

Boletín

JOURNAL OF THE CALIFORNIA MISSION STUDIES ASSOCIATION



Retrato del Rev. Padre Fray Junipero Serra Apostol
de la Alta California, tomado del original que se conserva en
su Convento de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro.

Por F. M. G. G. G. G. G.

VOLUME 29, NUMBER 1, 2013

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Front Cover: Portrait of Junípero Serra. Copy made by Father J. Mosqueda in the late 19th century of a now lost original which had hung in the Convento de Santa Cruz de Querétaro, México. Image courtesy of the Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library.

Inside Front Cover: A painting by Russell Antonio Ruiz, depicting Father Junípero Serra as he says mass at the founding of the Santa Bárbara Presidio. The image, reprinted with the courtesy of Ruiz's son, Russell Clay Ruiz, was used as the Title Image for the 30th Annual CMSA Conference held February 15-17, 2013 in Santa Barbara.

Inside Back Cover: Old Mission Santa Barbara, a 1854 Survey of the property by John Cleal.

Back Cover: El Presidio de Santa Bárbara, an 1820 Edward Vischer plan of the site.

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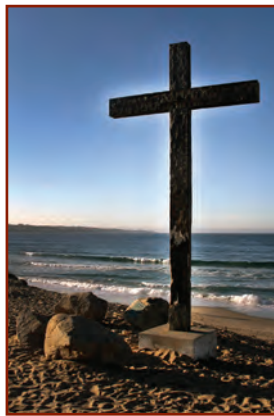
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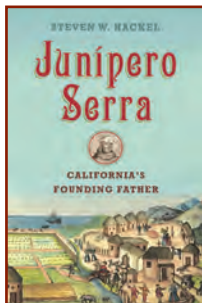
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MISSION STATEMENT

The California Mission Studies Association is a nonprofit public benefit corporation and is organized under the Nonprofit Public Benefit Corporation Law for public purposes. It is not organized for the private gain of any person. The specific purposes of this Association are educational in nature and are:

- To preserve, advance, and promote early California historic and cultural resources
- To advance and promote development of archaeological, historical, and archival resources
- To promote research projects resulting in the preservation and restoration of period landmarks
- To encourage and support educational opportunities for scholarship in the fields of early California history and culture, regardless of color, race, creed, sex or age.



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❁ ABOUT THE CALIFORNIA MISSION STUDIES ASSOCIATION ❁

“With the inception of a California Mission Studies Association...a need will be filled which has been recognized by many over the past years. It is very important that...the widest possible circle be drawn to be certain of including everyone with an active interest in the given period. Every aspect should be encompassed, including music, dance, arts, crafts, etc., as well as the obvious in an effort to make mission studies as comprehensive a subject as possible. Continuing in this vein, because of the direct relationship between all aspects of research in the mission period, it seems imperative that studies relating to presidios, ranchos, villas, pueblos, etc., be considered...along with strictly mission oriented investigations.”

- Edna Kimbro, CMSA Founding Member, 1984

A LETTER FROM THE CMSA PRESIDENT

Fall has always been a special time along Alta California's Mission Trail. The dry Santa Ana winds coming from the east and the often-referred to Indian Summer bring some of the best weather-wise days of the year before the winter rains and cooler temperatures set in.

From the pure days of Native inhabitants, to the arrival of missionaries, and continuing until today, fall has been a time for abundant harvest in this corner of the world. From Oak Tree acorns to vegetables to wine grapes, fall has been and continues to be a special moment in California. It's a unique time of year – celebrations, harvests and festivals. It's a time of year enjoyed for centuries by California's native populations, and later by the missionaries, and today by millions.

Fall also is a special time for the California Mission Studies Association as we unveil yet another annual Boletín. It is with great pride that CMSA is again able to provide this outstanding journal to our valued members. We hope that you will enjoy it.

Earlier this year at CMSA's annual conference in Santa Barbara, this organization celebrated its 30th anniversary. And what a 30 years it has been. Scholars, historians, archaeologists, and mission aficionados have all contributed to a significant chapter in our mission history – perhaps, in telling the story of our missions, *the* most significant chapter. Never before has such a diverse and widespread group combined forces to paint the picture of what happened during mission times, what happened as the missions and presidios sprouted up along the Alta California coast, and what was the cultural effect that these establishments left in our unique corner of the world.

It's become tradition for CMSA's Boletín to reflect on our organization's most recent Conference. This year marks not only the 30th birthday of CMSA, but also the 300th anniversary of Junípero Serra's birth. Santa Barbara proved the perfect backdrop this past February as CMSA celebrated its most widely attended Conference ever and all of us reflected on the life and legacy of Junípero Serra. That reflection and analysis continues as we look to Serra's birthday this November 24, 2013.

This edition of Boletín includes several Serra-related articles, plus other contributions from CMSA's talented membership. This edition is truly a reflection of our recent successful conference – taking a look at Serra but also including other research of interest to everyone that enjoys studying mission history.

As you can imagine, a publication of this size does not come together easily. I would personally like to thank our very talented contributors. Whether providing an article, a photograph or an idea you are again the backbone of CMSA's Boletín.

A special acknowledgment is also due to my fellow Boletín editors -- Michael Imwalle, Nick Tipon, and Ty Smith -- as well as graphic designer Robert Powers.

It was truly a team effort and that is what makes CMSA so special.

To our fellow CMSA members, and to all of our supporters, we send you our kindest regards. We hope that you will enjoy this 2013 edition of Boletín – the annual journal of the California Mission Studies Association.

Sincerely,
David Bolton, CMSA President
Boletín Editor



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BETWEEN A ROCK AND A CRUCIFIX: Father Junípero Serra in his Own Day

STEVEN W. HACKEL

Junípero Serra is among the most widely recognized figures in California history. And he is second to none for the period before 1850. Today, his image appears in comic books and on coins, in postcards and postage stamps, and his name has been given to highways and high schools, wine and gin, tequila and whiskey, a mountain peak, and yes—I kid you not—at one time it even graced a landfill in Colma City on the San Francisco Peninsula.

In this 300th anniversary commemorating Serra’s birth, it is worth considering the different ways he has been remembered over time. Because, ultimately, it appears there is an enormous gap between how we see Serra today and how his contemporaries saw him.

The most enduring image of Serra today quite possibly may be in sculpture. In 1931, a nine-foot statue of Serra was unveiled in the U.S. Capitol’s Statuary Hall. In truth, Serra stood only a bit taller than five feet and suffered from a chronically ulcerous leg. But he was indeed larger than life. The Mallorcan-born Franciscan played a crucial role in the settlement and colonization of Alta California, most notably as the founder of the chain of Catholic missions that eventually extended from San Diego to just north of San Francisco. For that accomplishment and many related to it Serra has been given an exalted place in Washington.

From his marble pedestal, Serra’s heavenly gaze and commanding posture suggest his confidence, inner strength, and higher purpose. On the day that the monumental work was installed in Statuary Hall, speaker after speaker extolled Serra’s piety, his tireless work among Indians, and most important, his role as the “pioneer of pioneers” who brought civilization to California. In the words of Ray Lyman Wilbur, Secretary of the Department

About the Author

Steven W. Hackel is associate professor of history at the University of California, Riverside, a member of the board of the California Mission Studies Association, and co-curator of “*Junípero Serra and the Legacies of the California Missions*”, an exhibition on view at the Huntington Library through January 6, 2014.



Figure 1. The statue of Serra by the sculptor Ettore Cadorin (American, 1876–1952) in Statuary Hall in the U.S. Capitol Building. Serra holds a plain cross and a miniature model of Mission San Carlos. Photo courtesy U.S. Capitol.

of Interior at the time, Serra, “imbued with divine spirit, charged with an exalted mission and sustained by an unflinching faith, faced with supreme courage, danger, privation, suffering, disease, to carry the message of salvation over unknown paths along the uncharted shores of the Pacific . . . He was the torch bearer of civilization.” Notably, Serra was also lauded for bringing to California the key components of the Pacific agricultural empire: oranges, lemons, olives, figs, grapes, and assorted vegetables, as well as cattle, sheep, goats, and horses. With all of this bounty, one might imagine that Serra came to California in an ark, not on a mule.

A generation later, in 1959, on the 175th anniversary of Serra’s death, luminaries again gathered in Statuary Hall to offer similar tributes.



Figure 2. A man working the land outside the village of Petra, Serra’s birthplace. Serra would encourage Indians in Mexico and California to adopt similar forms of agriculture. Detail of map created by Cardinal Antonio Despuig y Dameto, ca. 1785. Museu de Mallorca.

So, who was this man? Miquel Joseph Serra was born in 1713, in the town of Petra on the Mediterranean island of Mallorca. A community of 2,500 residents, Petra’s rhythms, folkways, and institutions were those typical of rural 18th-century Europe, dictated by religion, climate, environment, and inherited social status. Most people in the Mallorcan countryside were poor, and Serra’s family appears to have been no different. There was no guarantee of steady work; they typically had little or no savings and lived in full awareness that a season’s wages could be wiped out during crop failures and that they were just one stroke of bad luck away from destitution.

In the world of Serra’s childhood and youth, Catholicism loomed large: it was a way of life, a way of ordering the world, the most powerful and pervasive institution Mallorcans knew. Serra’s own zeal for the preservation and propagation of the faith was honed early on as he came of age in a world where church and state distrusted one another even as they were partners in Bourbon expansionism.

The church also provided some measure of security. Economic hardship must have helped provide at least some incentive to Serra to begin his formal training for the priesthood. At age 17, Serra joined the Franciscan Order; at that time he chose for himself the name Junípero, inspired by the life of St. Francis’s companion, Brother Juniper.

It was not unusual for a promising young boy from Petra to take holy orders. Nor was it unusual for a Mallorcan priest to leave the island for life as a missionary. But it was unexpected for a Franciscan priest to give up a university professorship for the uncertain life of a missionary in the New World.

Serra left Mallorca at age 35 after spending more than a decade preaching throughout Mallorca and nearly as long teaching philosophy and theology at the University in Palma. He understood he was making a life commitment and would never cross the Atlantic again. There could be no doubts: he was enacting God's will, just as he had heard it through a voice in his heart.

Soon after his arrival in New Spain, as colonial Mexico was known in those days, Serra was assigned to oversee five missions in the Sierra Gorda, a region about 100 miles north of the capital city. There he stayed until 1758 after which he spent 10 years dividing his time between his duties at the College of San Fernando in Mexico City and preaching throughout the countryside. In 1767 he ventured north to reorganize the formerly Jesuit missions of Baja California, and less than two years later he was the spiritual leader of the overland expeditions that took possession of Alta California for Spain. He would devote the remaining years of his life to the establishment of missions in Alta California, to indoctrinating Indians into Catholicism, and to ensuring that the Franciscans—not the military—had control over Indian lives.

The Serra whose life was honored in 1931 in the U.S. Capital is not exactly the Serra I have just described. 18th-century depictions of Serra stand in stark contrast to those from the 20th. In a 1785 painting by Mariano Guerrero, we see Serra how he was in his last years: small, sickly, anticipating death. The painting shows Serra as he wished to be remembered: publicly acting out what Franciscans and devout Catholics of his day would have considered a good death. According to those with him when he died at Mission San Carlos, Serra, having already confessed, rose from his deathbed, walked to the mission chapel, and, as we see here, in his last act of public devotion, received Final Communion. This representation of his final days is heroic and didactic; it was an image that would have been intelligible and acceptable to his contemporaries and to a wide range of Spanish and Mexican Catholics, and perhaps that is one reason why for generations it has been displayed in the Museo Nacional de Historia in Mexico City's Chapultepec Park.

Another image that captures Serra's life as he lived it appeared in 1787. It is an engraving that served as the frontispiece for the seminal biography of Serra written by his devoted student, friend, colleague, and fellow Mallorcan, Francisco Palóu. This one is by far the grittiest, the most complicated, and likely to be the most accurate image that exists of Serra.



Figure 3. The ailing Serra is surrounded by Indians and soldiers as he receives the sacrament of Final Communion from his devoted colleague and first biographer, Francisco Palou. Mariano Guerrero, *Fray Junípero Serra recibe el viático*, 1785, oil on canvas. Museo nacional de Historia, INAH-CONACULTA.



Figure 4. A rendering of Junípero Serra by Francisco Palou, from *Relación histórica de la vida y apostólicas tareas del venerable padre fray Junípero Serra*, 1787. The Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens.

Here, Serra holds in his left hand a crucifix upon which we can see the body of Christ crucified, the central object of Franciscan devotion and the symbol of man's potential redemption through the physical suffering and death of God's only son. To Franciscans of Serra's day it was Christ's death, rather than his life, that was inspiring.

Serra in his right hand holds a symbol of his own religious devotion and practice, gripping a rock, the sort of pounding stone that he was known to have used to strike his chest during his fiery sermons. Arrayed at Serra's feet are the instruments—props if you will—of the traveling missionary and itinerant preacher of 18th-century Mexico: a broken skull—the warning to those who had not yet repented their sins that death is always near—and his tools for dramatic and public self-mortification: the chain and burning taper.

All around Serra are sinners being moved to repentance. These people seem overwhelmed by his presence. They clutch their hearts. They avert their eyes. Serra rises above them all, presiding from on high. In a sense he is as enormous here as he is in the 1931 statue. Above him circle birds, perhaps representations of saved souls. Serra here is the savior. His tunic surrounds him and he appears impenetrable, a metaphor for the strength of his inner faith. Serra stands ready—rock in one hand, crucifix in the other, and chains and tapers at his feet—to punish his own body to atone for the sins of others, all in the name of the crucified Christ.

Jump now to 1931, to the statue in the Capitol. Gone is the crucifix, the object of Franciscan devotion, replaced by a more generic cross. And missing from Serra's other hand is the rock, the symbol of his self-mortification and the intensity of his faith; the stone has been replaced by a model of San Mission Carlos, not as it stood in Serra's day, when it was still composed of crude huts, but as it appeared a century later. There is no trace of Indians or anyone else or of the angst and soul-searching that Serra intended to inspire in those who attended his sermons. The Serra here is not the small and sickly Serra of the 18th century but the polar opposite; Serra in the near-death painting crouches down, sick and weak; here we have a big man whose body projects strength, not mortality.

Similar erasures and substitutions characterize Serra in a medal that was stamped in 1963 to commemorate the 250th anniversary of his birth. Here, as in Statuary Hall, Serra holds aloft with one hand a large cross, while the other displays a miniature of Mission San Carlos. As in 1931 Serra comes across as physically quite impressive.

Figure 5. A 1963 commemorative medallion produced by the U.S. Mint on the 250th anniversary of Serra's birth. Photograph by Patrick Tregenza.



He appears tall and robust even though he was neither. The main difference between the medal and the statue is that in the medal Serra's left leg now peeks through his heavy wool tunic, a reminder of the ulcerous wound that dogged him for more than 35 years as he traveled on foot throughout central Mexico, into Baja California, and then on up through Alta California.

In the background of the scene is a Spanish ship that suggests Serra as the pioneer of pioneers, the man who brought civilization to the "uncharted shores of the Pacific." Serra here stands alone on the shores of Monterey Bay. The bay, the coast, and the mountains—all are devoid of people and man's handiwork. It is a simple and simplifying image—just like the 1931 statue: the unadorned cross presents a non-Catholic form of Christianity; and it spoke to an age that did not acknowledge the complexities of California's colonial past or what we now see as the various and contested legacies of the encounters between Indians and Spaniards in Alta California.

Perhaps it was only as a rugged pioneer, as a cross-wielding Lewis and Clark-like figure, and as a generic Christian, that Serra could have made it into Statuary Hall and the curriculum of every fourth grade classroom in California. But this makeover did not come without cost. What we end up with—in the statue and on the coin—is an ahistorical figure disconnected from the larger issues, struggles, and transformations of his own age.

When the Catholic Church moved forward in 1988 with Serra's beatification, the beatified Serra had to have a visual representation, and what emerged 25 years ago was a rather bland, historically inaccurate image. In rendering his official Vatican beatification portrait of Serra, Lorenzo Ghiglieri said that the face was a composite constructed from the other known portraits of Serra, but others have suggested that Ghiglieri was inspired by Father Noel Francis Moholy, who commissioned the portrait and for decades was the official leader of the effort to canonize Serra.



Figure 6. The first image of Serra authorized by the Catholic Church for public veneration. Lorenzo Ghiglieri (American, born 1931), *Adelante (Onward)*, 1988, oil on canvas. Courtesy of the Cause for the Sainthood of Blessed Junípero Serra.

To me this Serra looks nothing like a man intent on telling anyone who would listen about the glories of heaven and the horrors of hell. No crucifix here, and the familiar cross Serra held in 1931 is now replaced by a walking stick. Hanging from Serra's neck is an enlarged version of the cross that Serra wore throughout his adult life and which was buried with him in 1784. The mission model is gone, and the Pacific Coast has been replaced by the mountains. There is no trace of Indians or anyone else in the portrait. The beatified padre walks alone, seemingly climbing to heaven.

What all of these 20th-century images have in common is their highly selective portrayal of the man, presumably so that he might appeal to new and different constituencies. But in losing all of the details that would have properly contextualized Serra, we lose the sense of who the man was during his own life and what California was during the colonial period. We fail to see Serra's importance in his own day, and, of course, we do not understand how different Serra's world was from our own.

That is not at all to say that Serra only should be represented with a rock in one hand and a crucifix in the other. But I do think that we need to make an effort to understand Serra as those in his day saw him. And what exactly do we gain by seeing Serra with the rock and the crucifix? One answer is that we are forced to see that Serra's full adult life involved much more than evangelical work among Indians in California. Today, rightly so, we see him as a builder of missions and as a man devoted to converting California Indians to Catholicism, but in the Palou engraving he appears as most people saw him during his adult life: as the quintessential Spanish missionary preaching to Catholics in an attempt to spur them to a more devoted reconciliation with their God and their communities, all in the hope that doing so would lead Catholics to confession and ultimately to salvation.

This larger perspective on Serra's life and work is important because while we think of Serra as devoting his life to the conversion of Indians in California, in central Mexico he preached before tens of thousands of Catholics over two decades, and before that he had done similar work on the island of Mallorca. That is what most missionaries did in Serra's day. They spent most of their time preaching to the faithful. Perhaps fewer than 10 percent of the 8,000 Franciscans in 17th- and 18th-century Mexico actually went to a frontier.

Yes, Serra was a missionary to Indians, and in that part of his work he embodies a larger history of Indian-Catholic missionary relations that is hemispheric in scope. But that Serra—the one who worked in California from 1769 to 1784—should not be our only understanding of the man or of the missionaries of his age.

Even after his various makeovers, there really is no denying that Serra lived in a distant and foreign past, one that is remote and different from ours. Serra is in many ways an ironic icon for today's California: he lived a life in opposition to what the state has become—a dynamic region defined by its political, social, economic, ethnic, and religious diversity. Moreover, Serra was as a man replete with tensions and ironies, even paradoxes. He wrote that he was always obedient to his superiors, but as he grew in stature and seniority, he did largely as he pleased, with few checks on his own authority or actions beyond the substantial ones imposed by his own order and mission. He had a powerful personality but actually was bereft of an individual self in a modern sense; he was strong-willed, determined, short-tempered, and passionately devoted to his life's work, especially his years in colonial California. Which is why, 300 years later, he matters, and why we care about who he was and how this unique Franciscan lived his life and forever shaped California.

This article originally appeared in the fall/winter 2013 issue of Huntington Frontiers magazine (Vol. 9, Issue 1), the semiannual publication of The Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens. It is excerpted from Junípero Serra: California's Founding Father by Steven W. Hackel, published by Hill & Wang, a division of Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, LLC. © 2013 by Steven W. Hackel. All rights reserved. An earlier version of this article was delivered as the Keynote Address at the 2013 Annual Meeting of the California Mission Studies Association in Santa Barbara.

THE VIRGIN OF THE ROSARY AT TETELA DEL VOLCÁN (MORELOS)

Conversion, the Baptismal Controversy, a Dominican Critique of the Franciscans, and the Culture Wars in Sixteenth Century Central Mexico

ROBERT H. JACKSON

On the second floor of the cloister of the ex-Dominican convent San Juan Bautista Tetela del Volcán (see Fig. 1) is an enigmatic mural that partially relates an incident that reportedly occurred in 1541 that in many ways symbolized the ways in which sixteenth century missionaries in central Mexico conceptualized the process of evangelization. For the missionaries the baptism of natives marked a transition in the spiritual lives of the indigenous population. The missionaries also believed that they were involved in an ongoing war with Satan to win the hearts, minds, and souls of the natives. Visual representations of the evangelization process depict demons attempting to reclaim the natives at the same time that the missionaries attempt to indoctrinate the natives in the mysteries of the new faith. Once the missionaries baptized the natives, however, the demons are no longer present, and their absence marks the triumph of the missionaries in the war with Satan. The missionaries also believed that Satan inspired pre-Hispanic religion, and that Satan governed those parts of Mexico where the missionaries had yet to plant the Christian cross. An example of a visual representation of this belief is an illustration



About the Author

Robert H. Jackson received his B.A. from the University of California, Santa Cruz (1980), a Master's with a specialization in Latin American history from the University of Arizona (1982), and a doctorate with the same specialization from the University of California, Berkeley (1988). He is the author, co-author, or editor of eleven books and more than 60 articles in professional journals. His most recent book is *Conflict and Conversion in Sixteenth Century Central Mexico: The Augustinian War on and Beyond the Chichimeca Frontier* (Brill Academic Publishers, 2013). The article published in *The BOLETIN* is part of ongoing research on the efforts to evangelize the native populations of central Mexico, and the persistence in covert form of pre-Hispanic religious practices. Jackson currently resides in Mexico City, and enjoys photographing sixteenth century convents.

**Figure 1. The church and convent
San Juan Bautista Tetela del Volcán
(Morelos).**



Figure 2. Illustration from the 1778 *Crónica de Michoacán* depicting the process of catechism and baptism. Demons lurk behind the natives attempting to thwart the missionaries, but baptism marks the triumph of the new faith over Satan. Title of the illustration is “Aquí se demuestra el que habiendo venido noticia de la entrega voluntaria y obediencia que dió el gran Caltzontzin... a Cortés, los reyes de Tzirosco e Iguatzio pasaron a rendir obediencia y pedir bautismo, y se demuestra los castigos que hacían a los que faltaban a las buenas costumbres. Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico, D.F., Historia, 9:17, f. 148.

from the Augustinian *Crónica de Michoacán* that depicts missionaries catechizing natives, who are surrounded by demons. Demons also appear behind a group of assembled natives with their lord, thus making the connection between the native world before the conquest and Satanic influence. In the final section of the illustration the missionary baptizes a group of natives, and through this symbolic act vanquishes the demons that no longer appear (see Fig. 2).

Baptism marked entrance to the Christian community, and salvation. Those who died not having been baptized or sinned did not receive God’s grace, and instead were consigned to hell, as shown in a sixteenth century picture

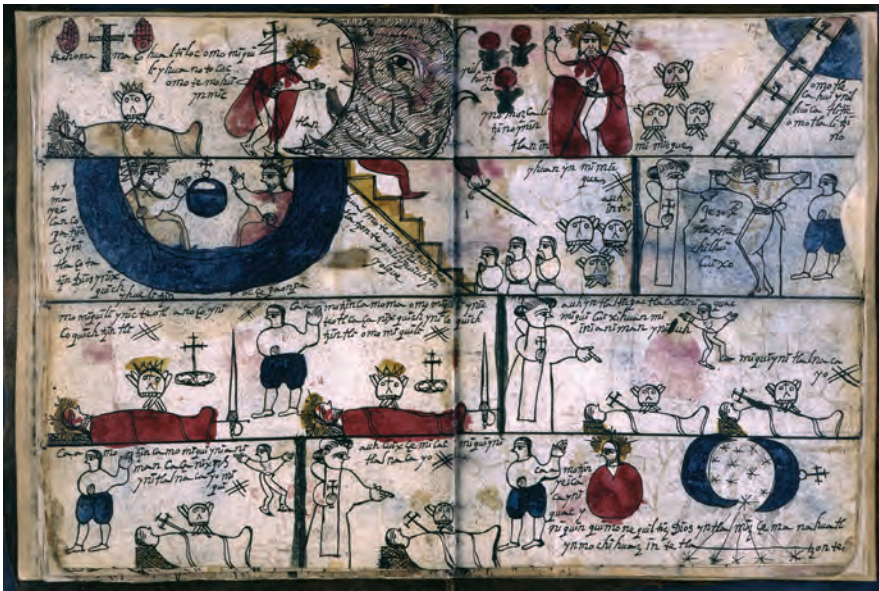


Figure 3. Panel from the *Doctrina Cristiana* regarding death and salvation through conversion. *Doctrina Cristiana*, Egerton Manuscript 2898. Courtesy of the British Museum.

catechism (see Fig. 3). A second visual document provides an additional point of reference to the importance of compliance with the sacraments once the natives had joined the Christian community through the symbolic act of baptism. The visual document, a fragmentary mural from the upper cloister of the Dominican *doctrina* San Juan Bautista Tetela del Volcán (Morelos), memorialized an incident that reportedly occurred in 1541 at another Dominican establishment, Santa Maria Magdalena Tepetlaóxtoc, located near Tezcoco. The Dominicans established a *doctrina* at Tepetlaóxtoc around 1527 or 1528 (Tinajero Morales, 2009), but the community was subject to Tezcoco where the Franciscans had established a mission and had become involved in local politics.

The Dominican chronicler Fr. Alonso Franco, O.P., narrated the incident that involved Fr. Domingo de la Anunciación, O.P. According to the account, a native resident of Tepetlaóxtoc died while Anunciación was away from the *doctrina* visiting other communities, and thus was unable to confess (Franco, 1900: 35-36). Anunciación returned, prayed for divine intervention and particularly to the intervention of the Virgin of the Rosary, and the native reportedly revived long enough to receive confession before finally dying. The account further noted that the native told the missionary that: “When my soul left my body demons took possession of it, and with abominable appearance and terrible bellowing took it.”¹ The reference to the Virgin of the Rosary was most likely associated with the confraternity of the rosary that the Dominicans first established in Mexico City in 1538, and soon after at Tepetlaóxtoc. It continued to function there as late as 1853 (Tinajero Morales, 2009: 33).

Several scholars have interpreted the mural in the upper cloister at Tetela del Volcán to have been a depiction of the 1541 incident reported at Tepetlaóxtoc. In a study of the convent, Carlos Martínez Marín identified the miracle of the Virgin of the Rosary as the theme of the mural, and also



Figure 4. Santa María Magdalena Tepetlaóxtoc, built on top of a temple platform.

noted its differences from the murals in the lower cloister (Martínez Marín, 1968:106-107). Constantino Reyes-Valerio concurred in Martínez Marín's assessment of the theme of the mural and its difference from other murals at the convent, and added the possibility that it was the work of a native artist (Reyes-Valerio, 2000: 279). Jaime Lara follows Martínez Marín's analysis, but also discusses the mural in the context of death, and concludes that "The intercession of the saints and the sacraments and sacramentals of the Church (like the rosary) are absolutely necessary if one is to avoid the hellmouth at the lower right corner" (Lara, 2008: 148, 316, note 403).

The Dominicans established a presence in what today is Morelos fairly early, and assumed responsibility for the evangelization of Oaxtepec in 1525. They expanded the number of their *doctrinas* in the second half of the sixteenth century. The new establishments included Yautepec founded around 1552 not far from Oaxtepec, and Tepoztlán sometime before 1556. The convent at Tetela del Volcán dates to about 1559, during the archbishopric of the Dominican Alonso de Montúfar (1553-1559). In 1559, a *doctrina* dedicated to San Antonio de Florencia existed at nearby Hueyapan. Juan de la Cruz, O.P., who arrived in 1562, initiated the construction of a new convent at Tetela del Volcán under the designation San Juan Bautista. Work on the new complex concluded before 1578, the year in which Juan de la Cruz was sent to Chila (Acuña, 1986: 258-261, 271). This would place the mural to about the last third of the sixteenth century. The upper cloister mural program is distinct from that of the lower cloister, which depicts saints and scenes from the life of Christ, and is in color whereas that in the upper cloister is in black and white.

The section of the upper cloister mural that is conventionally identified as the miracle of the Virgin of the Rosary is only one part of what had been a larger mural program that originally covered an entire wall. A small

fragment of another section of the mural also survives at the opposite end of the wall, and is unrelated to the specific theme of the miracle of the Virgin of the Rosary. The Virgin of the Rosary section has at the center the body of the native on a table wrapped in a shroud. Several women, probably his wives of a sinful polygamous relationship, grieve by his side. His soul leaves his body, and is lassoed by a demon. A necklace perhaps of jade hangs down from the table, and other articles symbolize the high status of the deceased. One looks to be a feather ceremonial object with a handle of the type that would be used by a high status individual. The deceased man may have been the *tlatoani* of Tepetlaóxtoc. To the left of the table is a figure that appears to be Eve who carries an apple and serpent around her genitals, which is a reference to original sin. The mural depicts Eve as a native woman (see Fig. 3).²

In the lower register the blindfolded native is led away by a demon, and is depicted in the type of dress that would be worn by a high status person. A second demon approaches one of the native women, perhaps a reference to the original sin which would also explain the presence of Eve just above the women. On the lower right hand side of the lower register the native is being pulled towards the maws of hell by a demon. The Virgin of the Rosary appears to the left on the upper register, and the Eternal Father God holding the orb and floating in a cloud on the right. At the center is Jesus on the cross. The native holding the rosary takes Jesus by the hand, thus embracing the new faith.

The second fragment of the mural program on the lower left hand side of the wall is unrelated to the story of the incident at Tepetlaóxtoc. A man with European features and wearing European-style clothes kneels with his hands bound before an individual with a hood who appears to be a civil official standing in judgment of the kneeling man. A demon takes the kneeling man by the shoulders, and is ready to lead him away. One angel standing behind the man sitting in judgment observes, while a second turns away. The complete fragment shows that the incident takes place outside of a church. The visual narrative indicated that any sinner, European or native, could be condemned for not following Church teachings.

When the two fragments are analyzed together, the overall theme of the mural program is more than the simple relating of the 1541 incident reported by Franco. The second fragment depicts a European man being condemned, and ready to be taken away by a demon. It is possible that the original mural program was an *exemplum*, that related a story to make a doctrinal point. The mural program perhaps emphasized the route to salvation in following



Figure 5. Section of the surviving mural from San Juan Bautista Tetela del Volcán depicting the miracle of the Virgin of the Rosary.

Figure 6. Another section of the Tetela del Volcán mural program depicting a demon claiming the soul of a condemned man.



the teachings and sacraments of the Church, as in the case of the Virgin of the Rosary. The native noble gained salvation after confessing, but only through the divine intervention of the Virgin of the Rosary. This section of the mural program represents how the sixteenth century missionaries conceptualized compliance with the sacraments, and condemnation to hell for those who did not comply with Church mandates. The second fragment also fits the possible identification of the mural representing an exemplum.



Figure 7. A mural depicting Dominicans from the lower cloister of Nuestra Señora de la Natividad Tepoztlán (Morelos). This may be a representation of the first group of Dominicans to arrive in Mexico.

The exemplum mural program on the second floor of the cloister at Tetela del Volcán was unique in terms of the iconography commonly employed in sixteenth century central Mexican Dominican *doctrinas*. In addition to the common themes such as the Passion of Christ, the mural programs frequently depicted Dominican saints and Dominican missionaries in Mexico. Two examples come from the lower cloister at Nuestra Señora de la Natividad Tepoztlán (Morelos) and Santo Domingo de Guzmán Tlaquiltenango (Morelos). The murals on three walls of the first floor of the cloister at Tepoztlán depict a Dominican heraldic device, and on the side walls groups of Dominicans who may have been the first missionaries from the order to arrive in Mexico (see Fig. 7). The second from the *portería* or entrance to the cloister at Santo Domingo de Guzmán Tlaquiltenango (Morelos) depicts a Dominican missionary blessing a native who, from the mode of dress, appears to be from a noble lineage and perhaps a *Tlatoani* or indigenous lord. This representation showing a Dominican involved in the salvation of a high status man from Tlaquiltenango was important, because it was the Franciscans who had established the *doctrina* and later transferred it to the Dominicans. The mural asserted in no uncertain terms a new historical reality that named the Dominicans as the key players of the evangelization of Tlaquiltenango that had actually been initiated by their rivals the Franciscans. It also suggested that the Franciscan evangelization



Figure 8. Depiction in the *portería* of Santo Domingo de Guzmán Tlaquiltenango of a Dominican blessing a native who, judging from his dress, most likely was from a noble lineage and perhaps was a *Tlatoani*.

had not been as meaningful, and that it was the Dominicans who brought the natives of Tlaquiltenango into the Christian fold. The Dominicans symbolically changed the patron saint of the *doctrina* at Tlaquiltenango from San Francisco to Santo Domingo. The mural facing the entrance to the portería at Tlaquiltenango is also a portrait of Dominicans.

The Baptism Controversy and Evidence of Apostasy and Idolatry

Baptism symbolized incorporation of the individual into the Christian community. The form of baptism became the subject of controversy between the three missionary orders, and the controversy frames the discussion of the mural program at Tetela del Volcán. The Franciscans performed mass baptisms, generally with minimal religious instruction. Early Franciscan accounts recorded large numbers of baptisms performed using an abbreviated ceremony. The Franciscan chronicler Fray Motolinía reported that the missionaries administered some five million baptisms between 1524 when the Franciscans arrived and 1536. In a letter dated June 27, 1529, Fray Pedro de Gante, O.F.M., one of the first twelve Franciscans to arrive in Mexico, made reference to 14,000 natives baptized per day (Ricard, 1986, 174-175). The Franciscans justified the mass baptisms because of the limited number of missionaries in Mexico and the large native populations. During this early period the Franciscans limited the doctrine taught the natives to the concept of one all powerful God, the trinity, the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, the immortality of the soul, and the demonic threat (Ricard, 1986: 166).³

The decision of natives to accept baptisms was related to politics in the period following the Spanish conquest of central Mexico, and support for baptism or the lack thereof on the part of the native lords. The attitude of Ixtlilxochitl, the Tlatoani of Tezcoco which was an early Franciscan mission center, was a case in point. Hernán Cortés took Ixtlilxochitl with him during his campaign to Guatemala and Honduras (1524-1526), and when Ixtlilxochitl returned to Tezcoco he found his political authority challenged by native factions favored by the Spaniards who remained in Mexico City during Cortés's absence. Ixtlilxochitl formed an alliance with the Franciscans to consolidate his authority in Tezcoco. He granted the Franciscans space in the central sacred precinct in Tezcoco to build their convent, and thousands of his subjects accepted baptism and Christian marriage, as a result of Ixtlilxochitl's encouragement. This was a period during which the Franciscans administered mass baptisms in Tezcoco. By 1528, Ixtlilxochitl had consolidated his political authority, and assumed a more ambivalent attitude towards the Franciscans and conversion. During the next few years until Ixtlilxochitl's death in 1532, few Tezcocans requested baptism or Christian marriage. Ixtlilxochitl's ambivalence can also be seen in his choice for the succession to his position as Tlatoani, his brother Don Jorge Yoyotzin. Yoyotzin had supported the Mexica-Aztec

during the Spanish conquest, and did not embrace the Spaniards following the conquest (Lopes Don, 2010: 34-38).

The Dominicans and Augustinians, on the other hand, did not perform mass baptisms on the same scale as did the Franciscans. Some Augustinians, for example, argued that the baptismal ceremony should not be as abbreviated as the ceremony the Franciscans performed, and that adults should only be baptized on certain feast days such as Easter and Pentecost. In 1534, the Augustinians in Mexico adopted the practice of administering baptism to adults at Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, and the feast day of Saint Augustine, using a full baptismal ceremony (De Basalenque, 1886: 176). A papal bull of January 1, 1537 stipulated that baptisms were not to be administered in an abbreviated form, and were to be performed individually and not in groups. A Mexican church synod held on April 27, 1539 established guidelines for urgent baptisms such as in the case of imminent death, and which elements of the baptism ceremony were to be included. On the other hand, the papacy and synod did not annul the early mass baptisms performed by the Franciscans, but imposed new rules to be followed in administering the sacrament (Ricard, 1986: 177-178).

The minimal religious instruction prior to baptism meant that post-baptism catechism was important. The missionaries generally organized catechism in the convent atrium, the large enclosed space surrounding the church and convent, and relied heavily on native catechists who generally received special training from the missionaries. The *Doctrina* translated by Fray Alonso de Molina, O.F.M., established the basic doctrinal elements the Franciscans taught the natives. The natives were to comply with the sacraments which included baptism, marriage, confession, communion, and confirmation. Additionally, they were to learn the Credo, the Padre Nuestro, the Ave María, Salve Regina, the 14 articles of faith regarding the divinity and humanity of Jesus, the 10 commandments of God and the five of the Church, and the venial, mortal, and capital sins (Ricard, 1986: 189). The *Doctrina* of the Dominican Pedro de Córdoba, O.P., which was translated into Spanish and Náhuatl in 1548, offered a more complete doctrine for religious instruction (Ricard, 1986: 194). Although prohibited, the missionaries employed corporal punishment against natives who did not attend catechism (Ricard, 1986: 182). Nevertheless, missionaries complained that many natives did not attend religious instruction, and identified the dispersed settlement pattern as one factor for the lack of attendance (Wake, 2010: 82).

What was the pace of baptism in the early years of the “spiritual conquest?” A series of censuses of several communities in what today is Morelos prepared between 1535 and 1540 provide clues to the limitations of baptism when missionaries visited communities only periodically. The censuses are for Tepoztlán which was the site of a Dominican convent,

Huitzillan, Molotlan, Tepetenchic, Panchimalco, and Quauchchichinollan. The location of the last five communities is not known, although historian Sarah Cline suggests that they may have been near Yautepec which was also later the site of a Dominican convent (Cline, 1993). Native officials prepared the detailed censuses that were organized by household and also included information on baptismal status of both adults and children.

The number of natives baptized varied between the communities. In Tepoztlán, for example, the rate of baptism among adults was high. However, the figure on total baptisms is incomplete because the census did not record the baptismal status of 521 children (Cline, 1993: 461). In the communities for which the data is complete, the percentage of those baptized ranged from 84 percent at Tepetenchic, 79 percent at Panchimalco, 76 percent at Molotlan, to nine percent at Huitzillan, and a mere four percent at Quauchchichinollan. If the 521 children for which information on baptism are not included in the Tepoztlán census, then Tepoztlán would have a 65 percent rate of baptized (Cline, 1993: 461).

Several factors explain the difference in the percentage of natives baptized in the six communities. One was personal choice. Individuals elected to not become Christians, or delayed their decision. A second factor may have been related to the dynamic of the early evangelization campaigns in central Mexico. The date of the censuses was only a decade or so following the arrival in central Mexico of the Franciscans in 1524 and Dominicans two years later. The number of missionary personnel was still limited, and they could only periodically visit communities without resident missionaries. The first Dominican arrived at Tepoztlán in 1538, and initiated baptisms of the native population. Royal officials did not authorize the formal establishment of a convent in the town until 1557. The baptism of the population of Tepoztlán had progressed at the time of the preparation of the census, as had that of Tepetenchic, Panchimalco, and Molotlan. Missionaries most likely had only recently or sporadically visited Huitzillan and Quauchchichinollan, although the number baptized may have increased at a later date. The meaning of baptism to the natives is a second important question, and as long as large numbers of baptized and unbaptized natives continued to live in the same community the depth of conversion was questionable at best. As shown in the idolatry case at Ocuila discussed below, baptized and unbaptized natives continued to make sacrifices to the old gods in a cave close to the community and mission.

The perception of the missionaries of what conversion meant often differed from that of the native populations, who viewed the introduction of the new faith on their own terms. Many baptized natives continued to covertly practice their old beliefs alongside Catholicism, which was consistent with the Mesoamerican religious tradition of incorporating new gods and practices. However, this was contrary to the chauvinistic and exclusivist

belief of early modern Iberian Catholicism born in the crucible of the seven centuries long *reconquista*, or reconquest of southern Spain from the Muslims. Several incidents highlight the disparity between the perceptions of the missionaries and the realities of native religious practice. Moreover, many natives refused to accept baptism, and continued to practice the old religion at first openly and later covertly.

In the immediate aftermath of the conquest Cortés permitted the natives to continue practicing their traditional religion, as long as they did not engage in human sacrifice. Other types of sacrifices to their gods were acceptable. Beginning in January 1525, the Franciscans stationed in Tezcoco began a series of night raids on native temples to frighten and chase the natives away. The Franciscans also discovered that images of Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary that they had presented to native lords had instead been placed in the main temple at Tezcoco as a replacement for the image of Huitzilopochtli, the Mexica-Aztec war god that had been disgraced by the Spanish conquest of central Mexico. This was a pragmatic incorporation of the gods of the new conquerors into the round of pre-Hispanic rituals and sacrifices, and was also a sign of loyalty to Hernán Cortés (Lopes Don, 2010: 34).

As evidence mounted of the superficial baptism of natives and persistence of traditional religious practices, Bishop Juan de Zumárraga, O.F.M. instituted inquisition proceedings that followed an intensification of the Franciscan morals campaign in the early years of the 1530s. Over four years Zumárraga brought charges against 142 Spaniards and 16 natives. Overall, this was a rate of 35 legal proceedings per year. Zumárraga wanted to repress the continued practice of pre-Hispanic religion, particularly by natives who had already been baptized. He also used the inquisition proceedings to bring unruly Spaniards into line with the Franciscan morals agenda (Lopes Don, 2010: 8). Several of those charged were native priests, and the inquisition trials only served to drive practitioners of the traditional religion underground and away from the urban centers in the Valley of Mexico. Zumárraga initiated his anti-idolatry campaign with the burning of pre-Hispanic religious texts (Lopes Don, 2010: 4).

One of the last and perhaps the most important of Zumárraga's inquisition cases was the high profile trial of don Carlos Ometochtzin, the *Tlatoani* of Tezcoco and nephew of Netzahualcoyotl. The Franciscans charged him with heretical dogmatism, or leading his subjects back to the old religion. Following this trial there was a backlash among royal and church officials in Spain, and Zumárraga was stripped of his inquisition authority in 1543 (Lopes Don, 2010: 5). The baptism by the Franciscans of don Carlos occurred early during the first evangelization campaign, and was very important because of his status as a member of the ruling lineage of Tezcoco and as a political ally of the Spanish following the conquest.

don Carlos exercised political authority over native Tezcoco in 1539, until being brought to trial. don Carlos's own testimony and that of a half-sister suggests that don Carlos believed he had been denounced by his enemies in Tezcoco who disputed the legitimacy of his succession as *Tlatoani* (Lopes Don, 2010: 147). The trial may also have been prompted by don Carlos's growing ambivalence towards the Franciscans, that resulted from his being pressured by the missionaries to marry a noble woman from Huexotla, doña María, instead of the woman he had chosen, his niece doña Ines (Lopes Don, 2010: 157). His relationship with his niece resulted in his also being accused of concubinage. Zumárraga orchestrated the high profile Inquisition show trial of don Carlos, and had him burned alive at the stake at Tlatelolco on December 1, 1539, after the tribunal found him guilty of idolatry (Gonzalez Obregón, 2009).

The hysteria of the Franciscan morals campaign and Zumárraga's inquisition cases focused attention of other missionaries on the covert persistence of traditional religious rituals. One case of what the missionaries considered to be idolatry occurred after the trial and execution of don Carlos at the Augustinian convent at Ocuila (modern Ocuilán, Estado de México). The Augustinian missionary Antonio de Aguilar, O.S.A., uncovered covert sacrifices to pre-Hispanic gods including blood sacrifices in a cave close to the convent, most likely soon after the establishment of the mission. The idols and sacrifices in the cave were under the care of a native named Acatonal, and idols and other paraphernalia related to traditional religious practices were found in the houses of several natives including two named Suchicalcatl and Tezcacoacatl. Tezcacoacatl, who had been baptized by the Franciscans in Toluca, was a native of Michoacán. He confessed, and also implicated a native carpenter named Collin who was not a Christian.



Figure 9. Ruins of the Augustinian convent at Ocuila (Estado de México).

The incomplete record of the Ocuilan case does not indicate what punishment the missionaries applied to those implicated in idolatry (Gonzalez Obregón, 2009: 105-108).

The location of the sacrifices in a cave indicates the persistence of the earth-water-fertility cult that revolved around Tlaloc, the central Mexican rain deity. Tlaloc brought life-giving rain that sustained agriculture, and had given humans the gift of corn and other cultigens. The Spanish suppressed the state religion of the Mexica-Aztecs and their deity Huitzilopochtli, but the worship of Tlaloc persisted even as the missionaries attempted to evangelize the native populations of central Mexico. Tlaloc was the most important deity for central Mexican farmers, and there was a flexible Mesoamerican religious tradition that allowed for the incorporation of new gods and of gods sharing sacred spaces, such as temple-churches. Another manifestation of the persistence of the earth-water-fertility cult was the incorporation into churches of embedded stones with the face of Tlaloc taken from pre-Hispanic temples. An example of this is the embedded stone found at the rear of the Franciscan church Santiago Tlatelolco (Distrito Federal), and its incorporation into the church converted the structure into a temple-church shared by Jesus and Tlaloc.

Other high profile anti-idolatry cases occurred over the following decades in New Spain. One such case occurred in 1562 at San Miguel Arcángel Maní located in the Yucatán peninsula. Fray Diego de Landa, O.F.M., headed the investigation in July 1562 that implicated the governor of Maní Francisco de Montejo Xiu and other Maya caciques. An *Auto de Fe* (public punishment) on July 12, 1562 punished the caciques that were deprived of their political positions and status, and destroyed a large quantity of paraphernalia including pre-Hispanic codices. The Franciscans alleged that the caciques did not support the missionaries, and instead actively promoted idolatry (Campos Goenaga, 1993: 414-415). One of the documents that reported on the investigation and punishment placed the blame for idolatry on the traditional native political leaders “...because the said (native) lords and leaders (*principales*) not only have not understood to help the said missionaries (religiosos) and the salvation of the natives (*naturales*), but many have been perverters of the poor people and dogmatizers...making them adore idols (*idolatrar*)” (Campos Goenaga, 1993: 414).⁴

The general response to evidence of idolatry and apostasy was harsh retaliation, and at times, as was seen in the case of Don Carlos, capital punishment. Several illustrations appear in the manuscript *Relaciones Geográficas de Tlaxcala* written by Diego de Camargo in the 1580s, titled “Relación de la muy noble y real ciudad de Tlaxcala...” and also known as



Figure 10. (top) The mural of red Tlaloc from the Tepantitla palace complex at Teotihuacan (Estado de Mexico).

Figure 11. (middle) The “Paradise of Tlaloc” mural from the Tepantitla palace complex at Teotihuacan. Tlaloc gave humans the gift of corn from within a cave within the “Mountains of Sustenance,” and brought life giving rain for the crops.

Figure 12. (bottom) An embedded stone with the face of Tlaloc found at the rear of the Franciscan church Santiago Tlatelolco. The Third Mexican Church Council (1585) ordered the removal of embedded stones, because Church official had noted that the natives were paying too much attention to them.



Figure 13. The Franciscan convent San Miguel Arcángel Mani, site of the 1562 Auto de Fe.

the Codex Tlaxcala, or the Glasgow Manuscript, that graphically depicted the burning of paraphernalia related to pre-Hispanic religious practices, and the execution of native priests and practitioners of the old beliefs (Acuña, 1984-1985: vol. 1, cuadros 11, 12, 13, 14). The mounting evidence of idolatry was not a simple problem of religious orthodoxy, particularly given that some individuals implicated had not converted to Christianity, but of power and maintenance of the new colonial order. As regards the 1562 Maní investigation Diego de Landa, O.F.M. put it succinctly when he advocated harsh punishments for the Mani caciques he blamed for what the Franciscans identified as continued idolatry: “Without (harsh punishments) there could occur larger and greater damage, as well as completely losing their Christianity, causing those who have made them leave God to lose fear of the King our lord and his ministers, and (once) lost they would come to rise up and rebel” (Campos Goenaga, 1993: 415).⁵ Caciques drawn from the ruling native lineages played an important role in covert idolatry, and their leadership in rejecting the new faith imposed by the Spaniards was threatening and from the perspective of missionary and civil official alike could easily escalate from religious inconformity to more serious acts of resistance such as rebellion.

Dateline Yodzocahi (Yanhuitlan) 1544: Dominicans Confront Idolatry

A high profile inquisition case in the Nudzahui (Mixteca Alta) territory of Oaxaca seriously tested Dominican complacency in the belief of the success of their evangelization campaign. A second case occurred at Coatlan at the same time, and provided evidence of a systematic campaign on the part of the native nobility and priests to obstruct the Dominican evangelization campaign. I first discuss the Coatlan case.

The 1546 Coatlan inquisition record noted that a priest had visited the community around 1538, and had demanded that all idols be given to him to be destroyed. The nobles and priests assembled the least important idols that they gave to the priest, and hid the more important ones so that they could continue making sacrifices to them (Terraciano, 2001: 263). The record also noted that leaders from a number of communities met at Coatlan in 1543 to discuss strategies for dealing with Christianity and the Dominican evangelization campaign. They feasted and practiced



Figure 14. The Dominican Convent Santo Domingo Yanhuitlan.

their traditional rites, including self sacrifice by spilling their own blood. Witnesses also testified that the lords of Coatlan continued to make sacrifices to the old gods and particularly the rain deity Dzahui, including human sacrifices (Terraciano, 2001: 281).

The Coatlan inquisition record points to an organized pattern of resistance to the new faith the Dominicans attempted to introduce. The case at Yodzocahi (Yanhuitlan) was more complicated, since native nobles from other communities involved in disputes with the ruling lineage of Yodzocahi brought the allegations, and were important witnesses in the case. Nevertheless, the details outline in the inquisition case also point to resistance to Catholicism, and Dominican evangelization.⁶ The primary target of the investigation was don Francisco, the lord of Yodzocahi, who was accused of condoning human sacrifices, of sacrificing his own blood to the old gods and encouraging others to do the same, of trying to prevent the missionaries from taking idols, and of mocking of natives who had become Christians.

One point of conflict allegedly occurred when the Dominicans ordered the destruction of a temple to make room for the construction of their church and convent. The Dominicans chose a temple platform as the site of the new sacred complex. Domingo de la Cruz, O.P., founded the doctrina at Yodzocahi in 1541 (De Burgoa, 1989: vol. 1, 286). The Dominicans mobilized the resources of the community, including native labor, to build the large church and convent that took some 25 years to complete (see Fig. 13) (De Burgoa, 1989: vol. 1, 292). It was during the first stages of the construction project that several incidents allegedly occurred that indicated that don Francisco, the ruling lord of Yodzocahi, embraced Catholicism superficially, at best. Don Francisco reportedly tried to prevent the dismantling of the temple by native workers. Following the removal of the temple, don Francisco allegedly made blood sacrifices from his tongue and ear lobe on the site of the former temple, and encouraged others to do so as well. The inquisition record noted that don Francisco encouraged his subjects: “to worship in the place where the houses and temples of the deities used to be, which is the southern side of the church patio” (Terraciano, 2001: 280).

Don Francisco and the lords of Yodzocahi denied the allegations brought against them, and given that the charges arose in the climate of conflicts between communities in the region the truth may never be known. However, the allegations caught the attention of the inquisition, and the investigation occurred at a time of increased questioning by the missionaries of the efficacy of the initial approaches to evangelization. At the same time the allegations against don Francisco were followed by the assumption of authority of a younger generation Nudzahui leader, don Gabriel de Guzmán, who may have been educated by the Dominicans, and who recognized the importance of cooperating with the missionaries. It was during his tenure (1558-1591) that work on the church and convent reached completion, and he donated land to establish a chaplaincy (Terraciano, 2001: 284).

Conclusions

The Miracle of the Virgin of the Rosary mural at Tetela del Volcán was a statement of Dominican triumphalism, and a critique of the Franciscan method of minimal religious instruction for natives followed by mass baptism. The 1541 incident at Tepetlaóxtoc, which was a community subject to Tezcoco, occurred only two years following the execution of don Carlos, the ruler of Tezcoco. Unlike don Carlos, the unidentified noble from Tepetlaóxtoc embraced the new faith on his deathbed, and sought confession to save his soul from condemnation to hell. The trial of don Carlos was a significant blemish on the record of the Franciscans and their methods of evangelization, and signified the triumph of Satan in the war with

the missionaries. The Dominicans saved the soul of another native noble, and thus vanquished Satan and showed the Franciscans that their methods gave better results than did the Franciscan method. don Carlos betrayed the Franciscans and the new faith, while at the same time the Tepetlaóxtoc noble who had been under Dominican influence did not. The Franciscan protégé and product of the Franciscan approach to evangelization retained his loyalty to Satan, while God intervened at the bidding of the Dominicans to save the soul of the noble from Tepetlaóxtoc. The mural can also be understood within the context of the baptism controversy, and was a way that the Dominicans could criticize the Franciscans and the outcome of their approach of mass baptisms.

The larger message of the mural program was also an example of Dominican triumphalism. If viewed as an *exemplum*, it re-enforced the importance that the missionaries placed on compliance with the sacraments, and particularly baptism and confession as being essential elements of salvation. This message was related to the larger thread of the baptism controversy, and the series of events related to the trial and execution of don Carlos. The message of the mural program very clearly communicated the content of the controversy, and the Dominican approach to evangelization and their critique of the Franciscans. It was a reminder to the Dominicans themselves of their mission in Mexico, and the success of their approach over that of their rivals, the Franciscans.

The Dominican triumphalism had to be tempered by the reality of the persistence of traditional native practices, and the superficiality of conversion to Catholicism. The inquisition investigations at Coatlan and Yodzocahi showed the limitations of conversion by the Dominicans in one area. The attitude of don Francisco as reported by witnesses who appeared before the inquisition, if even a part of the allegations made against him were true, spoke to a different reality from what the missionaries believed to be the truth. Many natives received the religion imposed by the Spanish reluctantly, and engaged in culture wars to protect their old beliefs. The meeting that reportedly occurred at Coatlan in 1543 can be understood as having been the “war council” designed to organize and mobilize support for the defense of traditional religious practices.

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Mission San Buenaventura

THE CROSS AND THE SPADE

Archaeology and the Discovery of the Earliest Serra Chapels at the Royal Presidio of Monterey, 1770-1772

RUBÉN G. MENDOZA, PhD, RPA, CSU MONTEREY BAY

Before leaving this bay we erected a cross upon the beach with an inscription cut on the wood which said: "Dig! At the foot thou wilt find a writing."

Miguel Costansó, 10 December 1769¹

Introduction

As the engineer assigned to the expeditionary force commanded by Governor Gaspar de Portolà (14 July 1769 to 24 January 1770), Miguel Costansó's narrative of the Spanish expedition from *San Diego de Alcalá* to *San Francisco de Asís* was penned in a document of circa 361 Castilian words, which was then buried beneath the massive wooden cross planted on a beach on the margins of the Monterey Bay.¹ It was this document to which Costansó referred in his command to *escarba* or "Dig!" beneath the cross so noted in the hopes that future expeditionaries would know of the expedition's exploits in their momentous quest to identify and settle the Monterey Bay. Ultimately the expedition, then sorely short of supplies, and without prospects for assuring the identification of the Monterey Bay with those resources and that information then at their disposal, departed without having confirmed the rediscovery of the Monterey Bay. As such, Miguel Costansó's diary entry of 10 December 1769 provides an apt metaphor (not to mention, mandate) for the archaeology of the Monterey Bay, and for that matter, that momentous effort that constitutes the basis

About the Author

Dr. Rubén G. Mendoza is an archaeologist, writer, photographer and founding faculty member of the California State University, Monterey Bay. Professor Mendoza has directed major archaeological investigations at missions San Juan Bautista, San Carlos Borromeo, San Miguel Arcángel, Nuestra Señora de la Soledad, and the 16th century Ex-Convento de la Concepción in Puebla, Mexico. His efforts on behalf of the Royal Presidio Chapel Conservation Project was awarded the California Preservation Foundation Preservation Design Award for 2009. A charter member of both the California Missions Foundation, and the California Mission Curators and Directors Conference of Mission Santa Barbara, Professor Mendoza served as a consult to, and a Literacy Place Mentor for, Scholastic, Inc.'s Time Detectives Literacy Place Mentors 3rd grade curriculum distributed nationally, internationally, and re-published for Spanish-speaking school children. He has published over one-hundred manuscripts, reviews, and scores of images spanning pre-Columbian, Colonial, and California missions era art and architecture and solar geometry, American Indian science, technology, and medicine, and modern material cultures. His long-term contributions to "furthering the preservation and protection of the California Missions" was acknowledged by the California Mission Curators and Directors Conference with the granting of the Father Fermín Francisco de Lasuén Award for 2010. As Project Manager to the San Juan Bautista



About the Author, cont.

Mission Conservation Program, Dr. Mendoza is charged with professional oversight of the mission restoration effort documented in “Archaeology and Community Service Learning at a California Mission, 1995-2008” (2009). He has served as co-author and contributing editor for a host of publications for teachers and students concerned with the California missions, including *The California Missions Source Book* (2009), *The California Missions’ Timeline* (2009), and *Fermin Francisco de Lasuén: An Illustrated Timeline* (2012). Professor Mendoza’s participation in the Manhattan-based 2011 NEH Summer Institute for College and University Teachers, *American Material Culture: Nineteenth-Century New York*, inspired new and innovative pedagogical strategies for the analysis and interpretation of architecture and material cultures. The NEH program in question in turn prompted Professor Mendoza’s development of the first-ever National Endowment for the Humanities Landmarks of American History and Culture: Workshops for School Teachers program devoted exclusively to the study of the California missions, and titled *The Fourteenth Colony: Native Californians, Missions, Presidios, and Colonists on the Spanish Frontier, 1769-1848*.

Figure 1. The commemorative redwood cross installed by the late Diocesan curator Sir Henry “Harry” Downie on the shores of the Monterey Bay served to commemorate the installation of a similar cross by the members of the Portola Expedition of 1769. Photo © Rubén G. Mendoza, 2008.³

for the present narrative of exploration and discovery.

Archaeological investigations spanning the period extending from 2006 through 2008 were undertaken by me (in my capacity as the project archaeologist) for the purpose of assessing the architectural heritage of the *Real Presidio de San Carlos de Monterey* (1770-1848).⁴ The Royal Presidio Chapel Conservation Project, undertaken under the auspices of the Diocese of Monterey, recruited me to assess the architectural history and structural integrity of the Royal Presidio Chapel, *La Capilla Real*, or San Carlos Cathedral in 2006 (Mendoza 2007a, 2007b, 2007c, 2009, 2012). Though earlier archaeological investigations succeeded in defining the stratigraphic

relationships necessary for basic cultural and geological interpretations of the Royal Presidio of Monterey (Pilling 1950; Howard 1971; May 1974, 1992; Parkman 1979; Edwards and Simpson-Smith 1993; Costello 1994), such studies, with perhaps the exception of Howard (1971) fell short, or were hampered by logistical and or practical constraints in their efforts to lend themselves to the elaboration and elucidation of the architectural history of the site (CA-MNT-271H; California Historical Landmark No. 105; Tays 1936; Pilling 1950). By contrast, this investigation was partitioned into three distinct phases, the first and most systematic centered on an archaeological programme of Phase 1 testing for subsurface archaeological (read architectural) features identified with specific localities adjoining the Royal Presidio Chapel. Phase 2 spanned the summer of 2007 and entailed an intensive campaign centered on the monitoring and mitigation of subsurface architectural remains encountered during the course of trenching activities specific to the Royal Presidio Chapel Conservation Project. The Phase 3 operation was undertaken in July of 2008, and soon resulted in the recovery of perhaps the most significant findings to date regarding the earliest Christian houses of worship identified with *Alta California* and the ministry of Fray Junípero Serra, OFM, the Apostle of California (Mendoza 2009, 2012, Jack Williams, personal communication, July 29, 2008).

Said findings devolved from the archaeological recovery of the granite and basalt footings of the 2nd or Serra Chapel of 1772; and shortly thereafter, the identification and recovery of portions of the 1st or Serra Chapel of 1770; in turn defined in terms of the “Missionaries’ Quarters” of 1770, and the southern perimeter defensive wall or *palisada* or Palisade of 1770. This paper will as such review, assess, and interpret that new body of archaeological evidence specific to the identification of Fray Junípero Serra’s *Capilla de San José*, and weigh its potential for rewriting the architectural and cultural heritage of this most significant of early California historic sites.

Research Design

The archaeological undertakings of Donald M. Howard, an area avocationalist or community scholar, remains a significant point of departure for assessing long standing questions and scholarly conundrums



regarding the evolution of the architectural and cultural histories of the *Real Presidio de San Carlos de Monterey* (Howard 1971, 1976, 1978a, 1978b, 1981, 1997). According to Simpson-Smith and Edwards (1995: 5),

Figure 2. View of the *Real Presidio de San Carlos de Monterey* as depicted by José Cardero in this Malaspina Expedition illustration dated to 1791. Perspective is from the southeast to the northwest. Note that the high-pitched thatched roof of the Serra Chapel of 1772 is visible immediately north of the new site of construction identified with the Chapel of 1794. Illustration courtesy of the Royal Presidio Chapel Conservation Project.⁵

“Research questions such as: 1) where are Presidio related features located, 2) who used them, and 3) how were they used, are the basis for the on-going studies at the Presidio in general, and this investigation in particular.” By contrast with this earlier assessment of the projected primary research goals of future work at the Royal Presidio Chapel, much remains to be done with deploying archaeological strategies for assessing: 4) the quintessential architectural histories of the Royal Presidio Chapel site and complex, 5) Presidio political-economy and daily life ways as inferred from the recovery of material culture, and 6) trade and exchange as deduced from the particularly diverse and rich array of Spanish colonial and Mexican Indian ceramic traditions in turn recovered from the *Real Presidio de San Carlos de Monterey*. Whereas preliminary short-term objectives of the research under consideration sought to more fully target the elaboration of the architectural histories of the Royal Presidio Chapel, baptistery and sacristy additions, *cuartel* or barracks buildings, and perimeter defensive features (Schuetz-Miller 1994; Mendoza 2007c), the primary objective was to discern the structural integrity of sub-grade or buried architectural features and their displacement across the landscape (Preusser 1996; Twilley 1996; Kimbro 1999; Mendoza 2007a, 2007b, 2007c, 2009). A secondary goal was with more fully interpreting the material culture, political-economy, and daily life ways of the soldiers and civilians who once graced the hallowed grounds in question (Williams 1985, 1993; Lucido 2013; see this volume).

Project Description

The project team of the Royal Presidio Chapel Conservation Program, including Project Manager Cathy Leiker and a host of consultants (architects, conservators, and engineers) proposed (a) the conservation treatment, renovation, and retrofitting of the existing Royal Presidio Chapel (*Capilla Real de Monterey*) structure; (b) the removal of extant concrete stucco coatings used at various times to seal the stone walls of the Chapel (aka: San Carlos Cathedral) during the course of the past century and a half, the effect of which has been to seal moisture within the stone; and (c) the installation of French drains and related modifications as needed so as to assure the structural integrity and seismic stability of the Royal Presidio Chapel.⁶ Initial efforts for the excavation program upon which the cultural resources assessment was based were undertaken during the period extending from Wednesday, 6 September through Friday, 8 December of 2006 (Phase 1), and again from 29 May through 9 June, 2007 for Phase 2. Phase 3 was in turn centered on the archaeological monitoring of French drain-related trenching activities and extended from June through August of 2007. Phase 4 spanned a two-week period beginning on 28 July 2008, and specifically targeted the excavation and mitigation of the Serra Chapel of 1772.

While the fall 2006 Phase 1 field investigation combined both traditional

and nontraditional methods for recovery and analysis of archaeological deposits, this latter aspect of the investigation nevertheless took great care to recover materials and features, particularly where pertinent to the analysis of the site's architectural history. Despite the fact that the Phase 2 (summer 2007) research design and excavation strategy relied on the use of a TBo16 backhoe, all such Test Units were assigned 1 x 1 meter coverage as per their respective relationships to specific points on a grid. The grid was in turn anchored on the west side of the Chapel to the northwest corner of the façade, and on the east nave to the juncture point of the east nave and tower. Those units situated between the 1858 Apse and east Transept at the southeast, were in turn situated, and thereby arbitrarily anchored, by way of the juncture point of the Apse and east Transept. Only Units 9 and 15 were situated off the grid by virtue of the specified "pothole" locations requested by the project architects.

The Phase 3 portion of this investigation entailed the archaeological monitoring of a major trenching operation intended to accommodate subsurface or French drains (see Figure 3, below). As a result of water intrusion and salt erosion, those architects and engineers noted in the foregoing narrative determined that the area circumscribing the Royal Presidio Chapel proper would require the installation of a system of French drains at or near bedrock. Devcon Construction was contracted to undertake the excavation and installation program in this instance, and I was recruited to monitor any and all construction-related excavation. The backhoe operation in question extended the scope of the Phase 2 operation, albeit by virtue of the need to prepare trenches to accommodate the system of French drains so noted. Ultimately, this portion of the investigation entailed the excavation of some thirty-two 22' to 25' foot trench spans, and the recovery of thousands of individual specimens collected by way of lot finds and or in situ collection and documentation strategies.

Those archaeological methods identified with Phase 4 were the direct byproduct of the inadvertent exposure by contractors of the foundation footings identified with the Serra Chapel of 1772. Because archaeological monitoring had been suspended in the fall of 2007, the July 2008 exposure of the features in question was largely unanticipated. On the afternoon of July 28th of 2008, I was notified

Figure 3. In order to mitigate against the continued deterioration of the shale and mudstone due to water intrusion and salt erosion, the Royal Presidio Conservation Project of the Diocese of Monterey undertook the large-scale installation of a French drain system. In order to see through this process, fourteen 22-foot to 25-foot long and 18-inch wide trenches were excavated to bedrock along the entirety of the perimeter of the Royal Presidio Chapel (aka: San Carlos Cathedral). Photo © Rubén G. Mendoza, 2007.





of the inadvertent exposure of historic deposits in the forecourt of the San Carlos Cathedral by the Royal Presidio Conservation Project Manager. That evening, I arranged a site visit and at that time it was determined that materials and middens dislodged at said location were in fact cultural, and historically sensitive. Therefore, construction-related project work in this sector was temporarily halted so as to provide the archaeology team with the opportunity to properly investigate, and thereby propose, mitigation measures for the buried features so noted.

As such, the Phase 4 undertaking in question was initially intended as strictly exploratory, and directed towards an assessment for potential mitigation measures for the structure in question. Nevertheless, during the course of a ten-day period encompassing the first week of August of 2008, the South and West foundation footings of what was ultimately identified with the Serra Chapel of 1772 were exposed for the first time by the archaeology project team by way of a salvage excavation intended to reveal said features and their respective relationships to ancillary structures such as the Sacristy of 1778 and the floors of the original sanctuary (see Figures 4 and 5, above).

Figure 4. (above, left) Within a year of those trenching operations that spanned the entirety of the summer of 2007, the chance discovery of the Serra Chapel of 1772 resulted in yet another major undertaking to mitigate and salvage all pertinent architectural information needed to assess the integrity of those subsurface features identified with the religious architecture in question. Photo © Rubén G. Mendoza, 2008.

Figure 5. (above, right) In order to effect the trenching of the whole of the perimeter of the Royal Presidio Chapel for the purpose of installing a French drain system, some areas of the site required the saw-cut removal of concrete pavements. In this instance, it was necessary to span the entrance and main facade of the San Carlos Cathedral in order to complete the trenching operation of 2007. Photo © Rubén G. Mendoza, 2007.

Upon completion of the investigation of the Serra Chapel of 1772, and the ancillary Sacristy of 1778, I was notified by construction contractors that additional utility lines were to be laid in the area immediately west of the Royal Presidio Chapel. Despite assurances from the contractor that excavations would not exceed twelve inches in depth, it was determined that the archaeological sensitivity of the area was such that cultural resources monitoring would be required. So as to allay concerns that the archaeological monitoring in question would not hinder progress on the planned trenching operation, I proposed a one-day trenching operation that made use of forensic or crime scene evidence markers to demarcate features exposed during the course of trenching operations (see Figure 6, below). In this way, a dozen buried architectural features were identified in short order. Significantly, once mapped with respect to the Serra Chapel of 1772, and those features exposed and mapped during the course of the 2007 field season, it was soon determined that an ancillary structure had been exposed. Given that the south wall of the ancillary structure in question was found to consist of charred postholes and decomposed granite rock footings that aligned with similar such features identified with the area adjacent to the south wall of the Serra Chapel of 1772, it was subsequently determined that the structure in question was originally anchored to the original southern defensive curtain or stockade of 1770. Given descriptions that indicate that Fray Junípero Serra, OFM, celebrated the first high mass at the *Real Presidio de San Carlos de Monterey* within a pole and thatch warehouse tasked for use as a provisional sanctuary on that occasion; this investigation thereafter proceeded on the assumption that the latter structure in question was in effect the structure used by Fray Junípero Serra, OFM, as the Chapel of 1770.

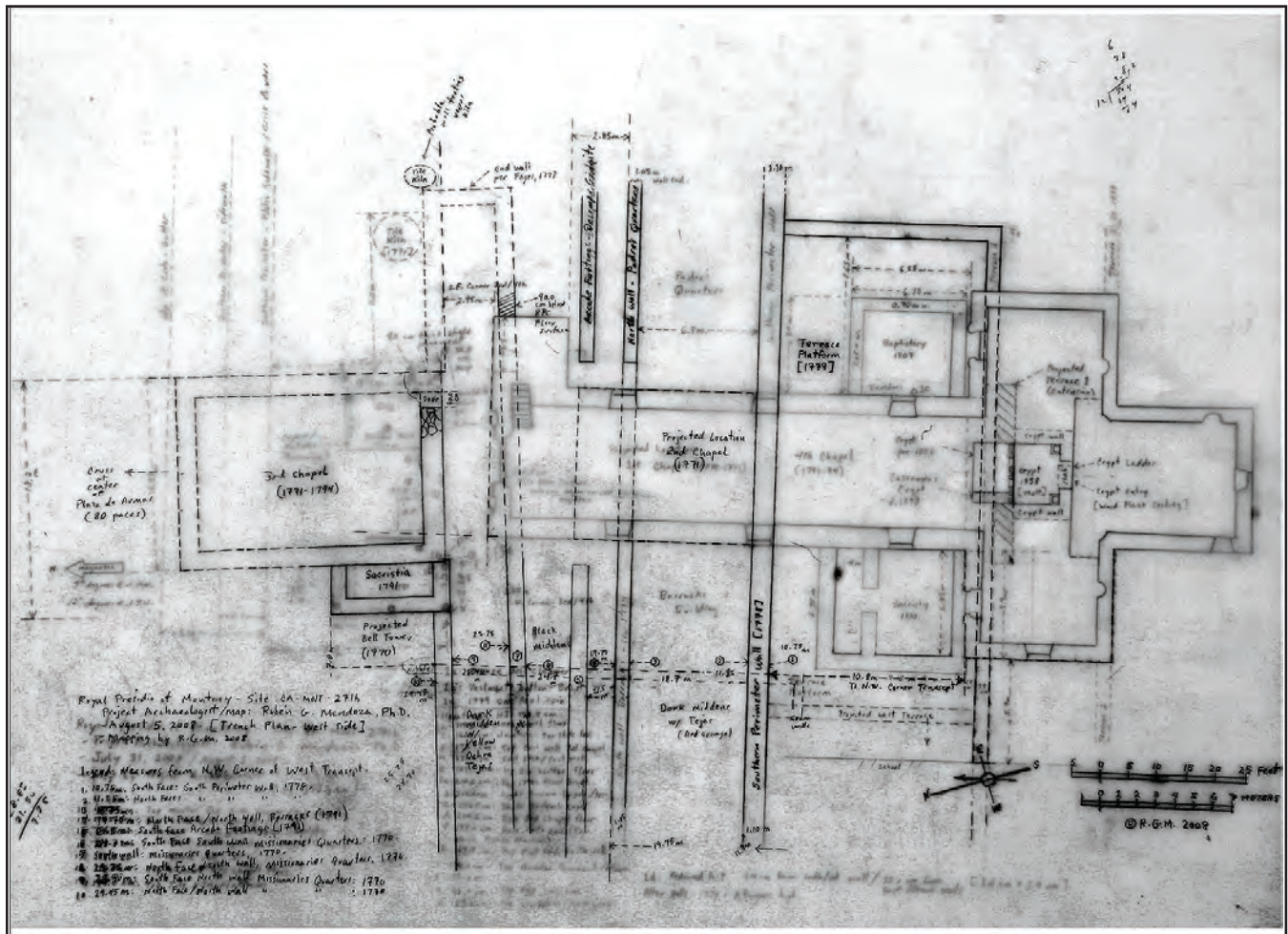
This latter interpretation is based on three key observations. First, the north wall of the range-like structure in question was found to have joined the south wall, and at the same time shared a doorway with the southeast corner of the Chapel of 1772, thereby suggesting its continued use despite its provisional nature as a large *jacal* or *jacalon* pole-and-thatch structure (Mendoza and Cruz Torres 1994). Second, during the course of the 2007 Phase 3 trenching operations, a fine masonry platform composed of shale blocks was found at the juncture of the southwest corner of the Chapel of 1772 and the interior compartment of the proposed Chapel of 1770. As such, we surmised that the platform in question may well have served as an altar platform within the Chapel of 1770 proper. Finally, given that both the Chapel of 1772, and that of the Royal Presidio Chapel of 1794, occupied the same hallowed ground; it stands to reason that each of these structures were situated so as to



Figure 6. The one-day trenching operation undertaken in the area immediately to the west of the Chapel of 1794 (aka: San Carlos Cathedral) made use of forensic or crime scene evidence markers on an ongoing basis so as to demarcate subsurface architectural features encountered during the course of excavation. The evidence markers in this instance serve to delineate the south (Marker 6) and north (Marker 10) exterior faces of the Missionary's Quarters of 1770. See Figure 7 field map, below. Photo © Rubén G. Mendoza, 2008.

acknowledge the sacred geography of the original site of the first Chapel of 1770 (See Figure 7).

Project Findings



Key archaeological findings from the fall 2006 field investigations at the Royal Presidio Chapel indicate that (a) archaeological soundings at Unit o resulted in the recovery and exposure of the decomposed granite arcade foundation footings of the southeast extension of the late 1770s era Padres' Quarters room block (replete with the telltale signs of the fire that destroyed portions of the complex in 1789), (b) recovery and exposure of the decomposed granite and shale north wall foundations, and crushed mudstone or Arkosic sandstone flooring, of the 1810 Baptistry; (c) recovery of the granite boulder foundation footings of the southern perimeter defensive curtain or wall of 1778 (identified in association with a single Spanish silver *real* coin dated to 1779) (see Figure 8), (d) recovery of the decomposed granite and shale "vestry" cross-wall and north wall foundations and crushed mudstone flooring of the original adobe sacristy (along with the buried extension of the perimeter defensive wall on the

Figure 7. Field map of subsurface archaeological features identified with the Serra Chapel of 1772 and the recovery of the southern perimeter defensive curtain or stockade wall and Missionaries' Quarters and Chapel of 1770. Note that the northern (left) end of the Serra Chapel of 1772 has been foreshortened or truncated in this field rendering, and is therefore not to scale. Photo © Rubén G. Mendoza, 2008.

west), and (e) a particularly eclectic and diverse collection of Spanish, Mexican Indian, Asian, and British earthenware directly attributable to the Presidio's role as the gateway to Hispanic *Alta California*.

The resumption of archaeological investigations at the Royal Presidio Chapel on 29 May of 2007 in turn resulted in the identification of a number of significant new features through the period ending August of 2007, not the least of which include (f) the exposure of a massive 125.0 cm wide terrace (or retaining) wall footing (Terrace 1) and associated colonial era trash midden, (g) recovery of a secondary terrace (or retaining) wall (Terrace 2) just south, and running parallel to Terrace 1; (h) exposure of the east wall, and northeast corner, of the 1810 Baptistery in Trench Units 13 and 14; (i) additional exposure, and thereby confirmation, of the arcade corridor footings of the east-west oriented Padres' Quarters range building located just south of, and parallel to, the south face of the bell tower at Unit 12; and (j) recovery of a particularly early pavement or wall and floor feature



Figure 8. Recovered from beneath the massive granite boulder rubble-filled pavement constituting the Terrace 1 feature (that made possible the construction of the later Chapel of 1794) was this Spanish silver *real* coin that ultimately served to date the construction of the terrace feature to 1779. Interestingly, this coin was recovered at bedrock in the area just south of the southern perimeter defensive curtain or wall of 1778. Photo © Rubén G. Mendoza, 2006.

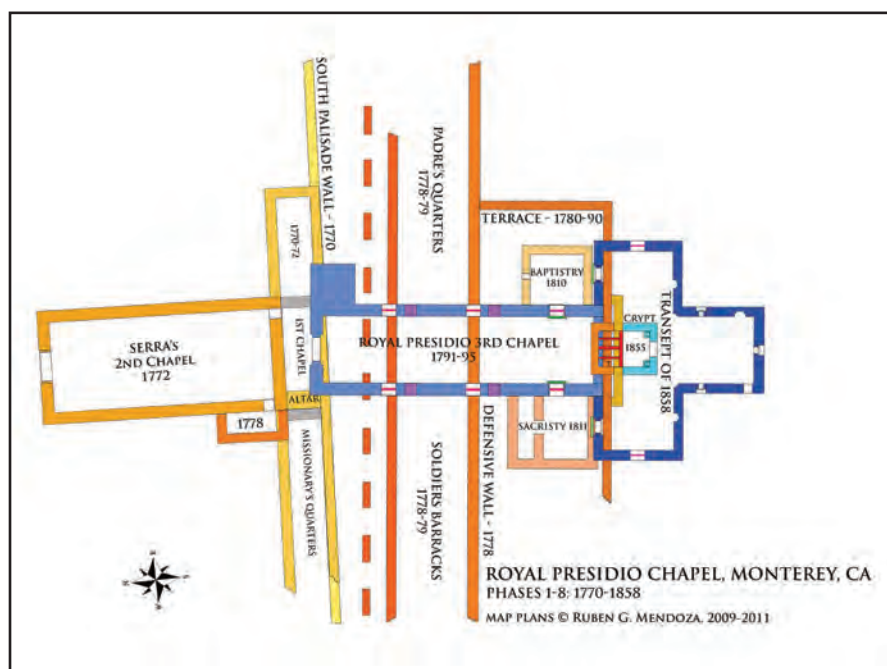


Figure 9. Plan view of all subsurface features recovered and identified as the result of that archaeology undertaken by way of controlled excavations and trench-related monitoring at the Royal Presidio Chapel of Monterey. In this instance, the Missionaries' Quarters and Chapel of 1770 are identified in relationship to Serra's second Chapel of 1772. Note, all phases of the proposed architectural history have been color-coded so as to distinguish each phase of construction one from the other, and only the dark and light blue areas represent the extant or modern footprint of the San Carlos Cathedral. Map plan © Rubén G. Mendoza, 2011.

at a depth of one meter at or beneath the northeast corner of the bell wall and tower or *campanario* (Trench Unit 11) (see Figure 9, above).

During the course of construction-related activity at the site in July of 2008, contractors exposed several granite boulders from the forecourt area of the Royal Presidio Chapel. So as to determine both the source of the boulders, and mitigate against the possibility of further damage to subsurface

archaeological features, the archaeology project team mobilized around the excavation of the buried structure in question. So began the investigation of what was ultimately determined to constitute the Serra Chapel of 1772. In addition to the recovery of the (k) granite south and west wall foundations of the Serra Chapel of 1772, the project team worked to expose the (l) Roman mortar-paved granite boulder pavements constituting the floor of the Serra Chapel of 1772, and soon thereafter, the contours of the exposed foundation footing of the (m) Sacristy of 1778 was redefined and mapped by way of archaeological investigations at that site located adjacent to the west wall of the Serra Chapel of 1772.⁷

Finally, with completion of the exploratory investigation of the Serra Chapel of 1772 in August of 2008, contractors noted that they would require one additional trench excavation for the accommodation of utilities lines necessary for a fire suppression system. This latter effort, which was conducted through the course of a single day on 6 August of 2008, proved particularly significant to the interpretation of the earliest architectural history of the original palisade and southern perimeter defensive curtain of 1770. Despite the contractor's concerns with further delays arising from the monitoring and mitigation of archaeological features, I nevertheless insisted on the continued monitoring and mitigation of buried historic features affected by the trenching operations, and as such all exposed foundation and midden materials were duly noted. As a result, it soon became clear by way of the conjoined mapping of the archaeological features recovered that day that this effort produced substantive indications for (n) the location of the original southern perimeter defensive curtain, palisade, or stockade wall, (o) the southern and northern decomposed granite and timber footings and correlated middens, and thereby the original configuration, for the *jacal* warehouse and first or interim Chapel of 1770 erected at that location; and ultimately, tentative indications for (p) the remains of the extensive platform that once served as the pediment or base for the bell wall or *campanario* noted by Captain Pedro Fages as having once adjoined the Serra Chapel of 1772.⁸

A significant and extensive body of Spanish colonial era material culture (and faunal and floral specimens; see Lucido, 2013, this volume) was recovered, and architectural features exposed and identified, as the result of those trenching and corollary monitoring operations undertaken during the summer of 2007. Given the need to deploy and install an extensive system of French drains, and both fire suppression and related conduit, some fourteen 22' to 24' foot long and 18" wide trenches were excavated to bedrock immediately adjoining the perimeter walls of the Royal Presidio Chapel, and an additional seventeen 22' to 24' foot long trenches were extended both east and northeast of the chapel so as to connect the aforementioned systems to existing utility areas buried beneath Church

Street, for a total of thirty-one trench spans overall. As a result, a sizeable collection of Mission or Spanish Colonial (ca. 1770-1821), Mexican (ca. 1821-1848), and early American (ca. 1848-1865) earthenware vessels and shards numbering into the thousands, and copper, iron, and bronze hardware, nails, and ornaments, gunflints, projectile points, shell and bone buttons, window and bottle glass, saddlery and horseshoes, and a broad array of other items of material culture were recovered and catalogued (May 1972, 1974).⁹ Where faunal and marine specimens are concerned, trenching operations produced significant indications of an early reliance on marine resources as evinced by way of trenching operations in the area immediately behind the former south wall of the Serra Chapel of 1772, and presently identified with the threshold area of the San Carlos Cathedral, or Royal Presidio Chapel of 1794. The massive Terrace 1 feature identified with the original south wall of the Chapel of 1794 in turn produced a sizeable midden that very likely constituted the post-1794 trash midden associated with activities correlated with the completion of the Chapel of 1794. In this latter midden, the recovery of earthenware shards, specifically *majolica* tin-glazed ceramics and *Galera* and *Tlaquepaque* wares, dated this deposit to the period of circa 1807, and its contents was dominated by Mission-styled plain wares of a type used in storage and cooking vessels (see Figure 10), as well as an extensive deposit of cattle bone that comprised the diet of this

Figure 10. An assortment of *Majolica* and earthenware recovered at the Royal Presidio Chapel in the period extending from 2006 through 2007. A particularly large sampling of earthenware was recovered during the course of the Royal Presidio Chapel Project, and some 800 specimens are presently being subjected to a dispersive X-ray fluorescence (EDXRF) study by CSU Long Beach graduate student Amy Stine. Photos © Rubén G. Mendoza, 2006.



latter period (Lucido 2013; see this volume). When contrasted with the marine emphasis of those trash middens identified with the earlier Chapel of 1772, the middens of the Chapel of 1794 make clear the transition to a ranching economy dominated by the consumption of beef and other domesticated and wild resources.

Historic Illustrations

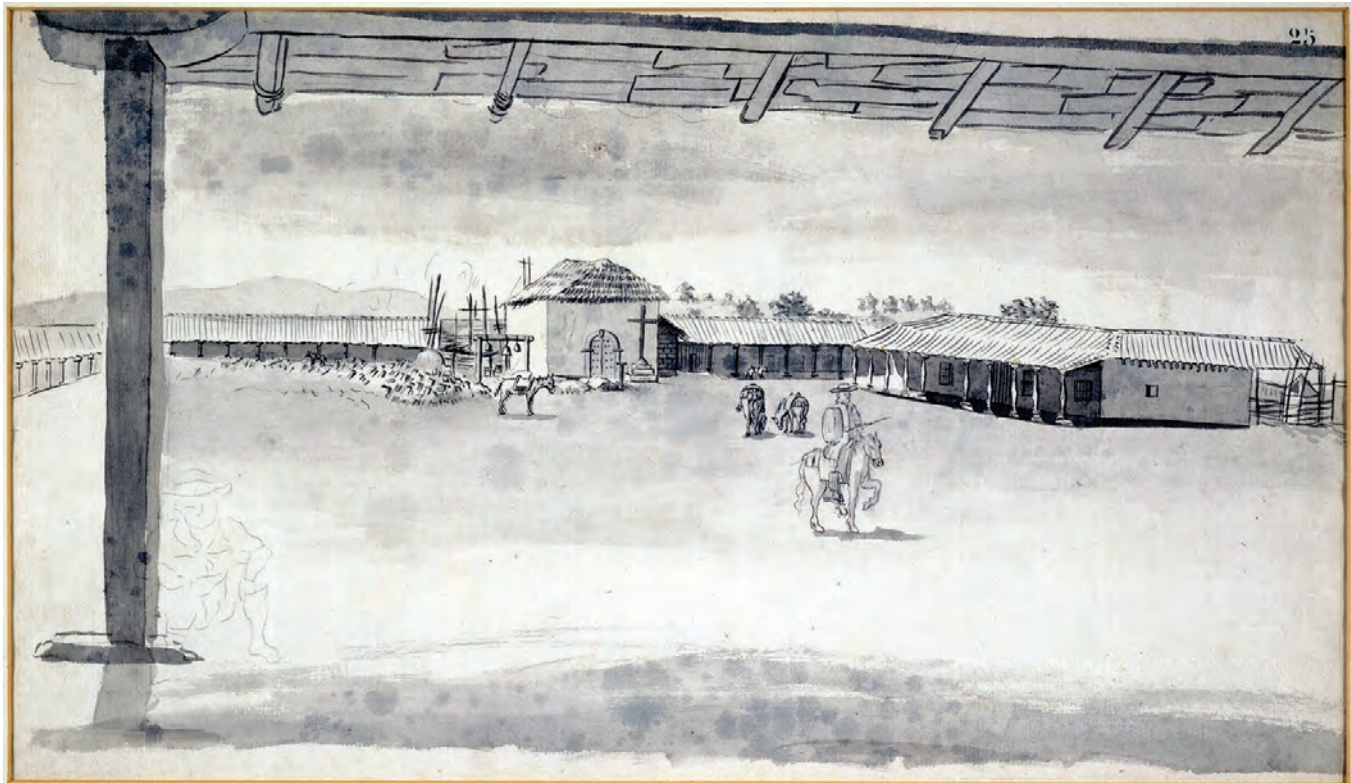
The historical archaeology in this instance was significantly aided and abetted by the treasure trove of primary source documents, and in particular, historic illustrations available for the completion of this research. Perhaps the two most critical such resources for ascertaining the construction sequence or architectural history identified very specifically with the construction of the Chapel of 1794 are those identified with the late 18th and early 19th century illustrations of José Cardero and Richard Brydges Beechey, respectively. The significance of the illustrations prepared by each of these individuals merits much further consideration than can be afforded in this context (Van Nostrand 1968).

Evidence derived from the observations of the artists and scientists of the Malaspina-Bustamante Expedition of 1789-94 has long provided a visual reference to the architectural characteristics of the site of the *Real Presidio de San Carlos de Monterey* as it appeared in 1791-92. It is to the credit of the 25-year-old José Cardero that the impeccable “scientific” illustrations that he produced at that time in his life continue to play a key role in the interpretation of the history of science, and the science of history, in New Spain and the Americas more generally. Because Cardero rendered his sketches of Monterey as a result of two landfalls at Monterey – the first from Alessandro Malaspina’s corvette, the *Descubierta*, and subsequently, aboard the *goleta* (or topsail schooner/brig) *Mexicana* with Cayetano Valdés y Flores – questions remain as to whether the sketches were produced on the first and or second landfalls at Monterey.

Despite the many questions that remain, Cardero’s invaluable 1791-92 sketches depict two distinct views of the Chapel of 1772. The first, and perhaps the most famous, *Vista del Presidio de Monte Rey*, depicts the whole of the *presidio* compound as viewed from the south, with the vessels *Descubierta* and *Atrevida* in the harbor (see Figure 2, above). A third ship, the *goleta Santa Saturnina*, arrived on 16 September of 1791, and joined the ships of the Malaspina Expedition at that time (Cutter 1960: 18). The second key Cardero illustration depicting the *presidio* presents a perspective looking south across the *presidio*’s *Plaza de Armas* (Plaza of Arms) toward the main façade of the thatched-roof Chapel of 1772 (see Figure 11, below). By that time, Cardero’s sketches depicted an already considerably altered 20-year old adobe sans the massive bell wall and tower that had been reduced to rubble shortly before the rendering of Cardero’s illustration of 1791-92.¹⁰

In the *Plaza de Armas* sketch, titled *Plaza del Presidio de Monte Rey*, Cardero depicts the Padre's Quarters of 1778, and attached timber *galería* or arcade, with scaffolding for the Chapel of 1794 rising from the background. Recent findings pertaining to the *Plaza de Armas* sketch confirm that that scaffolding tethered to the north and east walls of the under-construction rendering of the Chapel of 1794 served to facilitate the construction of the *espadaña* or bell wall and tower as per that progress made to 1791. The *Plaza de Armas* sketch also depicts the sacristy of the Chapel of 1772 – to the west or right of the chapel -- thought to have been added as a lean-to structure after 1778. Not only have recent discoveries confirmed the precise location of the granite boulder and shale block foundation footings of the Chapel of 1772, and the Sacristy of 1778 depicted in the Cardero sketch, archaeology in this instance has in turn served to validate the precision with which Cardero rendered his subjects.

Richard Brydges Beechey (1808 - 1895) served as a midshipman on *H.M.S Blossom* under the command of his brother, Captain Frederick William



Beechey (Beechey 1832). During the years 1825 through 1828, *Blossom* voyaged to the Pacific and Bering Strait as part of a British polar expedition to determine the navigational prospects of the north-west passage to the Pacific (Beechey 1832). Beechey and admiralty mate William Smyth also served as artists for the expedition during which they illustrated and documented the voyage in its entirety (Beechey 1832). The *Blossom* made landfall at Monterey after departing San Francisco in 1827. During his

Figure 11. Cardero's sketch of the Chapel of 1772 as seen from the perspective of a northeast to south-southwest view across the *Plaza de Armas* in circa 1791-92. Document courtesy the Archives of the Diocese of Monterey.

sojourn in Monterey, Captain Frederick William Beechey and his crew visited Mission San Carlos Borromeo and the Royal Presidio of Monterey (Beechey 1832). At that time, Captain Beechey noted that although the condition of the *Real Presidio de San Carlos de Monterey* was more stable than that of the *Real Presidio de San Francisco*, particularly insofar as its role as a key defensive fortification, the perimeter defensive curtain of the Royal Presidio of Monterey was nevertheless rendered inadequate as a result of the attack on Monterey by the Argentinean privateer Hippolyte de Bouchard in 1818. While in Monterey, Beechey produced a particularly detailed watercolor and pencil illustration of the Royal Presidio of Monterey under the Mexican flag. The *H.M.S. Blossom* is depicted to the far right, while the Presidio quadrangle is depicted with a ruined eastern perimeter defensive curtain or adobe wall (see Figure 12, below). Significantly, many of those architectural features ultimately identified archaeologically or interpreted by way of other primary source documents are necessarily corroborated by way of those period illustrations rendered by Beechey.

Figure 12, (below). View west toward the *Real Presidio de San Carlos de Monterey* from the vantage point of *El Estero* as seen and illustrated by Richard Brydges Beechey, circa 1826-27. Note east barracks range building and ruins of the east perimeter defensive curtain of the *Presidio* quadrangle in foreground, and west adobe end-wall of the Padre's Quarters on this, the east side, of the Royal Presidio Chapel of 1794. Illustration courtesy the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California.

Identifying the Earliest Chapel



I have cautiously ventured references in this instance to the 1st through 3rd chapels of the Royal Presidio of Monterey, with the first dated to 1770, the second to 1772, and the third and final to 1794. I should note that this has been done so as to address what I am now convinced constitutes confusion, and at the very least, a misinterpretation of the social and architectural history of the Royal Presidio Chapel – Structures 1 through 3. The San Carlos Cathedral, identified herein as the Chapel of 1794, has long been thought to constitute the 4th chapel identified with the presidio compound. Recent findings from both the archaeology and history of the site now presuppose

that the Chapel of 1772 was actually the 2nd chapel, and as such originally intended to accommodate the church or sanctuary for the mission of *San Carlos de Monterey*, whose construction was initiated while Fray Junípero Serra, OFM, and Fray Juan Crespi, OFM, were in residence at Monterey (1770-72). The earliest chapel of the Royal Presidio of Monterey, however, was that of the *jacalon* or pole, mud, and thatch structure erected in 1770 (see Figure 13).



Figure 13. The construction of a *jacalon* or pole-and-thatch structure was recently undertaken as part of an ongoing restoration and public education effort by the Mission Conservation Program of San Juan Bautista. The structure in question provides an approximation of what one might imagine for some of the earliest structures once located at the Royal Presidio of Monterey. In this instance, construction required the preparation of rawhide straps for use as ties for binding together those poles forming both the perimeter walls and roof of the structure. The effort was directed by program docent and blacksmith John Grafton with the assistance of a host of CSU Monterey Bay student interns. Photo © Rubén G. Mendoza, 2013.

Significantly, much of that confusion inherent in attempting to identify the earliest chapel erected within the confines of the presidio proper stems from engineer Miguel Costansó's plan for the site circulated in 1770 (*Archivo General de las Indias*, 1770, Map No. 529; cf. Howard 1978a: 17). In what Howard (1978a: 17) refers to as a "stylized version of the Costanzo [*sic*] original" housed at La Casa Lonja, Seville, Spain, and reprinted by him in tandem with what he deems "a copy of what is believed to be the original... plan," the only indication for a chapel is that identified with the letter "A" depicted in the plan at the southwest corner of the presidio compound in a structure located immediately north of the ravelin in that corner of the complex. In the "stylized version" of Costansó's *Plano del Real Presidio de Sn. Carlos de Monterrey* dated to 1770, the diminutive early *Presidio* structure identified with the letter "A" is referred to in the *Explicacion* or map legend of the plan as the *Yglesia actual*, or "current" church. Said map plan, based on a stylized version of the Costansó original, constitutes the principal source of much of that confusion inherent in attempting to identify the earliest building chronology specific to the evolution of church architecture contained within the presidio proper. Given the provisional and conjectural nature of Costansó's early plan, which clearly anticipated much of what would subsequently be erected in the way of perimeter defensive features

and range buildings identified with the presidio complex, I contend that the chapel, church or *Yglesia* noted in the Costansó plan was in turn conjectural, or at the very least, a short term or interim accommodation. The contention that the site of the Chapel of 1770 was misrepresented in the original *plano* is lent further credence when one considers that on 3 July of 1770 Fray Junípero Serra, OFM, in a letter penned to José de Gálvez, acknowledges that his only accommodations at that time were aboard *El Principe*, anchored in the Monterey Bay; or more specifically, “I who slept aboard the *El Principe*, not having yet a place of shelter ashore, for only the warehouse of the Presidio was being constructed” (cf., Howard 1978a: 18). Howard (1978a: 18) ultimately acknowledges that the presidio plat map sent by Captain Pedro Fages to Viceroy Carlos Francisco de Croix on 20 June 1771, “was a tentative plan, and may not represent exact locations of structures in 1771.”

One last consideration regarding the history of church architecture identified with the *Real Presidio de San Carlos de Monterey* concerns the putative original site of the first Serra mass conducted at that Monterey site identified with the original location of the Vizcaino or Serra Oak; which was in turn thought to constitute the site of that first mass convened at that same site by the chaplain who accompanied Sebastián Vizcaíno to Monterey in 1602. Given the ephemeral (and non-architectural) nature of that locality identified to date with the original Serra mass, I exclude this provisional site from consideration within the context of the architectural history of the presidio complex proper.

I hereby contend, therefore, that the only bonafide remains of the Chapel of 1770 are those archaeologically-recovered decomposed granite and charred (palisade) posthole footings exposed during the course of trenching operations undertaken in August of 2008. The archaeological feature in question, built as it was as part of a tandem Missionary’s Quarters, warehouse or *almacen*, and *Yglesia* or church, was conjoined with the southern perimeter defensive curtain or palisade of the *presidio*, and was thereby blessed by Fray Junípero Serra, OFM, on 14 June of 1770. According to Culleton (1950: 42), because of the particularly windy and inclement weather that befell the expedition on the feast day of *Corpus Christi* on that day in 1770, the sailors of the expedition “made a canopy under the warehouse roof with the flags of the various nations” because the “chapel was not finished.”¹¹ It was from this first, and provisional, sanctuary that both Fray Junípero Serra, OFM, and Fray Juan Crespi, OFM, ministered to the soldiers and civilians of the *Real Presidio de San Carlos de Monterey* between 1770 and 1772 (Geiger 1969).

The Serra Chapels

Scholarly conjecture and local lore has long grappled with a clearly problematized architectural history for the Royal Presidio of Monterey.

sizeable dimensions, and one whose dismantling appears to have been documented mid-course in José Cardero's illustration of 1791. According to Fages (1773; cf. Geiger 1967: 328):

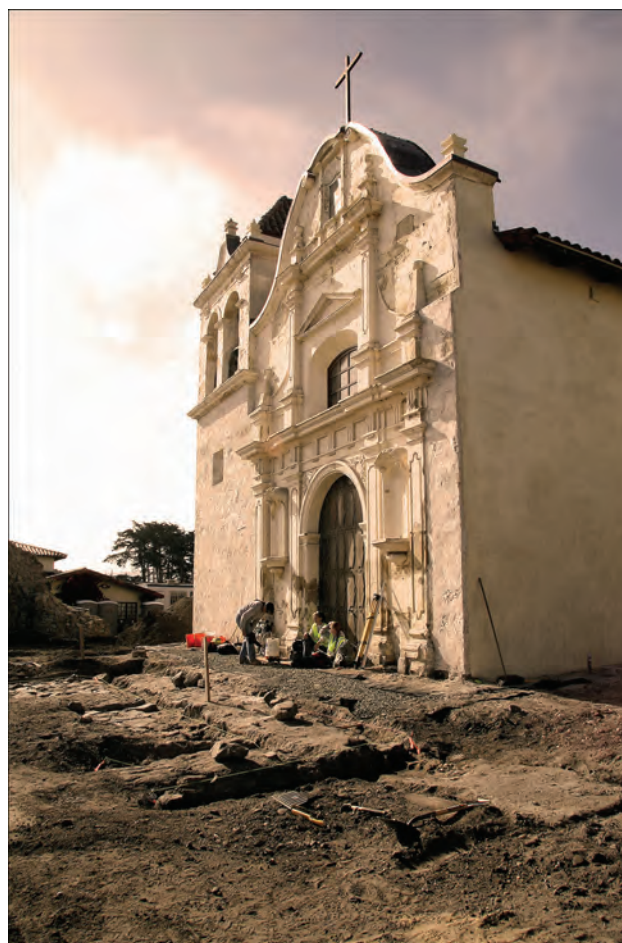
Joined to the right of the chapel is a tower¹⁴ six *varas* square also built of adobe. It is fifteen *varas* high and contains two terraces in ascending proportion in which to hang bells. The tower is surmounted by a cupola in the shape of a half orange and upon this rises an iron cross a *vara* and a half in height which also has a weather vane to show the direction of the wind. This tower has its foundation of stone mortared with lime and protrudes from the ground for three-fourths of a *vara*. The church and tower are plastered with lime within and without.

Fages account of 1773 thereby details the overall appearance and dimensions of the Chapel of 1772 by noting that its footprint measured some 7 *varas* in width by 15 *varas* in overall length, a fact that conforms with what was determined archaeologically during the 2008 recovery operations at the Royal Presidio of Monterey.¹⁵ Given those dimensions noted by Fages, which translate into English measure as 19.25 feet in width by 41.25 feet in length, one should anticipate that future (archaeological) investigations in that portion of the Church Street road-bed fronting the San Carlos Cathedral will assuredly result in the recovery of that portion of the Chapel of 1772 not investigated during the 2008 project effort (see Figure 15).¹⁶

Period of Construction

Archaeological findings from the area immediately north and west of the northwest corner of the San Carlos Cathedral reveal that the conjoined Missionary's Quarters, warehouse, and chapel consisted of little more than a *jacalon* or large pole, thatch, and mud structure some 11 to 15 feet in width.¹⁷ The archaeologically-defined structure so noted, I thereby contend, constitutes the original footprint of the Chapel of 1770 erected within the confines of the *Real Presidio de San Carlos de Monterey*. While the *enramada* -- or pole, branch, and brush provisional shelter erected at the Vizcaino (Serra) Oak on 3 June of 1770 -- may well constitute the first such Catholic religious "structure" on the Monterey Bay (see Figure 16, below); the massive wooden cross erected by the Portola Expedition and cited in Costansó's account of 1769 (see Figure 1, above), may well anticipate the claim in question if ephemeral or free-standing monuments are similarly taken into account. It is this latter *enramada* that I believe has led to so much confusion about the architectural history of the Royal Presidio of Monterey proper. Given the facts in question, I have come to conclude that only three chapels comprise

Figure 15. View to the southeast of the Serra Chapel of 1772, and Sacristy of 1778, excavation areas located within the immediate forecourt of the Chapel of 1794, or San Carlos Cathedral of Monterey, California. Photo © Rubén G. Mendoza, 2008.



the history of religious architecture at the Royal Presidio of Monterey, and that the San Carlos Cathedral in effect constitutes the 3rd chapel or *Yglesia* at that site.

Ultimately, the available evidence warrants the observation that the Chapel of 1772 constitutes the first “adobe” chapel on site, and the 2nd chapel erected within the *presidio* compound, after that originally conjoined to the Missionary’s Quarters in June of 1770. The first structure on site, it is clear, was only provisional, and made use of the newly installed southern perimeter palisade, or defensive curtain, identified archaeologically as constituting the south or rear wall of the Missionary’s Quarters of 1770. Interestingly, this pattern of integrating perimeter defensive curtains or walls into room-block configurations was subsequently repeated with the construction of both the Padre’s and Soldiers’ Quarters of 1778. The tandem recovery of the Missionary’s Quarters (*jacalon*) and Chapel of 1772 indicates that the latter structure was attached to the north wall of the former structure in a manner consonant with the orientation of the original palisade and barracks structures of the 1770, or earliest phase, of the site’s development (see Figure 17).

As previously noted, the Chapel of 1772 was first identified in a 20 June of 1771 plat map of the Royal Presidio of Monterey prepared by Captain Pedro Fages and sent to the viceroy of New Spain.¹⁸ In said document, Fages indicated the specific location of the Chapel of 1772, but left open to question the construction status of the sanctuary at that time. By August of 1771, Fray Junípero Serra, OFM, was apparently already accustomed to making reference to the Royal Presidio Chapel complex as the “old stand” in his assignment of Fray Crespi to continued religious duties at the *Real Presidio de San Carlos de Monterey*. Nevertheless, a later account by Fray Francisco Palóu, OFM, dated to December 1773 acknowledges that the Chapel of 1772 retained its original “flat and mud-covered” roof to that date. According to other early accounts, the Chapel of 1772 consisted of a flat *terrado*, or wood plank, earth, and lime plastered, roof and ceiling through 1776 when Fray Pedro Font, OFM, visited the site in that year and described the Chapel as such (Culleton 1950: 60).



Figure 16. This marble marker commemorating the Junípero Oak as of 1905 was lost to the ages until recovered as a consequence of the Royal Presidio Conservation Project archaeology effort at the San Carlos Cathedral in 2007. Photo © Rubén G. Mendoza, 2007.



Figure 17. View of the archaeologically-exposed granite foundation footings, boulder pavements, and Roman mortar floorings of the Serra Chapel of 1772. The archaeology field crew, consisting of Gerald Jones, Esther Kenner, and Brenna Wheelis, respectively, are here pictured recovering the granite-boulder pavement of the Serra Chapel of 1772; the footprint of which is located within the forecourt of the San Carlos Cathedral. Photo © Rubén G. Mendoza, 2008.

These findings and observations thereby acknowledge that the Chapel of 1772 was not only the earliest adobe church in California, but also the first “mission” chapel on record in California; after the *enramada*, or temporary (and not particularly weatherproof) pole and thatch, structures installed at the putative site of the Vizcaino or Serra Oak, and at the Mission/Presidio sites of Monterey and San Diego de Alcalá, by Fray Junípero Serra, OFM, and his compatriots in 1769-70. Significantly, the Chapel of 1772 was consecrated as the *Capilla de San José*, after its spiritual patron, Saint Joseph, and not *San Carlos* -- a name adopted early in the American period so as to acknowledge the principal patron of the Mission district in question.

Assessing the Evidence

Given that evidence now available from the archaeology, I now conclude that much of that information reported to date (with respect to the existence of four chapels at the Royal Presidio of Monterey) is largely conjectural or misinformed.¹⁹ I contend, therefore, that consideration of the following observations and findings from the archaeology, and other primary source documents, are essential to assessing the fundamental identity and historic significance of the Chapel of 1772, particularly insofar as considerations regarding California’s earliest Christian missionary foundations are concerned. Current observations and findings indicate that (a) the Chapel of 1772 was in reality the 2nd chapel of the Royal Presidio of Monterey, which thereby supports the argument that the San Carlos Cathedral (aka: Chapel of 1794) was in effect the 3rd chapel erected on the same site; (b) the 2nd chapel, or *Capilla de San José*, thereby constitutes the first adobe “mission” chapel in *Alta California*, and its construction took place between 1771 and 1772; (c) the Chapel of 1772 was originally installed as a

“mission” chapel by Fray Junípero Serra, OFM, and Fray Juan Crespí, OFM, and was subsequently deactivated as a “mission” chapel, and then formally converted over to use as a *presidio* or military chapel in 1772; (d) Fray Serra and Fray Crespí ministered in the Chapel of 1772 until such time that Serra relocated the “mission” to the *Río Carmelo* and left Crespí to minister to the military and civilian population from the confines of the 2nd chapel in 1772; (e) During the 18-month sojourn of Serra and his compatriots at Monterey, the 1770 and 1772 chapel sites served as the spiritual headquarters for the missionaries of *Alta California*, and Fray Serra’s base of operations in particular, for a period of no less than six months to a year before the *padre* initiated transfer of the mission to *San Carlos Borroméo de Carmelo* in February-March of 1772; (f) the first solemn high mass (*Corpus Christi*) at Monterey was celebrated on 30 May 1771, and may well have been celebrated in the shadows of the as yet unfinished Chapel of 1772 by Fray Serra during landfall of the frigate *San Antonio* in that year; (g) on or about 1 August of 1771 Fray Serra assigned Fray Crespí to maintain and minister at the “old stand,” specifically identified by Fray Serra with the Monterey chapels of 1770 and 1772, while he (Serra) launched the founding of *San Carlos Borroméo de Carmelo*; (h) sometime after February or March of 1772 Fray Crespí transferred the last of the “mission’s” goods and furnishings to San Carlos Borroméo, and assigned Friars Domingo Juncosa (1740-?) and José Cavaller (1740-1789) -- both of the archdiocese of Tarragona, Catalonia, Spain -- to minister as the “first priests” or *presidio* chaplains in care of the Chapel of 1772 at Monterey;²⁰ and finally, (i) the abandoned “mission” house of worship (or Chapel of 1772) thereby became the first *presidio* chapel to serve the spiritual needs of the military and civilian populations of Monterey in its guise as the *Capilla de San José*, now the site of the San Carlos Cathedral.

Historic Site Significance

When construed solely in terms of a specific venue that served as host to events of paramount historical significance, the Serra chapels of Monterey are of clearly central importance to the documentation of the earliest evangelical efforts by the Order of Friars Minor in *Alta California*. Given their status as the earliest Catholic, and thereby Christian, houses of worship yet identified archaeologically in the former province of Alta California; not to mention their status as church structures specifically identified with the ministry and industry of the Blessed Fray Junípero Serra, OFM, and Fray Juan Crespí, OFM; the respective significance of the Serra chapels of Monterey is without contest. One need only consider but a few of those events that framed the spiritual, political, and cultural life of the chapels in question to define the import of their role as significant regional landmarks (see Figure 18, below). Significantly, on Sunday, 11 March, 1776, the legendary expeditionary commander Captain Juan Bautista de Anza

Bezerra Nieto (1736-1788) entered the following acknowledgement in his personal diary regarding that mass convened within the Chapel of 1772 at the *Real Presidio de San Carlos de Monterey*:

The reverend father president of the missions of these new establishments came with three other friars from the mission of Carmelo, which is a league distant, to welcome me and to invite me to go to the mission. With their aid we had the advantage of Mass and a sermon, given by our father chaplain, Fray Pedro Font, as an act of thanksgiving for the successful arrival of the expedition at this [Monterey] presidio. With great energy he exhorted our people to manifest their Catholicism by their exemplary lives, as a mirror which the piety of his Majesty is sending to these regions to convert its heathen, this being the principal purpose for which they have been brought.

In addition to its pivotal role as the mission and presidio chapel of *San Carlos de Monterey*, the Chapel of 1772 saw use as the principal venue for some of the great and momentous firsts in the history of California and the West. In addition, the Chapel of 1772 served as the sanctuary within which the friars administered the sacrament of “exploration” to Captain Juan Bautista de Anza’s intrepid and stalwart party of expeditionaries who went on to identify and chart the *Baja de San Francisco* in 1776. The chapels of 1770 and 1772 similarly constitute the hallowed grounds where both the first Christian baptism of a Native Californian took place on 26 December of 1770 in the guise of Bernardino de Jesús Fages (Culleton 1950: 46), and where the first California (Christian) *pobladores* were buried in hallowed (church) grounds as early as 26 July 1770 when the first such *campo santo* or cemetery was blessed in *Alta California*. Significantly, the chronicles of Fray Junípero Serra, OFM, acknowledge that the first Christian burial in Alta California took place at the foot of the cross planted by the soldiers of the Serra-Portolà Expedition at the Vizcaino (Serra) Oak of Monterey, where Alexo Niño was buried on 3 June of 1770. Subsequent burials at the *Real Presidio de San Carlos de Monterey* were those already noted to have taken place on 26 July of 1770. Interestingly, the second of the *pobladores* or Hispanic Catholic colonists to die at Monterey was an African American crewman by the name of Ignacio Ramírez.²¹ Four others soon followed, and were buried in rapid succession in the *presidio* cemetery identified with the Chapel of 1770 first blessed on 26 July of that year. Ultimately, while many other “firsts” for the history of California have yet to be fully elucidated, the greater historical significance of the chapels of 1770 and 1772 may well continue to be gauged primarily in terms of their having been constructed and consecrated under the direction of Fray Junípero Serra, OFM. As such, their pivotal roles in the founding of the westernmost outpost of the Spanish empire is incontrovertible.

Concluding Remarks

In the final analysis, it is clear that recent studies from the archaeology of the *Real Presidio de San Carlos de Monterey* now pose many more questions than can possibly be addressed at this time. Contrary to prevailing views that hold that the original Missionary's Quarters, and Fray Junípero Serra's Chapels of 1770 and 1772, were located outside the *presidio* compound, this study has produced a substantive body of evidence and new revelations that confirm that the Blessed Fray Junípero Serra, OFM, and his compatriots were housed within, and not beyond, the walls of the *Real Presidio de San Carlos de Monterey* in the period from 1770 through 1772.

Significantly, during the trenching operations of the summer of 2007, substantive fragments of a carved slate block of stone, and an elevated platform comprised of finely dressed shale-block were in turn identified just beneath the northwest corner of the San Carlos Cathedral. The features in question are now thought to represent the remains of the masonry altar platform of the Serra Chapel of 1770, and may well constitute

all that remains of the sanctuary area of the earliest Christian house of worship on the Pacific Coast of *Alta California*. In the final analysis, on the very day in 2008 that I was tasked with seeing through the reburial of the foundation footings and Roman mortar pavements of the Chapel of 1772, I discretely positioned myself over what would have constituted the *sancta sanctorum*, or altar, of the Serra Chapel of 1772 and dropped to my knees and made the sign of the Cross; and in that way paid tribute to the many ancestors, and centuries of sacrifice, that lay in the sandy loamy deposits of this most sacred place – a fact that continues to strike a scholarly chord, and at the same time, give spiritual pause to this descendant of the earliest Hispanic Catholic *pobladores* of California and the West.



Figure 18. On 3 June of 2009 Bishop Richard Garcia of the Diocese of Monterey reopened and rededicated the San Carlos Cathedral some 239 years after the founding of the *Real Presidio de San Carlos de Monterey*, and 215 years after the construction of the chapel of 1794. In this photo, the Bishop and the processional party stand atop the paved forecourt that overlies the Serra Chapel of 1772. Photo © Rubén G. Mendoza, 2009.

Acknowledgements

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the Very Reverend Peter A. Crivello, V.G., Pastor the San Carlos Cathedral, and Cathy Leiker, Project Manager of the Royal Presidio Chapel Conservation Project, for recruiting such a stellar team of consultants, contractors, and specialists to this effort. I in turn wish to thank former Bishop Sylvester Ryan, and the Most Reverend Richard J. Garcia, D.D. Bishop of Monterey, for their past and present support for my work on behalf of the Diocese of Monterey. Sir Richard Joseph Menn was most generous in fielding so many questions about the history of the Catholic heritage of the Monterey Bay for both my students and me. I thank Father Carl Faria, Archivist of the Diocese of Monterey, for his gracious and very generous assistance with archival resources and other leads regarding this research. Ultimately, the lion's share of the credit for those findings reported here go to those lab and field crews that proved indispensable, and indefatigable, in their efforts to keep pace with the process of discovery over the course of the Royal Presidio Chapel Conservation Project effort spanning the fall of 2006 through the fall of 2008. The members of the fall 2006 and summer 2007 lab and field crews consisted most notably of Adrian Lopez, Gerald Jones, Cori Finley, Gina Michaels, Shari Harder, Adam Harris, and Genetta Butler, among others; whereas Esther Kenner, Brenna Wheelis, Ellen Albertoni, Gerald Jones, and Cristina Verdugo saw through the summer 2008 mitigation efforts pertaining to the Serra chapels. In addition to the aforementioned California State University, Monterey Bay, Institute for Archaeology students cited in this report, I hereby acknowledge Ms. Jennifer A. Lucido of the Sonoma State University Cultural Resources Management Program for her tireless and devoted long-term efforts and truly invaluable assistance with pertinent research and other editorial assistance and transcription services required for the successful completion of this latest study, and the 2012 cultural resources assessment that anticipated this latest undertaking. Last, but not least, I gratefully acknowledge my devoted wife Linda Marie Mendoza, and my loving and very understanding daughters, Maya Nicole, and Natalie Dawn Marie Mendoza, whose ongoing support makes this work possible.

Endnotes

1. *Antes de dexar esta ensenada erigimos una cruz sobre la plaia con un letrero gravado en la propia madera que decía: escarba: al pié hallarás un escrito. Este era el que insertamos aquí copiado al pié de la letra (Costansó, Sunday, December 10, 1769, cf. Web de Anza. Available at <http://anza.uoregon.edu/Action.lasso?-database=c69sp&-layout=standard&-op=eq&date=12/10/1769&-response=format/c69sppg2fmt.html&-maxrecords=1000&-noResulterror=anzaweb/sorry.html&-search>)*

La expedición de tierra que salió de San Diego el día 14 de Julio de 1769 años á las ordenes del Governador de Californias don Gaspar de Portolá, entró en la Canal de Santa Barbara el día nueve de Agosto: pasó la Punta de la Concepcion el día veinte y siete del mismo: llegó al pié de la Sierra de Santa Lucía el día treze de Septiembre: entró en la sierra dicha el diez y siete del propio mes: acabó de pasar la sierra ó de descabezarla del todo el día primero de Octubre; y avistó el propio día la Punta de Pinos: el siete del mismo, reconocida ya la Punta de Pinos, y las ensenadas a la banda del norte, y sur de ella, sin ver señas del Puerto de Monterrey, resolvió pasar adelante en busca de él: a treinta de Octubre dió vista a la Punta de los Reyes, y farallones del Puerto de San Francisco en numero de siete. Quiso llegar a la Punta de los Reies la expedición; pero unos esteros inmensos, que [M se] internan extraordinariamente en la tierra, y le precisaban a dar un rodeo sumamente grande, y otras dificultades (siendo la maior la falta de viveres) la precisaron á tomar la buelta, creyendo que el Puerto de Monterrey podría tal vez, hallarse dentro de la Sierra de Santa Lucía; y temiendose haver pasado sin haverlo visto: dió la buelta desde lo ultimo del Estero de San Francisco en onze de Noviembre. Pasó por la Punta de Año Nuevo el diez y nueve del dicho; y llegó otra vez á esta Punta y Ensenada de Pinos en veinte y siete del mismo: desde dicho día hasta el presente nueve de Diziembre practicó la diligencia de buscar el Puerto de Monterrey dentro de la cerranía, costeandola por la mar a pesar de su aspereza, pero en vano: por ultimo desengañada ya, y desesperando encontrarlo despues de tantas dilixencias, afánes y trabajos, sin mas viveres que catorze costales de arina, sale hoi de esta ensenada para San Diego. Pide a Dios todopoderoso la guie, y a ti navegante quiera llevarte su Divina Providencia a puerto de salvamento. En esta Ensenada de Pinos a nueve de Diziembre de mil setecientos sesenta y nueve años.

Nota: El ingeniero don Miguel Costanso observó la latitud de varios parages de la costa siendo los principales los siguientes. San Diego en el real que ocupó en tierra la expedición 32° 42 El pueblo de gentiles mas oriental en la Canal de Santa Barbara 34 18 La Punta de la Concepcion 34 30 El principio de la Sierra de Santa Lucía hacia el sur 35 45 Su fin en esta ensenada de la Punta de Pinos 36 36 La Punta de Año Nuevo que es baja y de arrecifes de Piedra 37 04 En tierra cerca del Puerto de San Francisco teniendo los farallones al oeste quarta al noroeste 37 35 Juzgo la Punta de los Reies que miraba al oesnoroeste desde el mismo sitio por 37 44

Se les suplica a los señores comandantes de los pacabotes, ya sea de San Joseph, ó del Principe que si a pocos días despues de la fecha de este escrito abordaren á esta plaia; enterados de su contenido y del triste estado de la expedición procuren arrimarse a la costa y seguirla para San Diego a fin de que si la expedición tuviese la dicha de avistar a una de las dos embarcaciones y les pudiese dar á entender con señas de banderas ó tiros de fusil el parage en que se halle la socorra con viberes si posible fuese.

Alabado sea Dios.

2. *Nos pusimos en marcha con el tiempo sereno y frio anduvimos legua y media, y campos del otro lado de la Punta de Pino caminamos una y media leguas Al Pinar 1 ½ leguas. De la Ensenada de Pinos 1 ½ leguas. (Costansó, Sunday, December 10, 1769,*

cf. Web de Anza. Available at <http://anza.uoregon.edu/Action.lasso?-database=c69sp&-layout=standard&-op=eq&date=12/10/1769&-response=format/c69sppg2fmt.html&-maxrecords=1000&-noResulterror=anzaweb/sorry.html&-search>)

3. A chainsaw-wielding vandal recently desecrated this significant historical marker, and the State of California and the City of Monterey opted to permit the hate crime in question to stand unchallenged. The remains of the Portola Expedition cross were ultimately salvaged by concerned citizens and the cross has since been resurrected on the properties of the Diocese of Monterey.
4. Our use of the site name of *El Real Presidio de Monterey*, or more aptly, *El Real Presidio de San Carlos de Monterrey*, is drawn quite specifically from period documents penned by Portolá, Fages, and Serra. Fray Junípero Serra in fact maintained the use of the name for his mission as *La Misión de San Carlos de Monterey* through the course of his life at the “new stand” at the mouth of the *Río Carmelo*.
5. The Chapel of 1794 is in turn depicted with wooden task walls and scaffolding in place, and cranes and pulley systems for hauling stone to the top of the walls at the south and north. The southern and eastern portions of the Presidio perimeter defensive curtains are clearly visible. In order to construct the new Chapel of 1794, it was necessary for the builders to construct a massive granite-boulder terrace extending beyond the southern perimeter defensive curtain. They were thereby able to extend the new Chapel to the edge of the escarpment overlooking the channel to the south by way of breaching the southern perimeter defensive curtain of 1778.
6. The conservation team consisted of Anthony Crosby (Architectural Conservator), Fred Webster (Engineer), John Griswold (Art Conservator), Brett Brenkwitz, Charles Franks, and Mike Beautz (Architects), Michael Tornabene (Art Conservator), and myself, Rubén G. Mendoza (Project Archaeologist), among a host of others. The construction crew was in turn supervised by Project Foreman Earl Baker (2007) and Lou Theilin (Devcon Construction). Project Engineer Lisa Fitz of Devcon provided meticulously detailed weekly reports of all contract-related activities pertaining to the retrofit and conservation efforts for the course of the project.
7. The provisional date ascribed to the diminutive adobe structure identified with the Sacristy of 1778 was based on the projected date for the construction of the new southern perimeter defensive curtain of 1778; which was modified soon thereafter into the makings of the south wall of the Padres’ Quarters of 1778. Given that the Chapel of 1770 originally served as an almacén or warehouse structure, soon thereafter converted over to use as a chapel, and then as a Missionary’s Quarters; the construction of the new Padres’ Quarters of 1778 would have precluded the necessity for maintaining the by then dilapidated former Chapel of 1770. I have come to conclude that in order to build the Padre’s Quarters of 1778, it would have been necessary to dismantle the eight-year-old conjoined Missionary’s Quarters, Warehouse, and retired First Chapel of 1770. Therefore, the loss of the attached former housing and storage areas would have necessitated the construction of a vestry or Sacristy where the devotional materials from the Chapel of 1772 might be housed. As such, the date of 1778 presents the earliest such date that the addition was likely added.

8. Interestingly, while Geiger (1967) interpreted Fages report to indicate that the bell wall and platform was situated to the “right” or east (of north) of the main entrance to the Chapel of 1772, those archaeological deposits recovered immediately to the west of the Chapel of 1772 indicate a significant buried structure at that location, whereas trenching operations to the east bore little to no evidence of such a structure. Cardero’s 1791 illustration, however, does appear to support the idea that the bell tower and its cupola were located immediately east of the chapel as noted.
9. The incredible diversity of ceramics, particularly Spanish and Mexican majolicas, recovered by this most recent undertaking at the Royal Presidio of Monterey will have a key role to play in future studies of ceramics and their production in early California (e.g., Williams and Cohen-Williams, 2003).
10. Interestingly, Cardero’s sketch of the Chapel from the perspective of the *Plaza de Armas* clearly shows a large pile of what appear to be *ladrillo* or fired-tile of the type that would have composed the *espadana* or bell wall portion of the tower in question. As such, I would contend that given the paucity of references to precisely when said tower was dismantled, it may well be that the Chapel of 1772 lost its tower during the initial phase of construction identified with the Chapel of 1791-95. The location of construction materials or debris as the case may be, may well serve to confirm Pedro Fages’ 1774 description of the tower and its location at the northeast corner of said Chapel.
11. See also Howard (1978a: 18) for reference to Fray Junípero Serra’s accounting of the unfinished condition of the Chapel of 1770 as of 14 June of that year.
12. A *cuarta* or ‘fourth’ is a measurement of eight and a fourth inches, a little larger than a palm (cf. Geiger 1967:335).
13. The church with the cross in the center of the plaza may be seen in one of the drawings made during the Malaspina visit in 1794. See Donald C. Cutter, *Malaspina in California* (San Francisco, 1960), opposite p. 18 (cf. Geiger 1967:335).
14. This tower is not shown in any of the drawings of the Malaspina visit. It probably fell and was not replaced (cf. Geiger 1967:335). The Geiger (1967) observation noted here apparently overlooked evidence inherent to the image which indicates that the remains of the tower and cupola may be seen immediately to the east or left-hand side of the Serra Chapel of 1772.
15. The Spanish colonial era unit of linear measure was the *vara*, which varied somewhat through time. In California, the *vara* approximates 0.33 inches. Therefore, the Chapel of 1772 was said by Fages to measure 19.25 feet in width by 41.25 feet in overall length. These measures in turn conform to those recently identified by way of my investigations for the discovery of the Mother Church or Capilla de 1797 from Old Mission San Juan Bautista, California. (Mendoza and Lucido 2013; Mendoza 2013).
16. I would strongly recommend the closure of Church Street so as to mitigate, and thereby minimize, the deleterious effects of automobile traffic transiting so close to the historic San Carlos Cathedral. To that end, some discussion has already been had with the City of Monterey about the prospects of transforming Church Street into the San Carlos Presidio Park.
17. See Mendoza and Cruz (1994) for further discussion regarding the role of *jacales*, *jacalon*, and other provisional pole and thatch structures in the set-

tlement of New Spain. Whereas the 11-foot measure defines the span of the interior room-block, the 15-foot measure encompasses both the room-block and walls of the structure so noted.

18. The Spanish general and viceroy of New Spain, Carlos Francisco de Croix, marqués de Croix, 1766-1771.
19. I should note that at the outset of this project, I too attempted to accommodate the available architectural histories into a framework that identified a 4th Chapel – that being the Chapel of 1791-95.
20. Cited from Maynard Geiger, O.F.M. *Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California, 1769-1848*. San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1969.
21. Ignacio Ramírez is documented to have succumbed while in the care of expedition surgeon Don Pedro Prat.

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DECODING THE BONES

Spanish Colonial Butchering Practices at the Royal Presidio of Monterey

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Introduction¹

The *Presidio Real de San Carlos de Monterey* was the commanding military institution of the *Californias* from circa 1770 through 1840. Significant Spanish colonial era architectural, material cultural, and faunal remains were recovered during the course of archaeological field investigations undertaken between 2006 and 2008 by Dr. Ruben Mendoza and the field crews of the California State University, Monterey Bay. Faunal remains, particularly those of *Bos taurus*, *Sus scrofa*, *Ovis aries*, *Capra a. hircus*, and *Gallus gallus* (from herein referred to as cow or cattle, pig, sheep, and chicken) were recovered in significant quantities. Given the value of faunal remains for assessing butchery practices, and thereby dietary preferences in human populations, this paper examines those cultural modifications or cutmark and consumption patterns in evidence from the collections in question. In order to properly assess the value of said collections, an experimental archaeology was undertaken in order to attempt replication of those cutmarks noted from the collections of the Royal Presidio of Monterey for the purposes of identifying both butchering patterns and dietary preferences. The investigation of faunal assemblages from other Alta California Spanish colonial and Mission era (circa 1769-1834) sites are in turn reviewed for their implications at the Royal Presidio of Monterey.

The experimental archaeology undertaken for this review sought to simulate butchery patterns and modifications observed on the faunal remains from the Royal Presidio collection. Essential to this experiment were fresh cuts of beef and pork with the skeletal elements intact, including that of a rib rack and, sections of a limb or shank. It should be noted that those specimens utilized constitute relatively accurate examples of food sources

About the Author

Jennifer Lucido, BA, is a graduate of the California State University, Monterey Bay, with a Bachelor of Arts degree in Social and Behavioral Sciences. Specializing in California archaeology and Mission era life ways of the Monterey Bay, she is presently a graduate student in Cultural Resources Management at Sonoma State University, and continues her studies into the archaeology of the missions and sole presidio of the Monterey Bay. Ms. Lucido's extensive field experience includes Missions San Juan Bautista and Soledad, as well as her efforts with the Society for California Archaeology's coastal survey of Marin County. She continues her analyses of collections from the Royal Presidio of Monterey for her Master's thesis.

Most recently Jennifer served as a Program Coordinator for the National Endowment for the Humanities Landmarks of American History and Culture Workshops for School Teachers (<http://the14thcolony.org/>): *The Fourteenth Colony: Native Californians, Missions, Presidios, and Colonists on the Spanish Frontier, 1769-1848*. These two one-week workshops served 80 school teachers from across the United States to explore the architectural, archaeological, cultural, and historical record of Spanish colonial missions in California.

for the presidial soldiers and Native Californian laborers at the Presidio of Monterey, as determined from those faunal elements examined for this study. John Grafton, who specializes in Spanish colonial ironwork techniques and traditions, recreated Spanish Colonial era metal tools, including knives/cleavers, machetes, saws, axes, and other tools utilized in this study.

Archaeology of the Royal Presidio of Monterey

In a recent report titled *Archaeology of the Royal Presidio Chapel: An Archaeological Resources Assessment of the Presidio Real de San Carlos de Monterey, CA-MNT-271H, Monterey County, CA*, Ruben G. Mendoza (2009a, 2012) documents a five-phase investigation and assessment of those cultural and historical resources recovered from the Royal Presidio of Monterey during the course of a 2006



through 2008 field study. Phases 1 and 2 of the project so noted entailed the sounding of excavation units, potholes, and ultimately, trenching undertaken in 2006 and 2007. The broader effort ultimately entailed an extensive trenching operation that subsumed a total of thirty-one 22' trench spans that encircled the perimeter of the Royal Presidio Chapel during the Phase 3 operations undertaken in 2007 (Mendoza 2012).

Figure 1. Jose Cardero illustration of the Royal Presidio of Monterey during the course of the 1791 construction that culminated with the completion of the Royal Presidio Chapel of 1794. Image courtesy Archives of the Diocese of Monterey and Ruben G. Mendoza.

Phase 4 of the archaeological investigation was begun in 2008, and centered on the excavation and mitigation of the Serra Chapel of 1772 (Mendoza 2009a, 2012). Significant Spanish colonial era architectural features were discovered and identified, including (a) the Terrace 1 feature identified with the original south wall of the Chapel of 1794; (b) the Serra Mission chapel of 1772; (c) the foundations of the 1778-79 Padres' Quarters; (d) foundation footings of the Sacristy of 1778; (e) foundations footings for the Baptistry of 1810; (f) foundation footings for the 1778 southern defensive curtain, which also served as the south wall of the Soldiers' Barracks and Padres' Quarters; and finally, (g) the decomposed granite and timber footings and middens of the Chapel of 1770. The latter are thought by Mendoza to constitute the first Presidio structure erected at the site (2009a, 2012). In addition, during the course of archaeological monitoring of the site, a rich and diverse material culture (best exemplified by a host of foreign earthenwares and *majolicas*) and great quantities of faunal remains were recovered (Mendoza 2012).

The faunal remains excavated from the Terrace 1 archaeological feature have since been correlated with an 1807 midden (Mendoza 2012). The chronological assignment of said deposit was determined from a single

date-stamped British shard, as well as from associated *Tlaquepaque* and other *majolica* earthenwares. According to Mendoza (2012), the midden deposits in question indicate a dietary transition from that a marine presence associated with the 1770-78 settlement through to later periods in which the emphasis is with cattle and stock raising. Cattle remains were found to dominate subsequent periods as reflected in the archaeological record (Mendoza 2012). From the findings at Terrace 1, it may be inferred that the prevalence of faunal remains identified with cattle and other stock constitutes the successful introduction and establishment of the ranching industry at the Royal Presidio of Monterey (Mendoza 2012).

In addition to the Terrace 1 feature, culturally modified faunal remains recovered from the trenching operation focused on the perimeter of the Royal Presidio Chapel of Monterey exemplify the presence of cattle within the presidial diet. As noted, the most significant quantities of cattle-related faunal remains under study were recovered from six trenches, including Trenches 3a, 6, 26, 4a-b, 9, and 8a/c. Furthermore, Trenches 3a, 4a-b, 6, and 9 constituted kitchen middens representative of the differing periods of occupation spanning 1770 through circa 1810 (Mendoza 2009a, 2012, and Personal Communication). Ultimately, archaeological recovery within the aforementioned trenches produced thousands of individual specimens, from which those examined were selected for individual analysis and comparative assessment.



Figure 2. View of archaeological monitoring operation and trenching of the perimeter of the Royal Presidio Chapel that resulted in the recovery of those samples under study. Photo courtesy Ruben G. Mendoza, 2007.

Domestic Animals in the Californias

Iberian cattle were first introduced into the New World, and Alta California, by Spanish colonists whose point of departure was west Mexico, or New Spain and Baja California. Cattle introduced to New Spain were predominantly from stock of Spanish origin introduced in the 16th century. The cattle of the Californias in particular were of Andalucían stock, and therefore, medium-sized and varied in color and physical characteristics (Gust 1991). Castilian stock, by contrast, was typically larger and predominantly black, and often used in bullfights (Gust 1991). However, it should be noted that

while European domesticated cattle are of a single species, that of *Bos taurus*, and consist a host of breeds (Gust 1991). When the initial *entrada* from Baja California to San Diego was undertaken, the Baja missions collectively donated some two hundred head of cattle, 46 horses, and 140 mules (Burcham 1961). Additional animals were introduced to California from other areas of New Spain over the first few years of the missionary enterprise, including 1,050 livestock (i.e., 350 cattle) from the Presidio of Tubac, Arizona (Burcham 1961).

Ranching was one of the first major industries introduced into colonial Alta California (Burcham 1961). This industry provided meat, leather, hide, tallow, and other products. Under the mission system the new livestock flourished (Burcham 1961). Projections of livestock herds suggest that between 230,000 and 400,000 head of cattle were introduced under mission control during the period spanning 1821 through 1832 (Burcham 1961; McLaughlin and Mendoza 2009). In addition to the missionary settlements proper, each mission operated at least one *rancho* off site in order to raise and supply livestock for the mission community proper (Burcham 1961; Gentilcore 1961). California pasture lands provided the bulk of that feed used for the maintenance of stock. A host of archaeological studies pertaining to Spanish colonial stock raising in the Americas indicate that faunal remains of cattle and pig were most abundant due to their adaptability to New World environments (Reitz 1992). By contrast, such studies also found that sheep constitute a lower percentage of faunal remains, and therefore were in part less adaptive to New World settings (Reitz 1992). Ultimately, success of mission livestock reflected the population sources and environments of a given region (Gentilcore 1961). Given the exponential growth of the cattle industry and its eventual dominance in Alta California, Monroy (1990: 152) asks the question: “was beef such an attractive and easily obtainable food source that the [Californian] Indian ranch hands readily adapted the cattle culture?” Whether Native Californian participation in the cattle industry was preferential or coerced, native laborers were instrumental in the perpetuation of that “cattle culture” that supported their dietary needs as represented by the archaeological record.

The introduction of cattle, pigs, goat, and sheep prompted ecological change (Hackel 2005). By 1783, at Mission San Carlos, there was a total of 874 animals (500 cattle) of which proved overwhelming. As the numbers grew, these animals consequently overran Indian lands, fields, and villages (Jackson and Castillo 1995). However, neophytes were permitted one to two week annual *paseos* or retreats from the missions during which neophytes could collect additional foods. This was at times necessary in order to provide access to sufficient food to sustain the Mission Indian populace of any given community (Hackel 2005).²

The Presidio of Monterey endured similar conflicts with overgrazing and drought, thereby resulting in the relocation of stock herds to the *Pueblo de Los Angeles* in 1781 (Hackel 2005). By 1800, the Presidio controlled 1,275 cattle and over 7,000 horses (Hackel 2005: 71). In addition, the introduction of Old World plants and agriculture prompted the ecological transformation of Alta California; and this in large measure due to botanical introductions that displaced native plant communities (Hackel 2005). Ultimately, alterations of the indigenous cultural and physical landscapes permitted the establishment of new economies poised for local and global markets.



Figure 3. The vaqueros or cowboys were central to the maintenance of the Spanish colonial ranching tradition in Alta California, as elsewhere from throughout the Americas. Photo courtesy the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Butchering Practices in Alta California

Excavations from the Ontiveros Adobe have recovered significant faunal remains studied and analyzed by Sherri Gust (1991). During this investigation, Gust gathered primary sources to establish a portrayal of “Californio-style” meat processing and meat preferences. From these sources, Gust determined that one of the first steps entailed the removal of the *fresada*, or that portion of meat covering the ribs (Gust 1991). The consumption and transport of meat was preceded by the cutting of meat into strips about an inch in diameter, and one to three feet long. In said form, the meat was dried out into jerky or *carne seca* (dry meat) (Gust 1991). The *carne seca* could then be pulverized into a powder with a mortar and pestle, and then mixed with other spices and/or liquids to create other food dishes (Gust 1991). Among one those sources reviewed by Gust (1991), she notes a reference that a Spanish or Mexican butcher lacks butchery skills as per Western standards. Said American cited indicated that the Spanish or Mexican butcher strips meat from the bone in a fashion similar to how one would remove skin from the carcass:

It would seem a small affair, at first sight, to get a piece of beef of any size, but you will learn to the contrary if you go to a Spanish or Mexican butcher. He knows nothing about side pieces or plate pieces or quarters. He goes in for stripping

the meat off the bones just as he does the skin, by cutting and tearing, making the whole into shreds and patches (Gust 1991:452).

In addition, Gust addressed the types of tools utilized during the butchery process. For the Ontiveros adobe of California, the only tools associated with the cutmarks were those of a metal knife and axe. A knife cutmark was represented by kerfs, or false starts (i.e. nicks), and was sometimes used like a saw (Gust 1991). An axe cutmark was represented by kerfs, cuts, and cuts-to-breaks. Axes likely had a flared shape in the iron, with a wooden handle. It is also likely that stone tools were utilized as well (Gust 1991).

Furthermore, Gust (1991) identified an archaeological feature from the Ontiveros Adobe that likely represented a *matanza* deposit. A *matanza* constitutes the site of an annual slaughter of cattle. This typically transpired during the summer in order to acquire hides and tallow for trading purposes (Gust 1991). Gust anticipated that such a site would entail a large number of bovine skeletal elements, and that the butchery marks should evidence a singular pattern in large measure due to the fact that the cattle would have all been slaughtered for the sole purpose of acquiring hides and tallow (1991). Alternative slaughter sites, such as those serving those missions, consisted of slaughtering twenty to thirty cattle at a given *matanza* (Gust 1991).

Excavation of *El Presidio de San Francisco* (est. 1776) began in 1993 (Blind 2004). Within the archaeological record, faunal assemblages were recovered and served the investigators of this site as a prime indicator of dietary preferences. Those faunal remains recovered clearly indicate that the soldiers and settlers sustained a meat-based diet, primarily dependent on cattle (Blind 2004). The presidio faunal collection also provided key evidence for the identification of the *Californio* style butchery pattern, akin to that drawn from the faunal assemblages of the Ontiveros Adobe. The *Californio* style also consists of marks that would have been made from straight-edged knives and cleavers to separate the meat from the bone (Blind 2004). Significantly, the presidio excavation produced evidence for the presence of wild game animals, such as deer and rabbit. Interestingly, significant quantities of the latter were also



Figure 4. Cattle bone constitute one of the largest sampling categories of archaeologically recovered specimens from the Royal Presidio of Monterey. Photo courtesy Ruben G. Mendoza, 2007.

represented, thus suggesting that the midden(s) from which the faunal remains were recovered may well correspond to subsistence activities of the native inhabitants prior to the initial settlement period *El Presidio de San Francisco* (Blind 2004).

At Rancho Petaluma, a northern California ranch establishment, principle investigator Stephen Silliman conducted archaeological excavations with the intentions of identifying residential features and material culture associated with the Native Californian laborers of that site (2004). While the investigations did not recover residential features as Silliman anticipated, he did recover a variety of material cultures indicative of native residential and domestic activity, notably that indicating the use of stone tools (obsidian, chert, ground stone, pestles, manos, mortars), glass and shell beads, culturally modified or incised bones and glass, mass-produced ceramics, nails, and other metal objects (2004). The identification of lithic tools in association with metal objects was deemed significant. Said tools may represent the limited access to or availability of Spanish colonial metalwork, thereby requiring or permitting a dependence on stone tools of the native tradition. Silliman thereby challenges existing perspectives that argue for the total abandonment of native stone technologies in the wake of the introduction of Spanish colonial tool technologies.

Additionally, stone tool evidence, significantly that of obsidian materials, are found in various colonial sites of California, including those of the Franciscan missions, Spanish and Mexican ranchos, and the Russian trade colonies. Silliman suggests that such predilections may represent a preference for such tools among the neophytes, as well as a political, social, or cultural statement about identity and/or gender (Silliman 2004: 102). Additional aspects of the archaeological assemblage encompass food remains, including faunal and plant specimens deemed essential to daily life. Silliman contends that such evidence may indicate political choices, such as those pertaining to societal distinctions between laborers and their employers (2004). Most significantly, the presence of cattle remains in the native residential areas may reflect open access to said resources.

Colonial Era Butchery Technology

The introduction of cattle to Alta California brought with it Hispanic ranching and butchery technologies. In ranching, a hocking knife, *desjarretadera* (a crescent-shaped steel blade of either concave or convex form) was mounted on a four to five-foot pole (for use while riding horseback). The hocking knife was used to sever the hamstring on cattle (Simmons and Turley 1980: 88), thereby felling the animal for slaughter (Simmons and Turley 1980). In addition, butchered cattle were stretched with ropes onto large wooden racks and prepared for transport (St. Clair 2004). Axes were used to divide the carcass and break appendicular bones above or below the

joints as well at the center or diaphysis of the bone (St. Clair 2004). Knives with wooden handles were then used to cut both tendons and muscle (St. Clair 2004). Ribs were often cut transversely multiple times, which resulted in great fragmentation and shattering (St. Clair 2004). Other knives used in the butchering process include beam knives or *pelador para gamuza*, which tanners used for the purposes of scraping hides (Simmons and Turley 1980).

In residential contexts, a variety of functional metal tool technologies produced a host of modifications on faunal remains. Examples specific to kitchen and food preparation, include meat hooks, or *garabato de carnicero* hung from the ceiling; these hooks. Such four-pronged hooks were used to suspend meat or carcasses from house ceilings (Simmons and Turley 1980). Small kitchen knives, or *cuchillos carnizeros*, were deployed for food preparation and consumption. The peasant knife or *cuchillo de cintura* was conveniently transported in a belt or sash, and was also known as *belduque* (Simmons and Turley 1980). Other common knives included the *machete*, originally intended to serve as a weapon, but used as a multi-purpose tool (Simmons and Turley 1980).



Figure 5. Examples of Spanish colonial and Mexican era ranching tools and cutting implements. Photo courtesy Larry Angier, lighting assistance Martín Vargas, and Photoshop composite Ruben G. Mendoza, 2013.

Spanish colonial axes used in residential contexts were similarly used to dismember and disarticulate appendicular or limb bones of a given animal carcass. Such practice appreciably increased the breakage of the middle or diaphysis shaft of appendicular bones (St. Clair 2004). The foregoing description of butchery practices and associated tool technologies are consistent with those cultural modifications noted on the faunal remains recovered from the Royal Presidio of Monterey.

Appendicular skeletal elements broken at, or near the diaphysis of the shaft, may in fact have been modified as such by axe cuts or strikes, also referred to as “cleaving.” Knives, on the other hand, were specifically used for severing tendons and removing muscle attached to those skeletal elements

recovered (St. Clair 2004). The use of knives to cut ribs would have resulted in great fragmentation and shattered bones of these types recovered in the largest quantities at the Royal Presidio Chapel. Such breakage likely resulted from decay over time, although it is possible cultural modifications, such as the removal of the *fresada*, or that portion of meat covering the ribs, such as that described at the Ontiveros Adobe (St. Clair 2004; Gust 1991) may also been a contributing factor to fragmentation. In the course of the experimental butchery no ribs were broken or fragmented. Therefore the removal of the *fresada* and/or butchering of the ribs may have been related to the usage of an axe, as opposed to a machete, cleaver, or obsidian flake cutting implements similar to those utilized in the experiment.

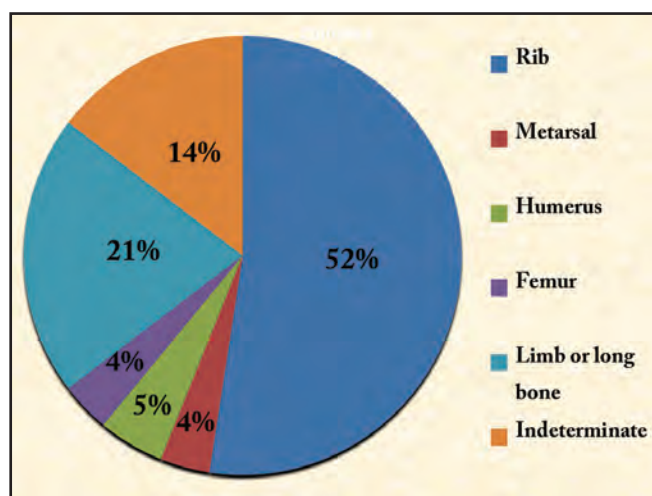
The RPC Faunal Collection

The examination of a sizable number of individual faunal skeletal elements (ca. 1,000 specimen lots) recovered from the Royal Presidio of Monterey was undertaken for the purposes of this analysis (Lucido 2012; Mendoza 2012). The faunal assemblage produced a distinct sub-sample from the total collection dominated by culturally modified faunal elements. The tabled data and charts included here represent raw quantitative projections of the overall sample.

Figure 6 provides a representative sample of those skeletal elements that predominated within the collection. Of those skeletal elements sampled and identified, rib fragments constitute the majority, or 52% of those culturally modified faunal remains from the collections of the Royal Presidio of Monterey. The relative percentages or proportions of specific elements represented may in fact be skewed, particularly given the number of fragmented skeletal elements within the sample lots. A number of these could not be distinguished from ribs or thoracic vertebrae and subsequently considered indeterminate rib fragments. The second most frequently identified body of skeletal elements from the collection included appendicular or long bones (femoral, humeral, and metapodials) represented at 21%. Of those cutmark types that predominated within the sample studied, chop mark patterns constitute the largest frequency (33%) of those culturally modified faunal remains from the Presidio of Monterey. Fine cutmark patterns constitute 30%, while remaining cutmark patterns reflecting the highest percentages of culturally modified specimens include those pertaining to dismemberment, scrape marks, clean cuts, chopping, breakage, and combinations of those features noted.

Figure 7 (next page) illustrates the relative frequency of cutmark patterns identified with specific bones, as

Figure 6. Pie chart representation by percentage of those categories of faunal remains recovered from the excavations at the Royal Presidio of Monterey undertaken by the CSU Monterey Bay Institute for Archaeology. Chart by author.



derived from that sample of culturally modified Presidio faunal elements that have since undergone analysis. The numbers on the y-axis represent a raw count of culturally modified specimens. As noted before, both rib bone elements with chop marks and fine markings were deemed most relevant to our analysis of cultural modifications in the sample. Furthermore, cutmarks identified with ribs constitute the majority of the faunal collection under study, and as such, an apparent emphasis and or preference for torso-related meat cuts from the collections at Monterey have been so noted. Yet another observation drawn from the sample population of culturally modified bone elements is that pertaining to the presence of (a) the clustering of cutmark types on particular bones and bone localities (consumption related), and (b) multiple types of cutmark patterns, of which a total complement of seven patterns were distinguished, such as that identified with appendicular, or leg bones.

Experimental Procedures and Results

The experimental archaeology component specific to this study sought to replicate those Spanish colonial cultural modifications identified from archaeologically-recovered faunal remains specific to the Royal Presidio of Monterey. The analysis of culturally modified faunal remains for this analysis was undertaken at the CSU Monterey Bay Institute for Archaeology laboratory, where faunal remains were systematically culled for those specimens exhibiting those modifications so noted. Whereas, CSU Monterey Bay Social and Behavioral Science graduate David Collyer served as research assistant and butcher for the experimental archaeology component, the butchery proper was videotaped and photographed by Professor Mendoza, who was in turn assisted by Institute for Archaeology research assistant Jewel Gentry, while this investigator maintained notes, systemized and catalogued the specimens, and undertook the analysis and interpretation of the collections examined.

The meat samples subjected to the butchering exercise were obtained from a Monterey area grocery store, and totaled nine specimens. The meat specimens were selected on the basis of their proportional representation in the overall archaeological sample. The meat selections included: 1) five beef back ribs; 2) three beef soup bones (i.e., shank or limb); and 3) a single pork shoulder. These were deemed appropriate samples, particularly the beef back ribs, as these represented the majority of the culturally modified faunal remains of the RPC collection.

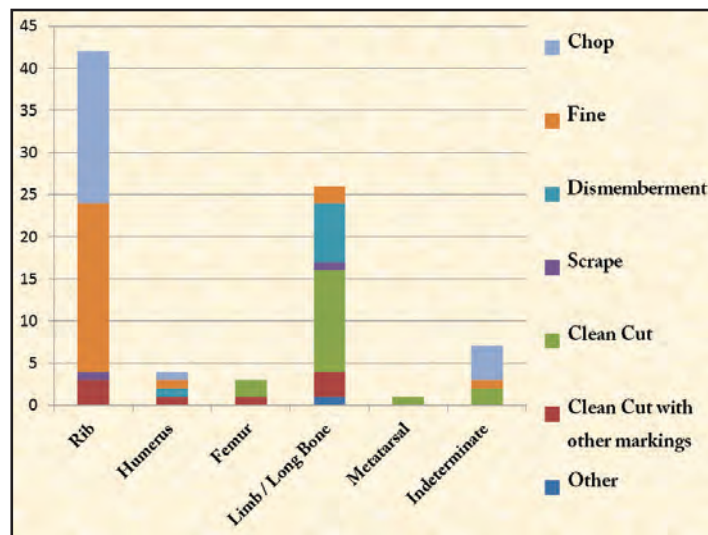


Figure 7. Bar graph correlations of archaeologically-recovered faunal remains and comparative cutmark patterns identified with specific skeletal elements. The numbers on the y-axis constitute raw counts. Chart based on quantitative analysis by David L. Collyer, III and Jennifer A. Lucido.

In this experiment, three cutting implements were deployed, including: (a) a Spanish colonial-style machete with a flared-edge collected in Baja California by blacksmith John Grafton; (b) a colonial-style cleaver/machete with a trapezoid-shaped straight-edge provided by Professor Mendoza, and obtained from the replica collections of Old Mission San Juan Bautista; and (c) five un-retouched obsidian flaked knives or flakes created by Mendoza by way of the lithic reduction or flintknapping nodules obtained from Lassen County, California, deposits. Finally, Grafton provided a wooden butchers block or cutting board of the type documented from both Mission era and contemporary Baja California butchery contexts



Figure 8. CSU Monterey Bay Institute for Archaeology laboratory work station where experimental archaeology was undertaken by Jennifer A. Lucido and David L. Collyer III. Photo courtesy Ruben G. Mendoza, 2011.

Each meat portion was subjected to butchery with each of the three separate cutting implements described in the foregoing section, and was then bagged and labeled according to the cutting implement used. Having successfully replicated the cutmark patterns noted from the archaeologically-recovered specimens, all specimens were then boiled in separate vats with the addition of two to three cups of bleach in order to expedite the sloughing or removal of meat, fat, periosteum, and other organic matter adhering to the skeletal elements. Specimens were soaked in the aforementioned solution for a 24 hour period, and then the bones were boiled again, and then rinsed with lukewarm water as to avoid flaking. The bleach-based defleshing technique averted the creation of additional cultural modifications that may accrue from defleshing procedures dependent on the use of steel implements. The “bare bones” thus created thereby represented an adequate comparative analytical sample for the historically-modified faunal specimens obtained from the collections of the Royal Presidio of Monterey. The resulting cultural modifications or experimental cutmarks thereby produced with rib, soup bone, and pork shoulder elements are listed and described in the following section. The experimental cutmarks are listed by order of that cutting implement used to attempt reproduction of similar cutmarks (i.e., machete, cleaver, and or obsidian flake).

Machete

Specimen 1.1: Chop and saw marks identified with indeterminate rib elements were recreated by way of machete on Specimen 1.1. Research

assistant and butcher, David Collyer, reproduced both chop and saw marks with moderate ease. Experimental cutmarks very closely resembled those chop and saw marks observed in the archaeological samples. Of those specimens from the experimental sample, cultural modifications recreated correlated closely with their appearance on the archaeologically-recovered samples. Cut marks, or cut-through elements, were noted as biased toward the midsection portions of those indeterminate rib fragments examined, with repetitive and closely-spaced striations indicated for the experimental samples. We hypothesize that the multiple and closely-spaced, or tentative, cutmarks are the result of two independent, but often correlated factors.

First, the relative inexperience of the butcher may result in the creation of multiple and closely-spaced and or tentative chop marks. It should be noted however that in this instance the lab-based and resource-limited nature of the exercise precluded extensive preliminary training for the research assistant assigned the task of butchering the experimental sample. Second, the inefficacy of the given cutting tools used, particularly those like the cleaver whose temper strength was compromised or inadequate, resulted in the production of breakage patterns on the tool itself; thereby limiting the effectiveness of the attempted cut-through or chopping of the bone material. Therefore, we believe that the two aforementioned conditions will permit us to identify those instances where archaeologically-recovered samples were bearing multiple chop and or saw mark patterns indicate the inefficacy of the butchering tools used, and or the inexperience of the butcher using said tools.

Specimen 1.2: The butchering of rib Specimen 1.2 easily produced straight, clean cuts of meat needed for separating the meat from the bone.



Figure 9. Metal cutting implements, and butcher block, crafted and or collected by blacksmith John Grafton for purposes of experimental archaeology effort at CSU Monterey Bay laboratory. Photo courtesy Ruben G. Mendoza, 2012.

Figure 10 (below). Table of comparative experimental archaeology and archaeologically recovered specimens, and associated cutmarks identified with the Royal Presidio of Monterey. Table by author.

<i>Specimen</i>	<i>Cutting Implement</i>	<i>Species</i>	<i>Skeletal Element</i>	<i>Cutmark Type</i>	<i>Reference RPC Specimen</i>	<i>RPC Cat. No.</i>
1.1	Machete	<i>Sus scrofa</i> (domesticated pig)	Rib	Chop/Fine/Saw Marks	1	RPC_00967.01v1
1.2	Machete	<i>Sus scrofa</i> (domesticated pig)	Rib	Chop mark	1	RPC_00967.01v1
1.3	Machete	<i>Sus scrofa</i> (domesticated pig)	Rib	Fine mark	1	RPC_00967.01v1
1.4	Machete	<i>Sus scrofa</i> (domesticated pig)	Appendicular	None	N/A	N/A
1.5	Machete	<i>Sus scrofa</i> (domesticated pig)	Scapula	Dismemberment/Chop marks	5	RPC_02652.07v1
2.1	Cleaver	<i>Sus scrofa</i> (domesticated pig)	Rib	Chop mark	1	RPC_00967.01v1
2.1	Cleaver	<i>Sus scrofa</i> (domesticated pig)	Rib	Saw mark	2	RPC_01162.02v1
2.2	Cleaver	<i>Sus scrofa</i> (domesticated pig)	Appendicular	Chop mark	6	RPC_01848.03v3
2.3	Cleaver	<i>Sus scrofa</i> (domesticated pig)	Scapula	None	N/A	N/A
3.1	Obsidian Flake	<i>Sus scrofa</i> (domesticated pig)	Rib	Fine mark	3	RPC_00151.01v1
3.2	Obsidian Flake	<i>Sus scrofa</i> (domesticated pig)	Appendicular	Chop/Fine marks	4	RPC_01766.01v3
3.3	Obsidian Flake	<i>Sus scrofa</i> (domesticated pig)	Scapula	Chop mark	5	RPC_02652.07v2

However, only a single vertical machete chop mark was identified on the rib specimen in the final analysis. Taken together, the archaeologically-recovered specimens seldom, if ever, produced clean-cut or cut-through specimens; although indeterminate rib Specimen 1.1 produced a $\frac{3}{4}$ cut-through, although not a clean cut per se.

Specimen 1.3 Despite those efforts documented to create cutmarks on rib Specimen 1.3, no such evidence of cutmarks could be discerned on this bone in the final analysis. However, it should be noted that in this particular instance efforts were made to reproduce those fine or superficial cutmarks observed within the RPC collections. The attempted replication of those fine or superficial cutmarks noted from the archaeological specimens were made possible only by way of the tentative or minimal application of pressure when chopping or cutting, and or when the machete was struck at a diagonal angle. Furthermore, research assistant Collyer experienced some resistance to the effective cutting of Specimen 1.3.



Figure 11. Pork meat cuts subjected to experimental archaeology analysis as depicted prior to the butchering exercise undertaken by Lucido and Collyer. Photo courtesy Ruben G. Mendoza, 2012.

Specimen 1.4: Experimental outcomes noted for Specimen 1.3 were found to recur with Specimen 1.4. During attempts to chop this particular soup bone, the cutting implement readily sliced through the meat, but left no cutmarks on the underlying bone. When Collyer attempted to saw through Specimen 1.4, he found that the cut was affected easily, yet the cut was largely restricted to the fat content, and left no discernible cultural modifications on the bone.

Specimen 1.5: The butcher experienced pronounced resistance to cutting through the pork shoulder, but found that the machete rendered the fat more readily. However, as the machete was unable to effectively penetrate the uppermost layer of pig skin by way of mere chopping or slicing alone, a secondary attempt was made to saw through the tougher skin layer in order to expose the underlying meat. Once penetrated, and the underlying meat exposed, the machete was used to readily trim and deflesh the pork shoulder. This permitted ready access to the underlying meat and bone. In addition, dismemberment of the joint was facilitated through

chopping and sawing. However, this proved the most challenging aspect in the entire experimental butchery process. Multiple horizontal striations were identified with the dismemberment technique so noted.

Cleaver

Specimen 2.1: The cleaver readily cut through rib bone, but did not easily separate meat from bone. This was particularly true even when scraping along the shaft of the bone, and or sawing. Chopping with this implement was particularly challenging as the research assistant met pronounced resistance with Specimen 2.1. Moreover, the cleaver was damaged during the course of the first experiment. However, multiple chop and saw marks were subsequently identified.

Specimen 2.2: The substandard effectiveness of the cleaver was revisited with the cutting of Specimen 2.2, a pork soup bone. However, a V-shaped cutmark, resulting from chopping with the cleaver, was noted in the final analysis.



Figure 12 (top). RPC Specimen 1 (left) consists of a chopped indeterminate rib fragment recovered from archaeological contexts (CA-MNT-277_00967.01v1). Similar chopmark patterns were replicated in experimental archaeology Specimen 2.1 (right). Photo by author.



Figure 13 (middle). RPC Specimen 2 (left) consists of chopped indeterminate rib fragment recovered from archaeological contexts (CA-MNT-277_01162.02v1). Note similarly spaced striations for experimental archaeology Specimen 2.1 (right). Photo by author.



Figure 14 (bottom). RPC Specimen 3 (left) consists of an archaeologically-recovered indeterminate rib fragment with multiple cutmarks (CA-MNT-277_00151.01v1). Compare experimental archaeology Specimen 3.1 (right) with chop scar and fine parallel marks. Photo by author.

Specimen 2.3: The use of the cleaver to chop meat from the pork shoulder was similarly ineffective. This was particularly true with attempts to render flesh identified with Specimen 1.5. However, once the uppermost layer of skin was broken, the cleaver easily sliced the underlying meat, while failing to produce evidence for cutmark patterns.

Obsidian Flake Tools

Specimen 3.1: The obsidian flake tools readily sliced and separated the meat from the rib bone. However, obsidian flakes and debitage from the flake became embedded into meat during this process. The ability to cut and slice the meat was successful, but relatively slow as the obsidian flakes dulled after initial use, and use wear was readily noted. Ultimately, the obsidian flake produced a single very fine cutmark on Specimen 3.1, and in addition, one flake scar was noted from the bone analysis.

Specimen 3.2: In this instance, a second obsidian flake was used to cut and separate meat from a soup bone. The flake retained its sharp edge longer than the first obsidian flake used on Specimen 3.1. Again, meat was readily sliced and separated from most portions of Specimen 3.2, although ligaments and cartilage affected the effective use of the tool. In addition, use wear damage to the obsidian flake resulted in the contamination (with obsidian debitage) of that meat separated from the bone. Specimen 3.2 exhibited a chop mark as well as fine parallel cutmarks similar to those from Specimen 3.1. A single fine V-shaped cutmark was similarly noted for the specimen.

Specimen 3.3: A third obsidian flake was used to slice and separate meat from the pork shoulder. The flake effectively cut and sliced through that meat identified with the pork shoulder. As noted with the other cutting implements, the ability to penetrate the uppermost layer of skin proved particularly difficult. However, when the layer of skin was pulled taut, the obsidian flake proved more effective and ultimately cut more deeply. Again, as in all cases where obsidian cutting implements were used, use wear damage to the obsidian tools resulted in the contamination of the meat.

Ultimately, Collyer (the experimental butcher) concluded that the machete proved the most effective cutting implement of those selected for the experiment. Collyer ultimately ranked the machete as

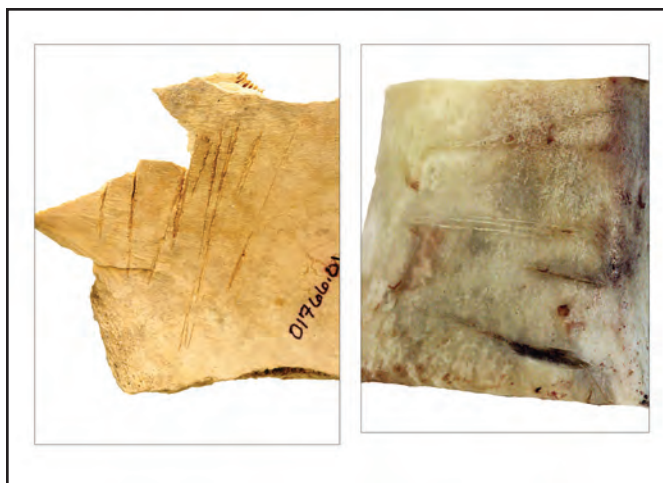


Figure 15 (above). RPC Specimen 4 (left) consists of archaeologically-recovered indeterminate specimen with fine cutmarks (CA-MNT-277_01766.01v3). Compare experimental archaeology Specimen 3.2 (right) with fine cutmarks produced with obsidian flakes. Photo by author.

Figure 16 (below). RPC Specimen 5 (left) consists of archaeologically recovered proximal tubercle and head of rib specimen identified with dismemberment and chopmarks (CA-MNT-277_02652.07v2). Compare with experimental archaeology Specimens 1.5, 2.3, and 3.3 (right) with chop scars and fine parallel cut marks. Photo by author.



the most effective and reliable tool for the butchering of the pork meats in question. The obsidian flake, by contrast, proved difficult to handle, and its particularly sharp cutting edge dulled after initial use. Finally, Collyer determined that the cleaver was the least effective cutting implement deployed during the experiment in question. In that regard, the cleaver proved generally ineffective in rendering the pork meats subjected to the test. Similarly, said damage noted from obsidian tool use, its effectiveness was diminished as the result of that splintered cutting edge borne of use wear damage.

Conclusion

The prevalence of butchered cattle remains recovered from those Spanish colonial contexts reviewed herein necessarily reifies the ultimate importance of the early California ranching industry for the earliest years of the colony. However, findings do not indicate a substantive difference between butchery cutmark patterns produced by colonial metal implements and Native Californian lithic tools; although this investigator acknowledges that the tool marks themselves are distinctive, particularly when subjected to microscopic analysis. Such conclusions align with those of Michelle St. Clair's (2004) analysis of the faunal assemblages recovered by Mendoza (2009b) from Mission San Juan Bautista. St. Clair (2004) concluded that those consumption, and/or butchery patterns and practices, generally thought or assumed to distinguish the mission's neophyte population from that of Spanish colonials simply do not hold where the analysis of butchered cattle remains are concerned. Alternatively, where the Ontiveros Adobe and Presidio of San Francisco are concerned, neither site bore evidence of the *Californio*-style butchering process. Therefore, *Californio*-style butchery techniques likely emerged in the wake of the Spanish colonial and Mission eras.

Ultimately, the prevalence of cattle and other faunal remains recovered from Spanish colonial sites serves to document the fact that the introduction of a ranching economy effectively impacted the dietary practices and traditions of the Native Californians of the region. Recent findings in turn serve to validate a growing body of evidence from throughout the Americas for arguments concerned with a cultural continuum bridging Spanish colonial and Native Californian butchery practices. Moreover, the identification of cultural modifications to faunal remains recovered from the Royal Presidio of Monterey did not effectively serve to distinguish Hispanic butchery and consumption practices from those of the local Native Californians. Cutmarks in each instance were virtually indistinguishable.

I hereby suggest that socio-cultural and economic distinctions between the presidial soldiers, and the Native Californian laborers and families residing at the Royal Presidio of Monterey, cannot at this time be discerned from the

faunal evidence and analysis alone. Clearly, much further analysis, inquiry, and experiment is warranted at this time. However, it should be noted that the population of soldiers, or *gente de razón*, consistently exceeded that of Native Californians for much of the colonial history of the Royal Presidio of Monterey. Given that the population of Native Californians at the Presidio was in a continuous state of flux, and that largely depending on the numbers of neophyte and gentiles laborers contracted at any given time, the extent of Native Californian participation in the butchering of cattle at the Presidio varied through time. Nevertheless, I may infer that those Spanish and Native Californians who participated in the butchering of cattle, and the processing of the resulting meat allotments, did so for the whole of the population of the Presidio. Moreover, as was the case throughout Spanish colonial America, those indigenous servants and laborers who more readily adopted the trappings and practices of the colonial world more readily secured a degree of social mobility for themselves and their descendants.

Endnotes

1. I hereby thank former CSU Monterey Bay student David L. Collyer III for his role in facilitating the experimental butchery exercise. I am similarly indebted to John Grafton for freely providing advice as per his expertise with Spanish colonial ironwork, and for providing access to reproductions of Spanish colonial cutting implements used in the experimental archaeology. CSUMB archaeology student Jewel Gentry advanced additional suggestions for the revision of this manuscript and CSU East Bay MA candidate Brenna Wheelis provided a thoroughgoing review and critique of an earlier draft of this paper. Dr. Gerald Shenk, Chair of Social and Behavioral Sciences at CSUMB, critiqued earlier drafts of manuscripts pertaining to this research. Finally, I thank Dr. Rubén G. Mendoza of the CSU Monterey Bay Institute for Archaeology, for furthering this study by way of generously provisioning access to his field notes and materials, and both faunal specimens and archaeological materials recovered from his investigations at the Royal Presidio of Monterey (2006-08). In addition, Mendoza prepared a detailed critique and advanced a host of editorial suggestions for an earlier draft of this manuscript, and permitted the reproduction of those research materials represented in Figures 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, and 11.
2. Duration and frequency of *paseos* varied per mission.

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Mission San Luis Obispo de Toloso

Serra's Painter: José de Páez

CYNTHIA NERI LEWIS, RIO HONDO COLLEGE

In July 1770, just a month after establishing the mission at Monterey, Junípero Serra opened a crate containing three large oil paintings of Saints Carlo Borromeo, Buenaventura, and Diego de Alcalá. He excitedly reported in a letter to Joseph de Galvez,

My delight knew no bounds. We took my saints on shore to remain there. We put them on the altar, and there was the Blessed Virgin surrounded by her Cardinals and her lay sacristans, seemingly as pleased as could be. (Tibesar, Vol. I, 189)



Figure 1. José de Páez, *Immaculada Concepción acompañada de las Santísima Trinidad y los santos Ana, Francisco de Asís, Gertrudis la Magna, Antonio de Padua, Domingo de Guzmán y José*, c. 1770, Colección Museo Soumaya. Funcación Carlos Slim, A.C. /Ciudad de México.

The three paintings temporarily displayed in Monterey were soon to be transferred to their respective missions.¹ Though Serra does not name the artist in his letter, it is clear that at least two of the paintings were produced by the Mexican artist José de Páez (c. 1720-1801) who, with his canvases displayed in almost every California mission, appears to have been Serra's favorite.² The Páez paintings commissioned by Serra for the California missions between 1771-1777³ were produced within the complex social, religious and artistic landscapes of Mexico City, where Tridentine policies, Scholasticism, *Criollo* nationalism, Catholic mysticism, Enlightenment dialogues and Early Modern spiritual ideologies clashed and competed. An exploration of selected paintings by Páez and his contemporaries who worked within this complicated milieu will provide an understanding of the artistic climate of Serra's Mexico City; through this wider art historical lens, we might gain further insight into how Páez came to be Serra's preferred painter in California.

Beginning with the rise of the Bourbon Dynasty in 1700, the Mexico City in which José de Páez lived and worked would, in the course of his life, be transformed into a center of Neoclassical art and architecture. With such a contrast between this increasingly modern city and the intensely spiritual world of Serra's northern missions where many of Páez's paintings were displayed, where are the artist and his work situated art historically?

Little is known about the life of José de Páez. He was born in Mexico City c. 1720 and died after 1801. His teacher was possibly Nicolás Enriquez, (Tovar de Teresa, 1995-97, III, 26) who had a workshop in the Centro Histórico. On Feb. 10, 1743, Páez married Rosalia Manuela Gil Caballero in the *Ascension Sagrario Metropolitana*. They had four children and lived on *la calle de Pila Seca*, which is today *Republica de Chile* (Canesco, www.soumaya.com.mx). A favorite of both the Franciscan and the Jesuit orders, the prolific and long-lived artist produced *casta* paintings, *ex-votos*, nuns shields, portraits, and large oil paintings for churches throughout New Spain. He was considered a *cabreriano*, a follower of the better known Mexico City painter of the 18th century, Miguel Cabrera (1695-1768).

The Painter's Workshop

Since the 16th-century, artisans and painters had lived and worked in the area surrounding the church and plaza of Santo Domingo⁴ in the Centro Histórico. This strategic position placed the artists in close proximity of the Franciscan *Colegio Apostólico de Propaganda Fide de San Fernando*,⁵ the Alameda Park, and the *Zócalo*. The Parián, the artisan's central marketplace, was built in the center of the *Zócalo* in 1703. It was flanked by the Metropolitan Cathedral and the Viceroy's Palace—indicative of the deliberate framing of artistic production within the vigilant eye of Commerce, the "Inquisitive" Church, and the Crown. Throughout the Viceregal era in New Spain, artisans were organized into *cofradías* and guilds, with formal constitutions that governed production, training, iconography, examinations, sales, as well as the artists' behavior and spiritual activity. Membership in a guild helped artists to establish direct relationships with other artists, *procuradores* and patrons. The workshop model of training, especially given the proximity of these workshops to one another, resulted in a long line of Mexican painters who passed their skills on from one generation to the next. The dynastic structure of artistic production in New Spain's capital city resulted in an art world that was very small and tightly controlled. A 1686 ordinance imposed the following:

No Indian⁶ may make a painting or other image of the saints, if he has not learned the trade to perfection and been examined (by the governors, overseers, and two other officials of the appropriate profession). (Toussaint, 221)

About the Author

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Given this rigid system, we can assume that Páez was sponsored by a *cofradía* which promoted his work, approved of his both his spiritual and artistic standing, and recommended him to the *procuradores* of the *Colegio de San Fernando*. It was a common practice for the syndic of the *Colegio* to order paintings from selected Mexico City studios, where duplicates and almost exact copies of the typically requested subjects were kept in stock. (Bourbin and Davis, 62/ Morgado, 91) This stock was heavily comprised of paintings derived from Flemish prints and from the compositions of the 17th-century Spanish painter Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (1617-1682).

Miguel Cabrera, who had been trained by Juan Correa (c. 1645-1716), came to be known as the “Mexican Murillo,” and his workshop was the most prolific and highly regarded in Mexico City. Another student of Correa’s, the Guadalajara-born José de Ibarra (1688-1756) also led a very successful workshop; some art historians have suggested that his reduced color palette and sometimes gestural style might have been a result of the tight schedule he kept in order to meet the high demand for his paintings. (White, 83-4) Though they clearly experienced the social and financial benefits of this longstanding workshop system and the New World export market, both Ibarra and Cabrera would be involved in attempts to elevate the status of their profession and to form the first Mexican Art Academy in 1753. Páez, a generation younger than Ibarra and Cabrera, clearly followed many of the compositional and stylistic formulas that they established, which often makes his works difficult to distinguish from theirs. He signed many of his works, “Joph. de Paez fecit,” often adding “en Mexico”, aware that they were intended to be exported to Alta California and elsewhere. Whether Páez realized it or not, through this economic arrangement, he would come to play an integral part in the history of the art of California.

Mexican Rococo

Art historian Kurt Baer has attributed numerous unsigned paintings in the California missions to Páez based on what he describes as “the sensitive quality of the features and the delicacy of the modeling of the hands.”⁷ In general, such delicate features, sweet expressions, pastel colors, feathery brushwork, and flowery ornament are typical of Mexican Rococo paintings from the late 18th-century. Also characteristic of Paez’s paintings are his rocaille *leyendos*, (legends or cartouches framing inscriptions) his successful imitation of Murillo’s vaporous effects in atmosphere, and his often porcelain-looking flesh, specifically in his representations of the Virgin. Such stylistic traits may be related to the heavy influx of French Rococo and Chinese porcelain figurines⁸ exported to Mexico City in the late 18th century.

Originating in France in the early 18th century, the Rococo style was commonly employed by artists in that country who specialized in *fête*

galantes and scenes of aristocratic leisure set in lush, arcadian landscapes. The popularity of this lighthearted and colorful style in Mexico City is no doubt related to the increased ties with France resulting from the rise of the Bourbon Dynasty in Spain, but it might also be explained in relation to the simultaneous formulation of *Criollo* identity and nationalism in New Spain. As Edmond O’Gorman puts it, New Spain was originally like “an overseas Spain located in the New World but not rooted in it; a Spain *in* America, but not *of* America.” (O’Gorman, quoted in Gutiérrez Haces, 52) In an attempt to reverse this colonial phenomenon, New Spain’s born citizens adopted customs that would distinguish them from their Old World counterparts and from the *Peninsulares*, such as colorful clothing, fanciful furniture, and debonair mannerisms. (Gutiérrez Haces, 55) Painterly palettes, even those employed in the production of the ultimate *Criollo* symbol, the Virgin of Guadalupe, became similarly sweet, light, and soft.

Páez’s most feminine and flowery manifestations of the Rococo are his numerous *escudos de monjas* commissioned by various convents in Mexico City, including the Carmelites and the Jeronymites. [Figure 2] These small badges, usually featuring nativity scenes or the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception within a *sacra conversazione*, were worn by nuns to decorate their habits, especially on feast days and on the day of their initiation. A large segment of the female religious population in New Spain came from wealthy *Criollo* families, who paid large dowries to the Orders for their daughters to gain entry into the prestigious convent life. In the 17th century, many of these young women enjoyed lives of privilege within the walls of the convents, with access to education, entertainments such as theatre and musical training and performances, and opportunities for interaction with the outside world. They often wore expensive clothing and *escudos* made of gold and precious stones, but in 1629, the Archbishop Francisco Manso y Zuniga instituted a series of reforms aimed at restricting the luxurious lifestyle of the nuns, including a ban on such *escudos*. In a response that has been interpreted as a symbol of *Criollo* resistance, the nuns continued to wear ornate badges throughout the 18th century, though they were now embroidered or colorfully painted on copper and framed in tortoiseshell. Though small in scale and invisible to a wide viewership, the most successful painters in Mexico City, including Cabrera and Páez, did not hesitate in their acceptance of these commissions. Wealthy *Criollos* outside of the convents embraced the Rococo style and affectations through their commissions of *biombos* (painted screens) of secular life, including New Spain’s version of the *fetê champêtre* —the elegant garden party theme. That the puritanical Franciscan Junípero Serra would favor



Figure 2. José de Páez, *Nun’s Shield*, c. 1770, courtesy of Los Angeles County Museum of Art (public domain lacma.org).

a painter associated with this frivolous style is not as contradictory as it appears, for when applied to the realm of the spiritual, the Rococo would prove to be quite effective, as illustrated later in this essay. Serra, whose early years in the anti-Bourbon Spanish province of Mallorca had led to a general distrust of the Spanish monarchy and its institutions, (Hackel, II) would have surely been aware of the increasing tensions between *Peninsulares* and *Criollos*. In 1764 and 1765, while Serra was in the midst of his residence at the *Colegio de San Fernando*, the Regiment of America, a permanent battalion of white-uniformed Spanish troops whom the *Criollos* dubbed “*blanquillos*,” and “*gringos*,” (Gutiérrez Haces, 47) were installed on the streets of Mexico City in a vain attempt to quell the rising nationalism.

Between Worlds

In his vocation and commitment to preaching in the New World, Serra was influenced by the writings of the Spanish Franciscan mystic Sor María Jesús de Ágreda (1602-1665), specifically her four volume *Mystical City of God*, which was first published in 1670. Sor María’s writings were widely disseminated in New Spain, and Serra’s devotion to the Virgin was partially inspired by Ágreda’s defense of the fundamental doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, as the Virgin had delivered it to her. In her writings, Ágreda also described how, while never leaving her convent in Spain, visions enabled her to circumnavigate around the globe in order to convert the native peoples of the New World. Indians in New Mexico and Texas reported seeing this beautiful Lady in Blue who encouraged them to seek the Franciscans for baptism.



Figure 3. José de Páez, *El don de la ubicuidad de la Venerable Madre María de Jesús de Ágreda*, Colección Museo Soumaya. Funcación Carlos Slim, A.C. / Ciudad de México.

In a 1770 painting by Páez [Figure 3], painted for a mission in New Mexico and now in the Museo Soumaya in Mexico City, an ethereal María de Ágreda floats into an American landscape and addresses a group of natives. Wearing the Conceptionist nun’s habit draped with a blue garment (which was the symbolic color associated with the Immaculate Conception⁹), she points to the image of the crucified Christ. The natives’ gestures, facial expressions, and kneeling positions reflect their instant devotion and willingness to convert. Having never set foot in the Northern provinces,

Páez's representation of the natives likely stems from his experience in producing and viewing *casta* paintings. In the first panel of his *casta* painting series produced c. 1770-80, Páez depicts *indios bárbaros montarases* (barbarian mountaineer Indians). Upon comparison of the *casta* painting and the Ágreda painting, the similarity in the skin coloration and the costume of the *indios* is immediately apparent. The difference lies in the settings—in the *casta* paintings, the *indios* are grounded in an earthly space, their physical forms at one with the untamed landscape and the local flora and fauna. It has been suggested that the production of *casta* paintings was an effect of the Bourbon Reforms and rooted in Enlightenment principles of categorization and order. Thus, the paintings did not illustrate the actual process of *mestizaje*, but served to regulate society and locate the castas within the specific physical spaces to which they were relegated. (Carrera, 38) In the Ágreda painting, with its heavy atmospheric perspective, soft clouds, and melodramatic spirituality, the emphasis is not on the empirical but the mystical-- the miracle of María's bilocation, the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception that she promoted, and the promise of salvation through conversion. Páez's teacher, Nicolás Enriquez, claims to have been deeply inspired by Ágreda's *Mystical City of God*. (Moreno-Silva, 79) He may have passed to his student not only his sound painterly skills, but also his belief and acceptance of the metaphysical aspects of the faith.

Visualizing the Life of San Francisco Solano

Serra most likely met Páez in 1764, when he was painting a series on the life of San Francisco Solano (1549-1610) for the lower cloister of the church of San Fernando in Mexico City. Serra was in residence at the *Colegio*¹⁰ at the time Páez was working on the painting, so it is possible that he came to know the series and perhaps the artist well during this decade, and when he regularly returned to the *Colegio* in later years. The series included eight large canvas paintings¹¹ of the Spanish Franciscan saint, known as the "Apostle of Peru and Argentina," but only six survive.¹² In the 1920s, Father Luis de Refugio Palacio rediscovered the badly damaged paintings in the staircase leading to the choir of San Fernando while conducting research for a history of the Franciscans in Mexico. (Romero de Terreros, 23) He took the six rescued paintings to his home church, the Basilica de Nuestra Señora de Zapopan in Jalisco and placed the folded canvases in a cabinet in the sacristy for safekeeping. True to his Franciscan roots, he claims to have carried the paintings to Zapopan on a humble donkey!

In panel 1 [Figure 4] of the series, Páez presents San Francisco's birth scene by drawing directly from the *Birth of the Virgin* formula prescribed by the Spanish art theorist Francisco Pacheco, wherein the Virgin's birth takes place in a domestic setting and servants attend to the newborn and mother. While in other parts of Europe, where scenes of the Virgin's birth were



Figure 4. José de Páez, Panel 1 from *La Vida de San Francisco Solano* series, courtesy of Provincia Franciscana de los Santos Francisco y Santiago en México, La Basilica de La Nuestra Señora, Zapopan.

painted in heavenly settings surrounded by angels, the Spanish prototype persisted into the 18th century in New Spain.

Here, Páez simply replaces the infant Virgin with the infant Francisco. Three scenes of the saint's youth are illustrated in atmospheric vignettes surrounding the birth scene: the adolescent Francisco is shown cultivating a garden, imparting Christian doctrine, and intervening in a duel.

In panel 2, the central figure is a kneeling San Francisco taking his vows. On the right he is shown saying penance before the community, then departing on his apostolic mission to Peru, a scene that would have most strongly resonated with the Franciscans at the *Colegio* preparing for their own missionary endeavors. In the legend at the bottom of the painting is a dedication to Don Joseph Calderón, possibly the patron. San Francisco's American experiences are highlighted in Panel 3: performing his apostolic duties in the New World, working at a hospital, preaching, and saying a blessing over a tomb. In an altar in the central background and just above the main figure of San Francisco is an image of San Sebastian's martyrdom.

The featured scene in Panel 4 (Figure 5) is San Francisco preaching among *indios barbaros*, who are attired exactly as in Páez's *casta* paintings. In the foreground are four European figures, (possibly portraits) who have appeared to support Francisco in his spreading of God's word to the natives. In the background are Indians participating in the procession of *el Señor de la Columna*, a common subject in Catholic Counter-Reformation art in Italy and Spain, as it inspired pity and compassion and visually shocked with its bloody theatricality and focus on the flesh. The popularity of this subject increased after the 1734 appearance of a column in the sea off the beach of San Pedro de Lurín, Peru.

We can further explore the connection that Serra had with San Francisco Solano by examining a different painting of the saint now on display on the main altar at the Sonoma, California Mission dedicated to him.

As in the San Fernando panel 4, the saint carries a crucifix, but here the unknown painter includes a small scene of the saint playing the violin, one of his attributes. A musician, San Francisco played the violin or lute while singing hymns to the Virgin Mary before the Peruvian natives. Like Serra, San Francisco's peaceful demeanor and love of music were balanced with a deep asceticism—he fasted and practiced self-flagellation often. San Francisco Solano was canonized in 1726, while Serra was a teenager, and was reportedly one of his favorite saints. Serra imitated the Peruvian missionary by scourging himself with a chain. (Tibesar, xxxiv)



Figure 5. José de Páez, Panel 4 from *La Vida de San Francisco Solano* series, courtesy of Provincia Franciscana de los Santos Francisco y Santiago en México, La Basílica de La Nuestra Señora, Zapopan.

In panel 5 of the San Francisco Solano series, Páez features scenes of the saint inside a church, likely the church in Tucamán where he performed his ministries, but due to the condition of the canvas, the specific subject matter is indecipherable. Panel 6 (meant to serve as the last in the series) illustrates the 1610 death and interment of the saint, with *indios* present and mourning in the foreground. The Viceroy of Peru, Marqués de Montesclaros, carries his flower-covered body. Páez would have been able to refer to painted portraits of the Peruvian Viceroy that were displayed in Mexico City. The Archbishop of Lima, Don Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero, is shown on the right side of the canvas holding lit candles. An inscription at the bottom of the canvas includes a dedication to the Archbishop Don Manuel José Rubio y Salinas, a leader of the Jesuit church who was instrumental in the process of establishing the Virgin of Guadalupe as Patroness of New Spain.

The missing two panels most likely included scenes of the saint playing his violin for the natives, scourging himself, and performing some of his miracles, which included calming and converting a swarm of Indians who invaded the church, and the herding of a bull. Like his namesake, St. Francis of Assisi, Francisco was known for his compassionate treatment of animals. During a bullfight in San Miguel, a frightened bull escaped and Francisco calmly collected the animal and led him back to the corral as onlookers watched in admiration. The Spanish artist Murillo painted this scene in

1645, highlighting a symbolic irony: the saint gently ties the cord of his Franciscan robe around the bull's neck to contain it and lead it to safety.

I believe that the Páez series of paintings at the *Colegio* had a very personal and lasting effect on Serra. Their placement in the lower cloisters, the *hortus conclusus*, the heart of the *convento* where the friars meditated daily, must have enabled Serra to maintain a connection to his native Spain via identification with his Spanish role model, San Francisco. A popular Jesuit practice encouraged by St. Ignatius Loyola in his 1522-4 *Spiritual Exercises* called "composition of place" was not lost on this Franciscan or the others trained here--the idea was that, by contemplating the almost life-sized painted images of San Francisco, Serra could make himself present in the place and time where the Saint's preaching and missionary endeavors took place. While Páez presents the life of San Francisco in sequence, the series is not meant to be read as a strict narrative. His juxtaposition of key saintly moments with earlier or later vignettes, scenes of Spain with New Spain, and contemporary portraits and landscapes with sacred images of Christ himself results in a painted vision that is compositionally and conceptually between time and worlds. The daily viewing of these eight panels during his final four years in residence would allow Serra to visualize his future journey, his successful apostolic mission, and quite possibly, his own sainthood.

Ignatius Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* had become one of the major instructional vehicles of the Church during the Counter Reformation and the two centuries following. (Zarur, 23) Loyola emphasized the use of the five senses to help create mental images of a place, person, or emotion. The Archbishop of Milan and dynamic Counter Reformation leader Carlo Borromeo (1538-1584) was strongly influenced by Loyola in his promoted uses of art as a means of educating and inspiring piety, but he believed that sight was the most direct route to the soul: "the eyes," he said, "are like two gates to the castle of our body." (Graham-Dixon, 43-44) Borromeo was also influenced by the *Discorso* of Gabriele Paleotti, another participant in the Council of Trent, who wrote about "the transformation of Christian life through vision," and the ideas of *muta predicatio* (silent preaching) and *pictura-litteratura illiterata* (pictures are the literature of the illiterate).¹³ That Serra dedicated his home mission to Borromeo is demonstrative of his devotion to this saint and the Tridentine visual methods he promoted. Serra likely realized that the Ignation practice of visualization promoted by Borromeo actually stemmed from the Franciscans. An early Franciscan book on meditation describes the suggested exercise:

It is necessary that when you concentrate on these things in your contemplation, you do so as if you were actually present at the time he suffered... and that he was present to receive your prayers. (Freedberg, 171, quoting from *The Little Book on the Meditation on the Passion of Christ Divided into the Seven Hours of the Day*)

As Caravaggio historian Andrew Graham-Dixon contends, in the Catholic world of the 13th through 18th centuries, “religious painting and religious meditation were, in fact, branches of the same activity.” (33) The dual role of the artist as both image producer and Christian meditator was essential—the painters were expected to be hagiographic experts and “professional visualizers” of the holy stories. (Baxandall, 45) For Páez to receive the important San Francisco Solano commission for the *Colegio*, which was clearly intended to inspire the Franciscan residents before their missions, the friars there must have trusted that the artist understood the seriousness of his task.

It is also important to consider the major influence of the Spanish art theorist Francisco Pacheco (1564-1654) on the art of Páez and most artists working in Spain and New Spain. Pacheco was a member of the lay branch of the Franciscan Order, the Third Order of Saint Francis, and a painting censor for the Holy Office in the early 17th century. (Bray, 173)¹⁴ In his 1649 “The Aims of a Christian Artist,” Pacheco wrote that painting,

which before had imitation as its sole aim: now, as an act of virtue, takes on new and rich trappings... (thus) elevates itself to a supreme end—the contemplation of eternal glory. And as it keeps men from vice, so it leads them to the true devotion of God our Lord. (Pacheco, as translated by Sanchez-Cantón, 236)

Pacheco argued that a key aspect of Christian painting was the artist’s obligation to convince the viewer, as an orator or a preacher might. The painter’s role was to “persuade men to be pious and to lead them to God.” (ibid) The painters understood another crucial responsibility: to visually solidify and make tangible Catholic doctrine.

In addition to Pacheco’s treatises, late 18th-century painters in New Spain were artistically and spiritually guided by similarly prescriptive writings such as Fray Juan Interian de Ayala’s *The Christian Painter* (1730) and the Capuchin friar Isidoro de Sevilla’s *La Pastora Coronada* (1704). The Divine Shepherdess enjoyed great popularity and devotion in New Spain, and all of the California missions featured a painting of her. Franciscan padres preaching in popular missions carried her image, as mandated by the Franciscan *Colegio de San Fernando*. In 1775, Serra commissioned a painting for San Juan Capistrano Mission of “Mary as our Heavenly Shepherdess” with “one under sentence of condemnation” in the background, as described in Isidore’s vision. (Tibesar, Volume II, 311)

Serra and all Franciscans were well aware of the Sevillian debates, campaigns and Papal tribunals of the early 17th century that led to the dogma and confirmation of the Immaculate Conception, which they zealously promoted. The Spanish artist Murillo, guided by Pacheco’s writings,

created the prototypical representation of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception, and henceforth, countless artistic representations of the subject were made in order to affirm the doctrine. Páez painted several *Immaculatas* based on Murillo's model for Mexican churches and convents, but there are no signed by or attributed to Páez in the California Missions, and no specific requests from Serra for such, though he does refer to "a wonderful painting of Our Lady" that was on loan at San Carlos. (Tibesar, Vol. I, 169) The Virgin of the Immaculate Conception was named patron saint of California in 1779 and most of the missions would centrally display an image of *La Immaculata* above their tabernacles. For the Franciscans in California, second-rate paintings of this all-important figure would not suffice, and they perhaps found sculptural representations of her, with their realistic flesh tones, inlaid eyes, jeweled crowns, and sumptuous *estófado* decoration more appropriate for display on the main *retablos* which had been installed in several of the missions by the late seventies. Though not discussed in this essay, *bultos* of Virgins and saints took the processes of visualization into the three-dimensional realm.

"The Contemplation of Eternal Glory"

Perhaps Páez's best known signed painting in California, *The Glory of Heaven*, c. 1770 [Figure 6] was commissioned by Serra in 1771 along with its companion, *The Horrors of Hell* (now lost).¹⁵ *The Glory of Heaven* features San Miguel, a favorite of the Franciscan Order, as his slaying of the demon symbolized the victory of Christianity over paganism.



Figure 6. José de Páez, *The Glory of Heaven*, c. 1770, at Mission Carmel. Courtesy of Mission San Carlos Borromeo de Carmelo, Diocese of Monterey.

The Archangels Gabriel and Raphael flank him. Above San Miguel is the Holy Trinity represented as three identical men, an iconographic tradition prohibited by an edict issued by the Council of Trent and banned by the Pope in 1748, but regularly ignored in New Spain, where it was thought that the dove symbol of the Holy Spirit might reignite indigenous animism. (Pierce, 38) The Virgin and St. Joseph are on Michael's right side, with Anna and Joaquim on the other. Within this traditional hierarchical composition, Old Testament figures gain entry into heaven alongside New Testament saints, founders of the Dominican and Franciscan orders, virgins, martyrs, priests, and neophytes. The Rococo palette, diaphanous drapery, and vaporous atmospheric effect, are particularly suited to this heavenly theme. In contrast with the representations of natives in the previous paintings I have discussed, the Indians here are only distinguishable by their darker skin color. The Franciscan friar Juan de Torquemada referred to a "marvelous variety of colors" created by God to describe the mixed population of the Americas, arguing that differences in human complexion

were divinely ascribed. (Katzew, 203) The converted natives depicted on the lower right tier of figures are, like the Virgins and European figures on the opposite side, clothed in the same flowing garments, holding palm leaves, and wearing crowns of roses on their heads. As in Páez's *casta* paintings, there is still an imposed hierarchy in this "colorful" order; but while their skin color determines their lower ranking in the divine scheme, conversion has equalized their position in terms of the promise of their salvation.

Serra believed that man was inherently sinful, and thus, he understood that paintings might not only promise but also terrify. Envisioning and appreciating the full glory of paradise required a simultaneous glimpse into hell. As Rudolf Wittkower summarizes St. Ignatius Loyola's approach, and as the native viewers were surely intended to experience Páez's missing companion piece, *The Horror of Hell*,

St. Ignatius requires the exercitant to see the flames of hell, to smell the sulphur stench, to hear the shrieks of the sufferers, to taste the bitterness of the tears and feel their remorse. (Zarur, 24)

Painted Saints in California

In 1775, Serra ordered a painting by Páez for Mission San Juan Capistrano of its titular saint. [Figure 7] The signed painting is still on display in the new church at this mission. In his letter to Father Professor Francisco Pangua, he requested that the *procurador* "should find a good engraving and have Páez paint it or some other good artist." (Tibesar, Vol. II, 319) He expressly indicated that the painting should not be purchased in the *alcaysería* (silk market) where untrained artists sold their works. These comments indicate Serra's general understanding of the hierarchy that existed in Mexico City's art world, and his own appreciation of the standardized, yet high quality work coming out of the Mexico City workshops. While the print source has not been identified, Páez painted the saint in accordance with the standard attributes, wearing a Franciscan habit and a breastplate, brandishing a sword in his right hand and carrying a red banner displaying the monogram of Christ (IHS with cross). This monogram had originated in Early Christian catacombs and was popularized by Bernardine of Siena in the 15th century. The Franciscan San Juan de Capistrano (1385-1456) had studied under Bernardine and had become a close follower of his. He is best known for his participation in the 1456 crusades against the Turks in Belgrade in which he led a Christian army to victory. Statues of San Bernardino and San Juan Capistrano were both featured on the main altar of Serra's home church, the Convento de San Bernardino in Petra, Mallorca. Páez apparently did not work with live models, and often repeated himself in his standard *contrapposto* stance, slender proportions, and faces. San Juan



Figure 7. José de Páez, *San Juan Capistrano*, c. 1775, at Mission San Juan Capistrano, courtesy of Mission San Juan Capistrano.

Capistrano's face is the same one used in many of his saint portraits, but here it is slightly darkened, rugged and stern. The surface of the brown Franciscan robe is rendered in linear pointillist patterns, which create a dynamic quality and energy well-suited to this Christian soldier.

Páez's signed *San Antonio de Padua*, c. 1770 [Figure 8] is quite worthy of its status as the "finest" painting of this saint in California. (Neuerburg, 1990, 27) Commissioned by Serra in 1771, it was sent to Mission San Antonio in 1773 or 1774. It was transferred to Mission San Miguel in the late 19th century for safekeeping. (ibid) Though his pose and facial features are almost identical to those of his later San Juan Capistrano painting, Páez softens the features of this gentle saint and the Christ Child he holds with the addition of rosy hues, sweet smiles, and graceful hands. Wearing the Franciscan



Figure 8. José de Páez, *San Antonio de Padua*, c. 1770 at Mission San Miguel, courtesy of Mission San Miguel.

robe and cord, the saint holds white lilies in his right hand, symbolizing his connection to the Virgin, whose child has been temporarily placed in his care. San Antonio was born in Portugal in 1195, and joined the Franciscans in 1221. Canonized in 1232, he was considered a worker of miracles and the Christ Child is said to have appeared to him while praying. In mission days, the traditional iconographic program might feature Virgins and Saints associated with the Christ Child on the Epistle side of the nave where the female congregation was seated, while masculine saints and "cross santos" were often placed on the Gospel side where the men sat. (Sandos, 45) While there is little documentation regarding the original placement of the painted saints in all of the California missions, it is certain that these images, with their clearly presented masculine and feminine attributes, served not only as aids in visualizing saintly acts and miracles, but also in the construction of gender models for the native populations. The Catholic promotion of these images based on feminine and masculine attributes and the particular method of their placement and display makes clear that images of saints were used not only to assist in visualizing saintly acts and miracles, but also to construct gender ideologies and models for the native populations of the California missions.

Many paintings of Páez's saints, including San Luis Obispo, San Miguel, San Gabriel, San Rafael, San Diego, San Buenaventura, and several San Juan Bautistas, are still on display in the California missions today. A signed painting of San Francisco de Assisi was once at Mission Santa Barbara, but is now missing. (Baer Papers, SBMAL, Mission Santa Barbara

painting folder) All of them adhere to his standard formula, which presents the full-length figure of the saint in either an Umbrian landscape, a tiled interior framed by a table and window, or floating in a cloudy, celestial space. Other unifying elements of Páez's saint paintings are the clearly presented attributes based on common hagiography, the sweet, gentle countenance, and the sense that the figures seems to float in the space – they are painted against the scene, rather than in it. (Baer, 116) This flatness and frontal positioning gives the paintings an iconic sensibility -- we look at them, and they are well aware of our gaze. In a twist on Loyola's "composition of place" exercise, these are not scenes from the lives of the saints, but "views from outside the world,"¹⁶ in which we can already know and contemplate their lives and sainthood.

Painting as an Act of Devotion

The signed painting entitled, *Our Lord According to St. Luke*, [Figure 9] 1765, was received at Santa Barbara Mission in 1882. The large scale, highly realistic rendering of Christ's face and detailed treatment of the dove's feathers and claws immediately set it apart from his saint paintings of the same period. This concern with realism can be explained by the inscription at the bottom of the painting, which

reveals that Páez painted this in accordance with St. Anselm's writings and St. Luke's portrayal.¹⁷ Saint Luke is the patron saint of painters—legend has it that he painted the first portraits of the Virgin and Child and sculpted images of Christ. St. Anselm of Canterbury (1033-1109) was one of the founders of Scholasticism and had been proclaimed a Doctor of the Church in 1720. Anselm attempted to explain the concept of the Holy Trinity in rational terms by using the analogy of the self-consciousness of man: just as memory and intelligence are combined to create self-consciousness in man, so is the love between Father and Son combined to create the Holy Spirit. Unlike Páez's ethereal paintings of the Saints, here he has painted God the Father, the Holy Spirit and adoring angels looking down upon a very manly, palpable figure, with huge feet and massive body, corresponding with the more earthly Gospel of St. Luke. He takes particular care in his treatment of Christ's face, applying glazing methods and coloration very similar to Pacheco's prescribed technique for painters of *bultos*, called "*encarnaciones*."¹⁸ The painter has used his brush not only to demonstrate his skill in executing and highlighting Christ's flesh tones, but



Figure 9. José de Páez, *Our Lord According to Saint Luke*, c. 1765 at Mission Santa Barbara. Used by permission of Mission Santa Barbara. Not for further distribution or reproduction.

also to express his personal interpretation of the Trinity. Páez has created a triangular allegory in which, like Anselm, he reconciles faith and science to present Christ literally “made flesh.” For Páez, the painting may have functioned as a personal ex-voto honoring his occupation’s patron saint, Luke, and as a summation of his own artistic practice. Like Serra, who was as inspired by mysticism as he was versed in Scholasticism,¹⁹ Páez had no difficulty in combining these seemingly contradictory realms.

In 1751, Páez’s contemporaries including Miguel Cabrera and Jose de Alcívar, were granted permission to view and make copies of the miraculous *tilma* of the *Virgen de Guadalupe*. They proceeded to author the 1756 *Maravilla Americana*, an account of five artists’ opinions regarding the production and origin of the image.²⁰ This fascinating account provides details of the lives of painters in late 18th-century Mexico, and demonstrates the required melding of personal spiritual beliefs and artistic goals of the artists who were part of Páez’s circle. After their close analysis of the *tilma*’s physical composition and materials, they concluded that the image could not have possibly been produced by human hands or methods. Their comments reflect their hagiographic knowledge as well as an understanding of their own role as Catholic painters--the paintings of the Mexican Colonial School of artists were perfectly suited for the task of evangelization, because these image-producers apparently believed in the miracles of the faith themselves.

The Mexican painters’ involvement in promoting the cult of sacred objects is also evidenced in the numerous paintings of Christ of Ixmiquilpan. In the early 17th century, a highly venerated corn-stalk paste painted image of the crucified Christ in the church of Mapethé near Ixmiquilpan had become so moth-eaten and terrifying that the Archbishop Juan Pérez de la Serna ordered it buried with the next person from the town who died. Over the next six years, no townspeople died, and the image, according to several eyewitnesses, miraculously detached itself from the cross, then sweat, bled, and renovated itself. The image was later transferred to the Episcopal Palace in Mexico City, then given to the Carmelite nuns when they founded their convent in the same city. The leading Mexican painters of the 18th century produced numerous images of the miraculous sculpture, including three versions by José de Ibarra, c. 1731, and one by Páez c. 1770, [Figure 10] the latter now on display at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. In all of these versions, the emphasis is on the milky white, miraculously repaired flesh of Christ, the exquisitely decorated gold brocade cloth that covers his body, and the tiny drops of blood seeping from his skin. In their attempts to present faithful images of the original sculpture and to indicate their physical observation of it, both artists replaced their typically soft brushstrokes and color palettes with sharp lighting and crisp, precisely rendered details.

An Enlightened City

The long marriage of spiritual devotion and artistic production as manifested by the paintings of the Mexican Colonial School would come to an end. This disruption was made visible by the arrival in Mexico City of the Neoclassical style via the engraver Antonio Gil in 1778, who founded the Royal Academy of San Carlos in 1781. Gil enlisted a few painters of Páez's generation as teachers at the Academy, but by the official opening in 1783, only European teachers versed in the Neoclassical dialogue would be hired. (Katzew, 21-3) Within a decade, the new Academy replaced the guild and workshop system; the rank of Academician or Professor superseded the rank of master painter. It is not clear whether Páez ever became an official member of the new Academy, but given that many of his peers did, and that he had lost a major patron when Serra died in 1784, it is hard to imagine that he was not involved in this classical revival. The Academy, designed in the rational Neoclassical style, was located just blocks away from Páez's studio and from the Baroque *Colegio de San Fernando* where his San Francisco Solano series still hung.²¹ The Academy's walls would soon be filled not with images of saints and Virgins, but with classically inspired history paintings that expressed the ideals of Mexican independence and nationalism. The Parián in the Zócalo was torn down and replaced by a balustraded ellipse-shaped plaza based on Michelangelo's Campidoglio. A classical equestrian statue of Carlos IV was placed directly in front of the Metropolitan Cathedral, transforming the plaza into a secular space and visually signaling the end of the Baroque Age of Faith.

A Painter for California

Willing to adapt to the shifting artistic climate of 18th-century Mexico City, Páez successfully negotiated an intermediary position, satisfying private patrons, guild interests, the Spanish Crown, *Criollos*, academicians, the male and female religious, the Jesuits and Franciscans alike. In his painting at the Denver Art Museum entitled *The Sacred Heart of Jesus with Saint Ignatius of Loyola and Saint Louis Gonzaga*, c. 1770, the two Jesuit saints experience the miraculous vision of Christ's heart surrounded by thorns and a ring of cherubs. The sweet and powdery Rococo cherubs contrast sharply with the extreme, almost scientific naturalism of Christ's heart. José de Páez painted in the spaces between the deeply sacred and the secular, between science



Figure 10. José de Páez, *Christ of Ixmiquilpan (El Señor de Santa Teresa)*, c. 1770, courtesy of Los Angeles County Museum of Art (public domain lacma.org).

and spirituality, navigating the ambiguous boundaries between Spain, New Spain, Mexico, and California.

Serra's personal experiences with art, specifically in his Mexico City years at the *Colegio de San Fernando*, as argued in this essay, may have launched his fervent commitment to the use of liturgical art as a means of conversion in the California Missions he was soon to found. While the production of Hispanic Catholic images on both sides of the Atlantic was regulated by the same doctrines and art treatises, resulting in an art market that was quite standardized, the paintings of José de Páez were singled out by Serra. Just as Páez's paintings of San Francisco Solano had enabled Serra to visualize his missionary endeavors, he might have recognized the potential of this "good artist" (Serra as translated by Tibesar Volume II, 319) to aid the native Californian population in imagining their salvation.

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Endnotes

1. The painting of San Diego was received at that mission in 1772 and is still displayed there. Norman Neuerburg says that no original paintings of San Carlos Borromeo remain at the mission in Carmel. A painting of San Buenaventura attributed to Páez is still displayed in the mission dedicated to him.
2. Páez is specifically referenced in Serra's June 20, 1771 and August 22, 1775 *memorias to the Colegio de San Fernando*. (Tibesar Volume I, 221, and Volume II, 319) In a request for two paintings, he suggests that the *Colegio* should "get together with the painter Páez and arrange for both." (Tibesar, Volume II, 319)
3. Some of these paintings have been briefly examined in the recent exhibitions, *Contested Visions* (Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 2012) and *The Arts of the Missions of Northern New Spain, 1600-1821* (Antiguo Colegio de San Ildefonso, 2009). There has been no major study of the New Spanish oeuvre of José de Páez.
4. Santo Domingo was also the site of the Inquisition Tribunals. Serra served as a *comisario* for the Holy Office, so it is certain that he was familiar with this neighborhood.
5. The *Colegio de San Fernando* was built and established in 1734.
6. Art historian Ilona Katzew explains that this was a euphemism for any "unskilled" painter. (2004, 9)
7. Some of Baer's Páez attributions are loose, in my opinion, and require further investigation; a Virgin at Santa Ines, for example should be attributed to Juan Rodriguez Juarez.
8. Such items were sold in the Parián in the Zócalo.
9. Like the Spanish artist Murillo, Páez reserved the use of aquamarine pigments for the drapery of la Imaculata.
10. Serra was in residence between 1758-1768.
11. The paintings measure approximately 3,7x2,7 m each.
12. Photographs of the badly worn canvases were last published in the aforementioned 1949 article by Romero de Terreros. The six surviving canvases are housed at the convento of the Basilica de la Nuestra Señora in Zapopan. Two of the panels are currently hung in the sacristy.

13. Art historian Pamela J. Huckins discusses the Franciscan application of such methods in the art of the California Missions in *The Work of Art: Imagery in the Alta California Missions* in the International Franciscan Conference on "The Genesis and Realization of Franciscan Evangelization in the Spanish Borderlands", St. Augustine, Florida, March 24-26, 2011. Also see *Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre et profane* Bologna: Alessandro Benacci, 1582; reprint Bologna: Arnaldo Forni, 1990.
14. Pacheco requested that he be buried wearing the habit of the reformed branch of the order, the Capuchins.
15. Serra carried the set to Monterey, according to Morgado.
16. This phrasing is borrowed from James Sandos, (1994, 4) who similarly explains an apocalyptic view of the Virgin's Immaculate Conception.
17. Luke {1:15} *erit enim magnus coram Domino... et Spiritu Sancto replebitur adhuc ex utero matris suæ*: For he will be great in the sight of the Lord...and he will be filled with the Holy Spirit, even from his mother's womb.
18. In 17th-century Spain, the Spanish *paragone*--the comparison of the merits of painting and sculpture--was famously argued amongst the art theorists of the day, including Pacheco. Ultimately, painting and sculpture came to be considered "sister arts," with panel painters often hired to paint the flesh tones and facial details of *bultos*.
19. Serra earned a doctorate in theology and held the post of Duns Scotus chair of philosophy at Lullian University in Palma de Mallorca. From 1737-43, he lectured on metaphysics, logic, the definition of substance, and the nature of the soul. It is possible that he used illustrated thesis prints, such as those produced by the Franciscan philosopher Martin Meurisse (1544-1644), who wrote a 1623 book on the metaphysics of John Duns Scotus. Such pedagogical broadsides were used in Franciscan seminaries to help the students "visualize" complex philosophical and theological tenets.
20. Páez was not one of the five artists chosen.
21. The Academy is located on Puente de Alvarado near Monumento de Revolucion; the Colegio is located on Puente de Alvarado just northeast of the Alameda.

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Mission San Fernando Rey de España

"GROCERY SHOPPING" FOR ALTA CALIFORNIA

Documentary Evidence of Culinary Colonization on the Frontier of New Spain

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Food is central to human life both biologically and socially. Subsistence strategies are at the very heart of any cultural system and have profound implications for social organization, economy, and labor. Food is, in its selection and means of preparation, a way of identifying membership in a culture. What constitutes food is a central tenet in a cultural system as one culture's delicacy is another's taboo. In this article, we consider various sources of documentary evidence dating from the 18th and 19th centuries. Taken together they provide a record of how foods were incorporated into the diet of Alta California on the edge of the Spanish Empire.

There are a number of documentary sources that provide insights into diet during the Spanish and Mexican regimes in Alta California. Primary documents include visitor accounts written by people who travelled to California (e.g., Vancouver 1798, Kotzbue 1830) and witnessed the kinds of foods consumed during that time period. Other primary sources are the annual reports or *informes* (e.g., Skowronek with Thompson 2006) which report on the annual agropastoral production of the missions. There also are diary entries written by the priests. Father Viader's notebook, written during his thirty-seven year tenure at Mission Santa Clara (1796-1833), is another primary source that documents recipes from that time period (Mission Santa Clara Collection, Jose Viader Manuscript). Accounting documents such as ledgers (Skowronek et al. n.d.) and receipts (e.g., Perissinotto 1998) record the foods imported by missions and presidios. These accounting documents from Mission Santa Clara and the Santa Barbara Presidio show the kinds of foods purchased and reveal a conscious effort by colonists to capture the world that was left behind. Secondary

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sources of data include recollections recorded decades after the annexation of the Mexican province into the United States. They provide a glimpse of how people lived during the Spanish and Mexican regimes. These kinds of accounts are usually passed down verbally through the generations and thus are subject to memory bias and possible distortions that can occur when one does not recall accurately or, in some cases, chooses to revise and rewrite history.

An example of this kind of secondary source is Bancroft's *California Pastoral* (1888). Bancroft and his team of interviewers and translators recorded oral histories of Californios in the 1870s and 1880s. These interviews provide numerous observations of the foodways of Alta California. The accounts indicate, for example, that "...aboriginal Californians always like beef, horse-flesh better, and donkey's meat still more" (Bancroft 1888:368). Bancroft also observed that "Hispano-Californians never took kindly to bear's meat, pork, or even mutton. They liked beef and were particularly fond [sic] of veal, to obtain which they killed the female calf of six months to a year. But their favorite morsel was the *frazada* [roasted rib meat], which they would, when in the field, throw upon the hot coals and turning it once or twice, would eat it half raw with a little salt, of which article they always had some with them" (Bancroft 1888:368). He further noted "a prejudice against pork" among the Californios who refused "to use lard in their cooking, confining themselves to beef fat." Pigs were used to make soap, not lard (Bancroft 1888:370).

This document, however, needs to be interpreted cautiously. Many of his accounts are contradictory. In one place he writes that there were few milk cows and "scarcely any cheese or butter was made" (Bancroft 1888:347). In another passage he states that "Roast meat and milk was the usual food of rancheros, with cheese, asaderas [roasts], frijoles, and tortillas" (Bancroft 1888:370). These anecdotes illustrate some of the problems with sources like Bancroft's that rely on the accuracy of people's memories and translations and that may reflect bias relating to the gender and ethnicity of the interviewer and interviewee.

Another secondary source of information on food and foodways is Encarnación Pinedo's cookbook, *Encarnación's Kitchen: Mexican Recipes from Nineteenth-Century California* (2003), yet it too suffers from the same problems as *California Pastoral* since it was published in Spanish in 1898, fifty years after California was taken from Mexico. The introductory essay in its recent re-publication in 2003 refers to the book not as simple "culinary nostalgia" penned by a woman who heard the stories of the "old days" from her mother while she learned to cook but rather a "gesture of cultural assertion" (Pinedo 2003:16). Pinedo referred to the Gringos as "a bloodless people who lived on tea and potatoes" (Pinedo 2003:8). She excluded Yankee recipes while emphasizing French cooking and technique.

“There is not a single Englishman who can cook, as their foods and style of seasoning are the most insipid and tasteless that one can imagine” (Pinedo 2003:9). While Pinedo’s book is an extraordinary achievement at a time when Mexican women had little visibility, even in culinary matters, her depiction focuses on the second half of the century, not the entire 19th century.

Provisioning and Production in the Alta California Diet

Spain arrived in the Americas 275 years before the colonization of Alta California. During that lengthy period of Spanish influence, the Americas were transformed ideologically, politically, socially, economically, culturally, architecturally and physically with the introduction of new peoples, plants, and animals (Crosby 1972, 1986; Dunmire 2004). This transformation was not a wholesale unidirectional creation of a “new” Spain in the Americas but was rather an interchange of indigenous American and Old World traits that produced hybrids and in other cases novel blends of old and new. An important driver of this mixing and blending was the lack of women and families who accompanied Spanish explorers and conquerors to the Americas (Weber 1992). As a result, Spanish male colonists married Native women and not only created “mestizos” but initiated the “mestizaje” process of transforming the culture at its most basic levels from language to foodways (Deagan 1985, 1996). In the latter case the result was a hybrid cuisine which was neither “Spanish” nor “American.” It was “Spanish American.” This was a process, an evolution, which would have its final expression in Alta California, the last major expanse land occupied by Spain in the Americas during the colonial period.

Three hundred years earlier in La Florida the first wave of Spanish colonization in the sixteenth century brought soldiers and adventurers. To meet their needs these men did not “go native” either. Instead their desires were met with provisions, production or compromise. Supply ships brought fabrics, medicines, tools, ceramics and exotic Old World foodstuffs from staples such as wheat flour, olive oil and wine. This was an expensive undertaking but is especially visible in the archaeological record in garrison towns like St. Augustine (Skowronek 1989). At the same time the civilian community of Santa Elena produced a broad variety of desired Old World foodstuffs and so, fewer comestibles were imported there. And the third external source of supplies was the indigenous peoples of the region (Reitz and Scarry 1985:47).

Clearly for those who understood how to do agriculture, plant cultivation could be successful. In 1579 a report from La Florida said that “many fruits of Spain, such as figs, pomegranates, oranges, grapes...mulberries... beans, kidney-beans, melons, pumpkins, lettuce, cardoons, onions and garlic...” in addition to maize were available in great abundance (Reitz and

Scarry 1985:48). Other accounts spoke of deprivation where rations were sporadically issued and “when there was nothing they ate herbs, fish and other scum and vermin” (Reitz and Scarry 1985:48).

In Spanish Florida a gradient existed from the capital of Santa Elena to St. Augustine. Although both settlements were functionally similar, Santa Elena, as capital and administrative hub, attracted a more demographically balanced Iberian population where the establishment of farms and ranches meant there was a less reliance on imported food. St. Augustine was a presidio town that lacked farms and ranches in its earliest years. The absence of these resulted in a greater reliance on the aboriginal population and on imported Old World foods.

This blending of Old and New World cultures and cuisines would continue across the North American mainland. Comestibles which were initially imported from Spain would soon be produced in the Americas. These included dairy products and meats such as beef, pork, chicken and goat, and a broad array of fruits, nuts, field and garden crops. These joined American domesticates such as corn, beans and squash, and chocolate. Through time New Spain’s populace would produce and consume a diet based a mixture of Old and New World foods. Some ingredients in this new and evolving cuisine were not locally produced either because of legal prohibitions (such as the planting of vineyards) or for climatic reasons yet they were desired as an important part of the cuisine and so continued to be imported (Mishkin 1966, Skowronek and Graham 2012).

Creating a “New” New Spain in Alta California

In contrast to La Florida, the culinary colonization of Alta California took a different turn in the last third of the eighteenth century. This colonization was made by fully “Hispanicized” Mexican families from the states of Sonora and Sinaloa and other areas of New Spain. They were joined by mestizo soldiers and about a hundred Spanish-born priests, administrators, and officers. The California they entered was occupied by Native Peoples who, for the most part, relied on abundant hunted, gathered and fished wild foods. Some, in what is today southern California did tend gardens with such New World domesticates as corn, beans and squash. In fewer than eighty years from 1769-1848 scores of Spanish-speaking communities were founded, all originating from presidios, missions, ranches, and towns established during the Spanish and Mexican regimes. During the first dozen years of the colony’s existence the first of these nascent communities were supplied with a variety of foods through both overland and sea routes. After 1781 this tenuous and expensive supply route slammed shut when the twin mission settlements of Purísima Concepcion and San Pedro y San Pablo de Bicuñer on the Colorado River was destroyed by the Yuma people, leaving communication with the capital of New Spain, Mexico City, restricted to the sea.

We can see that neither soldiers nor settlers were expected to conform to indigenous foodways and live off the land. The occupation of Alta California would be initially supported with provisions which were desired. For example, the first expedition which founded the mission and presidio at San Diego in 1769 brought raisins and brandy (Bowman 1943:11) among other non-grape items. Six years later in 1775 the 240 members of the Anza party from Sinaloa and Sonora who were on their way to found missions San Francisco de Asís and San Clara de Asís, the Presidio of San Francisco, and the Pueblo of San Jose “...had cattle for fresh meat and brought three barrels of brandy, thirty loads of flour for tortillas, and sixty bushels of beans. Ham, sausages, biscuits, wine, cheese, pepper, saffron, cloves, cinnamon, olive oil and vinegar were also taken” (Pourade 1971:82).

Within a few short years the annual reports or *informes* for Mission Santa Clara reported large annual harvests of wheat, barley, corn, beans, garbanzos, and peas and the presence of growing herds of cattle and flocks of goats and sheep (Skowronek with Thompson 2006). Similar results were also seen in the three pueblos of San Jose, Los Angeles, and Branciforte. These “settlers” from Mexico and the Indians who built and inhabited the missions rapidly transformed Alta California into a new New Spain in terms of agricultural produce and animal husbandry. Table 1 (next page) shows that most cultivated food plants from Spain arrived to Alta California within 26 years of the founding of San Diego (Dunmire 2004). Wild plants and animals, while reportedly occasionally used by the neophyte populace during the early years of a mission, seem to have dropped out of the foodways of the province in very short order. The 1812 questionnaire was sent from the Department of Overseas Colonies (Kroeber 1908; Geiger and Meighan 1976). In it they asked in question 17, “What sort of food do they use?” At Santa Clara, “They have three meals a day in common. Breakfast consists of atole which is cooked flour. Dinner consists of cooked grains which consist of horse bean, peas, Indian corn, and wheat. At supper they are given atole as in the morning. Moreover, every week forty head of cattle are slaughtered and the meat served to the community. Also more than fifty or sixty fanegas of wheat are divided among them every week. Since everything is from the mission and is the product of their labor the cost hardly amounts to one real per person” (Skowronek with Thompson 2006:209-210).

Local Food Production in Alta California

While the transformation of the region via animal husbandry and the planting of fields and orchards was rapid, it did not occur overnight. We base this observation on accounting documents and other primary documents that show the importation of staples into the colony. Earlier we noted that in 1775 the 240 members of the Anza party traveling overland from Sinaloa and Sonora were supplied with spices, alcohol, meat, flour

and live-stock (Pourade 1971:82). These pioneers founded the Presidio San Francisco, Pueblo of San Jose, and Missions San Francisco and Santa Clara. The last three establishments were producing corn, wheat, fava beans, beef, mutton, cabrito (goat) and pork within a year of their founding (Skowronek with Thompson 2006: 42). Seven years later receipts and invoices from the Santa Barbara Presidio show that more than a hundred thousand pounds of corn, beans, and flour were imported from Mexico to sustain the garrison between the years 1781-1785. This pattern is similar to the pattern seen at the San Augustine Presidio in the 16th century where large amounts of food were imported to meet the needs of the troops. There are no further records of these imported staples after that date perhaps because food production at Mission Santa Barbara, founded in 1786, and at the presidio's gardens met local needs.

This successful transformation is underscored when the accounts of foreign visitors to Alta California are consulted as they provide another perspective on food. Scholars should realize that the exuberance often used to describe meals in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries might be exaggerations by individuals who had largely subsisted on dried and brined foods during the long sea passage to the region. Nonetheless, whether British, French, German, Russian or American, the visitors' insights suggest that the transformation of Alta California into a new New Spain was rapid and successful.

Captain George Vancouver of the British Royal Navy was one of the first non-Spaniards to see California since Sir Francis Drake's landing in the 1570s. In 1792, only thirteen years after the founding of San Diego, he and his party visited Alta California. In a visit to Mission Santa Clara he noted that "They cultivate wheat, maize, peas and beans" and had orchards filled with "peaches, apricots, apples, pears, figs, and vines" (Skowronek with Thompson 2006:152). Vancouver also noted the presence of gardens and poultry (Skowronek with Thompson 2006:154). When they left they noted that "The Fathers sent on board a supply of Vegetables such as Greens, Radishes, Pumpkins, Water Melons, and a parcel of hazel nuts, together with a bucket of pears and peaches" (Skowronek with Thompson 2006:159).

That same year Captain Vancouver and company visited the decade-old Mission San Buenaventura. There he saw apples, pears, plums, figs, oranges, grapes, peaches, pomegranates, plantain, banana, cocoa nut, sugar cane, indigo and a great variety of necessary and useful kitchen herbs, plants and roots (Vancouver 1798:2, 294). The amount of fruit produced and its significance to total dietary intake is unknown. That said it seems that many of these plants especially the citrus fruit were grown successfully in Alta California and ultimately adapted well to the local environment (Hardwick 2005). Webb commented in 1952 (86) "That the plantain, banana and cocoa nut "flourishes and yielded fruit in abundance"

Table 1. Timing of Arrival of Some Food Plants to Alta California		
1769-1795	1796-1820	1821-1848*
Barley	Rice	Radish
Oats	Rye	Mint
Wheat		Rue
Artichoke		
Cabbage		
Lettuce		
Asparagus		
Celery		
Beet		
Carrot		
Garlic		
Onion		
Turnip		
Garbanzo		
Lentil		
Pea		
Apricot		
Cherry		
Peach		
Plum		
Lemon		
Lime		
Sweet orange		
Apple		
Fig		
Olive		
Quince		
Banana		
Grape		
Melon		
Almond		
Anise		
Sugarcane		

(Adapted from Dunmire 2004:xiii-v, 299)

in California is doubtful.” That said it seems that such tropical plants were capable of growing, but most likely not in quantities sufficient to supply the needs of the province.

A German, Georg Von Langsdorff, visited the Bay Area in 1806 as the naturalist of the Count Rezanov expedition of Imperial Russia. In San Francisco he noted that the residents of the mission ate a “thick soup, composed of meat, vegetables, and pulse” (Skowronek with Thompson 2006: 190). He went on to recount a dinner in which he was served with a very appetizing soup seasoned with herbs and vegetables of different kinds, roast fowl, leg of mutton, different kinds of vegetables dressed in different ways, salad, pastry, preserved fruits, and many fine sorts of food dishes prepared with milk...” (Skowronek with Thompson 2006:191). After his meal he noted that the gardens had “asparagus, cabbage, several kinds of lettuce, onions, and potatoes” (Skowronek with Thompson 2006:191).

In 1815 and 16 Captain Otto von Kotzbue of the Imperial Russian Navy visited California. While in the Bay Area it was noted that “onions, garlic, cantaloupes, watermelons, pumpkins” were found in mission gardens (Mahr 1932:94-95, Webb 1952: 60). According to Bancroft (1888:367) Kotzbue had two bottles of milk delivered to the *Rurick* every day from Mission San Francisco. Some eight years later he returned to the region. When he left he purchased from Mission Santa Clara “melons, peaches, grapes, and figs and ... magnificent apples, which have no equals in Europe” (Kotzbue 1830:102, Skowronek with Thompson 2006: 247).

In 1827 August Duhaut-Cilly, veteran of the Napoleonic wars, visited California. He noted that there was a “lack of development in this country of the culinary art” (Duhaut-Cilly 1999:160). “The missionaries are almost the only ones to eat bread. The Californians make a substitute from wheat flour, small cakes they call tortillas,...those made from corn meal are less good. Their table is generally quite simple; beef, or rather cow meat, which they prefer, is the basis of their cuisine. They don’t care for game, although they could easily procure hare or deer, and they claim the venison is not healthful. It is, they say, a cold meat (*carne fria*); they never eat it. Cheese is much to their taste, and they make several kinds, but their cows give little milk” (Duhaut-Cilly 1999:160).

Faxon Dean Atherton a Massachusetts merchant visited the Bay Area in 1836 and noted Santa Clara’s orchard contained “pears, apples, apricots” (Skowronek with Thompson 2006:292). In the following year he dined at Mission Santa Clara and noted in his journal “dinner consisted of about forty seven dishes of all kinds, colours, shapes, and sizes, very well cooked” (Skowronek with Thompson 2006:298).

Another American Lt. Charles Wilkes, USN visited San Francisco and decided to journey to Santa Clara. On his way he spent the night with the “Peralto” [sic] family and was provided with a supper “consisting of tea, tortillas, valdivias, ollas, with eggs and a steak” (Skowronek with Thompson 2006: 310). When they arrived at the mission they were treated to a light meal consisting “ principally of fruit, and small ollas, peppers, &c.” (Skowronek with Thompson 2006: 314). At the mission Wilkes was introduced to “Señora Aliza” who “had prepared the whole with her own hands, and prided herself on her admirable management and cookery. Few certainly could equal her in the preparation of stews and delicate high-flavoured dishes” (Skowronek with Thompson 2006: 314). Later, “Padre Mercador served us with wine and fruit; of the latter, the pears were delicious” (Skowronek with Thompson 2006: 315). Finally, after a visit to the gardens and vineyard and a fine meal prepared by “Señora Aliza,” Wilkes noted, “throughout the country four meals are daily taken: at an early hour, chocolate; at eleven o’clock, breakfast; at two, dinner; and at seven, supper. The dinner and supper are the principal meals, and at them the Californians indulge to a great extent” (Skowronek with Thompson 2006: 317).

Imported Foods in Alta California

Rice and Noodles

While a variety of domesticated garden, orchard and field crops such as corn, beans, barley, wheat, lentils, peas, fava beans, garbanzos were produced locally, other staples such as rice and noodles (macaroni or vermicelli) were imported to the province from Mexico. At Mission Santa Clara nearly 2500 pounds of rice were imported between 1779-1810 (Skowronek et al. n.d.) while at the Santa Barbara Presidio between 1781-1810 four times that amount, or 10,578 pounds of rice were supplied (Perissinotto 1998). Dried noodles were also supplied to the region. 400 pounds arrived at Santa Clara between 1795 and 1811 (Skowronek et al. n.d.) and 300 pounds at the Santa Barbara Presidio between 1793 and 1804. From Father Viader’s notebook we know that both rice and noodles were enjoyed in a number of soups which included parsley, garlic, pork sausage or black pudding, tomato, pepper, saffron, and sometimes fish and eggs (Mission Santa Clara Collection, Jose Viader Manuscript n.d. 131a).

And, even though pigs were raised and fishing was practiced in the province (Skowronek with Thompson 2006: 190), we find that 422 pounds of ham and 350 pounds of dried shrimp were imported to Mission Santa



Figure 1. Mexican-made vermicelli such as “La Moderna” is still imported to what once were the Spanish borderlands. (Photo by E.O. Skowronek).

Clara between 1776 and 1779 in the first years of the mission's existence (Skowronek et al. n.d.). At the Santa Barbara Presidio between 1798 and 1810 600 pounds of dried shrimp, 600 pounds of dried oysters, and one hundred pounds of ham were imported (Perissinotto 1998). These data do not imply that these foods were used as main courses, but since we know ham, shellfish such as abalone, and other fish were consumed (Bancroft 1888: 362, 363, 365), it is interesting to see these items on the list of imported foods. Pinedo lists several dishes which call for shrimp in her list of recipes (e.g., 2003: 120, 130).

Alcohol

Other common food items associated with the Spanish and Mexican-era California were grapes and alcohol (Skowronek and Graham 2012). Even after vineyards were well established and the fermentation and distillation of spirits was underway, records show that wine and alcohol were regularly imported into the province (Skowronek and Graham 2012). At Santa Barbara Presidio (Perissinotto 1998) and Mission Santa Clara (Skowronek et al. n.d.), there are receipts for a variety of alcoholic beverage made in both Spain (e.g., white Castillian wine, red Malaga wine, Catalan brandy and sherry) and Mexico (e.g., wines from San Luis and Tepic). Encarnación Pinedo supplies a number of punch recipes which require brandy, wine, or rum (Pinedo 2003:184-185).

Spices, Oils and other Aromatics

Spices are an integral part of any cuisine. What makes any food acceptable are the ways it is prepared and how the flavors are either enhanced or covered up with the use of a variety of spices and oils. Imported commodities such as lard, olives and olive oil would come to be produced in Alta California, but clearly that transition took time as imports of some of these commodities continued into the nineteenth century at both Mission Santa Clara and the Santa Barbara Presidio. For example at the Santa Barbara Presidio 12,500 of lard was imported between 1781 and 1785 when Mission Santa Barbara was founded (Perissinotto 1998). Olive oil for cooking, however, was imported from the 1780s to 1806.

In Alta California a broad array of spices originating in Asia, Europe, and Mexico were imported. These included cumin, pepper, cloves, chiles, and even saffron. We find that eighteen pounds of cloves, sixty-eight pounds of cumin, four pounds of oregano, thirty-nine pounds of saffron, eighty-nine pounds of pepper, and 600 pounds of chili powder were brought to Mission Santa Clara between 1776 and 1810 (Skowronek et al. n.d.). At Santa Barbara Presidio eighteen

Figure 2. The spices and other flavorings which once were brought to California's missions and presidios are still imported from Mexico to grocery stores from California to Texas. (Photo by E.O. Skowronek).



pounds of cloves, nine pounds of cumin, four pounds of oregano, thirty-seven pounds of saffron, and 140 pounds of pepper were sent to provision the troops (Perissinotto 1998).

These spices figure prominently in Pinedo's (e.g., 2003:58-59, 88, 95,105, 111, 123) cookbook and, in an account related by Bancroft (1888:369), we learn that at Mission San Miguel Señora Paz Espínola used to sell *empanadas* well seasoned with chili peppers. For a *real*, one could buy two *empanadas* and a glass of apple cider. Similarly, the aforementioned rice and noodle soup recipe recorded by Father Viader called for both saffron and pepper as seasoning.

Beverages

Bancroft (1888) and others who visited California before 1848 provide some insights into the drinks, in addition to wine and other alcoholic beverages, consumed in the province. These include apple cider and others like "dulces and limonada" (iced water sweetened with sugar and sometimes made with lemons) (Bancroft 1888: 363, 369, 448).

Tea is not itemized in the accounting documents for either Santa Clara or Santa Barbara. Nonetheless something identified as "tea" by visitors is known. Vancouver breakfasted on tea during his 1792 visit (Skowronek with Thompson 2006:150, Vancouver 1798) and

Langsdorff in 1806 noted that "after dinner we were served with tea of poor quality" (Skowronek with Thompson 2006:191).

Coffee was imported into the province as early as 1805 when two pounds appeared in a requisition for the Santa Barbara Presidio (Perissinotto 1998:335). This matches well with Bancroft's observation that "Coffee was not generally known in California for many years after the settlement of the country" (1888:365). That said, he also noted that coffee was consumed for breakfast with or without milk (1888:363). Encarnación Pinedo supplies a recipe for brewing the beverage (2003:162-163).

Chocolate

The most commonly consumed imported beverage in Alta California during the Spanish and Mexican Regimes was chocolate. We find it purchased in large quantities throughout the Spanish period. From 1776-1810 nearly 7500 pounds of chocolate was brought to Mission Santa Clara (Skowronek et al. n.d.). Five times that amount was sent to Santa Barbara Presidio where 37,725 pounds of chocolate was imported between 1779 and 1810 (Perissinotto 1998).

Chocolate in the 1700s and 1800s was a bitter drink consumed by elites and commoners alike. Some enjoyed the bitter concoction while others liked



Figure 3. In the colonial era and even today much of the brown sugar imported from Mexico arrived in the form of cones known as "piloncillos." (Photo by E.O. Skowronek).

it sweetened and mixed with cinnamon and milk. We find that both cinnamon and sugar were also imported in fairly large amounts. For example, 442 pounds of cinnamon were imported to Mission Santa Clara between 1783 and 1810 (Skowronek et al. n.d.). At Santa Barbara Presidio 108 pounds of cinnamon were imported (Perissinotto 1998). Sugar also arrived in great quantities. Probably grown and processed in Veracruz and Morelos, we see 45,345 pounds of brown sugar or *panocha* in the accounts for Santa Barbara (Perissinotto 1998; Toussaint 2010:126).

Visitors to California commented on this sweet beverage. Vancouver noted that breakfast included chocolate (Skowronek with Thompson 2006:150, Vancouver 1798) and Langsdorff in 1806 said that the “chocolate [was] of superexcellence [sic]” (Skowronek with Thompson 2006:191). In 1841 Commander Wilkes of the U.S. Navy lamented oversleeping and missing his chocolate “which is given at ‘an early hour’” (Skowronek with Thompson 2006: 311). Two recipes for chocolate are found in Pinedo (2003:165-166). Bancroft (1888:232) mentioned a drink called “champurrado” which was made of chocolate with a maize atole.

Sweets and Desserts

Sweets figure prominently in the Spanish world. Convents in New Spain became centers of production and were known for their marmalades, caramels, sugared fruit, and other sweet confections, a tradition that continues to today. Sweet treats were commonly imported into Alta California during the Spanish era. At Santa Barbara Presidio 300 pounds of dried bananas, three jars of honey, 200 pounds of sweetmeats, 325 pounds of candied fruit, three pounds of sugar candy, 300 pounds of dried fruit, as well as anise and candied anise were imported (Perissinotto 1998). At Mission Santa Clara 210 pounds of candied anise was imported. This ingredient is an important part of “pan dulce” or Mexican sweetbread.



Figure 4. In this reconstruction of the chocolate ritual we see the components of the drink and the paraphernalia for its making. Dark chocolate arrived in Alta California in ball or block forms. These were grated into a powder (right). Similarly cinnamon (middle) was ground and brown sugar (left) was pulverized. These were then placed in the *chocolatera* with boiling water and the concoction was then whisked to froth with the “molinillo.” In 1792 Vancouver brought Wedgwood’s Queensware pattern ceramics such as this plate and cup as gifts. The replica ceramic *chocolatera* was made by Ruben Reyes based on reconstructions of ceramic forms from Mission San Antonio identified by Jack S. Williams. (Photo by E.O. Skowronek).



Figure 5. Several brands of chocolate are still imported from Mexico into the United States. (Photo by E.O. Skowronek).

Webb (1952: 90) said that conserves, candied fruits, and jellies were made from the fruit grown in the orchards. Bancroft (1888:365) mentions buñuelos as “round cakes made of white corn-meal generally, and fried in lard after the manner of doughnuts.” Pinedo mentions these doughnuts or fritters and devotes the final portion of her book to a variety of sweets from preserves and jellies to puddings, pastries, and cakes (2003: 62-63,167-191). Father Viader has a recipe for a “rounded sponge cake” which calls for eggs, flour, sugar and anisette water (Mission Santa Clara Collection, Jose Viader Manuscript n.d. 130).

Conclusions

Using accounting ledgers and receipts kept by mission and presidio administrators in conjunction with contemporary visitor accounts, personal diaries and notebooks, and secondary sources like Bancroft’s and Pinedo’s volumes, allow us to reconstruct the complex foodways of Alta California. These sources describe what people are eating as well as the quantity and timing of food imports from Spain and New Spain to Mission Santa Clara and Presidio Santa Barbara. They illustrate how the broad patterns of the Columbian exchange are played out at the local level. The fact that a number of staples and luxury aromatics are making this long journey to isolated Spanish settlements on the Spanish frontier in the Americas indicate the power of foods and flavors in the maintenance of social status and identity and, ultimately, the creation of new ones in a new New Spain.

Analyses of accounting ledgers from other missions and presidios would expand our understanding of the food landscape and help determine whether the purchasing and consumption patterns of these two locales are representative of those from other locations. Analyses of pottery made in Puebla and other locations in modern Mexico suggest that missions and presidios were provisioned similarly (Skowronek et al., in press). In the case of pottery, similar items made in the same locations in modern Mexico were being delivered along the entire length of Alta California, not to just one or two missions or presidios. If hardware like pottery is being equally distributed through the supply network, it might be reasonable to suggest that food items would be similarly distributed within Alta California (Skowronek et al., in press).

When people move, food moves. Beginning with the first encounters in the late fifteenth century, the foods and cuisines of the Americas and Europe were brought together. Through experimentation and necessity, new flavors and novel hybrid dishes were created. By the time Alta California was colonized, the foodways of New Spain had already experienced over 250 years of dramatic change. Those who migrated north to Alta California brought those transformed cuisines and flavors with them. Thus, the

culinary colonization of Alta California represents a second wave of dietary adaptation and transformation. Dietary change does not happen overnight and through the ledgers and account books we can see how the favored foods, drink, and flavors, some still originating from Spain, continued to be imported and to have a place at the table during the Spanish and Mexican periods in Alta California.

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Mission La Purísima

STORIES OF SPANISH CALIFORNIA

MARDITH SCHUETZ-MILLER

A FRIAR UNDER ATTACK AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE SANTA CLARA CHURCH

Disquieting reports began to reach Mission Santa Clara early in 1786, which eventually caused Father Diego Noboa to write to Father President Fermín Francisco de Lasuén at San Carlos. Plácido Ortiz and Anacleto, neophytes from the missions of San Ignacio and San Fernando in Baja, California, respectively, and Antonio Moraga, neophyte from the Ranchería de Santa Ysabel near Santa Clara, had gone to Lt. Don Diego González of the Presidio de San Francisco with an accusation that Father Tomás de la Peña had murdered one of his neophytes in 1784. According to their story, Father Peña had become enraged when he found the neophyte Sixto irrigating his orchard incorrectly and, grabbing a hoe, had proceeded to beat the fellow. The mortally wounded Sixto was supposedly carried to Father Diego Noboa, but in spite of the latter's ministrations of medicines the man died within a few days. By the time that Father Noboa had written to his superior in May Mariano Cordero, corporal of the guard assigned to the mission at the time of the alleged attack, had already testified that he knew nothing of the incident, while Alférez Don Hermenegildo Sal was holding six Indians in the guardhouse for questioning.

This was not the first complaint against Father Tomás. Since the founding of the neighboring pueblo of San José in 1777 the ministers from Santa Clara had looked after the spiritual needs of the settlers, but grumbled over the town's proximity to their mission and the unfavorable influence its citizens had upon their neophytes. Particularly vocal in venting his displeasure had been Father Tomás. A concerned Father Lasuén decided to hold his own investigation into the allegation and sought the aid of Father Pedro Benito Cambón from San Francisco with whom he traveled to Santa Clara.

From testimony taken during the military and ecclesiastical investigations, it was determined that Sixto had succumbed to a malignant fever that had taken its toll at the mission in July 1784. Sixto had, in fact, been too delirious to make a confession and had died on the 28th. The real culprit was

About the Author

Mardith Schuetz-Miller holds degrees from the University of Missouri (Anthropology, Sociology), Trinity University (Anthropology), and the University of Texas at Austin (American Civilization with programs in Spanish History, Spanish Colonial Architecture, Ethnology of the Hispanic Borderlands, and American Intellectual History). She worked as museum curator for seventeen years at Texas Tech in Lubbock and the Witte Museum in San Antonio. As a field archaeologist she conducted excavations at the Texas missions of San Antonio de Valero – including two segments of the *acequia madre* – San Juan Capistrano, San José y San Miguel de Aguayo, and Socorro in El Paso; the French contact Gilbert Site in Raines County; the Presidio de Loreto in Victoria County; the Spanish Colonial Governor's Palace in Guam; and the Tom Jefford's Chiricahua Indian Agency in Arizona. Her college level teaching included courses in Archaeology of the Americas (Trinity University), General Anthropology and General Sociology at San Antonio College; History of the Spanish Borderlands and Southwest Studies at the University of Arizona, and Architectural History of the Spanish Borderlands for Elderhostel. In 1982-83 she served as Acting Director of the Southwest Center, University of Arizona.

Since 1984 she has worked as an independent scholar. Research in California, made possible from two Maynard Geiger Fellowships – courtesy of the Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library, resulted in *Building and Builders in Hispanic California 1769-1850*. Over the years Schuetz-Miller has published numerous articles, monographs, and books covering archaeological field investigations (including pre-historic) and ethno-history, Spanish history and architecture, the use of pre-Euclidean geometry in architectural design, and mythology. In 1998 she and her co-author Diana Hadley received the Dwight L. Smith Award for the Best Research and Bibliographic Tool from the Western History Association for their *Militia on the Northern Frontier of New Spain*. Recent publications are *Abodes for the Gods. The Symbolism of Ancient Architecture in*

Plácido, who had harbored a grudge against Father Tomás since the latter had stripped him of his responsibility of taking care of the storehouse and granaries and retrieved the keys from him. He had, it appears, been caught stealing and the co-defendants were said to be friends of his, were indebted to him, or had received stolen goods. Both courts exonerated Father Peña of any wrongdoing – including other accusations of a lesser nature. The Indians who had been kept at Monterey as prisoners had been serving the governor in his house, kitchen, and orchard. Two of them subsequently fled and sought sanctuary in their mission church, pleading that they had no intention of reverting to their gentile state. They were returned to the Presidio of Monterey in shackles and chains. The other three initially held were returned to their mission by the governor.

During the investigations the carpenter Antonio Moraga was recorded as having been baptized seven years earlier and was said to speak Castilian “very well.” Antonio can be identified in the registers of the mission. He was baptized at about seventeen years of age on January 6, 1778, the son of Acchen and Pergonite. His godfather was Don Joseph Joaquín Moraga, Lieutenant of the Presidio de San Francisco. By the time of the trial Antonio had been twice married - to Lorenza Ynes and to Angela Francisca. We might guess that he served a ten year sentence at Monterey, for he was back at Santa Clara late in 1796 when he was married to Benvenita. There is another entry for him three years later as well.

Another craftsman participated in the trial. The Master Blacksmith Joseph Gregorio Segura, neighbor of San José and Santa Clara at the time, served as a witness to the veracity of the official interpreter used during the proceedings and signed his name to the document. This native of Guadalajara had been recruited by the Department of San Blas and had arrived in Monterey in 1773. He can be traced for thirteen years in Northern California: at San Carlos from 1773 until perhaps 1784; at San Luis Obispo and San Antonio de Padua in 1785; and at San José and Santa Clara in 1786.

But let us return to Antonio Moraga, because he surely was engaged in the construction of Santa Clara’s first permanent church. The church had two predecessors: a palisade structure on the mission’s initial site (founded 1777) and a second of like construction erected when the mission was moved to higher ground two years later, following a flood which had swept away everything but the store houses. The cornerstone for the third church was laid on November 19, 1781 and within a cavity a small crucifix and several religious medals and silver coins were placed to symbolize the treasures of the church. The finished building was dedicated on May 16, 1784. Father Junípero Serra considered it to be the most beautiful, as well as the largest, yet constructed in Alta California. A report of the dedication, with Captain Don Pedro Fages and Lt. Don Joseph Joaquín Moraga in attendance among other notables, was entered into the Book of Baptisms.

About the Author, cont.

Eurasia (2011), *Abodes for the God. The Symbolism of Sacred Architecture in the Indo-Pacific* (2011), *The Empire Builders. A Scio-Economic History of Architects and Building Artisans from the Neolithic to the Renaissance* (2011), *Retrieving Tribal Memory. Mantids, Ungulates as Symbols of Death and Resurrection, Shamanism, and DNA* (2012), and *Spider Grandmother and Other Avatars of the Moon Goddess in New World Sacred Architecture* (2012).

According to Father Francisco Palóu, it was Father Peña's companion, Father José Antonio Murguía himself who was the architect of this church. And, I might add, the only religious in Alta California to design his own church. Tragically, Father Murguía died just five days before his creation was dedicated. When Father Palóu laid his friend to rest, he entered the information into the Book of Burials that Fr. Murguía had been missionary to the Pames Indians of the Sierra Gorda, where he had "built an elegant church, the first in that conquest to be built of stone and mortar." Although he is, therefore, to be credited as the architect of the church, it should be pointed out that he likely had the expert help of the master carpenter from the packet-boat *San Carlos*. Don Fernando Campuzano was at the mission in June and July 1783 while the church was nearing completion. Campuzano, a native of Ubeda, Santander, Spain was a ship's carpenter from the Department of San Blas, who first came to San Francisco in 1783 and visited Santa Clara at that time. He returned to Santa Clara in 1786. He sailed to Nootka twice: as first carpenter aboard the frigate *Princesa* in 1789 and again in 1792 in the position of *capataz*, or chief overseer of the expedition to handle repairs of the frigate *Concepción* and the packet-boat *Aránzazu*. The identity of his birthplace and his wife's name, María de Jesús Sabalsa, were recorded at Mission San Carlos during the latter expedition when he served as godfather to the confirmation of the ship's carpenter, Juan Esteban González. Working with Campuzano on the new church, in addition to Antonio, was Tomás, an Indian of the mission recognized as a master carpenter in his own right. This was probably the Tomás who was baptized on June 13, 1777, first married to Graciana in 1796 and then Zozima in 1811, the last entry for him.

A CONTROVERSY OVER THE CONSTRUCTION OF A CHURCH

By 1795 the Pueblo de Los Angeles had assumed an air of prosperity. Its population numbered 186 households. Its adobe houses and public buildings were enclosed within a wall of like material and its fields were producing more grain than any of the missions, save San Gabriel. The ministers of that mission had been charged with the spiritual care of the Angeleños since the founding of the town in the fall of 1781, but it was time the pueblo had its own church. Sometime after the turn of the century the populace began stockpiling materials towards its construction, Father Nuez engaged the services of the master carpenter and mason José Antonio Ramírez, and permission to commence construction was granted on August 14, 1814. But something happened to temporarily postpone the project. Father Joaquín Nuez, in a letter dated July 19, 1815, to Don José de la Guerra, complained:

Since last Sunday, the master builder José Antonio Ramírez has left the mission. I proposed to Sergeant Guillermo that they should procure two other experts for the work on the church. I see, if they do not begin the work, it will not be

finished by the year of Doom. It is a pity, indeed, for there is plenty of material. The master went to the pueblo and demanded six *reales* for each day's labor, and a barrel of wine every three months together with board. It seems to me that this is not a high wage. I believe that the majority of the population failed to recognize the duty of facilitating the work of construction. I do not think an Indian capable of being master builder of such a work as a church, although it seems very simple. Besides, this man is needed to prepare the lumber for the doors, windows, etc.

This letter provides the key to the controversy. Ramírez' contract was certainly reasonable when we compare it to his agreement with Santa Bárbara Mission in 1800 when he was paid one peso and dinner per working day, plus two pounds of chocolate a month. The Angeleños obviously had an Indian mason in mind that could be hired more cheaply. By 1814 when work was to begin Basilio Rosas, the old Indian mason from Durango who had arrived as an original settler of the pueblo, had been dead some six years. Therefore, the mason the Angeleños wanted to hire must have been the master mason Miguel Blanco. Blanco had also worked for Santa Bárbara for 2 *reales* per working day with weekly rations of three *almudes* of corn and one of beans. His service would, indeed, be cheaper than Ramírez'.

Sometime before January 1818 the site was moved to higher ground, but construction appears not to have been undertaken until the following year when Father Payeras received seven barrels of brandy from the mission to be sold and with this, and funds already on hand, they began raising the walls. Nevertheless, by the time they were built up to the window arches (before 1821), the money had been expended. Despairing that the church would ever get built, Father Commissary Payeras again turned to the missions for help in August 1821. San Fernando, San Gabriel, San Juan Capistrano, San Luis Rey, and San Diego sent what brandy they could spare – seven barrels worth, plus other minor contributions. These were sold to the presidios for 575 pesos. San Luis Rey also sent neophyte laborers, including master carpenters and masons who worked for salaries of one *real* and board daily. A steer (?) was accepted in part payment. Residents of the pueblo cut and hauled timber and sent cattle to San Luis Rey as credit against the building costs that were expected to be not less than 2000 pesos. Included in that sum were 50 pesos for the master architect, José Antonio Ramírez, and 70 pesos for tools. Additional workers were apparently recruited from San Diego in December.

By now San Gabriel's minister estimated that the Angeleños were not in a position to pay even one-third of the cost and again requested aid of the southern missions. San Fernando, San Gabriel, San Juan Capistrano, and San Luis Rey were to send carpenters in November; San Diego was to provide six sawyers. These were to stay until the work was completed. In addition San Luis and San Diego were to provide the rest of the needed

laborers who would be paid 1 real per day, even though they should receive $1\frac{1}{2}$ reales, as well as board that was “customary in the territory.” The missionaries came through with the needed laborers and, furthermore, donated pack mules, cattle, and barrels of brandy or wine to be sold in Los Angeles. Seven years after permission to build the church had been given the Angeleños had finally their own church. It was dedicated on December 8, 1822. The just established *ayuntamiento* selected the Commandant of Santa Bárbara, Don José de la Guerra y Noriega, as *patron*. In spite of the fact that Los Angeles now had its own church the padres of San Gabriel continued their ministry there for an additional decade before a secular priest took up residence.



Figure 1. Photo of Plaza Church, Los Angeles, California. Date and photographer unknown.

Let us now return to José Antonio Ramírez, the architect of the pueblo church, and Miguel Blanco, the artisan who lost out in this controversy. Ramírez, a native of Zapotlán el Grande near Guadalajara in the state of Jalisco, was born about 1762 or 1763, the son of Christobal Ramírez and Ysabel Martínez. He arrived in Monterey either in late 1791 or early 1792 as a recruit of the Company of San Blas. From 1792 to 1798 he served at Mission San Carlos Borromeo as master carpenter and teacher of neophytes and was responsible for the carpentry work on the fine stone church designed and constructed by the master mason and stone cutter Manuel Esteban Ruiz. In 1799 Ramírez was at Santa Clara, but since there is a gap in the building accounts from 1796 to 1812 we have no way of guessing at the projects for which he may have been hired. Between 1800 and 1803 Mission Santa Bárbara, in a veritable building frenzy that had started in the 1790s, added some ninety-nine new structures – enough to keep two master carpenters hopping – Ramírez and Salvador Carabantes. In 1804 and 1805 our maestro was working at San Juan Capistrano in the capacity of carpenter. Between 1808 and 1811 we find him at Santa Bárbara twice, San Fernando Rey, and San Gabriel, but there are no records as to what he was doing. Now, by the beginning of the second decade of the 19th century Ramírez was recognized not only *maestro de carpentería* but as *maestro de albañil* as well. On April 29, 1811 he signed a contract with La Purísima that was recorded in their account book:

Agreement with José Antonio Ramírez, carpenter and mason. He binds himself to assist in making the stone basins, *canales*, and all the washing places and drinking – trough after finishing the fountain, and besides to direct during that time the carpentry work, and the Mission is to pay him 200 pesos in silver, with board, 3 drinks a day and 2 lbs. of chocolate monthly.

This raises the interesting question as to the circumstances by which Ramírez acquired his second skill of masonry and stone-cutting. The answer appears to lie first of all in his five year association at San Carlos with the master mason and stonecutter Manuel Esteban Ruiz and his journeymen, Joaquín Rivera and Pedro Alcántara Ruiz. This initial exposure to the craft must have been reinforced when he was at San Juan Capistrano during the period when “the most important and pretentious” church to be built in the province was being completed. The architect of that church had been the master mason Isidro Aguilar, who had been brought from Culiacán, Sinaloa for the purpose. Aguilar suffered an untimely demise, probably in 1803. The only clue as to his successor is the presence at the mission in November 1805 of the old Indian mason Basilio Rosas, who, in spite of his advanced age, may have supervised the neophyte crew in finishing the church.

However they had been acquired, Ramírez’ skills were much in demand. In 1811 and 1812 he was under contract to San Luis Rey de Francia as architect and director of the new church construction. From that project he probably proceeded to San Gabriel to begin planning the new pueblo church and during its years of interrupted construction from 1814 to 1822 he served San Gabriel as majordomo in 1817 and 1818. He was back at La Purísima in February 1819. These bits of evidence appear to confirm that the site of the pueblo church was moved in January 1818, but work was not undertaken until the following year – sometime after February to be more precise. Maestro José Antonio Ramírez apparently lived out the rest of his life in Los Angeles or San Gabriel. The life-long bachelor was buried at the age of about sixty-five at the last church he had built. Ramírez, who served thirty –six years in Alta California, surely deserves the recognition as its *premiro architecto*.

As for the Indian master mason Blanco that lost out on the bid to construct the pueblo church, he toiled in the state almost as long – thirty-one years from his arrival in 1794 until his death in 1825. He had arrived from Mission San Ignacio, Baja California with his wife Rosa Vallata, who died in childbirth two years later. Blanco undoubtedly received his training at his home mission during the time its fine church, started by the Jesuits, was being completed in 1786 by the Dominicans. He was resident at San Gabriel in 1801, during which time he married Juana María Rosas, the fifteen year old daughter of the mason Basilio, already identified. From 1803 until 1825 Blanco was probably attached to the Presidio de San Diego as a mason and from 1816, at least, as a Leather-Jacket soldier. He was, however, on temporary assignment elsewhere from time to time: Los Angeles in 1804 and Mission Santa Bárbara in 1805 and 1806, as mentioned earlier, where he appears to have first engaged in laying brick floors and

must have constructed the reservoir in 1806. Blanco may have even been the builder of the 1808-1813 church at Mission San Diego.

Blanco, who had fathered two children with his first wife and a third with his second, remarried again at San Gabriel in 1805. His new wife was Petra Féliz, with whom he had eight children. Miguel Blanco, “neighbor of San Diego,” was buried there on March 19, 1825, just a year after the baptism of his last son.

There is an additional name associated with the pueblo church of Los Angeles that deserves mention. Don Manuel Gutiérrez, long-time citizen of the Los Angeles area and owner (since 1811) of the Rancho de San Pedro (founded by Juan José Domínguez), was *alcalde* of the pueblo in the year of the church’s completion. It was he who wrote to sponsor-to-be Don José de la Guerra, that the dedication was scheduled for December 8. What is not generally known about this shadowy bachelor and *gachupín* from the villa de Santillan in Spain is that he had pursued his trade of carpentry from his arrival in the province in 1780 (provided the information in his burial entry is correct) until about 1810. He was the first architect of San Buenaventura, the mission that so impressed the British visitor Captain George Vancouver in 1793 that he wrote:

These buildings surpassed all the other I had seen, being something larger and more uniform; and the apartments were infinitely more commodious, and were kept extremely clean and neat.

In 1797 he was at San Juan Capistrano where he was mentioned in a letter written by its minister simply as “Gutierrez,” a carpenter who could make looms. Now in his sixties, he must also have been the architect of the third church that was built at San Fernando Rey in the years 1804-1806, and likely directed the construction of a large granary that also went up in the final year. Gutierrez himself had been the sponsor at the 1812 dedication of the new church at San Juan Bautista and was one of the signatories to that event that was recorded in the register of baptisms. He had probably settled in the San Gabriel area about the turn of the century, because he was on the Los Angeles church roster in 1804 and was identified as a “European from the Pueblo de Los Angeles” during his stay at San Fernando. When he was buried at the pueblo church on August 29, 1840 he was said to be ninety-seven years old and a resident in California for sixty years.

THE CHUMASH REBELLION

Indian resentment had been growing for years. Because of the Hidalgo revolt in Mexico that disrupted the semi-annual shipments of supplies and soldiers’ pay to California, the missions had been sustaining the troops for

more than a decade. “Why should we work the fields and tend the cattle, receiving no pay for our labors, in order to feed the lazy *presidiales* and their families who are too shiftless to work for themselves?” muttered the men. “Why should we spin thread and weave cloth and blankets to clothe these people?” echoed their wives. Resentment boiled to a white-hot fury in February 1824 when word spread to other missions of the flogging of a neophyte administered by Corporal Cota at Las Purísima. Indians at Santa Inés began to gather in small clusters, venting their discontent and arguing the actions open to them. On Saturday morning of February 21 an ominous silence pervaded the mission. The morning quiet was shattered in the afternoon when men, armed with bows and arrows, attacked the guard, who with Father Urea retreated to a building behind the church where they fired upon their assailants, killing Sebastián and Cipriano. The rebels set fire to the building to flush out the soldiers. The fire spread to the roof of the vestry and the Indians hastened to douse it before it had a chance to spread to the church. The besieged guards were not relieved until Sergeant Anastacio Carrillo arrived with a small force from Santa Bárbara. The rebels barricaded themselves in a row of houses, but the soldiers set fire to it, forcing its abandonment. Some of the insurgents fled to La Purísima.

News of the uprising at Santa Inés on Saturday was carried to La Purísima the same day and the Indians there took over their mission. The military escort defended themselves and their families in their quarters throughout the night, but surrendered on Sunday when their powder gave out. They were allowed to withdraw to Santa Bárbara. Father Ordáz was sent to Santa Inés, while the senior missionary, Father Antonio Rodríguez, remained with the rebels. Unfortunately, five men – the neophyte Estéban from Santa Bárbara and four strangers traveling to Los Angeles, unaware of the trouble, were killed as they neared the mission. The rebels erected palisaded fortifications, poked loop-holes in the adobe walls of the church and other buildings, mounted two swivel guns, cleaned their sixteen muskets, sharpened their 150 lances and six *belduques*, gathered all available bows and arrows, and awaited the expected military attack. Since a general uprising of Indians throughout southern California was anticipated, troops could not be spared from the Presidio at Santa Bárbara. Therefore, the troops sent to quell the revolt came from the north. Some 109 artillerymen, infantry, and cavalry with a four-pound field piece assembled under Lt. José María Estrada at San Luís de Obispo. Almost a month had elapsed since the first casualties were buried until the appearance of the Spanish force. As the troops approached the mission Estrada sent ahead two units of cavalry, composed of fifteen men each, with orders to surround the mission to prevent escape while the cannon was brought up for emplacement. The infantry led off the attack at 8:00 in the morning and were met by strafing from the one-pound cannons

and a shower of arrows. When the four-pound field cannon began its bombardment the Indians attempted to retreat, but were intercepted by Don Francisco Pérez Pacheco, sword in hand, and twenty horsemen. Forced back into the compound the rebels asked Father Rodríguez to intercede in their behalf and he sent out a written plea for a cease fire, thus ending the battle at 10:30. Casualties amounted to one killed and two wounded from the troops; sixteen killed and a number of wounded from the insurgents. Captain de la Guerra, incidentally, arrived with his troops from Santa Bárbara after the surrender.

Seven Indians were condemned to death for the murder of the travelers and the sentence was executed on March 26. Four men were identified as ringleaders in the uprising – Mariano, Pacomio, Benito, and Bernabé, and sentenced to ten years in the presidio and perpetual exile from the province. Eight others were sentenced to eight years imprisonment at the presidio.

This well known event in the history of Alta California is of interest because of the participation of several individuals. One of the initial casualties of the fray was Sebastián, a carpenter from La Purísima. He may have been the messenger who brought the news of the flogging of the neophyte at his mission to La Purísima. He was killed at the age of thirty-five, leaving his bride of two months to mourn his passing.

One of the ringleaders sentenced to ten years in the presidio and perpetual exile from the province was Pacomio Poqui. He was about thirty years old at the time. He was a native of the Rancharía de Snicehue where he had been baptized at about the age of eight or nine in 1803. He married Gordiana four years later and in 1819 and 1820 was sent, along with another carpenter from the mission, to work on reconstructing the Presidio de Monterey that had largely been destroyed during the Bouchard raid. Now widowed, he remarried within a few days after his return. His new wife was Eusebia María. The evidence shows that Pacomio was indeed in Monterey during the ensuing years. The 1829 census of eligible voters of San Carlos de Monterey included “Pacomio, a carpenter.” Whether this was Pacomio Poqui we cannot be sure, because there was also the carpenter Carlos Pacomio, relationship undetermined, who was resident in the household of the former and his wife María Eusebia in 1836. If Pacomio Poqui was meant then a decade after he had served his sentence he was a free man with all rights restored. He petitioned for a share of the property at La Purísima in 1833-34. Father Marcos Antonio de Vitoria denied his request with the excuse that he had “voluntarily separated himself” from the mission community and should not share in its benefits! Had his role in the rebellion been so soon forgotten? In 1836 “José” Pacomio Poqui was living in the old cavalry barracks of the Monterey Presidio with his wife,

Carlos Pacomio, his daughter María Jesús and her husband, Gregorio, a mason from Santa Inés. Interestingly enough he also held the position of Comisario de policía, according to Bancroft. In that same year Pacomio's daughter died and was buried at the Mission of San Carlos. Pacomio and his wife succumbed to an epidemic of smallpox and were buried in the same mission in 1844. We must assume that Pacomio, in serving out his ten year sentence, had been a model prisoner, else he would not have held the position of police commissioner two years later. He certainly was not banished from the province, although he perhaps never saw his channel homeland again. Another aspect of the man is preserved for us on recordings made by A.L. Kroeber in 1902 of Pacomio's Chumash songs. An old Costanoan woman remembered them from her childhood when Pacomio sang them while dancing, dressed only in a breechclout with feathers on his head, his body painted red, white, and black. This is the image that pleases me most – that of the indomitable spirit of the man, proud Chumash to the end.

While considering the Indian participants in this affair, permit me speculate that another of the ringleaders of the revolt, Mariano, was the carpenter Mariano Francisco Bocon from La Purísima. He can be traced at his mission from 1788, when he was baptized, until 1822, when his household was listed in the census for that year. Given the implication of two known carpenters in the uprising, Sebastián and Pacomio Poqui, we might guess that this is our man.

Before we close this story, let us look at the career of another carpenter – one who fought on the other side of the battle at La Purísima. Francisco Pérez Pacheco, recruited as a carpenter and wheelright by the Maestranza del Rey at San Blas, arrived in Monterey with the artillery detachment under Ramírez to bolster the coastal defense in the wake of the Bouchard raid. Arriving with this native of Guadalajara, sometime in the later 30s, was his wife, Feliciana González Torres, and two children. But Pérez Pacheco was also a soldier who volunteered to accompany the troops south and served as Estrada's aide de camp. It was he who led the cavalry that cut off the retreat of the rebels for which he was brevetted *alférez* in recognition for bravery. He went on to hold numerous positions of authority and responsibility in Monterey: member of the deputation 1827; temporary commandant of Monterey in 1829; brevetted Lt. Col. In 1832; commandant of the guard 1833-34; treasurer 1833; *regidor* 1835; and captain of defenders in 1844. The census of those citizens with voting rights listed him as a farmer. He was granted properties: an unnamed rancho (1833), Ausaymas (1836), San Felipe (1840); and of unknown dates San Justo and San Luis Gonzaga – thus becoming one of the wealthiest rancheros in the Monterey district. Pérez Pacheco and his wife had eight children, six of them born in Monterey. He died at the age of approximately seventy, outliving his wife by three years.

MAESTRO MAYOR FRANCISCO GÓMEZ, DEVOTED SUBJECT OF THE KING

On March 16, 1797 a coarse-featured, aged Spaniard from Coria, Kingdom of Sevilla sat hunched over his writing table in the steamy port of San Blas, carefully penning a letter to his king. He asked that he be allowed to retire by reason of his advanced age and the state of his health which prevented him from discharging his duties as *Maestro Mayor de Carpinteros y Calafates* – or chief of carpenters and caulkers at the shipyard. He pointed out that he had served His Majesty without interruption for fifty-four of his seventy years in various companies, including Cádiz and San Blas and that in Callao he had received the *distinguido* recognition for his duty aboard the *Favorita*. He requested that he be allowed to retire immediately without pay to live out his life in one of the missions of New California while his petition for retirement status was under consideration.

His service records reveal a distinguished record in the service of his king and country. He had matriculated from the Marine Department of Cádiz on March 31, 1758 at the age of nineteen to serve in the King's Navy as a journeyman carpenter. Eventually Gómez was sent to the port of Callao de Lima, Peru where between 1765 and 1770 he made two trips to the Philippines with the armada under the command of Don Francisco Cáseres. He embarked upon a trip to the South Sea in November 1772 as first carpenter under the command of Don Manuel Guiral, Captain of the frigate *Libre* of the royal armada. In mid-October of the following year he proceeded to the “newly discovered islands, principally Otaheti” aboard the frigate *Aguilla* under Don Tomás Gallanas. (Tahiti had been discovered in 1767 by Captain Samuel Wallis, commander of the British ship *Dolphin* – just five years previously.) During his stay there the ship's carpenter had constructed a house and enclosed an orchard for two missionaries. By April 22, 1774 he had returned to the port of Callao.

When the frigate *Nuestra Señora de los Remedios* (better known to Californians as *La Favorita*) made port at the Arsenal of San Blas on December 17, 1777, under the command of Lt. Don Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, on board as first carpenter was Francisco Gómez. He had been reassigned to San Blas. We know that the following September he inspected the schooner *Sonora* (another of the ships that supplied the settlements of La Nueva California). We assume that he was charged with seeing to the necessary repairs of the ship that had been completed when it sailed for Guaymas in November.

From June 1781 to July 1783 Gómez again sailed under Bodega y Quadra in his usual capacity. This time he was aboard the frigate *Santiago*, apparently bound for the Pacific Coast since he later reported that he had been associated with the “Presidio de la Nueva California.” This was his

first exposure to the “new settlements.” He was back in August 1790 at San Carlos, as proved by his appearance at the mission as godfather to a confirmation and, as we shall see, he returned again in 1794-95.

The request to retire to California was granted April 18, 1798 to Francisco Gómez, loyal servant to the king and he sailed for San Diego aboard the frigate *Concepción*. In a letter dated January 4, 1802 he was reported as residing at San Juan Capistrano, where he was teaching his trade to neophytes of the mission. His status as *invalido* (retired) was granted on October 12, 1799 and received from Spain and implemented May 15, 1800. But in October 1803 he still had received no pension, in spite of his own pleas and repeated complaints by the Governor of California, Don José Joaquín de Arillaga. His case was ultimately brought before the Royal Treasury and the Viceroy and a lengthy investigation followed. As far as San Blas knew he had been paid by the *habilitado* (paymaster) of the Presidio de San Diego up until his death December 8, 1803. Arillaga’s testimony was contradictory. An audit of the account books of the presidio showed no salary or other disbursements had ever been made to the carpenter. By the time of his death he had accumulated a salary of 519 pesos, a sum that was not paid until two years after his death. After deductions for debts, 337 pesos 5½ *reales* were left to his heir. Don Francisco Gómez, who had devoted fifty-four years of his life to his country, died as a charity case.

Now why, you are surely wondering, did the *Maestro Mayor* of the shipyard, second only to the *Constructor*, choose to retire to Alta California? For one thing, the environment certainly beat the sweltering heat and malaria infested port of San Blas at the time. But beyond the obvious, Gómez had made an investment in the “new settlements” and the evidence lies in the baptismal register of Santa Cruz. In fact, there was probably never a greater concentration of talent at any other mission. During 1791 there were four men from the shipyard resident in the mission. Pablo Béjar, a master carpenter was identified as a *sirviente*. So were Francisco Gonzalez, and Manuel Villanueva, but their specialties are so far unidentified. Francisco Misifort, a sailor was working as a common laborer. Also there was Salvador Béjar, brother of Pablo, a master carpenter in his own right and a Leather-Jacket soldier who was later sent to the Presidio de San Diego. The first temporary church was quickly replaced by a new one. According to the mission’s register of baptisms, the cornerstone was laid on February 27, 1793. However, Don Nicolas Noé and Domingo Magadan, first and second carpenters, respectively, from the frigate *Santa Gertrudis*, Bernardo Jauregui and Pedro García, first and second carpenters, respectively, from the frigate *Concepción*, and José María López, a master mason from Tepic, were witnesses to marriages on July 29, 1792. Noé was identified as the maestro “working on the new church” when he was godfather to a baptism on September 23 of the same year, five months

before the cornerstone was set. Working on the new church, therefore, referred to drawing up plans, collecting materials, cutting stone, staking and laying the foundations. (The master mason López was one of the stonecutters engaged on the construction of the stone church at San Blas in 1781.) He can only be traced in California from early 1792 at Santa Cruz into 1795 when he was at Santa Clara. I think we must conclude that he signed a four year contract to work in Alta California and returned to Mexico upon completion of his obligation. He was probably brought specifically to help erect the church at Santa Cruz. Pablo Béjar appears to have been employed by the mission into 1798. The first and second ship's caulkers Rafael Pinedo and José Tiburcio Cruz were also at the mission during the summer of 1792.

When the ships carpenters and caulkers sailed for home port they were replaced by other talented men. The carpenter Joseph Ignacio Chumacero can be traced there from January 1793 into December 1794 and then disappears from California records. Perhaps he had been engaged specifically for this job. Another carpenter at the mission during the period of church construction was the Sonoran Joaquín Mesa who was identified both as an employed carpenter and a soldier, at least from November 1792 and 1794.

The new church was blessed on May 19, 1794. The event, recorded in the book of baptisms, included a description of the structure. The walls were built of double adobes upon a foundation and *talud* (sloped platform) of stone to a height of two *varas*. The church measured $37\frac{1}{2}$ *varas* long, $9\frac{2}{3}$ wide, and $8\frac{1}{2}$ high. A frontispiece of carved stone embellished the façade and a carved stone arch, measuring 7 *varas*, separated the nave from the sanctuary. A carved stone arch with inset wooden doors on the Epistle side of the sanctuary led to a sacristy and an office, measuring 6 and 5 *varas* square, respectively. A corresponding door was on the Gospel side. An exterior stair led to a choir loft constructed of boards "like the presbytery and sacristy," while a baptistery was located beneath the stair.

To celebrate the dedication the priest, neophytes, employees, and troops of the mission had as their guests visiting ministers and Don Hermenegildo Sal, *alférez* of the Presidio de San Francisco who served as sponsor. The attendant ceremony included entrusting the door key to Sal, followed by the "prescribed orations." The following day they celebrated the feast of the Patriarch Saint Joseph with a solemn mass. The entry describing all this was first signed by the attending ministers: López and Salazar of Santa Cruz, and Gili, Sánchez, and Peña from Santa Clara. Joseph Antonio Sánchez, corporal of the escort signed for the troops. Of more interest to the subject of this study were the signatures of the principal artisans involved in its construction: [the mason] José María López, [the carpenter] Ygnacio Chumacero, and [the carpenter] Francisco Gómez. Yes, this last is

none other than the *Maestro Mayor de Carpinteria* from the Department of San Blas. His signature matches one recovered from San Blas in the archives of the *Provincias Internas*. Furthermore, he remained at the mission into the following year, for on May 7, 1795 Don Francisco Gómez, “carpenter from the Department of San Blas,” served as godfather to a baptism at the mission. He was probably overseeing the construction of the last two sides of the mission’s quadrangle completed in that year.

POSTSCRIPT

Some years subsequent to my talk in Santa Barbara, while conducting research on sacred architecture in the Indo-Pacific (see *Abodes for the Gods. The Symbolism of Sacred Architecture in the Indo-Pacific*, Red Bluff, Ca. Blue Oaks Arts, 2011) I found the following account in Volume I, pp. 124-127 by William Ellis of *An Authentic Narrative of a Voyage Performed by Captain Cook in His Majesty’s Ships Resolution and Discovery During the Years 1776 to 1780 in Search of a North-West Passage Between the Continents of Asia and America*, (2 volumes. New York: De Capo Press, 1969).

On August 13, 1776 Cook’s two ships arrived at Ohitapeah harbor, Otaheitee and Ellis’ entry the following day enhances the Spanish notation of their expedition to Tahiti and Francisco Gomez’ role there.

... we found...that some other ships had been there some time after the Resolution’s departure. This information of course excited our curiosity a good deal, and we enquired [sic] more particularly into it. They told us, that about the latter end of the year 1774, there arrived two ships from Remah (by which we supposed they meant Lima), that the people who came in them [Francisco Gomez and assistants] staid [sic] between three and four months and had erected a house on shore. During their residence, the commander, whose name was Oridde [Tomás Gallanas in the Spanish account], died and was buried some little distance from the house. At the departure of the ships, they took with them four of the natives, who voluntarily offered to go, and left behind them a young man called Marteemo, and two priests.

At the end of about two months they returned, and brought with them only one of the natives; two having died at Lima, and the other choosing to remain there. They appeared this second time to be in a great hurry, and after a short stay (during which time they were employed in wooding and watering), took back Marteemo and the two priests, leaving strict orders with Wyeatuah to take care of the house, etc. as they intended to return in a short time; but however they never made their appearance again.

These were the heads of our information, which as Omai was our interpreter, might come something near the truth. The house, which was wooden, was divided into two rooms, one behind the other; the windows, or rather portholes, opened and shut in the inside with sliders [typical of Philippino construction]. It is likely the house was made at the place from which the ships came, as every plank was numbered.

The furniture was very inconsiderable, consisting of a table, two or three stools, an old tub, an old gold laced hat, and a few other trifling articles. At some distance, in the front of the house, upon the spot where the commander was buried, was erected a large cross with this carved inscription upon it: Christus vincit, Carolus tertius [Spanish King Carlos III] imperat. Captain Cook ordered it taken down, and the following words to be put on it, Georgius Tertius [English King George III], Annis 1767, 69, 74, 79.

Marteemo, as far as we could understand, was a very sensible, clever young man, and held in much esteem by the natives. It seem probable that he was left there with a view to learning the language, manners, and customs of the country; in the former they told us he was very intelligent. The two priests no doubt were to endeavor to make converts, but they did not appear to be very successful, for we could discover no traces of the good effect of their apostolic mission, and it is not unlikely, but that the reverend fathers might be so far led astray by the good things of the island, and the condescencion [sic] of its female inhabitant, as totally to forget the business they were sent upon.

The man who had been at Lima, was frequently on board the ships, and very readily answered any questions we put to him relative to his treatment, etc. there. He appeared to like the Spaniards very well, but frequently expressed his surprize [sic] at their not having red feathers....”

LIST OF SOURCES

The events used in the first three articles are fairly well known from such sources as Hubert Howe Bancroft's *History of California*, Vols. 1-3 and the mission histories of Fr. Zephyrn Engelhardt. The third story of Francisco Gómez is more obscure. Research in multiple archives made it possible to flesh out the players in these episodes: mission registers, account books, building records, and census lists; the Ramo de California and the Ramo de las Provincias Internas from the Archivo General de la Nación; Provincial State Papers; California Mission Documents; and the De la Guerra Papers. Specific references to sources can be found in Mardith Schuetz-Miller's *Building and Builders in Hispanic California 1769-1850*.

MISSION SAN MIGUEL, A CASE STUDY

A New Methodology for California Mission History



RYAN THORNTON, OFM

In its own time and more so today, the mission system of Alta California has had its detractors and its defenders. In the 20th century, people like Sherburne F. Cook have attacked the mission system, alleging that it was a program of forced conversions, while others such as Francis F. Guest have proceeded to rebut Cook's argument at length.¹ In the tradition of Cook are also people like Edward Castillo, who have argued more recently that the mission system effectively destroyed California Indian culture.² Both groups generally take information and events from different missions at different times in order to demonstrate a consistent narrative hypothesis about the mission system; as a result, the main difference between the two groups is not in their data or approach, but in their fundamental narrative, either positive or negative.

Although some scholars such as James A. Sandos have subsequently attempted to establish a middle ground by incorporating multiple interpretive lenses into their analyses,³ their centrist position often entails modulating between the two narratives and usually favoring the negative.⁴ Indeed, these two fundamental narratives do not seem to be on level ground in this adversarial process, as detractors appear able to question any evidence that defenders present by application of a hermeneutic of suspicion or skepticism. In other words, detractors respond to evidence that contradicts their central thesis not by modifying the thesis, but by undermining the evidence. What is often done and what is meant by a 'hermeneutic of suspicion' or 'hermeneutic of skepticism' is when a historian will call into question the validity of documentary evidence by identifying possible ulterior motives of the original author that could induce them to present something as true that was not. With such a tool at their disposal, it seems to be a very real question as to whether any historical data could withstand such scrutiny or if detractors have an analytical trump card in that any evidence can ultimately be rejected due to the fact that human beings are neither perfect nor are their motives.

About the Author

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There are thus two methodological considerations for this inquiry. The first is to present an alternative approach to the study of the history of the mission system of Alta California by employing a case-study-based method; rather than propose or presuppose a general narrative that various cases are then cited to evidence, this inquiry begins with a single case and seeks to derive certain conclusions in relation to it.⁵ The second is to determine whether any evidence offered in that analysis is not susceptible to a hermeneutic of suspicion or whether the detractors will always have the upper hand in the process of historical investigation. In



short, the purpose of the present study is to examine the history of Mission San Miguel from its founding through secularization in order to assess the experience and relationship between the Franciscan missionaries and Salinan Indians who lived there. Using data and primary documents from throughout this time period, a hermeneutic of suspicion or skepticism will be applied throughout to see if there is ever any evidence that can definitively show a positive relationship. As such, the goal of this study is not to finally resolve the debate between detractors and defenders of the mission system, but to offer one piece in a new mosaic of scholarship that might broaden the perspective on the mission system of Alta California.

Figure 1. Mission San Miguel was founded on July 25th, 1797 midway between the missions of San Luis Obispo and San Antonio and amongst the Salinan Indians of the region. (Photo by Ryan Thornton, OFM).

Common History: The Data of the Mission System

Following the establishment of Mission San Juan Bautista, Mission San Miguel was founded on July 25th, 1797 by Fr. Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, making it the 16th Mission in Alta California. According to a letter dated 27 August 1795 by Fr. Buenaventura Sitjar, one of the first two padres stationed at Mission San Miguel, the Indians in the region had asked him for a mission to be built there, based on what they had observed at nearby Mission San Antonio.⁶ Testifying to this is the fact that 15 Indian children were baptized on the day of the founding, heralding the development of a neophyte community that would be the backbone of the mission until the process of secularization by the Mexican government closed the mission in 1834.

During the years 1797-1834, the Mission grew economically. For example, in the five years between 1827 and 1832 the number of cattle rose from 2,130 to 3,710, a 75% increase (Engelhardt, 29 and 34). Various metrics also

indicate that Mission San Miguel had better health than other missions; comparatively, it had moderate-high birth rates, generally lower death rates, and significantly better mean life expectancy (Jackson and Castillo, 56). Such are some of the statistical measurements and indicators that constitute the historical record of Mission San Miguel.

As to specific moments in the Mission's history, an interesting event took place in December of 1800 when the two padres stationed there fell violently ill.⁷ A third friar came from Mission San Antonio to tend to them, only to be stricken with the same illness. In response, Lasuén, Presidente of the Missions, summoned two more friars to Mission San Miguel when he received word that an Indian was rumored to have poisoned the missionaries. At this point, the government became involved in the investigation as well and sent a commission of inquiry from the capital of Monterey to investigate; by February of 1801, three Indians suspected of having given poison to the padres had been arrested and brought to the presidio in Monterey for trial. Astonishingly, one of the two missionaries sent after the first outbreak and while the suspects were in jail fell ill with the same sickness at the end of February and died on the 15th of March.

When the second replacement missionary also started to exhibit the same symptoms, the government reopened its investigation and Lasuén himself was prepared to go to Mission San Miguel to determine what was happening. The Spanish government then ordered the three suspects held in Monterey to be sent to Mission San Miguel for questioning. However, the three then managed to escape from their escort while spending the night at Mission Soledad. Incredibly, two of the suspects that escaped then fled on their own to Mission San Miguel and sought refuge in the church. With the help of additional soldiers from Monterey, the third suspect was eventually captured as well and likewise brought to the Mission where the commission of inquiry resumed its investigation.

As it turned out, the padres had poisoned themselves. Using an insufficiently tinned container to hold their mescal (a tequila-type liquor), the padres had suffered from copper poisoning. Moreover, the ultimate reason that the Indians had been suspected in the first place is

Figure 2. In 1801, three Salinan Indians suspected of poisoning the padres at Mission San Miguel escaped their escort from Monterey and proceeded to seek refuge inside the mission church itself, shown here as it appeared in 1894. Photo courtesy Santa Bárbara Mission Archive-Library.



because they had boasted of having poisoned the missionaries. In the end, however, the Indians were still punished by the governor, José Joaquín de Arrillaga, with “a mild sentence of whipping” (in addition to the time served) on the basis of “the allegations or suspicion of poisoning with which they were charged, but without sufficient proof” (Lasuén, “439. To Fray José Gasol,” 2:272).

At this point, the data presented is common to both detractors and defenders of the padres and the California mission system, beginning with the seemingly consensual establishment of Mission San Miguel. Applying a hermeneutic of suspicion, the negative side could claim that the letter by Fr. Sitjar stating that the Indians had requested the construction of Mission San Miguel was nothing more than a means of rationalizing his own actions and those of the missionary machine.⁸ Self-promoting and self-justifying, such a letter could be classified by some as missionary propaganda, the literature of a colonial power explaining the necessity of colonialism.⁹ Furthermore, the fact that 15 children were baptized on the first day could be seen only as evidence that the Indians did not know what they were agreeing to or were agreeing to something that had no meaning for them (a water ritual) in favor of something that did have significant meaning for them (agricultural improvements). Moreover, such persons might even take the very language of the above description literally—that ‘the neophyte community would be the backbone of the mission’—contending that it was upon the backs of Indians that the mission system was propped, as they labored and toiled in the hot fields while the padres sat and sang in their cool sanctuaries.

In this way, the economic data can assume the character of one’s interpretation as well. If the economic data is good, defenders may use it to justify the utility of the mission system while detractors may cite it as evidence of the brutality inflicted upon people in the name of wealth. Likewise if the economic data is bad, defenders may regard it as part of the hardships that the mission system faced in the pursuit of more ultimate goals (e.g., salvation or peace) while detractors may present it as proof that a European economic system was non-functional in this context for sociological reasons (e.g., the absence of private property within the culture) or agricultural ones (e.g., the unsuitability of European crops or livestock in these new conditions). When it comes to health data, the same dynamic can occur: relative comparisons can be used to make Mission San Miguel appear to be a good situation, while objective comparisons can be used to make the same mission to appear on the order of a death camp.¹⁰

Last, it is fascinating to consider how the events surrounding the poisoning of the padres at Mission San Miguel in 1800-1801 could be used by detractors and defenders alike. Taking the facts as they have been

presented, someone could easily focus on how the Indians were treated in the legal proceedings.¹¹ Citing the fact that they were still flogged for the mere allegation of having poisoned the padres, one could say that this is exactly the type of brutality that characterized the whole of the mission system. Along the same lines, such proponents might cite the missionaries' apparent complicity in this course of action as when Lasuén describes the punishment of the Indians for the mere allegation of poisoning and then states, "I am very much pleased. I contributed as much as I could to bringing this about by means of a reply I gave to an inquiry made to me on the subject" (ibid.). In this instance, however, it would be to take the quote entirely out of context in that Lasuén has described the punishment received by the Indians, but actually emphasized that the case had been dismissed and the Indians liberated more expeditiously than the legal process would usually take.¹²

Despite the fact that in that same letter Lasuén discusses the efforts of the two padres at Mission San Miguel (both of whom had suffered from the illness) to immediately free the accused Indians, some people might note that in the same paragraph Lasuén proceeds to discuss the practice of boasting which he states "is a vain and deceitful type of cunning in which many of our Indians from San Diego to San Francisco indulge, and it is perhaps to be found in a greater or less degree in every Indian region from the first to last" (ibid.). It is paternalistic and condescending remarks such as these that can be used to discredit other statements that might otherwise demonstrate a more positive relationship between the padres and Indians. In this particular case, though, Lasuén is consistently reluctant to attribute wrongdoing to the Indians themselves, even deliberately obscuring his Spanish when it seemed at a particular moment that the evidence proved the guilt of the suspects;¹³ nevertheless, he again makes statements like the following that can be read as thoroughly paternalistic:

Sometimes I had actually reached the stage of believing that the sickness of the missionaries was due to something poisonous, but that the Indians had not played a malicious part in the harm done, even if for the sake of boasting they try to claim for it. Often I recalled that the Minister, Gálvez, was accustomed to say that the Indians were rational according to a lower order; it is certain that different accomplishments are needed in order to deal with them and to conduct oneself in regard to them. If [on our part] there is a good store of patience, so that no matter how much it is drawn upon it always remains the same, it will dispose them to face anything other men must face. I am very happy that the affair should turn out that way, and I believe it will come to an end exactly as the author of the enclosed letter thinks. (ibid., 2:191)

These elements are the stock of various interpretations of the padres and the mission system. In other words, neither side need dispute the data, while still managing to draw significantly divergent conclusions about it.

As such, evidence or sources are needed that somehow stand outside of the mission system and thus provide a reference point by which to judge the consistency of the previous data and, consequently, the reliability of the various interpretations of that data. Indeed, this is precisely what is found in various documents surrounding the process of the secularization of the missions of Alta California in the case of Mission San Miguel.

Counter-Narrative: Alvarado's Historia de California, 1876

Secularization was the process whereby mission churches were to become parishes and the adjoining land to be given to the people that worked it, namely the Indians. Secularization was well-established as a theory, but it began to be promoted as a policy following Mexico's independence from Spain in 1821. In 1830, the Mexican governor of California, José María Echeandía, succeeded in convincing the territorial legislative assembly to enact his own plan for the secularization of the missions.

As part of Echeandía's plan, a commission was sent to each of the missions in order to present the Indians with this proposal of converting the churches into parishes and giving the land to them, which simply required their consent in order to be effected. Juan Bautista Alvarado, a member of the influential Vallejo family and future governor of California, was sent from Monterey to Mission San Miguel for this very purpose. What follows is Alvarado's own version of the event; an account that deserves to be quoted in full and at length for reasons that will become apparent.¹⁴

At the time of [General Manuel Victoria's] arrival, I found myself at the [now] ex-mission of San Miguel where Colonel Echeandía had sent me to consult the will of the Indians concerning his projected plan for secularizing the missions, and my friend, Señor José Castro, who had the same order, was at the ex-mission of San Antonio. At the time we were somewhat distressed, as the Indians did not seem to properly appreciate the great good that we wanted to do for them; I say this because I know what I am talking about.

As soon as I came to the ex-mission of San Miguel, I sought out Padre Cabot, who was in charge of that establishment, and I expressed to him the purpose of the mission which the governor Echeandía had entrusted to me. As soon as I had given explanations to all the questions which he thought appropriate to ask me, his reverence told me that I ought to meet the Indians so that I could consult them. In no time, the courtyard of the ex-mission was full of neophytes, and I set out the purpose of my mission and the advantage that it would provide for them and their descendants if they adopted the proposed plan of colonization. The neophytes did not say a single word during the whole time that I, having mounted an open cart, was advising them to give their approval to my plan which contained in it a brilliant future for their race, then so oppressed and—in opposition to the laws of Mexico—deprived of their right to reside where it was more to their liking and to serve—if they should serve—people more likely to benefit them.

As I concluded speaking, I said, "All the neophytes who want to continue living with Padre Cabot, go to my left; and those who prefer to become land owners and free men, go to my right." And even though it embarrasses me to write this, it falls to me to report that many hundreds of Indians went to my left and shouted, "We want to stay with the padre, he is very good, and we love him!" Some thirty or forty went to my right, but as they saw that they were in an insignificant minority, they also went to the other side and left me alone—totally alone! That occasion made me think of the old Roman woman who began to cry when she learned of the death of Nero: she said that a known evil is better than an unknown good. Without doubt, the natural instinct of the Indians induced them to think in the same way. Perhaps, they made a mistake? I appeal to the result, and each one of my readers may judge what seems better to them. (Juan Bautista Alvarado, vol. III, 6-7)

There are several important aspects to this document. First, it is necessary to understand the intense machinations that constitute the circumstances in which this event took place. Secularization was not a straightforward process of theory, law, and enactment, but a part of a political platform whose promotion and execution corresponded to the various regime changes in Mexico from the 1810s-1840s. The iteration that Alvarado was a part of and describes here occurred in January of 1831 when Echeandía had already been replaced as governor of Alta California and his successor had arrived to assume office. Because the new governor, Manuel Victoria, was still far south of the territorial capital of Monterey, Echeandía sought to use secularization as a means of destabilizing the territory for his own interests, political or economic. As such, this push for secularization had both a temporal and political intensity, relying on the galvanization of popular support in order to have effect. And although secularization would eventually occur in 1834 after another political shift, this episode was to end within the month as Victoria hastened to Monterey to take power and on February 1st suspended Echeandía's secularization law.

Such is the background of the event, but it is also important to understand the internal context of the text itself. Alvarado's account appears in chapter 23 of his 5-volume *Historia de California*, written in 1876 and chronicling events in Alta California from 1769 until 1848. In his preface to that work, he explains that his purpose is to provide his own contribution to the efforts of the historian Hubert Howe Bancroft in his work on the Californias (Alvarado, vol. I, iv). Additionally, Alvarado presents

Figure 3. Juan Bautista Alvarado, a future governor of California, came to Mission San Miguel in January of 1831, proposing a plan to secularize the missions. Although secularization would not occur until 1834, this process led to the gradual decline of Mission San Miguel as seen in this 1870s photograph. Photo courtesy of Santa Bárbara Mission Archive-Library.



an unabashedly dichotomous narrative between opposing forces, locating himself centrally in “the struggle for those ideas of progress which have defied bigotry” (ibid., vi). Outlining his narrative more completely, Alvarado proposes to present to the historian those “great men (*prohombres*) who with fearlessness and boldness freed Alta California from the yoke of the faithless barbarians and with a strong arm broke the chains with which the stooges (*esbirros*) of bigotry had roped the body and soul of the primitive inhabitants of this now prosperous state” (ibid., iv). Among those “stooges of bigotry,” Alvarado names singly and specifically “the missionary padres who were the representatives of the aged doctrines, who had no other sight than to keep us in the basest of ignorance, [and] who aspired to perpetuate for themselves the possession of immense goods, denying to Californians the privileges which divine and human laws granted to them” (ibid., iv-v). In short, Alvarado’s narrative is explicitly, overtly, and deliberately one in which the heroes defeat the villains to save the helpless victims.¹⁵

Indeed, this is what makes the above account so powerful in that it runs completely contrary to Alvarado’s narrative: the protagonists fail to achieve their goal and that because the victims or, at least, the supposed beneficiaries reject them favor of the villains. A criterion of scandal not only proves that this episode occurred, but that it happened as Alvarado describes, since it otherwise contradicts his central thesis, as even Alvarado admits that “it embarrasses me to write this.” If this event did not happen as Alvarado reports it, there is no logical reason that he should have included it. Were Alvarado to have completely fabricated the event, he could have made the Indians ready to overthrow the mission system, only to be thwarted by the change in governors; written 45 years after the fact, he would have had the luxury of temporal distance to make events fit his narrative. Hence, the fact that this event does not fit his narrative substantially proves that this event happened as Alvarado says it happened.

Given that, even a hermeneutic of skepticism has difficulty deconstructing the event. Some might have argued that the Indians did not understand what Alvarado was offering them for linguistic or cultural reasons. However, the fact that they started shouting, “We want to stay with the padre, he is very good, and we love him!” significantly undermines that interpretation. Others might have suggested that the padre there forced them to rebuff Alvarado’s offer with threats of violence and the like. Curiously, Alvarado does not offer that interpretation, which one would expect, especially if true, given Alvarado’s apparent opinion of the missionary padres, and instead appeals to the readers to judge the events for themselves. Moreover, the fact that some Indians did respond to Alvarado’s offer at first seriously mitigates that interpretation, considering that Alvarado describes them as changing their stand not with any display of emotion such as fear, but simply when “they saw that there were in an insignificant minority.” Thus, there

seems no other conclusion than that in this instance when presented with the opportunity of eliminating the mission system, relieving themselves of the missionary, and availing themselves of the promise of total political freedom, the Indians at Mission San Miguel chose to remain with what they had; not only that, but they met the offer with shouts of “We want to stay with the padre, he is very good, and we love him!” That would seem to be a rather strong indicator of the general satisfaction of the Indians at Mission San Miguel with the mission system and the missionary there at that time.

External Indicators: Hartnell 1839 Informe

Nevertheless, the ebb and flow of political seas ultimately resulted in a high water mark that secularized the missions in 1834. As a summary of the process, the Franciscan missionary was to be removed, a new “secular” or diocesan priest appointed to handle the spiritual affairs of the mission, and a government administrator put in charge of the mission’s property. In theory, this administrator was to oversee the conversion of the mission into a pueblo or civic entity with the distribution of the assets, both to the Indians and to the government. For some reason, it did not work out as well as anticipated with serious problems occurring throughout the state, which prompted the aforementioned Alvarado, now governor of California, to demand a direct accounting from the governmental administrators about what was happening. Decreed on January 17th, 1839, this accounting and its attendant regulations included the appointment of an independent inspector who would visit and investigate the condition of each of the missions. Two days after the decree, Alvarado appointed a naturalized Englishman, William E.P. Hartnell, as inspector of the missions, who was instructed to speak directly to all parties involved, including the Indians, and empowered to effect certain reforms on sight.

During his two-year inspection from 1839-1840, Hartnell kept a record of his visit to every mission, including his correspondence, his personal diary, and his official report or *informe*. Generally, an entry in the *informe* consists of two parts: the first an inventory of the various assets of the mission and the second an overview

Figure 4. Sent by the governor of California, William E.P. Hartnell visited Mission San Miguel in August of 1839 to survey those who lived there and document its agricultural output. (Photo by Ryan Thornton, OFM).



of what was expressed to him by those at a given mission. His entry for Mission San Miguel is dated August 3rd, 1839. After describing the various mission properties and the Indians present at each, he summarizes their general opinion as follows: "They ask that the Administrator be removed; they want to be alone with the padre. Above all, they complain about Manuel Oretaga, the mayordomo at San Simeon, and in view of their quite just complaints I ordered him removed" (Hartnell, 26).

While a strong indicator, it is not as impervious to a hermeneutic of suspicion or skepticism as the previous example. Its strength consists in the fact that Hartnell as inspector was supposed to be a third-party observer; moreover, since his appointment and attendant powers were from the government and his salary from the missions themselves, he may be fairly regarded as impartial (or, at least, equally partial) in his assessments. However, a hermeneutic of skepticism might be applied to the event, rather than its recording to say that the Indians were not in favor of the previous system, but judged it to be the lesser of two evils. As such, the missionary system and the relationship between Indians and missionaries were not good per se, but just less bad than the government alternative. Additionally, others might contend that the Indians always complained against the government, so Mission San Miguel was not unique in that respect.

This latter contention would not be true, however, as comparison to the previous entry in Hartnell's account—that of Mission San Luis Obispo—discusses the satisfaction of the Indians with the current system. As he says in the entry dated July 30th, 1839: "There was not a complaint against the Administrator; the Indians are very happy with him and say that although the Mission has nothing, it is not his fault [for such was] how he received it" (ibid., 25). And were the first argument true, it is unclear why the Indians would ask for the padre; given the political situation and the fact that the secularization was predicated on their increased freedom, they might have more easily and readily petitioned for their total independence from any sort of oversight or rule, governmental or missionary. In other words, the specific expression of a desire to be left alone with the padre is a strong indicator that that is precisely what the Indians wanted.

Hence, the record of Hartnell appears to constitute a good, impartial, and accurate assessment of the Indians' opinion throughout the mission system immediately following secularization. And in the case of Mission San Miguel, Hartnell's record would indicate that even after secularization had taken effect, the Indians wanted the missionary padre to stay and, seemingly, the preservation of the mission system there.

Conclusions of the Case of Mission San Miguel

Both Alvarado's *Historia de California*, 1876 and Hartnell's *Informe* are indicators that have the value of being independent and external to the

mission system and thus provide two objective reference points by which to evaluate the data internal to the mission system itself. Following secularization, Hartnell's report shows that the Indians at Mission San Miguel preferred being left alone with the Franciscan missionary to continued government interference. Likewise at the time of secularization, when given the option of keeping the missionary system as originally established or embracing a system of civil independence, Alvarado's account shows that the Indians at Mission San Miguel definitively chose the former. Given this trajectory, it would be consistent to suggest that Fr. Sitjar's letter was also true in stating that the Indians of the area requested the construction of Mission San Miguel at its beginning. Furthermore, the additional data and accounts, even the bizarre escape of the accused Indians, only to return to the apparent scene of the crime, would likewise prove remarkably consistent in presenting an overall positive assessment of the relationship between the Indians and padres at Mission San Miguel.

Such a conclusion is not meant to universally characterize the relationships between the Indians and padres at every mission in Alta California during this time nor to offer an overarching conclusion about the morality of that same system. Not only was the first different at different missions, but the latter is far beyond the scope of so short a historical treatment as this. Rather, the conclusion of the present study is that at Mission San Miguel the Indians and padres enjoyed a positive relationship and that, at least in this one case, the missionary system was successful, as understood by those who participated in it.

Endnotes

1. See Francis F. Guest, "An Examination of the Thesis of S.F. Cook on the Forced Conversion of Indians in the Californian Missions," *Southern California Quarterly* LXI.1 (Spring 1979).
2. Edward Castillo, "The Other Side of the 'Christian Curtain.' California Indians and the Missionaries," *Californians* 10:2 (September-October 1992). Interestingly, in a later work (co-authored with Robert H. Jackson) Castillo seems to moderate the tenor of his writing and contrasts the approach in that study with the narrative studies of previous historians (both detractors and defenders); see Jackson and Castillo, *Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), 5ff et *passim*.
3. See James A. Sandos, *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), xiii-xviii.
4. See the remarks by Joseph P. Chinnici in James A. Sandos, Edward Castillo, Joseph P. Chinnici, Lisbeth Haas, and William John Summers, "Symposium: Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions," *Boletín, The Journal of the California Mission Studies Association* 21.2 (2004): 56-63.
5. Although this approach is similar to what others such as Steven W. Hackel have done, it is important to note the methodological inversion: rather than start with a narrative about the mission system that is only applied to a case insofar as it fits that narrative, this study begins with an analysis of the history of one mission in order to derive a plausible narrative with respect to that one mission; cf. Steven W. Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769-1850*, Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 2.
6. For a translated reproduction of the letter, see Zephyrin Engelhardt, *San Miguel, Arcangel: The Mission on the Highway* (Santa Barbara, CA: Mission Santa Barbara, 1931), 2-6; for the specific reference, see *ibid.*, 5.
7. This reconstruction is based primarily on Fr. Lasuén's own correspondence with Fray José Gasol, the Guardian of San Fernando College in Mexico, Lasuén's superior as Presidente of the Missions of Alta California; see Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, *Writings of Fermín Francisco de Lasuén*, trans. and ed. Finbar Kenneally (Washington, DC: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1965). Specifically, see letters ##376, 397, 398, 399, 401, 402, 403, 426, and 439.
8. Indeed, in his letter Padre Sitjar speaks mostly of the condition of the land, discussing the Indians only at the very end and in a way that could easily be read with a hermeneutic of suspicion: "I have heard the Indians say that they desired a Mission" (Engelhardt, *San Miguel, Arcangel*, 5).
9. For example, see Hackel, 7: "However, Franciscan missionaries, the region's most active and literate colonial agents, penned a rich, if biased, record in their correspondence."
10. As Jackson and Castillo note (56), even in the case of Mission San Miguel the rate of birth to death rates was insufficient for viability, so that while it was relatively healthier than other missions, it was not objectively so. See also *ibid.*, "Appendix 2: Crude Birth and Death Rates per 1,000 Population for Seven Alta California Missions," 134-136.

11. This would still be different from those who, despite the evidence and research to the contrary, make this event into a violent uprising by the Indians against the Franciscans; see Castillo, 15.
12. Lasuén actually introduces his discussion of the subject with the phrase, “I have heard that Señor Arrillaga is trying to cut short the case against the Indians of San Miguel and to set them at liberty” (Lasuén, “439. To Fray José Gasol,” 2:272).
13. Ibid., “401. To Fray José Gasol,” 187; see also, *ibid.*, fn. 1, 2:189.
14. The translations that follow of Juan Bautista Alvarado’s *Historia de California, 1876* and William E.P. Hartnell’s Informe are the author’s own.
15. Indeed, Alvarado uses the phrases “*heróicos patriotas*” (iii) and “*esbirros*” or stooges (v) to refer to the two opposing parties in the central conflict that he outlines, likewise describing “*los primitivos moradores*” in rather passive terms (v).

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FRANCISCAN MISSIONS IN ALTA CALIFORNIA AND NEW MEXICO

Differences and Similarities



DAVID J. MCLAUGHLIN

There are more Spanish mission sites in New Mexico than in California. This is hardly surprising. The ‘Kingdom of New Mexico’ was a vast territory of New Spain, which included the present day state of Arizona and portions of Colorado and Texas. This land was discovered before Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo explored the coast of California. It was conquered and settled beginning in 1598, one hundred and seventy-one years before the European settlement of Alta California.

In his pioneering 1940 study George Kubler documented over thirty New Mexico missions (Kubler, 5th edition, 1990). One can visit the majority of the former mission sites Kubler identified, five of which are stabilized and maintained ruins.

About the Author

David J. McLaughlin is the author of over a dozen books and publications on the early history of California and New England. David’s first book on the Land of Enchantment will be published in 2014. *Spanish Missions, Historic Towns and Early Churches of New Mexico 1598-1898* will summarize the first three-hundred year history of New Mexico and its historic places of worship. This book will contain full-color contemporary photographs (or paintings where photography isn’t permitted) for seventy-five of most historic and picturesque religious sites in New Mexico. David is also working with Robert H. Jackson on a major study of the early Franciscan missionary efforts, titled *Before Alta California: A Source Book on the Franciscan Missions in New Spain Before 1769*. New Mexico is one of the seven areas that will be covered in this major study, which is expected to be released in 2015.



Figure 1. Acoma Pueblo c.1899 by William Henry Jackson, Library of Congress.

All but one of the federally recognized New Mexico pueblos contains mission “churches.” In addition, New Mexico has a large number of Spanish-era churches and chapels (built before 1821) and a score of other unspoiled historic churches completed in the Mexican era (1821-1846). This is not just a matter of numbers. There are only six authentic seventeenth-century Spanish Colonial churches in all of the United States and all six of them are in New Mexico.



Figure 2. San Agustín – Isleta Pueblo by David J. McLaughlin.

While there is no better place within the United States to explore the Franciscan mission legacy and Spanish-era architecture, New Mexico is not California. While there are more sites, access can be complicated and the many choices require a different type of planning.

This article will summarize what is distinctive in the scope, form and accessibility of New Mexico’s mission-era legacy and offer suggestions on how to begin to explore what is available. Selectivity is crucial. The number and variety of historic Catholic religious sites is staggering: former mission churches; massive stone ruins of edifices that dwarf some contemporary cathedrals; the historic churches of New Mexico’s only villas (Santa Fe, Santa Cruz de la Cañada, and Albuquerque), each of which provides a different record of the impact of changing values and tastes; town churches whose

layout and walls help us envision how it was in the 1700s when settlements had to be fortified and the church was the linchpin of defense; church ruins that rest in splendid isolation in rural areas; morada (meeting houses and chapels of *Los Hermanos Penitentes*);[†] the lonely gravestones of members of the Sisters of Loreto and over sixty communities of women religious who staffed the Catholic schools, hospitals, sanitariums and other parish ministries beginning as early as 1853; and in many of these places, religious artifacts that include the indigenous carvings of *Santos* and *reredos* done by local craftsmen in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

The balance of this article will discuss, in turn:

- Pueblo Missions
- Restored Mission Ruins
- Historic Religious Sites and Attractions

The Pueblo Missions

The twenty-one California Missions were founded by the Franciscans over a span of only fifty-four years, between 1769 (San Diego) and 1823 (San Francisco Solano). Some of the surviving structures are over two centuries old. For example, the San Carlos Borromeo Church (the 7th) was completed in 1797. All the churches have been restored (Santa Cruz and San Rafael have smaller replica chapels) and nineteen are Roman Catholic churches or historic chapels that are a treasured part of a modern church complex. All 21 sites are open to the public, photography is permitted and many of the sites contain portions of the original complex, which now serve as museums, gift shops or special attractions, such as the splendid *convento* or long building at San Fernando Rey.

The New Mexican Missions are even older. They were founded over a much longer and earlier period, from c.1599 (San Juan Caballero at the pueblo of Ohkay Owingeh) to c.1700 (San José de Laguna, established after the re-conquest). Over the following three centuries the mission churches were built, restored, rebuilt and in some cases relocated. In short, there is a much longer mission architectural trail in New Mexico. While there are centuries-old mission churches in New Mexico (at Isleta and Acoma, for example) some of the present structures have been built in recent decades. San Ildefonso, which was completely rebuilt in an extended effort completed in 1968-69, is “a reasonable facsimile of the pueblo’s 1711 church” (Kessell, 1980). The degree of authenticity varies, as it does in California. The Mission Santa Clara church in California, for example, is a “modern interpretation” of the 1825 church, which burned in 1926.

The major difference between California and New Mexico’s missions, however, is not just that New Mexico’s missions were founded much

earlier and had longer to evolve. The conversion and settlement effort in New Mexico focused on sedentary, agricultural communities that already existed in dozens of separate pueblos, places that are now recognized as independent sovereign nations. In California the Franciscans created and controlled new communities, many of which evolved into or became part of California towns where Indian descendants were a small portion of the population, even before the Gold Rush.



Figure 3. San Ildefonso by David J. McLaughlin.

The story of each New Mexico pueblo church is a complex history beyond the scope of this article, but in general the former mission complexes were reduced in scale over time, the many stages of each church's physical appearance and location was influenced by and in many instances controlled by the pueblo. The pueblos are Indian communities whose core beliefs and practices reflect a religion firmly established long before the missionaries arrived. There are a meaningful number of Catholics at most of the missions, but today there are other Christian denominations. The most inviting religious structure at the Zuni pueblo, for example, is the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. (Mormon missionaries came to the Southwest in 1846, concentrating initially on the four-corners area).

When you visit a pueblo mission these days the church is not likely to be open, for security and privacy reasons and because of the status of the churches themselves. Only three of the mission churches are parishes (San Agustín at Isleta, San Diego at the Jémez pueblo and St. John the Baptist at Ohkay Owingeh). Most of the other missions that still have active catholic churches are served from an adjacent parish. For example, the parish church of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Peña Blanca serves 'missions' in the pueblos of Cochiti, San Felipe and Santa Domingo.

There is one pueblo church that doesn't look remotely like a mission. This dates to a unique phase in the history of Catholicism in New Mexico. It began in 1850 when Pope Pius IX appointed a French missionary priest, Jean Baptiste Lamy, to be the first bishop of the newly created Vicariate Apostolic of New Mexico. Over the next 68 years five Frenchmen served consecutively as Archbishops of Santa Fe and they left an extensive legacy of neo-gothic and Romanesque-style structures, including the church at the pueblo of Ohkay Owingeh.

On a practical level there are important differences between New Mexico and California. Access to some pueblos is quite limited. For example, Santa Ana, which is not occupied continuously throughout the year, is only open to the public on special occasions like the Feast Day of Saint Anne on June 23. There are other restrictions. Quite a few pueblos, including San Felipe, Santa Domingo, Tesuque and Zia, forbid any photography or “sketching” and others like San Ildefonso require that you purchase a permit.

Despite these limitations visiting a pueblo is a rich experience but a different experience. Those hoping to see the multi-storied adobe buildings that characterized pueblo architecture have one choice, the pueblo at Taos. Some of the churches are located on the main plaza, in the center of the community; others were placed on the pueblo periphery. There are pueblos with special attractions. For example, the Santa Clara Reservation, in addition to a well-sited, handsome church, contains the captivating ruins of the Puye Cliff Dwellings² occupied between AD 900 and 1580s. Many of the pueblos have pottery for sale, often at prices that are better than Santa Fe galleries.

The pueblo of Taos is near the top of any list. It not only has a well-designed church, but in addition, the ruins of an 18th century church, destroyed by the U.S. Army in 1847 during the Battle of Taos in the early stages of the Mexican American War.³

Some of the pueblos are a form of living museums that manifest how real communities evolve over the centuries. In California structures from 19th



and early 20th century built on mission property (the seminary buildings at Santa Bárbara, for example) are blended into the complex, which in most cases is relatively self-contained. The former mission churches in New Mexico are located within an active community. In driving around many of the pueblos there is an often captivating mixture of structures from different eras. Zuni offers some of the most interesting examples

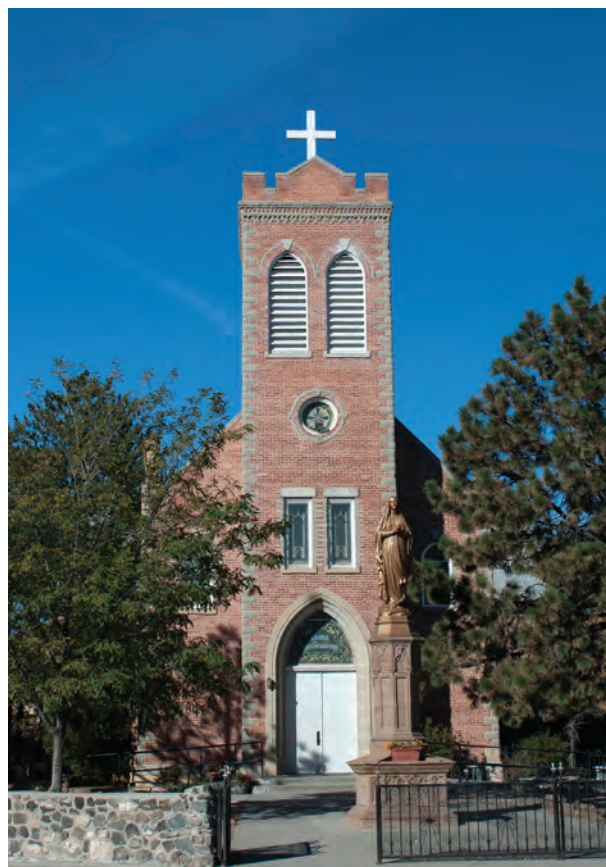


Figure 4 (above). St. John The Baptist - Ohkay Owingeh Pueblo by David J. McLaughlin.

Figure 5 (left). Santa Clara – Santa Clara Pueblo by David J. McLaughlin.

Exhibit 1

HISTORIC FRANCISCAN MISSION SITES IN NEW MEXICO PUEBLOS				
PUEBLO [Traditional Name]	CHURCH	FOUNDED	MAJOR RESTORATIONS	FEAST DAY
Ohkay Owingeh ¹	San Juan Caballero (Saint John the Baptist)	1598	1913 (now a neo-Gothic structure)	24-Jun
Santa Ana [TAMAYA] ²	Santa Ana	1598	c. 1750	23-Jun
San Felipe [Katishtya]	San Felipe	1605	1706 (new site); 1736; c.1801	1-May
Santa Domingo	Santa Domingo	1607	1706; c.1754; 1895-99 (new site)	4-Aug
Nambe [O-Ween-ge]	Nuestro Padre San Francisco	1613-17	1729;1910; 1974	5-Oct
Sandía [NA-FIAT]	San Antonio de Padua	<1614	<1760; 1864; 1890-95	13-Jun
Zia	Nuestra Señora de la Asunción (Our Lady of Assumption) ³	<1614	1693; 1750	15-Aug
Taos [Tuah-Tah]	San Gerónimo de Taos (Saint Jerome)	c.1617	c.1850 (new site)	30-Sep
San Ildefonso [Po-who-ge-oweenge]	San Ildefonso (Saint Ildephonsus)	1617	1711; 1905; 1968-69	23-Jan
Tesuque [TET-SUGEH]	San Diego	1620s	1706; c.1880; 1914; early 2000s	12-Nov
Jémez [Walatova] ⁴	San Diego de la Congregación de los Jémez	1620s	1626-28; 1856; 1919; c.2012	2-Aug
Picuris	San Lorenzo (Saint Lawrence)	1620s	1706; 1740s; 1776; 1960s; 1986+	10-Aug
Socorro ⁵	Nuestra Señora del Perpetuo Socorro; now San Miguel	c.1626	1815	27-Jun
Cochiti [KO-TYIT]	San Buenaventura de Cochiti (Saint Bonaventure)	1626-28	1706; c.1900; 1960s	14-Aug
Santa Clara [Kha'p'oo Owinge]	Santa Clara (Saint Clare)	1626-29	c.1758; 1914-8; late 1960s	12-Aug
Isleta [Tue-I] ⁶	San Agustín de la Isleta, renamed San Antonio de Isleta	c.1629	1710; 1923; 1962	4-Sep
Pojoaque [PO-SUWAE-GEH] ⁷	Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Valle de Pojoaque	c.1629	Ruins (of 1773 Church)	12-Dec
Acoma [Haaku]	San Esteban del Rey (Saint Stephen the King)	1629	1696-1700; 1924; 1926	2-Sep
Zuni [SHE-WE-NA] ⁸	Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe (Our Lady of Guadalupe)	c.1629; 1660	c.1706; 1968-69	none
Ysleta in El Paso Texas ⁹	Corpus Christi de San Antonio de la Ysleta del Sur (Saint Anthony of Padua)	1682	1829; 1908	13-Jun
Laguna [Ka'-Waika]	San José de Laguna	1699-1700	1706; 1920s	19-Sep

Notes

1. San Gabriel, the first Spanish settlement in New Mexico, was built on west bank of Rio Grande, located near this pueblo, then named San Juan.
2. Many pueblo residents have 2nd homes in old pueblo. The Hyatt Regency Tamaya Resort & Spa is on the reservation.
3. Originally named San Pedro and San Pablo.
4. The pueblo Indians moved to this site some time after San José de Jeméz (now the Jémez Historic Site) was abandoned.
5. Socorro was founded as a mission at the Pira Indian pueblo of Teypano (renamed Socorro). The mission was abandoned and destroyed after the Pueblo Revolt. Socorro was rebuilt (and the church named) in 1815 as a non-native community.
6. Isleta was one of the few churches not destroyed during the Pueblo Revolt, although the roof was damaged.
7. In 1966 a modified A-frame church in the town of Pojoaque was completed, and serves as the Parish Church for the area. Recently the Pojoaque pueblo built a striking, non-denominational 'chapel' on the reservation. Pueblo dances are held in a recessed square in front of the chapel.
8. In 1923, Saint Antony's Church and School was established at Zuni, and has been the primary Catholic Church for almost a century. The old church, a historic site, has been administered by the Zuni tribe since 2003. Services are occasionally held there but the building is rapidly deteriorating.
9. Ysleta was founded after Pueblo Revolt for pueblo Indians from Isleta who accompanied the Spanish fleeing New Mexico

The Indian Cultural Center source of Traditional Names

Exhibit 2

NEW MEXICO PUEBLO RUINS WITH DOCUMENTED MISSION SITES					
MISSION SITE	CHURCH(es)	FOUNDED	ABANDONED	EXPLORED	CURRENT STATUS
Pecos ¹	Nuestra Señora de los Angeles de Porciúncula	1617-18	1838	1880; 1915-25; 1965>	National Historic Park
Guisewa	San José de los Jémez	1621-22	c.1630	1891; 1935-37	Jémez Historical Site ²
Quari	Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción	late 1620s	c.1677	1882; 1916; 1934-38	Salinas Pueblo Missions National Monument
Grand Quivera [Las Humanas]	San Ysidro and San Buenaventura	1629	1671-72		
Abo	San Gregorio	1629-30	<1678		
Galisteo Basin ³	Santa Cruz de Galisteo	1629	1680> ⁴	1912; 1980	Limited tours are occasionally organized; much of the land is in private hands.
	San Lázaro, San Rafael, San Marcos and San Cristóbal	1629>			
Land of the Hopi	San Bernardo de Aguatubi (Awatovi)	1629	1680> ⁵	1935-39	Not open to the public
	San Bartolomé (Shungopovi), San Francisco (Orabi)	1629>			

Notes

1. Pecos had four successive churches; the ruins of the largest church have been extensively restored by National Park Service.
2. In 2013 all of the New Mexico State Monuments were renamed Historic Sites.
3. The pueblo ruins of the Galisteo Basin were explored by American Museum of Natural History in 1912.
4. In 1706 a mission was re-established at Galisteo under the name of Santa María de Galisteo. This was abandoned by 1794 due to population losses from smallpox and relentless Comanche raids, with those remaining relocated to Santa Domingo.
5. The Spanish tried unsuccessfully to re-establish missions among the Hopi for several decades. The mission at Awatovi was temporarily re-established after the reconquest but in 1700 the entire village was destroyed by other Moqui, and never reoccupied.

with a small chapel and the foundations of more than one church have been discovered, most dramatically at Pecos where it was ultimately determined that there were four different churches (Hayes, 1974).

The history of each ruin is fascinating. For example, the large complex at Pecos had only 17 residents left when it was abandoned in 1838. Pecos was a favorite stopping point along the Santa Fe Trail and the ruins were frequently sketched (and vandalized) in 1850s. The second church at Pecos, Nuestra Señora de los Angeles de Porciúncula, was the largest pueblo church in New Mexico.

Historic Religious Sites and Attractions

California had largely preserved and restored its historic missions by the middle of the 20th century. However there were weren't very many late 18th or early 19th century town churches to preserve when "saving" the missions became popular.

By the time the Spanish era ended in 1821, New Mexico already had churches or chapels in most towns, over a dozen of which are still standing.

Consider the churches in the three villas. Saint Francis Cathedral in Santa Fe was actually built around the walls of the old *parroquia* or town church. This stately Romanesque-style cathedral contains a portion of the adobe church (the 3rd) built in 1706. The old walls are now part of a chapel containing the treasured statue *La Conquistadora*⁴ which the Spanish escaping from Santa Fe in 1680 brought with them and returned thirteen years later after the re-conquest.



Figure 9. Pecos Ruins by Robert H. Jackson.

San Felipe de Neri, in the Villa of Albuquerque was originally built in 1718-19 (the 2nd church on the site). In 1793 a new church replaced the original (which collapsed in 1792) at a different location on the plaza. While there have been many restorations and reversals of restorations of this 220 year-old church over the years, except for its tin ceiling, brick floor, and south entrance, today's church is the same structure as it was in 1793.

The captivating 18th century church in the villa of Santa Cruz de la Cañada was built in 1733. Santa Cruz is about 25 miles north of Santa Fe, near the larger town of España. This parish church has a magnificent collection of Spanish-colonial religious art, and is open for several hours on Saturday (for confessions and an evening mass) and on Sundays, when six masses are held.

There are so many other historic churches preserved in New Mexico that, unless you have a couple weeks to spend, you are unlikely to see more than a small fraction on an initial trip. The greatest concentration of Spanish and Mexican-era churches is in northern New Mexico, north and east of Santa Fe on what has been cleverly named "The High Road to Taos". In a full day you can stop at a half a dozen sites and visit an art gallery or two as well.⁵ Not to be missed are El Santuario de Chimayó, San José de Trampas and La Capilla de Nuestra Señora de Talpa.

Talpa⁶ provides a good example of how these country churches survived into the 21st century. It started as a private chapel, became the center of religious life in this small village on the outskirts of Taos, and continues today as an active place of worship as part of the Parish of San Francisco de

Asís. Talpa was singled out for full documentation as part of the Historic American Building Survey, when out-of-work architects and photographers were employed to document historic sites during the Great Depression.

Taos is an ideal stopover choice, incidentally, for any New Mexico itinerary. It was and is a center of art, with many galleries nestled in its historic center. The Taos pueblo, just beyond the town center, has a well-organized visitor program and much to see. Nearby, the historic church of San Francisco de Asís in Rancho de Taos has been photographed or painted by almost every prominent artist of 20th century.

There are, of course, other areas rich in historic sites. One of my favorite trips is the drive through the stunning country along Route 4. The church of San Diego at the Jémez Pueblo (Walatowa) and the Jémez Historic Site listed on Exhibit 2 are relatively close to one another, so both can be seen in a day. There are also a series of 19th and 20th century churches and monasteries along this route as well (this is an all day excursion).

Another choice destination is the historic town of Abiquiú (some 45 miles northwest of Santa Fe), located in the scenic area Georgia O'Keefe made famous. Abiquiú not only has the church of Santo Tomás (2nd church on this site) which is located on the town square but also, in the hills above the town, the most stunning *morada* in New Mexico and, a few miles east of the town, lies the carefully preserved ruins of Santa Rosa de Lima, the church built at the original settlement c. 1740.

Well west of Albuquerque, the western pueblos of Acoma, Laguna and Zuni really deserve a visit (two days to do properly).

As already noted it takes some advanced planning (and ideally a stay that includes a Sunday) to see New Mexico's distinct religious artifacts in a church setting.⁷ You won't find much of the Spanish colonial art that is so well preserved in California. Many of the early paintings and statues that came from New Spain were destroyed in 1680 during the Pueblo Revolt. An exception is the painting of Our Lady of Angels by Juan Correa, which was moved to the town of Pecos when the pueblo was abandoned, and is now located in Saint Anthony's Church (another neo-gothic structure) in that town.

Most of the pueblo churches do contain santos and early 19th century reredos. Note though, that even if you are fortunate enough to get inside you will not be permitted to take any photographs. There is a solution. If you take the High Road to Taos, a stop at the Santuario de Chimayó is a sure way to see and enjoy New Mexico's distinctive religious art. Chimayó is open daily from 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. (6:00 p.m. in the summer).

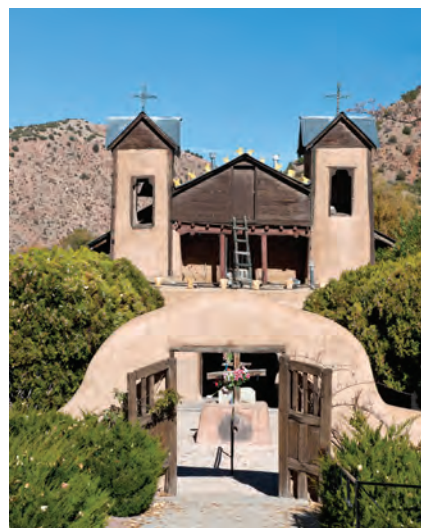


Figure 10 (top). El Santuario de Chimayó by David J. McLaughlin.

Figure 11 (middle). La Capilla de Nuestra Señora De Talpa by David J. McLaughlin.

Figure 12 (bottom). San Francisco de Asís by David J. McLaughlin.

Conclusion

In the course of any drive outside the major cities of New Mexico, you are almost certain to encounter other picturesque reminders of the past. In the four extensive trips I have made throughout the Land of Enchantment over the last twelve months I have never failed to be surprised with something “unplanned”: colorful cemeteries, private chapels on back-country dirt roads, abandoned former churches (both protestant and catholic), large roadside crosses signaling the presence of a morada, gravestones that attest to the risks of living in a land it took the U.S. Army some forty years to pacify. It is difficult to search for a historic church in the more remote parts of New Mexico without finding another one along the way... and sometimes even the 20th century ones look much older.



Figure 13. Morada At Abiquiú by David J. McLaughlin.

But more importantly than the physical structures themselves, New Mexico offers a panoply of compelling visual reminders of centuries of faith, a legacy that has contributed so much to this distinctly multicultural society. The deeply held religious beliefs and practices of the Pueblo Indians, which continued throughout the mission era and are even more cherished and guarded today, coexist with the Christianity first introduced by the Spanish. Successive waves of newcomers - French trappers, American Mountain Men, German Jewish merchants, Buffalo Soldiers fighting in the Indian Wars, Baptist preachers, immigrants arriving along the Santa Fe Trail, Mormon missionaries to name just a few groups - introduced even more ethnic and religious diversity. Today the population of New Mexico has the second highest percentage of Native Americans (10.2%) in the United States (after Hawaii). New Mexico's “*hispanohablantes*” (the 47% of the population of New Mexico who speak Spanish) now again exceeds the percentage of non-Hispanic whites, as was the case before the American

takeover. Much of the rich Catholic heritage of New Mexico is due to the perseverance, close family ties, and the creative visual expression of generations of Hispanic settlers.

To appreciate New Mexico and its religious legacy, you must understand the unique and still evolving mixture of faiths, accept the terms for access, prepare more thoroughly for any visit than is necessary in California and be receptive to a diverse, rich experience.

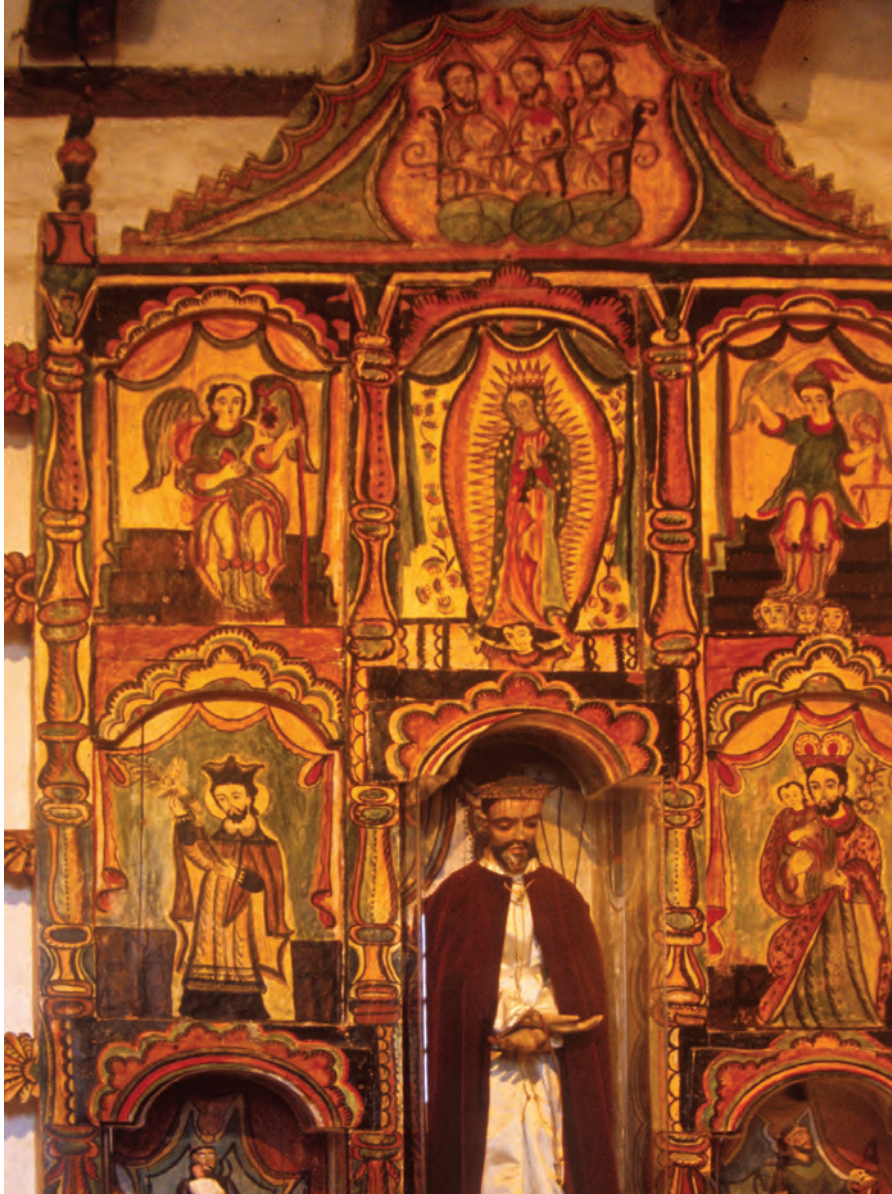


Figure 14. Side Altar At Chimayó by David J. McLaughlin

Endnotes

1. Many towns had more than one *morada* (see Ahiborn, 1968). *The Association of Hermanos de Nuestro Señor Jesús Nazareno*, commonly known as the *Penitentes*, practiced self-flagellation and held stark processions during Holy Week. Their devotional activities were sometimes carried to extremes in the 19th century. However the organization provided social services to the inhabitants of remote villages and kept Catholic traditions alive during the early decades of the 19th century when there were relatively few priests (Henderson, 1937).
2. To take the hour-long tour of the Puye Cliff Dwellings you go to the Puye Welcome Center at the foot of the sacred Black Mesa (at Highway 30 and Puye Cliff roads).
3. The Americans took control of New Mexico in 1846 without firing a shot. However in a subsequent uprising in January 1847 several government officials, including the U.S. appointed Governor, Charles Bent, were killed. U.S. Forces forcefully put down the “revolt.” In the decisive battle of this short conflict the rebels retreated into the adobe church at the Taos Pueblo. Intense cannon fire killed some 150 insurgents and destroyed the church.
4. In 1625 Fray Alonso Benavides brought a wooden statue of Our Lady of the Assumption to New Mexico as a gift for the *parroquia* of Santa Fe. The statue was taken by the Spanish settlers fleeing for their lives after the Pueblo Revolt and then brought back thirteen years later. It became known as *La Conquistadora*. In 1712 a Fiesta was held to celebrate the re-conquest and the statue was the primary icon in the procession. This event continues today. In 1992 the statue’s name was changed to Our Lady of Peace “in acknowledgement of hurts caused by the Spanish to Native Americans” according to a statement made by then Archbishop Robert Fortune Sánchez.
5. A map and useful guide to the sights along the High Road to Taos is available at <http://www.newmexico.org/high-road-to-taos-trail/>
6. Talpa is located about five miles from Taos, along Route 518. Services are held regularly by priests from San Francisco de Asís.
7. The greatest concentration of Santero Art in the United States is in the collections of the Taylor Museum Fine Arts Center in Colorado Springs, founded in 1936 with a grant from by Alice Bemis Taylor, who also donated her entire collection of Indian and early Spanish art to the museum. The Museum of International Folk Art in Santa Fe also has an extensive collection, although only a small fraction is on display.

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EXHIBITIONS

JUNÍPERO SERRA AND THE LEGACIES OF THE CALIFORNIA MISSIONS

*Huntington Library, Art Collections and
Botanical Gardens,*

August 17–January 6, 2013



EXHIBITION REVIEW BY ANNE PETERSEN, PH.D., ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR FOR
HISTORICAL RESOURCES, SANTA BARBARA TRUST FOR HISTORIC PRESERVATION

This summer a major exhibit opened at the Huntington Library on the subject of Father Junípero Serra and the string of twenty-one Missions he helped found in Alta California. Curators Steven Hackel and Catherine Gudis began preparing for the exhibit almost three years ago, and by the time of the opening, anticipation about the project had become extremely high. Institutions and individuals from around the globe, as well as many California Mission Studies Association members, participated through planning conversations, advisory group meetings, and artifacts loans. The exhibit is powerful and beautiful, and draws new boundaries around the story of Serra and the Missions, yet it is at times unwieldy. In the end, *Junípero Serra and the Legacies of the California Missions* has raised the profile of early California history more than any other project in 2013, the 300th anniversary of the birth of Junípero Serra.

The exhibit curators were in an excellent position to tackle such an ambitious project. Dr. Steven Hackel, associate professor of history at UC Riverside, is known to CMSA members as a scholar of early California history and a current CMSA board member. Dr. Catherine Gudis is an associate professor of history and the director of the public history program at UC Riverside with experience working on several large exhibition projects.

Hackel and Gudis shared specific goals for their exhibit which set the project apart from previous exhibitions and books. According to Hackel, the exhibit was intended to make three major contributions to the oft-told tale of Junípero Serra and the California Missions. The first is to place Father Serra's work in Alta California, which took place towards the end of his life, in the wider context of his youth in Mallorca, his one-way journey to

Mexico, and his work founding missions in Sierra Gorda and work in Baja California. The second is to focus on California Indian life and survival in the missions. Lastly, the curators wanted to trace the history of the mission sites and changing historical memories of Serra and the missions through to today, with an emphasis on contemporary native voices.

The scope of this narrative is exceptionally broad and ambitious for a temporary exhibit, and in fact the curators expanded their initial proposal for a smaller exhibit at the Huntington's request. It consequently evolved into the 5,500 square foot show on view now in the Erburu Gallery. In addition, the sheer number of objects (250) and lending institutions (61) from Mallorca to Mexico and throughout the United States attest to the ambitious scale of the project. Many of the institutions represented had never lent their objects, and some, the Museu de Mallorca, for example, sent a staff contingent to travel with the artifacts and to be present during the installation. It is an important reminder that the cultural patrimony of a nation does not travel by express mail.

The curators also took a careful and collaborative planning approach throughout the exhibit development process and gave thoughtful consideration to the project audience. They incorporated, for example, an advisory committee of California Indians, historians, professionals who work at museums and historic sites, and art historians. Through a series of workshops, the advisory team offered feedback on draft scripts and layouts and requested shifts of emphasis and direction that helped shape the final show. They also worked with the Huntington Library's education department to create a companion website targeting the common core standard for public schools, and ensured that guided school groups would be a major audience for the exhibit. Primary and secondary labels, although not the object labels, are bilingual, with the Spanish text listed first. This practice, a first for the Huntington, is supported by the subject matter, but is also a significant statement about the importance of the Spanish-speaking audience for the exhibit.

The result of these collaborations, new lending partnerships and outreach is that the curators have assembled an absolutely stunning collection of objects on a broad range of topics. Many of these are familiar in their reproduction form to those who study early California. To see so many originals collected together and on public display for the first time, however, is an almost overwhelming feast for the senses.

The exhibit is organized chronologically, beginning with a section on Serra's early years in Mallorca, where he was born on November 24, 1713. Born Miquel Joseph Serra in the village of Petra, Serra attended a Franciscan school and began studying for the priesthood at a young age. He found early success as a theologian and became a professor at Lullian University

in Palma. This section of the exhibit focuses on a distinct theme, which helps set up the remainder of the story of Serra's life. Far from an isolated and remote island, Mallorca was a dynamic borderland with a long history of both trade and conflict among diverse people. Two stunning ceramic bowls, one dating to the 14th century bearing the Star of David, and one dating from the 13th century featuring Arabic writing, both on loan from the Museu de Mallorca, make this point in three dimensions. It is partially due to this place of origin, we understand, that Serra gained the tools to confront the one-way, overseas voyage to Mexico and new (to him) world of diverse cultures and lifeways of native people he would meet there.



Figure 1. The Serra in Mallorca gallery. Photo by the Huntington Library, Art Collections and Botanical Gardens.

The second section of the exhibit, entitled “Becoming Junípero,” chronicles Serra's training in the Franciscan order, and his journey to Mexico. Beautiful oil paintings of Franciscans who inspired Serra in his faith, including John Duns Scotus, fellow Mallorcan Ramon Lull, and his mentor Father Antonio Perelló Moragues, convey a sense of Serra's intellectual and local community during his years in Palma as his faith developed and he discovered his calling to Mexico. The inspirational experiences of Father Margil de Jesús, who established missions in Texas, and Sister María de Jesús de Agreda, a Spanish nun who wrote fervently about the prospect of evangelizing native peoples in the area of today's U.S. Southwest, drew Serra closer to his life's major journey. Objects related to these inspirational figures fill the space and include books, letters, and portraits, and stunningly, the rough wool tunic worn by Father Antonio Margil de Jesús which is displayed in the center of the room. The story continues here with Serra's harrowing journey overseas, including reproductions of his letters before and after the more than three-month journey from Cádiz to Veracruz. A large wall-mounted color map, lent by the Museo Franz Mayer, of the parish boundaries in Mexico City, created in 1769, dominates one wall, and is a major attraction point in this gallery already full of stand outs. While created nineteen years after Serra's arrival there, it reflects more or less the appearance of the city when he occupied it, and the location of his base at the College of San Fernando.

Though it contains an organized and effective narrative, a few design challenges plague this gallery and others as well. The single entrance and exit in this gallery creates an intimate space, but unfortunately the

curators have noted that many visitors miss the room. In addition, the designers developed groupings that, while pleasing to the eye, do not always take the best advantage of the storyline. Some groupings include large oil paintings best viewed from yards away, while placed at their base is a row of small objects in a Plexiglas case, including Serra's beautifully drafted student notebooks. Visitors must both approach the cases closely to view the delicate objects within and withdraw far back to appreciate the monumental paintings above. It would not be surprising if visitors choose to "read" one layer or the other, but not both, resulting in the loss of some key information. Some special objects in this and other galleries, like the intricately carved woodblock believed to have been used by Serra to make small devotional prints, are placed so close to ends of walls and corners, or, as in this case, so close to an adjacent oil painting, as to be awkward to approach. Though not all-determining, design decisions can affect the way visitors experience the exhibit, producing unintended consequences.

The exhibit continues with a compact section on Serra's work in the Sierra Gorda region of Mexico, a rugged and mountainous area with five missions in the territory of the Pame Indians. Although this key episode in Serra's life and work is presented briefly, visitors are visually drawn to the small-scale reproduction of the façade at Mission Jalpan with its intricate façade, so different from the design on the California missions. The label text of many of the smaller items, however, carry threads of Serra's experiences that tie in to the broader exhibit narrative: some early disputes with the military, for example, and the struggle to establish mission settlements. The end of this hall is dominated by a large oil painting attributed to José de Páez and lent by the Museo Nacional de Arte, INBA, in Mexico City, depicting the destruction of San Saba in Texas, where missionaries were killed in an Indian rebellion in 1758. Serra was recalled to Mexico City from Sierra Gorda, initially to replace one of these missionaries, but when Spanish authorities deemed it too dangerous at San Sabá, he remained in the capital city.

From Mexico City Serra journeyed to the Missions in Baja California in 1767. After the Crown expelled the Jesuits there Serra helped reorganize the missions under Franciscan leadership. After this brief period in Baja California, Serra moved north to Alta California, charged with establishing missions along the coast. One gallery is devoted to this period of transition and initial contact with native Californians. The gallery is ringed with images and documents related to Spanish plans for the excursion, including a list of provisions drafted by Visitor General of New Spain, José de Galvéz, from the collection of the Huntington Library, Serra's diary of his journey, from the Archivo General de la Nación, México and a beautifully lit portrait from the Museo Nacional del Virreinato, of Antonio María Bucareli, Viceroy of New Spain, who affirmed Serra's

insistence about the strong role the missions should play in the treatment of native peoples. Some reproduction pages from letters and books contain significant meanings which have been condensed and dropped into very small captions. These could have been used to better effect if the reproductions had been compressed and the quotes and summaries had been printed largely, as the curators initially intended.

In the center of this gallery sits a large octagonal case which holds a selection of pre-contact native Californian objects. The case, entitled, "Early Artifacts of Indigenous Cultures," was developed, according to Hackel, as a direct result of advice of the exhibit advisory committee, who supported the curators' intention to prioritize the native experience, and asked for the inclusion of more objects related to Native Californians before contact. Curiously, the objects displayed are almost entirely from the Los Angeles and Central Coast areas. A fragile cordage fragment from San Miguel Island lent by Channel Islands National Park believed to date as early as 6700 BCE, testifies to the duration of Native presence on California, and carved olivella shell discs loaned from the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History help interpret the complex economy of Central Coast Chumash. Unfortunately the repurposed case is dimly lit with fiber optic lights that cannot be adjusted, and its strong vertical line requires layering the objects on a series of platforms at different heights. A particularly nicely written label entitled "Native California: Diversity and Dynamism" for example, is dark and below eye level. Although certainly not the intent, the consequence for some viewers is that this story appears visually less important than those nearby.

The subsequent gallery, an expansive space, focuses on the complex subject of life in the California missions. While avoiding simplistic value judgments about the missionaries and their institutions, the curators present the differing worldviews of the Franciscans and Native people, and use a thoughtful and effective selection of objects to present the subject. Plenty of room exists for visitors to draw their own conclusions about the legacy of this period, both based on the content of the exhibit and the sets of ideas all visitors bring in with them, an approach Hackel cited as a core intention of the curators. The main section label includes key text that reflects the

Figure 2. The California Missions gallery featuring a stone carving of Saint Barbara attributed to Guilajahichet, also known as Paciano (Chumash) from the collections of the Old Mission Santa Barbara Museum. Photo by the Huntington Library, Art Collections and Botanical Gardens.



curator's balanced interpretation of the relationship between Native people and the Franciscans. "To lead the Indians to conversion," it reads, "missionaries deployed liturgical art and translations of prayers and text, but also turned to coercion and punishment at times." The text continues to note the effects of disease on the population decline of missionized native people, but also points to the strength and agency of native people as they reacted, sometimes adapted, sometimes resisted, and, as a people, survived this all-encompassing intrusion into their world. Two media presentations in the gallery, well-observed by visitors during this author's visits, help bring the sheer scale of the California Mission project to light. One projects both the Indian and Christian names of over 80,000 native people, including their baptismal and death dates, onto a high gallery wall. The other depicts a map of the native villages in the Los Angeles area and nearby missions, and demonstrates with small moving dots, the depopulation of those villages between 1769-1840 as Native people moved to the missions.

The center of the gallery features a platform with objects from the mission period that had been shaped by native hands, continuing the theme of the native presence throughout the exhibit. A presentation basket loaned by the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History, for example, created by Juana Basilia Sitmelene is woven in a traditional Chumash technique but bears Spanish heraldic designs, reflecting the dynamic of cultural persistence and transformation taking place simultaneously in the lives of Native people. A prayer card, printed both in Spanish and a phonetic rendering of Barbareño Chumash, also speaks poignantly to this duality. A beautiful recording of the text, read by Chumash Elder Ernestine Ygnacio-De Soto in Chumash, is available to listen to on a nearby speaker.

The gallery is broken into several subsections, including "Trade and Resistance" "Bilingualism," "Dance," "Music" and "Coercion and Autonomy," among others, in the effort to present a multi-faced portrait of life in the mission and the tension between the Franciscan insistence on conversion and dramatic changes in traditional native lifeways, and native people's intention to preserve their cultures within this new structure. The "Coercion and Autonomy" section, inherently a complex topic, focuses both on the role of discipline within the missions and the larger role of the Spanish military (with whom Serra feuded) to enforce it, which was made manifest through four presidios in Alta California and their soldiers. It touches, significantly, on the role of the families sent from northern Mexico to occupy the Presidios, but not on other parallel Spanish strategies for colonizing of the California coast, including civilian pueblos like Nuestra Señora la Reina de los Ángeles, which worked in concert with the missions, and whose descendants also helped shape the development



Figure 3. Juana Basilia, Chumash presentation basket with Spanish colonial coin designs, 1815-22. Deer grass, Indian rush, sumac, 24 ½ in. diameter, 4 in. height. Courtesy of the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History.

of California. Native efforts at resistance, maintenance of their cultural identities and efforts to create flexible space within the rigid mission regimens, round out the “autonomy” theme.

The exhibit then turns sharply into the 1830s, marked by a transition of the paint colors of the walls from a deep terracotta to a lighter, bright blue and traces the fate of the missions and their indigenous inhabitants. The secularization of the missions by the Mexican government in the 1830s led to the freedom of Indian residents of the mission, yet also further dispossession as many were left without property or livelihood. Indians continued to advocate for their rights and property through the later nineteenth century, powerfully demonstrated through photographs of the Council of Indians at Pala in 1885, for example. At the same time, artists began painting dilapidated mission structures in the form of picturesque ruins or curiously uninhabited architectural triumphs. The paintings of Jules Tavernier, Edwin Deakin and the photographs of Carlton Watkins are used to great effect here.

A subsequent sizeable gallery focuses largely on the twentieth century popularization and romanticization of the mission and rancho periods, which often employed Junípero Serra as a symbolic figurehead. Although completely removed from the context of the Franciscan Missions and their Indian inhabitants, a twentieth-century mythology of pious padres and childlike native people supported automobile tourism and booster activities throughout California. At the same time, some native people continued to work in and protect the mission structures and collections, a tangible connection to their own family legacies, a story powerfully portrayed in the exhibit through the experiences of the Onesimo family at Mission San Carlos.

This portion of the exhibit does lose a bit of focus, and as it lies at least an hour into the interested visitor’s stay, it warrants a very efficient approach. A display of nine objects related to Helen Hunt Jackson’s *Ramona* and related pageant, and ten to John Stewart McGroarty’s *Mission Play* might have been whittled down, for example. Although, it must be said booster projects like these still continue to shape the way many Californians today understand the mission period. Some objects in the gallery, like an original circa 1785 roof tile from the Santa Barbara Presidio (where Serra celebrated the founding Mass in 1782) and an original adobe brick from Mission San Juan Bautista are confusingly placed near a panel about the 1930s reconstruction of Mission La Purísima. In addition, the “Serra chair” from Mission San Juan Capistrano, accused here of “dubious” connections to Serra, but strong ties to mission promoter Charles Fletcher Lummis, begs the question about the difference between this object located in a gallery about historical memory and the many objects in earlier galleries

“believed to have been used by Serra” which are used as evidence of the man himself.

The exhibit regains its footing in a dynamic final gallery showcasing contemporary discussions about Serra and the mission legacy. The history and status of the cause for sainthood for Serra in the Catholic Church is explored. In addition, a book published in 1987 titled *The Missions of California: A Legacy of Genocide* is on display as an example

of a dissenting voice. The gallery also includes many examples of civic commemorations, and incorporation of Serra and “sugar cube” missions in public school curriculum. Fittingly, California Indians have the final word in the exhibit, via engaging short video interviews which provide diverse perspectives on Serra, the Missions and contemporary Native life. These are not to be missed. Contemporary artwork by Native Californians close the show, including a powerful video piece by James Luna entitled, “Family Matters,” and a beautiful ceremonial basket made by Rumsen Ohlone artist Lind Yamane. The gallery leaves visitors with the strong understanding that the history of Junípero Serra and the California Missions is very much alive, and that the conversation about its legacy continues.

Junípero Serra and the Legacies of the California Missions will not fail to impress and surprise any viewer, with its diverse collection of objects and sensitive and nuanced approach to the charged subject of the California Missions. Unfortunately a catalog is not planned, so the exhibit exists as an ephemeral project, but one that will be well-remembered in its effort to engage the biography of Serra and explore the myriad ways his work has been refracted through the last 300 years of California history. Visitors to the exhibit will leave with a richer understanding of the significance of both Serra and the missions for contemporary California, and will likely be inspired to carry on the conversation begun by the curators about the evolving legacies of the Spanish colonial period. In addition, the project has raised the profile of the Huntington as a venue for historical exhibitions on the subject of California, which will hopefully develop into a legacy of its own. In any case, the collaborations and partnerships developed through the exhibit production are sure to bear fruit in many positive ways for future projects at the Huntington or elsewhere.



Figure 4. The Contemporary Cultural Expressions gallery. Photo by the Huntington Library, Art Collections and Botanical Gardens.

BOOK REVIEW

JUNÍPERO SERRA: CALIFORNIA'S FOUNDING FATHER

Written By Steven W. Hackel

BOOK REVIEW BY DANIEL E. KRIEGER, PROFESSOR OF HISTORY EMERITUS,
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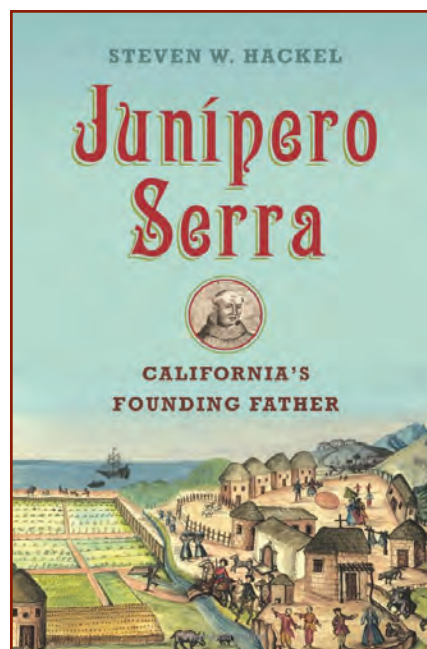
Steve Hackel has written a biography of the first father president of California's Franciscan mission that is both even handed and daring. This is not an easy task when dealing with a figure whose life and works became the essence of a vitriolic debate among historians, ethnologists and, most significantly, Native American writers.

The author of *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769-1850* (2005) and the curator of the Huntington Library's "Junípero Serra and the Legacies of the California Missions" exhibit celebrating the tercentennial of Serra's birth is uniquely suited to this task. Few scholars have the mastery of the sources from Serra's origins on the politically and environmentally ravaged island of Mallorca to his death at Carmel in 1784.

Prof. Hackel's meticulous scholarship is evident from his beginning notes on translations and sources: "When I disagree with [Fr. Maynard J.] Geiger's translations, I rely on my own . . . Otherwise I quote from and cite Geiger's edition." He follows a similar approach to Fr. Antonine Tibesar's three volume edition of Serra's letters. In so doing, he has allowed future students better access to the sources he has employed. While new translations are often needed for nuance and modern comprehension of meaning, readers can still easily go to the whole document.

Students of California Mission studies will treasure *Junipero Serra: California's Founding Father* for the thorough endnotes and historiographical "Further Reading" sections. They are at once a "gold standard" and a mine of information for future biographies and monographs.

The subtitle of the biography, "California's founding father," may disturb some readers. The author portrays Serra as arguably "the most important individual in [California's] history," honored alongside President Ronald Reagan as one of the two Californians in the U.S. Capitol's Statuary Hall. But he makes a good case for his argument, adding that of "the thousands



Steven W. Hackel, *Junipero Serra: California's Founding Father*. (New York Hill and Wang/Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2013) \$27.00 ISBN: 978-0-8090-9531-5.

of Catholic missionaries like Serra who came to the Americas, nearly all have been forgotten, and losers not so much in the contest for North America as in the subsequent battle for a place in American history.”

As someone who in his youth urged his parents to stop over in places like Bakersfield or Yuma to honor Fray Francisco Garcés or as an adult to travel to Magdalena, Sonora, to pay tribute to the accomplishments of Fr. Eusebio Kino, S.J., I am in the cheering section on this argument.

The text portrays Serra as a bearer of pre-enlightenment ideas in New Spain. Serra’s struggle with the military government, from Fages, Rivera, Neve and back to Fages, forms a standard narrative in California Mission studies. Prof. Hackel points out a major difference between those quarrels: “whereas Serra fought with Fages and Rivera y Moncada over the role of the military . . . he would now struggle with Neve over the role of the missionaries in the region.”

Neve was following the edicts of the new Commander General of the Interior Provinces of New Spain, Teodoro de Croix, implementing the Bourbon Reforms of Carlos III. Those orders were intended to streamline the political operations of Spain’s heretofore costly outposts of empire. Serra saw them at best as a micro-managing restriction of his powers and at worst as a threat to the whole missionary enterprise. They included the fulfillment of José de Galvez’s original plan for California. The missions were to rapidly evolve into self-governing pueblos. Serra, who viewed his Franciscans as “apostolic missionaries,” was not about to see them fade away as parish priests subject to a bishop and the civil authorities.

Neve wished to assimilate the Native Americans into the Spanish political system, electing their own *alcaldes*. Neve’s insistence on this point “prompted the Franciscans to threaten resignation . . .” Neve’s differences with the Father Presidente led to an “absurd” shouting match between the two men following Palm Sunday Mass at Carmel in 1779.

Serra appeared to relinquish the struggle over the elected *alcaldes* as the missionaries found ways to control the elections. The quarrel with Neve began again with Serra’s insistence that such elected officials could be subject to corporal punishment, like other missionized Indians and the *soldados*. Prof. Hackel notes that Serra “was backed on this count by most of his padres.”

Serra believed that corporal punishment was both a necessity for civil and religious order and a part of God’s plan. In an earlier quarrel with Rivera y Moncada, who in this instance sought harsh punishments, Serra appealed to Viceroy Bucareli for mercy toward the imprisoned Kumeyaay following the martyrdom of Father Luís Jayme at the hands of angry natives at Mission San Diego de Alcalá in November 1775.

Serra was also disturbed by Neve's *reglamento* increasing the pay of the *soldados* and calling for more civilian settlement. Serra may well have envisioned the imposition of the *seigneurialism* (the patron culture) and the rise of the *gente de razón* who came to dominate *los Indios* during the *ranchero* era that followed secularization in the 1830's.

Prof. Hackel frames Serra's famed seventy miles walk to Mission Santa Clara in the light of the Fr. President's issues with the governor over Serra's "patent" or license for administering the sacrament of confirmation. Serra had asked for a military escort and Neve rebuffed him. Serra had not even traveled from Carmel to the presidio in Monterey for some time because of his inflamed leg: "To go, broken as I am in health without someone to accompany me—even though I wished to do it—is something I cannot do." Neve said that he did not wish to help Serra "break the King's laws [by Serra's administering confirmation], but if Serra would assure him that he would perform no confirmations in Santa Clara or San Francisco, he would have his escort."

Serra made the walk from Carmel to Santa Clara in several days, perhaps as a pre-penance for his deceit. While he was barely able to stand while at Santa Clara, he traveled on to San Francisco where he administered 189 confirmations.

We can understand why Serra was able to exhaust the patience of military and civil authorities.

Prof. Hackel confronts the controversy over the devastating impact of European diseases introduced by the missions and colonizing pueblos on California's Indian populations. But he points out that the demographic catastrophe occurred mainly after Serra's death in 1784. He deals directly with the issue in his earlier *Children of Coyote* which deals with the period to 1850. He acknowledges his appreciation of James Sandos, whose *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions* (2004) "tried to move beyond the controversy over Serra and situated his life and work in the ideas and writings of three figures who inspired Serra: Saint Francis of Assisi, John Duns Scotus and Maria de Agreda."

Steven Hackel has written a book that continues Sandos' desire to go beyond the battle in the continuing evolution of Serra's studies.

Junipero Serra: California's Founding Father is a book that will not please Serra's most angry critics. I once explained to Monterey Bishop Thaddeus Shubsda at the time of the Papal Visit in 1987 that I could fully understand the feeling of many Native Americans. But in my own life, I am compelled to reexamine where I stand on any number of issues. Historians ought not to wait for "the next generation" to take a fresh look at the evidence. Steve Hackel has produced such a scrutiny. It's a book you will want to read.

DO YOU KNOW THIS MISSION?



CMSA received a request on our web page for help in identifying a photo that was obtained in an estate sale in Southern California. Realizing that this is not of any mission in the present-day U.S., CMSA reached out to long-time friend Carmen Boone in Mexico City to see if she had any idea of its location. Carmen wrote:

Hola David,

Many thanks for sending along this magnificent and intriguing old photo. I spent all afternoon comparing images in various books that I have here, and I found many similar details but not enough to allow a specific ID. Rule out Baja California. Perhaps (a mission) in the Pimeria Alta? but it would have to be a photo of a Church that disappeared more than 100 years ago. Maybe a mission in Chihuahua? I will consult with my expert teachers and come back to you.

David, I've consulted with an expert in Argentina, and he is an expert on mission architecture in South America and he wrote to me: The photo is extremely interesting, and it could be of a mission in Peru or Bolivia. It has features from the 18th century, but others like the "alfiz" from the 19th century. The most notable features are the two Chapels open to the plaza

This feature was found in missions in Huaro and Urcos in the area of Cusco, Peru but they were on the first floor and much smaller. I believe that they used them as "Chapels of miserere" and also for the choirs and orchestras in a sort of open facing chapel.

Dear CMSA Members: If you have any idea of this mission, please let us know. You can email us at boletin@californiamissionstudies.com.

31st Annual CMSA Conference February 14–16, 2014



At Mission San Antonio de Padua



Mission San Antonio de Padua has been selected as the site for the 2014 CMSA Conference to be held February 14-16, 2014.

The title for this three-day annual gathering of experts and followers in the fields of Mission Studies is "Ranchos y Vaqueros: Missions and Mission Land After Secularization".

For the first time, the Friday afternoon of the Conference will center on a tour of Hearst Castle, which sits on an original Mexican land

grant and is surrounded by the Hearst Ranch, which continues today as a working rancho much as it did during mission times.

The host hotel for the Conference will be the historic Paso Robles Inn. Friday's evening reception will be held nearby, and the Saturday banquet will be held at the Inn's historic ballroom.

The all-day Saturday Paper Sessions will be held at Mission San Antonio de Padua as the CMSA Conference returns to this location for the first time since 1993.

Optional Sunday tours will be organized conveniently both for those traveling in from the north and from the south.



For more information, please go to www.californiamissionstudies.com



CMSA Annual Conferences

San Antonio de Padua	*Upcoming Conference* (February 14-16)	2014
Santa Bárbara		2013
San Rafael Arcángel		2012
San Miguel Arcángel		2011
San Luis Rey de Francia		2010
Tucson, Arizona		2009
San Carlos Borromeo de Carmel		2008
San Francisco de Asís		2007
San Diego de Alcalá		2006
San Fernando Rey de España		2005
San Luis Obispo de Tolosa		2004
Santa Cruz		2003
La Paz, Baja California Sur		2002
Royal Presidio Chapel, Monterey		2001
San Gabriel Arcángel		2000
Santa Inés Virgen y Mártir		1999
San Juan Capistrano		1998
Nuestra Señora de Loreto Conchó (Baja California Sur)		1997
San Francisco de Asís		1996
San Francisco Solano		1995
San Diego de Alcalá		1994
San Antonio de Padua and San Miguel Arcángel		1993
San Luis Rey de Francia		1992
La Purísima Concepción		1991
Santa Bárbara Virgen y Mártir		1990
San Juan Bautista		1989
San Fernando Rey de España		1988
Santa Clara de Asís		1987
San Buenaventura		1986
San José		1985
San Juan Capistrano		1984

Night Photography Project

PHOTOGRAPHS BY PAUL C. RICHMOND

This night photography project of the California Missions was started in 1996-97 while studying journalism at City College of San Francisco. I relocated in 1999, and though I made a few attempts to finish the project throughout the years, work and life had other ideas. With help from the California Mission Studies Association and Cultural Global Media, I am excited to be completing the project this year and covering all 21 missions.

I choose to photograph under the light of a full moon. At night one sees the Missions in a light that emphasizes shape, shadow/highlights and contrast rather than color. For this reason, I feel that black and white is the ideal format. Both digital and film medium are used in the project. Depending on the urban or rural setting of each mission, exposure times range from 30 seconds to 4 minutes.

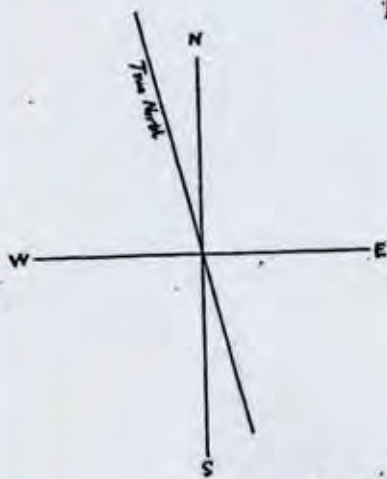
Visiting the missions at night is very peaceful and relaxing. I hope these images reflect the tranquility I find there.



©Paul C. Richmond 2012

Mission San Diego de Alcalá

MISSION SANTA BARBARA



Scale 1 inch to 3 Chais

