remained, for the most part, centers of military districts and were unable to provide for themselves. With the foundation established for mission secularization, and accelerated colonization in 1821, conditions were primed for a rise of pueblo dominance as well.

Mexican Period, 1821-1830's

Alta California became a part of the recently formed Mexican Nation in 1825 (figure 19).¹⁷ Burdened by the task of replacing a three-hundred-year-old monarchy with a new republican form of government, the Mexican government reacted to California's susceptibility to foreign invasion, its lack of population, and its dilapidated economic condition with immediate attention.¹⁸ Though plans addressing these problems were formed prior to 1830, their impact was not felt until after the missions were secularized, in 1834. Also, a persistent lack of federal funds contributed to the continued neglect of Alta California. The colony's existence during the 1830's, therefore, paralleled the Arcadian Age that prevailed at the turn of the century, although it was characterized by an increasingly spirited mood of provincial independence.¹⁹

The pending threat of English, Russian, and later American encroachment on Alta California prompted the Junta de Formento de Californias to assess the colony's defensive and economic needs.²⁰ Many of its plans had been overzealously conceived, but those pertaining to the territorial

Figure 19
State Boundaries
MEXICO 1830



colonization of the province were adopted by the Mexican authorities in 1824 and 1828 (table 6).²¹ No less assiduously devised than the Spanish colonization schemes, but far more tolerant in scope, the Mexican Colonization Laws of 1824 and the Supplemental Law of 1828 not only served to diversify the population structure, but also heralded a complete reversal of the Spanish mercantile system.²²

Although the 1824 act favored Mexican colonists, its encouragement of foreign immigrants willing to be naturalized countered Spain's three-century policy of barring non-Hispanic migration into New Spain. To give affect to this law, it was necessary to enact a Supplemental Decree in 1828. This decree which established guidelines for the granting of property to petitioners was, however, virtually paralyzed by an unfortunate oversight. The Mexican authorities stipulated that mission lands were not to be colonized, pending formation of a workable plan to secularize them. This regulation deterred colonization since the best coastal lands had been taken up by the mission system, leaving only pagan-inhabited or inferior land available for new settlement.²³

This situation, plus the continued propensity to view Alta California as a remotely attached Mexican State, caused the government's colonization efforts to suffer the same fate as those of Spain.²⁴ Also, the failure to reopen Anza's much needed land route to California further

TABLE 6

MEXICAN COLONIZATION LAWS, 1824 and 1828

Colonization Act, 1824	Supplemental Regulations, 1828
<u>Article</u>	<u>Article</u>
1. Foreigners who become naturalized Mexican citizens may acquire land.	1. Governors of the territories may grant land.
2. Vacant land not belonging to any corporation or town may be colonized.	2. Petitions for land must include a personal history, description of the land desired, and a <u>diseño</u> .
3. States may develop land policy.	3. The governor shall insure that each petitioner meets all qualifications required for land.
4. Land may not be granted within 20 leagues of a foreign nation and 10 leagues of the sea coast.	4. The governor shall decide the validity of each petition for land.
5. Land may be appropriated for public use.	5. All grants of land must be approved by the territorial deputation.
6. Foreigners settling in Mexican territory will not be required to pay duties until 1828.	6. The supreme government can approve grants if the territorial deputation disapproves.
7. The General Congress may not prohibit the entrance of foreigners until 1840.	7. Empresario grants must be approved by the supreme government.
8. Proper precautions may be taken for the security of the Federation with respect to foreigners.	8. Title papers signed by the governor and given to the grantee will serve as proof of title.
9. In the distribution of land, Mexican citizens are to be preferred.	9. All records of grants must be kept in a book and a quarterly report forwarded to the supreme government.

TABLE 6--Continued

Colonization Act, 1824	Supplemental Regulations, 1828
<u>Article</u>	<u>Article</u>
10. Military persons are entitled to land according to the proffer of March 27, 1821.	10. Empressarios must contract with at least 12 colonists.
11. Vacant lands may be granted to officers or civil servants.	11. The governor will establish the terms and the time required to complete a valid grant.
12. Individual grants of land may not exceed 11 square leagues: 1 square league of irrigable land; 4 square leagues of dry farming land; 6 square leagues of pasture land.	12. Every grantee must prove before the municipal authority that he has satisfied the terms of his grant.
13. Grants of land may not be transferred in mortmain.	13. Formation of towns must follow existing regulations.
14. The government promises to guarantee empressario grants not contrary to law.	14. & 15. Town dwellers shall receive 2300 varas square of land: farming 200; dry farming 800; pasture 1200; house lot 100.
15. Property owners must reside within the territory or lose title.	
16. The government shall proceed to colonize the territories in conformance with the stated articles.	16. Vacant land lying between adjoining proprietors may be divided between them.
	17. Mission lands may not be colonized.

SOURCE: Hornbeck, "Land Tenure and Rancho Expansion in Alta California, 1784-1846."

complicated these matters.²⁵ Hence, in an effort to secure a sufficient population for Alta California, use of the province as a penal colony was reinstated, despite local opposition.²⁶ By 1826 over 100 convicts had been sent to northern California, and approximately 130 more were dwelling in the southern establishments of Santa Barbara, Los Angeles, and San Diego by 1830.²⁷ This practice led to the Californians' increasing antipathy against the Mexicans, characterizing the entire period.²⁸ "The climax of Mexico's attempts to populate California" was signaled by the arrival of the controversial Hajar and Padres colony, which included many who were skilled artisans and teachers.²⁹ This group provided the human resources needed for the founding of a pueblo at Sonoma so as to secure the northernmost margin of Alta California.³⁰

With the opening of foreign commerce, and the development of a hide and tallow trade between American merchants and the missions, foreigners were effectively induced to establish local agencies in Monterey.³¹ Additional impetus for the appearance of foreigners was provided by the secularization of mission lands between 1831 and 1835.³² A gradual infiltration of foreigners beginning in the 1820's corresponds to the development of this trade (table 7). Thereafter, foreign migration accelerated rapidly so that by the 1840's American migrants were an important minority.³³

TABLE 7
 PIONEERS IN ALTA CALIFORNIA
 BY THE CLOSE OF 1830

Spanish Period 1769-1821		Mexican Period 1821-1830	
Date	Number	Date	Number
1782	1	1821	5
1791	1	1822	13
1806	1	1823	7
1810	1	1824	14
1814	4	1825	4
1815	2	1826	24
1816	7	1827	10
1817	1	1828	19
1818	5	1829	14 ^a
		1830	13
Total	23	Total	123

SOURCE: H. H. Bancroft, History of California, Volume II, pp. 681-682.

^aOne of these was a female.

Mission secularization prompted further Mexican migration.³⁴ As prime agricultural land was relinquished, a growing rural population resulted, as well as the emergence of a rising rancho landscape which imparted a "new spatial order" to Alta California by the close of this period.³²

Mexican rule in Alta California focused initially on the construction of a viable program for inducing colonization and on the secularization of the missions. Until mission secularization was implemented, however, Mexican colonization of this province was subdued, consisting largely of convicts and American merchants attracted by the lucrative hide and tallow trade. Also, during this period no major alterations of the settlement pattern occurred, except for the addition of the Sonoma pueblo in 1834.

Population Growth, Interim Period

Alta California's population increased gradually during the interim period from 1791 to the 1830's. With the transfer from ecclesiastical to secular authority after 1821, pueblos replaced the long-standing position of the presidios as major population centers.

Between 1790 to 1800 the total population grew by 60 percent or from 955 to 1533 persons. Monterey reclaimed its position as the center of this population, constituting 27 percent of the total, while Santa Barbara declined in importance, dropping to 22 percent (figure 20).

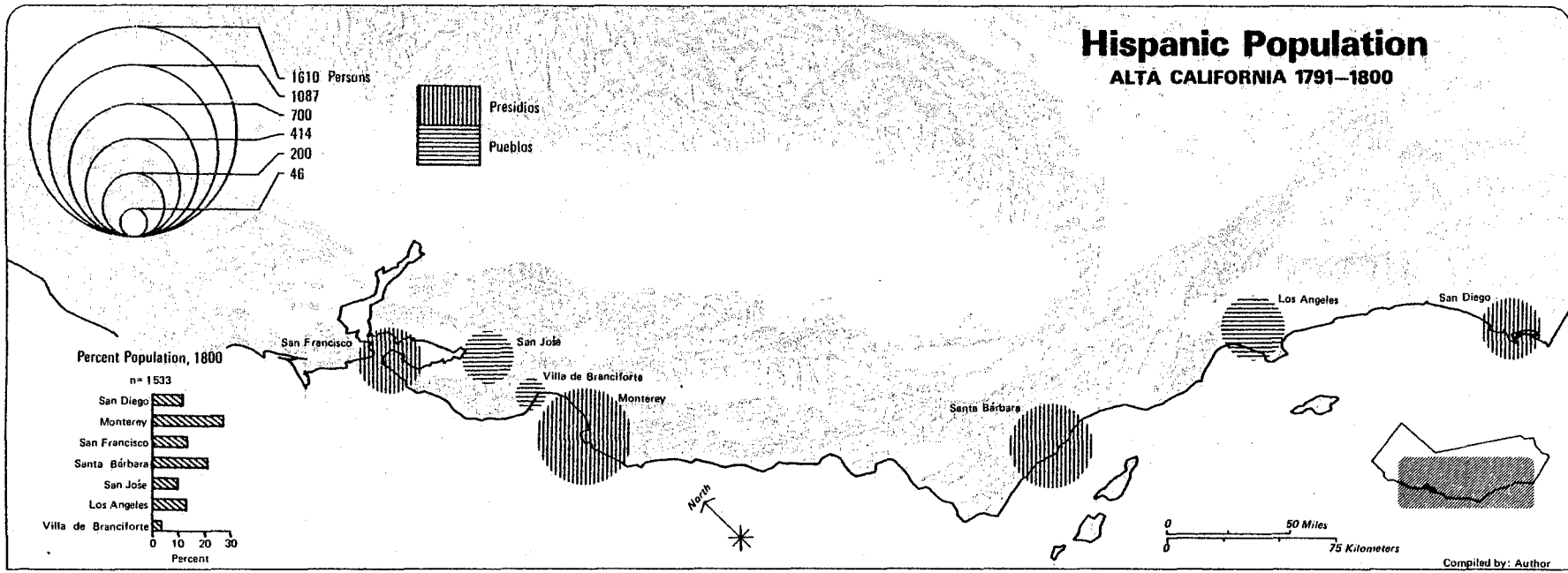


Figure 20

Populations ranging from 12-13 percent each were located in San Diego, San Francisco, and the pueblo of Los Angeles. The neglected settlement of Villa Branciforte represented barely 4 percent of the total population. Also, over 50 percent of the population, or 827 persons, were concentrated in the northern region. The presidios, representing 74 percent of the total, remained the major population centers.

Population distribution by 1810 parallels that of the previous decade. A total increase of only 26 percent, or from 1,553 to 1,926 persons occurred (figure 21). This reduced expansion rate reflects the impact, previously noted, of Spain's neglect toward her colonies, which characterized the last years of Spanish rule. During this decade, Monterey remained the principal population center, at 25 percent of the total, and Santa Barbara, the second largest at 19 percent. San Diego and Los Angeles remained equivalent in size, at approximately 16 percent each, while San Francisco, San Jose, and Villa Branciforte were the smallest settlements in Alta California. A minor shift in the regional distribution occurred in that the south amassed 52 percent of the total or 1,005 persons. This trend was in response to the growth of Los Angeles and San Diego. The presidios, however, remain as the primary institution for Hispanic population, accounting for

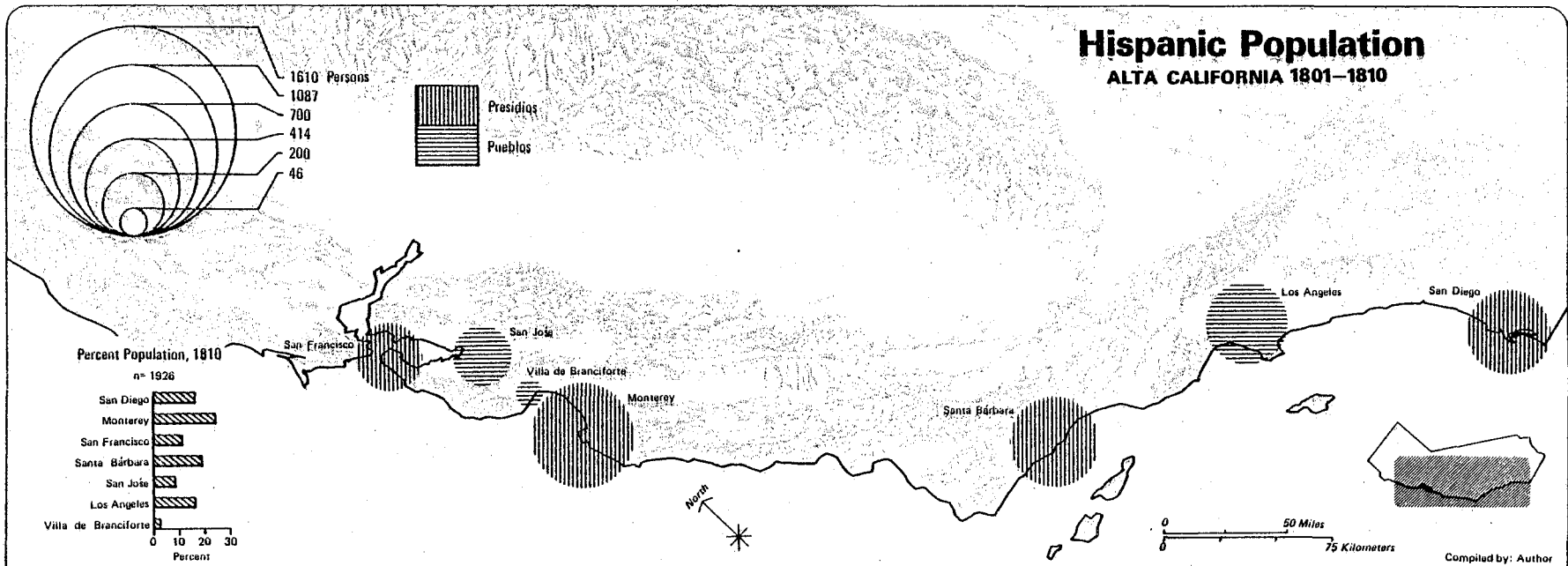


Figure 21

72 percent of the total. Hence, this period is essentially one of marginal change and overall sluggish population growth.

This pattern of gradual population increase continued, and between 1811 and 1820, a growth of 30 percent occurred, bringing the total to 2,498 persons in Alta California (figure 22). At this time the four presidios had populations of equivalent size, each between 17-20 percent, but Santa Barbara and Monterey retained a slight edge. Los Angeles was by far the most populous pueblo, contributing 13 percent, while San Jose and Villa Branciforte represented less than 10 percent of the total each. Although the presidios continued to house 74 percent of the Hispanic population, this trend was successfully challenged during the Spanish American War years, which left these military institutions in a state of miserable decline. Also, the decline of northern regional dominance continued at a gradual pace, and by 1820 this area contained 49 percent of the total population.

The general pattern of Hispanic population growth during this interim period was sharply curtailed after 1800 as a result of Spain's involvement in political conflict. Major colonization programs for Alta California terminated after the founding of Villa Branciforte in 1797, and the province was left to fend for itself. Thus the growth in population occurring between 1800 and 1820 represents, for

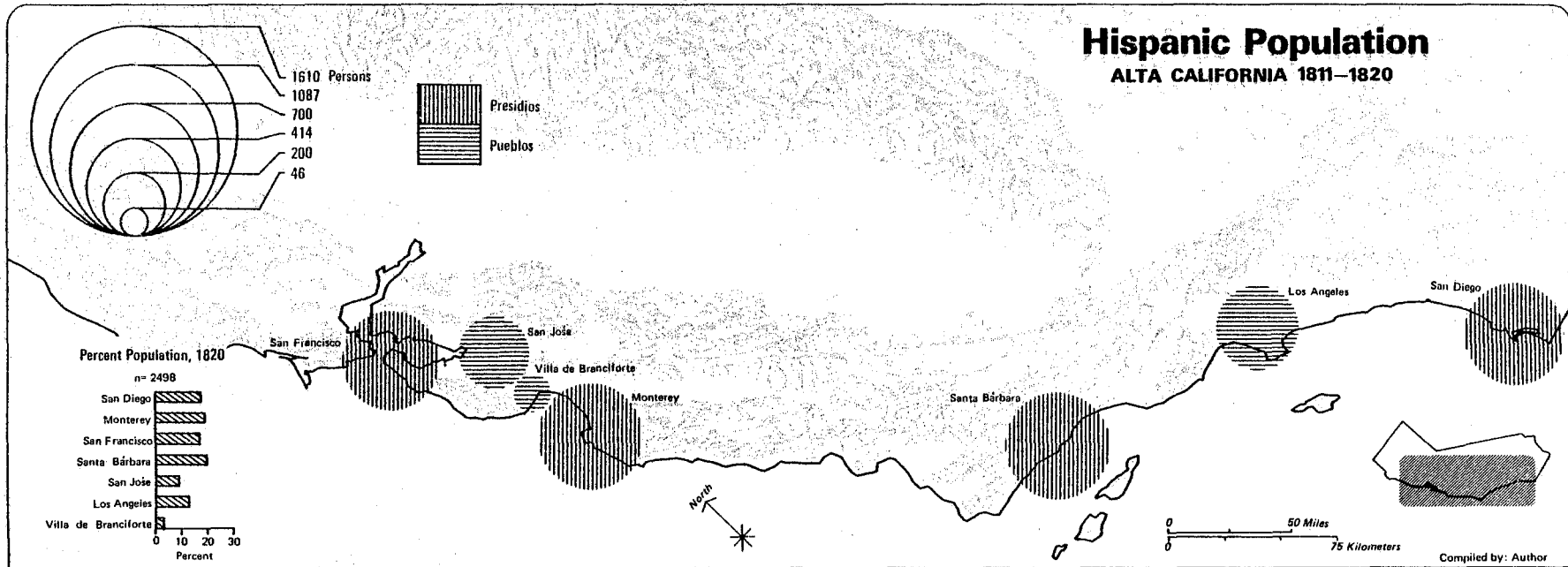


Figure 22

the most part, natural increase. Population concentration shifted from the north to the south by a slim, but increasing margin; yet, throughout this period, the presidios remained as the dominant colonial institution.

Summary

Common themes characterizing this interim period of Alta California include the transition from Spanish to Mexican rule in 1821, which overshadowed the demise of the mission system and escorted in a new era of secular authority. Hispanic California remained a frontier colony despite the elaborate plans of both Spain and Mexico to colonize this remote frontier province. Each government was handicapped by a lack of funding, few and reluctant potential migrants, and incessant political unrest, all of which contributed to the crippling neglect of California's development. By the end of Spanish rule, migration into Alta California had virtually ceased, thus sharply curtailing population growth. At this time the colonists were forced to engage in the illegal trade of hides and tallow with foreigners for sustenance. This activity came to flower during the early Mexican period after it was legalized, the missions secularized, and colonization laws expanded to include foreigners. The major impact of these new regulations, which catalyzed a major influx of foreigners, was not felt until the mid-1830's. Thus, in 1830 a

period of relative stability existed. In the next chapter, the distribution, growth, and structure of Alta California's Hispanic population during the 1830's is examined so that it could be compared with that of the 1790 period.

Footnotes, Chapter IV

¹Hurbert H. Bancroft, History of California, Volume 1 (Santa Barbara: Wallace Heberd, 1963): 505, 516, and 536; Leon G. Campbell, "The First Californios: Presidial Society in Spanish California, 1769-1822," Journal of the West: Western History and Geography, 11 (October 1972): 587-588; John W. Caughey, California (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1940): 135; Robert G. Cleland, From Wilderness to Empire (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947): 93; Florian Guest, "The Establishment of Villa de Branciforte," California Historical Society Quarterly, 41 (March 1962): 37; C. Alan Hutchinson, Frontier Settlement in Mexican California: The Hajar-Padres Colony, and Its Origins, 1769-1835 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969): 14-16.

²Bancroft, California, Volume 1, pp. 533-534; Guest, "Branciforte," pp. 31-33; Hutchinson, Mexican California, pp. 17-21; Manuel P. Servin, "Costanso's 1794 Report on Strengthening New California's Presidios," California Historical Society Quarterly, 49 (September 1970): 221-232.

³A. Avilez, Population Increases into Alta California in the Spanish Period: 1769-1821 (San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1974): 18-19; Bancroft, California, Volume 1, p. 565; Guest, "Branciforte," p. 37; H. A. Van Coenen, Story of the Mission Santa Cruz (San Francisco: Paul Elder and Company, 1933).

⁴Bancroft, California, Volume 1, p. 570; Guest, "Branciforte," p. 38.

⁵Bancroft, California, Volume 1, p. 605; Janet R. Fireman and Manuel P. Servin, "Miguel Costanso: California's Forgotten Founder," California Historical Society Quarterly, 49 (March 1970): 14; Daniel J. Garr, "A Rare and Desolate Land: Population and Race in Hispanic California," Western Historical Quarterly, 6 (April 1975): 141-142; Hutchinson, Mexican California, p. 65; Torchiana, Mission Santa Cruz, p. 134.

⁶Hutchinson, Mexican California, p. 65; Caughey, California, p. 149; Garr, "Population and Race," p. 137.

⁷Zoeth S. Eldredge, History of California, Volume 2 (New York: The Century History Company, 1915): 23 and 35; Bancroft, California, Volume 1, pp. 337, 603-605; Hutchinson, Mexican California, p. 79; Caughey, California, pp. 140-141; Garr, "Population and Race," p. 143; Francis F. Guest, "Municipal Government in Spanish

California," California Historical Society Quarterly, 46 (December 1967): 372; Torchiana, Mission Santa Cruz, p. 264; Campbell, "The First Californios," p. 587; Frank W. Blackmar, Spanish Institutions of the Southwest (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1891): 187.

⁸Eldredge, History of California, Volume 2, p. 37; Francis F. Guest, "Municipal Government in Spanish California," pp. 310-328.

⁹Blackmar, Spanish Institutions, p. 188; Guest, "Branciforte," p. 47.

¹⁰Hutchinson, Mexican California, p. 26.

¹¹Maynard Geiger, Mission Santa Barbara, 1782-1965 (Santa Barbara: Franciscan Fathers of California, 1965): Chapter 16; Bancroft, California, Volume 2, pp. 168-169, 413.

¹²Robert Archibold, "The Economy of the Alta California Missions, 1803-1821," Southern California Quarterly, 58 (Summer 1976): 227-240.

¹³Bancroft, California, Volume 2, pp. 197, 208-210; Guest, Municipal Institutions, p. 371.

¹⁴Caughey, California, p. 155; Bancroft, California, Volume 2, pp. 31, 199, and Chapter 14; Adele Ogden, The California Sea Otter Trade, 1784-1848 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1941): Chapters 3-5.

¹⁵Bancroft, California, Volume 2, pp. 264, 414, 431.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 430.

¹⁷George Tays, "The Passing of Spanish California, September 29, 1822," California Historical Society Quarterly, 15 (June 1936): 139-142; Herbert E. Bolton, "The Iturbide Revolution in the Californias," Hispanic American Historical Review, 2 (May 1919): 188-242.

¹⁸Jessie Davies Francis, An Economic and Social History of Mexican California 1822-1846, Volume 1, Chiefly Economic (New York: Arno Press, A New York Times Company, 1976): 9-22.

¹⁹Carey McWilliams, North From Mexico (New York: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1968): 88-89; Caughey, California, p. 170; Francis, Economic and Social History of Mexican California, pp. 52-53, 76-77.

²⁰Hutchinson, Mexican California, Chapters 1-3; Francis, Economic and Social History of Mexican California, pp. 23-51.

²¹Bancroft, California, Volume 3, pp. 34-35, 515-516.

²²See the discussion of Spanish Colonization in Chapter 2 of this text.

²³Bancroft, California, Volume 2, pp. 661-665.

²⁴Hutchinson, Mexican California, p. 137.

²⁵George W. Beattie, "Reopening the Anza Road," The Pacific Historical Review, 2 (1933): 68-70.

²⁶Leonard Pitt, The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish Speaking Californians, 1846-1890 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966): 6; Garr, "Population and Race," pp. 133, 139-40; Bancroft, California, Volume 3, pp. 48-50.

²⁷Bancroft, California, Volume 3, p. 15 note 29, and p. 47 note 33.

²⁸Francis, Economic and Social History of Mexican California, pp. 91-94.

²⁹Hutchinson, Mexican California, Chapter 4; Francis, Economic and Social History of Mexican California, pp. 104-125; Bancroft, California, Volume 3, pp. 270-291 and Chapter 9; Caughey, California, pp. 161-162.

³⁰Bancroft, California, Volume 3, pp. 294, 721-723.

³¹Garr, "Population and Race," pp. 145-146; Francis, Economic and Social History of Mexican California, pp. 125-152.

³²David Hornbeck, "Land Tenure and Rancho Expansion in Alta California, 1784-1846," Journal of Historical Geography, forthcoming; Pitt, Decline of the Californios, pp. 7-8; Campbell, "First Californios," pp. 593-594; Francis, Economic and Social History of Mexican California, Chapter 5.

³³Bancroft, California, Volume 2, pp. 653-654.

³⁴Hornbeck, "Land Tenure and Rancho Expansion."

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF THE 1830'S HISPANIC POPULATION

It was suggested in the previous chapter that the transition from Spanish to Mexican rule in 1821 was perhaps the most significant event during the interval between 1791 and the 1830's. Efforts by the Mexican government to elevate Alta California from its general state of decline centered on the enactment of liberal colonization laws, the secularization of the missions, and the legalization of foreign trade. A burgeoning economy, based on the hide and tallow trade, emerged subsequent to the 1830's. Presumably, the Hispanic population of the 1830's was a complement to this growth pattern, and provided a representative basis for the efforts to reconstruct the conditions characterizing the relatively stable period of Mexican California.

An identical format to that of Chapter III has been adopted here for this reconstruction, beginning with a description of the Hispanic population distribution as well as its growth and change after 1820. The following is an analysis of the demographic structure in terms of population pyramids, sex and dependency ratios, and, finally, the effect of migration is examined.

Population Growth and Distribution

During the 1830's decade, the distribution of Alta California's Hispanic population changed more in terms of its institutional focus than in its regional concentration. The bulk of the population converged on the southern region, and the pueblos far exceeded the presidios in terms of population growth, a fact which reflects a decline of the traditional military orientation of settlement that characterized the entire Spanish period.¹

A considerable increase in total population occurred after the 1820's. Over 3,400 persons inhabited the presidios and pueblos during the 1830's decade, representing a growth of approximately 39 percent (figure 23). The pueblo of Los Angeles ranked as the principal population center, at 28 percent of the total, or 962 persons, reflecting the increasing importance of secular authority. Villa Branciforte remained the least significant settlement, containing only 4 percent of the population, or 154 persons. The presidios of Monterey, Santa Barbara, and the pueblo of San Jose had equivalent populations, which ranged from 15 to 17 percent each. San Francisco and San Diego, situated at the colony's extreme margins, accounted for less than 25 percent of the population total. With such a meager population, one is reminded of the vulnerability of these strategically located presidios and of the miserable

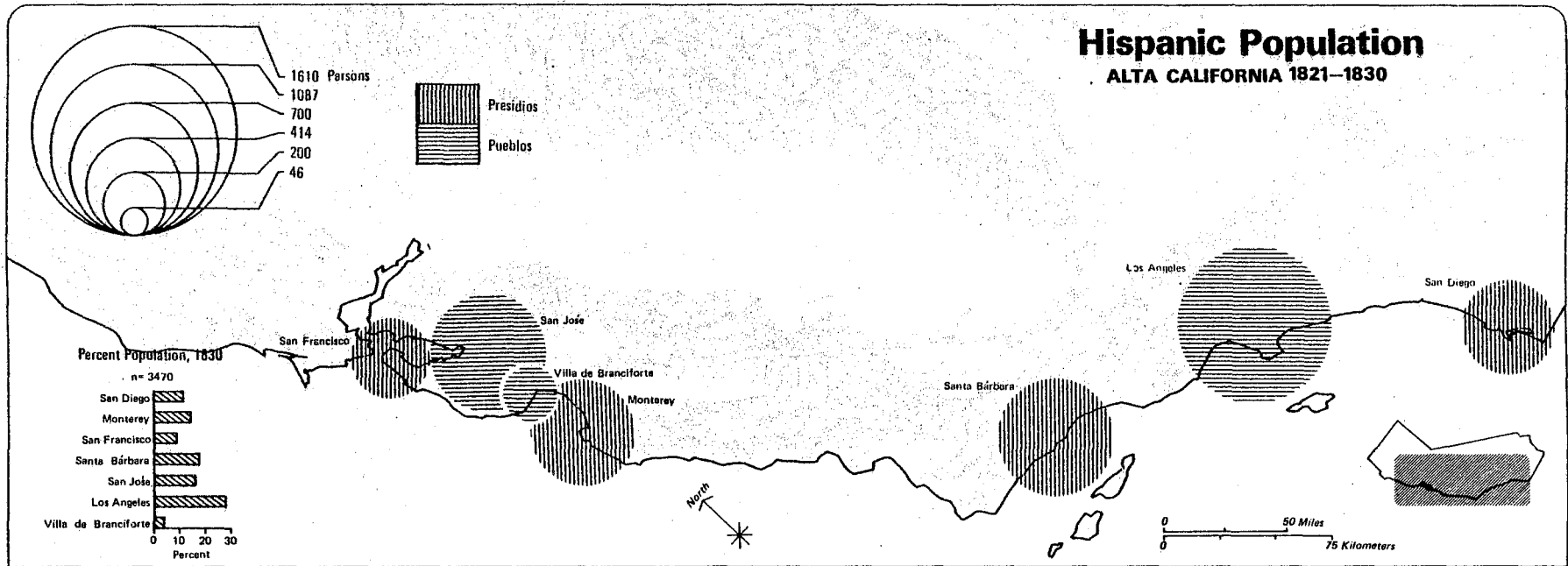


Figure 23

state of decay which they were allowed to reach during the war-torn years preceding Mexico's independence.

The pattern of southern regional population growth during the 1830's was insured by the combined contributions of Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, and San Diego, representing 57 percent of the total. Also, the pueblo of San Jose and the presidio of Monterey accounted for the bulk of northern population. The reduced importance of Monterey and San Francisco, and the continued lack of growth in Villa Branciforte, relative to the remaining settlements, reflects the general state of small growth in this northern region.

The pattern of continuing southern dominance does not reveal fully the dramatic shift in institutional growth that occurred. During the 1820's presidios persisted as major population centers, representing over 70 percent of the total, as they had done since the onset of Spanish occupation of Alta California. By the 1830's, however, a shift in population concentration occurred, with the pueblos increasing to 48 percent of the total, while in the past they had represented only 26 percent of the total. Although the presidios maintained their dominance by a slight margin, it is reasonable to assume that the pueblos would soon erode their position as being the principal centers of population. A continuation of similar growth trends for the pueblos, coupled with the additional effects

of Mexican colonization programs and economic policies, provide a foundation for this expectation.

Contributing significantly to the decline of the presidio was the loss of population, noted earlier, in San Francisco and San Diego. San Francisco contained 430 persons or 17 percent of the population during the 1820's, however, by the 1830's it declined to 9 percent or 300 persons. San Diego also decreased in population, with a reduction from 450 or 18 percent in the 1820's to 400 or 11 percent in the 1830's. Complementing this pattern of reduced presidial growth was an increase in population for the pueblos of Los Angeles and San Jose. Los Angeles' population increased from 327 persons in the 1820's to 962 in the 1830's, a dramatic growth which may be attributed to the preponderance of rancho estates in the surrounding area.

In light of this notable trend toward increased pueblo growth, one can assume definite characteristics relating to their corresponding population structures. Hence, the succeeding section is devoted to examining the demographic structure of the 1830's Hispanic population.

Demographic Structure

In response to the rapid growth of pueblo population that occurred by the 1830's, a complementary shift from the earlier male dominance that characterized the 1790 period to a more balanced form can be anticipated. However, vestiges of a "frontier quality" should remain since

colonization efforts were continued by the Mexican government.² The population structure of Alta California in the decade of the 1830's is analyzed here, employing a demographic analysis identical to that of Chapter III.³

Population Pyramids

Contributing to the imbalanced structures of Alta California's 1830's population are several notable characteristics (figure 24). The most apparent of these is an enlarged population base typifying each settlement. This sibling group appears to be most prominent among the males in San Jose and the females in Villa Branciforte and San Francisco.⁴ Implicit in this characteristic is the continued importance of natural increase as a mechanism to promote population growth in early Hispanic California. Also, a conspicuous lack of females over 30 years of age existed in all locations except Villa Branciforte, where there was a sizable group of females between 20 and 30 years. Corresponding to this situation is a concentration of males between 25-35 years also at Villa Branciforte. Interestingly, Monterey and Los Angeles have similar "peaks" for adult males and females, whereas at Santa Barbara, San Francisco, and San Jose these points of focus appear for those of slightly more advanced years. Finally, the presidios of Monterey and San Francisco are distinctively lacking in males 15-25 years. These exaggerated

Population Structure, 1830's

ALTA CALIFORNIA'S PRESIDIOS AND PUEBLOS

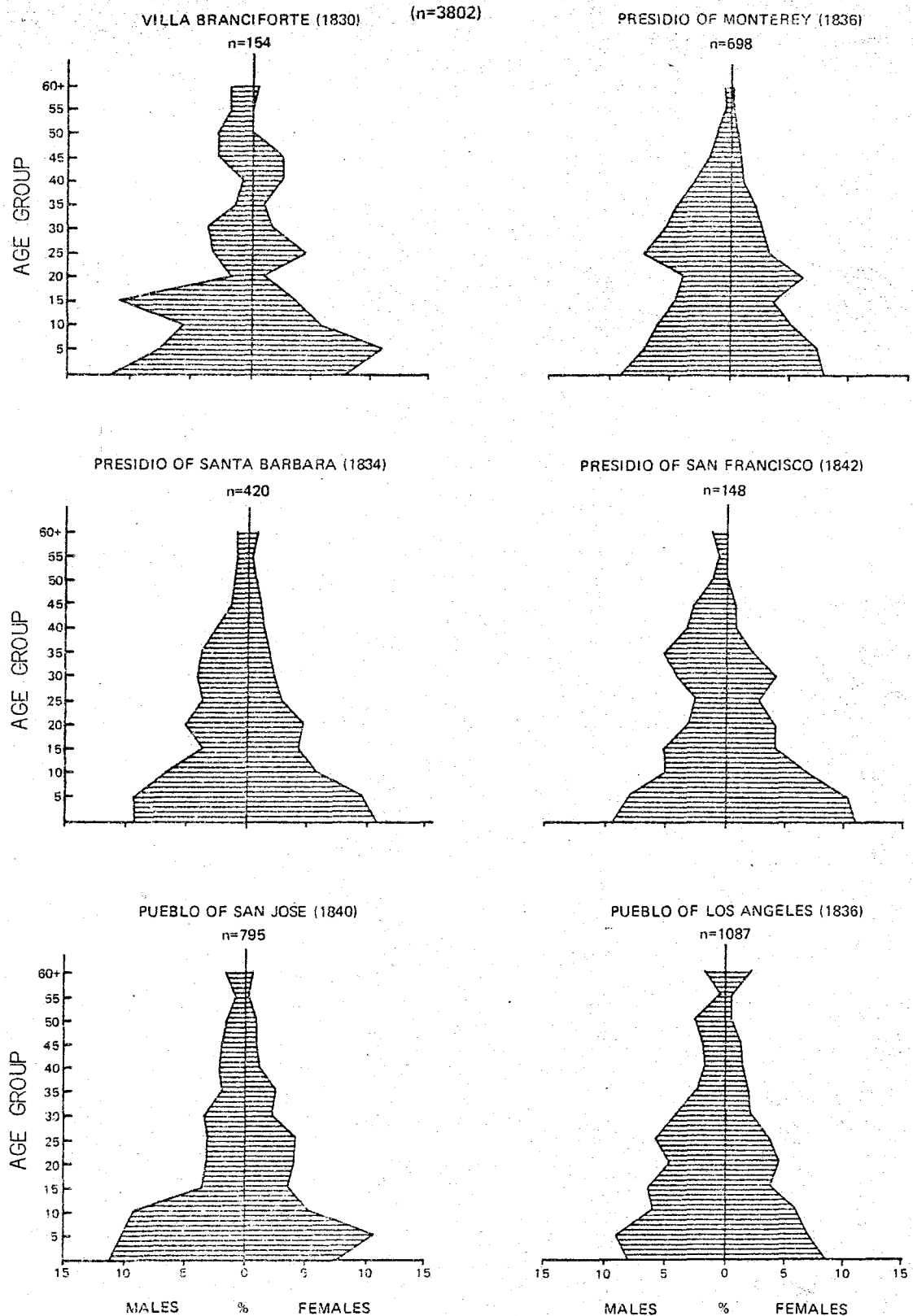


Figure 24

proportions suggest that migration remained significant within the adult sector of middle-aged males and perhaps young-adult females.

An inspection of aggregate age groups lends support to the above findings (table 8). An overall preponderance of males existed, amounting to 2,112 or 56 percent of the total. Also, within the adult population males again form the majority at 29 percent, or 1,086 individuals, thus indicating that a frontier condition persisted in Alta California during the 1830's. The sex composition among children, however, approaches a balance, although males still predominate. Finally, the number of individuals over 60 years was very small indeed.

The asymmetrical population structure of Alta California's presidios and pueblos is represented by a sizable population base within each settlement, as well as an exaggerated group of adult males. Thus, a frontier condition is manifested, which suggests that it was natural increase and to a lesser extent migration which was responsible for the growth of this colony.

Sex and Dependency Ratios

Sex ratio computation for these settlements supports the notion that Alta California exemplified a frontier region (table 9). The sex ratio of the total population equalled 131, indicating that there were 131 males for every 100 females.⁵ Although regionally the values are

TABLE 8
 HISPANIC POPULATION
 AGE/SEX GROUPS, 1830's^a

Sex	Age Group			Total
	<1-14	15-59	60+	
Males	973	1,086	53	2,112
Females	873	779	38	1,690
Total	1,846	1,865	91	3,802

SOURCE: Compiled by author.

^aBased on census totals for: Villa Branciforte, Monterey, Santa Barbara, San Francisco, San Jose, and Los Angeles.

TABLE 9
DEMOGRAPHIC STRUCTURE, 1830's

Institution	Total Population	Sex Ratio	Dependency Ratio
<u>Presidios</u>			
San Diego	-	-	-
Monterey	698	134.2	0.79
San Francisco	148	117.6	1.01
Santa Barbara	920	114.9	1.15
<u>Pueblos</u>			
San Jose	795	124.6	1.33
Los Angeles	1,087	129.3	0.95
Villa Branciforte	154	126.5	1.11
Total	3,802	130.9	1.0

SOURCE: Compiled by author.

equivalent, by settlement type some disparities appear. The presidio of Monterey has the highest ratio, at 134, in contrast to Santa Barbara, where the sex division was approximately equal, at 115. Of comparable stability to Santa Barbara is San Francisco's sex ratio of 118. The pueblos as a group are less balanced in terms of sex ratios, each being within the 125-130 range. Thus, a preponderance of males appeared within the pueblos, though the presidio of Monterey had the least balanced sex ratio, and Santa Barbara had a balance between the number of males and females. These findings concur with the exaggerated growth pattern of pueblos identified previously.

The prominent child population extant during this period justifies computation of dependency ratios, assisting an interpretation of Alta California's 1830's population. The overall dependency ratio equalled 1.0, suggesting that parity, between adults 15 to 59 and children <1-14 plus those over 60, existed.⁶ The unstable character of Monterey's population is demonstrated by its small dependency ratio, .79, and its high sex ratio, 134, which suggests that an extraordinary number of males inhabited this presidio. However, a sizable dependent population existed in the pueblo of San Jose, where the dependency ratio equalled 1.33; when compared to its sex ratio, of 125, the frontier condition of this settlement is indicated. Dependency ratios of San Francisco and

Los Angeles, approximately 1.0 each, indicate a notable condition of balance between these two age groups. These findings show that, in general, a dependent sector equivalent to young and middle-aged adults characterized these settlements, signifying the importance of natural increase to population growth within Alta California.

The irregular population typifying Alta California's growing presidios and pueblos; the disparity between sexes; and the large dependent group, represent the neglect by both Spain and Mexico, thereby allowing it to remain essentially an undeveloped frontier after sixty years of occupation. This analysis indicates that males constituted a majority of the adult population. Furthermore, in view of Mexico's liberal attitude toward colonization, an investigation of the effect of migration on Alta California's population is justified.

The Effect of Migration

Liberalized migration laws stimulated the growth of Alta California's population in the 1830's, as well as encouraging the introduction of foreigners. Hence, this section focuses on: (1) the percentage of migrants; (2) sex ratios of the migrant population; and (3) migrant nativity regions.

In mapping these migrants, 904 out of a total of 934 persons, approximately 97 percent, were located by origin.

These totals contain a degree of inaccuracy, however, since data for San Diego was lacking, and those for San Jose represent only 1833.

Percent Migrant Population

Approximately one quarter of Alta California's population in the 1830's decade were migrants (table 10).⁷ Their appearance is attributed to the more liberal attitude of Mexico's government toward the entrance of foreigners and to the granting of private landholdings to these immigrants.

The percentage of migrants based on the total Hispanic population in each location illustrates that migrants were generally more important within the presidios than in the pueblos (table 10). By location, Monterey and San Francisco represent the principal centers for this sector of the population, with approximately 41 percent and 46 percent of their total population composed of migrants, respectively. In Villa Branciforte, Santa Barbara, and Los Angeles, migrants are less prominent. As a result of these concentrations, immigrants as a part of the total population are focused in the northern part of Alta California.

Viewing immigrants as a separate population affords a different interpretation (table 10). Again, migrants furnished an enlarged portion of the presidio population, centered primarily on Monterey, at almost 35 percent. However, Santa Barbara, and Los Angeles, attracted

TABLE 10
MIGRANT POPULATION, 1830's

Institution	Total Population	Total Migrant Population	% Migrants of Total Population Per Location ^a	% of Migrant Population By Location ^b
<u>Presidios</u>				
Santa Barbara	920	220	23.9	23.5
San Diego	-	-	-	-
Monterey	698	322	46.1	34.5
San Francisco	148	61	41.2	6.5
<u>Pueblos</u>				
Los Angeles	1,087	226	20.8	24.2
San Jose	795 ^c	49 ^d	-	5.2
Branciforte	154	56	36.4	6.0
Total	3,802	934	24.6	24.6

SOURCE: Compiled by author.

^a $\frac{\text{number of migrants at location}}{\text{total population of location}} \times 100$

^cBased on 1840 census which did not list nativity region.

^b $\frac{\text{number of migrants at location}}{\text{total migrant population}} \times 100$

^dBased on an 1833 census listing adult males only.

migrants, at about 24 percent of the total each. Less than 10 percent each of this population resided in the remaining settlements. Hence, although migrants form almost 41 percent of San Francisco's total population, for example, in terms of the total migrant population it only represents approximately 7 percent. On a regional basis, migrants were concentrated in the south, primarily at Santa Barbara and Los Angeles.

Since migration accounts for a considerable portion of the presidio and pueblo populations, especially in the south, additional support for the notion regarding Alta California's frontier existence is provided. This colony was emerging from the recent state of isolation and economic stagnation of the Spanish period. Migration formed an integral part of the population character at this time. The sex ratio analysis which follows is important since migration tends to be sexually selective, and it would have an important effect on the population structure of Alta California at this time.

Migrant Population Sex Ratios

A sex ratio analysis of the 1830's migrant population demonstrated that as a group an enlarged portion was male, concentrated in the southern pueblos (table 11). The sexual selectivity of migration is illustrated by a comparison of its overall value, 164, to that of the total population, 131. Although Monterey has the largest migrant population,

TABLE 11
MIGRANT POPULATION
SEX RATIOS, 1830's

Institution	Total	Sex Ratio
<u>Presidios</u>		
Santa Barbara	209	150
San Diego	-	-
Monterey	325	129
San Francisco	61	158.3
<u>Pueblos</u>		
Los Angeles	226	253.1
San Jose	56	-
Villa Branciforte	56	100.0
Total ^a	933	164

SOURCE: Compiled by author.

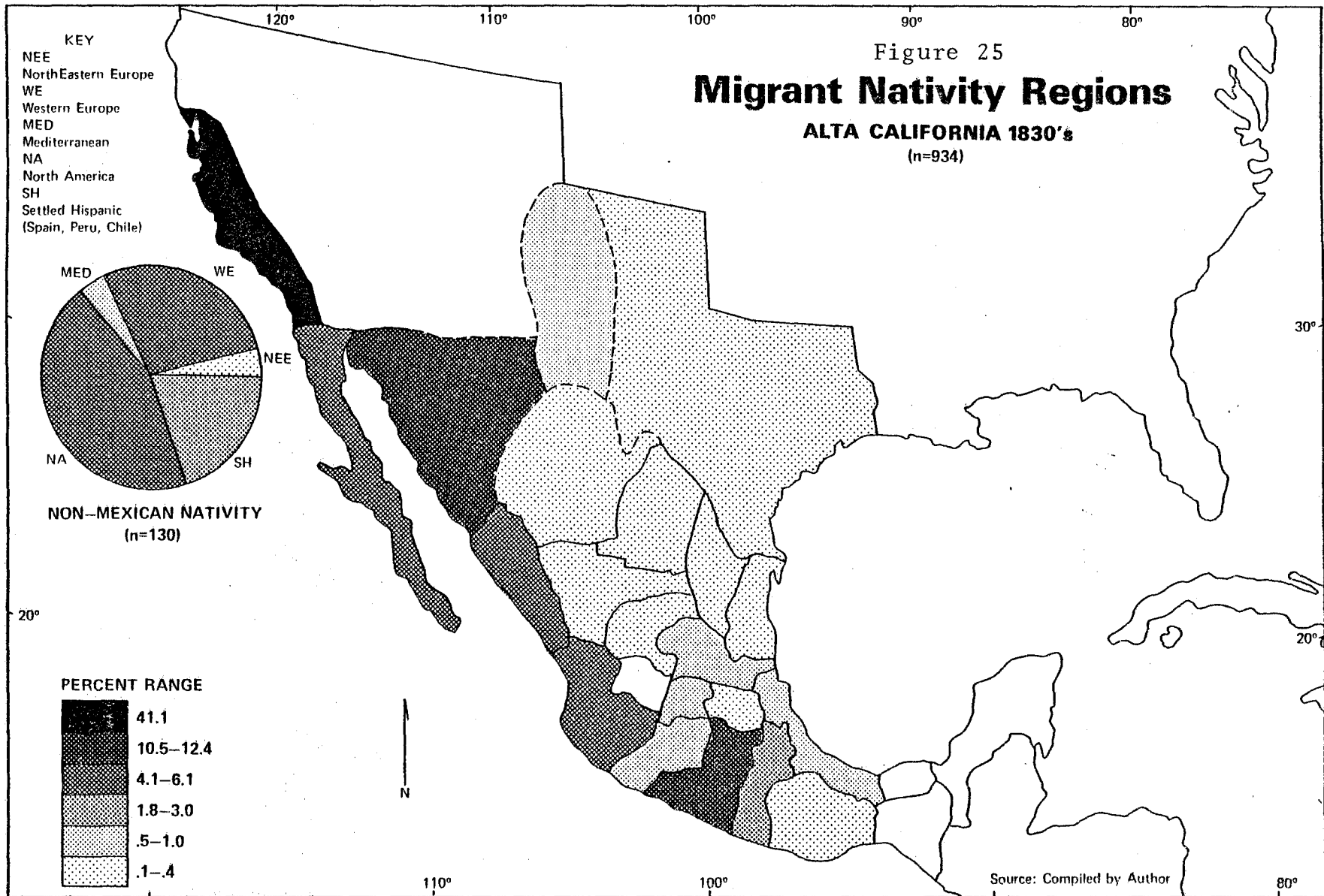
^aThis figure excludes San Diego, no data; San Jose was based on an 1833 census listing males only.

its sex ratio value, 129, indicates that it attracted a balanced migrant population. San Francisco, however, possessing the smallest migrant population, has the second highest sex ratio, at 158. Finally, Los Angeles, the second largest migrant center, is characterized by a high sex ratio, at 253. Of course, this extreme value parallels the tremendous growth that occurred within this pueblo. The combined sex ratio of Santa Barbara and Los Angeles indicates a pattern of southern regional concentration for male migrants, as well as within the pueblos.

Migrant Nativity Regions

The migratory stream of Alta California's 1830's population was provided primarily by Mexico's coastal states and by internal migration within the province. Also, the appearance of foreigners, of non-Mexican nativity, portends the rising importance of this sector to Alta California's population structure (figure 25).

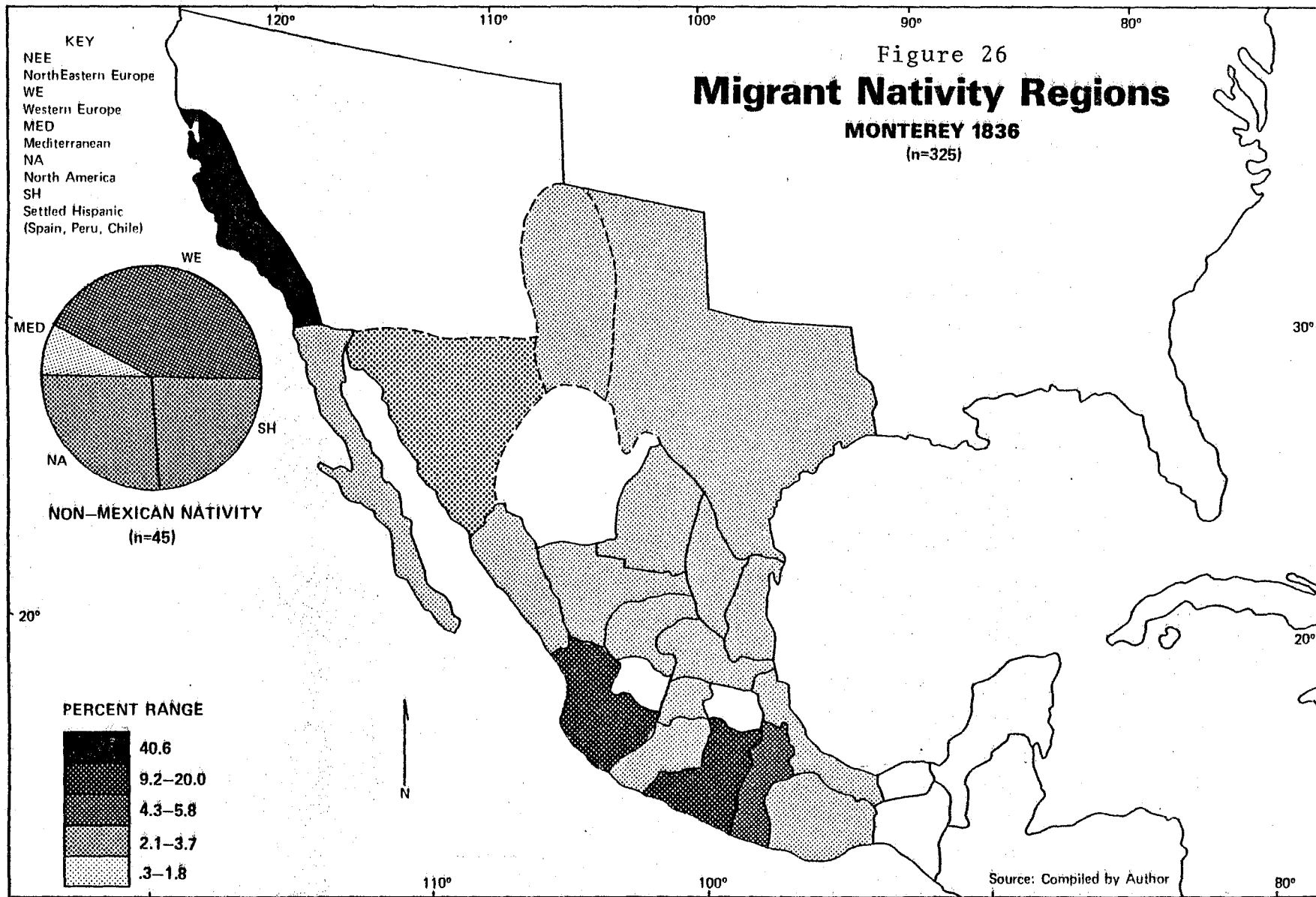
The emergence of Alta California from its stagnant economic condition is paralleled by an excessive amount of internal migration, accounting for 41 percent of the total. An equivalent proportion of the migrants were furnished by west coast provinces of Mexico, at 45 percent. Important among these provinces were Sonora and Mexico, which represented 23 percent of that group. Another 15 percent was contributed by Baja, Sinaloa, and Jalisco. The remaining

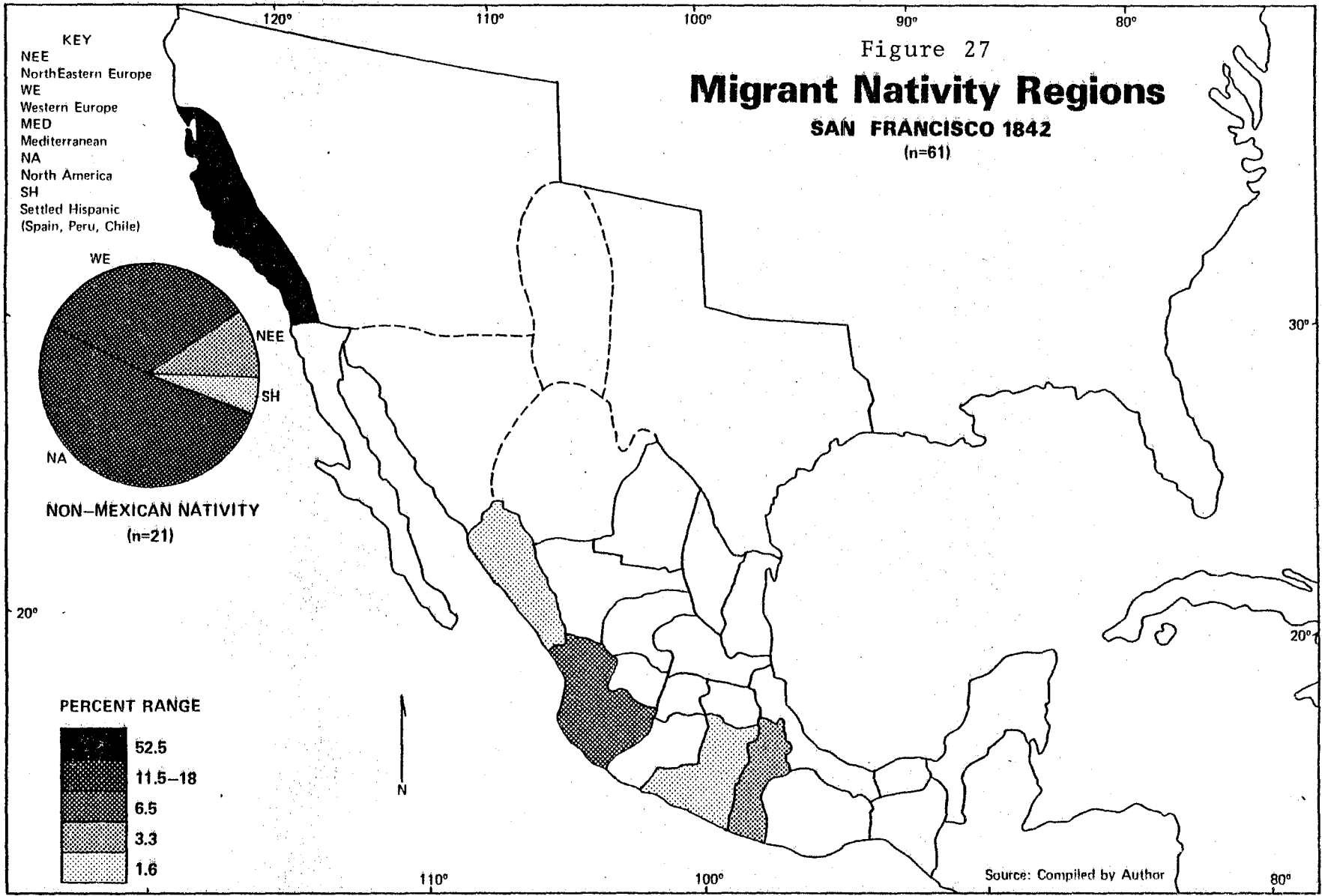


migrants came from a broad range of internal and east coast states. North American and Western Europeans comprise the bulk of foreign migration, which contributed 14 percent of the total.

The pattern of migrant nativity for each settlement during this decade was typified by a prominent internal sector reflecting the economic stimulus of the hide and tallow trade. Also, those locations serving as centers of migration have correspondingly broader migration fields.

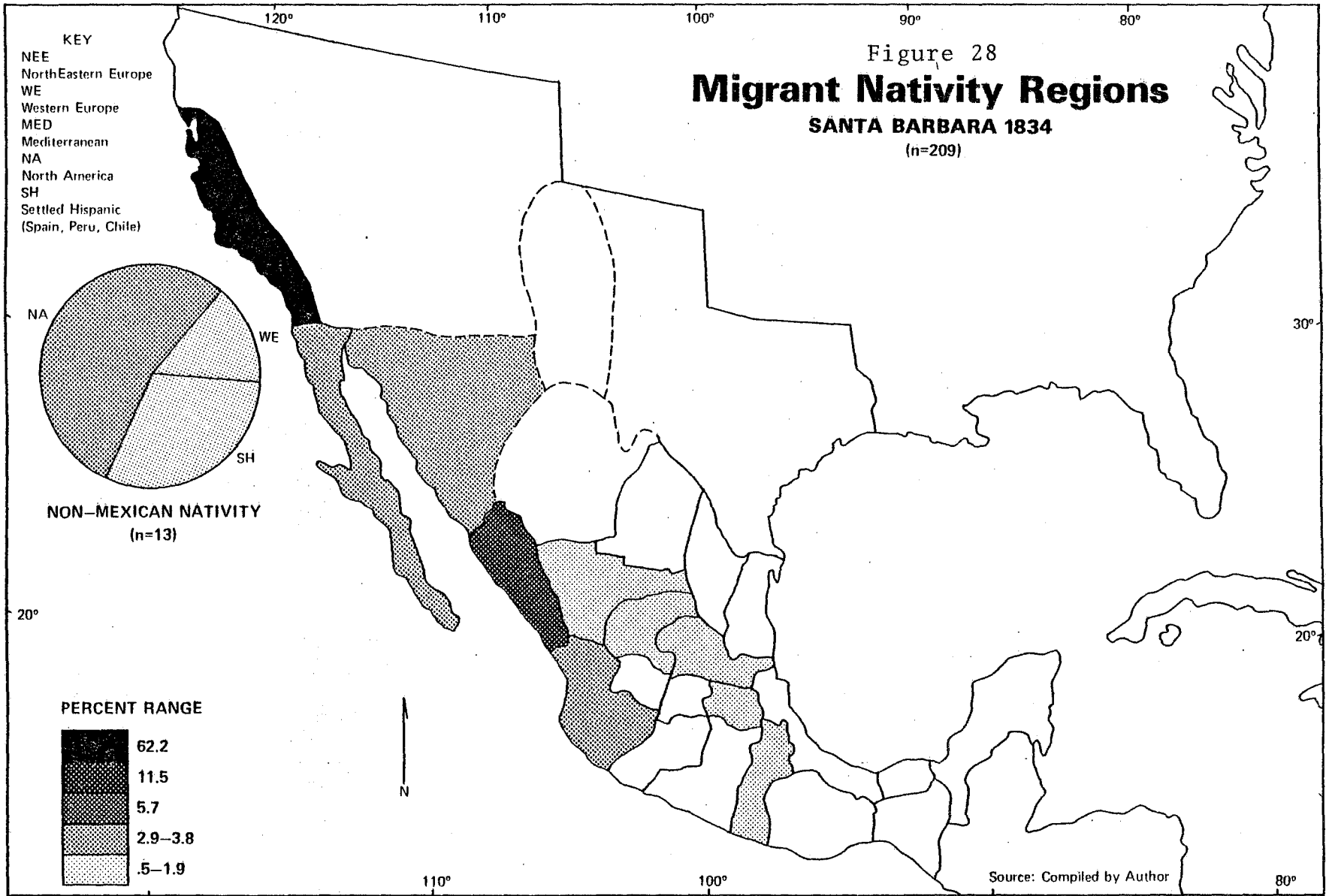
Monterey represents the principal center for migrants, attracting 325 persons (figure 26).⁸ Internal migrants form the bulk of this population, accounting for 41.1 percent of the total. However, an equivalent proportion is attributed to Mexican mainland immigration. The states of Mexico and Jalisco are conspicuous contributors, accounting for approximately 29 percent of this migration stream. Also, a sizable foreign sector, 14 percent of the total, signifies the rising importance of non-Mexican peoples within Alta California. Most of these individuals were from Western Europe and North America, comprising the emerging merchant class which served the lucrative hide and tallow trade. Of the modest migrant population of San Francisco, only 61 persons, 33 percent, were internal migrants, and mainland migration accounted for 13 percent (figure 27). Almost one third of this migrant group was made up of foreigners, again originating in North America

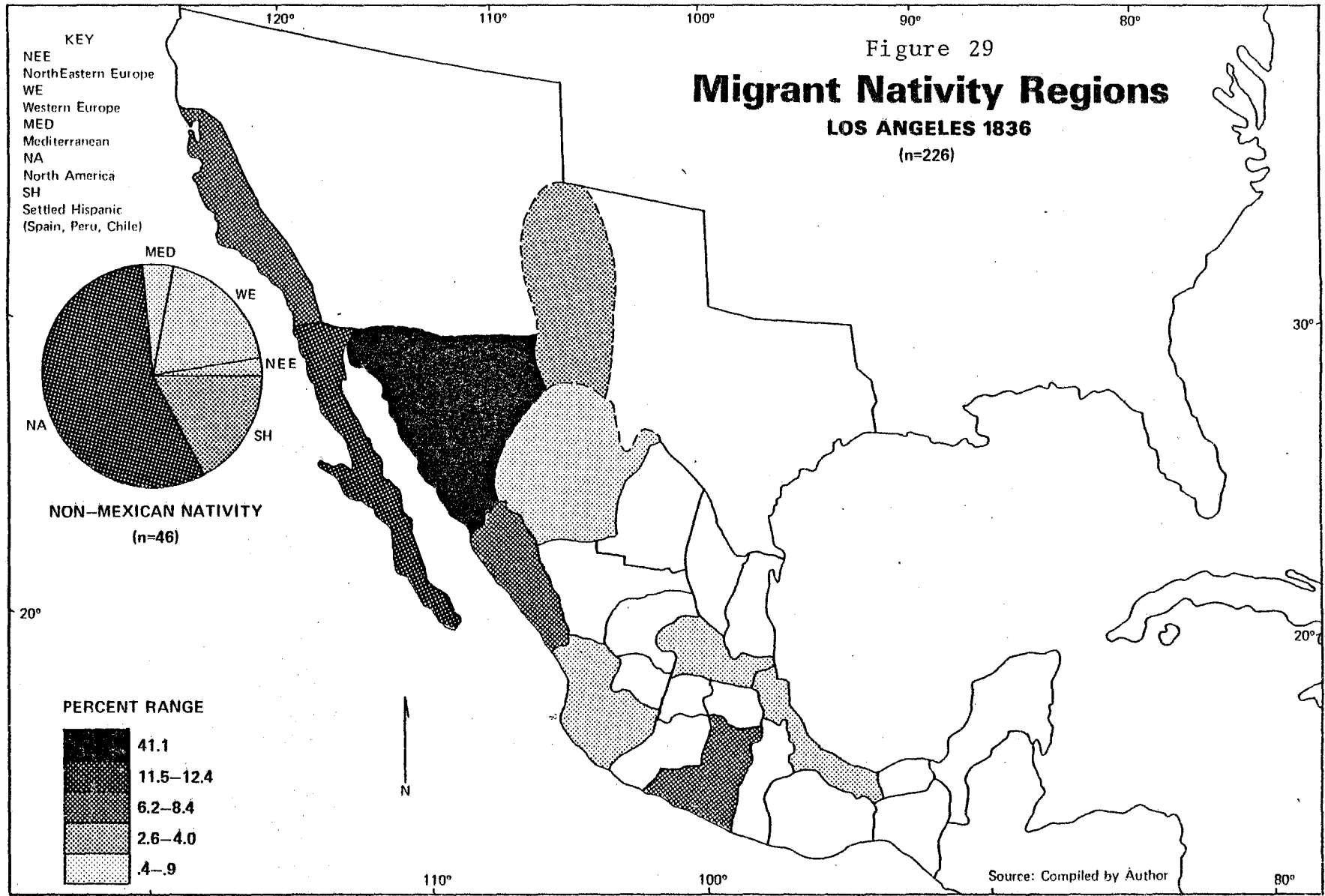


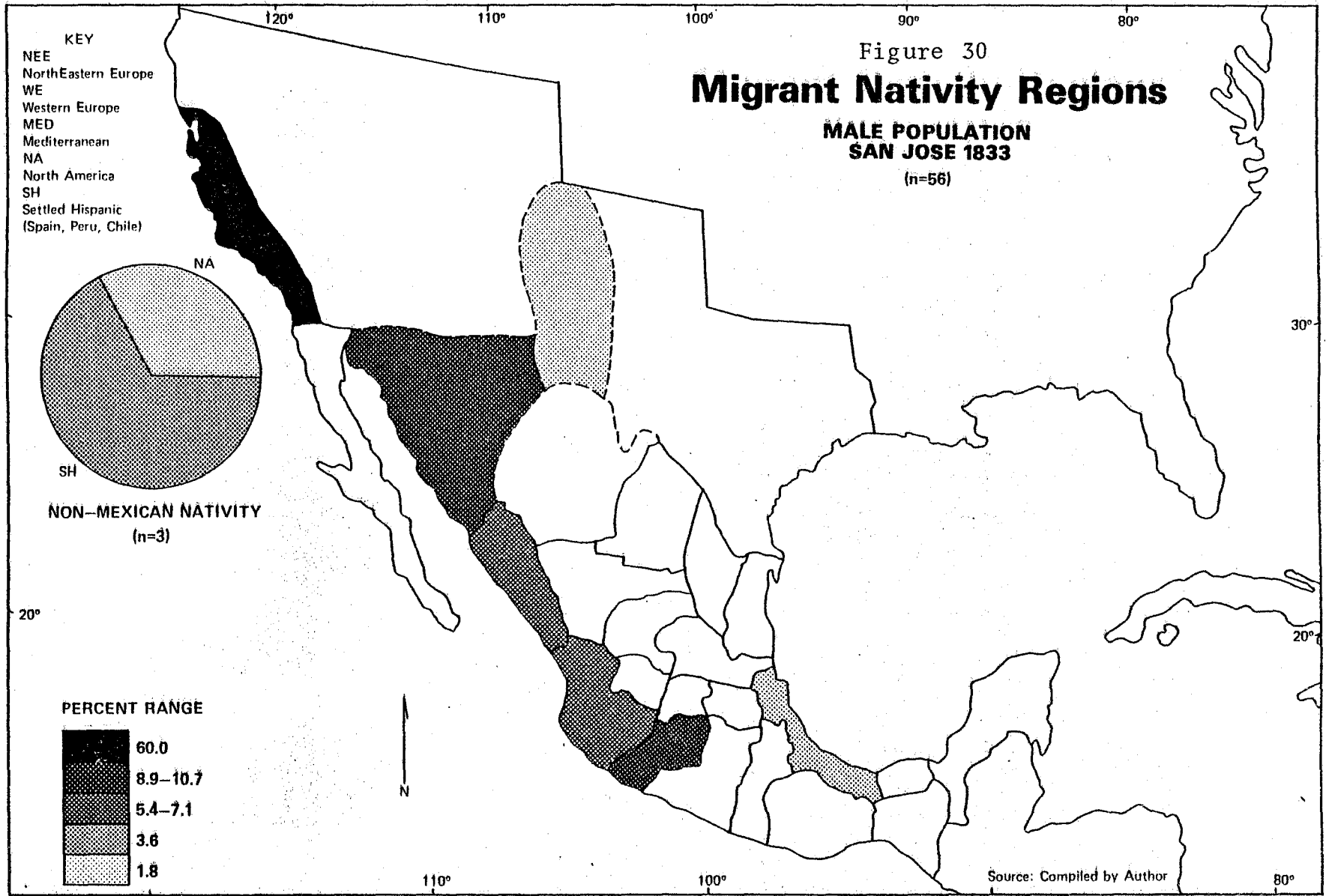


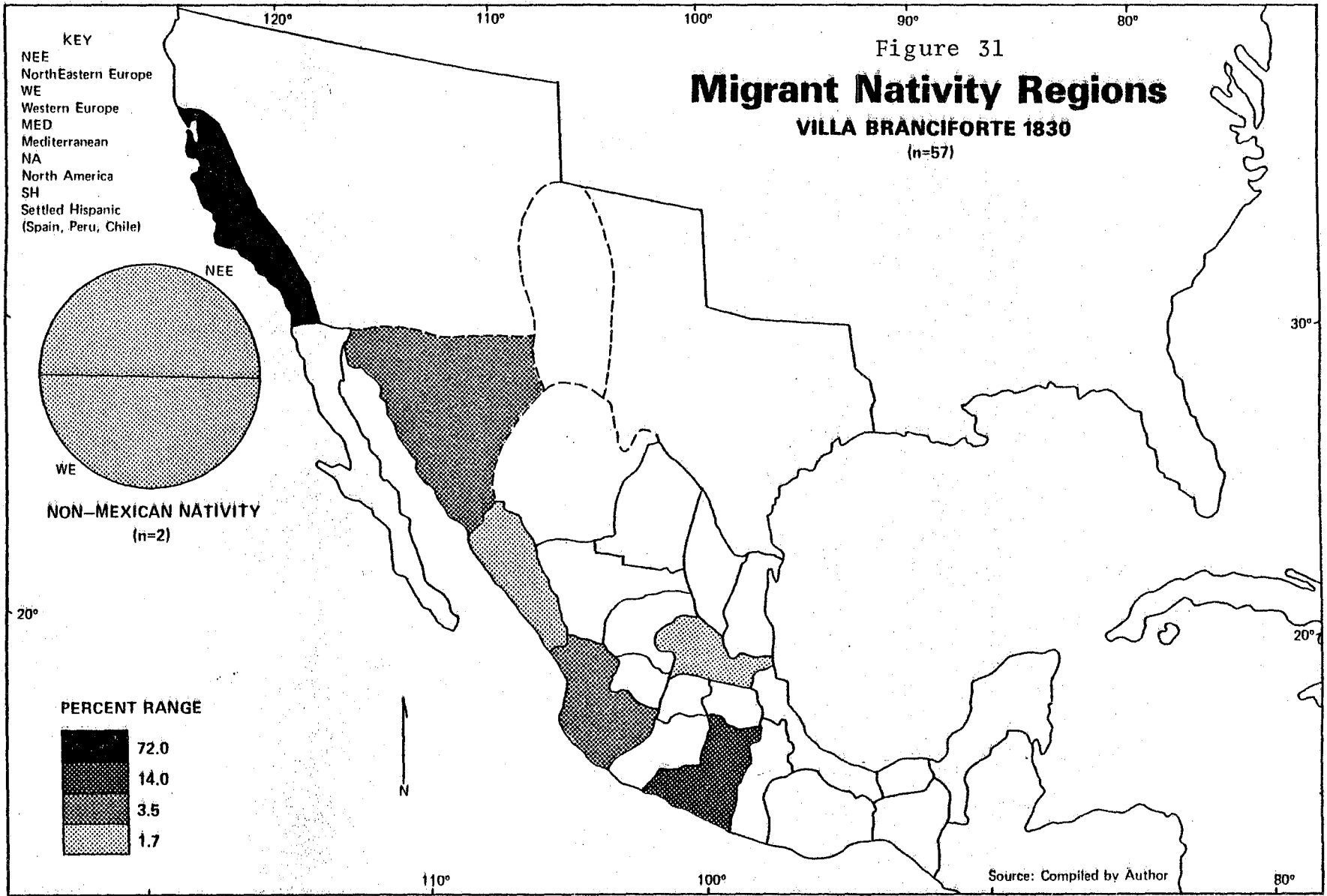
and Western Europe. In Santa Barbara, which attracted 209 persons, internal migration again represents the principal component of this population, 62 percent, with mainland migration coming largely from Sinaloa, at another 32 percent (figure 28). The foreign sector supplied only 13 individuals.

An interesting shift in nativity regions appears for the rapidly growing pueblo of Los Angeles (figure 29). As previously demonstrated, the majority of its increase was attributed to a large number of migrants, totaling 226. However, the importance of internal migration, typifying the other settlements, is replaced by a sizable mainland migrant sector, at 73 percent, to which Sonora is the main contributor, at 41 percent. However, North Americans continue to comprise the bulk of foreign migrants, at 20 percent. Similar to Monterey, and Santa Barbara, Los Angeles was an important trading point for hides and tallow provided by the surrounding rancho estates. Migration to the remaining pueblos of San Jose and Villa Branciforte was of equivalent size, and was characterized by a preponderance of internal migrants (figures 30 and 31). Similarly, foreign migrants are of little significance in both of these cases. The reduced influence of migration at San Jose, indicated earlier, suggests the importance of natural increase to this expanding community. Finally,









contributions from mainland migrants are confined largely to Mexico for Villa Branciforte, and Sonora and Jalisco for San Jose.

This description of migrant nativity regions has demonstrated the diversity of the Alta California population. Although internal movement in Alta California formed the bulk of this sector, migration from Sonora, Mexico, Sinaloa, and Jalisco contributed a sizable portion as well. Perhaps most important is the appearance of North American and Western Europeans, who comprised the majority of foreign migrants.

Summary

This analysis of Alta California's Hispanic population for the 1830's decade has demonstrated that the 39 percent increase in population, though concentrated in the southern region, may be attributed to rapid pueblo growth, a fact which signifies the rise of a secular authority in this region. A demographic analysis of this population suggested that its imbalanced structure was typified by a consistently large population base and adult male sector, which together indicate the importance of natural increase and migration. Disparity among sexes corresponded to those settlements experiencing rapid population accretion, unlike the dependency ratios, which were uniformly high in general, again supporting the suggested significance of natural growth. Furthermore, migrants, contributing one

quarter of the population, manifested the frontier quality of Alta California, illustrated by consistently high sex ratios and their concentration within the presidios. Converging upon the southern region, the bulk of this migratory stream was derived largely from internal migrants, indicative of the colony's burgeoning hide and tallow trade. Migration from the northwestern states of Mexico provided an equivalent proportion of this population. Most important, however, was the diversifying effect migration had on the Hispanic population, as illustrated by the appearance of foreigners.

This analysis indicates that in the 1830's the increase of Alta California's male-dominated population occurred largely through natural increase, though migration contributed significantly to this trend. The information provided here is coupled with the findings of Chapter III for a comparative analysis which is presented in Chapter VI.

Footnotes, Chapter V

¹By the 1830's the presidios were being converted into civil communities, or pueblos; see Frank W. Blackmar, Spanish Institutions of the Southwest (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1891): 2-4-216.

²H. L. Lefferts, "Frontier Demography: An Introduction," in The Frontier: Comparative Studies, eds., David H. Miller and Jerome O. Steffen (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1977): 33-55.

³The total population used for this analysis, 3,802 persons, was compiled from a number of census records for the 1830's and early 1840's. Although this figure is considerably larger than the total of 3,470, previously given for the 1830's decade, these detailed records represent the best available (see Appendix).

⁴The contorted population structure of Villa Branciforte is perhaps over-emphasized by the percent computation based on a small "n" value of only 154 persons. Its general structure resembles that of the least populous settlements in 1790, especially San Jose which was estimated at a total of 66 persons.

⁵Unfortunately, data were lacking for a computation of sex ratio values for San Jose and San Diego. However, since San Jose, like Los Angeles, experienced rapid growth during this period, the assumption was made that it possessed a similarly high sex ratio. San Diego, however, declined significantly during the 1830's, thereby reducing its importance as a center of population (see Appendix). Thus it was felt that the exclusion of these two settlements would not significantly alter the conclusions of this analysis.

⁶The aged population of +60 years contributes marginally to this dependency total, at 2.4 percent, in comparison to those <1 to 14, at 48.6 percent. Hence, this sector may be disregarded.

⁷Unfortunately, the date of migration was not enumerated in census records, thereby limiting the interpretations of this analysis.

⁸The total migrant population for Monterey, based on an 1836 census, was estimated at 325 persons. However,

only 90 percent of these, or 291 persons, were located by origin because of incomplete census entries or unknown origins, thus 10 percent of this population, or 34 persons, were excluded.

CHAPTER VI

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE 1790 AND 1830'S HISPANIC POPULATION

It was suggested earlier that persistence among Alta California's colonial institutions was because of their respective populations' ability to adapt to changing political and economic conditions. This chapter attempts to link change in demographic structure to institutional persistence by comparing the population growth and distribution of Alta California's presidios and pueblos, their respective population structures, and the effect of migration on each time period. Furthermore, to furnish a broad perspective of Hispanic population growth, thereby abetting interpretation of the above comparisons, a brief discussion of the post-1830's period is included.

Change in Population Growth and Distribution, 1790 to the 1830's

If the growth of population provides a representative index for colonization success, then the substantial increase that occurred by the 1830's demonstrates the fulfillment of Hispanic efforts to settle Alta California. This growth is characterized by a shift to the pueblos as

centers of population, as well as by a regional shift in population concentration to the south.

The fact that a population capable of sustaining itself existed during Alta California's Hispanic period is evidenced by a general pattern of consistent growth (table 12). Throughout the Spanish period, presidios accounted for the bulk of this population growth, accompanied by an oscillating pattern from north to south. By the 1830's, the pueblos emerge as the principal colonial institution for Hispanic population. Population growth in Los Angeles accounts for the bulk of this change, having acquired 635 persons since the previous decade.

From 1790 to the 1830's Hispanic population increased by more than 240 percent, representing an addition of 2,453 persons (table 13).¹ In terms of absolute population growth, the pueblos account for a slight majority, 57 percent or 1,399 persons. Dramatic increases within Los Angeles and San Jose are seen. Together they comprise 53 percent of the total, or 1,300 persons. Santa Barbara and Monterey were the principal contributing presidios, representing another 28 percent of the increase, or 690 persons. An evaluation by percent change in total population at each location clearly demonstrates the rise of pueblos as the major population centers, while the presidios declined. The notable proportionate increase within Los Angeles and San Jose is illustrated by their combined

TABLE 12
ABSOLUTE CHANGE IN POPULATION

Institution	1780	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1846
<u>Presidios</u>								
San Diego	47	70	-18	143	130	-50	-250	200
Monterey	27	107	229	66	-4	26	196	449
San Francisco	-	-33	64	19	205	-130	-20	179
Santa Barbara	-	-	99	41	130	104	316	-120
<u>Pueblos</u>								
San Jose	-	-2	86	18	70	308	247	205
Los Angeles	-	-	63	115	12	635	125	529
Villa Branciforte	-	-	-	-9	29	79	96	450
Sonoma	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	60
Total	134	142	523	393	572	972	710	1,952

SOURCE: Compiled by author.

TABLE 13
GROWTH IN POPULATION
1790-1830's

Institution	Increase in Population by 1830's	Difference Between % of Total Population in 1830's and 1790 ^a
<u>Presidios</u>		
San Diego ^b	205	-7.7
Monterey	317	-3.7
San Francisco	158	-5.4
Santa Barbara	374	-5.2
<u>Pueblos</u>		
San Jose	482	+9.3
Los Angeles	825	+14.2
Villa Branciforte ^c	92	-1.6
Total	2,453	

SOURCE: Compiled by author.

^aDifference in 1830 and 1790 population =

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \% \text{ of total population} \\ \text{at settlement in 1830} \end{array} \right] - \left[\begin{array}{l} \% \text{ of total population} \\ \text{at settlement in 1790} \end{array} \right]$$

^bPopulation estimate for San Diego in 1830 was based on Bancroft, History of California, Volume II, p. 545.

^cPopulation estimate for Villa Branciforte in 1790 was based on a 1798 Census Summary from the California State Archives.

value of 23.5 percent, while all other institutions are characterized by a percentage reduction ranging from 5 to 8 percent, except in Villa Branciforte, which declined by approximately 2 percent.

Finally, the disproportionate growth of population in Los Angeles, coupled with the large population in Santa Barbara, fostered a regional shift to the southern portion of Alta California. These two settlements account for 49 percent of the increase in population, or a total of 1,200 persons, while in the north, San Jose and Monterey furnish an additional 33 percent, or 800 persons, of this increase.

Major colonization programs in Alta California terminated in 1782, although its continued use as a penal colony contributed to the subsequent growth of the Hispanic population.² This analysis has demonstrated, however, that between 1790 and the 1830's a substantial increase in population occurred. That population growth was confined largely within the pueblos manifests the rise in secular authority. Thus, despite the curtailment of additions through active colonization, the population extant by 1790 provided a sufficient basis for the substantial increase which occurred by the 1830's. Implicit in these findings is the importance of natural increase, and to a lesser extent, migration, as contributing factors to this

growth of population. Hence, these topics are treated separately within the following sections.

Change in Population Structure,
1790 to the 1830's

Previous investigations of the 1790 and 1830's population structures indicated that both were characterized by large sibling and adult male sectors, thereby suggesting the continuance of a frontier condition in Alta California. Also, the reduced proportion of migrants in the 1830's decade indicates that natural increase was the principal cause of population growth. To evaluate the change in population structure for both time periods, their respective populations are examined by pyramid analysis, and by an age structure index.³

Population Pyramids

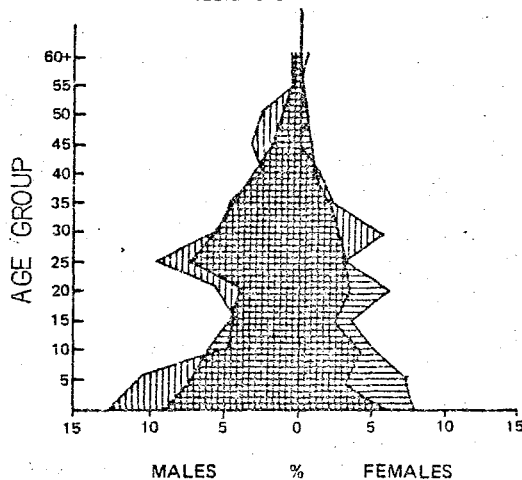
Based on a comparison of population pyramids, a trend toward stability, especially within the pueblos, is apparent, as well as the preponderance of adult males and children (figure 32).

An overall trend toward stability is indicated by the general reduction in conspicuously enlarged age groups which characterized each settlement. For the most part, notable changes in various age groups served to balance the population structure. The considerable additions which appear among the middle-age group for San Jose and Los Angeles correspond to the rapid growth previously noted

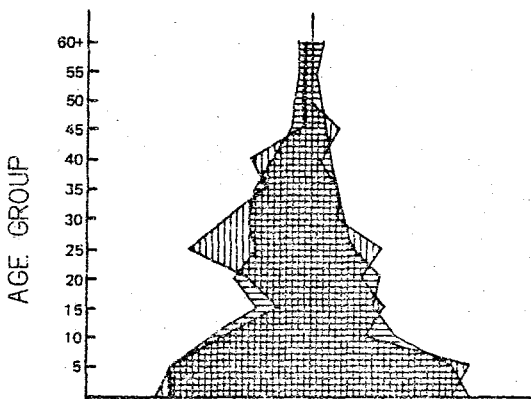
Comparative Population Structures

1790 AND 1830's
ALTA CALIFORNIA'S PRESIDIOS AND PUEBLOS*

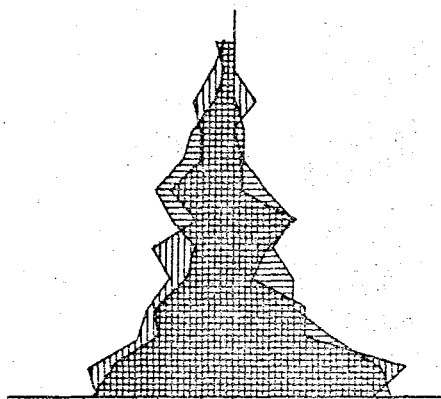
PRESIDIO OF MONTEREY



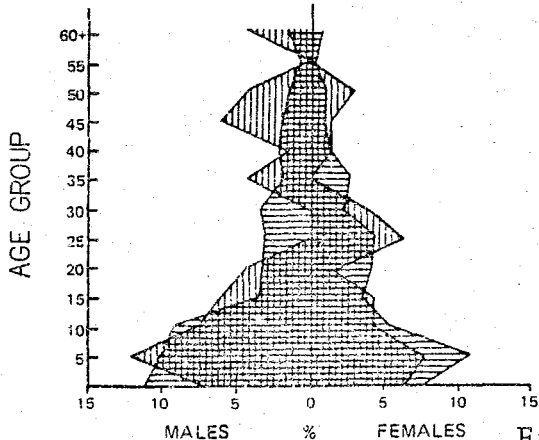
PRESIDIO OF SANTA BARBARA



PRESIDIO OF SAN FRANCISCO



PUEBLO OF SAN JOSE



PUEBLO OF LOS ANGELES

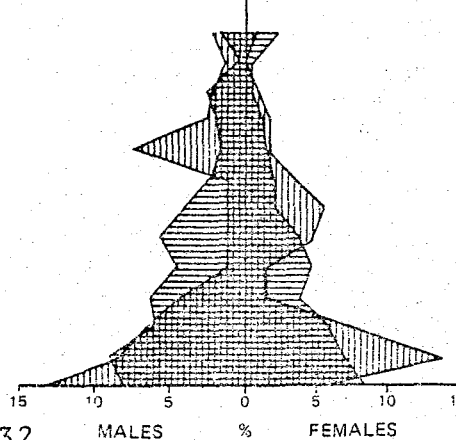


Figure 32

*NO COMPARABLE DATA FOR SAN DIEGO AND VILLA BRANCIFORTE

1790 1830's

for this institution. Furthermore, a large population base previously shown to be equivalent to that of the adult sector typifies each location. However, a sizable decline occurred, among females in Los Angeles, and males in Monterey. Finally, an enlarged group of adult males is evident in each presidio, and in the pueblo of Los Angeles.

Examination of aggregate age groups for these pyramids lends support to these findings (table 14). Within each grouping, the population consistently increased, though for males this growth was slightly greater. For example, within the 15-59 age group males contributed approximately 800 persons, while females supplied a little over 600. However, among children a more uniform division appears, with males providing 734 persons, and females 661. Also, the pueblo of Los Angeles, as expected, accounts for a large portion of this change, while San Francisco's population was not significantly altered.

Age Structure Index

In an attempt to measure the changes in population structure described above, an index adapted from Coulson's work on age structure analysis has been employed.⁴ This index is derived from the slope value of a simple regression analysis, where the dependent variable represented the percentage of population in a specific age group, and the independent variable was the corresponding age-group category. It was assumed that the range of these slope values,

TABLE 14
CHANGE IN POPULATION STRUCTURE, 1790-1830's

Institution	Age Group									Total		
	<1-14			15-59			+60					
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
<u>Presidios</u>												
Monterey	106	116	222	164	120	284	7	0	7	277	236	513
Santa Barbara	175	185	360	177	138	315	7	8	15	359	331	690
San Francisco	-2	3	1	0	4	4	1	0	1	-1	7	6
<u>Pueblos</u>												
San Jose	232	168	400	163	146	309	10	5	15	405	319	724
Los Angeles	223	189	412	300	202	502	16	22	38	539	413	952
Total	734	661	1,395	804	610	1,414	41	35	76	1,579	1,306	2,885

SOURCE: Compiled by author.

or population structure indices (henceforth), would most likely vary from zero to minus one. This assumption was based on the structure of a balanced population pyramid, which is characterized by a negative-one slope value. Therefore, the closer the population structure index is to minus one, the closer that particular population approximates a "normal" structure. Likewise, an index value close to zero would indicate a uniformly distributed population.

This technique was applied to the population of Alta California's settlements for both time periods. These populations were examined as a combined group to assess overall changes, after first being considered in terms of sex-differentiated populations (table 15). Interestingly, by ranking these indices according to proximity to -1.0, Los Angeles, which changed excessively relative to the remaining settlements, is the least balanced in structure, as indicated by its population structure index of -.2, while Santa Barbara was the most uniformly structured in both time periods.

To aid the analysis of these values, index values were cross-linked through time, on a line graph, thereby allowing measurement of change in population structure (figure 33). Reduction in the range of population structure index values for both sexes is indicative of a general trend toward increased balance.

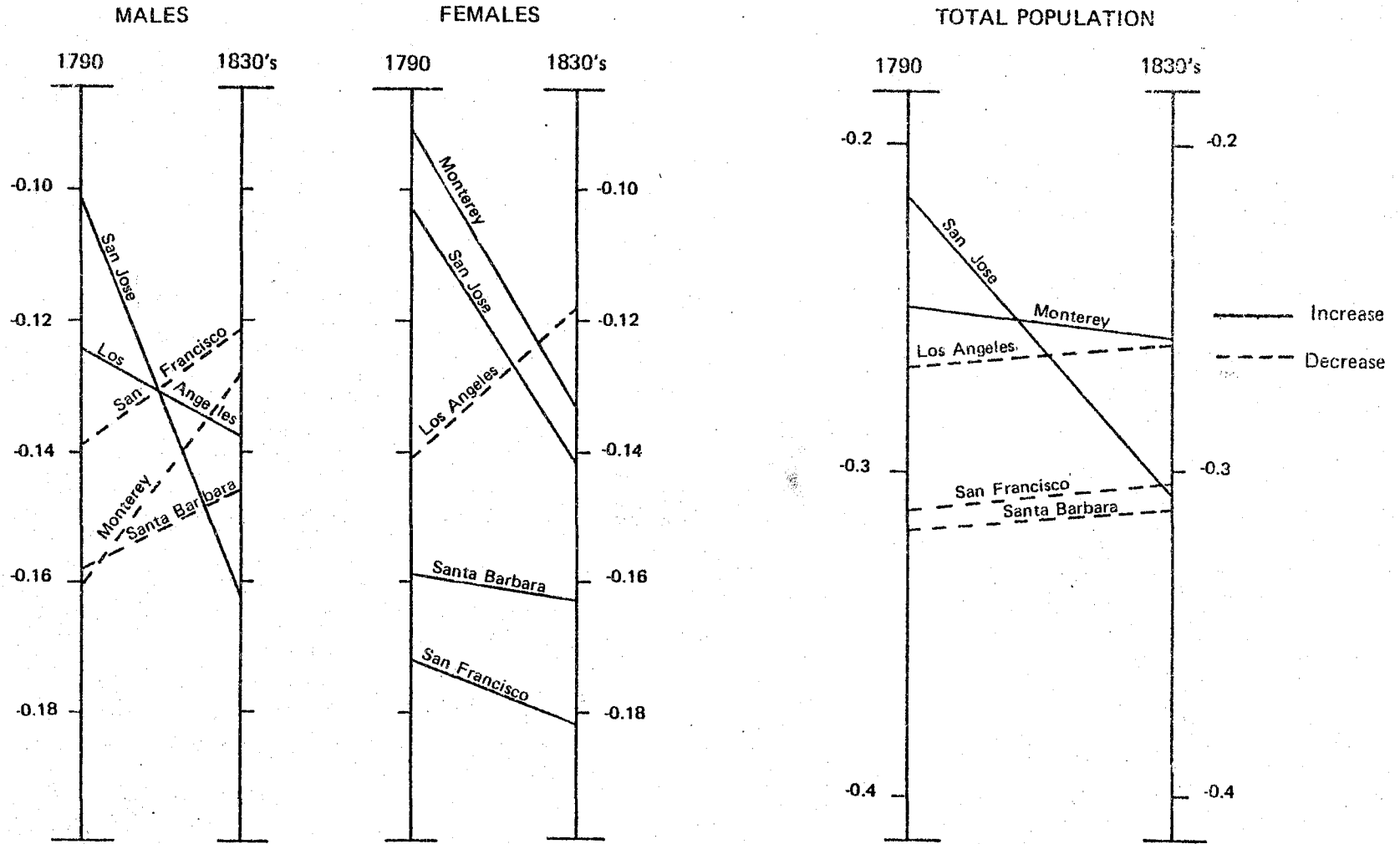
TABLE 15
POPULATION STRUCTURE INDICES
AND RANK^a

Institution	1790			1830's		
	males rank	females rank	total rank	males rank	females rank	total rank
<u>Presidios</u>						
San Diego	-.155 3	-.130 4	-.285 3	- -	- -	- -
Monterey	-.160 1	-.089 6	-.249 5	-.127 5	-.133 5	-.258 6
San Francisco	-.139 4	-.172 1	-.311 2	-.121 6	-.182 1	-.303 3
Santa Barbara	-.158 2	-.159 2	-.317 1	-.145 2	-.163 2	-.311 1
<u>Pueblos</u>						
San Jose	-.107 6	-.108 5	-.214 6	-.165 1	-.142 4	-.307 2
Los Angeles	-.124 5	-.141 3	-.266 4	-.139 4	-.119 6	-.260 5
Villa Branciforte	- -	- -	- -	-.143 3	-.147 3	-.291 4

SOURCE: Compiled by author.

^aRanked from low (6) to high (1) indicating proximity to normal structure (-1.0).

Figure 33
POPULATION STRUCTURE INDICES



Among males, San Jose and Los Angeles shifted toward stability, responding to additions in their respective populations. The apparent trend toward irregularity among presidios warrants careful consideration. For example, Monterey shifted away from stability, however, comparison with its corresponding population pyramid demonstrates that a loss of males in the 20-35 year range, which removed its most enlarged age group, accounts for this shift in index values. In comparison, San Francisco's reduced stability was caused by losses among dispersed age groups, ranging from 5-30 years, which resulted in distorting its structure, rather than simply removing over-sized age groups. Also, the reduced range, and the shift in index values toward -1.0 in the 1830's, illustrates the increased stability that occurred.

Within the female population, a similar, though more pronounced, trend is seen. Here four out of five settlements became more balanced in population structure. Verification of Los Angeles' reversed stability trend with its respective population pyramid shows that a reduction among disproportionate age groups accounts for this apparent reduced stability.

Finally, structural change of the total population is typified by a parallel reduction in index range, as well as a shift toward stability. While Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Santa Barbara are characterized by an overall pattern

of little change, or stagnation, in structural development, San Jose and Monterey acquired a more normalized form. Santa Barbara's overall structure shifted marginally toward irregularity, though for both periods this settlement represented the most balanced population.

These changes in population structure indices indicate a general trend toward stability, which parallels the findings based on an earlier pyramid analysis. When interpretation of these changes in index values were supplemented with population pyramids, it is evident that the apparent trend away from stability was caused by a reduction in over-sized age group categories. The reduced range and shift toward stability of population structure indices within the male sector for both time periods is indicative of a persisting frontier condition in Alta California.⁵ Furthermore, the population pyramid analysis suggested that natural increase remained as an important component of Alta California's Hispanic population, as well as adult males.

Changes in the Effect of Migration,
1790 to the 1830's

Evidence alluding to the continued effect of migration on Alta California's population is based on the substantial growth which occurred between 1790 and the 1830's, the enlarged portion of adult males, and the overall subdued trend toward population structure stability within the

male sector. This section provides a comparison of changes in migrant population based on: (1) the percent migrant population; (2) sex ratios of the migrant stream; and (3) migrant nativity regions.

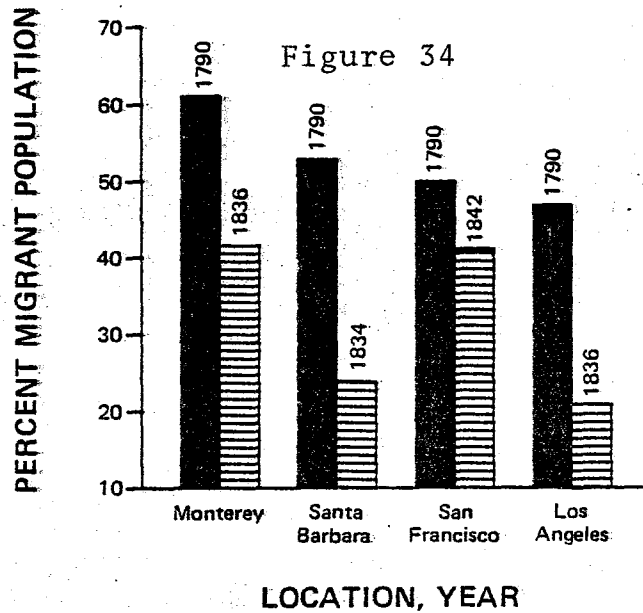
Percent Migrant Population

Comparison of the percent migrant contributions to Alta California's population, from 1790 to the 1830's, demonstrates the occurrence of a pronounced decline (figure 34). Although migrants furnished over 50 percent of the Hispanic population within each settlement in 1790, by the 1830's drastic reductions, to below 25 percent, were apparent in the rapidly growing settlements of Santa Barbara and Los Angeles. Although the northern settlements of Monterey and San Francisco experienced similar reductions, migrants continue to supply 40 percent or more to these populations. This greater concentration of migrants in the north may be attributed to efforts to buttress the northern defense of Alta California during both the Spanish and Mexican periods. Migrants, therefore, continued as an important element of the 1830's Hispanic population in the northern settlements.

By examining the percentage of migrant population separately, focal points for this group emerge (figure 34). Monterey is the principal center among migrants, indicating a shift from Santa Barbara since 1790. Also, while San Francisco declined significantly in the percentage of

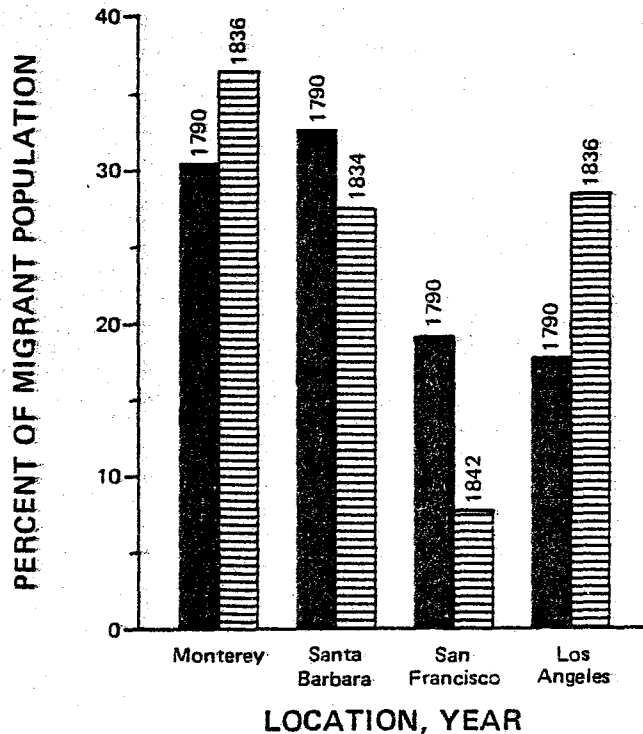
Percent Migrant Population

OF TOTAL CALIFORNIA POPULATION
IN SELECTED LOCATIONS
1790 AND 1830's



Percent of Migrant Population

IN SELECTED LOCATIONS 1790, 1830's



migrant population, Los Angeles was characterized by a conspicuous increase, which surpassed all other settlements. The combined values for this pueblo and the Santa Barbara presidio account for the bulk of this migratory stream. Furthermore, Santa Barbara's persistently large migrant population, coupled with Los Angeles' growth in this group, represents a shift to southern regional concentration.

Between 1790 and the 1830's a consistent decline in the effect of migration on total Hispanic population was demonstrated. In addition, as a separate group, the bulk of migrants within the presidios, combined with the significant proportion at Los Angeles, which by the 1830's emerged as the centers of population accretion, allude to a persisting pattern of sexual selectivity.

Migrant Population Sex Ratios

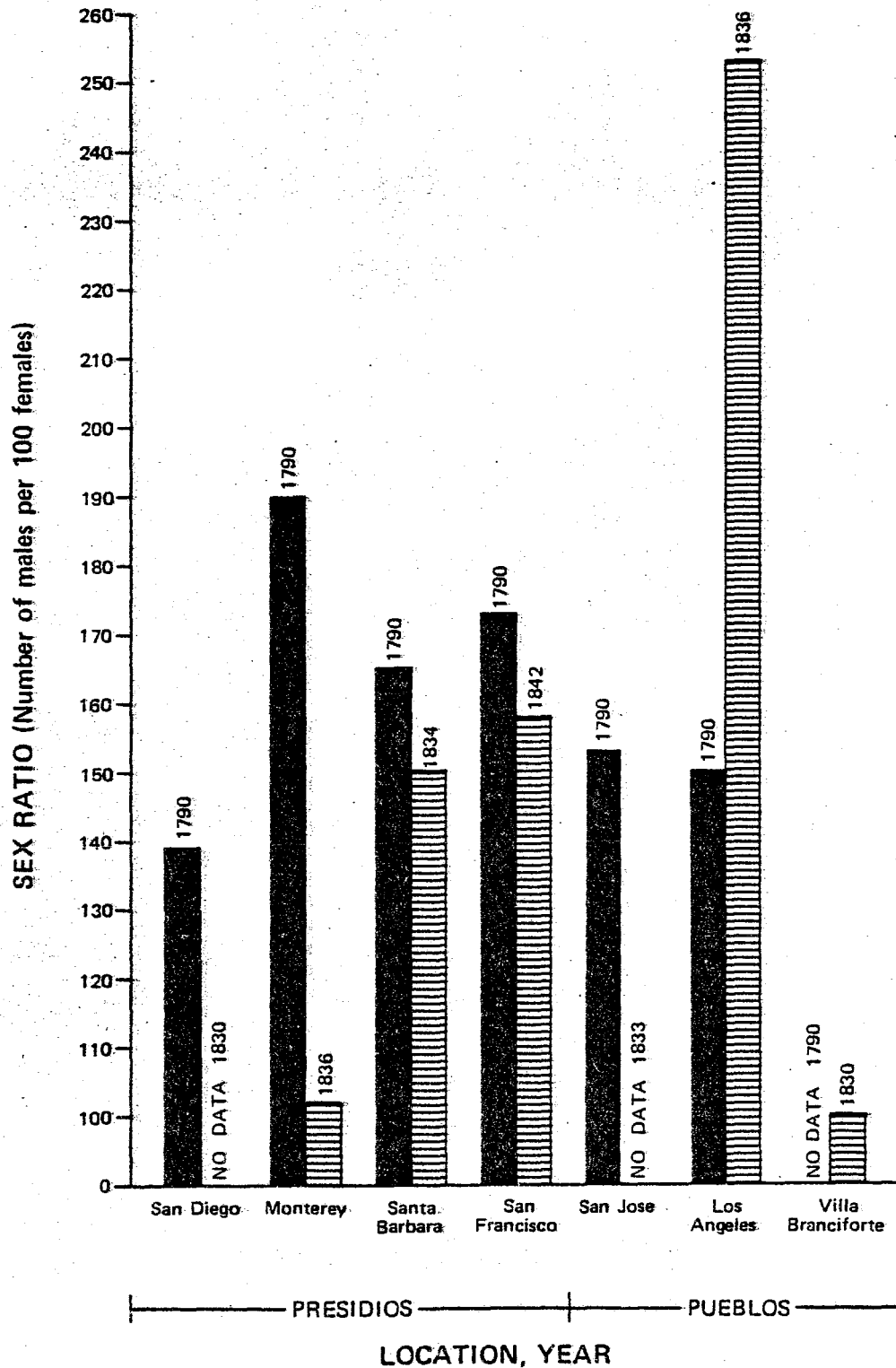
Variations in the sex ratio values of Alta California's 1790 and 1830's Hispanic populations demonstrate the persistence of a frontier condition by their high values, although a trend toward decreased sexual disparity is evident among several settlements.⁶

Los Angeles, representing the focus of general population growth, is characterized by the highest sex ratio, more than 2 to 1; however, the remaining settlements show a slight decline in ratio values, indicating a shift

Migrating Population Sex Ratios

1790 AND THE 1830's

Figure 35



toward equivalent portions of males and females. Of note is the dramatic trend toward parity among Monterey's migrants.

The overall migrant sex ratio of these two time periods declined from 180 in 1790 to 165 in the 1830's, reflecting a general trend toward proportionate numbers of males and females. If census records had been available for the pueblos of San Jose and Villa Branciforte, perhaps this shift would have been more pronounced.

Migrant Nativity Regions

A comparison of the total number of migrants by nativity region for Alta California's 1790 and the 1830's population illustrates the emergence of a more diversified population, as well as a rise of internal migration.

In 1790, the bulk of Alta California's migrant population provided a basis for its subsequent growth. In comparison, the importance of migration during the 1830's arises from the introduction of a foreign component of merchant class citizens. Within Hispanic California's population Monterey and Los Angeles furnished the vast majority of migrants, and within each of these groups, at least 40 percent were non-Hispanic persons (table 16). In 1790, however, foreign migrants were barred from entering the province.

Overall, the bulk of migration in Alta California can be attributed to internal movement, especially for Monterey

TABLE 16
 CHANGE IN MIGRANT TOTALS
 AND NATIVITY REGIONS,
 1790-1830's

Institution ^a	Change in Total Number of Migrants	Migrant Nativity Regional Change		
		Internal	Hispanic	Non Hispanic
<u>Presidios</u>				
Monterey	212	128	61	42
Santa Barbara	98	129	-28	12
San Francisco	-10	28	-51	21
<u>Pueblos</u>				
San Jose ^b	18	31	11	3
Los Angeles	161	15	136	45

SOURCE: Compiled by author.

^aNo data for San Diego and Villa Branciforte.

^bSan Jose total for 1830's based on a census listing adults males only.

and Santa Barbara. This sizable proportion of migrants alludes to increased population mobility created by the economic stimulus of Mexico's tolerant trade regulations.

Thus, migrants in Alta California's population contributed to the successful Hispanic occupation of this province, first by providing a basis for viable population growth in 1790, and later by adding diversity to this isolated region, through the appearance of non-Hispanic peoples and internal mobility in the 1830's.

Post 1830's Population

To insure an adequate basis for interpreting the findings of this study, the complete picture of Hispanic population growth should be included. This section fulfills this need by examining the pattern of post-1830's population growth, in addition to assessing its overall growth pattern. The remainder of the Hispanic period is characterized by accelerated population growth between the 1830's and 1846, and the population was concentrated in the northern region, as well as within the pueblos.

Between 1830 and 1840, the total population increased by approximately 26 percent, or 4,380 persons (figure 36). Although Los Angeles remains the principal population center, Santa Barbara and San Jose account for the maximum amount of population growth, while San Diego and San Francisco continued to decline. With the addition of the Sonoma pueblo in 1835, the regional distribution of

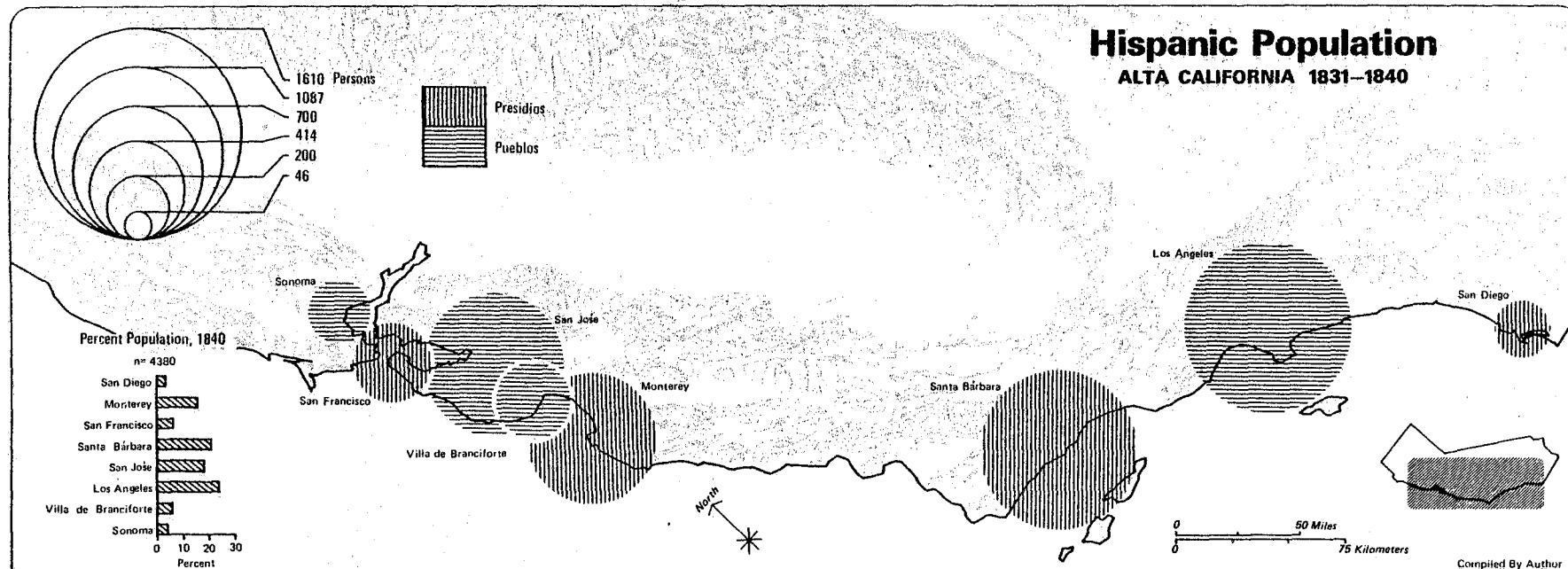


Figure 36

population becomes uniformly divided. Stimulating this growth was the secularization of the missions, long since in decay as a result of their inability to sustain a viable population.⁷

A continued trend of population growth is evident between 1841 and 1846, increasing by approximately 44 percent, or from 4,380 to 6,326 persons (figure 37). The pueblos, especially Los Angeles, account for a large amount of this increase, at 1,238 persons. Monterey and Santa Barbara contribute sizable portions to presidial increase. The growth of San Francisco, as well as a regional shift to the north, at 56 percent of the total, manifests the initial impact of Anglo-Americans who inherited the province in 1846.

Comparison of this growth pattern with the overall increase of Hispanic population demonstrates the magnitude of this trend (figure 38). Furthermore, this summary of Hispanic population growth demonstrates that the rapid growth in 1790, resulting from immigration and natural increase, provided a basis for the gradual, but steady, rate of accretion during the 1830's. By the mid-1820's a conspicuous pattern of pueblo population growth occurred, manifesting the rise of a secular authority. This growth was stimulated by mission secularization, and liberal Mexican colonization laws. Hence, a pattern of overall

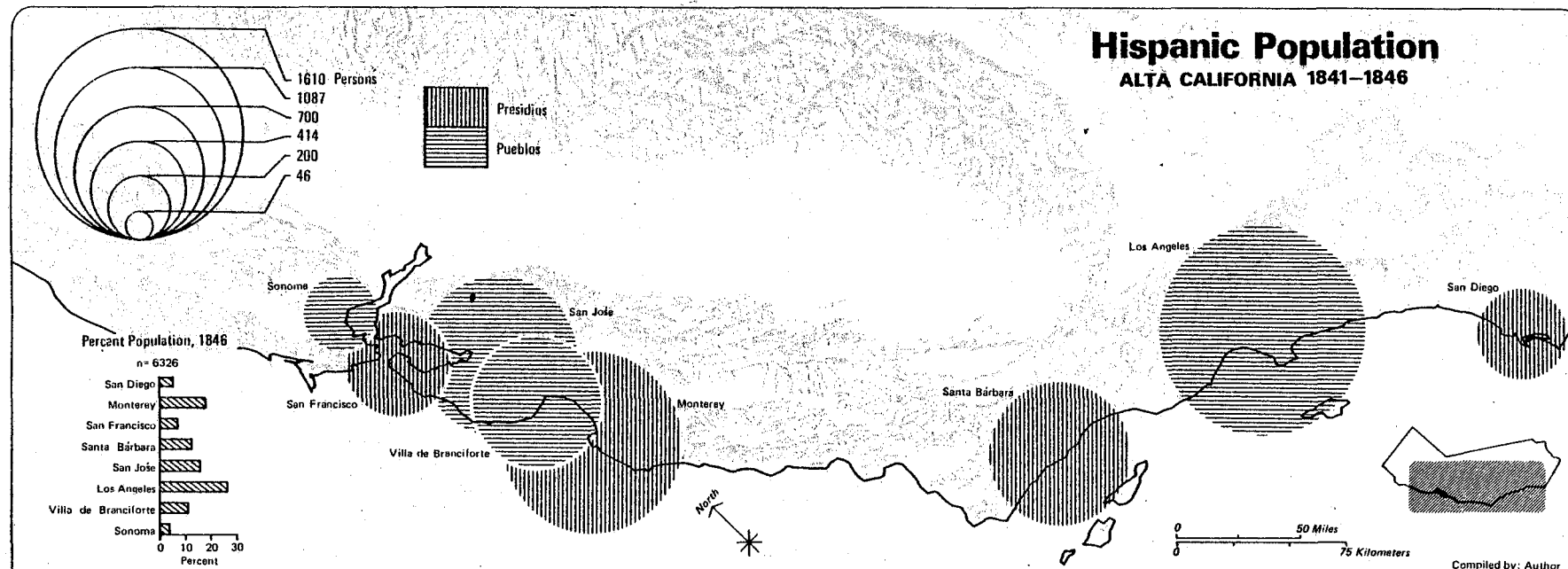
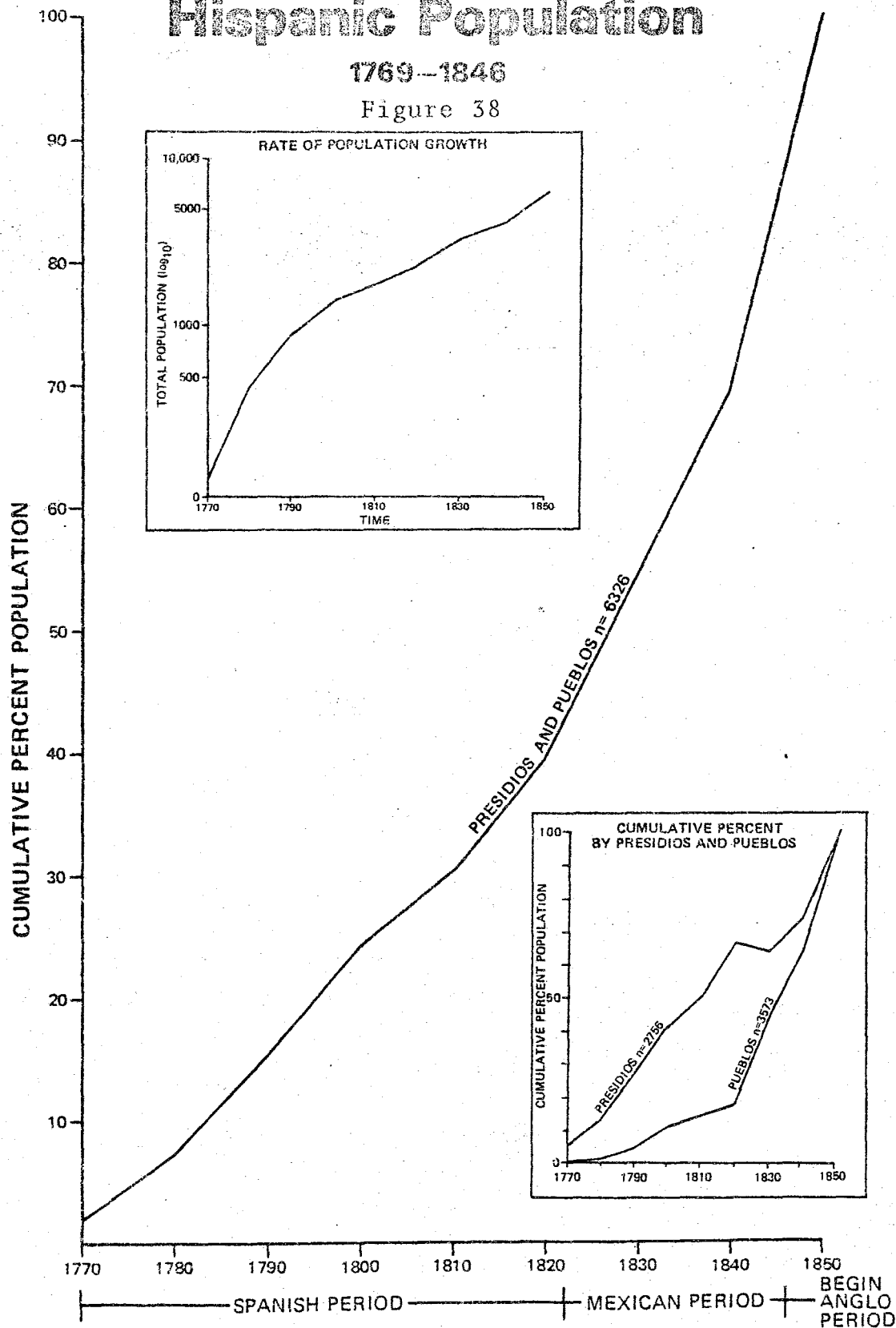


Figure 37

Cumulative Percent Hispanic Population

1769-1846

Figure 38



pronounced population growth occurred, peaking in 1846. As a result, 60 percent of the total population increase was amassed in only twenty-four years of Mexican rule.

Summary

To demonstrate the relationships between institutional persistence and demographic change this chapter has provided a comparative analysis of Alta California's presidio and pueblo populations of 1790 and the 1830's. Although both were marked by absolute population increase, it was indicated the pueblos far exceeded the presidios in proportionate growth. This pattern of population accrual for the pueblos may be attributed to their function as a civil community, suggesting that they were more adaptable to changes in both the political and the economic conditions in Alta California subsequent to Mexican acquisition. Both the presidios and pueblos supplanted mission dominance of the landscape, when its failure to maintain sufficient populations resulted in the demise of this institution.

Furthermore, changes in population structure indicated an overall trend toward structural stability, this being especially pronounced in the pueblos of San Jose and Los Angeles. The presidios, generally more balanced in 1790, did trend toward increased stability through the reduction of irregularities within over-sized age groups.

Contributing to this ability to stabilize were the large population bases characterizing both time periods, as

well as enlarged male sectors provided by migration, both of which typify a frontier condition. Although increase through migration dominated in 1790, as a result of colonization programs, the population base, equivalent to the male sector, is suggestive of the rising importance of natural increase subsequent to the termination of colonization activities after 1800. Migration continued to contribute to the population growth in the 1830's, though in a reduced proportion. Furthermore, to migration, which remained sexually selective in both periods, can be attributed the role of establishing an initial basis for population growth during the early period, and later a role in providing the additional stimulus from a foreign sector which served to develop Alta California's Hispanic population.

Overall, the viable population extant in 1790 furnished a basis for the sustained growth of this colony throughout the decline of Spanish rule. By the 1830's, the additional impetus of Mexico's colonization laws, secularization of the missions, and relaxed trade regulations, contributed to the vigorous growth of pueblo population through 1846, which was a trend already apparent during the 1830's.

Footnotes, Chapter VI

¹For comparative purposes, the population of Villa Branciforte in 1798, totaling 92 persons, was included as a part of the 1790 tabulation.

²The last major settlement founded in Alta California prior to the mid-1830's was Santa Barbara. Although Villa Branciforte was added in 1797, this pueblo was never a significant contributor to population growth; see Leon G. Campbell, "The Spanish Presidio in Alta California, During the Mission Period 1769-1784," Journal of the West, Western History and Geography, 16 (October 1977): 133-135; Daniel J. Garr, "A Rare and Desolate Land: Population and Race in Hispanic California," Western Historical Quarterly, 6 (April 1975): 133-135.

³Michael R. C. Coulson, "The Distribution of Population Age Structure in Kansas City," Annals Association of American Geographers, 58 (March 1968): 155-176.

⁴Ibid.

⁵For a discussion of questions surrounding this topic see H. L. Lefferts, "Frontier Demography: An Introduction," in The Frontier: Comparative Studies, eds., David H. Miller and Jerome O. Steffen (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1977): 33-55.

⁶Standard levels of comparative sex ratios among migrants for the Hispanic frontier were not available. Derivation of such values is a research topic in need of attention; Lefferts, "Frontier Demography," p. 37.

⁷David Hornbeck, "Was Mission Secularization Necessary," a paper presented at the Association of Borderland Studies, 27-29 April 1978, Denver, Colorado (Mimeographed).

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis has attempted to demonstrate the relationship between changing demographic structure and institutional persistence. A comparative analysis of the Hispanic population in Alta California's presidios and pueblos for 1790 and the 1830's has been employed for this task. Persistence among these institutions was found to be dependent on their ability to acquire a more balanced population structure, despite the handicaps of continued frontier conditions. The impetus for this change was furnished by population redistribution through migration and through natural increase.

To identify the trend toward a balanced population within the presidios and pueblos, an analysis of their respective age/sex structures, and sex and dependency ratios was performed. The asymmetrical structure which typified the populations of these settlement institutions in 1790 was reduced through adjustments in the size of large age groups by the decade of 1830. The presidios possessed a disproportionate number of adult males in 1790; however, by the 1830's, these over-sized groups were more consistent with a balanced population structure. Based on

a comparison of age structure indices, this trend toward balance between the number of males and females was shown to be most pronounced within the pueblos. Apparently the function of the pueblos as civil communities afforded them the flexibility to adapt to the conditions of a rising secular authority, which occurred during the Mexican period.

The consistent growth of population that occurred during the Hispanic period was stimulated by migration and natural increase. These two factors provided the means necessary for the redistribution within the population structure of the presidios and pueblos as well. Overall, the population grew from 955 persons in 1790 to 3,470 in the 1830's, representing a total increase of 240 percent. Migrants were initially important in providing a basis for this population increase, since they contributed over 50 percent to the total, almost entirely through external migration, in 1790. By the 1830's, the number of migrants was reduced to approximately one quarter of the total population, and internal migration accounted for a large portion of this movement. The mobility of Alta California's population served to diversify the population structure within these settlement institutions. The curtailment of the proportion of migrants by the decade of 1830, coupled with the continued growth of Hispanic population, indicates the additional importance of natural increase to the

development of this frontier. Hence, without the foundation provided by consistent natural increase, and the population mobility generated by migration, the colony of Alta California may well have failed to survive. It appears that the presidios in particular would have been most affected by retarded development of population structure, since they were especially lacking in adult females during 1790.

This study suggests that in general frontier institutional persistence is affected by population mobility. Traditionally, populations which consist largely of adult males are utilized for the initial settlement of a frontier region. In order for these settlements to persist through time, a mechanism for population growth and redistribution must be available. To a colony isolated from civilization, such as Alta California, this growth must be provided through natural increase, and, more importantly, through migration. The mobility provided by migration serves to stimulate the redistribution of population structure so necessary for the continued existence of frontier institutions.

In general, although this investigation has contributed an alternative approach to population geography, and especially to the analysis of populations in a frontier region, many questions remain. With additional studies, comparisons of the Hispanic frontier of New Spain with

different frontier regions would be possible. Also, standard measures of population structure at various demographic stages of development need to be identified. The population structure index used here represents a modest step toward this form of measurement; however, it needs additional application. Standardized values for the identification of high sex and dependency ratios within evolving frontier regions, and for different cultures, need to be established. Of a more general nature, is the important question concerning the effect of migration on a frontier. Reduction in the proportion of migrants within a population is not necessarily indicative of a corresponding decline in their effect on population structure. This study suggested that migrants, over time, imparted an essential vitality to the human resources of Alta California, by stimulating the areal redistribution of its population structure.

APPENDIX

ESTIMATES OF HISPANIC POPULATION BY DECADE
ALTA CALIFORNIA'S PRESIDIOS AND PUEBLOS, 1769-1850

Institution (founded)	To 1770	1771- 1780	1781- 1790	1791- 1800	1801- 1810	1811- 1820	1821- 1830	1831- 1840	1841- 1845	1846- 1850
PRESIDIOS										
San Diego (1769)	78	125	195	177	320	450	400	150	150	350
Monterey (1770)	51	78	185	414	480	476	502	698	1,000	1,147
San Francisco (1777)	-	175	142	206	225	430	300	280	150	459
Santa Barbara (1782)	-	-	230	329	370	500	604	920	1,000	800
SUBTOTAL	129	378	752	1,126	1,395	1,856	1,806	2,048	2,300	2,756
PUEBLOS										
San Jose (1777)	-	68	66	152	170	240	548	795	900	1,000
Los Angeles (1781)	-	-	137	200	315	327	962	1,087	1,461	1,610
Villa Branciforte (1797)	-	-	-	55	46	75	154	250	281	700
Sonoma (1835)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	200	300	260
SUBTOTAL	0	68	203	407	531	642	1,664	2,332	2,942	3,570
GRAND TOTAL	129	446	955	1,533	1,926	2,498	3,470	4,380	5,242	6,326

SOURCES: 1770--San Diego: Bancroft, California, Volume 1, p. 136, Monterey: Eldredge, California, Volume 1, p. 315; 1771-1780--San Diego: Smyth, San Diego, p. 123, Monterey, Eldredge, California, Volume 1, p. 317-318, San Francisco: idem, California, Volume 1, p. 313, San Jose: Winter, "San Jose," p. 6; 1781-1790--San Diego: Temple, "Ano de 1790," Temple Collection, Volume 7, Monterey: "Ano de Monterey, 1790," idem, Temple Collection, Volume 8, San Francisco: "Ano de 1790," idem, Temple Collection, Volume 7, San Jose: Northrop, "Padron de Pueblo San Jose," p. 312-313, Los Angeles: Temple, "Ano de 1790," Temple Collection, Volume 8, Santa Barbara: "Ano de 1790," idem, Temple Collection, Volume 7,; 1791-1800--All Institutions: Summary Censuses, Presidial Districts, California State Archive; 1810-1818--San Diego, Bancroft, California, Volume 1, p. 102, Monterey, idem, California, Volume 2, p. 141-142, San Francisco, ibid., p. 126, San Jose, ibid., p. 133, Santa Barbara, idem, California, Volume 1, p. 665-666, Los Angeles, ibid., p. 659, Villa Branciforte: idem, California, Volume 2, p. 156; 1811-1820--San Diego, Bancroft, California, Volume 1, p. 341-342, Monterey: Temple, "Ano de 1813," Temple Collection, Volume 7, San Francisco, Bancroft, California, Volume 2, p. 371, San Jose: ibid., p. 371, Santa Barbara: ibid., p. 573, note 36, Los Angeles: Eldredge, "Ano de 1818," Eldredge Collection, Villa Branciforte: Bancroft, California, Volume 2, p. 390, 1821-1830--The Mexican Census for 1830 was used as a basis for these estimates, Norris Collection, and was supplemented with: San Diego: Bancroft, California, Volume 2, p. 545, Monterey, ibid., p. 603, note 4, San Francisco: ibid., p. 698-699, San Jose: ibid., p. 602, note 36, Santa Barbara: ibid., p. 573, note 36, Los Angeles: Charles, "Los Angeles County Archives," p. 84-88, Villa Branciforte: Temple, "Ano de 1830," Temple Collection, Volume 8; 1831-1840--San Diego: Bancroft, California, Volume 3, p. 611, Monterey: "Ano de 1836," Bancroft Library, San Francisco: Bancroft, California, Volume 3, p. 698, San Jose: Temple, "Ano de 1840," Temple Collection, Volume 8, Santa Barbara: idem, "Ano de 1834," Temple Collection, Volume 7, Los Angeles: Layne, "Ano de 1836," p. 1-35, Villa Branciforte; Bancroft, California, Volume 3, p. 667-668, Sonoma: ibid., p. 723; 1841-1845--San Diego: Data are completely lacking, therefore no growth was assumed for this period, Monterey: United States Federal Manuscript Census, Schedule 1, Monterey County, Ca., 1850 was used since according to Bancroft "no contemporary padrenes exist," California, Volume 4, p. 650, San Francisco: Bancroft: California, Volume 5, p. 647, idem, Volume 4, p. 665, Santa Barbara: ibid., p. 639, Los Angeles: Northrop, "Padron of 1844," p. 360-417, Villa Branciforte: Bancroft, California, Volume 5, p. 315-317, Sonoma: ibid., p. 667.

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