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‘Illuminated Walls’ of the California Missions:
The Index of American Design (1936-1942) and the Creation of a Usable Past

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Art History

by

Cynthia Neri Lewis

March 2022

Dissertation Committee:

Dr. Jason Weems, Chairperson
Dr. Aleca Le Blanc
Dr. Jeanette Kohl

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2022

The Dissertation of Cynthia Neri Lewis is approved:

Committee Chairperson

University of California, Riverside

DEDICATION

for the Indigenous painters of California and their descendants

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

‘Illuminated Walls’ of the California Missions: The Index of American Design (1936-1942) and the Creation of a Usable Past

by

Cynthia Neri Lewis

Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Program in Art History
University of California, Riverside, March 2022
Dr. Jason Weems, Chairperson

Several visitors to the Alta California missions during the early years of the 19th century commented on their colorful interiors and “illuminated walls,” but most of these original wall paintings, produced c. 1810-1825 by Native artisans under the direction of Spanish priests or Mexican-trained artists, were whitewashed in the late 19th century. From 1936-1942, the Federal Art Project’s Index of American Design was involved in the study and restoration of several of these mural programs. Index artists visited the Southern California missions and produced hundreds of photographs, drawings and watercolors of the extant mural programs, as well as of designs they discovered under layers of plaster. In their aim of identifying a “usable past” the Index transformed these mural fragments from regional designs into national motifs. Through a case study of the wall paintings at Southern California missions visited by the Index, I explain how this transformation was attempted through their processes of selection, appropriation, media translation, re-creation, restoration and national promotion. This dissertation, based on research conducted at selected Alta California missions, the Santa Barbara Mission

Archive Library, the Archives of American Art and the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., will answer the question of how the Index-created archive and federally-sponsored documentation and “restorations” have influenced our contemporary understandings of California mission design as well as the art historical and national value of the California missions themselves. To reveal the federal commodification of Native and Spanish Franciscan art during the New Deal era, I rely on decolonizing and Indigenizing methodologies. Critical analysis of Index reports and documents will reveal the problematic federal government appropriations of the painted designs, but their study from a Native perspective is long overdue. Only through collaboration with related California tribal nations can the reclamation of these images take place. Thus, I include the voices of tribal nation representatives, who led me to explore the Native meanings, agency, intention, reception and resistance of these images, both in the mission era and into the present day.

KEY WORDS: California Missions, Spanish Colonial Art, Art of the Americas, Index of American Design, American Art, Native Painting, Spanish Franciscan Art, Mural Painting, Wall painting, Design History.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION iv

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS v

TABLE OF CONTENTS ix

TABLE OF FIGURES x

PREFACE 1

INTRODUCTION: Situating the Project 4

CHAPTER I: Index, Indigeneity and Nation 49

CHAPTER II: Native Painting as a Usable Past: “A Kind of Archeology” 109

CHAPTER III: *Franciscana* as a Usable Past 166

CHAPTER IV: Indexing Materiality (An Arc of Material Engagements) 256

CONCLUSION: After the Index 326

BIBLIOGRAPHY 340

APPENDICES 372

FIGURES AND ILLUSTRATIONS 382

TABLE OF FIGURES

NGA- NGA, D.C
Index of American Design- IAD

Figure 0.1 *Toppled Statue of Junípero Serra*, 1934, bronze statue, Olvera Street, Los Angeles, Photograph by the author, July 2020 (copy of original 1930 statue by Ettore Cadorin, National Statuary Hall, Washington, D.C.) 382

Figure 0.2 Uno John Palo Kangas, *Statue of Junípero Serra*, bronze, commissioned through Works Progress Administration, dedicated and placed 1936, Ventura, California. Photograph by the author, July 2020. 383

Figure 0.3 Interior of Mission San Gabriel, c. 1890, California Historical Society Collection, 1860-1960, University of Southern California.. 384

Figure 0.4 Dana Bartlett, *Wall Painting*, (San Gabriel altar panel), c. 1936, watercolor, gouache, colored pencil and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.5993................................ 385

Figure 0.5 Sampling of IAD So Cal Index Mission Watercolor Renderings, as presented in National Gallery of Art current open access image catalogue, January 2022. 386

Figure 0.6 Josephine Romano, *Tabernacle*, Mission Santa Barbara, c. 1939, watercolor rendering, IAD 1943.8.6639. 387

Figure 0.7 Syrena Swanson, *Ecclesiastical Vestment*, c. 1939, watercolor rendering, IAD 1943.8.16746.. 388

Figure 0.8 Robert W.R. Taylor and William Kieckhofel, *Santo de Retablo (Virgin Mary)*, 1939/1940, watercolor, colored pencil and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.7569.......... 389

Figure 0.9 Edward Jewett, *"Faith, Hope and Charity" Stone Figures*, Mission Santa Barbara, 1936, watercolor rendering, IAD 1943.8.6897. 390

Figure 0.10 Le Roy Robbins, photograph of Index "artist-explorers" at Mission San Fernando, 1936, 44D5_86114_SoCal MSCL 90f_01, Miscellaneous - Southern California SoCal-Mscl-90f Doorway San Fernando Mission. NGA D.C., Gallery Archives. RG44D, Records of the IAD, Original Project (WPA) Images - Objects and Renderings. 391

Figure 0.11 *Petroglyphs at Chumash Painted Cave State Historic Park, high above Santa Barbara, California*, Carol M. Highsmith, photographer, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division (LC-DIG-highsm-24389). 392

Figure 0.12 View of Panama-California Exposition, San Diego, 1915 (official guidebook cover designed and engraved by Pacific Photo Engraving Co., featuring Spanish Baroque/Colonial Revival buildings by Bertram Goodhue). 393

Figure 0.13 *Zephyrin Engelhardt in his study at Mission Santa Barbara* (published in Rev. Francis J. Weber's "Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M. Dean of California Mission Historians, Southern California Quarterly, Volume 47, Issue 3 (September 1965): 235 (listed as "courtesy, Franciscan Fathers of California. 394

Figure 0.14 Hal Blakeley, *California Mission Studies*, 1935/1942, watercolor, colored pencil, graphite, heightening and gold ink on paper, IAD 1943.8.6985. 395

Figure 0.15 *Vintage Mission Tour Map*, Curt Teich and Co. Inc., c. 1930s- 1949. 396

Figure 0.16 Hal Blakeley, *California Land Grant Study*, 1935/1942, watercolor, graphite and colored pencil on paper, IAD, 1943.8.7683. 397

Figure 1.1 *Sample Plates from Wehye's Ornament* (Bossert, 1924); Plate XVII Egypt, Plate III Crete and Greece, Plate CX Oceana. 398

Figure 1.2 Randolph Miller, *Wall and Ceiling Decorations, and Holy Water Font; Restoration Drawing*, 1936, watercolor, colored pencil, pen and ink, gold ink and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.5998. 399

Figure 1.3 Alfred Kroeber, *Line Drawings for California Basket Designs*, Figs. 1-42. Design Elements, p. 164, from "Basket Designs of the Mission Indians of California," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*: Vol. XX, Part II (1922): 149-183. 400

Figure 1.4 Ferdinand Cartier, *Hadley Chest,* watercolor over graphite,1939, IAD 1943.8.5821.. 401

Figure 1.5 Auguste Racinet, "Primitif," from *L'Ornement Polychrome*, colored lithograph, 1869 M. A. Racinet, *L'Ornement PolyChrome: Cent Planches En Couleurs Goret Argent Contenant Environ 2,000 Motifs de Tous Les Styles*, (Paris: Librarie de Firmin Didot, 1869). 402

Figure 1.6 Auguste Racinet, *Greco Roman Plate*, from *L'Ornement Polychrome*, colored lithograph, 1869. (M. A. Racinet, *L'Ornement PolyChrome: Cent Planches En Couleurs Goret Argent Contenant Environ 2,000 Motifs de Tous Les Styles*, (Paris: Librarie de Firmin Didot, 1869). 403

Figure 1.7 Sample Data Report Sheet, IAD, NGA, D.C. 404

Figure 1.8 Federal Art Project (N.Y.) and Robbins, *IAD at Macy's Department Store, NYC*, 1938 July 30. Holger Cahill papers, 1910-1993, 10321. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. 405

Figure 1.9 *Gallery IX-Exhibit of Guatemalan Textiles*, 1936, The Cleveland Museum of Art Gallery 220, Installation view of ‘Guatemalan Textiles and Costumes Collected by Ruth Reeves; Negative Number 16856, Cleveland Museum of Art Archives. 406

Figure 1.10 Ruth Reeves, *Festival*, tapestry, 1935. 407

Figure 1.11 Wayne White, *A Civil War Drum*, 1939-1940, watercolor, graphite, and colored pencil, and pen and ink, IAD 1943.8.8142. 408

Figure 1.12 Elizabeth Moutal, *Shaker Knitting Needle Case*, 1936, watercolor and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.13664. 409

Figure 1.13 *Toaster*, c., watercolor and graphite on paperboard, IAD 1943.8.16601.... 410

Figure 1.14 Aztec, Inca and Mayan art on display in American Sources of Modern Art Show, 1933, Museum of Modern Art, May 8, 1933–July 1, 1933. Photographic Archive. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York. IN29.3... 411

Figure 1.15 Charles Sheeler, *Americana*, 1931, oil on canvas, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1992.24.8. 412

Figure 1.16 Marsden Hartley, *El Santo*, 1919, oil on canvas, New Mexico Museum of Art 523.23P. 413

Figure 1.17 George Rhone, *The Holy Family*, c. 1938, watercolor and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.17080. 414

Figure 2.1 Alfred Kroeber, *Linguistic Groups of California*, from *Handbook of the Indians of California*, Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1925. 415

Figure 2.2 Niceley, *Chumash Cave Paintings in the Burro Flats Painted Cave*, Simi Valley, CA. 416

Figure 2.3 C. C. Pierce, *Collection of 36 Pala Mission Indian Baskets*, c. 1905, glass plate negative, University of Southern California Libraries and California Historical Society, University of Southern California Digital Library... 417

Figure 2.4 Lala Eve Rivol, *Petroglyph in California*, c 1935-1942, color lithograph of Chumash Cave Painting, Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, L43.2.578. (corresponds to *Petroglyph*, 1935-1942, Lithograph on wove paper, IAD 1943.8.7603).................. 418

Figure 2.5 Kenneth Crist, “American Art Comes Back to America,”*Los Angeles Times*, Oct. 11, 1936, 216-217. 419

Figure 2.6 Poster for California Mission Studies Exhibition, Fine Arts Gallery, University of Southern California, Nov. 15- Dec. 10, 44A2 Records of the IAD (General Files 1936-1942), Reference Files- Exhibitions-California, Los Angeles, NGA, D.C., Gallery Archives. 420

Figure 2.7 *Corridor of convento*, Mission San Fernando, in M.R. Harrington, *The Story of the San Fernando Mission*, published by San Fernando Mission Curio Shop, 1954. 421

Figure 2.8 Geoffrey Holt, *Restoration Drawing: Wall Decoration Over Doorway, Façade of Mission House*, c. 1937, watercolor, colored pencil and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.5941.. 422

Figure 2.9 Geoffrey Holt, *Restoration Drawing: Façade of Mission House*, 1937, watercolor, colored pencil and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.5943. 423

Figure 2.10 Exhibition Brochure, San Fernando Mission Fiesta, 1937. 44A2 Records of the IAD (General Files 936-1942) Reference Files- Exhibitions-California, Los Angeles, NGA, D.C., Gallery Archives. 424

Figure 2.11 Louis (Ludwig) Choris, *Hunting in the Bay of San Francisco*, 1816 hand-colored print on paper, from *Voyage Pittoresque Autour du Monde*, 1822 The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. 425

Figure 2.12 Paul Park, *Index photograph of Deer Hunt Scene at San Fernando*, 1936, 44D5_86109_SoCal-Mscl-89b_01, NGA D.C., Gallery Archives. RG44D, Records of the IAD, Original Project (WPA) Images - Objects and Renderings. 426

Figure 2.13 Index Photograph of Sala doorway with Bowman, 44 D5_86045SoCal-Mscl-39a_01 Miscellaneous - Southern California SoCal-Mscl-39a Interior Doorway San Fernando Mission NGA D.C., Gallery Archives. RG44D, Records of the IAD, Original Project (WPA) Images - Objects and Renderings.. 427

Figure 2.14 Geoffrey Holt, *Wall Painting and Door (Interior)*, no bowman included, San Fernando Mission, 1937, watercolor, colored pencil, pen and ink and graphite on paper, IAD, 1943.8.5956. 428

Figure 2.15 Index photo of *Grape Harvest Scene*, c. 1936, 44D5_86143_SoCal-Mscl-111b_01Miscellaneous - Southern California SoCal-Mscl-111b Wall Decoration over Doorway San Fernando Mission, NGA D.C., Gallery Archives. RG44D, Records of the IAD, Original Project (WPA) Images - Objects and Renderings. 429

Figure 2.16 Geoffrey Holt, *Restoration Drawing: Wall Decoration Over Doorway in Mission House*, 1937 (Grapevine Scene, San Fernando Mission), watercolor, colored pencil, pen and ink and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.5972. 430

Figure 2.17 Beulah Bradleigh, *Station of the Cross No. 7: Jesus Falls the Second Time*watercolor, gouache, colored pencil and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.6746. 431

Figure 2.18 Beaulah Bradleigh, *Station of the Cross No. 1: "Jesus is Condemned to Death*, c. 1936, watercolor, gouache, colored pencil and graphite in paper, IAD 1943.8.6741.. 432

Figure 2.19 Plate XVI, San Gabriél Arcángel, *Mission Motifs: A Collection of Decorative Details from Old Spanish Missions*, Dana Bartlett, Hal B. Blakeley and Lanier Bartlett (Los Angeles: IAD, 1940).. 433

Figure 2.20 Geoffrey Holt, *Stations of the Cross No. 10: "Jesus is Stripped of His Garments,"* watercolor, gouache, colored pencil and graphite on paper, c. 1936, IAD 1943.8.6752.. 434

Figure 2.21 William Herbert, *Stations of the Cross No. 4: "Jesus Meets His Mother,"* watercolor, gouache, colored pencil, and graphite on paper, c. 1936, IAD 1943.8.6742. 435

Figure 2.22 Maxine Albro, *Harvesting Grapes*, San Francisco, 1933, Works Progress Administration. 436

Figure 2.23 Geoffrey Holt and Harry Mann Waddell, *Restoration Drawing: Main Doorway, with Decorations*, Mission House, 1938, watercolor, colored pencil and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.5949. 437

Figure 2.24 Harold Taylor, *Pala Chapel interior*, early to mid- 1900s, gelatin silver printAutry Collections P.19161. 438

Figure 2.25 Sawyer, *Removal of the Mission Indians of Cupa from Warner's Ranch*, 1903, Autry Collections, P.1295.. 439

Figure 2.26 Charles Fletcher Lummis, *Interior of Pala Chapel*, 1903, Autry Collections P.19144A, Gift of Charles F. Lummis.. 440

Figure 2.27 George Wharton James, *Picturesque Pala: The Story of the Chapel of San Antonio de Pala Connected with Mission San Luis Rey*, Pasadena, California: The Radiant Life Press, 1916, Los Angeles Central Library Rare Books. 441

Figure 2.28 George E. Rhone, *Wall Painting*, c. 1939, watercolor, pencil and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.5980.. 442

Figure 2.29 George E. Rhone, *Wall Painting*, c. 1939, watercolor, colored pencil and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.5977. 443

Figure 2.30 interior of Pala Chapel, photograph by the author, November 2019........... 444

Figure 2.31 William McAuley, *Wall Painting (Reredos)*, 1939, watercolor, colored pencil and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.5997.. 445

Figure 2.32 *Mission Motifs; A Collection of Decorative Details from Old Spanish Missions of California*, Plate XIV, San Fernando Rey and Plates XXII and XXIII, San Antonio de Pala, Monograph No. 2, n.d. edited by Lanier Bartlett, drawings by Dana Bartlett and Hal Blakeley, Los Angeles: IAD, 1940, IAD Southern California Project File, National Gallery Drawing and Print Department. 446

Figure 2.33 James Luna, Puyukitchum (Luiseño), *Chapel for Pablo Tac*, Venice Biennale, 2005. 449

Figure 2.34 IAD, *Plates featuring design from Pala Chapel and line drawing of altar on reverse*, in *Decorative Art of Spanish California*, *c.* 1942, Federal Art Project Southern California, Los Angeles Central Library Rare Books.. 450

Figure 3.1 Index Photograph of brown-robed Franciscan priest at Mission Santa Barbara posing with Index artists and fragment of *lienzo*, c. 1936-42, Ferdinand Perret (1888-1960) Research Material on California Art and Artists, 1769-1942, Archives of American Art and Library of National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. 452

Figure 3.2 formerly attributed to Giotto di Bonduce, *Miracle of the Crucifix*, Upper Basilica of San Francesco d' Assisi, c. 1297-1299... 453

Figure 3.3 Paul Park, Index artists at San Juan Capistrano, n.d., NGA D.C., Gallery Archives, RG44D, Records of the IAD, Original Project (WPA) Images - California Missions and Related Subjects 44D12_94017_01... 454

Figure 3.4 Riverside Mission Inn owner Frank Miller dressed in Franciscan robe, 1913, republished in *The Press Enterprise*, "Eclectic Collection Reflects Mission Inn's Past," https://www.pe.com/2015/09/08/riverside-eclectic-collection-reflects-mission-inn8217s-past/. 455

Figure 3.5 Figure 3.5: Early 20th-century Mission Inn Postcards, "St. Francis Chapel" and "Spanish Art Gallery," Riverside, California... 456

Figure 3.6 George Rhone, *Santo Bulto*, 1939, watercolor, graphite and pencil on paper, IAD 1943.8.6806. 457

Figure 3.7 Paul Park, Photograph of Franciscan priest standing in front of River of Life Doors, San Fernando Mission, National Gallery Archives 44D5_75738_SoCalCa11_01. 458

Figure 3.8 Robert Taylor, *Restoration Drawing: Wall Decoration over Doorway, Façade of Mission House* (River of Life Doors at San Fernando), c. 1935, watercolor, colored pencil and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.5944. 459

Figure 3.9 Peter Paul Rubens, *Franciscan Allegory of the Immaculate Conception*, oil sketch on panel, 1631-32 (based on print by Paul Pontius), Philadelphia Museum of Art Cat. 677. 460

Figure 3.10 Mission San Miguel Float, San Diego Exposition, 1915, https://sandiegohistory.org/collection/photographs/list485/. 461

Figure 3.11 *Indians Painting Side Altar at Pala*, Supervised by Father Antonio Peyri, photograph of diorama by Edith Webb, c. 1940s, Edith Buckland Webb Papers, Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library. 462

Figure 3.12 Andres Lopez, *Portrait of Viceroy Don Matías de Galvez y Gallardo as Viceprotector of Academy of San Carlos*, 1790-1791, oil on canvas, Museo Nacional del Virreinato, Tepotzotlán, Mexico. 463

Figure 3.13 *Santa Barbara Mission façade*, James Jones, 1935/42, lithograph on wove paper, IAD 1943.8.18241 464

Figure 3.14 Vitruvius Plate X, *Ten Books of Architecture*, Ortiz y Sanz, 1787, Madrid, author’s photograph, Getty Research Institute 465

Figure 3.15 Vitruvius Plate XXV, *Ten Books of Architecture*, Ortiz y Sanz, 1787, Madrid. 466

Figure 3.16 Vitruvius, Roman Scenae, *Ten Books of Architecture*, Ortiz y Sanz, 1787, Madrid. 467

Figure 3.17 Howard H. Sherman, *Pilaster and Sidewall in Church* (featuring marbled pilasters), San Luis Rey Mission, c. 1936, watercolor, gouache, colored pencil, pen and ink, and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.5991 468

Figure 3.18 Marbleized end sheets, Ortiz y Sanz, *De Architectura*, Vitruvius, Spanish edition, 1787, Madrid. Author’s photograph, Getty Research Institute 469

Figure 3.19 Warren W. Lemmon, *Fragment of Reredos*, (Santa Barbara *lienzo* featuring St. Joaquim (detail,), c. 1940, watercolor, colored pencil, gold ink, and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.6816, b. 470

Figure 3.20 Edward Jewett, *Fragment of Reredos* (detail of Santa Barbara lienzo featuring St. Anne (detail, a), c. 1940, watercolor, gold ink, silver ink, colored pencil, and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.6817. 471

Figure 3.21 Photograph of Santa Barbara reredos, c. 1925, republished in Baer, *Painting and Sculpture at Mission Santa Barbara* (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955). 472

Figure 3.22 Gerald Transpota, *Wall Painting*, 1938 (original wall painting at Mission San Buenaventura attributed to Juan Pacífico), watercolor, colored pencil, and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.6501 473

Figure 3.23 Dana Bartlett, *Ceiling Ornament* (Vitruvian Thunderbird), c. 1936, watercolor, colored pencil, and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.6520. 474

Figure 3.24 Vitruvian “Thunderbird,” *Plate XXXII*, Ortiz y Sanz, *De Architectura*, 1787, Madrid. 475

Figure 3.25 : Paul Park, IAD photograph of wall at Santa Ines, 44D5_86199_SoCal-Mscl_176 ab_02. Original Wall Decoration, NGA DC, Gallery Archives. RG44D, Records of the IAD, Original Project (WPA) Images - California Missions and Related Subjects. 476

Figure 3.26 Paul Park photograph of Index artists at Santa Ines, 1939; left to right: Albert Pratt, Ralph de Frietas, Warren Lemmon, supervisor, and Edward Jewett, 44D5_94065_01 Missions - Santa Inés - 87. Artist Uncovering Original Wall Decoration [includes Index staff] NGA DC, Gallery Archives. RG44D, Records of the IAD, Original Project (WPA) Images - California Missions and Related Subjects. 477

Figure 3.27 Edward Jewett, *Wall Painting*, (Mission Santa Ines step fret design), 1939, watercolor, colored pencil and graphite on paper, SoCal MSCL-35 (a), b, IAD, 1943.8.5987 478

Figure 3.28 Chumash Painting of Archangel Raphael, c. 1825, Mission Santa Ines Museum 479

Figure 3.29 Randolph F. Miller, *Reredos and Wall Paintings*, Mission San Miguel, 1937, watercolor, colored pencil, pen and ink, gold ink and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.6508 480

Figure 3.30 William Kieckhofel, *Decorations on Reredos and Sanctuary Walls*, Mission San Miguel,1940, watercolor, colored pencil, and graphite on paperboard, IAD 1943.8.6509 481

Figure 3.31 Attributed to Paul Park, Photograph of Index artists working at Mission San Miguel, c. 1940. 44D5_94048_01, Missions - San Miguel Arcángel - 32. Index staff at work on Pulpit, NGA DC, Gallery Archives. RG44D, Records of the IAD, Original Project (WPA) Images - California Missions and Related Subjects.............................. 482

Figure 3.32 Edward Jewett, *Wall Painting*, (doorway framed by Ionic columns and pediment) Mission San Miguel, 1939, watercolor, colored pencil and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.5984. 483

Figure 3.33 Randolph Miller, *Details of Painted Decorations on Reredos and Walls*, Mission San Miguel, 1937, watercolor, colored pencil, pen and ink and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.5990. 484

Figure 3.34 Randolph Miller, *Details of Painted Decorations*, *Side Wall of Sanctuary*, Mission San Miguel, 1935/1939, watercolor, colored pencil, pen and ink, graphite and heightening on paper, IAD 1943.8.5999... 485

Figure 3.35 Randolph Miller, *Detail of Wall Painting*, Mission San Miguel, 1937, watercolor, colored pencil, pen and ink, graphite and heightening on paper, IAD, 1943.8.6000... 486

Figure 3.36 Randolph Miller, *Pulpit and Wall Painting*, Mission San Miguel, 1937, watercolor, colored pencil, pen and ink, silver ink and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.6507... 487

Figure 3.37 Howard H. Sherman, *Side Altar* (collage view), San Luis Rey Mission, 1936, watercolor, colored pencil, gouache and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.6506. 488

Figure 3.38 undated historic photograph of side altar, photograph displayed in Mission San Luis Rey Museum, 2021. 489

Figure 3.39 Undated photographs of Father O’Keefe and Zacatecans standing in front of damaged wall paintings; photographs displayed in San Luis Rey Mission Museum, 2021. 490

Figure 3.40 William Kieckhofel, *Side Altar*, San Luis Rey Mission, (full reredos view) 1941, watercolor, colored pencil, pen and ink and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.6505. 491

Figure 3.41 Plate XIII: Side Altar, San Luis Rey, (front- design out of context and back- design within architectural setting) in undated portfolio, *Decorative Art of Spanish California Selected IAD*, Introduction by Lanier Bartlett, with colored prints based on original illustrations by Hal Blakeley, Southern California Art Project, Federal Works Agency, Works Progress Administration, Los Angeles Public Library Central Branch Special Collections.. 492

Figure 3.42 Juanita Donahoo, *Statue of Santo* (probably Saint Dominic), *Asistencia* at Pala, 1941, watercolor, colored pencil and graphite on paper, SoCal MSCL 184, 1941, IAD 1943.8.5973. 493

Figure 3.43 Tlalmanalco frescoes, 16th century, Mexico *Fray Martin de Valencia*, cloister mural, San Luis Obispo, Tlalmanalco, 1582-91 and *St. Clare of Assisi*, cloister mural, San Luis Obispo, Tlalmanalco, 1582-91. 494

Figure 3.44 William Kieckhofel, *Wall Painting (Door), Governor's Room, San Fernando*, c. 1939, watercolor, colored pencil and graphite on paperboard IAD 1943.8.5954.......... 495

Figure 3.45 Index photograph of Governor's Room, 44D5_86051_SoCal-Mscl-40b_01. Southern California-Miscellaneous-San Fernando Mission, NGA, D.C., Gallery Archives. RG44D, Records of the IAD, Original Project (WPA) Images- Objects and Renderings. 496

Figure 4.1 Paul Park, photograph of Index artist Clyde De Lano working with fragments from church sanctuary, c. 1938, Mission La Purísima Concepción, 44D12_93949_02 Missions - La Purisima - 73. Fragments of Plaster from Wall Decoration NGA D.C., Gallery Archives. RG44D, Records of the IAD, Original Project (WPA) Images - California Missions and Related Subjects. 497

Figure 4.2 Edward Jewett, *Wall Painting* (Color Notes on Santa Ines Step Fret), c. 1939, watercolor, graphite and colored pencil on paper, IAD 1943.8.18008. 498

Figure 4.3 *Blueboy*, Overview of rock shelter at Three Springs with XRF assay *points* marked (published in "Emigdiano Blues," Fig. 7, p. 163 and detail, Fig. 13, p. 167).... 499

Figure 4.4 *Tlacuilos working in Spanish Franciscan School of San Jose*, (illustrating the natural sources and production of quiltic, or Maya Green), Florentine Codex, Mexico, 1577, bk. 11, fol. 372v (detail), Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.......... 500

Figure 4.5 George Rhone: *Technique Demonstration*, (Pala chapel designs and surface treatments) 1935/1942, watercolor and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.18022. 501

Figure 4.6 Gordena Jackson, *Indian Basket*, 1935-1942, watercolor, graphite, gold and silver ink on paperboard, IAD 1943.8.8118. 502

Figure 4.7 Paul Park photo published in Warren W. Lemmon, "Index of American Design: A Federal Art Project), International Photographer, c. 1937, captioned as, "Paul Park, Main Doorway, San Fernando Mission (showing original wall decoration uncovered under whitewash), Circa 1812." Reference Files- Publicity. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives. The photo published here is catalogued as 44D_86115_SoCal-Mscl-90g_01. 503

Figure 4.8 Raymond Noble, *Wall Painting (Restoration Drawing)* Mission La Purísima, c. 1940, watercolor, colored pencil and graphite on paper 1943.8.6518. 504

Figure 4.9 Gerald Transpota, *Wall Painting, Restoration Drawing from Reassembled Fragments* (Mission La Purísima), c. 1940, watercolor, colored pencil and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.6517.. 505

Figure 4.10 William Kieckhofel "La Purismima Mission, Restored in 1941," c. 1942, watercolor, colored pencil and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.6504. 506

Figure 4.11 Fred Hageman, *Color Chart of Pigments used at Mission La Purísima*, 1939 published in Hageman, Fred C., Ewing, Russell C. and Whitehead, Richard, ed. *An Archaelogical and Restoration Study of Mission La Purísima Concepción: Reports Written for the National Park Service* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Santa Barbara Trust for Historic Preservation, 1980) Plate No. XI. 507

Figure 4.12 *Plate 2: Wall Painting- La Purísima Concepción Mission*, Index screenprint on paperboard of La Purisima Wall Painting Fragment, in *Decorative Art of Spanish California Selected by the IAD*, undated, Southern California Art Project, Federal Works Agency, Works Progress Administration, Los Angeles Central Branch Library Special Collections. (IAD 1943.8.18133 *La Purisima Concepcion Mission Wall Painting from the Portfolio "Decorative Art of Spanish California*, 1935/1942, screenprint on paperboard). 508

Figure 5.1 Sandy Rodriguez, YOU ARE HERE/Tovaangar/El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora la Reina de los Angeles de Porciúncula/ Los Angeles, preparatory sketch, 2021. Hand-processed watercolor on amate paper 94 x 94 .5 in. 509

Figure 5.2 installation view of Sandy Rodriguez, YOU ARE HERE/Tovaangar/El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora la Reina de los Angeles de Porciúncula/ Los Angeles, 2021. Hand-processed watercolor and 13K gold on amate paper 94 x 94 .5 in., photograph by the author. 510

PREFACE

Most of this dissertation was written while living in downtown Los Angeles during an unprecedented period of recent American history. I had been teaching and conducting research at the Archivo de Indias in Sevilla, Spain, when the COVID-19 pandemic erupted in Madrid in January of 2020. Forced to return home months early, I realized, like many in academia having to work and teach remotely, that I was in an ideal position to write. During the first months of lockdown and isolation, I looked out my window onto the Art Deco buildings in my Old Bank District neighborhood and witnessed Black Lives Matter and Women's marches, Trump protests, increasing homelessness and shuttered businesses, but also a sense of community, compassion and generosity amongst Angelenos grappling with the contradictions of what it means to be "American." This socio-political backdrop had a major impact on my own formulation of U.S. American art and my long-evolving conception of an "Art of the Americas." In many respects, the experience of writing in L.A. during 2020 became more valuable to my conceptualization of the Index's work in California than the canceled or postponed research trips might have. Into late 2020 and 2021, as it became safer to venture out, I worked in a few local coffee shops, both located near an intersection at 4th and Main Street dedicated to the 1930s folksinger Woodie Guthrie, whose music inspired me as I wrote the first draft. My morning jogs took me past the original offices of the Southern California (So Cal) Index of American Design and through Olvera Street, past the destroyed then later conserved David Alfaro Siqueiros mural, and the Catholic church edifices of La Placita and St. Vibiana—all sites of interest for the 1930s Index artists aiming to integrate “Spanish Colonial” mission art and design into a larger U.S. American art history. My physical situation in the exact locale as the So Cal Index Offices provided much needed perspective. I was far from Washington, D.C., where I thought I would be writing and continuing to view Index materials at the National Gallery, just as the So Cal Index artists and their state supervisors worked on the opposite coast from their federal administrators. For them, the West-coast (progressive) vs. East Coast (traditional) conceptions of American art and indigeneity were certainly made more prominent via this distance. As much as my project represents a critique of the Index project, it also represents a continuation of the SoCal project’s key task: how to physically and theoretically connect the local narrative of California mission art to a national one.

On a June morning in 2020 I walked to Union Station to catch the Gold Line out to Pasadena. On my way home, I saw that a large group of Indigenous activists had gathered in Olvera Street and toppled a bronze life-sized statue of mission founder Junípero Serra that I had walked by just hours before. [Figure 0.1] The sculpture, a copy of the original created by Ettore Cadorin in 1930, had stood on its pedestal in Father Serra Park since the mid-1930s. The So Cal Index, given their express interest in the California missions, would have known it well. An engraved marker below the statue explains that it had been presented to the City of Los Angeles by the Southern California Chapter of the Knights of Columbus on August 26, 1934. While this statue has since been removed, the Cadorin original still represents the state of California in the galleries of National Statuary Hall in Washington, D.C.[1]

In the 1920s and 30s, statues of Serra were typically placed in peaceful garden settings, fostering an idealized perception of the impact of this Spanish Franciscan on Californian and American history. [Figure 0.2] This understanding and promotion of Serra's legacy lasted well into the late 20th and early 21st centuries. The recent toppling of these "American" monuments had a very direct impact on my project—the So Cal Index of American Design, was in essence, an American monument and archive dedicated to the commemoration of a Spanish Fantasy Past. This construction is now being dismantled. The once idyllic "peaceful garden" of the California mission institution is now transformed into a postcolonial third space. This is an opportune moment for revealing the complex visual cultures and difficult legacies of the California missions.

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[1] The 1920s and 30s saw the placement of several Serra statues in California. For example, Sally W. Farnham, *Serra and Indian Boy*, was commissioned for Brand Park in 1923 (near Mission San Fernando); a 1917 Serra statue is at Mission San Juan Capistrano; San Gabriel's 115th anniversary was celebrated with the erection of a Serra statue in 1921.Another statue of Serra, produced by the artist Uno John Palo Kangas, was commissioned through the Works Progress Administration, part of the Federal Art Project, and placed in front of the Ventura County Courthouse in 1936. This statue was removed immediately following the 2020 Black Lives Matter marches in Southern California.

INTRODUCTION: Situating the Project

> The imposing ceremony, glittering ornaments, and illuminated walls were well adapted to captivate the simple mind of the Indian, and I could not but admire the apparent devotion of the multitude, who seemed absorbed, heart and soul, in the scene in front of them.[1]
>
> —Alfred Robinson, 1829

> Now these missions are not the relic of any creed. They are the property of the people of the United States in a finer sense than that given deed or title. Like the battlefield of Gettysburg, like Plymouth Rock, Bunker Hill and the Liberty Bell, they belong to the soil of the Nation—they are the nation's wards. [2]
>
> ---Automobile Club of Southern California Guidebook, 1915

During the Alta California Mission Era (1769-1833) designs and materials of both European and Indigenous origin were painted not only within the interiors of mission churches, chapels, and presidios, but also on exterior surfaces, including main facades and *atrio* walls. Brilliantly colored ceilings, *retablos*, nave walls, false doors, cornices, pilasters, and dadoes would have produced a stunning visual experience. Most of these paintings, produced by neophytes under the supervision of Spanish priests or by trained visiting artists from Mexico, were whitewashed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, following the secularization of these twenty-one Spanish Franciscan institutions in the 1830s.[3] [Figure 0.3] In the 1930s the Index of American Design literally and figuratively brought many of the hidden murals and interior painting programs to light. [Figure 0.4] Established as a branch of the Works Progress Administration's Federal Art Project in 1935, the Index sought to define the nation's cultural and aesthetic identity and to provide inspiration for a modern art that was distinctly American.[4] Approximately one thousand artists and photographers were sent to thirty-four states to select, render, and document examples of American folk and decorative arts dating from the Index's vaguely- defined "colonial period" through 19 . By 1942, they had produced approximately 18, 0 watercolor renderings and hundreds of lithographs and black and white photographs of sites and objects across the United States.[5] [Figure 0.5]

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[1] Alfred Robinson, describing the interior of Mission San Gabriel during his 1829 visit, in his *Life in California During a Residence of Several Years in that Territory, Comprising a Description of the Country and the Missionary Establishments, with Incidents, Observations, Etc.* (San Francisco: William Doxey, Publisher, 1846), 44.

[2] Automobile Club of California, *California's Mission Tour: A Motoring Guide with maps and sketches compiled by the Automobile Club of Southern California* (Los Angeles, California, 1915), 10.

[3] In the same years that many of these paintings were produced, the missions were also experiencing the results of governmental transitions. The Jesuits, who had founded and controlled missions in Baja, California,

From its inception, the Index project was firmly rooted in a quest to establish a sense of national identity. New York Public Library head of picture collections Romana Javitz, recognizing the need for a pictorial archive of Indigenous designs, conceived of

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had been expelled by the Spanish Crown in 1767 and replaced by the Franciscans. The Alta and Baja California mission territories had been governed by the Spanish crown until the early nineteenth century. Soon after their secularization under Mexican rule and after the Mexican American War, Alta California became part of the United States. The political, religious, and cultural ramifications of these shifts must be considered in relation to the demise of the wall paintings under consideration here. Notably, Robinson's "last glimpse" of the illuminated walls comes not only in the twilight of the missions under Mexican rule, but just a year before the 1830 Indian Removal Bill was passed in the United States.

[4] In this dissertation, the term "American" will be used to designate "of the United States of America," as this was the meaning intended by the Index in the labeling of their own project. Similarly, the term "national" will be used in reference to the Index's conception of the term: the group of people inhabiting the United States who share a common culture, government, and identity. When distinctions are required, I will employ prefixes such as "U.S. American," (as opposed to continental) or "Anglo-American" (as opposed to Mexican American or Native American).

[5] Mary Lee Corlett, Associate Curator of Modern Prints and Drawings, The National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. notes that "watercolor renderings, duplicates of renderings for study sets, technical demonstration renderings, and even in some cases b/w photographs, multiple copies of design motifs intended for reproduction in portfolios, as well as multiples of lithographs and screenprints produced with the intent of forming portfolios, etc… are all included in the overall count." Email correspondence with the author, February 2, 2022.

the original project as “an index to the past of our national culture,” and a way for the public to “familiarize themselves with our national heritage.”[6] That the Index would find the painted walls of the California missions to be one of the most promising sources for a national art in the New Deal era, given the United States’ conflicted relationship with its Spanish, Mexican and Native American roots, is the compelling situation to be investigated in this thesis.

The Index’s work was national in scope but regional in focus. During their 1936 visit to Mission San Fernando Rey de España, artists working for the Southern California branch of the Index began to document mission furniture, ecclesiastical objects, sculpture, architecture and painted wall designs. [Figures 0.6- 0.9] From the onset, their project took on a new dimension.[7] In the process of preparing the walls of the padres’ mission house for repainting before an annual parish fiesta, a piece of the crumbling plaster fell, exposing earth-colored designs and patterns. The Index artists and supervisors were quick to recognize the significance of these underpaintings as a possible source for the recovery of a rich chapter of lost American art history, one in which Indigenous and Spanish Colonial elements could be identified, recovered and appropriated. After photographing these painted designs and creating watercolor renderings, the “artist-explorers” continued to chip away plaster, eventually revealing an under layer of more colorful designs, which they attributed to Native artisans..[8] [Figure 0.10] In an undated report, Index supervisor Homer W. Evans wrote that the falling plaster at San Fernando had "started a train of discovery of lost Indian paintings, showing the beginnings of mural art in California and uncovering designs to inspire artists of today."[9] He continued, “It’s an ill wind that blows no good; thus the depression is making possible, among many other projects of use to American life, a revival and rediscovery (sic) of native American arts.”[10]

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[6] Romana Javitz to Holger Cahill, April 29, 1949. Unmicrofilmed Holger Cahill papers, Box 7, Index of American Design, 1935-1949, Archives of American Art.

[7] From this point forward, I will refer to this branch by its shortened names, the
So Cal Index,” the “California Index,” or just “Index.” Their offices were located in Southern California, but they visited missions throughout the state.

Such statements, linking the creation and consolidation of U.S. nation identity, the promotion of New Deal policies, and the notion of usefulness or usability of regional and Indigenous designs toward these ends have directed me to my research topic: my contention is that in their desire to identify a “usable past,” the Index hoped to transform the existing mural fragments from dated regional designs into timeless national motifs.[11]

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[8] R.W.R. Raylor, Norman Yeckley and Geoffrey Holt were the three Federal artists who carried out the work at San Fernando. The terms “redecorating,” and “artist-explorer” were employed by Homer W. Evans, supervisor of the Southern California Index Office, in an undated report he authored, “The Handwriting on the Walls: Artist-Explorers Uncover Indian Wall Paintings Which Made the Old Missions Bright With Colors.” Warren W. Lemmon, Director of the Index in Southern California, considered the discovery at San Fernando and the subsequent Index studies of the Spanish-California period to be “the state’s most valuable contribution to this national project.” Page 3, RG 17 Index of American Design, Box 7 Reference Files Spanish Colonial, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives.

[9] Homer W. Evans, “The Handwriting on the Walls,” 1 and 10.

[10] Ibid, 2.

[11] In 1918 the literary critic Van Wyck Brooks called for a “usable past” that could serve as a model for modern American authors. He proposed that like Europeans had, Americans might self-style a cultural history that de-emphasized European masterpieces. His was an idea shared by many Progressive era intellectuals seeking a national memory that could be called on in producing a more democratic future; in the 1930s, these ideas were borrowed by Federal Arts Project Director Holger Cahill and other cultural administrators, with Brooks’ title phrase becoming a tag line for the Index of American Design. Brooks, Van Wyck. “On Creating a Usable Past,” *Dial* 64 (April 11, 1918): 339. Mary Lee Corlett, Associate Curator of Modern Prints and Drawings, the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., believes that while apt, this catch-phrase has in some ways been overplayed in its association with the Index. She suggests that the Index’s attempt to establish the foundations of American “design” at a time when the country was pursuing leadership on the global stage can be better understood in relation to Henry Luce’s 1941 *Life Magazine* editorial, “The

How did they go about this, and why? Did they accomplish this task? Why did they focus on wall painting designs, in particular? Why have their selected mission motifs been stored and forgotten in the national archive for more almost eighty years? How might the recovery and study of this "index" assist in the project of revealing the art historical and cultural significance of the original wall paintings?

Through my study of the California mission renderings of the Index of American Design from their creation to their brief promotion as "national" art in the 1930s and 40s and finally their relative disappearance, I seek to understand the form and purpose of these images and their place within the varying dialogues of regional and national identity. The American history of the 1930s serves as a primary venue for renegotiating the meaning(s) and significance of the original images in the Mission Era and into the present. I argue that in the 1930s, the California mission painted walls were resymbolized and claimed as distinctly American in a U.S. sense based on the physical and chronological locations of their production. However, due to their varied authorship and stylistic sources, they also retain their efficacy as venues for the current re-conception of an art of the Indigenous, colonial and modern Americas. Thus, the current positioning of California mission art solely within the context of Colonial Latin American art history should be reconsidered; my project represents an effort toward its equal inclusion in the art history of the United States, and that of the Indigenous Americas.

American Century." Throughout this dissertation, I will apply the phrase in quotation marks to indicate the Index administrators' use and understanding of it in the 1930s.

Robinson's 1829 description of the "illuminated walls" and their effects on the Native population at San Gabriel illustrates the perceived success of Spain's colonial project from an Anglo-American perspective-- an unsurprising reading from a Boston merchant with expansionist aims and romantic visions of the frontier. The Index's project, on the other hand, represents an important shift that took place in American history and identity construction during the first decades of the twentieth century. At the time of Frederick Turner's frontier thesis, delivered at the Chicago World Fair in 1893, this identity was still understood and debated in relation to a narrative of geographic expansion and cultural assimilation. By 1918, however, writers such as Van Wyck Brooks had begun the search for a "usable past" that was located deep within the nation's historical and conceptual, rather than physical terrain. From this point forward, U.S. national identity would be formulated via the processes of consolidation, inclusion, and, most important for this study, aesthetic and cultural pluralism. Thus, I argue that the Index agenda and their perception of regional, folk and Indigenous art as "usable" must be understood in relation to these new purposes. The Index project, in fact, revolved around the idea of digging up and repurposing the very designs that had been buried during the assimilationist period. In Federal Art Project Director Holger Cahill's words, the Index "is a kind of archeology. It helps to correct a bias which has tended to relegate the work of the craftsman and the folk artist to the subconscious of our history … we have lost whole sequences out of their story and have all but forgotten the unique contribution of hand skills in our culture."[12]

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[12] Cahill, Introduction, in Erwin O. Christensen, *The Index of American Design* (New York: 1950, 1959), xv.

While the Index's California mission project and its twentieth-century context is the focus of my inquiry, this study will also serve to challenge long-standing Franciscan myths as well as later public and scholarly assumptions regarding the wall paintings, including issues of materials, Indigenous vs. European authorship, stylistic labeling, and cultural interpretation of the mural programs. For example, most of the previous literature on the painted walls has underscored their decorative function, fostered stylistic dichotomies which separate Indigenous from Spanish and Mexican tendencies, and overlook the connections between the painted designs and the imported images they originally framed.[13] This dissertation challenges these assumptions, closely examining the rationale behind the Indexers' regular promotion of the existing mission scholarship, but also their early attempts to unravel some of the misconceptions that prevailed in it.

In addition to their work at San Fernando, Index artists visited several other Alta California missions and produced drawings, photographs and watercolors of many of the extant mural programs and fragments. In the decades following the Federal Art project, many of these California missions would undergo mural restorations based on the visual materials the Index produced, images whose accuracy has never been questioned, despite the sometimes-problematic combination of federally sponsored restoration, re-creation, and documentation efforts with local Mission Revival and tourism agendas. Necessarily, I also consider how these twentieth-century restorations influence contemporary interpretations of these painted subjects and schemes, and by extension the art historical and "national" value of the California missions themselves.[14]

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[13] Examples of such are presented in the literature review section of this Introduction.

American Art Histories and Painted Walls

Most of the wall paintings recorded by the Index were produced between 1810-1825. A decade after their production, and in correspondence with the secularization of the Alta California missions, theater actor and producer William Dunlap would publish his two-volume history of American Art, *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States*.[15] In the Vasarian tradition, Dunlap's "history" featured the biographies of almost 3 visual artists, including Benjamin West and John Trumbull, and positioned New York's National Academy of Design as the "Florence" of the American Renaissance. Though the volume had fallen into obscurity by the end of the 19th century, its rediscovery in the 20th led to its current canonical status as the foundational text on American art. Maura Lyons has recently studied the motives, reception, and cultural/national significance of Dunlap's publication, "revealing (it) as an entrepreneurial, partisan, and localized experiment."[16] Federal Art Project and Index Director Holger Cahill relied heavily on the foundation of American art history laid by Dunlap, especially in his heroizing of John Trumbull, Benjamin West, and other early

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[14] These later twentieth-century restorations, some of which used the Index drawings as models, will be examined.

[15] William Dunlap, *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States* (New York: George P. Scott and Company, 1834).

[16] Promotional description of Maura Lyons' *William Dunlap and the Construction of American Art History* (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2 5), in University of Massachusetts Press website. Dunlap's title suggests that "design" was central to this history, though his concept of design corresponded to the New York Academy, who thought of the term in lines with the Italian *disegno/academia*, not the early 20th-century loose application of the term by the Index. Their use of the term in relation to their national project is discussed in Chapter 1.

American academic painters. Through his work as Director of the Index of American Design, Cahill attempted to insert folk art and "new" regions, including the Southwest, into the margins of Dunlap's history, where they would largely remain until the 1990s. Art historians trained in the social history of art recognized the significance of an expanded definition of American art. Milton Brown's *American Art: Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, Decorative Arts, Photography* (1990), Wayne Craven's *American Art: History and Culture* (1994) and most significantly, Frances K. Pohl's *Framing America* (insert date) extended the European-American "eastern seaboard" scope of 19th-century American "fine" art history to include furniture, folk art, photography, colonial art and architecture of the southwest.[17]

Most of the California Index watercolor renderings featured mission wall paintings produced c. 1810-1820.[18] The Index artists' particular interest in wall painting is related to a broader search undertaken by early twentieth-century American artists and intellectuals for an artistic heritage comparable to Europe's prehistoric cave paintings. In the same years that the Index was conducting their work at the California missions, George Edward Pendray penned "The Earliest Americans," a short account of recent "boneless" archaeological discoveries. Pendray lamented the fact that the Native peoples of the Americas, unlike their European counterparts, had failed to leave behind a pictorial record. Index supervisors sought to prove otherwise. They were quick to recognize the undeniable similarity of pigments and abstract designs on the recently uncovered mission walls and those of the Chumash cave paintings near mission Santa Barbara, such relationships Edith Buckland Webb (1877-1959), a contemporary mission scholar working independently of the government artists, also emphasized in her own study of Native pigments.[19] [Figure 0.11] In an undated report, Homer W. Evans wrote of the Index's wall painting studies: "Here was a new field of discovery in art and art history... 'the handwriting on the walls' by a people who have lost their identity is preserved in the records of surviving civilizations."[20]   Evans' comments served to position the mission wall paintings as a missing link of sorts-- a visual vocabulary that could provide a path for understanding the earlier Chumash paintings, but also a new direction for modern American artists.[21]

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[17] As a former art history undergraduate student of Pohl's at Pomona College, I seek to extend her efforts to include California mission art into an extended version of American art history.

[18] The Index artists recorded extensive extant, concealed, and restored painted mural programs at San Fernando, San Miguel, and Santa Ines, and elements of San Buenaventura, San Juan Capistrano, and Santa Barbara. These will be the focus of my study, but I will also comparatively discuss wall painting at other California missions, as it is equally important to understand what the Index left out of the national "archive." I will also consider the lithographs they produced of mission facades and architecture, in which the artists have eliminated all painted elements; though part of the Index study, these appear to represent a very different goal than the watercolor renderings.

This dissertation rightly challenges the misappropriation of not only Indigenous but Mexican and European designs into the complex web of New Deal politics, Indian policies, Mexican deportation actions, and shifting U.S. perceptions of its Spanish heritage. Yet it also recognizes the Index's their participation in these and other discourses, and their formative role in the physical and public "rediscovery" of the wall paintings in the 1930s. Rather than understanding the imagery as a direct link between past and present, their "discovery" by the Index might be understood as the key to a richer and therein more accurate history of visual engagement, to be followed by a reinterpretation of these mission spaces at large. In the same way that modern understandings of ancient Greek white marble temples and sculptures are inaccurate (their decoration was almost certainly polychromatic), the whitewashed mission exteriors and exteriors projected a much different aesthetic and message than originally intended. Not only did the walls' original visual programs frame and stage imported oil paintings, sculpture, and liturgical objects, they also interacted with and highlighted architectural features. In a materialist sense, the walls themselves served as a physical binder of Indigenous and Spanish artistic traditions, iconographies, and spiritual agendas—a reality that whitewashing had erased from history.

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[19] Edith Buckland Webb, "Pigments Used by the Mission Indians of California," *The Americas,* Vol. 2, No. 2 (October 1945): 137-150.

[20] "Handwriting on the Walls,"1.

[21] Warren W. Lemmon writes, "A new standard of national art is being created by the artists of this country, in developing modern methods of wall treatment" or "in digging into our historic past for that which we lost." Like other cultural critics of this era, he drew comparisons with Europe's artistic legacy and the fact of the missing American equivalent. His suggestion was that the Index had rediscovered a comparable legacy—describing the Chumash paintings discovered (by archaeologists, not by the Index) in the Santa Barbara region near the mission, he claimed, "the paintings found in the caves of these prehistoric tribes" are America's version of "those famous bison in the caves of Southern France and Egyptian tomb paintings." "The Study of Early American Wall Painting in Southern California," RG17 Box 7, Reference Files Spanish Colonial. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives. Version 2 of report, page 1.

Just before the Index artists arrived in California several Mexican muralists had made their mark throughout the state, and would continue to do so during the years of the Index California project.[22] Many of their murals were located within the vicinity of a

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[22] Jose Clemente Orozco's *Prometheus* at Pomona College (1930), Diego Rivera's *Allegory of California* at the San Francisco Stock Exchange (1931) and *Pan American Unity* for the Golden Gate International Exposition in San Francisco (1940), David Alfaro Siqueiros' *America Tropical* on Olvera Street (1932) and *Street Meeting* at the Chouinard Art Institute (1932), Alfredo Ramos Martinez's exhibition, organized by Millard Sheets (1937) and unfinished mural (1946) at Scripps College.

California mission, so it is likely that the Index artists viewed them during their stay.[23] Given the Public Work Art Program's emphasis on muralism and its encouragement of Pan-American artistic exchanges, the California Index's decision to focus their study on mission wall painting is clarified—in general, muralism not only met the criteria of public art so essential to both the post-revolutionary Mexican and U.S. New Deal agendas, but could also be presented as something distinctly "American."[24] I believe that the highly publicized whitewashing of Mexican murals in the U.S. just prior to the California Index project would have dramatized and politicized their own act of removing whitewash: the federal uncovering and unveiling of paintings representing a North American "colonial past" could counter-balance the U.S. private-sector's recent censorship of Mexican murals. At the least, their act of unveiling the paintings portrayed the Index and the larger PWAP as culturally and perhaps politically progressive. An element lacking in recent studies of the Index's nation-wide work is an attempt to understand the overlap between Mexican, Pan-American and U.S. nationalist dialogues and cultural activities of the 1930s—the situation of the Index project at this exact moment provides an opportunity to study this relationship.[25]

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[23] Jackson Pollock famously visited Pomona College in 1930 to watch Siqueiros paint his mural there. The Mexican muralists' visits to California and other states were often publicized and American art students were keen to witness the artists at work. Siqueiros taught classes in fresco painting at the Chouinard Art Institute in Los Angeles, soon forming his "Bloc of Painters," providing a very direct link between Mexican muralism and mural painting in New Deal- era California. This group of artists, many of whom created their own murals in California, included Millard Sheets, Reuben Kadish, Phil Paradise, Barse Miller, Paul Sample, and Philip Guston.

[24] Katherine Manthorne has recently examined the parallel art historical trajectories of Mexico and California. She highlights the connections between Mexican muralism and painting in California in the same period I deal with here but does not consider the painted walls of the missions. See *California Mexicana: Missions to Murals, 1820-1930* (Laguna Beach, CA: Laguna Museum of Art in association with University of California Press, 2018).

Much of the whitewashing of the original mission wall paintings during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was done in an effort to modernize these colonial spaces. It did so by bringing them in line with Victorian taste and eliminating the Spanish associations, which had become widely unpopular as a result of anti-Spanish Black Legend revivals and Anglo-Protestant agendas. Combined with these largely stylistic modern prejudices, however, were the evolving ideas of the Franciscans themselves concerning the reasons for the original production of these colorful designs during the mission era and their (un)suitability in the post-secularization period. My preliminary research has revealed several primary sources that elucidate this perspective. For example, mission art scholar Kurt Baer cites a letter written by Frs. Glauber and Zephyrin in the early 20th-century: "the Indians love the gaudy, loud, grotesque… it was the main thing for the Fathers to gain the Indians' trust… after all, they did not put up these buildings and then decorate them as they do for the benefit of future critics, but for the instruction and pleasure of the natives."[26]

By the 1930s, the centuries-old Black Legend (which demonized Spain and the Spanish Empire) had been almost reversed in California, primarily as a means for later generations to circumvent the region's Mexican cultural heritage. In its place, a new idea of a California mission myth and “Spanish fantasy heritage” emerged, as famously later summarized, for example, by journalist and historian Carey McWilliams in his 1946 *Southern California: An Island on the Land*.[27] Largely through the promotion of Andalusian-Moorish architectural styles and the collecting and display of paintings by masters of Spain’s Golden Age, this invented heritage for the state of California was presented at venues such as the Panama-California Exposition held in San Diego in 1915 [Figure 0.12] The Spanish Colonial Revival style popularized here (actually a blend of Spanish, Mexican and *Mudejar*) became key to the expression of California’s future, as well as its romantic past. Its use in the design of the exposition buildings was a way to anticipate the state’s “vital position within a mighty American empire.”[28] This romanticized Spanish heritage was intended to serve not only the “culturally-deprived” state of California (or the western frontier at large) but also a modern nation searching for a longer and richer history like Europe’s, but also distinct from it. While the literature stemming from McWilliams’s premise is vast, there has been no investigation of how the New Deal WPA agenda corresponded with the revival movements which preceded it, and whose ongoing effects overlapped it. These intersections will be addressed in this thesis.

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[25] For example, Erika Doss, "American Folk Art's Distinctive Character: The Index of American Design and New Deal Notions of Cultural Nationalism," in *Drawing on America's Past* (Washington, D.C. and Chapel Hill, 2 2), 61-73.

[26] Kurt Baer, *Architecture of the California Missions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958), 46.

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[27] Carey McWilliams, *Southern California: An Island on the Land* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1946).

[28] Phoebe S. Kropp, *California Vieja: Culture and Memory in a Modern American Place* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2 6), 104.

Materials and Methodology

While the Index of American Design is well known, it has not been well studied and its Southern California projects, in particular, have been little addressed by scholars.[29] This is surprising, given the large percentage of Index materials dealing with the California missions—more than fifty lithographs of mission facades and architecture, approximately five hundred watercolor renderings and at least the same number of photographs documenting wall painting, copper, woodwork, basketry, furniture, and architectural details, and Index data reports for each design rendered. In many cases, the Index watercolor renderings are the only surviving documentation of the original mission mural programs.

All the physical Index materials are held in the archives of the National Gallery in Washington, D.C. The Archives of American Art's oral history interviews with Index and WPA artists offer valuable information related to their activities in California, and the Library of the Smithsonian American Art Museum's papers of Ferdinand Perret, contain valuable photographic and journalistic material documenting the state of the walls before and during the Index visits to the missions. A subset of the California Index collection is available at the Seaver Center for Western History Research at the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County and a portfolio of their color print designs (based on the watercolor renderings) is housed in the Los Angeles Public Library's Special

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[29] The literature on the Index is limited to publications by the National Gallery, also holder of the Index materials. The most recent of these is Virginia Clayton Tuttle, *Drawing on America's Past: Folk Art, Modernism, and the Index of American Design* (Washington, D.C. and Chapel Hill: National Gallery of Art, 2 2).

Collections.[30] The Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library holds the papers of California mission art historians Norman Neuerburg, Kurt Baer, and mission art scholar Edith Webb, all of which have been valuable to this study. Neuerburg's papers related to his production of the murals at the Getty Villa were also consulted at the Getty Research Institute, as I believe there are strong links between this project and his late-20th century mission wall restorations. Other local collections, including the Braun Research Library Collection, Autry Museum of the American West, the Huntington Library, and the Bancroft Library, include a wide array of materials related to the art and architecture of the California missions. Primary source materials spanning three centuries were consulted, from 18th-century documents in the Archivo de Indias in Sevilla, Spain on mission pigments and shipments of artworks from Mexico to early 20th-century materials on Indian policy of the New Deal era and the uses of photography in the promotion of such. [31]

In addition to the wealth of visual materials, the Index published two illustrated essays on the topics of "Carved Ornamentation" and "Mission Motifs," neither of which has been studied or even mentioned in publications on California mission wall painting and decoration.[32] Index directors authored several reports on the progress of the Southern California projects at the missions, which provide insight into their specific agenda and planned uses of the designs. The Index also compiled annotated bibliographies, which were crucial to my understanding of the "historical" sources they relied on and their interpretation of them.[33]

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[30] Lanier Bartlett, *Decorative Art of Spanish California: Selected by the Index of American Design Southern California Project* (Works Progress Administration, no date.) This portfolio of 12 colored prints (selected by Bartlett from original sources by Hal B. Blakeley was not available or present in the National Gallery Collection. I viewed a copy of the full portfolio in the Los Angeles Public Library Central Branch's Rare Books room in 2020 and 2021. The National Gallery does hold copies of the individual screenprints based on original watercolor renderings by Hal B. Blakeley.

[31] Roy Stryker Papers, Bureau of Indian Affairs Papers of John Collier, Native Americans and the New Deal (microform): the office files of John Collier, 1933-1945, project editor Robert E. Lester, Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, c. 1993, reproduced from the Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, at the National Archives and Records Administration; and the Roy Stryker Papers, 1912-1972 (microform), Louisville: University of Louisville, University Archives and Records Center; Teaneck, NJ: Exclusive distribution by Chadwyck-Healey, 1978-1981; Melville, Annette. Farm Security Administration, historical section: a guide to textual records in the Library of Congress, prepared by Annette Melville. Washington: Library of Congress, 1985.

The Index written reports demonstrate a strong reliance on Franciscan-penned histories and art histories, as well as travelers' touristic descriptions of the visual culture of the missions, none of which were firmly rooted in the (scholarly) art historical discourses of the 1930s. In particular, the Index's bibliographic matter commonly references the writings of Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M. (1851/4-1934), a key Franciscan scholar whose volumes on mission history the Index frequently cite. [Figure 0.13] Engelhardt's chronological position between two phases of Franciscan American history--post-secularization, California statehood, removal of Spanish Franciscans/ replacement with early 20th century Franciscans-- presented the Index (and now current scholars) with a unique perspective for investigating the California wall paintings, most of which were produced circa 1810-1825, in relation to the Order's shifting art ideologies and agendas.

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[32] Dana Bartlett, with Lanier Bartlett and Hal Blakeley *Mission Motifs: A Collection of Decorative Details from Old Spanish Missions of California* (Los Angeles, CA: United States Works Progress Administration, Index of American Design Southern California, 1940) and Lanier Bartlett, *Carved Ornamentation of the California Mission Period* (Los Angeles, CA: United States Works Progress Administration, Index of American Design Southern California, 1940).

[33] Many of the Index bibliographies were compiled by artists and/or supervisors working at each mission. On August 15, 1939, for example, Lanier Bartlett, provided a typed list of "published material surveyed yesterday for mention of decorative design and decorated objects at Mission Santa Ines." On August 23, 1939, he listed additional materials on "California Mission History he had consulted at the "Public Library."442A Records of the Index of American Design, Subject Files- Spanish Colonial- Missions [Folder 1]. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. Gallery Archives.

Between the 1890s through the 1920s, Engelhardt published a series of individual mission histories (sixteen out of the twenty-one), as well as a four-volume series on the Franciscan missionaries of Baja and Alta California.[34] For both, he had consulted the publications of Hubert Howe Bancroft, as well as earlier settlers', friars' and administrators' letters and reports.[35] Later mission historians, including Father Francis J. Weber, a widely recognized American Franciscan scholar and archivist, recognized that while, in Engelhardt's writing, "the historian is frequently replaced by the zealot," and that he regularly defended the Order, correcting Bancroft and others, his histories represent a major contribution to the field of California mission history.[36] Given the heavy reliance on Engelhardt's volumes, the Index's written reports often take on the same zealous quality, which was also apparent in their interpretations and re-creations of the painted designs. The Index's commentary in these reports and research bibliographies alludes to parallels they identified between their own task as caretakers of these

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[34] Engelhardt, Zephyrin. "Mariano Payeras." *The Catholic Encyclopedia.* Volume 11, New York, NY: Robert Appleton Company, 1911. *Mission La Concepcion Purisima de Maria Santisima*. Santa Barbara: Mission Santa Barbara, 1932.Mission Nuestra Senora de la Soledad. Santa Barbara: Mission Santa Barbara, 1929. *Mission San Carlos Borromeo (Carmelo): The Father of the Missions.* Ramona: Ballena Press,1973. *Mission San Juan Bautista, A School of Church Music*. Santa Barbara: Mission Santa Barbara, 1931. *Mission San Luis Obispo in the Valley of the Bears*. Santa Barbara: Mission Santa Barbara, 1933. *Mission Santa Ines Virgen y Martir and Its Ecclesiastical Seminary*. Santa Barbara: Mission Santa Barbara, 1932. *San Antonio de Padua: The Mission in the Sierras*. Ramona: Ballena Press, 1972.*San Buenaventura: The Mission by the Sea*. Santa Barbara: Mission Santa Barbara1930.*San Diego Mission*. San Francisco: James H. Barry, 1920. *San Fernando Rey: The Mission of the Valley*. Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1927.*San Francisco or Mission Dolores*. Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1924. *San Gabriel Mission and the Beginnings of Los Angeles*. San Gabriel: Mission San Gabriel, 1927. *San Juan Capistrano Mission*. Los Angeles: Standard Printing, 1922. *San Luis Rey Mission*. San Francisco: James H. Barry, 1921. *San Miguel, Arcangel: The Mission on the Highway*. Santa Barbara: Mission Santa Barbara, 1929. *Santa Barbara Mission*. San Francisco: James H. Barry, 1923. *The Missions and Missionaries of California*. 4 vols. San Francisco: James H. Barry, 1908-1915.

[35] The American historian and ethnologist Hubert Howe Bancroft wrote the 7-volume *History of California* (San Francisco: History Company, 1884).

[36] Rev. Francis J. Weber, "Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M. Dean of California Mission Historians," *Southern California Quarterly*, Volume 47, Issue 3 (September 1965): 235-244.

“American” images (and the heritages they represent) and that of the Order, both in the mission era and into the 20th century.

Fr. Engelhardt’s conceptions of the Franciscan production of and uses of wall painting likely factored into the Index’s ambiguous conclusions.[37] Engelhardt alternated between attributing full authorship to the friars and recognizing the possible contributions of the “Indian neophytes.” For example, this brief excerpt from his 1915 *Missions and Missionaries in California* reveals his conclusion that the Native masons (and by extension, painters and artisans) were obedient workmen:

> The student of architecture can find in the United States to-day nothing more original in conception, more beautiful in design, than the ruined remains of the old California missions. It may have been an advantage to the Franciscans that their workmen, the untutored Indians, possessed no preconceived architectural ideas and obeyed implicitly the directions of the friars, who in turn, having no model to copy from, drew their inspiration direct from nature. Many of the missionaries developed a remarkable talent in designing and building. With them rests the honor of having created an original style of architecture, so harmoniously adapted to the blue skies, lofty mountains and fertile plains of California that ‘mission architecture’ has become a recognized and justly favorite type of building on the Pacific slope.[38]

Some of the questions posed by Engelhardt were of extreme interest to the Index: Is there a “Franciscan style?” What was original about their designs? Why did he highlight “United States?” Is the beauty only in the ruined state?

Engelhardt’s specific references to mission wall paintings are few, but his individual mission histories do include excerpts from mission art inventories and brief descriptions of church building chronologies, sometimes including their interior décor. These are drawn almost directly from limited inventories and reports written by priests in charge at each mission and visitors' accounts such as Duhaut-Cilly's and Alfred Robinson's.[39] His laudatory presentation of the role of the Franciscans in the building, design and decoration of Serran era mission churches (*Missions and Missionaries of California*, Vol. 1) is understandable, given his association with the Order and general knowledge of their commitment to evangelical art in the first wave of missionization in Alta California. However, in his accounts of missions built and outfitted during the Fermín Lasuén era (when the wall paintings documented by the Index were produced), he presents a different scenario in which Franciscan intent has diminished. Beginning in 18 , a royal decree (communicated by Father President Lasuén via a circular dated April 3, 1802) required that missionaries receive permission from the governor for any new building projects. Engelhardt reminded that "Art critics and other critics will do well to bear this in mind. The friars were not nearly so independent in the administration of the Missions as Bancroft, Hittell, and other superficial and malevolent writers would have the world believe."[40] While the design of Alta California churches themselves required the permission of the (new) government, it is unclear what the restrictions on wall painting and interior décor were. Engelhardt suggested that the state jurisdiction of interior design was not as stringent. For example, he wrote that the priests at Santa Barbara received approval on the design for a new church in 1820 and "meanwhile, the Fathers, solicitous for the beauty and serviceableness of the church goods, made many additions to the sacristy and sanctuary."[41] The significance of Engelhardt's opinion on this matter to the Index's interpretive approach is key to early 20th-century mission scholarship, as it allowed for the possibility of interior Native wall painting production under different and perhaps more lenient directives, circumstances and governance than the building and design of the church structures.

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[37] Engelhardt wrote *The Franciscans in California* in 1894; his work is significant in that it bridges the 19th and 20th centuries. *The Franciscans in California* (Harbor Springs, Michigan: Holy Childhood Indian School, 1894).

[38] Engelhardt, in *Missions and Missionaries of California Volume 4* (San Francisco: California: The James H. Barry Company,1915), Chapter XX, 586 (Hathitrust online version).

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[39] Engelhardt's, *Mission San Luis Rey,* for example, includes a reference to an 1808 inventory taken by Father Antonio Peyri, in which he lists the receipt of a "statue of San Luis Rey two *varas* and a quarter in height." 20. This volume also includes a direct excerpt from Robinson's 1829 visit, 69 and Duhaut-Cilly's visit, 56. Robinson described the colorful wall paintings at this mission but also commented on the priests' general mistreatment of the Natives. Engelhardt challenged Robinson's account: "There is absolutely no evidence that the Indians under Fr. Antonio were in any way ill-treated." 70. In his *Mission Santa Barbara*, Engelhardt included a full excerpt from an 1820 report/description of church interior written by Frs. Ripoll and Suñer, as translated by Fr. O'Keefe. 113. *Mission San Miguel* includes Engelhardt's lament regarding the lack of information on the church building and decoration: "nothing is reported on the subject, not even about the new church, until 1821. Even then only a scrap and information from descendants relate that in 1821 the interior of the new church, which had been completed in 1818, was painted and frescoed by Esteban Munrás of Monterey…" 25. *Mission Santa Ines* includes only a brief mention of the new church, completed on December 31, 1816: "the interior of which resembles that of Santa Barbara, according to the report of December 31, 1816 by Frs. (F.X.) Uria and (Roman) Ulibarri." 27.

Only brief treatments of the Index of American Design California mission project have appeared in published form, the foremost of these being the 2 9 Getty publication, "The California Missions: History, Art, and Preservation."[42] Several Index renderings are featured in a chapter on painters and painting in early California, in which the authors present a first step in reconstructing not only the images that once appeared on these mission walls, but a historiography of their restorations, beginning with the story of the Index's San Fernando "discovery."[43] The references to the Index visual materials in recent publications have been primarily illustrative, and include a call for more scholarship on this subject: "Even today, the magnificent historical documentation produced by the Index artists remains largely unknown, both to historians and the general public."[44]

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[40] Zephrytin Engelhardt, *Mission Santa Barbara* (San Francisco: The James H. Barry Company, 1923), 101.

[41] Engelhardt, *Mission Santa Barbara*, 104.

[42] Edna Kimbro, Julia Costello and Tevvy Ball, *The California Missions: History, Art and Conservation* (Los Angeles, Getty Conservation Institute, 2 9).

[43] Ibid, 129-149.

While there is a growing amount of scholarship on the art and architecture of the California missions, full studies of the wall paintings are scant, as are historical recordings of them.[45] The first real effort to consider the wall paintings specifically appeared in George Wharton James' 1916 *In and Out of the Missions of California: An*

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[44] Ibid, 146. Elizabeth Kryder-Reid, in her 2016 study of mission gardens as heritage sites, issues a call for a more critical study on the California Index restorations and how they may have distorted contemporary understandings of the missions. *California Mission Landscapes: Race, Memory, and the Politics of Heritage* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016), Notes to Chapter 1, fn 261.

[45] The Bancroft Library collection includes an unparalleled collection of drawings, writings, and paintings produced by early explorers in California. These include images collected by the La Perouse Expedition (1769), the Vancouver Expedition (1791-95), the Langsdorff Expedition (1806), the Romanzoff Expedition (1815-18) and the Rezanov Expedition (1816). Initiated by the geopolitical concerns of France, Russia and England, who were aiming to counter Spain's presence in the Pacific region, these expeditions were documented by artists who accompanied the leaders on their voyages—almost all of them include illustrations of the missions and their native inhabitants. The most relevant of these to California mission art and architecture scholars are the images produced by Ludovik Andrevitch Choris (1795-1828) and Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff (1774-1852). However, very few of these images feature mission interiors. Several photographers visited the missions in the 1850s and 1860s, but photo documentation is scarce during these decades. The California daguerreotypes of the American Robert Vance included images of Mission Dolores and San José, but these disappeared after the Civil War. Timothy O'Sullivan participated in one of the largest photographic projects documenting Catholic missions in the Southwest between 1867 and 1879, but his emphasis was on Arizona and New Mexico. By the late 1870s and 1880s, most of the missions had been photographed, and by the 1890s, images of the mission churches, interiors, landscapes, and architectural details were abundant. Carleton Watkins, who had come to California in 1851, met Robert Vance and began working for him in San Francisco; he soon made his own series of albumen prints of the California missions, and by the 1880s, had completed 160 photographs (including several mammoth plates) of this subject; the English-born Edward Muybridge produced a series of stereographs of the missions in 1873. Both of these artists documented the deteriorating states of the missions, but also emphasized their isolated landscapes using photographic approaches recognized as primarily "poetic" and artistic. Such picturesque imagery would figure prominently in the construction of the state's history in connection to its mission heritage and would prompt the restoration efforts and mission revival movements of the following years. Several local photography collections (California Museum of Photography, the Huntington Library, USC Special Collections, the Braun Library, the Natural History Museum, Los Angeles) hold the California mission prints and negatives of Carleton Watkins, C.C. Pierce, and Adam Vroman. These photographs are of great value to art historians, particularly for some of the interior views which illustrate the display of specific paintings and sculptures. In addition, they raise interpretive issues endemic to travel, tourist, and ethnographic photography.

Historical and Pictorial Account of the Franciscan Missions, where a short chapter is devoted to the topic.[46] James focused his commentary on the current state of the walls. He deemed the visual effects of restoration efforts to be "pathetic," arguing that the walls should have remained in their natural, plain, adobe state, which he found truer to the "simple dignity" of the architecture. Despite his inaccurate perceptions about the appearance of the mission-era walls, his text is accompanied by his own photographs, which are valuable documents of the state of these murals just before 1916, a few decades before the Index arrived and "restored" them again.[47]

It was not until the late twentieth century that another scholar focused attention on the California mission wall paintings. Norman Neuerburg's 1988 short illustrated publication, *The Decoration of the California Missions*, includes the results of his extensive research and provides a valuable starting point for the contemporary study of these paintings, but many of his conclusions are conjectural and weighted by his training in Greco-Roman Classics.[48] His main points are that these painted designs functioned as mere decoration, and that "almost all motifs used in mission wall decoration can be shown to have European origin."[49] Of the supposedly "native" designs that had been revealed and identified as such by the Index of American Design and other scholars, Kurt

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[46] James, George Wharton. "Interior Decorations of the Missions," Chapter XXX, in *In and Out of the Missions of California: An Historical and Pictorial Account of the Franciscan Missions* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1916), 330-342.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Norman Neuerburg, *The Decoration of the California Missions* (Santa Barbara: Bellerophon Press, 1991). See Appendix 1 for Neuerburg's summary of painted mission walls and their restorations.

[49] Georgia Lee, Norman Neuerburg, Norman, and California Indian Library Collections. "The Alta California Indians as Artists before and after Contact," in *Columbian Consequences, Volume 1: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on the Spanish Borderlands West,* ed. David Hurst Thomas. (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989), 476.

Baer argued that such motifs—triangles, checkerboards, zigzags—are “not peculiar to the California Indian, but are universal and appear in all regions and all periods of art.”[50]

While the literature on California mission wall paintings is uneven or scant, the vast amount of scholarship on 16th-18th century mission mural painting in Mexico and the Americas at large presents a range of approaches that will be useful to my study of the California wall paintings and the Index’s interpretations of them. While the efforts of Spanish Colonial art scholars Manuel Toussaint and Martin Soria represent a primary interest in categorizing mission murals based on stylistic evidence, George Kubler was one of the first to highlight the possibility of Indigenous agency as expressed iconographically in Mexican mission murals.[51] It is worth noting that Kubler’s early writings are contemporaneous with the Index project, and thus, connections, or, more interestingly, the lack of connections between their two agendas will be explored.

Following the larger American mission art subject area spearheaded by Kubler and Soria, more specific studies of Mendicant and Franciscan uses of art in American mission settings continue to be produced in the later 20th century.[52] Many of these still revolve around broad issues of Native vs. Spanish style and attribution, questions of great concern for the Index in their California mission studies in the 1930s. Current scholars of California mission art have much to learn from recent studies on 16th-century mission wall painting in Mexico, specifically in regard to the Franciscan modes of artistic training within these environments, but in this dissertation I pose an important counter-question: did these earlier pedagogies and Franciscan image theories and methods persist into the early 19th-century, when the California mission wall paintings under discussion were produced?

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[50] Baer, Kurt. “California Indian Art,” *The Americas*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (July 1959): 23-44.

[51] George Kubler, *Mexican Architecture of the Sixteenth Century,* Volume 2 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948), 479. See also his later but highly influential (to the field of Ancient Mesoamerican studies) *The Shape of Time: Remarks on the History of Things* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962) and his *Religious Architecture of New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1972).

[52] Most of these scholarly efforts have focused on the murals and fresco programs at San Xavier del Bac, Arizona, missions of Baja California, and Mexican Augustinian missions at Acolman, Actopán and Malinalco. Some of the standard English volumes on the topic of 16th-century Mexican mission wall painting are: Jeanette Favrot-Peterson, *The Paradise Garden Murals of Malinalco: Utopia and Empire in Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993 and 2015); Serge Gruzinski, “The Walls of Images,” Chapter 3 of *Images at War: Mexico from Columbus to Blade Runner* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2 1), 61-95; Jaime Lara, City, *Temple, Stage: Eschatological Architecture and Liturgical Theatrics in New Spain* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2 4); Samuel Edgerton, *Theaters of Conversion: Religious Architecture and Indian Artisans in Colonial Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2 1).

In their studies of sixteenth-century mendicant convent frescoes, Jeanette Favrot-Peterson and Eleanor Wake have presented the idea of mural painting as a frame or conduit for understanding the media within or surrounding it, including performance. Especially significant was Peterson's premise that post-conquest frescos are Indigenous survivals and transformations of Native mural traditions, while Wake presents new and valuable approaches to understanding the floral patterns and other Native motifs that frame images of an "Indo-Christian sacred" in sixteenth-century mendicant churches in Mexico Wake used the term "framing rituals" to describe the creation of a ritual spaces to which the Indigenous sacred could be called or enacted.[53] Such readings are long-overdue in the study of California mission art, and the flora and fauna that appear in the wall paintings, so I have reconsidered them here in light of Wake and Peterson's theories.

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[53] Wake, Eleanor, *Framing the Sacred: The Indian Churches of Early Colonial Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010), Chapter 6, "Painting and Sculpture in an Indo-Christian Context," 171-234 and Chapter 7, "Framing the Sacred," 235-257.

Likewise, an emphasis on Native American artistic agency and iconography has been forwarded by Yve Chavez, an art historian of Tongva descent who has provided a model for decolonizing California mission art studies in her 2017 dissertation, *Indigenous Artists, Ingenuity and Resistance at the California Missions After 1769*. Her study seeks to separate the European and Native product and agency, and thus, she did not include subjects such as the painted walls, which were usually joint projects of the Franciscans, Mexican artists, and neophytes. In the reverse, a chapter of Pamela J. Huckins' dissertation on California mission art deals with the extant fresco cycle at Mission San Miguel as a case study for understanding Franciscan liturgical iconography and Catholic doctrines such as the Holy Trinity but does not address the Native perspective.[54] In my project, I follow Wake's line of thinking that both the Franciscan patrons and Native artisans, even as early as the late sixteenth century, did not necessarily frame their joint artistic production in terms of "us" and "them." Rather, as Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn argue in their seminal essay on hybridity in Spanish colonial art, "certain mixtures become naturalized over time," and that for the colonial subject, heterogeneity was unremarkable; it is we (art historians) who recognize and name hybridity.[55]

Several recent scholars have addressed the racial and political associations of "whitewashed adobe", but few have examined what exactly (iconographically and physically) the white has concealed.[56] Edith Buckland Webb was the first of the early twentieth-century California mission scholars to initiate an in-depth material study of Indigenous art. In several passages of her lengthy study on Native pigments, we find evidence of her attempts to connect understand these materials in relation to Indigenous meaning, reception and artistic agency. Diana Magaloni and Gabriela Siracusano's recent investigations of materials and media in the colonial Americas highlight the connections between substance, reception, agency, temporality and spirituality; both provided a model for my investigation of the painted walls, whose early material studies by Webb and the Index have been contradictory and inconclusive.[57] My project draws heavily from the recent materiality studies focus in Spanish Colonial art scholarship, including Amy Buono's, who associated materials with achronicity as well as Dana Leibsohn, who has introduced materiality studies to the field of mission art history through her recent investigation of the physical makeup and significance of an early 19th-century Chumash presentation basket.[58]

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[54] Pamela J. Huckins, "Art in the Alta California Mission Churches, 1769-no end date," Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 2011.

[55] Carolyn Dean and Leibsohn, Dana, "Hybridity and its Discontents: Considering Visual Culture in Colonial Spanish America," *Colonial Latin American Review*, Vol. 12, no. 1 (2 3):5-6.

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[56] William Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe: The Rise of Los Angeles and the Remaking of its Mexican Past* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2 4). Kropp, *California Vieja*, Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landscapes*, Aaron Betsky, "The Wall and Its Dissolution: The Spanish Colonial Revival from Style to Vernacular," in *Myth and Mirage: Inland Southern California, Birth of the Spanish Colonial Revial*, ed. Catherine Gudis (Riverside, California: Riverside Art Museum, with assistance of Getty Foundation, 2017), 27-42, and Carolyn Schutten, "Voids of the Aggregate: Materializing Mexicans in Mission Revival and Spanish Colonial Revival in the Inland Empire," in *Myth and Mirage*, 111-132.

[57] Diana Magaloni Kerpel, *The Colors of the New World: Artists, Materials, and the Creation of the Florentine Codex* (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Museum, 2014) and Gabriela Siracusano, Pigments and Power in the Andes: from Material to the Symbolic in Andean Cultural Practices 15 -18 , (London: Archetype Publications Ltd., 2011).

[58] Amy Buono, "Historicity, Acrhronicity and the Materiality of Cultures in Colonial Brazil," *Getty Research Journal*, Volume 7, (2015): 19-34. and Dana Leibsohn, "Exchange and Value: The Material Culture of a Chumash Basket," in *Writing Material Culture History*, Anne Gerritsen, editor, and Giorgio Riello (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), 101-110.

Several recent treatments of the California missions in relation to early twentieth-century architectural revival movements and in the promotion of "the Spanish craze," provide an excellent framework from which to understand the Index's perception of mission art in the 1930s. Most fall into the category of California revisionist history, taking Carey McWilliams' concept of the Spanish fantasy heritage as their point of departure. These include the work of historian John Macias, who has taken Mission San Gabriel as the subject for his exploration of the shared agendas of the California tourism industry and the Claretian Fathers who have overseen the mission since 1908.[59] Recent examinations of the "allure of Spain," in the U.S. include Elizabeth Boone's, in which she emphasizes the role of contemporary literature in the creation of a more romantic version of Spanish America.[60] Richard L. Kagan explains the U.S. embracement of Spain as a "forgive and forget" action following the 1898 Spanish American War.[61]

Several recent scholars have dealt with the missions and their twentieth-century interpretations. Among these is Dr. Steven Hackel, whose work on Junípero Serra extends beyond the Mission Era to consider how this key figure has shaped California history and understandings of the missions up to the present.[62] Dr. Catherine Gudis has dealt with the missions as well, focusing on their perception and promotion by Anglo-Americans in the early twentieth centuries. Gudis collaborated with Hackel on an exhibit about Serra at the Huntington Library in 2013. Here, she presented examples of California mission postcards, printed memorabilia, souvenirs, orange crate labels, etc. as reminders of the vast material history these institutions and their promoters have generated—much of it contemporaneous with the Index project. Most recently, she contributed to the exhibition catalogue, "Myth and Mirage: Inland Southern California, Birthplace of the Spanish Colonial Revival." Significantly, Gudis argues that style should not be "denuded of politics, agency, and implication," and asks, "how do we put architectural style into a racial geography… (in a way) that acknowledges our own roles in producing meaning…and in deciphering what style might have meant to different people in different eras and localities."[63]

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[59] John Macias, dissertation chapter, "Mission Memories: Romance and Historical Interpretation in Mission San Gabriel," Claremont Graduate University, 2 9.

[60] Washington Irving's beautifully illustrated account of his travels through Andalusia, when coupled with the "progressive" novels and essays of Helen Hunt Jackson of the same era, did indeed provide a more positive picture of America's Spanish cultural heritage, igniting the spark for the Mission Revival in the late nineteenth century and the Spanish Colonial Revival in architecture of the early twentieth. M. Elizabeth Boone, "Books, Canvases and the Built Environment: The Allure of Spain in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," in Boone, Mary Elizabeth, Valerie Ann Leeds, and Hollis Koons McCullough, *Spanish Sojourns: Robert Henri and the Spirit of Spain* (Savannah, Georgia: Telfair Books, 2013).

[61] Richard L. Kagan, "The Invention of Junípero Serra and the 'Spanish Craze," in Stephen Hackel, ed. *Worlds of Junípero Serra: Eighteenth-Century Contexts and Nineteenth-Century Interpretations* (Berkeley and California: University of California Press, 2018), 227.

Another California-focused historian, Phoebe Kropp, writing about the Spanish Colonial Revival in architecture, recognizes that the "widespread appropriation of Indian, Spanish, and Mexican past is… so forceful that to disentangle romance and history, one would have to unravel race and nation itself."[64] Through a combination of stylistic and contextual analysis, I will similarly unravel the long-standing web of style, nationality and race in California mission art treatments, and present an interpretation of these designs from the perspectives of those who originally produced them, emphasizing the agency of the Indigenous artisans, but also of the Franciscans who oversaw their production. Likewise, Elizabeth Kryder-Reid has recently explored the results of the 20th-century invention of mission gardens as heritage sites. Presenting them as containers of political meaning and cultural memory, she discusses the gardens as sites of religious experience, romantic vision, Indigenous exploitation, nation building, and American identify formation. Elisabeth Haas has argued that images were not only a part of the Franciscan didactic agenda but were also used to foster interpretive responses and to create "communities of viewers with a shared experience."[65] Both Haas and Kryder-Reid present the physical and visual landscapes of the missions as part of a larger Indigenous landscape and system of knowledge. In this sense, I similarly argue that the mission wall paintings were not simply "motifs pulled out of pattern books," but images that were meant to be viewed from "the lens of indigenous epistemologies."[66] To reveal the federal co-opting and commodification of these designs and the positioning of the Native artists as "premodern other" during the New Deal era, as well as the similar Franciscan agenda during the mission era, I rely on decolonizing and indigenizing methodologies, following the recent models of art historians Yve Chavez, Tressa Berman, Ruth Phillips and

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[62] Steven W. Hackel, *Worlds of Serra: Eighteenth-Century Contexts and Nineteenth-Century Representations* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2018) and *Junípero Serra: California's Founding Father* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2013).

[63] Catherine Gudis, "The Aesthetics of Amnesia: Mapping Spanish Colonial Revival and Racial Geographies of Inland Southern California," in *Myth and Mirage*: *Inland Southern California, Birthplace of the Spanish Colonial Revival* (Riverside, California: Riverside Art Museum, with assistance of the Getty Foundation, 2017), 11-12.

[64] Phoebe Kropp, *California Vieja: Culture and Memory in a Modern American Place* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2 8), 13.

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[65] Haas, cited in Elizabeth Kryder- Reid, *California Mission Landscapes: Race, Memory and the Politics of Heritage*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016), 61.

[66] Kryder-Reid,106.

Jennifer McLerran [67] as well as recent examinations of the intersections of modernity, indigeneity, and indigenous temporalities.[68] I turn to Native Californian descendants and contemporary Native artists as a path for understanding the Indigenous knowledge systems and experiences of the mission era.

As this study is the first major effort to fully examine the art historical significance of the California Index project and its mission subject, my method involved close visual analysis of various Index products: I compare the Index's watercolor renderings alongside their related Data Report Sheets, and black and white documentary photographs they took of the same painted walls, and also with mission-era descriptions, pre-Index photographs of mission interiors, and the late 20th-century wall-painting restorations that visitors see today. I have identified formal differences between Index photographs and completed Index watercolor renderings with mission-era written descriptions and non-Index produced photographs of the mission interiors and present case studies of specific mural programs in order to deal with the various situations of Indigenous, Mexican, or European agency and authorship of the original images, artistic styles, designs and objects, which up to this point, have been conflated and misrepresented in the literature.

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[67] Chavez, "Indigenous Artists, Ingenuity and Resistance at the California Missions after 1769," dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 2018, Tressa Lynn Berman, No Deal! Indigenous Arts and the Politics of Possession (Santa Fe: Santa Fe School for Advanced Research Press, 2012), Ruth B. Philips, "Art History and the Native-made Object: New Discourses, Old Differences," in *Native American Art in the Twentieth Century: Makers, Meanings, Histories*, ed. By W. Jackson Rushing III (London and New York: Routledge, 1999, Jennifer McLerran, *A New Deal for Native Art: Indian Arts and Federal Policy* 1933-1943 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2012).

[68] Elizabeth Harney, Ruth B. Philips, *Mapping Modernisms: Art, Indigeneity, Colonialism* (Duke University Press, 2018) and Jessica L. Horton, *Art for an Undivided Earth: The American Indian Movement Generation* (Duke University Press, 2017).

I also carefully consider the national promotion of their SoCal Mission project and the exhibition strategies and materials they employed. I am interested in the ways in which the Index's watercolor renderings, many of which are modern translations of the original Native designs, have nonetheless been publicly promoted as "document" and "archive," serving as the factual reference and primary source for later and current restorations and interpretations. In this sense, my work challenges the physical, intellectual, political and cultural constructs of "the American archive" in both the 1930s and the present.[69] The intellectual and analytic frameworks processes that enable me to answer these questions include close looking, theories of decoloniality, hybridity, materiality and the history of style as well as a critical awareness of the after-the-fact constructedness of history.

California mission art and environments represent the product of multiple authorship-- Spanish, Creole, Mexican, U.S. American, mestizo, and Native American. To address this diversity, my study draws heavily from the fields of American (U.S.) art, Latin American art, Mexican art, Native American art and archaeology, Borderland Studies, and Material, Transatlantic, Post-Colonial and De-Colonial studies of the art of the Spanish empire.

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[69] In my reliance on contemporary Native American accounts, artworks and performances, I follow the model outlined by Diana Taylor in *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2 7). She offers performance studies as a way of rethinking the canon, which in the traditional academic sense, has relied on text and enduring materials. The performative can constitute what she calls "the repertoire," especially because of its distance from colonial discourses and normalization. She argues that following the conquest, native performative actions were displaced by writing, which for the Franciscans and other missionaries, represented power (and became synonymous with meaning itself). As a result, the performative repertoire has been banished into the past, and relegated to "ethnic memory."

Chapter Organization and Rationale

In the following chapters, several Index watercolor renderings, photographs and prints of mission designs will be examined. However, it is one large unsigned watercolor titled, "California Mission Studies" that most directly represents the Index's attempt to summarize their study of the California missions and has served as the rationale for my chapter content and organization. Reading this artwork/document—essentially, a (Spanish) colonial map produced in the New Deal era-- is not a straightforward exercise.[70] [Figure 0.14] The artist, Hal Blakely, has drawn a map of the state of California, with detailed renderings of the twenty-one mission churches positioned in the border. The entire composition is set within a *retablo*-like framework that is both Baroque and Neoclassical, a nod to the stylistic variety the Index encountered in the missions. Classical columns are topped by vases. Gilded cornices and a curvilinear pediment frame a shell motif. The "*retablo*" is painted in the same color scheme as most of the mission wall paintings and furniture. Compositionally and stylistically, the watercolor has much in common with 1930s tourist maps of the missions. [Figure 0.15] The Index map serves to direct an American/California "Grand Tour" of sorts, highlighting the main Pacific Coast Highway, which runs almost precisely along the original mission trail the Spanish Franciscan padres had laid out in the late 18th century. The land mass of Alta California is rendered in white with the famous El Camino Real delineated in gold leaf. Gold dots indicate the location of each of the missions, whose names are inscribed in blue calligraphic text. “La Mar del Sur” is painted blue, with some shading to indicate ranging water depths. The islands off the coasts of Northern and Southern California (including Catalina and the Channel Islands) float within the sea of blue. These unexplored, uncivilized islands are crisply outlined but not labeled. A Spanish ship sails in the blue waters, hovering above an image of Mission San Diego de Alcala, the first one founded. The mission building is surrounded by a golden frame, topped by a stylized California poppy, the state flower. Flanking the mission are large equally sized figures of a brown-robed Franciscan priest holding a cross-shaped staff and a Native man holding/presenting a glazed ceramic vessel. Stylistically, these two colorful characters convey the same bulk, roundness, fecundity and optimism found in the human figures featured in many 1930s WPA murals, which similarly glorified Anglo-American state and regional heroes.

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[70] One of these watercolor maps is in the collection of the San Gabriel Mission Museum. Another is in the collection of the National Gallery. Likely, the Index presented these poster-sized watercolors to several of the missions they visited.

Blakeley also produced a similarly styled map in which she has highlighted the Spanish and Mexican lands granted during the “Rancho” or what the Index called “Pastoral” period. [Figure 0.16] Part of the inscription on this brilliantly colored map informs us, that from this period, “some of the best-known localities in the State have inherited lilting names and romantic traditions that add color to life in the modern American communities of today.” The inscription continues, providing the specific dates in which these colored areas of the map became Spain and then Mexico—1822 until 1846, when they were finally “passed into possession of United States forces.” It was during this “Pastoral” period that many of the non-mission California objects the Index documented (furniture, saddles, woven blankets, clothing) were produced. Like the mapped land/territory itself, these objects were understood to be "inherited" by the United States. The twenty-one points (churches) and the Camino Real that featured so prominently in Blakeley's mission map have effectively disappeared in this schematic visualization of the state. Here, California is rendered as negative space, with empty colored blocks serving as reminders of both the Spanish and Mexican failures in these territories; the designs produced in these territories, like the land itself, becomes part of the nation's Manifest Destiny.[71] The map is bordered by vignettes of saddles, *serapes*, *señoritas* and *sombreros*—the positive and usable traditions that they have left behind for the U.S. to claim.

The history of the Franciscans and their missionary endeavors in California has traditionally been divided into three periods: "The Spanish Period," dating from the 1769 through 1821, "The Mexican Period," dating from 1823/5 through 1846; and the "American Period," dating from 1848 through the present.[72] Though the Spanish Franciscans (and Jesuits) had also established missions in Baja California, Florida, Arizona, Texas during the "Spanish Period," the Index concluded that "The areas that comprised of what can now be called the "Spanish Southwest" were California and New Mexico."[73]

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[71] This term was coined in1845 by newspaper editor John O'Sullivan to describe the ideology of continental expansionism and the belief that white Americans were destined/divinely ordained to claim and settle the North American continent. The ideology is most associated with U.S. President James Polk 1845-1849, who led the U.S. to victory over Mexico in the Mexican-American War, resulting in the transfer of Mexican and SW territories. The promotion of Manifest Destiny also led to increased conflicts between Anglo-Americans and Native Americans, resulting in the passing of the Indian Removal Bill in 1830 under Andrew Jackson.

[72] In fact, this chronological system is used on the U.S. American Franciscan website to present their own history. https://usfranciscans.org/home/history/

The SoCal Index's renderings of the mission wall paintings are today included in a National Gallery online slide feature entitled "Folk Arts of the Spanish Southwest from the Index of American Design" alongside designs from several New Mexico missions rendered by the New Mexico Index.[74] This geographic categorization is based on Erwin O. Christenson's 1950 summative volume, *The Index of American Design*, in which the mission wall painting and mission object renderings are lumped into a chapter entitled, "Saints and Saddles." Christensen's chronological framework is slightly different than the traditional (Franciscan) version. He explains that "Historically, three divisions may be distinguished: Spanish rule, from the reconquest of New Mexico to Mexican Independence (1692-1820), the Mexican Republic (1820-1850), and the American period, after these regions came into the Union (1850)…In the ranch or pastoral period… (1820-1850) the influence of the missions decreased….The Spanish period is responsible for the missions… Saddles and spurs here illustrated are from the end of the Mexican or the early American period."[75] Chronologically, he created a clear divide between art and design production of the Spanish mission era and the Pastoral early American era, but at the same time makes no distinction between the "saints and saddles" of the Southwest region.

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[73] Per current (2021) NGA website "Folk Arts of the Spanish Southwest from the Index of American Design. https://www.nga.gov/features/slideshows/folk-arts-of-the-spanish-southwest-from-the-index-of-american-de.html

The wording comes from the Index's earlier determination (i.e. Christensen, *Index*, 1950, 29) of their geographic scope. The Index's editing of the geographic regions that historically comprised the "Spanish" mission territories to only two large states is worth questioning: For them, what about New Mexico and California better characterized the "Spanish Southwest" than the other aforementioned states? The larger number of missions? The relative "success" of these missions? The physical survival of more mission structures and designs?

[74] https://www.nga.gov/features/slideshows/folk-arts-of-the-spanish-southwest-from-the-index-of-american-de.html

While Blakeley's California mission map was meant to symbolize the Index's mission studies, including the wall paintings, in some of their reports, the same paintings were categorized as "California Pastoral," corresponding with Hal Blakeley's second map of "Pastoral" California. [76] These contradictions in the Index's chronological and geographic location of the mission wall paintings point to one of the key premises of this dissertation. The fact that the Index (and Christensen) couldn't agree on how to categorize or catalogue these designs in the 1930s and beyond speaks to their multicultural complexities and given their production on shifting borderlands, the possibility that they represent not only part of the history of U.S. art, but of a larger "Art of the Americas."

The secularization of the California missions in the 1830s was a direct result of Mexican laws enacted after their War of Independence from Spain (1810-1821). Less than five years after the production of the mission wall paintings (documented by the Index), the missions were secularized and placed under the control of the Mexican government. Mexican Franciscan priests replaced the Spanish Franciscans in Alta California. Shortly after their secularization and during this transition, many California mission buildings and their visual programs fell into ruin, though some were preserved or renovated. Though the California missions were "not on the radar" of the U.S. at the time of the wall painting production, c. 1810-25, the fact that the secularization of the missions also historically corresponds with the U.S. Jacksonian-era policies and institutions (1829-1837) brings up key concerns for this study. For example, how did the eventual care/maintenance or removal of the painted walls directly or indirectly relate to Jacksonian policies, namely, the 1830 Indian Removal Act?[77] The U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs had been established in 1824 (around the same time as the production of the wall paintings). The Bureau's original purpose was to assist in federal trade and treaties to assimilate Native Americans into the dominant culture. Fast forwarding one hundred years, the BIA mission and federal Indian policies shifted quite dramatically during the New Deal. In 1935, the Indian Arts and Crafts Board was established "to promote the economic development of American Indians and Alaska Natives through the expansion of the Indian arts and crafts market."[78] A consideration of these changing U.S. Native American policies in relation to the Index's treatment of the mission designs is essential. It may help to explain why the Index's placement (Pastoral, but also Spanish Colonial) of the mission designs was so ambiguous. The contradictory Mexican, Jacksonian and New Deal policies frame the acts of production, deterioration, destruction, physical restoration/resurgence, and the renewal of national interest in the Native mission wall paintings to be discussed here.

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[75] Erwin O. Christensen, "Saints and Saddles," in *Index of American Design*, with Introduction by Holger Cahill, National Gallery of Art, 1950, 29.

[76] Most of the typed reports summarizing the Index's research at individual missions begins with a headings such as: "Page 1 6/1/38 HM, MISSION: SAN LUIS REY de FRANCIA, Period: 1796-1848 California Pastoral," 442A Records of the Index of American Design, Subject Files: Spanish Colonial Missions-Folder 1, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. Gallery Archives.

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[77] Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848* (New York: The Oxford History of the United States series, Oxford University Press, 2 7). See pages 352-358 for Howe's account of the Indian Removal.

[78] For the Indian Arts and Crafts Board full stated mission, see doi.gov/iacb.

While Blakeley's "land grant" map indicates the Index's interest in understanding the complex transition of these lands from Spain to Mexico to California (and the crafts and designs produced therein), their study of mission wall painting and design would be positioned primarily within the context of the first "mission era" map. Both maps speak to the Index's adoption of a settler colonialist attitude—they position the artworks that arose from this soil as representative of cultural fusions that could only come out of European settlement.

Elizabeth Harney and Ruth B. Phillips explain that "Maps, as the critical literature shows, are heavily loaded documents. Since the Renaissance, cartographic imaging has invented modern spaces, turning abstractions into imperialist representations that could be wielded as a means to know, to contain, and control space."[79] While the Index's map of the California missions certainly/obviously exemplifies these colonialist acts, their written goals/intentions for their California mission study complicates them.

In Blakeley's mission map, the use of the present tense in the first sentence of a lengthy textual inscription indicates that their work in Southern California was still in progress. It reads:

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[79] Elizabeth Harney and Ruth B. Phillips, "Introduction: Inside Modernity: Indigeneity, Coloniality, Modernisms," 9, in Elizabeth Harney and Ruth B. Phillips, editors, *Mapping Modernisms: Art, Indigeneity, Colonialism* (Duke University Press, 2018). (The authors draw some of their ideas from Robert Nelson's, "The Map of Art History," *Art Bulletin* 79, no. 1 March 1997: 28-40.) For an excellent treatment of Spanish Colonial cartography, see Barbara Mundy's *The Mapping of New Spain: Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaciones Geograficas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

> The first comprehensive study of mission design in all its applications is that of the Index of American Design which is making a nation-wide pictorial survey of the early American decorative arts.
>
> Cultural history in California started with the blazing of “El Camino Real” by the padre-pioneers, who brought new forms and needs to a frontier occupied by primitive peoples.
> Ecclesiastical architecture, furniture and decoration were first to appear, shortly followed by objects of utilitarian purposes.
>
> Motifs of mission decoration include the shell, flame, and geometric forms, but each is influenced by the architectural training of the padres or imported teachers whose plans were executed by neophyte Indians.
>
> The pioneer-priests’ culture was trifold: namely Moorish, Spanish and Italian. The native culture fused with that of the padres and is shown in the frieze of California poppies above a Moorish arch. The Indians’ palette of native earths, as well as their local crafts, will be found in remaining decorative items of the Mission Period.
>
> From public museums and private collections, as well as directly from the remaining missions, Index records in painting, photography and research work have brought together in one portfolio the widely scattered evidence of the settlement of California.

This summary of their complex “multicultural” interests, as inscribed on their colonial map of California, serves as the basis for my content selection and organization of the proceeding chapters. They are framed around the Index’s focus on the separate but intersecting roles of “the neophyte Indians,” “the pioneer padres,” and the significance of “the Indians’ palette of native earths.” My goal is to reveal the contradictions of these competing interests and to demonstrate the ways in which the Index images and texts often undercut (if not in the 30s, then now) their assumed nationalist and colonialist intentions.

In Chapter One, “Index and Nation,” I introduce the Index of American Design’s nationwide project and archival product. I present a brief institutional history of the

Federal Art Projects' Index of American Design in relation to the evolving construct of modern American art and its usable past during the interwar years. I explore the concept of a "usable past," both within the specific context of the New Deal era and in relation to the broader theories, processes and constructions of U.S. nation-building, nationhood, and national identity.[80] I discuss its organizers' goals, rationales and modes of implementation on both the national and regional levels. Through my analyses of the writings and backgrounds of its key federal organizers, including Holger Cahill (FAP Director), cultural historian Constance Rourke (National Editor), Adolph Glassgold (National Editor) and artist/textile designer Ruth Reeves (National Coordinator and Field Supervisor), I define the relationship between the Index's goals and evolving conceptions of modern American art then circulating amongst artists, intellectuals, arts administrators, art institutions and collectors during the New Deal era. The terminology employed by the Index administrators was not unique to the 1930s—when they came to the project, they were already well-versed in the modern aesthetic constructs and labels which American artists and intellectuals had established in the first two decades of the 20th-century. Despite the Index's association with an American leftist and liberal artistic milieu, the democratic goals of its national Index project were varied and often contradictory. In fact, its alignment with earlier Progressive era attempts to ally art and industry resulted in the use of "American" designs toward the ends of economic production and consumer capitalism. While the Index project's intended audiences were diverse, and it largely sought to identify “folk” and “indigenous” design of the United States, its troubled understanding of truly *Indigenous* design-- Native American-- would greatly impact its Southern California mission project, the main subject of this dissertation.

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[80] There is a substantial amount of literature on these constructs, but particularly useful to this study are those that consider the idea of nations as invented or imagined, such as Benedict Anderson (1983) and Eric Hobsbawm (1983), to be discussed further and cited in Chapter One: Index and Nation.

In Chapter Two, “Native Painting as a Usable Past,” I explain how, in their project of transforming California mission designs into the realm of the national, the Index centered on **Native** designs, specifically. Following the Index’s assumption that particular designs were indeed produced by Native artists, I demonstrate how the resulting federally-created archive has influenced our contemporary understandings of both the California “Mission Motifs” and the Native cultures that produced them.[81] The study of these designs from a Native perspective is long overdue. Thus, this chapter includes the voices of tribal nation representatives, who led me to explore the Native meanings, agency, intention, reception and resistance of these images, both in the mission era and into the present day. The incorporation of these contemporary native perspectives has led me to consider the complex relationship between temporality and nationalism: the

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[81] Title of booklet published by the Index of American Design, n.d. Monograph No. 2, edited by Lanier Bartlett, drawings by Dana Bartlett and Hal Blakeley. Edith Webb Papers, Santa Barbara Mission Museum Archive and Index of American Art Southern California Project File, National Gallery. Some art historians have recently questioned the attribution of the wall paintings to be discussed here to Native artisans based on stylistic evidence alone. (Clara Bargellini, “Clusters of Meaning: The Arts of the California Missions,” in *California Mexicana: Missions to Murals, 1820-1930* (Laguna Beach, California: Laguna Art Museum in association with University of California Press, 2017), 35. The Index based their attributions primarily on their visual analysis but supported them with evidence gleaned through traditional mission histories and interviews with priests, who in turn had relied on first-hand accounts such as the writings of Fernando Librado Kitsepwawit (1839-1915), a Chumash artist interviewed by the ethnographer J.P. Harrington in 1912. Librado spoke about the role of and the techniques used by Native artisans in the decoration of mission churches in the Santa Barbara area in the decade before his birth and in his lifetime. See John Peabody Harrington, *Breath of the Sun: Life in Early California as told by a Chumash Indian* Travis Hudson, editor (Banning, California: Malki Museum Press, Ventura County Historical Society, 1979 and 1980). On the other hand, there is also documentation of priests participating in the painting. For example, Father President Fermin Lasuén, remembered that Father Esteban Tapis decorated the walls around the altar. (Norman Neuerburg, *Decoration*, 58.)

Index's construction of a usable past via indigenous mission art also required a keen manipulation of the nation's art historical present and future; in this construction, they ignored the Native conceptions of time so central to the interpretation of the original paintings. Examples of this will be seen in two case studies featured in this chapter: the Index's studies of wall paintings at Mission San Fernando Rey and at the *asistencia* of Mission San Luis Rey, San Antonio de Pala. The Index's interest in highlighting Indigenous agency is one that contradicts Federal Art Project Director Cahill's deliberate exclusion of Native American art from the project, and thus, will be examined in relation to policies of the Bureau of Indian Affairs during this period the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act, an initiative of John Collier, Commissioner of the BIA from 1934-1945.[82]

In Chapter Three, "Franciscana as a Usable Past," I pose the question: How and why did the Index believe imagery related to a medieval Italian Catholic Mendicant Order and its founder could be so usable to Anglo-American modern artists and audiences? The histories of American art that had been written by the 1930s rarely incorporated the nation's Catholic or Spanish heritages, and thus, the Franciscan missions provided a new, relatively untouched, exciting and rich artistic legacy that U.S. American artists could draw from, and that Californians in particular could then claim as their own heritage. The Index recognized that this legacy was not uniquely expressed in the art and architecture of the California and Southwest missions but could be traced all the way back to medieval Europe and St. Francis himself. The majority of the Alta California missions were established in the late eighteenth century, but their landscapes, visual programs and stylistic features continued to evolve throughout the long nineteenth. This chapter will consider a particular moment and situation --1810-1825-- years during which Franciscan friars reportedly supervised Native artisans in the production of wall paintings at several missions, including San Fernando Rey, Santa Ines, Santa Barbara, San Luis Rey and the Asistencia at Pala. Though the Index was often interested in identifying Native contributions to the wall paintings (as evidenced in their studies at San Fernando), in most of their written reports, they concluded that the designers of these visual programs were the Spanish Franciscans. Instead of examining them within the general framework of Early and Late Colonial mendicant conversion efforts and artistic pedagogies in the New World, I follow leads from the Index' written reports in which they emphasize the biographies of individual Spanish Franciscan priests and the Spanish and/ or Mexican artists and architects they commissioned. I (re)situate their production and interpretation within the context of contemporary Native uprisings, earthquakes, the simultaneous rise of the Mexican Independence movement and promotion of Neoclassicism in the Mexican (art) Academy of San Carlos, the impending secularization of the missions and the shifting dynamics between individual Franciscans and their "neophyte charges" during this tumultuous decade. By bringing this new reading, I believe they will become more "usable" to the national project that the Index set out to complete in the 1930s.

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[82] Often referred to as "The Indian New Deal," its goal was to reverse assimilationist policies and strengthen and encourage Indian culture and traditions.

The falling plaster and revelation of three layers of pigments on the walls at Mission San Fernando sparked the California Index's specific interest in materials, one that distinguished theirs from the other state Index projects. In Chapter Four, "Indexing Materiality and Meaning,” I closely analyze Warren W. Lemmon’s report, “The Study of Early American Wall Painting in Southern California,” whose titled alone reveals the author’s interest in presenting this regional product as part of a national art history. His study includes detailed description of materials, processes and pigments used by the original painters and by the Index in the production of their renderings and “re-creations” of the same walls—at times, these descriptions are intermingled. I suggest that the Index’s involvement with the same pigments and materials was something of a physical reenactment of and re-engagement with the past. The Index’s conclusions are compared with California mission materials inventory and shipment records I viewed at the Archivo General de Indias in Sevilla, Edith Webb’s contemporaneous pigment studies, as well as material studies of the mission wall paintings by late 20th-century mission historians and 21st-century conservation and restoration experts.

In the 1930s, the Index hoped the California mission designs, in particular could provide an important link between Native artists, Spanish Franciscan history, and developing modern art traditions, but soon after the dissolution of the WPA and the Index, were deemed “unusable” and, for the most part, forgotten. In the concluding chapter, “After the Index,” I examine the immediate results of the California Mission Index Project in the construction of a state and national cultural/artistic identity in the 1930s and 40s, as well as its impact on California Mission Studies and restoration efforts in the years following its dissolution. After a critical analysis of the California Index’s nationalist motives and project success, I measure the continued “usefulness” and implications of placing California Mission art into an American archive model in the twenty-first century.

CHAPTER I: Index, Indigeneity and Nation

Formulation of the Index and the Question of Indigeneity

In December of 1935, American textile designer Ruth Reeves met with Federal Art Project Director Holger Cahill in Washington, D.C. She carried a 1929 copy of the European pattern book popularly known as *Wehye's Ornamen*t as a prototype for her proposed project: a pictorial "index" or catalogue of American design. The Wehye volume was a large folio of colored lithographs based on Helmut Theodor Bossert's watercolors of historical designs, categorized by region and culture.[1] [Figure 1.1] At the time of its original 1924 publication, *Ornament* was meant to serve as a reference and inspiration for artists, who in their quest for modernity had ignored the vast global and local traditions available to them, namely, historic motifs as they appeared in the applied arts. [2] Both European and American modern art of the early 20th century was marked by an engagement with “primitive” and “indigenous” sources. Often, the resulting appropriations illustrated contradictory yet simultaneous imperialist goals: the modernist celebration, recognition and possession of non-western artistic traditions.

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[1] Virgnia Tuttle Clayton, "Picturing a Useable Past," in *Drawing on America's Past: Folk Art, Modernism and the Index of American Design* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art; Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2 2), 6. Bossert's volume was originally published in 1924 as *Das Ornamenwerk,* then in 1928 as *Ornament as Applied Art*; the 1929 edition became popularly known as "*Weyhe's Ornament*." Helmuth Theodor Bossert, *Ornament in Applied Art* (New York: E. Weyhe, 1928). Its original publication and promotion in Germany followed Alois Riegl's attempt to create a continuous history of ornament and draws from his ideas about the relationship between cultures, nations and their design traditions. Alois Riegl. *Stilfragen: Grundlegungen zu einer Geschichte der Ornamentik (Problems of Style: Foundations for a History of Ornament)* (Berlin, 1893).

[2] Textile designer Ruth Reeves, along with New York Public librarian Romana Javitz, are credited with conceiving the original project. Cahill recounts that Reeves, "who was the missionary of the Index idea, brought it to the attention of the WPA official in Washington and to Edward Bruce, head of the Section of Painting and Sculpture. Mrs. Pollak immediately saw the Index as a solution for the problem of commercial artist unemployment and asked Miss Javitz to formulate a plan. This plan was completed in July 1935, but because of difficulties in finding public sponsorship, the Index remained largely in the planning state until after the organization of the Federal Art Project in October of that year." Cahill, in Cahill and Christensen, *The Index of American Design*, (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1950), xii. Javitz and Reeves made their original proposal to Frances M. Pollak, director of art projects for the Emergency Relief Bureau in New York City and Carl Tranum, a senior project WPA supervisor in the same New York City Office. A government memo indicates the official approval of the project: "the Index of American Design Project may be set up immediately. It will be a nation-wide project operated in the states under the regulations set down in the Federal Art Project Manual of October 1935." Federal Art Project, "Instructions for Index of American

A few years before the Cahill-Reeves meeting, New York Public Library head of picture collections Romana Javitz had also recognized the lack of visual resources for both modern American artists and the general public: “the American designer began to seek his own country, the peoples of his own land and their arts as inspiration for his design. For him pictorial research sources were completely inadequate.”[3] In New York, she and Reeves initiated the production of a catalogue of indigenous American designs, or what Javitz later referred to as an “index to the past of our national culture.”[4]

In their attempts to create an American version of *Weyhe’s Ornament*, organizers and administrators of the Index of American Design needed to address such questions as: What would this national history of American design look like? In what types of objects was this history manifest? How would modernity be consolidated and what was the

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Design,” January 1936, Holger Cahill Papers, 1910-1993, bulk 1910-1960, Series: Articles and Reports from 1936, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. Also see Cahill, “Introduction” in Christensen, *Index*, xii: “The Index of American Design was organized as a nationwide activity in two meetings of the Federal Art Project national staff, December 7 and 8, 1935.” In addition to *Weyhe’s Ornament*, other European pattern books such as M.A. Racinet’s, *L’Ornement PolyChrome: Cent planches en couleurs oret argent contenant environ 2, 0 motifs de tous les styles* (Paris: Librarie de Firmin Didot, 1869-1873, English translation London: H. Southeran, 1873) would serve as the conceptual, formal and physical models for both their original New York and the later national Index projects.

[3] Romana Javitz to Holger Cahill, April 29, 1949: 2. Unmicrofilmed Cahill Papers, Box 7, Index of American Design, 1935-1949, Archives of American Art.

[4] Romana Javitz to Holger Cahill, April 29, 1949: 2. Reeves and Javowitz were among several women who were involved in both the original NYPL and the federally-funded Index project. See Claire Richter Sherman, “The Traditions Continues (1930-1979),” in *Women Interpreters of the Visual Arts, 1820-1979*, ed. Claire Richter Sherman with Adele M. Holcomb, (Westport, Connecticut, 1981), 82. In July of 1935 the pair had formally proposed the project to New York’s Temporary Emergency Relief Administration, who responded favorably. Following this, they decided to take the project to a national level and proposed it to Cahill, who had recently assumed Directorship of the FAP.

proper role of the past in this process? And most importantly, which "American" pasts should be included or deemed usable? Though they aimed to identify "indigenous" sources for an American modern art distinct from Europe's, the fact is that they defined European-derived folk traditions as "native" enough for their nation-wide project. From its inception, the Index project inherited the European colonialist acts of selecting, categorizing, and appropriating cultures and their loosely-defined "indigenous" design motifs towards modern national aims. [Figure 1.2] Understanding the Index of American Design's national project (and its broad understanding of indigeneity in relation to New Deal-era national identity) is crucial to positioning the California missions and the SoCal Index project (and its narrower understanding of Native/Indigenous) within it. In this chapter I describe modern American art's distinct engagement with indigeneity as it was expressed and defined by the national Index administrators, as well as the early 20th-century American artists, critics and related institutions they collaborated with.

While the other Federal Art Programs were aimed at producing new images of contemporary American society and/or its vision of it, the Index was the only one of the visual art Divisions that emphasized the materializing of its (art/design) history in a catalogue format. During the short time of the Index's existence, historical materialism was rapidly gaining value. It is no coincidence that the National Archives opened in 1937, just one year after the Index of American Design was initiated. The Stock Market Crash of 1929, of course, had been the direct catalyst for the establishment of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal art programs. The main purpose of the Works Progress Administration's (WPA), under which the Federal Arts Projects' (FAP) Index of

American Design functioned, was to provide emergency financial relief for the country's artists, writers and musicians.[5] Some scholars have argued that the Great Depression "marked an intellectual as well as an economic watershed in American history… a change in the national mind; the very threat of adversity awakened a new social consciousness."[6] This was the era of the national catalogue and national preservation of sites such as colonial Williamsburg. The nation moved firmly and swiftly into a project of economic (and psychological) recovery that took the form of the physical recovery, rediscovery, preservation and indexing of artifacts, documents, and folklore. This taking of cultural stock was aptly described by contemporary literary critic Alfred Kazin: "the drive toward national inventory began by reporting the ravages of the depression and ended by reporting on the national inheritance."[7] The Index was certainly involved in the latter task; but the determination of this inheritance would first involve the selection of certain American "folk."

Art historian Erika Doss has noted that, "While the New Deal programmes embraced ethnic and aesthetic diversity, they did so from the vantage point of cultural nationalism."[8] This statement couldn't be more descriptive/summative of the Index project at large. From the onset, its scope (on both the state and national levels) was limited. These limitations, for the most part, were based on the various administrators' misunderstandings and misapplications of ethnographic and cultural terms, and, for practical reasons, their situation on the East Coast. An East Coast bias, of course, had long plagued the historiography of American art in general, and though the Index were more inclusive in terms of their selected media and object types (they saw their own inclusion of folk art and popular art designs and objects as a clear rejection of an American art history consisting solely of traditional oil on canvas paintings) their cultural biases remained consistent with an American history and identity rooted in Plymouth Rock. Only in their Southern California and Southwest projects would Native American art come into play, though it would be contextualized as Spanish Colonial—how and why the Index incorporated Native designs into the Southern California state project will be the key questions addressed in Chapter 2.[9] Here (first), I consider the ramifications of their exclusion from the larger national project.

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[5] From 1935-1945, the FAP, together with the Treasury Department's Section of Fine Arts, and the Farm Security Administration (FSA) photographic project, put 12, 0 American artists to work, resulting in 3,350 public murals, 18, 0 easel paintings, 250, 0 prints, 2 million posters, and 5 , 0 photographs. Erika Doss, *A New Deal for the Arts*, 99. The Public Works of Art Project (PWAP) was originally organized under the 1933 Treasury-funded Civil Works Administration (CWA); the PWAP only lasted about 7 months. Also in 1933, the Treasury Relief Art Project (TRAP) was established, with a "Section of Painting and Sculpture" under its administration.

[6] Alfred Haworth Jones, "The Search for a Usable American Past in the New Deal Era," *American Quarterly*, Vol. 23, No. 5 (Dec. 1971): 710.

[7] Alfred Kazin, *On Native Grounds: An Interpretation of Modern American Prose Literature* (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1942), 487.

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[8] See Erika Doss, "A New Deal for the Arts" The Great Depression," in *Twentieth-Century American Art*, (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2 6), 114, in reference to assimilationist goals of federally-sponsored Santa Fe Indian School. She applies the same point the Index, who similarly "tended to reinforce limiting, stereotypical understandings of ethnic (or 'folk') art and artists and obscured complex, colonial relations of power between dominant government policies and agencies and indigenous subjects." For more on this relationship, see Jennifer McLerran, "Inventing 'Indian' Art: New Deal Indian Policy and the Native Artist as Natural Resource," PhD dissertation, University of Washington, 1999.

[9] Despite the Index's success in expanding its regional scope in their SoCal project, the cultural criteria remained focused on the Spanish (European) element of the Southwest. Native American art was deliberately excluded, though a handful of renderings of "Indian" crafts made it in. For example, see Ethel Dougan, *Saddle Blanket*, 1939, Index of American Design 1943.8.14718 and Gordena Jackson, *Indian Basket*, 1938, Index of American Design 1943.8.8118. Virginia Tuttle Clayton notes that Cahill was finally able to "close the gap," noting that the Index catalogue would end up containing 950 renderings of Spanish Colonial, in comparison with the 350 Shaker and approximately 6 Pennsylvania German renderings. See Virginia Tuttle Clayton,

Cahill, who had experience in the exhibition of both American folk and modern art, would play a major role in these federal acts of selectivity.[10] He immediately took an interest in Reeve's project and after adjusting its scope to exclude Native American Art, he created the Index of American Design in 1935, which he went on to direct from 1936-1942.[11] Native American Art had been a significant element of Reeves' original proposal and she argued for its inclusion, but Cahill pointed to its assumed coverage in two recent government-sponsored programs: the Indian Arts and Crafts Board (sponsored by the Department of the Interior) and a "record of American Indian design" was initiated by Frederick Huntington Douglas in 1932.[12] In 1935, Reeves noted that approximately 75-1

"Picturing a Usable Past," in *Drawing on Americas's Past: Folk Art, Modernism and the Index of American Design* (Washington, D.C. and Chapel Hill: National Gallery of Art and University of North Carolina Press, 2 2), 22. She also notes that "Spanish Southwestern was the most fully represented regional art in the Index of American Design, indicating its priority among Index staff." "Picturing a Usable Past," 10.

[10] Cahill's related exhibitions and writings on folk art include: Holger Cahill, American Primitives: An Exhibit of the Paintings of Nineteenth-Century Folk Artists (Newark: NJ: Newark Museum, 1930), American Folk Art: Art of the Common Man in America, 1750-19 (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1932), "Folk Art: Its Place in the American Tradition," Parnassus 4 (3): 104, 1932. Sources of Modern Art (Museum of Modern Art, 1933), "American Resources in the Arts," in Art for the Millions: Essays from the 1930s by Artists and Administrators of the WPA Federal Art Project, ed. Francis V. O'Connor, (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1936), 33-44, New Horizons in American Art (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1936), "Introduction," in The Index of American Design, ed. Erwin O. Christensen (New York: Macmillan, 1950, ix-xvii), The Reminiscences of Holger Cahill, Columbia Oral History Collection. New York: Columbia University. Holger Cahill Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

[11] The WPA's Federal Project 1 was subdivided into four sections: Federal Writers, Federal Theater, Federal Music, and Federal Arts.11 Holger Cahill (1887-1960) was named Director of the FAP in the fall of 1935. The Index of American Design was a subcategory of Federal Project 1 Part 4, which also included subcategories for murals, graphic arts, prints, and photographs.

[12] Cahill in Christensen, *Index*, 1950, xi. Douglas was named curator of Indian Art at the Denver Art Museum in 1929; he served as director there 1940-42 and as Commissioner of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board. With René d'Harnancourt he curated the 1941 MOMA exhibition, "Indian Arts of the United States" and supported the innovation and modern adaptation of Native American arts and crafts. His writings on Native American art include the MOMA exhibition catalogue Indian Art of the United States, 1941, and the Denver Art Museum Indian Leaflet Series. The MOMA catalogue includes hundreds of black and white photographs of objects from the exhibition, but only features a handful of "designs" on its end pages and covers. None of the 75-1 illustrations or drawings of the objects mentioned by Reeves are included in the catalogue of the exhibition, though it is possible that Figure 3 Haida, p. 13 might be one of them. Museum of Modern Art documents. See https://assets.moma.org/documents/moma_catalogue_2998_3 061960.pdf?_ga=2.8212

drawings of American Indian objects from the American Museum of Natural History had been completed, but that project was discontinued. She believed that the Index should pick up where the Natural History Museum had left off: "The above material is in a form easy to continue without lost motion should a change of policy decide to include a folio on American Indian Design."[13] In January 1937, she wrote a proposal entitled, "Project for the Extension of the Index of American Design to Include an Art Record of the Americas," but nothing came of it.[14] This proved to be a missed opportunity for the Index -- the Denver Art Museum, the IAC nor any other Depression-era federal agency ever completed or compiled an illustrated catalogue of Northern Native American or continental Native American design. Several attempts to document Native American art for smaller regions, i.e., the Pacific Northwest, California, etc. were undertaken in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. These include Franz Boas' compilation of Northwest Coast designs, and his student Alfred Kroeber's study of California basket designs.[15] [Figure

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22.1748971832.1622057436-1979745784.1622057436 Miriam Deutch concluded that "this exhibition… had a profound impact on many of the artists who would later be associated with Abstract Expressionism." *Primitivism and Twentieth-century Art: A Documentary History*, ed. Jack Flam and Miriam Deutch (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2 3), 261.

[13] Ruth Reeves, "Index of American Design Report," 12/5/35 Archives of American Art DC52: 518.

[14] Ruth Reeves, Archives of American Art, 1937, DC52: 59Q.

[15] Franz Boas introduced the anthropological concept of cultural primitivism in works such as *Primitive Art, A Wealth of Thought* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1927 and 1955); in his words, this book was "an attempt to give an analytic description of the fundamental traits of primitive art," while arguing that "the mental processes of man are the same everywhere, regardless of race and culture, and regardless of the apparent absurdity of beliefs and customs." (1) Like Riegl, Boas was interested in determining "the dynamic conditions under which art styles grow up." (7) While he devoted several chapters to discussions of style, symbolism, formal elements, and "primitive" literature, music and dance, the longest chapter examines designs, symbols and forms found in Northwest Coast North American art. (186-294) Boas was a student of A.L (Alfred Louis) Kroeber, who had previously authored *Basket Designs of the Indians of Northwestern California* (Berkeley: The University Press, 1905) and "Basket Designs of the Mission Indians of California," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*: Vol. XX, Part II (1922): 149-183. Kroeber's study of Native California baskets includes line drawings of hundreds of designs, with straightforward formal analysis, but no interpretation of their cultural value.

1.3] For the length of the Index national project, however, their search for "indigenous" roots would center on regional homegrown Anglo-American traditions. [Figure 1.4]

In line with the Weyhe volume and other European prototypes, Cahill defined the Index's main task: to create and assemble "a large body of materials which will illustrate the many historic styles, cultural types and regional aspects of useful and decorative arts," with the ultimate aim of organizing "portfolios on the basis of a carefully devised editorial outline."[16] It is significant that Cahill's stated editorial function and specified criteria for the Index departed from Reeves and Javitz' original intent to "make available, without selective bias, all of the pictorial documentation we could gather and organize…"[17] The selectivity of the Index's resulting catalogue is one of the key concerns addressed in this thesis.

What were the reasons for this institutional erasing of the Native indigenous? One of the Index national supervisors, Adolph Glassgold, addressed the Index's embracement of cultural diversity: "our democratic spirit… recognizes and welcomes the contributions of ethnic groups."[18] However, Cahill had decided early on that "The Index was limited to the practical, popular and folk arts of the peoples of European origin who created the material culture of this country as we know it today."[19] This decision was likely based on logistic and economic factors. At the time he assumed the Directorship of the Index,

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[16] "Memo," Holger Cahill Papers, 1910-1993, bulk 1910-1960, Series: State Reports from Illinois, 1942, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

[17] Javitz to Cahill, 1949: 2.

[18] Adolph Glassgold, Archives of American Art, 1939, 1 and 3. Glassgold's remarks are reprinted in Francis V. O'Connor's *Art for the Millions: Essays from the 1930s by Artists and Administrators of the WPA Federal Art Project* (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1975): 167-169.

[19] Holger Cahill, Introduction to Christensen, *Index*, xii.

Cahill had well-established connections with collectors of German, Pennsylvania Dutch and Shaker objects, which there was already a strong market for. In his catalogue essay for the 1932 exhibit he organized at the Museum of Modern Art, *The Art of the Common Man,* Cahill recognized that logistics had limited the regional scope of the objects represented—the existing Rockefeller collection of folk art he had drawn from simply did not contain American art from the west, namely Spanish Colonial. "There is another type of American folk art, found in the Southwest states, particularly in New Mexico, which is not included in this exhibition. This art has a marked Spanish influence, is largely religious in character, and is related to Mexican colonial art."[20] This regional and cultural absence in the MOMA exhibit could be corrected in individual state projects such as the Southern California and New Mexico Index, though even these would continue to emphasize European "Spanish," rather than Native American agency and attribution.

Cahill narrowed not only the cultural/regional but also the chronological scope of the project to common objects made by Americans of European descent from the "colonial" period to 19 . He believed that "The period between 1820 and 1870 was far more provincial—and so in a sense more genuinely American—than the eighteenth century had been… the spirit of frontier democracy… created a more homespun quality in American art. One might say that American art was renewing itself through new contacts with the American earth and the American people… It was the day of Andrew Jackson and Davy Crockett, of frontier democracy and the rise of the common man. It was also the period of folk and popular art. The level of taste drifted toward the provincial-popular."[21] Though many of the California mission wall paintings and designs were produced c. 1820, their original mission churches were still associated with the 18th century. From an Anglo-American perspective, the Spanish colonial missions were not locations in which the "spirit of frontier democracy" could be easily located.

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[20] Holger Cahill, *American Folk Art: Art of the Common Man in America, 1750-19,* (New York: Museum of Modern Art,1932), 8.

For Cahill, the terms "native" and "indigenous" were roughly synonymous with Anglo-American provincial, popular and regional.[22] In the introductory notes of the Index of American Design's Manual, he summed up Javitz and Reeves' original concerns, highlighting the significance of indigeneity to the national project, but in his own terms: "There is no single comprehensive collection of pictorial data on American Design comparable with the great European classics in the field. With a collection like that of the projected Index of American Design, typical examples of an indigenous American character will be made available for study." He argued that the familiarity of European modern artists with their design "roots" has resulted in a "richly individual" artistic character that was lacking in the art of their American counterparts.[23] Such commentary illustrates his broader search for objects and/or designs of a distinctly American indigenous "character." A key element of the Index project was the search for and compilation of visual examples of this character, which could be identified and (re)defined as the individual state projects progressed.

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[21] Holger Cahill, *New Horizons in American Art* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1936), 10.

[22] Javitz, Cahill, Reeves and others involved in the Index used the general term "indigenous" to refer to artistic traditions specific to American regions, not in the sense the term "Indigenous" is presently employed in postcolonial scholarship to describe Native American and/or First Nations peoples and cultural objects. Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, in *An Indigenous People's History of the United States* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2015) uses "Indigenous," "Native," and "Indian" interchangeably. She notes that "Indigenous individuals (of North America)… on the whole, do not consider "Indian" a slur," but that "all citizens of Native nations prefer that their nation's name in their own language be used." She uses the terms "community, people and nation" in lieu of "tribe."

[23] "Instructions of the Index of American Design," Supplement No. 1 to the Federal Art Project Manual, unnumbered pages, January 1936.

The European classic design classics to which Cahill referred included not only Bossert's *Ornament in Applied Art*/*Weyhe's Ornament* (1928) but also Racinet's *L'Ornement PolyChrome* (1873).[24] Racinet, in turn, was indebted to the British design theorist Owen Jones (1809-1874), whose 1856 *Grammar of Ornament* had "made a deep impression" on him.[25] Jones argued that new design could and should be inspired by history, an idea that would also be prominent in the work of Cahill and the Index. As Jones put it, "to attempt to build up theories of art, or to form a style, independently of the past, would be an act of supreme folly… it would be at once to reject the experiences and accumulated knowledge of thousands of years. On the contrary, we should regard as our inheritance all the successful labors of the past, not blindly following them, but employing them simply as guides to find the true path."[26] Prior to Cahill's establishment of the Index, Jones' *Grammar* had provided an important design source for the British designer William Morris and, in general, for the Art Nouveau in Europe; for the Index, the application of historical designs into these modern veins would have been a solid justification for their own project.[27]

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[24] Bossert, 1928 and M. A. Racinet, *L'Ornement PolyChrome: Cent Planches En Couleurs Goret Argent Contenant Environ 2, 0 Motifs de Tous Les Styles*, (Paris: Librarie de Firmin Didot, 1869). Both Bossert and Racinet produced large-format watercolors that were then reproduced as lithographs. The Index intended to do the same with their completed watercolors but the project funding ended before they had done so. The overall format and page layout of Bossert and Racinet designs would be used as a model for the Index watercolors.

[25] John Kresten Jespersen, "Originality and Jones' 'Grammar of Ornament' of 1856," *Journal of Design History* 21, no. 2 (2 8): 147.

[26] Owen Jones, in Preface, cited by Jespersen, "Originality,"145.

Jones', Racinet's and Bossert's volumes not only served as formal models for the Index project but would also direct its material and cultural scopes and Western/European biases. For example, Racinet organized and consolidated the history of the decorative arts from antiquity through the 19th century into 120 color lithograph plates. His designs were drawn from a variety of cultures, including "Egyptien, Etrusque, Chinois, Japonais, Arabe, Indien, Celtique"; the volume also presented a variety of media, including architecture, textiles, wall painting, woodwork and metalwork—the same media categories that the Index would use to organize their designs. Two of the plates that appear in Racinet's second series, "Primitif" and "Greco-Roman" can be compared to the Index watercolor renderings in terms of the compositional treatment of western vs. non-western design content. [Figure 1.5] [Figure 1.6] Racinet's "primitive" design motifs are taken out of their original context, flattened and simplified, then organized into colorful registers, circles, rectangles and half-circles. These shapes, in turn, are manipulated and arranged into new compositions, usually symmetrical and balanced. On the other hand, Racinet's "Greco-Roman" page is composed as if it were a Roman 3rd style fresco—classical designs are presented in context, still part of the architectural framework itself, with modeling of columns and porticoes to indicate depth and spatial illusion.

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[27] See Ellen A. Christenson (fn 31 in Jespersen) for more details on the significance of Jones' *Grammar* on both European and American 20th-century architecture and architectural decoration.

The Index artists, including Randolph Miller, who documented designs in the California missions, followed the Weyhe compositional format, which, like Racinet's Greco-Roman design pages, consisted of fragments and collages of designs still attached to their architectural component and sometimes magnified. Often on a single page, several *tromp l'eoeil* views of the actual object and its textural details are provided, alongside detailed 3-dimensional views of other objects with uneven lighting emphasizing folds, cracks, and threads. So remarkable was the illusionism of their completed watercolor renderings that the Index referred to them as "recreations" or "restoration drawings" of the original subjects. However, these "recreations" were not always faithful in terms of contextualizing the designs within their actual settings. For example, in Miller's "Wall and Ceiling Decorations, and Holy Water Font," the artist has transferred design elements originally found on the wall and ceiling onto the wall above the holy water font. [Figure 1.2] Such compositional schemes and juxtapositions, carried over from Bossert/Wehye, Jones and Racinet into the Index watercolors, visually express the Index's perceived "usability" of European (Spanish, in the case of their California project) vs. "primitive" (Native American, in the case of their California project) designs and objects to the national purposes.

The larger questions of national usability and indigeneity aside, the Index remained committed to their goal of creating a catalogue of source material which modern American artists and designers could draw from. However, as its own artists interacted with U.S. regional and "indigenous" material culture and actual peoples, sites and histories, and as its director became more involved in the projects of demographic pluralism and the democratization of art/design, their aesthetic task became much more complex. In his commentary on the Index work being conducted in the California missions, for example, Cahill redefined the project as a "kind of archaeology;" in the case of the painted California mission walls to be discussed in this dissertation, the Index's goal had shifted from its original modernist aims to the recording, recovery, discovery, and conservation of regional designs that could best serve and represent the national interest during the Depression-era.[28] As a result, the concept of nation, or, more specifically, an exceptionalist cultural nationalism, would trump their original modernist intentions.[29]

Enactment

As was the case in the administration of the Federal Art Projects in general, the Index's organizational structure and logistics were nationally-centered. Working from Washington, D.C., the Index Director, Coordinator and supervisors researched, viewed and curated public and private collections of folk and decorative arts. These objects were sent to or made available to the state artists, whose task was the production of realistic watercolor renderings of these. State Index artists were expected to work on site while observing the actual objects. If the artist could not work on site or if the collector would not allow the object to be sent to the artist, they would work from black and white photographs (produced by Index photographers). These photographs were accompanied by detailed color notes.[30] The completed renderings and accompanying reports were then sent back to D.C. to be edited into portfolios, slide sets and exhibitions. National Editors would travel regularly to D.C. for meetings with the Coordinator and Director but would typically be in the field supervising artists and reviewing their completed renderings. Ruth Reeves, one of the aforementioned original conceivers of the project, was named the first national coordinator (Supervisor) in the spring of 1936; she was succeeded by Adolph Glassgold that summer, who in turn was succeeded by Benjamin Knotts from 1940- March 1942.[31]

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[28] Holger Cahill, "Introduction," in *The Index of American Design*, Erwin Ottomar Christensen, (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1950), xv.

[29] The notion of American exceptionalism—that the United States is inherently different from other nations--was first addressed by Alexis de Toqueville in his 1835 and 1840 *Democracy in America*. Joseph Stalin used the term as a critique of the U.S.'s claim of independence from Marxism. In the 1920s the term was used by American communists; the Great Depression and failure of capitalism in the 1930s underscored Stalin's idea that the concept of economic exceptionalism was an American self-illusion, but in a cultural context, the idea continued to be promoted by artists and intellectuals seeking a distinctly "American" art.

The design subject/object focus of the Index in individual states would vary. In many cases, artists were assigned the task of documenting examples of design most specific to their state's regional artistic traditions, such as Shaker, Pennsylvania Dutch, or Massachusetts Hadley. [Figure 1.4] In determining which of the finds should be included in the Index, emphasis would be placed upon "materials which represent special communities, localities, or regions since it is among these that unique forms of design have most often appeared."[32] The selected designs would then be classified by medium and culture. States could choose to reassign artists already working for the FAP in their state to the Index; alternately, they could begin new state units and arrange for new recruits.[33]

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[30] "Working from Photographs," *Index Manual*, 1938, 26. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. Gallery Archives.

[31] Cahill, "Introduction," in Christensen, *Index*, 1950, xii.

[32] Attributed to Holger Cahill, "Index of American Design Manual," Works Progress Administration, Division of Women's and Professional Projects, Federal Art Project, November 3, 1938, National Gallery Archives, WPA Technical Series, Art Circular #3. In the 1938 version of Manual the reference to region was included in an introductory section entitled, "Purpose of Classification." This reference was not included in 1936 Manual. It is unclear whether Cahill himself was the author of both or either, which are unsigned.

Index artists were required to complete a Data Report Sheet for each item assigned and rendered. The information recorded on this sheet included a listing and verification of each of the following: period, date, original owner, designer, maker, place of production, description of materials, media, color, finish measurement, present condition, present location, and a bibliography of sources used for research of the object. These report sheets are important primary sources to be more thoroughly analyzed throughout this dissertation. [Figure 1.7] The Data Report Sheet (DRS) also included a classification entry, which had two parts: a State-Local Project Number and a Classification. The classification system was object and/or material-centered, which would ultimately complicate the cultural and stylistic categorization of designs embedded within these objects.[34]

Research was a key activity, but also a significant product of both the Index national and state projects. In a 1957 interview, Cahill recalled that "It was the bright kids getting out of school with nowhere to go, who were interested in writing, without much experience. What you had was a mass of people who could do research. On the Writers' Project this was true, and on the Arts Project, certainly on the Index of American Design, it was true—you could put your copyists there. It was a mass research project."[35] All of the Data Report Sheets include a "research" section, where artists and supervisors recorded the historical sources they used for interpreting and attributing each object. Besides these, state supervisors conducted their own library research, as well as personal interviews with collectors and historians. Most of these notes are organized in the National Gallery archives within state and subject area folders. The precise bibliographic documentation of the late 19th and early 20th sources that the Index relied on provide a window for contemporary researchers. Their annotated lists of sources—in the case of the SoCal Index, an abundance of Anglo-American travel accounts and Franciscan-penned histories-- reveal the bases of their limited perceptions and cultural interpretations.

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[33] Federal Art Project, "Instructions for Index of American Design," Holger Cahill Papers 1910-1960, Series: Articles and Reports from 1936, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. (Also available in National Archives RG69 Box 14, January 1936, First Index Manual (Supplement) Federal Art Project. Also available in National Gallery of Art 59265 Reference Files-Manual-Instructions for Index of American Design. Supplement No. 1 to Federal Art Project Manual. January 1936, Box 3.)

[34] The categories were: AR (Architecture), CA (Carving), CER (Ceramics), CO (Costume), FU (Furniture), GL (Glassware), ME (Metalwork), TE (Textiles and floor coverings), MSCL Miscellaneous (Toys, snuff boxes, etc.) For example, most of the California mission wall paintings and liturgical objects that the Index recorded (and that I will present in the following chapters) are categorized as SOCAL-MSCL (Miscellaneous), while the mission retablos, doors and painted architectural elements are categorized as SOCAL-AR (Architecture), and pulpits and confessionals as SOCAL-FU (Furniture).

Prospective Index artists were required to either submit examples of their work or to pass a qualifying exam administered by a state director. Most of the artists that were selected had previous experience as commercial artists or illustrators. Rates of pay varied by state, with the top rate of $23.50 per week paid in New York City.[36] All of the SoCal Index artists were white; some artists who worked in the New Mexico and Texas Index projects had Spanish surnames, including Rosa Rivero.[37]

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[35] Holger Cahill Papers, Archives of American Art, Reel 5285, Frame 462: Interview Transcript, 1957.

[36] Clayton Tuttle, "Picturing a 'Usable Past,'" 11. The New York City rates were recorded by Rothschild, later published in O'Connor 1972: 184.

[37] The most prolific SoCal Index artists, and the ones to be examined in the following chapters, included Geoffrey Holt, Hal Blakeley, Christoffels Cornelius, Robert Taylor, Dana Bartlett, Juanita Donahoo, Harry Mann Waddell, Howard Sherman, Edward Jewett, and Randolph Miller.

The recommended material for the Index "recreations" was transparent watercolor, but gouache, crayon and pencil could be used to best replicate the medium of the subject. Detailed instructions regarding the expected quality of the completed rendering and the recommended materials and techniques specific to object type (textile, wall, wood, etc.) were provided in the Index Manual and Supplement.[38]

In the 1936, 1937 and 1938 versions of this Manual, instructions for supervisors, administrators and artists in their various tasks are provided.[39] In the 1938 version of the Manual, the Index's original goals were updated and clarified, with an emphasis on the criteria of objects to be collected: they must now be of historical value, unstudied, traditional, a rarity, or nearing extinction. Notably, in the Manual's four-point list of goals, the word "indigenous" has been eliminated, as has the "European" criteria, and there is no longer a mention of any required aesthetic or design value of the selected objects to be rendered.

1. To record material of historical significance which has not heretofore been studied and which, for one reason or another, stands in danger of being lost.
2. To gather a body of traditional material which may form the basis for an organic development of American design.
3. To make usable source-records of this material accessible to artists, designers, manufacturers, museums, libraries and art schools.

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[38] 44A2 IndexofAmericanDesign.GeneralFiles.pdf. (Original Project (WPA) General Files, 1936-1942): 59265 Reference Files-Manual-Instructions for Index of American Design. Supplement No. 1 to the Federal Art Project Manual. January 1936. (Box 3); 59266 Reference Files-Manual- Index of American Design Manual. W.P.A. Technical Series Art Circular No. 2 October 1937. (Box 3); 59267 Reference Files-Manual-Index of American Design Manual. W.P.A. Technical Series Art Circular No. 3 November 3, 1938. (Box 3). National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. The technical and material focus of the Index, as evident in these Manuals, will be further discussed in Chapter 4.

[39] 59267 Reference Files-Manual-Index of American Design Manual. W.P.A. Technical Series Art Circular No. 3 November 3, 1938. (Box 3) This 1938 version is cited in Hathitrust as: Federal Art Project. *Index of American Design: Manual* (Washington: Works Progress Administration, Division of Women's and Professional Projects, Federal Art Project, 1938). It is unclear who authored this manual, but Mary Lee Corlett of the National Gallery suggests that it may have been Constance Rourke, not Holger Cahill. Email correspondence with the author, February 8, 2022.

4. To give employment to painters, graphic artists, photographers, and commercial artists who might otherwise not find employment."[40]

To get a sense of the previous experiences and qualifications of coordinators and editors, a brief biographical account of some of the Index administrators (and their involvement with modern art writers and folk art collectors) will be useful. These brief biographies will illustrate an internal disagreement regarding the national Index project goals –the documentation of designs that were "beautiful" vs. those that were culturally, economically and nationally useful. This point is essential to the project of this dissertation. It highlights the huge juncture between modern aesthetics, politics and ethnography that would equally confuse/plague the California and other state projects.

Cahill's interests in regionalism and folk art, which his guide his Index work, stemmed from his personal experiences. He grew up in North Dakota and Manitoba, Canada, where he worked on farms, "cowboying," as a coal passer on a ship to China, a boat watchman, and as a short order cook. When he arrived in New York in 1905, he worked as a reporter for the *Scarsdale Inquirer* and the *Bronxville Review* and wrote articles for the movie magazine, *Shadowland*. [41] As the son of poor immigrants, Cahill was "closer to the artistic and left-wing sub-cultures," and his economic situation, as well as his physical proximity to the saloons of Washington Square Park and the lecture halls of the New School for Social Research, placed him under the influence of liberal artists and thinkers such as the painter John Sloan, writers and contributors to *The Masses*, John

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[40] Holger Cahill describing "Purposes of the Project, in 1936 Index Manual Supplement No. 1, 2 and 1938 Index Manual, 1. The prioritization of these "four goals" would fluctuate throughout the length of the Index national project, yet the stated goal #4, providing jobs for artists, would remain a constant.

[41] John Michael Vlach, "Holger Cahill as Folklorist," *The Journal of American Folklore* 98, no. 388 (1985):149.

Dewey, librarian John Cotton Dana and the economist Thorstein Veblen.[42] In Cahill's numerous speeches, reports and essays of the 1930s and 1940s, he described the Index's multiple purposes, and in most cases, prioritized its economic intent: "The Index was organized in response to several needs: the needs of artists for employment, the needs of the Government work program to devise projects which would maintain the skills of the unemployed, and public need for pictorial information on American design and craftsmanship."[43]

Recognizing that the task of unearthing a "usable past" for modern American art and design was an ambitious one, Cahill explained that the Index would conduct both the "spade work" and the documentation of their finds, but that the community at large, including their commercial element, department stores, should play a part in the digging. Cahill believed that American merchants and manufacturers had much to gain from the Index, and thus, should participate actively in the compilation, selection and promotion of the designs. Their new products could be inspired by the designs, but at the same time, he is giving them the opportunity to select the designs they wish to promote. For example, in the same Manual, it is suggested that department stores should 'promote and house an exhibit of historical floor coverings… calling upon the community to lend (related) materials of interest to the Index." Logistically and budgetarily, this would serve the Index, eliminating some of their "spade work," and providing a free space for collecting, storing and recording the objects. In his short essay, “Recording American Design,” Index editor Adolph Glassgold reported that “about twenty exhibitions have been held in large department stores, including Marshall Field of Chicago, R.H. Macy of New York, Stix Baer and Fuller of St. Louis, Hutzler Bros. of Baltimore, Bullocks of Los Angeles, and Rike Kumler of Dayton.[44] [Figure 1.8]

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[42] Andrew Hemingway, "The Politics of the New Deal Programmes," *Oxford Art Journal* 30.2 2 7, 277. For a brief but thorough biographical account of Cahill and his work, see Musher, 155 and Jeffers, "Holger Cahill and American Art*," Archives of American Art Journal*, Vol. 31. No. 4 (1991): 2-11.

[43] Holger Cahill, "Introduction," Erwin O. Christensen, *The Index of American Design*, New York: MacMillan, 1950, ix.

Reeves, a native Californian, was trained as a painter at the Art Students League in New York (1913-1915). While in New York, she attended classes at the American Museum of American History, which were geared toward using the museum’s collections as “inspiration for authentically American design.”[45] She learned printmaking while living in Paris (1921-1928) and studying under Fernand Léger. Upon her return to the United States in 1928, she opened the American Designers Gallery in New York and “pioneered the use of vat dyes and silkscreen process for furnishing fabrics” in the late 1920s.[46] As a Carnegie Fellow, she spent three months collecting traditional highland textile samples in Guatemala.[47] She created thirty-five textile designs based on the samples she had collected; these were exhibited alongside their 1 plus Guatemalan sources at the Rockefeller Center (RCA Building) in March, 1935 and then proceeded on a national tour over the next two years.[48] [Figure 1.9] Reeves believed that artists should not only copy their sources but apply and adapt them to their own time and culture. Her 1935 *Festival*, for example, draws from a Guatemalan festival *tzute* (head cover) but in her textile, meant to be hung as curtains, she has reduced the composition to feature only a few of the *tzute's* zig-zag and horizontal lines and geometric patterns. [Figure 1.10] Macy's Department store commissioned and sold five of Reeves' designs from this national exhibit as part of their "Guatemala House" promotion.[49] Reeves' experience as an American designer, her uses of ethnographic materials, and her specific promotion of Native and South American design (as a source for U.S. American modern artists) would directly influence her leadership/supervisory decisions for the Index. In an essay entitled, "On Designing Textiles," she clearly expressed her belief that "the sensitive eye of the artist must recreate from every valid source, whether it be modern machinery, nature, or primitive symbolism on a Peruvian poncho or a woman's blouse from Guatemala. These forms as they pass through the spirit and the hand of the artist today, can, in their recreated form… become vigorous expressions of their own era."[50] While her co-conceiver of the Index project, the librarian Romana Javitz, was interested in reaching the widest public audience, Reeves was first and foremost an artist.[51] In her work for the Index, her emphasis on aesthetic value, strong design and specific and practical usefulness for artists was evident. She often eliminated or excluded objects that she did not find "beautiful enough." In many cases, these views were not shared by other Index administrators, and often led to quarrels between Reeves and Director Cahill, many of which are referenced in their papers.[52] Nonetheless, Reeves' travel and research experiences served her well in her own aim of locating "beautiful" sources for modern artists to draw from. National Coordinators were expected to conduct detailed research, fieldwork and to take on highly curatorial responsibilities. "The national office (regularly) sent Reeves on the road to locate local collections of folk and decorative arts."[53] Of her attempts to collect examples of Shaker furniture and objects, she recalled that the process was similar to wrangling (and wheeling and dealing) artifacts from the native Guatemalans and Peruvians.[54]

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[44] Glassgold, “Recording American Design,” reprinted in Francis V. O’Connor, *Art for the Millions: Essays from the 1930s by Artists and Administrators of the WPA FAP*, 1973), 167-70.

[45] The Cooper Hewitt Museum provides a short biography of Ruth Reeves: https://collection.cooperhewitt.org/objects/68790747/

[46] Whitney Blausen, “Ruth Reeves’ ‘Personal Prints’ Printed Textiles from the 1930s’s and 40’s (sic),” *Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings, September 24-26, 1992* (Earleville, MD: Textile Society of America, Inc., 1993), 163. Ruth Reeves’ papers are held in the Archives of American Art, reels 3093 and 137: https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/ruth-reeves-papers-9188/biographical-note

[47] The Guatemalan objects and textiles Reeves collected are now in the Peabody Museum in Cambridge. A few of these textiles and original objects, including *Festival*, 1935 and *Sawtooth*, 1949-13-1, printed linen plain weave, manufactured by Morley Fletcher Ltd., New York, NY, 1948, are illustrated in Noga Bernstein’s “Sawtooth” on the Cooper Hewitt website: https://www.cooperhewitt.org/2017/09/01/sawtooth/. Bernstein notes that “Reeves was part of a movement of artists and designers who perceived pre-Hispanic and indigenous American art part of a shared Pan-American heritage that could inspire an authentic style of American modernism, distinguished from European trends. Indigenous American art provided not only a “usable past,” but also a visual language that seemed akin to machine aesthetics in its geometric, stylized patterns and forms.”

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[48] Guatemalan Textiles and Costumes Collected by Ruth Reeves, October 15, 1936- November 8, 1936, Cleveland Museum of Art, Gallery 9 (Gallery 220). http://library.clevelandart.org/node/288568 For photographs of nine gallery views, see: https://digitalarchives.clevelandart.org/digital/search/searchterm/16854%2016855%2016856%2016857%2016858%2016859%2016860%2016861%2016862/order/nosort/mode/any/

[49] Blausen,166. Apparently, the textiles she designed based on the Guatemalan sources collected were well received by the popular press. A *House Beautiful* writer reported: "Miss Reeves has started something. If you don't know where Guatemala is, you had better surreptitiously consult an atlas." "Guatemalan Summer," *House Beautiful* (April 1935): 69.

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[50] Ruth Reeves, "On Designing Textiles," Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Series 1: Ruth Reeves Papers, c. 1880-1967, Box 1, Folder 14, 1935. See also, in Reeves' American Art papers, "Why the Modern Designer Goes to Primitive Sources for Inspiration," c. 1950, Box 1, Folder 13 and "Seeking Design Inspiration in the Americas," *Interior Decorator* 94 (March 1935): 18-20, 41-42.

[51] Javitz, the New York Public Librarian whom Reeves initially conceived the Index project with, was, like Cahill, directly influenced by the teachings of librarian John Cotton Dana.

[52] For examples of their disagreements on the primacy of formal elements in the selected designs, see Holger Cahill Papers and Ruth Reeves Papers, Archives of American Art.

[53] William D. Moore, " 'You'd Swear they Were Modern,': Ruth Reeves, the Index of American Design and the Canonization of Shaker Material Culture," *Winterthur Portfolio* Vol. 47, No. 1 (Spring 2013): 11. Moore's thesis is that Reeves and other Index administrators were editors and "tastemakers" whose aesthetic and political agendas served to conflate Shaker design and modernism, to "promote an exceptionalist American cultural nationalism" and to "reify (a) constructed understanding of Shaker material culture" that has shaped the way the "American public perceives this autochthonous religious sect to this day." Moore, "You'd Swear," 33.

The writings of the progressive American literary and art critic Lewis Mumford (1895-1990) are situated within the same years in which the Federal Arts Projects, including the Index, arose. Mumford was part of a New York circle of writers, critics and artists dubbed the "Young Americans," which included Alfred Stieglitz, Paul Rosenfeld, John Dewey, Walter Pach, Waldo Frank, Randolph Bourne and Van Wyck Brooks.[55] Many of his writings on American architecture and literature between 1924 and 1929 revolved around his friend Brooks' notion of a "usable past." Mumford's intellectual associations, particularly the direct influence of Van Wyck Brooks, merit consideration here, given the Index of American Design's parallel attempt to locate and define a "usable past." Mumford's art criticism of the early 1920s often reference the beginnings of this American search for the modern, but it was through his stint as a regular columnist for *The New Yorker* in the mid-1930s that these ideas were fleshed out and more widely disseminated. The column he contributed regularly, "The Art Galleries," provides several examples of his belief that the past could and should "stimulate creativity in the present,"[56] an idea which, as I have explained, was heavily promoted by Cahill in his stated goals for the Index. For example, in Mumford's review of a (1934-5) Whitney Museum exhibition of abstract paintings, including Billings and Demuth, he concluded,

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[54] Memorandum from Ruth Reeves to Holger Cahill and Adolph Glassgold, July 23, 1936, frame 1141, reel 5285, ser. 2. Holger Cahill Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

[55] Robert Wojtowicz, editor, *Mumford on Modern Art in the 1930s* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2 7): 4.)

[56] As directly worded by Wojtowicz, *Mumford*, 1.

> the point to be emphasized about the majority of these abstractions is that they are more specifically native than a good part of the illusionist painting of the glorifying-the-corner-grocer school. These abstract paintings link up with the good hooked rugs and quilts of our early eighteen-forties, which were equally abstract and bold in design.[57]

Another Mumford review establishes an even more direct connection between contemporary art criticism/views on appropriate American art sources and the Index of American Design's attempt to find inspiration in not just native but truly Native art forms. Of Ruth Reeves' 1935 exhibit of Guatemalan textiles at the R.C.A. building, Mumford reported,

> For obviously pattern and pure symbol have always had a place in such aboriginal art, and it is equally plain that the primitive machine process of weaving called into existence designs which speak more to us than the flowery brocades of the Renaissance. Miss Reeves, with an intelligence and spirit that have been all too rare among textile designers, has used this Guatemalan handicraft in exactly the fashion that the work of another culture should be used. (Let our museums of art gather round in a circle and take out their notebooks.) She travelled among the natives, ate with them, cajoled them, learned from them, and climbed about the ruins of their civilization. Then, instead of copying their patterns, she took some slight suggestion as a starting point for her own imagination, itself raised to a higher pitch by her travels. The result is a series of hangings and dress fabrics that leap out in their distinction and in their fitness to our environment—probably the most interesting work any designer has offered for commercial production today.[58]

The design/inspiration process Mumford imagined—eating and cajoling with Natives—would allow for modern artists to move beyond mimicry and toward a cultural immersive experience, ultimately leading to a more "imaginative" modern American design.

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[57] Wojtowitcz, *Mumford*, 153.

[58] Wojtowicz, *Mumford*, 154.

The American historian and folklorist Constance Rourke (1885-1941) served as field editor of the Index of American Design from 1936 to 1938.[59] Educated at Vassar College during the Progressive Era, she encountered the ideas of Van Wyck Brooks, Lewis Mumford and Cahill and in the 1920s became a major participant in their common search for an American "usable past."[60] However, she eschewed Brooks and others' comparative approach, arguing that the United States did not need to look to Europe as a model, but should instead claim or possess their own national heritage which had been here all along. Prior to assuming her position as Index field editor, she wrote an important 1935 article, "American Art: A Possible Future," in which she had expressed her firm belief that an "indigenous" American art existed in the simple handicrafts produced on the American frontier, namely, within the anti-ornament Calvinist traditions.[61] Rourke's role as editor would prove to be significant to the Index project at large—she was responsible for reviewing the lists, research notes and watercolors that were sent from the state supervisors to D.C. and deciding which would be included in the final physical portfolio. In essence, she was responsible for the actual cataloguing and "indexing." In her 1937 essay on the Index, she also outlined some of the Index's philosophy in terms of design (furniture, ceramics, glass, textiles) emphasis: "these objects are touchstones, revealing widespread and instinctive uses of form. They may indicate the temper of a period or some of its more intimate and uncompromising tastes; they may help fill in gaps in our difficult aesthetic history… they have great importance for the social historian.” [62]

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[59] William D. Moore lists her title as "editorial consultant," in "You'd Swear," 12. Erika Doss presents her title as "field editor." Doss, "American Folk Art's Distinctive Character," 61.

[60] Joan Shelley Rubin, "A Convergence of Vision: Constance Rourke, Charles Sheeler, and American Art," *American Quarterly* 42, no. 2 (1990): 203.

[61] Constance Rourke, "American Art: A Possible Future," *Magazine of Art,* Volume 28 Issue 7, (July 1935): 390-405. Rourke wrote a book on the work of Charles Sheeler, a Precisionist artist whom she, Holger Cahill and gallerist Edith Halpert (of New York's Downtown Gallery) upheld as a model of an American artist who successfully employed the incorporation into modern art of "things" and "regions" associated with America's past. Constance Rourke, *Charles Sheeler, An Artist in the American Tradition*, first publication 1938 (New York: Kennedy/DeCapo Press, 1969).

The artist and Whitney Museum curator Adolph Glassgold served as editor from the summer of 1936 until 1940.[63] He recognized that the lack of ample design sources was detrimental not just for contemporary artists and scholars (the subjects and producers of American art history), but that it had long positioned American designers as inferior to their European counterparts: “The absence of any comprehensive survey of American design… had come to be felt and deplored by more than just the scholars.… “It was remarked that familiarity with the roots of their design tradition had given the work of European designers a rich individuality that attracted American manufacturers to the European design market with a consequent neglect of American talent.”[64] For Glassgold, the Index would serve to correct this imbalance in not just an art historiographic, but an economic sense. In a 1936 instruction manual for Index artists, Cahill explained the project goals and intended audience, and like Glassgold, balanced its possible economic, intellectual and cultural ramifications. “It is hoped that the collection will stimulate the artist, designer, and manufacturer of items of everyday use to build upon our American tradition and that it will offer an opportunity to the student, teacher, research worker, and the general public to familiarize themselves with this important phase of the American cultural pattern.”[65]

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[62] Constance Rourke, “Index of American Design,” *Magazine of Art* Vol. 30 No. 4 (April 1937): 208 (Constance Rourke, “The Index of American Design,” Holger Cahill Papers, 1910-1993, bulk 1910-1960, Series: Articles and Reports circa 1936 – 1941, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.) Several of Rourke’s reports and curatorial-style essays read as “rationales” for the Index project and their defining of key terms, such as folk and design: “What Is American Design?” was meant to be published in a collection of essays selected by Cahill in 1937. It was later published in *Art for the Millions: Essays from the 1930s by Artists and Administrators of the WPA Federal Art Project,* edited by O’Connor, (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1973): 156-66. For an excellent biographical treatment of Constance Rourke and a summary of her contributions to the rewriting of American art history in the 1930s, see Joan Shelley Rubin, “A Convergence of Vision: Constance Rourke, Charles Sheeler and American Art,” *American Quarterly* 42, no. 2 (1990): 191-222.

[63] Knotts succeeded Glassgold in the role of Editor until March 1942. My thanks to Mary Lee Corlett of the National Gallery of Art for providing these dates.

[64] Adolph Glassgold, “The Index of American Design,” Holger Cahill Papers, 1910-1993, bulk 1910-1960, Series: Articles and Reports from 1937, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

In an undated report sent to Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Glassgold commented on the project’s democratic value: “The Index may be used to enormous advantage in re-emphasizing the values and meaning of our Democracy. It should be placed in every school, library, museum and art center in the country, and should be a standard reference work for art schools, craft groups, design studios, manufacturers, art shops, clubs and organizations of all kinds interested in educational and cultural fields.”[66] In addition to their inclusion in nationally-promoted venues (such as the New Horizons MOMA exhibit organized by Cahill) Index watercolors were regularly exhibited in individual states in locations such as Chambers of Commerce, schools, libraries and local museums and galleries.[67]

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[65] Holger Cahill Papers 1910-1993, roll 57, frame 38.

[66] “Prospectus for the Publication of the Index of American Design WPA Art Program,” Reel 1107, Frames 980-985. undated, Holger Cahill Papers, 1910-1993, bulk 1910-1960, Series: Undated Correspondence and Memoranda, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. Also see: Adolph Glassgold, “Recording American Design, Holger Cahill Papers, 1910-1993, bulk 1910-1960, Series: Articles and Reports circa 1936 – 1941, Reel 1107, Frames 1146-1152, undated, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. Republished in O’Connor, *Art for the Millions*, 167-70.

[67] In the 1950s, when the Index collection had been moved to and secured in the National Gallery, that institution assembled “Exhibit” boxes, which could be borrowed at no cost, and included curated watercolor renderings and interpretive notes. In addition, “Lantern Slide” sets could also be borrowed at no cost. *Index of American Design: Traveling Exhibitions and Color Slides*. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery, 1957. This is

In 1935, two hundred and twenty students enrolled in the new federally-sponsored Design Laboratory in New York City. Described as the first institution in the U.S. to offer a "comprehensive education in modernist design," the program promised to stimulate economic recovery through well-designed advertising and promotion of consumer products.[68] Given its close alignment with the democratic philosophies of Dewey and the aesthetic principles of Lewis Mumford, this would appear to have been the perfect partnership for the Index of American Design, and at first Cahill was supportive of this venture. He hoped that the school would allow for the common American to experience art and design in their daily lives: "to enrich and make beautiful the common articles of daily use…" fitting neatly into his vision of the democratization of American culture, art and design.[69] But Cahill did not support the new lab's emphasis on an industrial, streamlined version of modernity (i.e., International Style). He believed that modern design should be rooted in the "antique" modes of the folk and vernacular, not contemporary design traditions. FAP funds intended for the Design Laboratory were instead funneled into the Index project. Cahill and Rourke were both disappointed that the Lab faculty and administrators "resisted attempts to subordinate to the needs and

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a sampling of boxes/slide set titles that were made available to borrowers: Pennsylvania German Arts and Crafts, Shaker Craftsmanship, The Art of the Spanish Southwest, Toys, Negro Handicrafts from Southern Plantations, I Remember That, The Story of Punch (Punch and Judy puppets),Wood Carving, Ceramics, Glass and Metal Furniture, Costumes and Textiles, Demonstration of Techniques (for study in Art Departments, rather than public exhibition), Iron, Color, Index of American Design Part I, Index of American Design Part II, Our Wide Land, From East to West in Early America, Homemade and Shop Made. Though these later uses of the Index boxes/slides sets were not documented, their continued availability after the FAP's demise speaks to their ongoing democratic and national value.

[68] Shannan Clark, "When Modernism was Still Radical: The Design Laboratory and the Cultural Politics of Depression-Era America," *American Studies*, Vol. 50 No. 3-4, (Fall-Winter 2 9): 35.

[69] Holger Cahill, "Industrial Design Education," (undated speech typescript), Holger Cahill Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, reel 5291.

goals of the Index."[70] However, in a letter to the New York Times art critic Henry Brock, he described the Index and Lab as allied, with the Index providing the source material for these modern designers.

The conflicting commercial vs. aesthetic goals and cultural biases complicated the Index's selection of objects that would be useful to the shaping and identification of a national design. At times, their intended design focus shifted to a materialist one. That their completed renderings and illustrations often featured American things, rather than patterns and motifs, is not surprising. The historian Jeffrey Trask argued that the 1924 opening of the American wing in the Metropolitan Museum of Art "legitimized American decorative arts and popularized public history told through things."[71] Over the next few decades, the positive public response to this wing and the type of things exhibited within it would shape the Index's object-centered (rather than design-focused) curatorial efforts. As Elizabeth Kandel has aptly pointed out, "the Index attempted to accomplish a similar goal as the Metropolitan's American wing had—to tell the history of the United States through material culture."[72] Theirs, like the U.S. American histories and art histories being simultaneously written, was a deeply insular one. Only certain American things would serve the Index's purpose(s). For example, a Civil War drum [Figure 1.11], a Shaker knitting needle case [Figure 1.12], and an iron fireside toaster [Figure 1.13] are tangible, objective references to the American people who made and used them. For the Index and possibly the viewers of the completed renderings, their design value, if any, was insignificant.

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[70] Shannan Clark, "When Modernism Was Still Radical: The Design Laboratory and the Cultural Politics of Depression-Era America," *American Studies*, 50: 3/4 (Fall/Winter 2 9): 43.

[71] Jeffrey Trask, *Things American: Art Museums and Civic Culture in the Progressive Era*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012): 289-90.

[72] Kandel, "Have We an American Design?": The Index of American Design and the United States' Search for National Culture in the Depression, B.A. thesis, Columbia University, 2018, 19.

Index and Nation

Cahill believed that informing and introducing the American public (consumers) of their rich design heritage would not only serve to heighten cultural patriotism but would lead to the production and consumption of new designs based on this heritage. What was most significant for Cahill was that this pictorial information should be obtained from America's historical past, as it was being defined in the 1930s. In a Chapter titled "Index and Nation," it is necessary for me to lay out some recent nation theories and their relation to the Index's conception of a "usable past." Benedict Anderson explained that, regardless of how they are constructed, nations are distinguished by "the style in which they are imagined."[73] All of the Federal Arts Projects played a direct role in imagining the "style" and "design" of American nationalism in the 1930s.

Homi Bhabha highlighted the idea that nations are not natural entities, but recent inventions [74] that refer both to the modern nation-state[75] and the ancient *natio*, a condition of belonging. He pointed out that the distinction between these two terms is often obscured by nationalists seeking to place their countries in "an immemorial past."

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[73] Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, New York: Verso, 1983), 15.

[74] H.K. Bhabha, ed. *Nations and Narration*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), 9 and 45.

[75] As Anderson argued, the concept of the nation-state emerged in the 18th century and gained significance through the rise capitalism and print technology. Jason Weems defined a nation state as "Places where the social concept of nation coincides with a bounded geography (a country)." lecture Powerpoint L8, AHS 023, 2018.

Benedict Anderson's understanding of nations as imagined communities (with nationality and nationalisms as cultural artefacts)[76] and Eric Hobsbawm's concept of nations as invented traditions[77] echo Bhabha's, in their similar emphasis on a temporal element rooted in a previous but often unspecified era. All three would agree that the building of nationhood was rooted in modernity's search for a "constituted historic origin in the past."[78] Hobsbawm saw the possibility of the existence of genuine traditions, as opposed to invented ones, which could validate "pseudo-communities," like nations.[79] For him, nations are involved in the project of establishing continuity with a "suitable" historic past.

Anderson tied national identity to the idea of a shared culture or shared race; in this collective view, cultural hybridity (that results from colonialism) disrupts these imagined communities. In their selection of design subject matter, Cahill and the Index were participants in the colonial act of maintaining an imagined community centered on Anglo-American traditions. The inclusion of both Spanish and California Native art traditions into a national project like the Index's might disrupt this imagined community. However, Anderson also recognizes that citizens can never know every member of a nation. National discourse must begin with regional bonds and local experience. Alon Confino, like Anderson, presents the local experience as more genuine and tangible than the more abstract construct of “nation.”[80] Confino’s (re)framing of the local experience helps to explain how 1930s U.S. Regionalism and the individual state Index projects (such as Southern California) could actually contribute to the whole without disrupting “nation.” Phoebe Kropp presented an interesting take on Confino’s idea, arguing that Southern Californians needed to first imagine the region in national terms in order for the local experience to feel genuine.[81]

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[76] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism,* (New York, 1983 and 1991).

[77] Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in eds. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, England and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

[78] Bhabha, "DissemiNATION," in *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge), 145.

[79] Hobsbawm, 1.

Through his wholesale adoption of Brooks’ usable past construct for the Index, Cahill is exactly the type of nationalist that Bhabha critiques--a participant in/creator of an invented tradition. The Index selected and promoted designs that fit into a settler-colonial conception of the United States’ European past.[82] The inclusion of African-American, Asian-American, or Native American designs would have complicated this vision. Nation is a key postcolonial term, so it is obvious that throughout this dissertation, the Index’s national project and agenda must be critiqued from this perspective.

While these recent postcolonial nation theories are crucial to my own analysis of the Index’s specific work in the California missions, its material product, and the ramifications of their project to contemporary understandings of American design, it is first necessary to consider those of the New Deal Era. The Index was drawing from a construct of "nation" that was closely associated with democratic experimentalism, and it is in this vein that they sought to define American art and design. As the Index project developed, the concepts of nation and democracy were being re-defined in contemporary writings, including those of John Dewey, Secretary of State Henry Wallace and Under Secretary of State for Agriculture Rexford G. Tugwell.[83]

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[80] Alon Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor: Wurttemberg, Imperial Germany, and National Memory, 1871-1918,* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1997). For more nation theories, see Bodnar, *Remaking America* and John R. Gillis, ed. *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990).

[81] Phoebe Kropp, *California Vieja: Culture and Memory in a Modern Place* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press 2 6), 277.

[82] Settler colonialism is a form of colonialism in which the indigenous population is replaced and displaced by a new society of settlers. See Walter L. Hixson’s *American Settler Colonialism: A History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013).

As Andrew Hemingway has demonstrated, Tugwell and Wallace shared the belief that "the depression was a symptom of a major historical turning point" brought about by the rise of American monopoly capitalism. In their texts of 1934 and 1935 (the same years that the Index project was conceived and in development) they presented a similar strategy: "to extend democracy into economic life to redress its usurpation by corporate power."[84] To achieve this, they both celebrated traditional values, small-town Jeffersonian visions of community and regionalism, and the advancement of democratic experimentalism.[85] Likewise, the Federal Arts Programs would embrace these values in their attempts to challenge the power of the market (capitalism) over artistic production. In the case of the Index, this democratic cultural project would extend to the activities of art collecting, archiving, marketing and dissemination. One of the democratic tendencies unique to the Depression era was the leveling/ focus on the classless. To address this, the Index sought to identity and locate a (design) past that could serve all American people (of European descent!), and that could be easily shared with this selected group. The Index projects were meant to engender a sense of community. “People all over the country in little cities and towns that had never had an oil painting in the town were suddenly getting (Index) shows sent to them.”[86]

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[83] Henry Wallace, *New Frontiers*, (New York: Reynal and Hitchock,1934), Rexford Tugwell, *The Battle for Democracy*, (New York: Greenwood, 1969, originally published 1935), John Dewey, *Art as Experience*, (New York: Minton, Balch and Company, 1934). Andrew Hemingway, in "Cultural Democracy by Default: The Politics of the New Deal Art Programs," *Oxford Art Journal*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (2 7) argues that the "administrator/ideologues of the federal art programmes—Bruce, Forbes Watson and Cahill—claimed that the era of pure market relations was over because they could not produce cultural democracy," and that this position echoes Rexford Tugwell's hope that New Deal programs such as the National Recovery Administration (NRA) and the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) would "co-ordinate and control private enterprise" (Tugwell, 5 and 97, 1935) because "laissez-faire was incompatible with democracy in the age of monopoly capitalism." 272.

[84] Hemingway, 273.

[85] Ibid, 274.

The pragmatist philosopher and educational reformer John Dewey (1859-1952) espoused experimentalism, which centered on human experience. In his seminal book, *Art as Experience,* 1934, he considered ideas as tools for experimenting, with the goal of improving human experience. He believed in learning through doing, and that art was an interactive process that took place between man and his environment. Arguing against the limitation of art to material form, he reminded that “the actual work of art is what the product does with and in experience.” Dewey’s definition of art as “the extension of the power of rites and ceremonies to unite men” was taken to heart by Cahill.[87] Cahill dedicated a speech to Dewey entitled “American Resources in the Arts (1936); in it he made clear that through his work with the FAP, he was taking on the responsibility of creating the “environments” that Dewey found necessary for the democratic experience of art. Cahill’s work (creating folk art exhibits, the inclusion of folk art as an integral content of the Index of American art, the exhibition of the Index watercolor renderings in public settings) are clear examples of his commitment to Dewey.

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[86] Oral history interview with Dorothy Miller, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian, Institution, May 26 1970- September 28, 1971, 99. See also: Dorothy C. Miller Papers, Bulk 1929-1984, Museum of Modern Art Archives. https://www.moma.org/research-and-learning/archives/finding-aids/dcmillerf) Dorothy Canning Miller, the wife of Holger Cahill, took a ten-month training course at the Newark Museum taught by John Cotton Dana. She worked with Cahill on the American Folk Art: The Art of the Common Man in America, 1750-19 (1933) and American Sources of Modern Art (1933) exhibits at the Museum of Modern Art.

[87] First quote here from his opening essay in *Art in Experience*, “The Live Creature.” The definition of art as “rite” comes from Dewey, 1935: 271.

While I have just centered on framing the Index project within the Tugwell/Dewey continuation of Progressive thought, it is important to note that there was “no single coherent New Deal Ideology.” As Alan Brinkley has described the era, it was “awash in ideologies.”[88] This recognition is equally important in characterizing FAP ideologies and federally-sponsored artistic production, considering that they were directly aimed toward an American public whose ideological and geographic positions were varied. It is not clear, for example, how California mission Index watercolor renderings were appreciated by East Coast audiences and vice versa. In this sense, the Index visual product was geared to first promote regional ideologies and independent state identity construction that could, when archived together, be understood as a statement of U.S. nationalism.

Just as the New Deal era was awash in ideologies, American art was in a state of flux during the first three decades of the 20th century. The insular nationalism was concurrent with the rise of artistic provincialism and regionalism; it is no surprise that these interests, more so than European modernism, directed the vast majority of FAP public murals. Despite this strong association (both in the 30s and in current perceptions of New Deal Art), FAP artists represented a wide range of contemporary modern traditions and interests, including Regionalism, Social Realism, Straight Photography, Synchromism, Precisionism and abstraction. In their documentation of “everyday things,” the Index could be most closely linked to Regionalism, but in their attention to form, detail and design, there are affinities with Precisionism. While most of the Index artists were illustrators, and probably not as interested in abstract manifestations of modernism, all of them were surely aware of, if not direct participants in the earnest and collective search for a truly "American" modern art.

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[88] Hemingway, 272, citing Brinkley, 86.

Unlike the Treasury-sponsored Section of Painting, qualification for relief was required for all artists to participate in the FAP, including the Index. It is notable that the "top tier" fine artists were typically associated with the Treasury; thus, this program was perceived as the more conservative and elitist, while the FAP has been noted for its more leftist, liberal, democratic associations. The FAP's visual products, including the paintings produced by the Index, were often deemed, by artists as well as critics, as inferior in quality. Many Index artists were illustrators who lacked a background or knowledge in "modern art" theories, illustration students and/or artists that had been rejected by the other programs (relief and non-relief, such as the more highly acclaimed and publicized mural programs.) Given the Index project's inferior position within the federal art hierarchy, and its inclusion of artists on the lower end of both the economic and "artistic skill" spectrum, its product has been understood in relation to liberal and/or leftist politics.

New Deal historians have argued that the Federal Arts Projects (in general) and many of its administrators were closely aligned with the liberal "popular front," the powerful mass social movement/organization of industrial workers into the Congress of Industrial Organization (CIO) unions in the 1930s. More specifically, Michael Denning suggests that this "popular front" met a newly developed "cultural apparatus," which included the industries of entertainment as well as museums and cultural institutions; he calls the point of intersection between the popular front and the cultural apparatus "the cultural front." It is within this new cultural terrain and site of interaction that the Federal Arts Projects emerged and functioned. As such, Denning argues that "crucial alliances were formed between the plebeian radicals and the established artists and intellectuals who dominated the non-relief personnel."[89] Notably, Denning identifies Index administrator Constance Rourke as an active supporter of "the work of the radical young artists on relief."[90]

Defining "Folk," "Modern," and "Design" in the 1930s

To understand the Index project and product as a materialization of modern national culture and identity, it is important to analyze them in relation to the historical and cultural terms they ambiguously fostered toward this end. This terminology, which both the Index administrators and the contemporary national "cultural apparatus" attempted to define and foster, included "folk," "modern art," and "design." [91] I have outlined the practical goals of the national Index project, but here I will more closely analyze their problematic/contradictory definitions of these terms and the impact of these contradictions on their completed archive. I will also consider the ways in which these terms overlapped with evolving conceptions of modern American art in the 1930s.

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[89] Michael Denning, *The Cultural Front: The Laboring of American Culture in the Twentieth Century,* (London, New York: Haymarket Series, Verso, 1997 and 2010), 50 defines "cultural front" and argues that the Federal Art Project was a significant player in it, 79. However, he points out that not all FAP supervisors were sympathetic to the left, citing the example of FAP Director Edward Bruce, who wanted to "stop the Mexican (muralism) invasion on the border." 79. Denning provides no footnote, but Bruce's statement may have impacted the California Index and their elimination of "Mexican" references and attributions within their mission project.

[90] Denning, *The Cultural Front*, 79. Sharon Ann Musher has also made the connection between Cahill, the Index, and the radical left. Musher situates the Index and her discussion of Cahill and folk art under "Art as Experience," a clear reference to his association with the ideologies of Dewey. Sharon Ann Musher's *Democratic Art: The New Deal's Influence on American Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015) and Jeffrey Trask, *Things American: Art Museums and Civic Culture in the Progressive Era* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2012). Elizabeth Kandel, in "Have we an American Design?" speculates that Glassgold was a "red" member of the Popular Front, (2 fn 24). She also points out that the Index supervisors represented the exact demographic associated with the left: a Jewish intellectual, a Popular Front member and a supporter of African Americans. (41). For more on the general connections between the Federal Art Project and liberal politics, see Erika Doss, Chapter 5: "A New Deal for the Arts: The Great Depression," in *Art of the 20th-21st Centuries* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

In one of Cahill's many attempts to summarize the goals of the Index project, he wrote, "The basic work of the Index is the recording in drawings in color, and in black and white, of objects in the field of American decorative, domestic, and folk arts." [92] Even in the most simply stated terms, the lack of differentiation between the categories of decorative, domestic and folk art is made apparent; this conflation of all three into the more general term "design," was elaborated on, but never recognized or resolved, by Cahill and several Index administrators throughout the run of its national project.

While the Index drew almost exclusively from collections of (self-described) "folk," popular and antique objects, their resulting documents would not be described as such. Virginia Clayton argues that the selection of the word "Design" to describe the contents of the proposed index/catalogue, reflects the primary (and original) mission of the Index--to create an American modernism.[93] In this sense, the Index's goals could be summed up quite clearly: to document, quote, and recontextualize the formal elements

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[91] The term "cultural apparatus," as employed by the historian Michael Denning, refers to the American entertainment industries, art museums and arts organizations of the New Deal Era. Denning, *The Cultural Front: The Laboring of American Culture in the Twentieth Century*, (New York and London: Verso, 1997), 4.

[92] "The Index of American Design WPA Art Program," February 19, 1941, Holger Cahill Papers, 1910-1993, bulk 1910-1960, Series: Articles and Reports from 1941, 1947, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

[93] Virginia Tuttle Clayton, "Picturing a Useable Past" in *Drawing on America's Past: Folk Art, Modernism and the Index of American Design*, 2.

(only the design features) of their “folk” art sources into a modern vein. The resulting catalogue of “designs” would be most useful not only to modern artists, but to the nation’s designers and manufacturers.

As Virginia Tuttle Clayton summarized it, the Index defined design as “the fundamental character or expressive content of a created object, revealed in its forms and patterns. Design was derived from, and was in turn capable of making visible, the collective spirit of a nation.”[94] Like Cahill’s, Rourke’s definition of design was elusive, but she highlighted the significance of overall form and functionalism, not design pattern: furniture, ceramics, glass, embroideries, textiles” could reveal “instinctive uses of form.” In general, Rourke believed that design was the visible container of this instinctive, national spirit. The Index was interested in the overall design elements in architecture, furniture, objects, as well as their patterns/motifs/ornamentation. Motifs—smaller aspects of the design-- were the direct vehicle for displaying the national spirit.[95]

However, the Index administrators and artists became equally interested in researching and understanding the regions, cultures, traditions, and histories of the American designs they “rediscovered,” and in the interpretation of these in relation to their cultural context. These anti-materialist interests are akin to those of some of the leading art historians of the early 20th century Alois Riegl, Heinrich Wolfflin and Erwin Panofsky, all three of whom were steeped in the German idealism of Kant and Hegel.

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[94] Tuttle Clayton, 2.

[95] Various dictionary definitions of *motif* include: A decorative design or pattern; A design which is used as a decoration or as part of an artistic pattern; A distinctive feature or dominant idea in an artistic or literary composition; A recurring subject, theme, or idea (in an artistic work); In literature, a motif is a recurring object or idea that carries symbolism.

Notably, Riegl's concept of the *Kunstwollen* was presented within the context of European decorative arts; this approach may have been relevant to the Index's intended presentation of the American designs.[96] We will see the conflicting goals of modern aestheticism vs. cultural pluralism and ethnographic/anthropological understandings in the following analysis of Index commentaries on the value of folk art.

In his numerous essays and speeches, Cahill championed folk art and envisioned its relationship to modern art. His insistence on employing this term vs. "primitive" was directly related to the ideas of his mentor, John Cotton Dana, who emphasized the arts of everyday life. Cahill's early writings on folk art emphasize its aesthetic qualities, as measured against the works of American masters Eakins, Copley, and Homer: "Only a few folk paintings may be called equal to the best work… All other folk paintings now known may only be compared with the productions of secondary artists."[97] But Cahill's conception of folk art began to change during his tenure at the Newark Museum (1922), which had been established in 1909. He began under the apprenticeship of Dana, the museum's founder and director, who found equal value in the art of everyday life: "When I reflect on the words, 'American Art,' many things come to my mind; such for example as tableware, cutlery, table linen, chairs and tables; draperies and wallpapers;

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[96] Alois Riegl formulated the idea of the *Kunstwollen,* the will to make art (and create styles) in relation to cultural situation and attitudes rather than practical utility or available technologies, in his 1893 *Stilfragen: Grundlegen zu einer Geschichte der Orrnamentik* (*Problems of Style: Foundations on the History of Ornament*) and formally presented it in his *Late Roman Art Industry,* 1901. Riegl argued that ornament and style evolved and developed in relation to *Kunstwollen* and should be interpreted as such. There is no indication in Holger Cahill's papers that he studied Riegl, but he did attend lectures by Erwin Panofsky while studying art history and aesthetics at the New School of Social Research. His teachers there also included the philosopher John Dewey and the economist Thorstein Veblen. Vlach, "Cahill as Folklorist," 149.

[97] Cahill, "Folk Art: Its Place in the American Tradition," *Parnassus* 4 (3): 4. Also see Vlach, John Michael. "Holger Cahill as Folklorist." *The Journal of American Folklore* 98, no. 388 (1985): 148-62.

houses, churches, banks, office buildings, and railway stations; medals and statues; books, journals, signs, and posters; lamp posts and fountains; jewelry, silverware; embroidery and ribbons; vases and candlesticks; etchings, engravings, drawings and paintings."[98] Dana's material focus was clear-- his emphasis was on the objects themselves and their ordinariness, not so much the quality or innovation of their design. At the same time, he did express an appreciation for ornament and decoration of these ordinary objects. In the short 1914 pamphlet, "American Art: How it Can Be Made to Flourish," he wrote, "we borrow designs for decorating almost everything we make, or we import foreign-made designers… of art objects pure and simple, of our own make, and of objects made beautiful by the application of ornament of our own designing and applied by our own artisans, we produce, in spite of our numbers, prosperity and wealth, very, very few." Dana was a librarian by trade—in this sense, Cahill's direction of the Index and its (his) emphasis on cataloguing and making American objects and information accessible to all was closely aligned with Dana's. [99]

Cahill's professional activities between the years 1929 and 1935 illustrate his simultaneous and often overlapping interests in folk, primitive, indigenous and modern art as well as his evolving uses of these terms/labels. Cahill opened his first exhibition of folk art, entitled "American Primitives" in 1929. In 1931, he installed a second folk art exhibition, "American Folk Sculpture," followed by two at MOMA, while he served as acting Director: the 1932 "American Folk Art: Art of the Common Man in America

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[98] Dana, *American Art: How it Can Be made to Flourish,* (Woodstock, Vermont: Elm Tree Press, 1914 and 1929),1914: 5.

[99] Dana, *American Art: How it can be made to Flourish*, 6-7.

1750-19 " (drawn entirely from A. Rockefeller's collection) and the 1933 "Sources of Modern Art: Aztec, Mayan, Incan." [Figure 1.14] Wendy Jeffers believes that the *Sources* show was the "first in a series of exhibitions at MOMA that attempted to investigate the aesthetic rather than the ethnographic importance of primitive art."[100] A key statement in Cahill's exhibition catalogue essay is worth noting here: "There is no intention here to insist that ancient American art is a major source of modern art. Nor is it intended to suggest that American artists should turn to it as the source of native expression. It is intended, simply, to show the high quality of ancient American art, and to indicate that its influence is present in modern art…"[101] While the majority of his commentary on the ancient American objects presented here is praiseworthy, (he is impressed by their technical virtuosity and linear detail given the "primitive" tools employed) he does mention their limitations in terms of design: "For the modern taste the minus quality in the art of the Maya and other peoples of America, such as the Zapotec, is a fear of space, a tendency to overdesign and crowd detail."[102]

In addition to describing specific examples and their compositional and design features, he also provides a brief western historiography on Ancient American art. He cites a well-known 1848 John L. Stephens study of ancient Mayan art and recognizes the role that this text and its illustrations by Catherwood had on bringing the art of the ancient Americas into 19th-century primitivist and archaeological dialogues. Cahill did not recognize the colonial act of Stephens' recognition and framing of ancient American objects and sculpture as "art." Instead, citing Stephens, he equally marveled at the visual product "of a people skilled in architecture, sculpture and drawing…and possessing the cultivation and refinement attendant upon them, not derived from the Old World, but originating and growing up here, without models or masters, having a distinct, separate, independent existence; like the plants and fruits of the soil, indigenous."[103] What Cahill recognized of value here was art and design derived entirely and literally outside of the Old World—it had emerged from the soil of the American continent itself. The works he included by Max Weber, John Flannagan, Anne A. Morris, and Marion Walton illustrate the ways in which U.S. American artists, like their Mexican contemporaries, could participate in this Pan-American dialogue with the past. Max Weber, like Constance Rourke, had studied examples of Native art in New York's Museum of Natural History (Alaskan and PreColumbian).

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[100] Jeffers, 8. The MOMA American Sources of American Art (Aztec, Mayan, Incan) exhibit was held from May 8-July 1, 1933. The exhibition featured more than 2 objects from ancient Mexico, Central America and Peru (all from existing U.S. American collections) as well as contemporary works by Diego Rivera, Carlos Merida, Max Weber, Jean Charlot and others. For installation photos, catalogue, and exhibition list see: https://www.moma.org/calendar/exhibitions/2932

Holger Cahill, "American Sources of Modern Art," exhibition catalogue introduction, in *American Sources of Modern Art: Aztec, Mayan, Incan,* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1933), 5-21.

[101] Cahill, "American Sources of Modern Art," 5.

[102] Cahill, "American Sources of Modern Art,"11.

It is unclear why didn't Cahill's brief engagement with the truly "Indigenous" Americas did not carry over into his work with the Index. But in general, his experience as a folk art collector, consultant, and exhibition curator would serve him well in the promotion of the Index. In a brochure commemorating an exhibit of the Index of American Design, "Old and New Paths in American Design 1720-1936," he highlighted the connection between the Index and Dana's vision: "the works shown in this exhibition are the products of group activity, of collaboration between painters, sculptors, designers and craftsmen, looking toward the integration of the arts with daily life of the community and an integration between the fine arts and the practical arts."[104] In a 1937 speech delivered in St. Louis, Cahill summed up the Index's task, again, highlighting the significance of ordinary objects: the compilation of a "pictorial history of the decorative arts in America" which would be composed of "accurate, documented drawings and photographs assembled in portfolios, and which will give us a comprehensive picture of the arts of everyday life in America." His easy conflation of "decorative arts" with "the arts of everyday life," is symptomatic of the artistic dialogues of the era, which commonly and arbitrarily employed terms that were still evolving, such as "folk," "common man," "regional," "provincial," and "decorative." In the same speech, he avoided a definition of "American Design," recognizing that, due to its "manifold strains and numerous transformations," lacked the continuity and express directionality of

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[103] Cahill, "Sources," 17, citing Stephens, J.L. *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas and Yucatan*. 2 vols. Illustrated by Frederick Catherwood, (New York: no publisher name, 1841), Cahill provides no page. Stephens and Catherwood "discovered" Mayan cities in the jungles, as well as other civilizations that came to be labeled "Classic" due to their technical level and stylistic sophistication, considered by western scholars to be on par with Ancient Greek classical art. Catherwood's romanticized illustrations of Maya bas relief and monuments also feature the local landscapes and the Maya people themselves. For more on the western reception of Pre-Columbian art, see George Kubler's book, *Esthetic Recognition of Ancient Amerindian Art* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1991).

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[104] The exhibition was held in November of 1936 at the Newark Museum. Beatrice Winser wrote in the introduction, "this exhibition of American Design carries on the work of John Cotton Dana… a pioneer in the movement to beautify objects of everyday use." Archives of American Art, Holger Cahill Papers, Exhibition Announcement and Catalogs, 1936, Reel 5295 Frame 831 (full catalog frames 829-836) Series 8 Printed Material 1910-1985.

Europe's design history.[105] Turning to the populist philosophy of Dana, he explained, "The arts of design… express the daily life of people."[106]

Cahill, Rourke, and others involved in promoting folk art in the 1930s had, as early as 1932, began to use the term "folk" in place of the previously used "primitive" to describe their collections.[107] This terminology would directly impact their positioning and presentation of the Native American designs they encountered in Southern California as "folk." In his 1932 essay, "Folk Art: Its Place in the American Tradition," Cahill provided his rationale for eliminating the term "primitive" and replacing it with the term "folk" or "popular" in describing the production of American objects and images by untrained artists. He also presented the argument that American folk art was much more concerned with/rooted in design than in surface realism, and that this fact relates it directly to the work of modern artists.[108]

Constance Rourke sought to tie the collection and illustration of American folk objects to other folk traditions. "I believe that we may learn just as much about the national character from our folklore and our folksongs as from files of the Federalist or the history of the Mexican War. Surely we cannot know our fully (sic) history – and I suppose it is about our history and ourselves that we are likely to be patriotic..."[109] Index Editor Adolph Glassgold also believed that the Index should turn to the provincial and the folk as their main source. "It became generally felt (after Depression) and variously expressed that we had too long neglected that phase of our cultural heritage which hade evidenced itself in the humbler arts and crafts, and that the picture of our plastic tradition would be incomplete if limited to the so-called fine arts."[110]

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[105] "Index of American Design," speech given by Holger Cahill, St. Louis, 1937
Holger Cahill Papers, 1910-1993, bulk 1910-1960. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. Reel 5290, Frames 1272-1286 [Index of American Design] Frame 1280

[106] Idem, "American Resources in the Arts," reprinted in the foreword of Francis V. O'Connor, *Art for the Millions*, 42.

[107] Lessing, Lauren. *A Usable Past: American Folk Art at the Colby College Museum of Art* (Waterville, MN: Colby College Museum of Art, 2016).

[108] Cahill, "Folk Art: Its Place in the American Tradition," *Parnassus* 4, no. 3 (March 1932): 1-4.

While folk art was a significant focus of the national project, the categorization of Native American and Spanish Colonial design as "folk" would be tenuous and due to its spiritual nature, still very much connected to primitivism. E. Boyd, a New Mexico Index artist who later (1952) became curator of the Department of Spanish Colonial Arts at the Museum of New Mexico, wrote, "Looking at (the religious art of New Mexico) we find the recurrence of the individual strain, which runs through Spanish art of all time. Deprived, by circumstance, of the somber richness to which it sometimes had access, it retains its intensity and mysticism, its abstraction from meaning from physical limitations. When we consider that this art was put forth at the same time that Benjamin West was admired, and existed until Currier and Ives were household words, it is even more striking in its negation of reality."[111]

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[109] Constance Rourke, "American Tradition for Young People," Holger Cahill Papers, 1910-1993, bulk 1910-1960, Series: Articles and Reports from 1937, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

[110] Glassgold, "Recording American Design," reprinted in O'Connor, *Art for the Millions*, 167-170.

[111] E. Boyd, transcript of radio talk for opening of the exhibition, "Primitive American Art: Santos and New Mexico," Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Santa Barbara, California, November 17, 1946. (cited by Donna Pierce in Foreword of *Saints and Saint Makers of New Mexico*, E. Boyd, Revised and edited by Robin Farwell Gavin, Santa Fe, NM: Western Edge Press, 1998. Originally published by the Laboratory of Anthropology, Santa Fe, 1946.) Today, many of the *santos* and *retablos* documented by the New Mexico Index are displayed

European collections of Oceanic and African "primitive" art were known to American avant-garde circles via travel; upon return to the United States, many artists, including Charles Sheeler and Max Weber sought indigenous examples that had the same "savage" (formally, meaning "stylized") characteristics. Weber was impressed with the collection of the Museum of Natural History, which included a "marvellous (sic) collection of Aztec, Yucatan, (and) Incan art…it was the museum I visited most, for here I gained ever increasing understanding of the art of the primitives and the art of the Western (American) continent."[112] Such statements illustrate the common association made by early 20th-century modern artists between the "genuinely" primitive arts of some African and Oceanic regions and the technically and chronologically evolved arts of the Inca, Maya and Aztec. As the European moderns had collected Japanese prints, Oceanic, prehistoric Iberian art, etc., he and Sheeler began to collect "primitive" examples that could be included and visually appropriated into their modern paintings. Their loose application of the term "primitive" allowed for the equal consideration of similarly stylized art forms; thus, their resulting form of modernism referenced not only Pre-Columbian, but also works by American 19th-century itinerant and untrained artists.

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in the Harwood Museum in Santa Fe, and many attributed to the same *santeros* are displayed in the International Museum of Folk Art, also in Santa Fe. This Museum's website states that, "while there is no one definition of folk art, generally, it is ART that: may be decorative or utilitarian; may be used every day or reserved for high ceremonies; is handmade; may be made for use within a community of practice or it may be produced for sale as a form of income or empowerment; may be learned formally or informally; folk art may be self-taught; may include intangible forms of expressive culture; is traditional; is of, by, and for the people." http://www.internationalfolkart.org/learn/what-is-folk-art.html

[112] Elizabeth Stillinger, *A Kind of Archeology: Collecting American Folk Art, 1876-1976* (Amherst; Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011), 394.

Art historian Wanda Corn has identified the work of Cahill, Rourke and (collector) Edith Halpert as key players in the introduction of a "new paradigm" in the history of American art, one in which 19th-century vernacular art, not imported European traditions, served as the point of origin. All three believed that this new paradigm was justified in the modernist paintings of Charles Sheeler, who collected and often visually recorded folk art in his own works. Following Corn, Tuttle Clayton also considered this new paradigm and "the complexities of this modernist gaze into the past," but situated the Index as participants. [113] Like Sheeler, the Index meticulously rendered their subjects. Their watercolors served to both record "the evidence of an American tradition, and through their style, participated in that tradition."[114]

In his 1931 painting, *Americana*, Sheeler depicted the interior of his home in South Salem, New York. [Figure 1.15] He precisely rendered several objects in his personal collection of early American furniture and textiles, many of which feature geometric patterns, clean edges and smooth textures. Among the objects is a wooden Shaker box and tray, a trestle table, a Shaker bench, a backgammon set, and several handwoven rugs. As in the rest of this series of seven paintings based on the same subject, he chose to present these "American objects" with photographic clarity, but also within an asymmetrical composition of tilted planes and flattened forms, which serve to emphasize the two-dimensional design elements of each. He composed some of the paintings of his home interior looking down on the room from a staircase, which may account for this perspectival distortion, though it is also possible that he worked from photographs of the objects and the room itself in order to render their surface details. The title of the painting points to the fact that Precisionists (like Sheeler and Demuth), like Regionalist painters, were equally invested in "American values." Now in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum, the curator writes, "The painting is as much of a portrait of the artist's living space as it is a statement about national pride and the values of home craftsmanship."[115] It is easy to understand why Sheeler was considered a perfect model of the type of "modern" artist the Index watercolors might serve and inform, both in the sense of design and American nationalism. While their motivations for identifying and employing indigenous-modernist forms may have differed, both Sheeler and the Index were invested in the blending of these forms with American historicism and a regionalist national identity.[116]

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[113] Tuttle Clayton, "Picturing a Useable Past," in *Drawing on America's Past: Folk Art, Modernism, and the Index of Americans Design* (Washington: D.C.: National Gallery of Art and Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), 23. For a full explanation of this new paradigm, see Wanda Corn, *The Great American Thing: Modern Art and National Identity 1915*-1935 (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1999), 334-347.

[114] Tuttle Clayton, 24.

Modern American Art in the 1930s and the Search for Indigenous Roots

Cahill, Rourke, and other FAP administrators rarely noted that their task of identifying and documenting indigenous American "roots" had been undertaken by several modern artists in the decade prior to the New Deal art projects. For example, the

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[115] Metropolitan Museum of Art website, "Charles Sheeler, Americana," https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/486014

[116] Kristina Wilson argues that Sheeler's series of paintings featuring his American furnishings collection, and his collecting practice itself, was not a celebration, but rather an ironic critique of the collecting fad for all things Americana. "Ambivalence, Irony, and Americana: Charles Sheeler's 'American Interiors' *Winterthur Portfolio* Vol. 45, No. 4 (Winter 2011): 249-276.

American painter Marsden Hartley (1877-1943) sought to the identify the "spirit of the place" as he traveled throughout the United States and Europe. In 1918, during his trip to the Southwest, he engaged with both contemporary Pueblo Indian artisans and Catholic *santeros* who were, in turn, digging into their Native, Catholic and Spanish heritages. His series of *santos* painted in 1918-19 are Cezanne-like still life arrangements, blending elements of these separate and "reinvented" traditions: a colorful *bulto* or *ex-voto* of a saint, an Indian or Mexican blanket or shawl, native plants and Indian pottery. Through his positioning of boldly colored, fragmented planes, and patterns, the artist combines these historically-disparate motifs into a (Cubist) modern vein. [Figure 1.16] Art historian Wanda Corn credits Hartley, B.J.O. Nordfelt, Raymond Johnson and Bert Phillips with popularizing the southwestern still-life in this period.[117] Georgia O'Keeffe (1887-1986) made a few small still lifes of Hopi Kachinas and wooden *santos* of the Virgin Mary in 1929-31, building on the now-established format for painting, in a modern style, the physical objects and subjects of local artisans from a distinct American region.[118]

While traveling and living in the Southwest, Hartley and O'Keeffe didn't have to dig deep for these still-life objects/subjects, as many had already found their way into private collections within their modernist circle of friends, including Mabel Dodge Lujan's.[119] Thus, these American still life paintings both documented the contemporary

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[117] Corn, "The Rooted," in *The Great American Thing: Modern Art and National Identity, 1915-1935,* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1999), 262.

[118] For example, see her *Hopi Kachina*, 1929-31, Georgia O'Keeffe Museum, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

[119] For more on Lujan's collection of folk art, see Flannery Burke's *From Greenwich Village to Taos: Primitivism and Place in Mabel Dodge Lujan's* (William P. Clements Center for Southwest Studies, Southern Methodist University, Culture America Series Editors Karal Ann Marling and Erika Doss, University Press of Kansas, 2 8). She focuses on three constructs related to folk art in Lujan's circle: modernism, primitivism and place, but she also emphasizes "primitive authenticity." 29.

(and popular) archive of indigenous art forms and media, while simultaneously drawing from their (indigenous) designs, colors and compositions. This conflation of modern/indigenous aesthetics and conceptual modes of representation (does the still life function as a “collection”/means of collecting an object or as an abstract collection of forms?) leads to a key question also pertinent to interpreting the Index renderings—is Native art presented as American object or subject?

An Index rendering of a *retablo* produced by George E. Rhone, who worked within the Southwest/New Mexico state project, bears comparison with Hartley’s still-life paintings of the same subject—it is unclear whether Rhone knew of Hartley’s work, but art historically speaking, the Hartley and O’Keeffe still-lifes can be positioned as a precursor. [Figure 1.17] Unlike Hartley’s painting, the Rhone watercolor’s effect is illusionistic rather than abstract. It is not easy to ascertain whether we are looking at a photograph of the *retablo* or a recreation of the original object. The frontal figure of the Christ child, linking hands with Mary and Joseph is set against a backdrop of wood grain. The colors are intentionally faded and parts of Christ garment or overlaid with wood scars and dents. While the artist has successfully captured the stylized features of the saints’ drapery, haloes, facial features. there is no emphasis on “design” elements. Instead, the *retablo* is presented in its Byzantine visual entirety. The Index rendering was intended to function as simulacrum; however, through the process of public exhibition, it could also be appreciated as a new American work of art itself.

While the Index national and Southwest projects had not yet been established at the time of Hartley’s *santo* paintings, this brief comparison demonstrates that the Index artists were still involved in the same conundrum as the aforementioned early 20th-century painters—they were supposed to be looking for indigenous art that would inspire modern artists, but they already knew what the "modernized" indigenous looked like. To add to this, some of the Index artists were modern artists themselves. In sum, Index artists were drawing from the same sources and collections as their earlier modern artist predecessors had.

In her modern conceptualizations of the Southwest, O'Keeffe was greatly indebted to Arthur Wesley Dow, whose personal projects in that region represent another important precursor to the Index project of the 1930s. With a career spanning the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, his interest in visiting and visually documenting the landscape and Native peoples of the West was a direct response to Turner's 1893 Frontier Thesis. However, several photographs, sketches and writings "documenting" his 1911-12 visits to the pueblos of Arizona and New Mexico reveal his more specific interests in geology, archaeology, anthropology and most significantly, Native composition and design motifs. Dow's work is key, because the Index SoCal and New Mexico artists would approach their study and recreation of Native designs in a similar vein, merging and blurring the lines between these evolving academic disciplines.

While Dow was inspired by the late 19th-century ethnological studies conducted by Cushing and Powell in the region, he realized that his key contribution must be the documentation of Native design.[120] He encouraged modern artists to discover and incorporate the art of "mound builders, cliff dwellers, pueblo tribes, Alaskans, Aztecs, Mayans and Peruvians," arguing that "we shall find in their design a source of fresh impulses for designing in line and in color, for carving and modeling; and these will do their part toward expressing American life through a distinctively American art."[121] Beyond his commitment to straight documentation, however, resided a belief in the spiritual presence within these designs. Thus, the methodology he promoted was one in which a knowledge of sacred practices and Native mythology was essential. The Index, however, who would continue Dow's investigation of the art of the Southwest in the following decade, disregarded the spiritual aspects of the designs they documented there.

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[120] Frank Hamilton Cushing (1857-1910) was an American anthropologist and ethnologist who studied the Zuni Indians of New Mexico. He is credited with the introduction of "cultural relativism," the idea that all

Within the American art scene, Brooks' concept of a "usable past" was taken in several distinct yet intersecting paths—at the same time that American modernists rediscovered folk, Native and colonial arts traditions, many of those "outsider" artists, including Native, Hispanic and Appalachian, were reinventing these very traditions to serve new patrons and markets. Thus, as Miller, Berlo, et al argue, "commercial interests as well appropriated aspects of the 'usable past,' contributing to the commodification of history."[122] The national Index project itself must be understood in this economic context,

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people draw from their own cultural practices, beliefs and systems in their understanding of the world around them; in his view, no culture was more advanced than another. He was invited by John Wesley Powell of the Bureau of American Ethnology to join an expedition to New Mexico in 1879. Cushing was the first anthropologist to live among the Zuni (1879-1884). He published numerous essays and books based on his experiences. For a thorough treatment of Cushing and his writings on the Zuni, see Jesse Green's *Cushing at Zuni: The Correspondence and Journals of Frank Hamilton Cushing 1879-1893* (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1990).

[121] Arthur Dow, "Designs from Primitive American Motifs," *Teachers College Record* 16 (March 1915): 34. This essay includes illustrations of Dow's "Swastika design and variation of Yucatan hieroglyphs from his catalogue of "Primitive Native American Motifs."

[122] Angela L. Miller, Janet Catherine Berlo, Bryan J. Wolf and Jennifer Roberts. *American Encounters: Art, History, and Cultural Identity* (Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Pearson Education, Inc. 2 8), 48.

and their involvement in the processes of cultural/artistic appropriation and commercial promotion must be considered. In other words, the federal government's (the Index and Cahill's) active participation in the modernist "search for roots," combined with its corporate/capitalist partnerships, resulted in the wholesale commodification of the folk aesthetic.

In relation to their involvement in commodifying and commercializing indigenous designs, the problems of misappropriation were never really addressed by the Index administrators. One exception was Adolph Glassgold, one of the Index editors, who recognized the dangers that lie in the "accumulation of traditional material," namely, imitation and loss of authenticity.[123] However, he did not discuss the solutions to this problem, simply concluding that "the Index's serving as a fertilizing influence more than compensates for courting the dangers of imitation." This is a significant statement in that it highlights the Index's intention to find and take what they found "usable" regardless of the effect their reproductions might have on the Indigenous traditions from which they drew.

The Southern California (SoCal) Index Mission Project

While Cahill officially eliminated Native American art from the national project, the Southern California Index mission studies would be the only one of the state projects to directly recognize and include it. In 1936, California established two Index projects: Southern California (SoCal) and Northern California (California).[124] The national directors and editors emphasized that the individual state projects should record material of local or regional origin. Both the SoCal and California projects directed their efforts toward recording the state's Spanish heritage, with a focus on the art of the missions, ranchos and presidios. Unlike the national administrators working out of D.C., whose experiences centered on the marketing and exhibition of folk art, the SoCal supervisors and directors were locally recruited. One supervisor had a background in fresco painting.[125] The SoCal Index project, which dealt directly with the mission wall paintings, will be discussed in depth in the following chapters.

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[123] Glassgold, "Recording American Design," 1936, Holger Cahill Papers, 1910-1993, bulk 1910-1960, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian, Series: Articles and Reports from 1936-41, Reel 1107, Frames 1146-1152; republished in O'Connor, *Art for the Millions*, 973, 167-70.

[124] For clarity, from this point forward, I will refer to the two California Index projects as "SoCal Index" and "NoCal Index," though the Index and the National Gallery refer to them as "SoCal" and "Cal."

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[125] Marion Parks was the first SoCal Index project supervisor. Several of her correspondences to Washington indicate that supervisors were expected to be directly involved in fieldwork. For example, she reported on the "discovery" of underpaintings at Mission San Fernando to the National Coordinator, Adolph Glassgold. Laurie Weitzenkorn, "Plan for an Exhibition on the Index of American Design, SoCal, Unpublished xeroxed notes and documents, c. late 1980s, National Gallery, Drawing and Prints Department files, 9. (Weitzenkorn provides her source, which I did not consult: Marion Parks to C. Adolph Glassgold, Coordinator of the Index of American Design, Washington, D.C., 14 August 1936, RG69, state series for Ca. 615.315.) Parks was also physically involved in the work at Mission Santa Ines, where she recalled, "(I) had time to do a little research myself… I found that the decoration on the side walls of the sacristy is superimposed over the original design." Marion Parks to Frank J. McCoy, Santa Maria Inn, Santa Maria, California, 1 July 1936, Index of American Design Research Files Weitzenkorn notes that "the letter goes on to express her desire to raise money from private sources to fund Index artists to restore the original decorations. It is unclear whether this ever happened." 35, fn 26. Warren W. Lemmon was named Supervisor, Index of American Design, Federal Art Project, Southern California in 1936. Lemmon took over the work of Mrs. Nelson H. Partridge Jr. (Marion Parks) who resigned shortly after her marriage to "the general head of the FAP work in Southern California." Lemmon was a graduate of the University of California School of Architecture. According to a newspaper report of his Index assignment, he had "went abroad for four year (sic) and studied advanced design at the Beaux Arts, including fresco painting, and later returned and finished the art course at the University." *Santa Barbara Daily News*, September 1, 1936, clipping, no page, "copy of deteriorated original," National Gallery of Art, Gallery Archives, Washington, D.C., (Folder: Reference Files-Publicity-1936-September-December). A Channel Counties newspaper reported on Lemmon's duties, which involved research, fieldwork and travel: "material that is being recorded is carefully verified as to time and place. This is part of the work Bro. Lemmon has charge of, in addition to judging as to whether the artist has done the work well enough for a faithful reproduction… Bro Lemmon's work takes him from San Diego to Paso Robles and San Miguel. Artists are working out of Los Angeles, San Diego and Riverside and much has been recorded and filed in Washington, D.C. from the Channel Counties." *Channel Counties Mason*, February, 1937, NGA Reference Files- Publicity- 1937. Other key staff included Homer W. Evans, who served as Information Director, District II, Federal Art Project, Los Angeles; Dana Bartlett served as Supervisor, Southern California Index of American Design. (*Handwriting*, 11.)

The SoCal Index had offices in downtown, Los Angeles.[126] Their various offices in the city's Historic Core placed them within close proximity of several Spanish and Mexican cultural venues, including Olvera Street, an idyllic Mexican village situated just blocks from Union Station, the Catholic Cathedral of Saint Vibiana (built 1822-1861), and *La Iglesia de Nuestra Señora la Reina de Los Angeles* (*La Placita),* a Catholic church (though not a mission) founded by the Spanish in 1784.[127] The site commemorates the site of Los Angeles' first pueblo, settled in 1781. In the 1930s, both *La Placita* and St. Vibiana displayed or stored collections of "mission-era" paintings and sculpture. Olvera Street, a commercial venture and tourist attraction had been envisioned and executed by Christine Sterling in 1930.[128] In 1932, the Mexican muralist David Alfaro Siqueiros was commissioned by Sterling and LA city officials to paint a large mural entitled *América Trópical* on the wall of the Italian Hall in Olvera Street.[129] The Index administrators were well aware of the presence and impact of Mexican muralism on the city of Los Angeles, and on California art in general.[130] Several WPA murals were painted in Southern California during the length of the SoCal Index's run, and it is likely that these would have heightened the Index artists' and supervisors' interests in fresco and wall painting techniques and histories. Downtown Los Angeles is within a short distance of Mission San Gabriel and Mission San Fernando, and within a two-hour drive of the missions in the Santa Barbara and San Diego areas.

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[126] Addresses stamped on Data Report Sheets and on the back of several watercolor renderings include: 2404 W. 7th St. Los Angeles (Index FAP); 1634 Temple St. Los Angeles; 1845 S. Western Ave. Los Angeles (This last office was called "SoCal Art Project.")

[127] *La Iglesia Nuestra Señora Reina de Los Angeles* (Our Lady Queen of Angels Church), or "*La Placita*," or was designed by the same architect/mason José Antonio Ramírez, who built the fourth mission church at Santa Barbara c. 1815-20.

[128] Alvaro Parra, "Olvera Street: The Fabrication of L.A.'s Mexican Heritage," KCET *History and Society*, September 13, 2013. Also see Phoebe Kropp, "The Market: Olvera Street and Urban Space," in *California Vieja*, 207-260 for a full discussion of the history of Olvera Street and its paradoxical relationship to Los Angeles' Mexican history, heritage and memory.

[129] The mural was whitewashed by the city shortly after its completion in 1932 due to its controversial subject matter, which included an Indigenous peon crucified on cross, with an American eagle perched menacingly above him. This imagery was read by Anglo-American government officials in Los Angeles as a statement opposing U.S. imperialism in Latin America and the Indigenous Americas at large.

[130] Cahill included Mexican muralism as one of the possible sources for modern American artists to draw from. "Government support of art was undertaken in a striking fashion in the 1920's (sic) by the Republic of

The Index were not the first or only Federal Art Project in California. The Farm Security Administration had arrived in 1935 and worked to capture images of Dust Bowl migrations to California.131 What was not pictured by the FSA were the Mexican deportations simultaneously taking place under the Mexican Repatriation Program. The federal Civil Conservation Corps undertook a massive restoration project at Mission La Purísima from 1934-1941, one of the largest and longest restoration projects ever undertaken in the nation.[132] As I will demonstrate in the next chapters, the Index would highlight the Spanish element of the designs they located on the walls of the California missions and downplay or disregard the Mexican element.

In 1930s California, interest in preserving the California missions had been taking place since the late 19th century. These preservation efforts, largely overseen by Anglo-American patrons, intersected regularly with an emerging Spanish fantasy heritage and the two major architectural revivals in the state: Mission Revival (1890s-1920s) and

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Mexico…From the work of that group came an art movement which spread through the country and far across its borders…" *New Horizons in American Art*, (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1936), 17. Also see O'Connor, *Art for the Millions*, "Murals," 47-78, for numerous references to the impact of Mexican muralism on the Federal Art Project murals.

[131] Kiger, Patrick J. "How the Dust Bowl Made Americans Refugees in Their Own Country," January 4, 2019, History Channel; https://www.history.com/news/dust-bowl-migrants-california

[132] http://www.150.parks.ca.gov/?page_id=27513

Spanish Colonial Revival (1915- 1940).[133] By the time of the establishment of the Index of American Design, many of the twenty-one Franciscan missions, which had fallen into disrepair after their secularization in the 1830s, had been renovated and restored twice over. Throughout the 1930s, the national awareness of California's rich history, art history and cultural legacy was minimal. From the nation's perspective, California was the "frontier," and the majority of the American public still associated the early history of the state with the Gold Rush, not its Spanish, Mexican and Native American histories.

The New Mexico Index project ran concurrently with the SoCal Index. While there appears to be no direct involvement between the two projects, some of their visual products were later combined into the general catalogues of Spanish Southwest design. [134]

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[133] Carey McWilliams coined the term "Spanish fantasy heritage" during the late 1940s, most specifically, in *North From Mexico: The Spanish Speaking People of the United States,* New Edition, Updated by Matt S. Meier (New York, Westport, Connecticut, London: Greenwood Press, 1990). Originally published in 1948). He posits that in the Anglo-American construct of the early 20th-century, Spanish heritage was romanticized while actual Mexican heritage was downplayed, erased, or marginalized. Also see his *Southern California: An Island on the Land* (New York: Dull, Sloan and Pearce, 1946).

[134] After the Index project (and FAP) ended, materials from the So Cal Offices were sent to MOMA. The visual materials (watercolor renderings and prints) were transferred and stored in the Painting and Prints Department of the National Gallery, Washington, D.C., where they remain. The correspondences and documents of the So Cal and Cal Index are now stored in National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C. Record Group 69: Records of the Works Progress Administration, state series for California 651.3155. Some Index materials were never sent to D.C.; these "remainders" are now in the collection of the Los Angeles Museum of Natural History. The Index's Southern California (So Cal) Mission watercolors were grouped together with the New Mexico project into a portfolio of prints (based on original drawings by Hal Blakeley) entitled *Decorative Arts of Spanish California Selected by the Index of American Design,* with an Introduction by Lanier Bartlett (Southern California Art Project, Federal Works Agency, Works Progress Administration, undated). Later volumes published by the National Gallery include *Folk Art of the Spanish Southwest: from the Index of American Design* (Washington, D.C., Department of Education Resources, National Gallery of Art, 1996), *The Art of the Spanish Southwest: an Exhibition of Water-color Renderings from the Index of American Design* (Washington, D.C.: The National Gallery of Art, The United States-Mexico Commission for Border Development and Friends, no date), and the museum's permanent website, entitled, "Folk Art of the Spanish Southwest from the Index of American Design," https://www.nga.gov/features/slideshows/folk-arts-of-the-spanish-southwest-from-the-index-of-american-de.html

While the emphasis in New Mexico was on documenting *bultos* and *retablos,* in California, the artists and administrators would focus their efforts on mission architecture, liturgical objects and wall painting designs. The production of the designs was variously attributed to Mexican artists and Native painters working under the direction of Spanish Franciscan priests. In their reliance on Spanish, Catholic, and Franciscan histories and art histories, the SoCal Index artists and administrators would attempt, but struggle to tie these unfamiliar pasts to the national Index's notions of "folk," "modern," and "indigenous."

CHAPTER II: Native Painting as a Usable Past: “A Kind of Archeology”

In most of their Data Report Sheets, the Index artists and administrators employed a colonial nomenclature, referring to the Indigenous peoples of the various missions as “Indians” or “neophytes,” though in some of their in-depth investigations and written documentation of Missions San Fernando and San Luis Rey, as in many contemporaneous accounts, the Index named the same peoples in specific reference to the Spanish missions that were built on their lands. Between 1797 and 1820, about 2 0 Tongva, Chumash and Tataviam speakers of various lineages were pulled from their villages and enslaved at the Mission San Fernando Rey. This multi-ethnic population came to be known as Fernandeño.[1] Likewise, the Native populations at Mission San Luis Rey (Quechnajuisom, or “People of Quechla,”) and its *asistencia* at Pala came to be known collectively as Luiseño, which also included the neighboring cultural groups, Cupeño, Cahuilla and Northern Diegueño (Kumeyaay).[2] . [Figure 2.1]

Though their regional, linguistic and political histories varied (and are too complex to present here) the Native peoples of southern California shared a long tradition of painted images—in the pre-mission era, the painting of rocks, caverns, floors and bodies served as means of accessing and shaping the sacred, and were often associated with shamanistic rituals, the ingestion of the hallucinogen *toloache*, and the cult of

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[1] John R. Johnson, “The Indians of Mission San Fernando,” *Southern California Quarterly*, Mission San Fernando Rey Bicentennial Quarterly, Vol. 79, no. 3 (1997): 252. In early 1814, Fr. Pedro Muñoz and Fr. Joaquin Pacual Nuez reported three dominant languages spoken by Native converts living near the mission they had founded: 40% spoke Gabrielino/Tongva, 25%Tataviam, and 24%Ventureño Chumash. The remaining 9% spoke Serrano, the language of those who had come to San Fernando from the Antelope Valley.

[2] Jim Downs, *The Real World of Mission San Luis Rey* (Oceanside, California: Old Mission San Luis Rey Historic Foundation), 61.

Chinigchinich (referred to by the Tongva at Mission San Gabriel as Qu-o-ar.")[3] Several of the rock/cave paintings feature human, anthropomorphic figures and astronomical imagery painted primarily in a palette of red, black, yellow and white pigments. [Figure 2.2] Geometric designs painted on rock mirror those found on baskets. [Figure 2.3] By the 1930s, both Franciscan friars and American archaeologists had recorded many of the sacred rituals and designs of the first Southern Californians, many of which have survived into the mission and post-mission eras.[4]

The Index spent a significant amount of time in the Santa Barbara area, documenting wall paintings at Missions Santa Barbara, Santa Ynez, San Buenaventura and La Purísima.[5] In their various Data Report Sheets and written descriptions of wall paintings at these missions, they make reference to the local rock paintings of the Chumash. It is not clear whether any of the same So Cal Index artists or supervisors who were commissioned to document the mission wall paintings ever visited the Chumash sites. However, several colored lithographs of Chumash rock art, produced by the San Francisco commercial artist Lala Eve Rivol, are included in the Index research files.

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[3] Kenneth E. and Carol M. Pauley, *San Fernando Rey de España: An Illustrated History* (Spokane, Washington: Arthur H. Clarke Co., 2 5): 29 and 30.

[4] For example, Alfred Kroeber included diagrams and descriptions of basket designs in his "Basket Designs of the Mission Indians of California," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol 20, Part 3 (1922): 149-183. An 1846 account written by Friar Gerónimo Boscana at Mission San Juan Capistrano (1812-1826) includes descriptions of sacred rituals performed by the Acagchemem (Juaneño) Indians. The Index referenced the 1933 edition of the Boscana text in many of their reports and bibliographies, including Lanier Bartlett's August 23, 1939 list of sources. 4A2 Records of the Index of American Design, Subject Files-Spanish Colonial-Missions [Folder 1], National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. Gallery Archives. Bartlett cited it as follows: *Chinigchinich – A Historical Account of the Origin, Customs, and Traditions of the Indians at the Missionary Establishment of St. Juan Capistrano, Alta California Called the Acagchemem Nation*. Santa Ana: Santa Ana Junior College (1933); first published New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1846 in Alfred Robinson's *Life in California*.

[5] The So Cal Index had an office in Santa Barbara and maintained relationships with local archaeologists.

[Figure 2.4] Like the original petroglyphs, the prints feature two-dimensional geometric designs and patterns (zig-zags, diamonds, wheels, anthropomorphic figures, arrows, circles) in a red-ochre, black and white palette. Rivol has rendered the "background" to replicate the rough, uneven surfaces of the cave wall. Though Cahill had excluded Native American art from the Index SoCal project, the appearance of this print in their files suggests a level of collaboration/exchange between the Index and this related FAP project.[6] According to Paul Freeman, who wrote a brief biography of Rivol for the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco (holder since 1943 of the entirety of Rivol's lithographs and sketches) the artist was commissioned by the W.P.A. to "record rock art sites in the western United States."[7] Several of Rivol's prints are still filed together in the same National Gallery Archive folders as their mission design studies, so there is a high probability that the Index intended to use them to establish or reinforce connections between Native rock art and mission wall paintings.[8]

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[6] The State of Utah Alice Merrill Horne Art Collection website states that Rivol worked for "the WPA-era project, the Index of American Design." https://utahdcc.secure.force.com/public/PtlArtifacts?field=artApp__Artist__c&value=a0j70BleBAAS&heading=Lala%20Eve%20Rivol

[7] Paul Freeman, *The Rock Art Lithographs of Lala Eve Rivol* (Novato, California: LWL Consulting, 1997). Rivol also visited the Tule Indian Reservation to record Yokut pictographs, as well as petroglyph sites in Arizona and Nevada. The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco (FAMSF) collection includes her images of Chumash pictographs at Painted Rock (on the Carrizo Plains), Mutau Flats, Painted Cave (on San Marcos Pass), Salt Creek, Salisbury Potrero and Wheeler Ridge.

[8] These thirty-one prints were each assigned NGA catalogue numbers and are listed as "Index of American Design." 1943.8.7618- 7631. For a sampling, see: *Petroglyph in California* (corresponds to FAMSF L43.2.578); *Plate XIV from Prehistoric Rock Paintings: Tule Indian Reservation and Simmler, California* (corresponds to FAMSF L43.2.587); and *Untitled Petroglyph* (corresponds to FAMSF L43.2.565). There are also affinities between the mission paintings and several rock paintings found in caves of Baja, California, though these were not expressly mentioned by the Index in their reports. The earliest European description of Baja rock painting was by the Jesuits, who founded missions in that region in the mid 18th century. The pigments used to render human and animal figures were red-orange (red ocher), brick red (lava) and black (charcoal). This is the same color scheme present in Southern California Native rock art and in the mission wall paintings that the Index attributed to "Indians."

But beyond their possible knowledge of Rivol's contemporaneous and brief WPA print documentation of Southern California rock art, the Southern California Index artists, who were expecting to encounter "Spanish Colonial" design, arrived at the missions with little or no information on the Native peoples who produced many of the wall paintings within the church settings. In line with the New Deal emphasis on cataloguing and indexing American culture, the artists and their supervisors understood their main task to be a documentarian one—they sought to meticulously record the designs, creating *trompe l'eoil* renderings to be contributed to the national catalogue.

In 1936, a team of Index artists were sent to Mission San Fernando, located a short distance from their headquarters in downtown Los Angeles.[9] [Figure 0.8] They began to document furniture, architecture, textiles and wall-painting designs, as they planned to do at all the missions, but soon their project here took on a new dimension. In the process of preparing the walls of the padres' house for repainting, a piece of the crumbling plaster fell, exposing earth-colored designs and patterns. The Index artists and supervisors were quick to recognize the significance of these underpaintings as a possible source for the recovery of a rich chapter of lost American art history. After photographing and creating watercolor renderings, the "artist-explorers" as they came to be called by their supervisor, continued to chip away plaster, revealing an under layer of more colorful designs, which they attributed to Native artisans. In other states, Index teams were documenting designs that had already been curated and collected by the supervisors and their affiliates in the respective local art and antique circles. But in California, the project expanded from straightforward documentation to the tasks of discovery, recovery, historical research, restoration and re-creation. As previously mentioned, National Project Director Holger Cahill had envisioned the Index as "a kind of archaeology" – a quest to dig up what he loosely described as the "indigenous" arts of the nation.[10]

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[9] The artists who worked at San Fernando were R.W.R. Raylor, Norman Yeckley and Geoffrey Holt. (Identified on handwritten label on photograph of Index artists standing near "Olla with Native Flowers" painted doorway.) Unpublished and Untitled Notes, "Plan for an exhibition on the Index of American Design SoCal," Laurie Weitzenkorn, c. late 1980s, National Gallery of Art, uncatalogued folio.

The physical "discovery" of supposedly Indigenous wall paintings under several thick layers of plaster at Mission San Fernando was perfectly suited to this archaeological metaphor. Cahill had earlier made the decision to exclude Native American designs from the Index project, but in a national public relations sense, this discovery at San Fernando was too "usable" to pass up. In this chapter I demonstrate the ways in which the So Cal Index mission project was simultaneously 1) a means to discover and analyze the literal material products of Spanish/indigenous intersectionality, and 2) a metaphor for how such relationships where conceptualized historically in the 1930s.[11] The Index's simplistic interpretation and identification of "Native" designs ignores the complexity of the colonial and pre-colonial situations in which they arose.[12] This Chapter necessarily includes the voices of tribal nation representatives, who allow for the exploration of Native agency, intention, reception and resistance of these images, both in the mission era and into the present. Their contemporary perspectives will aid mission scholars in recognizing the essential relationship between “Western” temporality and nationalism. While the SoCal Index project did advance the uncovering and public awareness of Native American art, it often misunderstood, ignored or appropriated Native agency to meet its own ideological needs, which centered on a nation-building present. The Index’s construction of a usable past required a keen manipulation of the nation’s art historical present and future. In this construction, they ignored the Native conceptions of time so central to the interpretation of the original designs, a situation illustrated in two case studies I present here: the Index’s documentation of wall paintings at Mission San Fernando Rey and at the *asistencia* of Mission San Luis Rey at Pala. Using the SoCal Index’s notes and reports as a starting point, I also provide counter-readings and revised interpretations of the painted designs.

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[10] Holger Cahill, in Christensen, Erwin Ottomar, The *Index of American Design* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1950), xv.

[11] The art historiography of 16th-century Novo-Hispanic mission wall paintings has greatly evolved since the early 20th century, but recently expanded or revised notions on hybridity, mimicry, and acculturation have not yet been fully applied to the study of California mission wall paintings. In fact, their study and interpretation has remained grounded in the art historical framework of the 1930s. I seek to re-present the original designs as part of an Indigenous archive and system of knowledge, a project which challenges the national narrative created by the Index. Native authorship is denied by the Index archive as it exists today—in the National Gallery physical and digital catalogues, the designs are only attributed to the Index artist who produced the rendering in the 1930s, with no reference to the mission-era painter/designer (or even the culture).

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[12] Trained artists from Mexico (City) were sometimes sent to the Franciscan missions in California to compose and oversee interior fresco programs. While there is no specific documentation of their process and organization of labor, it has been assumed that the Mexican artist would sketch the preliminary composition and decorative scheme on the wall and Indian painters would fill in the color. These schemes were primarily Neoclassical in style and architectural in nature—Doric, Ionic and Corinthian columns, Greco-Roman urns, marbleized Pompeian-style walls, pediments, entablatures and pilasters served to frame oil paintings and *bultos* of saints situated within *retablos*, *reredos*, altars and niches. When non-classical elements were included within these painted architectural frameworks, scholars have assumed them to be “Native,” and the Index’s conclusions usually correspond with this view. Their typical stylistic criteria for this “Native” attribution include: profile views of animals, unmodulated forms, lack of naturalism, two-dimensionality, a limited color palette, geometric forms such as triangles and zig-zags, sketch-like or “crude” rendering, rigorous or visible brush strokes, stylized floral, astral, solar or lunar imagery.

The Index at Mission San Fernando

In an undated report, Southern California Index supervisor Homer W. Evans wrote that the falling plaster at San Fernando had "started a train of discovery of lost Indian paintings, showing the beginnings of mural art in California and uncovering designs to inspire artists of today."[13] He considered the discovery at San Fernando and the subsequent Index studies of mission wall paintings to be “the state’s most valuable contribution to this national project.”[14] The San Fernando discovery story was heavily promoted, not only in the Index’s official reports to D.C., but in newspapers, radio shows and exhibitions. [Figures 2.5 and 2.6]

On November 26, 1937, Warren Lemmon appeared on the University of California’s “Panorama of History” Series, which aired on KRKD, a progressive Los Angeles radio station located not far from the Index Office at 1634 Temple Street.[15] Frank Freidel, a Fellow in History at the University of Southern California, conducted an interview for a segment entitled, “Was There a Mission Style of Design?” The novelty of the San Fernando paintings was well suited to one of the Index’s purposes—the visual documentation of "unstudied" artistic traditions. When asked about the Index' purpose in California, Lemmon responded, "Naturally, the fragments of wall decorations in our mission studies have appealed to us as something heretofore relatively unconsidered by historians and artists. This has been a special place of our study… San Fernando proved to be our greatest find yet recorded."[16] Freidel posed a question which was a crucial question for the Index: "Undoubtedly… your plates will be of great value to the scholar. Do you think that they will also be of interest to the general public?"[17] In his response to this question, Lemmon attempted to distinguish the Index's work from current and previous romanticized narratives, noting that his team's focus on a unique period of "cultural development" under the Spanish Empire was of significance:

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[13] Homer W. Evans, “The Handwriting on the Walls: Artist Explorers Uncover Indian Wall Paintings Which Made Old Missions Bright with Colors,” Los Angeles: Index of American Design, c. 1940: 1. National Gallery Archives 1-2 MS. Evans’ essay is also archived as: 1910-1933, bulk 1910-1960, Archives of American Art Smithsonian Institution, Reel 5289, Frame 0378-0389.

[14] “Handwriting,” 3.

[15] The station was established as KMCS in 1927 in Inglewood, California, but moved to 541 S. Spring Street Los Angeles in 1932, just blocks from Lemmon’s office. The station shared a transmitter with KFSG 1120/1150. The International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, run by the controversial American Pentecostal evangelist and media celebrity Aimee Semple McPherson in the 1920s and 30s, bought KRKD 1150. Her broadcasted sermons appealed to migrant Southerners and Midwesterners who “found themselves frustrated by the complexities of life in urban southern California.” https://www.britannica.com/biography/Aimee-Semple-McPherson. After McPherson disappeared in 1926, it is unclear whether her KRKD listeners remained by the time of Lemmon’s 1937 interview, or if they were the same Anglo-American demographic (and shared the same concerns) as Semple’s followers. The radio interview transcript does not indicate if the Lemmon interview aired on KRKD 1120 or KRKD 1150.

> The story of El Camino Real … not only tells of the suffering of the padres, but the building of a chain. The strengthening of that chain of missions, through the training of the Indian tribes which caused a pastoral empire to exist. Then entered a period of cultural development when they were able to give more of their time and attention to the decoration of the walls and the embellishment of their chapels. It is from this rich period, when the missions flourished, that the remaining designs have survived, now to be copied by the Index of American Design and made available to the public as a true California art.[18]

Unlike Evans, he made no references to the direct agency of Native Californians in this art history.

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[16] Lemmon interview with Friedel, 1937, 1-2. "Was There a Mission Style of Design?" University of Southern California "Panorama of History" Series, Station KRKD, Los Angeles, Friday, November 26, 1937, 3:30 p.m. Frank Freidel, Fellow in History, University of. Southern California, interviewing Warren W. Lemmon, Supervisor for the Index of American Design; 44A2 Records of the Index of American Design, Reference Files, Radio Scripts, Los Angeles, St. Louis, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives. Lemmon participated in another interview which highlighted the Index's work at San Fernando: KECA, Los Angeles, No. 67 "Social Relations," June 9, 1938, 3:15 p.m. Dr. F. von Rossdell Mayer interviewing Mr. Warren W. Lemmon.

[17] Lemmon interview with Friedel, 1937, 6.

[18] Lemmon interview with Friedel, 1937, 6.

In 1936, *Los Angeles Times* reporter Kenneth Crist wrote a feature on the Index work at San Fernando which included several photographs of (Index) artists at work and the headline "American Art Comes Back to America."[19] The sub-headline read: "Experts are chipping skillfully at drab walls and paving the way for a complete portfolio of American expression—an integral part of the nation. Let's go into the field and watch them."[20] The "in the field" approach and friendly language, "pack up your gear and go into the field with the… personnel," points to an assumed American public interest in participating in the revelation of American art history. "This is the first time in any of the mission research yet done in California that wild animal paintings have been discovered in the church…"[21]Describing a sampling of Passion imagery (rooster, lamb, wheat) that the Index uncovered in the baptistry at Mission San Buenaventura, Crist noted that "the whole work is a perfect example of the primitive craftmanship supervised and softened by the teaching of the Padres."[22] "It was a rugged art that typified the New World, a practical, hard-lined, factual art that America had all but lost when her copy cat sons put on spats and went "softie." Today, a depression-purged nation is determined to bring it back."[23] The idea that the Depression was spurring on and making possible the "digging" for a usable past was often referenced in the Index writings, as was the need for American artists to move away from imitating European artistic traditions. That this

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[19] Kenneth Crist, "American Art Comes Back to America," *Los Angeles Times*, Oct. 11, 1936: 16-17.
[20] Ibid, 16.
[21] Ibid, 17.
[22] Ibid, 17.
[23] Ibid, 16.

"federal" message was being directly transmitted via local and major newspapers speaks to the success of the Index's publicity efforts.

Next, I discuss a small selection of the wall painting designs from the San Fernando mission that the Index chose to document and publicly promote, based on stylistic elements and subjects they identified as "Indian." Two of these are the "wild animal" paintings that Crist referred to in his L.A. Times article reporting the discovery. Notably, all four of the paintings I will discuss here were located not in the mission church, but in the *convento*, or the Padres House, which was built between 1810-1826.[24] [Figure 2.7]

The first design of interest at San Fernando was one "discovered under present coating of whitewash," on a doorway leading into the *sala* of the *convento.* Done in "distemper on plaster, depicting a hunting scene," it featured designs that Index artists immediately homed in on, as it was the only one containing both human and animal figures.[25] Index artist Geoffrey Holt was assigned this subject, and he did at least two renderings of it. These renderings are not identical. [Figure 2.8 and Figure 2.9] In both, an arch above the doorway is decorated with a row of triangles, with the bottom ends of the arch curling up into shapes that resemble sunbursts. Directly above the painted arch are two figures: on the left, a simplified but naturalistic rendering of a deer is presented in profile view. Slight modeling provides a three-dimensional quality. A black arrow pierces the deer's chest, and several drops of blood stream from it. On the right is a man dressed in a deer suit, aiming a bow and arrow toward the deer on the left. Other than the black arrows and bow, the entire painted scheme is done in umber/orange color. Holt has captured the various textures of wood, plastered wall and paint, paying great attention to the wooden doors, whose tripartite divisions and waving patterns have been described as a "River of Life" motif. In each of the three vertical sections, thick strokes of red paint have been used to highlight the waving lines of the wood grain.[26] Such scenes, which the Index recognized as depictions of indigenous life juxtaposed with Christian motifs—led supervisor Homer W. Evans to wonder, "Could the thoughts of this primitive Indian tribe be discovered? Were they fully Latinized or did they persist in expressing their own ideas and favorite designs?"[27]

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[24] The mission church was completed in 1806, fell into ruin after 1874, then restored in 1941, according to Neuerburg, *The Decoration of the California Missions* (Santa Barbara, California: Bellerophon Books, 1996), 66. The *convento* was built between 1810-1826. The exact location of the "Deer Hunt" scene is reported as "3rd doorway West of main entrance, façade of Mission House." Data Report Sheet, Index of American Design, June 23, 1937. SoCA MSCL 89 (a) b. The Padres' House built between 1810-1822, has also been referred to as the "Mission House," "*convento*," or "long building." These types of mission structures were usually not decorated, which makes the building unique amongst the missions.

[25] Distemper (used in ancient Egypt and Asia) is a whitewash made of water and chalk. Pigments mixed with animal-based or egg binders are applied the whitewash. It was common in the 30s to use this term to refer to frescos or any type of wall painting. The Index used this term on all the mission wall painting Data Report Sheets. The DRS corresponding to Geoffrey Holt's rendering of the "hunting scene," "distemper painting on plaster" is So.Ca. MSCL 89 (a), June 23, 1937, signed by Walter Lemmon.

A comparison of Holt's two renderings reveals key differences: in one of them, showed the state of ruin of the wood panel, the whitewash, the floor tiles and the painted designs themselves. These deer are more sketch-like, with less modeling. Even the floor tiles are chipped and broken. The second rendering does not show the effects of time—the painted designs are more fleshed out and detailed, as if more recently painted. Because the SoCal Index project was the only one that took on the task of physical recovery, all their San Fernando watercolors necessarily portray different temporal phases: 1. The state of the wall before chipping away the plaster. 2. “what they found” under the plaster 3. a “blueprint for restoration” 4. a document of conservation or restoration itself. Index supervisors called the third category “restoration drawings”—"attempts to illustrate the designs as they imagined they had originally appeared.”[28] (But) it is almost impossible to tell the difference between these four stages, and to add to this ambiguity, the renderings exhibit various styles and skill levels of the Index artists.

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[26] The same Data Report Sheet for this item lists the date of the painting as "circa 18 ," as verified by "mission records." This date is very approximate, as the church itself was not completed until 1806 and the *convento* was reportedly not completed until 1826. It attributes the painted designs to "Indian neophytes under direction of Mission padres," with this fact also verified by "mission records." These data entries and specific wording regarding verification are quite standardized in the Data Report Sheets for San Fernando where a Native attribution is made. Most likely, they are relying on the mission histories of Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt, including *San Fernando Rey: The Mission of the Valley* (Chicago, Illinois: Franciscan Herald Press, 1927), a source listed in their bibliographic matter.

[27] Evans, "Handwriting," 4.

Commenting on the museum’s role in restoring America’s ancient ruins, Benedict Anderson explained that “if the museum process is to be an effective nation-building strategy, it must leave no trace of itself… it process must be invisible so that the restored objects…appear to have always been as they are presently observed to be.”[29] A similar “process” is apparent in the Index’s (deliberate?) chronological obscurity: in their written reports, it is unclear which “historical moment” or which visual record is being described. For example, in their numerous descriptions of the “Deer Hunt” scene, we don’t know whether they are referring to the original wall painting, an Index photograph of it, Holt’s rendering of it, or the Index’s “restoration drawing” as they often titled their completed watercolors. Most of the Index’s reports conflate the original Native design with the 30s re-creations. In this sense, invisibility and an ambiguous temporality were crucial to the Index's project of nationalization.

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[28] Weitzenkorn, 4.

[29] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London and New York: Verso, 1983).

The "Deer Hunt" scene was also an important means of promoting the Index's work locally. It was simplified into a graphic design and printed on the cover of brochure commemorating the 1937 exhibition of Index watercolors held at San Fernando Mission.[30] [Figure 2.10] The exhibition, the first and only one nation-wide to feature the Index's mission wall painting renderings, corresponded with the mission's annual fiesta. The June 18, 1937 festivities included a parade, Coronation and Queen's Ball, a Historical Drama "Faith Triumphant," a Pioneer Reception, an arrangement of Early Spanish Colonial Folk Songs and an address by SoCal Index Supervisor Walter Lemmon.

The exhibition brochure categorized the mission designs as decorative: "In Southern California many books have been written on our romantic past; but little, if any recognition has been given the creative expression manifested in the decorative arts of that period." The exhibition presented the Deer Hunt scene alongside floral wall painting designs—this typifies the early 20th-century understanding of floral and faunal designs as indigenous. Of a floral design resembling a poppy, however, they idealize/validate its Spanish/Californian appropriation: "Little did the neophyte Indians realize, at the time of the painting, that this flower was destined to be the state emblem. Moorish and Roman arches painted on the walls reflect the homeland of the Spanish padre-pioneers."[31]

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[30] Exhibition Brochure, San Fernando Mission Fiesta, 1937 "Special Showing of Wall Paintings Recorded by the Index of American Design, 442A Records of the Index of American Design (General Files 1936-1942), Reference Files-Exhibitions-California, Los Angeles, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. The brochure was likely authored by Supervisor Walter Lemmon. The back cover of the exhibition brochure includes information on the Federal Art Project in Southern California administration: Beatrice Judd Ryan, State Supervisor of Exhibitions (San Francisco), Nelson H. Partridge, Jr., State Director for Southern California, Warren W. Lemmon, Supervisor, Index of American Design, District Supervisors Douglas E. Parshall (Santa Barbara), Alexander Fleming (Riverside), Buckley Mac-Gurrin (Los Angeles), and Thyrsis Field (San Diego). The office addresses of the District Supervisors are provided.

Native wall painting, and even more so, its "discovery" by the SoCalIndex, became such a significant focus that Director Walter Lemmon penned a special report entitled "The Study of Early American Wall Painting in Southern California." In it, he wrote, "Realism is the keynote of the (San Fernando) hunting scene."[32] Thusly, this motif was entered into the national record and into the history of early American art as a straightforward representation of mission-era and, more significantly, a realistic and historical record of prehistoric native hunting practices in this region. This simple interpretation served the Index well. Their particular interest in wall painting is related to a broader search undertaken by early twentieth-century American artists and intellectuals for an artistic heritage comparable to Europe's prehistoric cave paintings. Recognizing material and design similarities between the San Fernando wall paintings and the nearby Chumash cave paintings, the Index believed their "discovery" to be (at least, indirectly) the American equivalent of Lascaux and Altamira. In the 30s and 40s, the dominant theory was that Paleolithic painters had depicted actual hunts, either as a historical record of their survival or as a type of "sympathetic magic." In other words, the depiction of a successful hunt on the wall of cave, or even here, in a mission convent space, would ensure a successful hunt in real life. These associations and interpretations—that the "Deer Hunt" scene at San Fernando is a scene of "daily life"—has been reinforced into the present.

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[31] Brochure (ibid).

[32] Lemmon, "Study of Early American Wall Painting in Southern California," 8.

For example, in 1995 Msgr. Francis J. Weber, longtime director of the San Fernando Mission Archive, explained, "throughout the central edifice… the impression is created that the indigenous decorators were allowed to give free expression to familiar features of their everyday lives."[33] As the Index and others had, he emphasized the connection between the imagery and lived Native experience: "Ornamentation in the convent reflects Indian life in the mission. Animal motifs, an emblazoned sun, triangles and other geometrical designs and hunting scenes abound…"[34]

In a 1996 brochure and slide set published by the National Gallery's Department of Education Resources (Education Division), an Index watercolor rendering of the San Fernando "Deer Hunt" scene is prominently featured. In a caption below the image, the subject is explained: "The hunting scene illustrates the Indian practice of decoying deer: the animal on the right is actually a deer's pelt draped over the hunter, enabling him to come within shooting distance of the creature he is stalking. Painted in red on a white ground, the design represents the native Indian style and shows affinities with hunting-culture paintings elsewhere."[35] In the sentences preceding the description of the deer scene, the authors describe the agricultural abundance of the mission: "Aided by the fertility of its lands, San Fernando Rey de España became one of the most prosperous missions in California… In 1819, the mission owned cattle and sheep numbering twelve thousand or more, along with five hundred horses and. Mules. The vineyards produced as much as two thousand gallons a year of both wine and brandy."[36] Thus, the next sentence, "this wall painting decorated the doorway of the mission house…" appears very much out of context.[37] Where would deer hunting (for meat) fit into this image of "California Pastoral" abundance? This recent presentation demonstrates that, since the Index documentation and promotion of the San Fernando paintings, historians and art historians continue to conveniently oscillate between historically contextualizing them (and their subject, a "hunt") within the mission-era or the pre-mission era, between "our" time and Native time. In a 2 9 volume on mission art published by the Getty Conservation Institute, the authors present an explanation for why this "prehistoric" scene would have been painted during the historic mission era: "The depiction of this (hunting) activity suggests that the neophytes continued some traditional practices."[38] Is there evidence of this? Or has this "Deer Hunt" scene been long misinterpreted?

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[33] Msgr. Francis J Weber, *The Mission in the Valley: A Documentary History of San Fernando Rey de España* (Santa Barbara, California: Archdiocese of Los Angeles and Kimberly Press, 1995), 5.

[34] Ibid.

[35] *Folk Arts of the Spanish Southwest*, Index of American Design, Dept. of Education Resources, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1996, Slide 5.

Indeed, the San Fernando scene matches mission-era descriptions of Native California deer hunting. That the Tataviam, Tongva and Chumash were hunter-gatherers in the pre-contact period is undisputed by historians of ancient and early California. In his 1786 journal, La Perouse described the hunting practices of the native peoples of the Monterey Bay. He wrote, "These Indians are extremely skillful with the bow... and their industry in hunting larger animals is still more admirable. We saw an Indian with a stag's head fastened on his own, walking on all fours and pretending to graze… In this manner they approach a herd of deer within a short distance, and kill them with their arrows." [39] Early 19th-century illustrations of Native hunting in California document hunting techniques and tools. [Figure 2.11] But it is also a fact that by the time of the mission's founding in 1797, this economy was already being transformed through their forced participation in growing crops and tending the livestock of the *pobladores* in nearby Los Angeles.[40] Most likely, deer hunting for dietary sustenance alone was not as widely practiced within the mission environment at San Fernando in the early 19th-century when the wall painting was created.

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[36] Ibid.

[37] *Folk Arts of the Spanish Southwest*, 1996, text accompanying Slide 5.

[38] Edna Kimbro, with Tevvy Ball and Julia Costello, *The California Missions: Art, History, Preservation* (Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute, 2 9), 14.

Nonetheless, the Index's interpretation—that this is a realistic scene of hunting, comparable with Paleolithic hunting scenes-- has been reinforced into the present. These conclusions are reminiscent of an interpretative stumbling block faced by early 20th-century scholars of prehistoric European cave paintings--only in the 1980s-90s did theories related to shamanism, phosphenes and hallucinated visions began to emerge, replacing the long-held assumption that these were scenes of daily life. A case in point is anthropologist and archaeologist David Lewis Williams's studies, whose interviews with the San Bushmen of South Africa and archival investigations of Sans rituals have lead to his now widely-accepted theory that Sans rock paintings are depictions of shamanistic trance—hallucinations and visions of hunted animals, not the act of hunting itself.[41] Soon after the publication of Lewis Williams' theories, David Whitley applied these ideas to his studies of petroglyphs in Baja California, which bear comparison with the so-called "Deer Hunt" paintings at San Fernando, noting that deer are often cited as important spirit helpers, which a shaman can transform himself into.[42] Portals into the rock house are often guarded by rattlesnakes, as seen in diamond and zig-zag patterns of rock art in the San Fernando and Santa Clarita Valley.[43] Following Whitley, historian Lisbeth Haas made the important connection between California rock art, shamanism and the paintings at San Fernando, concluding that "the bowman (at San Fernando) represents a metaphor for entering a trance state such as produced in a vision quest. Placed over a threshold of the door, it offered a continual memory of the space of the supernatural as lived in shamanic practice."[44] Assuming Haas is correct, what did this all mean in the space of the Friars' *sala*? I recently viewed the Deer Hunt Scene with Caroline Ward Holland, a representative of the Fernandeño-Tataviam Band of Mission Indians. She accepts Haas' interpretation but adds a reading that connects past and present: "the ancestors were (and are still) showing us the way out of the mission."[45] In her view, "It is not an actual deer hunt. It is a warning. We are the hunted, being pierced by the arrow of the 'camouflaged' priest." Fernandeño-Tataviam President Rudy Ortega, Jr. believes that the "diamonds are a symbol of power and divinity—the half diamonds around the doorway are a symbol of connecting to the sacred."[46] Only traces of these diamonds and the deer-human figures were visible when Index photographer Paul Park documented the doorway in 1936. [Figure 2.12]

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[39] Jean Francoise de la Pérouse, Malcolm Margolin (introduction), *Life in a California Mission Monterey in 1786: The Journals of Jean Francois de LaPerouse* (Berkeley, California: Heyday Books, 1989), 59 (for an illustration by Linda Gonsalves Yamane corresponding with La Pérouse's written description). Louis Choris's early 19th-century images of deerhunters wearing deerskins correspond with LaPerouse's description. See Adelbert von Chamisso, *A Sojourn at San Francisco Bay, 1816* (San Francisco: Book Club of California and Grabhorn Press, 1936), page. A modern black and white (possibly staged) unsigned photograph of a costumed deer hunter is currently on display in the San Fernando Mission Museum.

[40] John R. Johnson, in "The Indians of Mission San Fernando," 251, cites from the 1795 diary of Fr. Vicente de Santa Maria of Mission San Buenaventura, who traveled southeast to the San Fernando *rancherias* and reported on the changing lifestyles and dramatically increased agricultural and animal husbandry skills of the "Indians."

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[41] Lewis Williams has written extensively on the rock art of the San Bushmen since the 1980s. He became known for "cracking the code" of San rock art through an examination of a painted rock panel depicting a ritual involving men and eland. His latest work is *Myth and Meaning: San-Bushman Folklore in Global Context* (Cape Town: UCT Press, 2016). His theory includes a new interpretation of the geometric dots, patterns and configurations surrounding the human and animal figures, which he explains is a physical result on the brain/ vision of trance, hallucinogens and/or light deprivation. Williams' ideas have since been transferred to European Paleolithic examples of similar subjects.

[42] David Whitley, *The Art of the Shaman: Rock Art in California* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2 0), 81.

[43] Pertinent to the San Fernando scene is a Chumash story recorded by A. L. Kroeber in 1907: The shaman Axiwalich was looking to cure himself when a bright light, *pelepel*, guided him toward a hole in a cliff and through a long tunnel. At the end of the tunnel was a big house filled with animals, including deer, who cure him. In variations of this story, the rock house is filled with treasures, including bows and arrows. (Kroeber cited in Whitley, 79).

The western art historiography that both the Index and early mission art historians relied on limited their temporal perception of the painted walls to a series of synchronic states, layered one upon/after the other as palimpsest. For example, an Index administrator wrote that

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[44] Lisbeth Haas, *Saints and Citizens: Indigenous Histories of Colonial Missions and Mexican California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 103. Some archaeologists have recently disputed the shaman interpretation of similar Native California cave paintings and argued for an ontological reading. See D.W. Robinson, "Transmorphic Being, Corresponding Affect: Ontology and Rock Art in South-Central California," in *Archaeology After Interpretation: Returning Materials to Archaeological Theory,* eds. Benjamin Alberti, Andrew Meirion Jones, Joshua Pollard (Walnut Creek, California: Left Coast Press, 2013): 59-78.

[45] Interview with author, September 20, 2019.

[46] Interview with author, September 20, 2019. President Ortega asked to me to present my research to the Tataviam Elders at their November 2019 Board Meeting. Several Elders were very interested in my project, but as of yet, have not provided their feedback on the specific images I am studying. Kimia Fatehi, my liaison with the Tataviam, told me that many were shocked and saddened to hear about the government appropriation of their ancestors' designs in the 1930s and needed some time to decide how they wish to respond or participate.

> At Mission San Fernando… was found a primitive design of undoubted Indian conception painted in distemper on plaster under a doorway. At some undetermined date this had been overlaid by whitewash and a design showing European influence (although executed with primitive technique) had been superimposed. Here then, were evident successive steps in the local practice of ornamentation, suggesting the progress made by extraneous educational doctrines as a generation of neophytes raised from infancy at this mission succeeded the savages to whom the friars first offered the rudiments… of Christian civilization.[47]

In these layered and successive terms, the primitive American (art and design) history that was most "usable" to the Index was one that had to be dug deep for, not the more "civilized" one that resided on the surface. They believed that through modern archaeology and visual documentation the Native designs could be revealed to the nation, with their "savage" meanings still relegated to/ fixed in prehistory. But the Indigenous peoples of California, like many Native Americans, have a worldview that is incompatible with linear progression. Thus, their modern interpretation of designs produced during the mission era preclude the notions of fixed time, intention and audience. In other words, designs painted in 1810 can speak to them as directly today as they were meant to speak to their ancestors in mission times.

Reframing the temporal scheme in Native terms (in which pre-mission, mission and post-mission era have more fluid boundaries) allows for an interpretation of the wall paintings that the Index and others missed in the 1930s, and also sparks several questions revolving around the shifting temporal and spatial constructs of the image: Why did Native painters incorporate the Deer Hunt scene from the pre-mission era, and why did the Spanish friars allow it in the mission-era and beyond? Why was it painted in this particular location of the *sala*? Were the friars more open to the presence of such "pre-mission" imagery here in a secular space? The Native employment of these pre-mission era scenes may be understood as an example of what Fernando Ortiz calls transculturation, or what Mary Louise Pratt later described as "the contact zone," where painful contact occurs between previously separated groups, and where "indigenous people excel in productive improvisation?"[48] Ethnographers have used the term "transculturation" to describe how subordinated or marginalized groups select and invent from materials transmitted to them by a dominant or metropolitan culture.[49] The theory and term was introduced by the Cuban sociologist Fernando Ortiz in his 1940 *Contrapunteo cubano del tabaco y el azucar*. Ortiz proposed to update the term acculturation (which implies the mere acquisition of or assimilation into another culture) with transculturation, which better expresses the different phases of the process of transition from one culture to another. This passage of traits and modes across cultures results in synthesis and blending."[50] He argued that, as in the union of two people, a new individual is produced, who resembles both parents but is also distinct from either of them. Ortiz explained that "if the Indies of America were a New World for the Europeans, Europe was a far newer world for the people of America."[51] Thus, the colonized must go through the processes of de-culturation or ex-culturation, and of acculturation or enculturation, and finally, at the end of this synthetic process, of transculturation.[52] His 1940 publication not only introduced these terms, but their relation to the formation of national culture. The Index were working at San Fernando at least three years before Ortiz would publish his theory of transculturation, but the fact that continental American scholars were almost simultaneously associating colonial terms with the formation of national culture is worth recognizing. As Mary Louise Pratt later summed up Ortiz's term, transculturation is what those on the receiving end of empire "do" with metropolitan modes of representation—it is how they appropriate these representations, and "how they talk back… Transculturation is a phenomenon of the contact zone."[53] If the image indeed represents Tataviam artists "talking back" to their Spanish colonizers—by inserting "Native" images into the largely Neoclassical and European decorative schemes the Spanish priests proscribed -- the Index would not likely have found this dialogue of much use to their national project in the 1930s, which at the time centered on identifying the most ancient roots of American painting and design. Thus, the prehistoric associations to Native hunting and cave painting were better suited to their (Lemmon's 1937) narrative of primitive "Early California Wallpainting." However, in Erwin O' Christenson's 1950 volume on the Index of American Design, the suggestion of the "Deer Hunt" as a visual form of mission-era transculturation is presented alongside the prehistoric links and design-centered reading established by the Index:

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[47] Lanier Bartlett, first page, (pages unnumbered) *Mission Motifs*, 1940.

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[48] For more on transculturation theory in relation to the production of Native American art in the 1930s, see Jennifer McLerran, *A New Deal for Native Art: Indian Arts and Federal Policy, 1933-1943* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2012).

[49] Ruth Phillips, *Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast, 17 -19* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1999).

[50] Ibid,16.

[51] Fernando Ortiz, *Contrapunteo cubano del tabaco y el azúcar* (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1978), 1.

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[52] Fernando Ortiz, *Etnia y Sociedad: Selección, Notas y Prólogo de Isaac Barreal* (Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1993), 145.

[53] Mary Louise Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017).

> In matters of art where no question of religion was involved the Franciscan fathers allowed the Indians freedom to follow their own ideas. Where the native artist uses the cross he repeats it many times, contrary to the usual church custom, because he attaches it to a magical significance. Other motifs show a distinct resemblance to motifs that appear in certain Neolithic rock paintings in California and adjacent sites…The delicate zigzag line, another folk-art motif, forms an attractive border that fits in well with the pictorial part. Red is repeated in the wavy lines in the center of the door boards, giving unity to the whole design.[54]

Looking at the "Deer Hunt" from the perspective of the Spanish Franciscan friars, who approved its subject and location in their *sala,* may also shed light on meanings that precluded the Index, given their relative chronological (and geographic) distance from the theoretical shift represented by Latin American thinkers such as Ortiz (in which the paintings could represent an actual dialogue between the Spanish Franciscan friars and their Tataviam charges.) To better understand this possible dialogue, the Index would have required more information on the individuals who involved with the paintings here. There is solid documentation that Indian labor at this mission, as at most others in the colonial New Spain, was invested in art and architectural ventures, primarily church building and decoration. Four known artisans working at San Fernando after the 1812 earthquake are recorded in their Spanish names: Joaquín, Gerónimo, Francisco Xavier and José Miguel, but there is no indication as to whether they were sculptors, masons, ironsmiths or painters. The only painter recorded at San Fernando is listed as Juan

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[54] Erwin O. Christensen, *The Index of American Design* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, National Gallery of Art, 1950): 35.

Antonio.[55] Mission art historians have long attributed a painted *Via Crucis* (Stations of the Cross) series now at San Gabriel to this artist; the Index concurred with this attribution but their reports indicate that they conducted no further research into his possible involvement with the wall paintings at the same mission.[56] While biographies of the aforementioned Native artisans is non-existent, more detailed biographical information on the Franciscan priests who resided at San Fernando in the early 19th century was later provided in Doyce B. Nunin's 1997 study.[57] These include Fray José María Zaldivea from Bilbao, Spain, who was trained at the Mexican Colegio de San Fernando in 1804 before coming to Alta California. He was stationed at Mission San Fernando in 1806, so it is likely that he oversaw the wall painting production there.[58] Further research on Zaldivea and his writings may reveal his intentions for commissioning the "Deer Hunt" scene.

In addition to their disconnect from Native temporality (and the ensuing dialogues of the actual early 19th century that took place between the makers and patrons of these images), the Index were generally unobservant of the specific architectural and spatial frameworks of the wall paintings they encountered at San Fernando. They did not highlight the fact that the physical situation of the "Deer Hunt" scene differs from most of the other designs that they documented in the missions, most of which were in the church or chapel walls. In most missions, the *sala* was a reception room, used by the padres only for greeting and entertaining visitors. While the image of camouflaged Native deer hunters could reference actual hunting practices, why would an image of daily life/dietary sustenance be placed in this room? As mission historian Steven W. Hackel, points out, the Franciscans regularly assigned "*capitans*" of Indian villages, skilled archers, whose tools and techniques were accommodated and employed in the defense of the missions. "Missionaries came to tolerate, even support, Indian displays of martial skill in ways that both acknowledged the Indians' status and buttressed the colonial hierarchy over Indians."[59] For example, at Mission San Carlos, staged hunting exhibitions were presented as a means of impressing visitors, including the French explorer Jean-Francois de Galaup de la Pérouse, who described one of these hunts in 1786.[60] Hackel believes that the Franciscan organization of these staged hunts "suggested the Indians skills and the Spaniards' domination over them;" this was something that they, in collaboration with the Presidio commanders, could control and put to their own uses, namely, defending the missions from foreign attack. During the years of the wall painting production at most missions (1810-1825) these attacks were regular. For example, during the 1810s, California was "all but cut off from central Mexico" and its resources at the same time that English, French, South American and Russian invasions were feared. In 1818, when Hipólito Bouchard, the South American privateer arrived on the California coast, he was met by hundreds of mission Indians armed with bows and arrows. In a second attack in 1819, Mission San Carlos and other missions sent their best archers to assist. In 1820, Father Ripoll at Santa Barbara organized the *Compañia de Urbanos Realistas de Santa Bárbara*, an Indian militia comprised of 180 men armed with bows and arrows. Father Presidente Mariano Payeras created a fourth class of Indian auxiliaries called the *Flecheros de Reservas*, consisting of *alcaldes* (chiefs) and *regidores*.[61] These numerous examples of the Franciscan engagement of Native archers in the defense of the missions presents a new interpretation for the Deer Hunt Scene at San Fernando—it may have represented, for visitors to the Father Zaldivea's *sala,* Native support and protection of the priests and their missionary efforts. However, any possibly advantageous or apotropaic meanings of a painted armed Native archer in the priests' quarters would prove to be temporary-- the Spanish accommodation of Native hunting and military skill eventually backfired in 1824, when armed Indians at La Purísima rebelled. From this point on, for any Native viewers of these painted deer hunters, it had transformed into an image of revolt and empowerment. Again, for the Tataviam, in a temporal sense, the fact that it was produced in one particular decade does not mean that the image could not foreshadow or allude to events in the next. For some 21st-century descendants of the Tataviam, this image still speaks to the idea of revolt and empowerment.[62]

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[55] Mardith K. Schuetz-Miller, *Building and Builders in Hispanic California 1769-1850* (Tucson, Arizona: Southwestern Mission Research Center, 1994), 198 and Norman Neuerburg "Painting in the California Missions," *American Art Review* Vol. 4, (July 1977): 72-88.

[56] Norman Neuerburg, *Painting*, 75.

[57] Nunis, Doyce B. "The Franciscan Friars of Mission San Fernando, 1797-1847." *Southern California Quarterly* 79, no. 3 (1997): 217-48.

[58] Fr. Zaldivea was later assigned to San Juan Capistrano until 1842, then San Luis Rey, where he died in 1846. His career as a missionary in California spans the period of secularization and Mexican Independence. He died just before the Mexican-American War. It is unclear what his role was at San Juan Capistrano and San Luis Rey in the 1840s in relation to the original wall paintings that had been produced under Peyri and whether they were they extant, or if he made any efforts to repair or conserve them.

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[59] Steven J. Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California 1769-1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 245).

[60] Also see Donald Cutter, *California in 1792: A Spanish Naval Visit* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1990), 33 for a similar account. The similarity between the two accounts is why Hackel believes these hunts were staged.

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[61] All of these examples from Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 246.

In another doorway (in) the San Fernando *sala*, two layers of designs were identified and documented by the Index: the first, an arch of half-diamonds curling into spirals at each end, was painted c. 1825; the second, laurel branches and a six-petaled flower, was executed about ten years later. Norman Neuerburg, who repainted the walls of the *sala* in the 1980s, asserts that the second layer design was drawn from pattern books, architectural treatises or fabrics brought or delivered from Europe, but I have not yet been able to identify the specific source.[63] In his *Decoration*, Neuerburg included a photograph which shows a faint trace of an "Indian bowman" on the left of the doorway/half-diamond patterns and notes that this figure "may belong to the first (1820) phase."[64] An Index photograph of the doorway also includes the bowman, but they did not include him in their watercolor renderings. [Figure 2.13 and Figure 2.14] Why did Neuerburg include this design/image his later restorations, but the Index eliminated it in their watercolors?[65] Given the public interest and promotional value of their "Deer Hunt" discovery, the "bowman" would have certainly corresponded with their intent to recover more obviously Native designs. Laurie Weitzenkorn, an NGA staff member in the Prints Department who was researching the California Index materials for a possible exhibition in the 1980s, wrote to Neuerburg for an explanation of his inclusion of the bowman in his wall painting restoration work at San Fernando. In his response to her inquiry, he recalled that he based his restoration on two sets of photographs: the Index photographs taken before the Harrington 1940-41 restoration and a set taken after.[66] He claimed that he did not use any of the Index watercolor renderings as a visual reference because he doubted their accuracy but did admit "they might have been useful."[67] Today, a post-1994 earthquake restoration of the Indian bowman still appears to the right of this doorway.

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[62] Conversation with Caroline Ward Holland, October 2021, Critical Mission Studies symposium, San Diego, California. In 2015 Ward Holland and her son Kagen participated a 780-mile pilgrimage to each of the twenty-one missions to "honor the Indigenous ancestors who suffered and perished in the Mission system and assert California Indian rejection of sainthood for Junípero Serra." See http://walkfortheancestors.org/about/ A preview of the film directed by Dr. Martin Rizzo, "Walk for the Ancestors" was screened at the November 12-14, 2021 Critical Mission Studies symposium, "From Truth Telling to Healing," El Cajon, California. The film features interviews with Ward Holland and art historian Dr. Yve Chavez (Tongva).

[63] For more on print sources for California mission art, see Norman Neuerburg, "The Function of Prints in the California Missions," *Southern California Quarterly,* Vol. 67, No. 3 (1985): 263-280.

[64] Neuerburg, "Decoration," 2.

[65] Also see: Geoffrey Holt and Harry Mann Waddell, IDA 1943.8.5936 where the bowman is also eliminated.

Index artist Geoffrey Holt was assigned to document paintings surrounding another painted doorway in the Padre's House at San Fernando, located between the refectory and the reception room. [Figure 2.15] This scene came to be known as the "Grape Harvest." [Figure 2.16] From the top and sides of the wooden door frame, stylized flowers with thick stems bloom. The pointed petals of the flowers are outlined in dark blue and filled in with unmodulated light blue and red-orange pigments. The center of the light blue flower is filled with a spiral shape, while the center of the red-orange flower is filled in with a light blue dot. Above the doorway is a more complex scene: long branches filled with grapes emerge from two thick trunks. Surrounding the grape vine are dark-skinned men, three of whom appear to be harvesting grapes. A single figure stands below the grape vine, clutching one of its lower branches. Like the "Deer Hunt" scene, the Index attributed this wall painting to Native artisans as verified by "mission records."[68]

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[66] M.R. (Mark Raymond) Harrington was curator of archaeology at the Southwest Museum from 1928-1964. In 1930 he purchased the Andrés Pico Adobe, located near the San Fernando Mission. He restored the adobe and lived there for 15 years, during which time he also led restoration efforts at San Fernando Mission. M.R. Harrington, *The Story of the San Fernando Mission* (Los Angeles: San Fernando Mission Curio Shop, 1954).

[67] Weitzenkorn recounts this exchange, including Neuerburg's response letter of December 20, 1987, in her untitled typed notes, "Plan for an Exhibition on the Index of American Design SoCal," 33 (footnote 14), Letter from Weitzenkorn to Neuerburg, general files, National Gallery of Art Prints and Drawings Department, There is a confusing restoration chronology at this mission to begin with: the 1941 restoration was largely based on the Index designs; a 1971 earthquake destroyed the 1941 restorations, so they were redone; a 1997 earthquake destroyed these, and they haven't been fully or properly restored since.

Norman Neuerburg, who had served as a docent and restorer at Mission San Fernando since the 1940s, later described the subject only from a European-Christian perspective:

> Above the door in the *sala*, opposite the entrance was what was perhaps the most original composition in any of the missions and was among the rare figurative rather than purely decorative ones. Indians and a female figure reminiscent of Minerva pick grapes in a magnificent vineyard; the bunches of grapes are of enormous size. The subject was clearly inspired by the importance of the vineyards at the mission, but it could also be a reference to the Biblical passage (Numbers 13, 24) of the fulfillment of the promised land, a theme frequently seen in painting as one finds it in Nicolaus (sic) Poussin's Autumn from his series of the Four Seasons, 1660-64 (Louvre). The grape is symbolic of the blood of Christ in the Eucharist as well. On another level it seems a prophecy of what was to become chamber of commerce propaganda for California in the late 19th century. Indian artisans undoubtedly worked on the decoration of other missions as well but apparently with less freedom and under closer supervision than was demonstrated at San Fernando and Pala."[69]

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[68] Data Report Sheet # So. Cal. MSCL 111 (a), June 22, 1937, corresponding to Grape Harvest, artist Geoffrey Holt, signed by Warren W. Lemmon. Index of American Design, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. Several watercolor renderings of the "Grape Harvest" scene are in the collection of the Natural History Museum, Los Angeles. See R.W.R. Taylor, MSCL 111a GC 1157 Box 6, Seaver Center for Western History Research, Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County.

[69] Norman Neuerburg, *Painting*, 78-79. The author's Fig. 10 illustrating the Grape Harvest scene is very different from the one recorded by the Index—his includes more Native figures and a female figure. He lists Fig. 10 as "Anonymous Indian Artist, Grape Harvesting Scene, doorway in *sala* of the Long Building at Mission San Fernando. Tempera on plaster. Restored in 1943, photographed before being lost in the earthquake of 1971.) The Greco-Roman references likely stem from his classical training. Neuerburg

In a Catholic mission setting, the Christian interpretations—the parable of the grapevine, the wine as a symbol the blood of Christ-- are obvious, but what did this Biblical trope signify for the Native viewers and possible makers? If it was indeed painted by a Native artist, were they given a print or other Christian/biblical image source to "copy?" Or, is this a scene of Native life, as interpreted by the Index? Angélica Afanador-Pujol, in her study of the 16th-century colonial Mexican manuscript, el "Relación de Michoacán," critiqued Homi Bhabha's understanding of mimicry, which only analyzes the process from the perspective of the colonizers—the "slippage" he recognizes is a reflection of the colonizers' desire to convert the colonized subjects who are almost "but not quite," the same as them. But she points out mimicry's value to the colonial subject. "The Native use of mimicry, she argues, "was not a passive act but an active appropriation and transformation of a European sign into a new signifier."[70] Did the Native artisans at San Fernando likewise attach their own meanings to the Christian grapevine motif and to the flowers that spring out from the doorway? Were

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earned a B.A. in Greek from UCLA, an M.A. and Ph.D. Art History/Classical Studies at New York University and was a Fellow of the American Academy in Rome. At the same time, his remark indicates his understanding of grape imagery in the development of state identity from the 19th-century and into the 1930s. There has been as significant amount of recent scholarship on California agriculture, particularly "mission" grapes, and their promotion as both a state and national product in 1930s. See Katherine Manthorne, "The California Raisin," *Panorama: Journal of the Association of Historians of American Art, 3.2, (Fall 2017).* In a panel focusing on the California missions in the 19th century, Shana Klein provided an overview of the visual culture of the Spanish Mission grape in relation to westward expansion. "Grapes and Glory: Art, Fruit and Expansion in Nineteenth-Century California," (panel titled "Confronting Colonial Narratives in California Mission Art and Architecture,") Nineteenth Century Studies Association 42nd Annual Conference, March 11-13, 2021. Klein devotes a chapter to grapes in *The Fruits of Empire: Art, Food and the Politics of Race in the Age of American Expansion* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2020).

[70] Angelica Afanador-Pujol, "The Tree of Jesse and the 'Relación de Michoacán': Mimicry in Colonial Mexico," *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 92, Issue 4 (2010): 303.

the Tataviam artists appropriating the Christian iconography to their own Indigenous knowledge system here, and could the beliefs of the neighboring Tongva regarding alien foods have intersected with their own? Hugo Reid recounted the Gabrieleno-Tongva notion that the European “strangers” took life and that no “Y-yo-ha-riv-nain” or Giver of Life, as they referred to their gods, would act this way. Qua-o-ar (Chinigchinich) had “already given them their food—the staple acorn along with deer, coyote, snake, raccoon, skunk, crow, blackbird, plus all kinds of berry, wild sage, and the esteemed roasted grasshopper. It was not that the strangers’ food was necessarily poisonous, only that each people’s world had its own food, and the corn and the beans, were not theirs.”[71] The Spanish friars famously brought grapes to the region and by the 1930s, the old Grape Vine at San Gabriel Mission had become a historical marker/ tourist attraction. The addition of flowers springing from the lintel above the painted Grape Harvest scene could represent either a Native negotiation or manipulation of this European food source.

A contemporaneous set of fourteen *Via Crucis* (Stations of the Cross) paintings now at Mission San Gabriel may provide additional clues to the Grape Harvest Scene’s authorship. While there is a fair amount of scholarship on the *Via Crucis*, no one has yet observed its stylistic similarities with the Grape Harvest scene. Both were produced c. 1810-1820 at Mission San Fernando and when juxtaposed, the two appear to be done by the same artist. The treatment of clothing, unusual body proportions, blending of two and three-dimensional forms and positioning of figures within the picture plane are notably similar.

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[71] The Scotland-born Reid settled in Los Angeles and married a Gabrieleno woman in the early years of the 19th century. He wrote several newspaper articles and letters dealing with the harsh treatment of the Tongva by the Spanish missionaries. Reid’s letters of 1851 nos. 16 and 17 to the *Los Angeles Star* are reprinted in Susanna Bryant Dakin, *A Scotch Paisano: Hugo Reid’s Life in California, 1832-1852* (Berkeley: publisher unlisted, 1939), 262. For additional references to Native understandings of European food, see an *Interregatorio* of 1813 quoted in Zephyyin Engelhardt, *San Fernando Rey, the Mission of the Valley* (Chicago, 1927), 30; Douglas Monroy, *Thrown Among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), 3, fn 1; George Harwood Phillips, *Chiefs and Challengers: Indian Resistance and Cooperation in Southern California* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975), 6-7; A.L. Kroeber, “Handbook of the Indians of California,” *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin*, Vol. 78 (925): 631.

The fourteen *Via Crucis* paintings were moved to the San Gabriel Mission in the early 20th century and preserved in that mission's museum.[72] Of particular relevance to this discussion is that Lorser Feitelson, an artist working for the WPA, found the paintings rotting in an outdoor gallery at Mission San Gabriel in 1940, at which time he recommended and oversaw their restoration. He also commissioned reproductions of the series, which were exhibited at the Los Angeles County Museum in 1940.[73] The Index found the *Via Crucis* series so significant an example of Native "folk art" that they did more than 25 watercolor renderings of it. It is unclear whether the renderings were based on the pre-restoration of post-restoration paintings. [Figure 2.17 and Figure 2.18]

A 1937 report by So Cal Index supervisor Lanier Bartlett, "Stations of the Cross," reveals the multiple concerns of their project at large: their emphasis on historical research, “authenticity,” attribution, and style and material/pigment analyses.[74] (See Appendix 2) Lanier Bartlett, “Stations of the Cross”) The Index’ interest in and interpretation of the series was closely related to early 20th-century observations of this painted series. In fact, the writings of Holway and Mills are included in their bibliographic materials. For these observers, what set the famous “Indian” *Via Crucis* apart from most other oil paintings in the California missions was its unique style: the artist(s) rendered the human and animal figures with bold outlines and their bodies are disproportionate. Unlike mission-era Baroque paintings which place figures in recognizable settings rendered in fixed perspective, the scale of each scene portrayed is inconsistent. In some of the paintings the figures seem to float above the ground. Stylistic evidence is not proof of an artist’s ethnicity, yet early mission scholars, following the methods of many historians of Colonial Latin American art, asserted that nearly any image which diverged from European pictorial conventions must have been the work of an indigenous artist.[75]

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[72] The complicated history of the *Via Crucis*' migration and display will not be addressed here. For a summary, see: Yve Chavez, John Macias, Cynthia Neri-Lewis, "Imagery, Materiality and Evolving Histories at Mission San Gabriel," *Boletín: Journal of the California Mission Studies Association*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (2015): 88-103.

[73] Feitelson (b. 1898; d. 1978) was appointed Federal Art Project supervisor for the Los Angeles area in the early 1940s. Oral history interview with Lorser Feitelson, conducted by Betty Hoag, 1964 May 12- June 9, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. Feitelson recalled, "we photographed them and had people come down with color to match them because they were falling to pieces." See also Norman Neuerburg, "The Indian Via Crucis from Mission San Fernando: An Historical Interpretation," *Journal of California Anthropology* 3:1 (1976): 96-114 and Cantwell, Joseph, *The Mission Trail (*Los Angeles, CA: Los Angeles County Museum, 1940).

The *Via Crucis* has long been attributed without any documentation to a Native painter at Mission San Fernando named Juan Antonio, but some art historians believe that slight differences in technique and style reveal the hand of several Indigenous artists working together. It is likely that the artist(s) worked from a print source, though it has not yet been identified.[76] The Index concurred with the Native attribution. Lanier Bartlett, editor of and Index publications entitled, *Mission Motifs*, noted that “the paintings give rise to interesting speculation as to how this evidently talented primitive artist may have formulated the ideas of costuming and armament exploited in his version of Biblical events. However, it is evident that where backgrounds of an architectural nature were introduced by his brush they represent the only substantial buildings he had ever seen, the California mission buildings.”[77] The Index found motifs within the *Via Crucis* painting that could be appreciated for their design value. For example, Lanier pointed out that on Plate XVI of this volume “are introduced certain costume motifs from the paintings of the Stations of the Cross.”[78] Here, the exotic pointed “turbans” worn by the Roman soldiers are reduced into simple black and white abstract designs. [Figures 2.19-2.21]

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[74] Index of American Design, “Stations of the Cross,” Southern California, March 18, 1937, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives, 44A2, Records of the Index of American Design, Original Project (WPA), General Files, Reference Files-Spanish Colonial-Missions.

[75] This approach echoes much of the earlier 18th and 19th-century general understandings of style that connect it to race and ethnicity, including Winckelmann’s hierarchical model of styles, and Hippolyte Taine’s ideas of racial/national styles and stylistic development which are rooted in Darwinist evolutionary theories.

By 1850, the paintings were moved from San Fernando Mission to the Plaza Church (*La Placita*). In 1892 they were exhibited at the State Fair in Sacramento, then at the Chicago World’s Columbian exhibition in 1893, where their Native style and authorship was heavily promoted. Following their regional and national exhibition, the paintings returned to *La Placita* where journalist Elizabeth Mills viewed them in 1901 and wrote this colorful description:

> In that historical old church, ‘Our Lady of the Angels,’ in the quaint Spanish section of the city of Los Angeles, are still preserved, a dozen interesting and in many ways remarkable native paintings done by Indian artists of the San Fernando Mission over one hundred years ago. Valueless, of course, as works of art, these pictures are yet remarkable studies for the historian and

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[76] The original source of Juan Antonio attribution is uncertain, but by the time of Neuerburg’s writing, it had become the consensus.

[77] *Mission Motifs*, Monograph 2, 1940, 4.

[78] *Mission Motifs*, Monograph 2, 1940, 9.

> the ethnologist, presenting as they do rare examples of that blend of savagery and civilization, common in Assyrian and Egyptian paintings, and bas-reliefs, but remarkable in productions of so late a date.[79]

Charles Lummis arranged for the series to be exhibited in a Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce exhibit in the early years of the 20th century; after this, they were stored at St. Vibiana's Cathedral in Los Angeles. By around 1909, the Bishop of the Los Angeles diocese sent the paintings to San Gabriel Mission, where Mary Gordon Holway viewed them in the early 1920s.[80] In her book chapter entitled, "The Artless Indian and the Patient Padre," she described the *Stations* as the work of a "primitive":

> In the relic room of this same church may be seen fourteen stations of the Cross, painted on a cloth background covered with thick white paint; the colors are the rudimentary blue, red, green, white and black with no mixer; pink is used for flesh tones. The drawing is exceedingly crude but the heads of the figures startlingly Egyptian in appearance. None but a primitive could have produced a result so distinctly foreign in feeling to the efforts of the padres or other Spanish instructors; moreover there were no models to follow at the time this work was done.[81]

It is interesting that both Holway and Mills recognized an Egyptian stylistic trait in the *Via Crucis* panels. Though their comments do not make clear the basis of their "Egyptian" association, they both characterize the resulting style as foreign, exotic, and primitive, and do not hesitate to (de)value it accordingly. Such valuations were typical of European and Anglo-American writers and mission visitors in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Holway's easy attribution of the *Via Crucis* to a "primitive," reflects the dominance of 19th-century "Evolutionist Art History" which followed the general argument that if cultures evolved from "primitive" to "civilized," so did art styles. [82] The German anthropologist Franz Boas (1858-1942) challenged this evolutionist model through his studies of Native American art styles (primarily those of the Northwest Coast). He argued that abstract style, and geometric or simplified forms and motifs were a testament to the profound conservativism of these cultures, and that the lack of stylistic variety or development reflected these cultures' resistance to change and desire for stability and permanence. Following this argument, the decorative geometric borders of the painted Via Crucis might be considered "Native," as they do resemble the zig-zag patterns found on some native California baskets, though not from the San Gabriel (Tongva) or San Fernando (Tataviam) cultures.

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[79] Mills, "Old Indian Paintings at Los Angeles." *Overland Monthly* 38 (1901): 766.

[80] Chavez, Neri- Lewis, Macias, "Imagery, Materiality and Evolving Histories at Mission San Gabriel," *Boletín: Journal of the California Mission Studies Association*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (2015): 94.

[81] Mary Gordon Holway, *Art of the Old World in New Spain and the Mission Days of Alta California* (San Francisco: A.M. Roberston, 1922), 104-105.

Alois Riegl, in his 1901 *Late Roman Industry,* outlined a cyclical model in which artistic styles shift between tactile/haptic (as seen in Egyptian reliefs and medieval art) and optic (as seen in classical reliefs); for him, both stylistic modes were equally worthy of attention and expressive of their times. His defense of Late Roman art, a neglected subject in art historical inquiry up to his time. His attempts to destroy the prejudicial ideas going back to Vasari related to the valuing of early medieval art might finally be applied to the "Indian" *Via Crucis* and other examples of mission art, such as the Grape Harvest scene at San Fernando, that are "non-western" in appearance.

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[82] Aldona Jonaitis, *A Wealth of Thought: Franz Boas on Native American Art*. (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1995), 6.

The *Via Crucis* series, and the Index's reading of it, provides an excellent illustration of the ways in which attribution based on style directly affects interpretation. As the "Indian" *Via Crucis* gained in popularity over the course of the 20th-century due to an assumed native authorship based on style, art historians then focused on how they might interpret these paintings. Kurt Baer, in 1959, recognized a personal style in the series: "The independent spirit of the Indian is clearly manifest in these canvases… so individualistic are these works that in them something of the personality of the artist is revealed."[83] In the 1970s, George Harwood Phillips looked beyond the painted style and closely examined the style of the shoes, facial features, helmets and clothing depicted, and concluded that the artist had "metamorphosed some of the Roman citizens into Indians and the soldiers into their Spanish conquerors, suggesting that a native artist's personal style could be used as a means of unpacking resistance:

> Perhaps the artist was beginning to consider his own strength and was issuing a statement about the system under which he was confined. In the huge, unintelligent eyes and sinister, grotesque, almost moronic expressions of many of the soldiers, Juan Antonio may have been demonstrating an anti-Spanish bias.[84]

In the 1990s, Norman Neuerburg, the then leading scholar of California mission art, continued the assertion that a Native artist painted the original canvases at Mission San Fernando around 18 , but argued against Harwood Phillip's "resistance" theory, noting that while the turban-like headdresses are unusual, the attire is typical of 18th-century non-military male costume, which simply corresponds to a strong tradition in the history of Christian art to incorporate contemporary dress and objects. He added a new interpretation based on his observation of differences in stylistic treatment of specific features that reinforces the notion of indigenous artistic inferiority: "Some faces appear to be convincing portraits while others are remarkably expressive. The face of Jesus is always rendered with care and sensitivity: could these have been done by the priest?"[85]

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[83] Kurt Baer, "California Indian Art," *The Americas*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (1959): 37.

[84] George Harwood Philips, "Indian Paintings from Mission San Fernando: An Historical Interpretation," *The Journal of California Anthropology*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Summer 1976): 98.

More recently, art historian Clara Bargellini has introduced a new theory: that the "Egyptian" qualities, exotic "turbans" and pointed shoes may be a reference to the 19th-century Russian settlers north of San Francisco, who might have imported a Byzantine style into New Spain's northern frontier. She notes that in the 14th panel representing Christ's burial, the linear quality of his body and the simple stone casket that seems to float alone in a neutral space are stylistic tendencies that can be referenced in embroidered Byzantine Holy Week cloths, and that the continuous wave patterns on some of the painted borders are similar to Byzantine ornament. She hints that these stylistic features may point to a Russian authorship of the San Gabriel *Via Crucis*, which would disrupt the typical European friars-natives dichotomy that has dominated California mission scholarship.[86] Following Bargellini's line of inquiry and given the stylistic similarities that I have pointed out, we might consider the possibility that the Via Crucis, the Grape Harvest Scene, or both were produced by non-Native painter. If the

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[85] Norman Neuerburg, "The Indian Via Crucis from Mission San Fernando: A Historical Exposition," *Southern California Quarterly*, Vol. 79, No. 3 (Fall 1997): 354.

[86] Clara Bargellini, "The Arts of the California Missions: Clusters of Meaning," in Katherine Manthorne, *California Mexicana: Missions to Murals, 1820-1920* (Laguna Beach, California: Laguna Art Museum in association with University of California Press and with assistance from the Getty Foundation, 2018), 29-48.

Grape Harvest was indeed painted by a Russian artist, this would further complicate the Index's project of nationalizing this apparently "Native" design.

Attribution and stylistic questions aside, it is easy to understand the Index's focus on this particular image in terms of its farm laborer subject. The aestheticization of labor into a simple painted "design," corresponds with the larger New Deal arts agenda—like WPA murals of people harvesting crops, the idyllic, romanticized scenes of "primitive" Indians harvesting giant fruits could serve as a model for Anglo- Americans struggling during the Depression. [Figure 2.22]

Elizabeth Kryder-Reid, in her recent study of mission garden landscapes, has pointed out the selectivity of 20th-century mission reconstructions, which may also shed light on the "Grapevine" scene and its appeal in the 1930s and beyond. She notes that in these reconstructions, Indian burial grounds and living quarters were demolished, but the sites of Native labor that benefitted the mission economies (like *lavanderías*, tanning vats, and grapemaking tools) were retained. For the most part, though, these tools and work sheds are mostly hidden from public view, with the emphasis instead on the mission garden. She writes, "The Edenic landscape is predicated, like the broader agricultural landscape of California, on the invisibility of labor that is indispensable to its very existence."[87] She briefly mentions the Grape Vine scene at San Fernando within the context of these restored landscapes: "It depicts native workers harvesting grapes from trailing vines. The biblical allusion to the parable of the workers in the vineyard (Matthew 20:1-16) could be read at a number of levels and may indeed in colonial times have had a didactic purpose, but in the contemporary context in which visitors see the mural as they tour the padres' quarters, an image of neophyte labor is transformed into a decorative wall treatment."[88]

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[87] Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landscapes*, 201.

The temporal appropriations at play in these late 20th-century juxtapositions of painted scene(s) at San Fernando (such as the Deer Hunt, Indian Bowman, Grape Harvest) with historical realities of both the mission era and the 20th century harks back to period writings by arts and cultural administrators of the 1930s and 40s, both working within and outside of the Federal Arts Project. In 1935, Franklin Delano Roosevelt had established the Indian Office, with Commissioner John Collier at its helm. Embracing Native American culture became a means of "gaining assurance against spiritual decline and extinction," and the general policies of the Indian Office follow this line of thinking. Collier, a prolific writer on Indian issues, consistently promoted his own brand of Romantic Primitivism. For example, in a 1949 essay, "On the Gleaming Way: Navajos, Eastern Pueblos, Zunis, Hopis, and Apaches and the Land: and Their Meanings to the World," Collier portrays America as a "time-drowned continent," with Native Americans positioned in a timeless realm at its mountain peak.89 Unlike the linear and historical time of European-Americans, Collier argued that Native Americans have never been separated from their past, but instead, are “living social will, striving in a present from out of which this enormous past (as custom, ideal, discipline, ritual, and art creation, and world view and implicit philosophy) has not died.”90 He believed that when the U.S. realizes the failure of its social, spiritual and political systems, it will turn to Native Americans for solutions and redemption.[91] This message would have particular resonance during the economic collapse Americans were experiencing in the 1930s.[92]

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[88] The message of the parable of the workers in the vineyard is that the last shall be (paid) first. No one will be cheated, no matter what type of labor performed, as long as it was undertaken. The connections between this parable and the American Protestant work ethic and the equal valuing of any/all types of American work may have been particularly relevant during the Depression.

[89] John Collier, *On the Gleaming Way: Navajos, Eastern Pueblos, Zunis, Hopis, and Apaches and the Land: and Their Meanings to the World* (Chicago: Swallow Press, 1962, first published 1949).

Federal Art Project and Index Director Holger Cahill also commented on this shift of perception of Native Americans from “a strange and ferocious creature…utterly oblivious… to any need for economic activity,” to a “peaceful, industrious figure, a child of nature, close to the soil from which he wins his living, cultivating the earth with a hoe, hunting wild creatures, and living with his tribe in a free democratic association.”[93] This statement speaks almost directly to the images the Index centered on at San Fernando. Native harvesters and hunters appear at one with the(ir) natural world, while residing on the physical mission grounds constructed by the Spaniards. Again, achronicity is key: the Index’s selection and promotion of these particular images—the Deer Hunt scene and the Grape Harvest scene-- firmly situate Native Californians on this timeless mountain-peak.

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[90] Collier, *Gleaming Way*, 33-34.

[91] Jennifer McLerran, summarizing Collier’s conclusion of *Indians of the Americas* in *A New Deal for Native Art: Indian Arts and Federal Policy, 1933-1943* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2012), 31.

[92] Eric Wolf challenged such conceptions of Native American time and people as static and isolated entities before colonization; instead, he situates Marxist concepts at the center of his thesis/question: can there be histories of (Native) peoples without Europe or without capitalism? Eric Wolf, *Europe and the People Without History* (University of California Press, 1st edition 1982, 2nd edition 2010).

[93] Underlined emphasis mine. This statement by Cahill is cited in McLerran, *A New Deal*, 31.

In 1935, Congress created the Indian Arts and Crafts Board, which was also led by Collier. While the relationship between the policies of the IAC and the Index has not been studied, a key difference is immediately apparent: while the IAC enlisted Native artists; the Index did not—thus separating the designs from their makers; the Index renderings document their imaginings of the hunter-gatherer, frozen with bow and arrow at the "beginning" of Native time.[94] They were not concerned with the living Tataviam, but with their immemorial past.[95] From the Index's national perspective, Native craft could evolve, but Native design was relegated to the past, only accessible and usable to modern artists.

To be usable, a national past must be constructed through a modern lens, then fixed in a past defined in modern terms. For the Index, (and early 20th-century historians and ethnographers) this was justifiable. Interestingly, they subscribed to the same belief as the Spanish Franciscan chronicler Fr. Boscana, who, sometime before his death in 1831, wrote of the Native peoples of California: "We cannot but believe that the calendar is one of the most important and most necessary of inventions. But theirs, if we may call it such, differed but very little from the natural instinct of the brute creation …they were destitute of chronology, by which to calculate the period of time transpired; hence, the difficulty in giving any account of their antiquities, as they had neither figures nor signs to preserve them; and possessing no idea of the past, their thoughts are limited solely to the present."[96]

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[94] Anthropologist John Johnson explained that the introduction of the bow and arrow c. 450 C.E. was the date early historians associated with the arrival of the Tataviam in the San Fernando and Santa Clarita Valleys. Historians have long assumed that the use of the bow and arrow would have provided an advantage to people moving into a new area. However, there is no archaeological evidence of this. This problematic association with hunting technology and the beginning of Tataviam "time" or history is linked to the Index's interpretation of the Deer Hunt Scene as a scene of pre-Hispanic Native life—it suggests that the Tataviam didn't really exist until they acquired this technology and that it now defines them. See John Johnson, "The Indians of Mission San Fernando," *Southern California Quarterly*, Vol. 79, No. 3 (1997): 249-290.

[95] For more on the concept of a nation's "immemorial past" see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 1983.

Above another outer doorway into the *convento*, not far from the "Deer Hunt" scene, the Index removed layers of whitewash to reveal designs which they identified as "*Ollas* with Native Flowers." [Figure 2.23] Geoffrey Holt and Henry Mann Waddell collaborated on a rendering of the outer doorway into the *convento*. The related Data Report Sheet indicates that the painted decoration was executed in 1825. A wood door decorated with the motif known as the "River of Life" is flanked by double pilasters painted in red-orange pigment. The pilasters culminate into capitals decorated with red horizontal bands. The top of the arch is decorated with a red chevron pattern. Directly above the double pilasters and a flat "shelf" at each end of the arch are Greek amphora-shaped red vessels and green-outlined vessels of a more bulbous form. All of these vessels, which the Index identified as "*ollas*," contain stylized flowers, which, though they appear to grow from the same vessel and stems, are rendered from two perspectives: a six-petaled while flower with red outlines is rendered from an aerial view, while a red flower of a trumpeted shape is depicted in profile view.[97] The petaled flower has triple

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[96] Chapter XI: Their Calendar, Friar Geronimo Boscana, in Chinigchinich: An Historical Account of the Origins, Customs, and Traditions of the Indians of Alta-California, 1846, printed as supplement to Robinson's *Life in California*, 1970, 47.

[97] The Index Data Report Sheet #So.Cal. MSCL-90 (h), July 14, 1937, signed by Warren W Lemmon, Index of American Design, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. includes this notation: "Interesting details of the design rendered on this plate are: Native flowers in *ollas* on triangular bases, flanking a niche of scallop-shell design. A painted shell over the niche emphasizes the scallop form. The predominating color of the entire decoration is red. Horizontal bands outlining the capitals of the pilasters were originally alternate red and white." I provide this excerpt to illustrate the Data Report Sheets included both formal analysis of the wall paintings and interpretive analysis.

"quotation" markings surrounding it, creating a sense of movement or animation. Two faintly outlined birds perch on the thick stems of these flowers. Directly above the arch is a realistically painted niche within which is a white and red scallop design. A more naturalistically rendered shell is painted directly above the stylized one.

The transcultural and syncretic nature of these vessels—Greco-Roman, Classical, Spanish and Native-- was of particular interest to the Index. In the mission era in California and the Southwest, clay cooking vessels called ollas were associated with both Spanish and Native cultures.[98] Thus, the forms present an example of artistic and cultural syncretism— what happens when two different cultures make use of a single symbol and allow it to maintain both meanings. Lemmon wrote," chipping was started around the doorway, which presented to students of Indian or Spanish arts another example of the fusion of these two cultures."[99] Did the Index recognize a possible symbolism of a "native flower" growing out of/contained by/sustained by a European form? Or did they read the olla as a Native element?

The Index identified the flowers and the shell as "Native," though they did not name or associate it with a specific local floral variety.100 In their bibliographies, they include Fr. Boscana's Chinigchinich, so they were likely familiar with the Native uses of a flower called toloache (jimsonweed) during shamanistic rituals described in this text. Like their Gabrieleño (Tongva) and Juaneño (Acagchemem) neighbors, the Tataviam regularly used the toloache plant in their rituals.101 Could these floral designs be what Eleanor Wake calls "framing rituals," – flower-framed spaces in which the Indigenous sacred could be called or enacted? Caroline Ward Holland supported my idea that the flowers might be *toloache.* She said, "These painted images (of flowers) are medicine left for us by our Ancestors."[102]

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[98] The Spanish word is derived from Roman *aula* or *aula,* a type of ancient Roman pottery. *Ollas*, clay cooking vessels used in Spain since the Middle Ages, are believed to have been introduced in the Spanish Southwest to Native American neophytes, but the Native artisans had most likely produced their own version of this clay vessel before the Spanish arrival. Ollas typically feature a narrow neck and wide body.

[99] Lemmon, "Study of Early American Wall Painting," 7.

[100] Between 1932 and 1936, American artist Georgia O'Keeffe produced several paintings featuring this particular flower, which grew in abundance near her home in Abiquiu, New Mexico. One of these, "Jimsonweed," 1936, is in the collection of the Indianapolis Museum of Art. Another, "Jimson Weed/White Flower No. 1," 1932, is in the collection of the Crystal Bridges Museum of American Art, Arkansas. The 1932 painting later became the most expensive sold at auction by a female artist. The simplified floral design in "Olla with Native Flowers" at San Fernando bears little resemblance to O'Keeffe's treatment, other than its similar emphasis on the flower's circular center and the approximate number of petals.

After the Index team's departure, Mark Raymond Harrington, curator of Archaeology at the Southwest Museum, led wall painting restoration efforts at San Fernando in the 1940s. Several, but not all of these were based on Index renderings.[103] His restorations were all destroyed in the 1971 earthquake. Norman Neuerburg re-painted most of the walls in the late 1980s in preparation for a papal visit, but these too were

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[101] For a description of Tataviam initiation rituals and the uses of toloache (datura or jimsonweed), see Duane Champagne and Carol Goldberg, *A Coalition of Lineages: The Fernandeño Tataviam Band of Mission Indians* (Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 2021), 38.

[102] Personal interview with Tatataviam representative Caroline Ward Holland, September 20, 2019. See Eleanor Wake, *Framing the Sacred: The Indian Churches of Early Colonial Mexico* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016). Drawing from the earlier scholarship of Louise Burkhart and Patricia Hill, who identified and studied the Nahuatl Flower Complex, and Jeannette Favrot-Peterson, who interpreted the garden imagery at the Augustinian monastery of Malinalco, Wake presents new and valuable approaches to understanding the floral patterns and other native motifs that frame images of an "Indo-Christian sacred" in 16th-century mendicant churches in Mexico. "Framing rituals" could be performed through song and dance, alcohol, food, but primarily, the use of flowers and vegetation, real or painted. In her analysis of the floral imagery at Tlalmanalco, she describes the painted and carved flowers in relation to the framing rituals. She likens the rhythms and patterns of carved flowers on church facades and stone arches to songs, paths, and "flower roads" leading to paradise.

[103] I was unable to view Harrington's papers at the Southwest Museum in 2020-21. I am interested in why he did not use the Index renderings and/or what the relationship of his project was to theirs. Both had conservation and restoration as a goal, but Harrington's long association with the Southwest Museum and its regional agenda was much different than the national goals of the Index.

destroyed in the 1994 earthquake. Still, the San Fernando Native designs survive, if only in the latest poorly-executed restorations and in archival storage boxes in the nation's capital. The illustration of his 1957 history of Mission San Fernando includes a drawing of this wall painting, based on the Index rendering.

Remaining Questions of Native vs. European Attribution

The "Deer Hunt," "Grape Harvest," Stations of the Cross and "Native Flowers and Olla" designs and iconography prompted key questions regarding stylistic attribution that are central in the study of Spanish Colonial art, especially in mission settings. Lanier Bartlett summarized the Index's attempts to identify European and Native styles:

> …on our Pacific Coast the padres seem to have been inclined, during the earlier years of the system, to allow their neophytes considerable latitude in designing and applying decorations. In the later-built mission churches more Europeanized types of ornamentation, especially in the line of wall paintings, were attempted. These were probably drawn by the white men in all instances, or by imported mestizos, but the application of the designs by native copyists has in some instances imparted an "Indian feeling" that distinguishes them."[104] "Certain graphic motifs may be readily identified as native, but just how far the local talent may have reached into the realm of European art in the creative sense is an open question.[105]

Later 20th-century scholars grappled with the same attribution questions Bartlett and the Index did at San Fernando and elsewhere. For example, in the 1950s and 1960s, Kurt Baer forwarded this theory:

> As a consequence of the imported teachers and the padres, those works which are generally termed Indian art are actually Spanish (or, more correctly, Spanish-Colonial) art interpreted and crudely copied by the Indians, not in their own intuitive style, but in imitation of those models belonging to the padres or the workmen. Whenever such works… were carved they were invariably direct copies of… prototypes… they (the resulting works) were generally the products of second generation Indian

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[104] *Mission Motifs,* 3.

[105] *Mission Motifs,* 4.

> neophytes who must have been exposed since childhood to the colonial religious art and to no other. It can scarcely be said that they worked in a tradition of their own.[106]

The question remained at the heart of mission art studies in the 1980s and 1990s. Norman Neuerburg described the interior walls of the church at San Fernando:

> Again there was the same sort of combination of Indian and European motifs. A design forming part of the dado in the church was perhaps the only Indian intrusion there, while the rest of the decoration was again strongly Neo-classic, though often misunderstood by its creator, especially in the side altars based on a current popular Mexican motif.[107]

While Neuerburg recognized the possibility of a "combination" or blending of culturally distinct styles, the terms "intrusion" and "misunderstood," reveal his bias toward European classical traditions. For him, the Indian elements do not serve to create a new or distinct "hybrid" style (or a point of convergence), but simply one in which the minor style is incorporated, but still dominated by the major.[108]

Picturesque Pala

The Index visited San Luis Rey de Francia and its nearby *asistencia*, San Antonio de Pala in 1939-41. The original wall paintings in the chapel at Pala were produced sometime between its 1816 dedication and its secularization in the late 1830s. [Figure 2.24] Art historians have long cited the chapel at Pala as the prime example of authentic Native painting from the mission era, an Indigenous art treasure on par with the mural program at San Jose, Laguna Pueblo in New Mexico, for example.[109] Here the Index were not involved in the archaeological project of discovery, but rather of restoration; their primary intent was authenticity in their recreations, which they knew would be referenced by future restorers. A recent Getty publication on mission art and architecture states that the murals here were "almost certainly designed and executed by the Luiseño neophytes working under only minimal supervision from the fathers at distant Mission San Luis Rey. They contain some of the most abundant Indian motifs, including birds, plants, and other elements similar to those found on baskets."[110] Visitors to the *asistencia* today are greeted by a sign that explains, the chapel was "restored in 1903 when archetypal paintings were whitewashed. Later restored authentically, including replication of original murals painted by Indian artist Antonio Lugo."[111] The interior and exterior walls feature "Indian" designs, which visitors will assume to be those of Lugo's, as well as similar designs— plants, faces, sunbursts, rosettes— that appear along the nave walls and altar. The situation, of course, is more complicated, and part of the Index's work here at Pala was to reveal and correct inconsistencies not only in the modern restorations, but in the complex political web in which they occurred.

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[106] Kurt Baer, "California Indian Art," *The Americas*, Vol. 16, No.1 (July 1959).

[107] Neuerberg, *Painting*, 78, Fig. 8.

[108] This is akin to the idea of 16th-century "tequitqui," to describe Aztec art in the service of Christianity.

[109] For one of the earliest recognitions of the chapel at Pala as a prime example of Native California painting, see George Wharton James, *Picturesque Pala: The Story of the Mission Chapel of San Antonio de Padua connected with Mission San Luis Rey* (Pasadena, CA: The Radiant Life Press, 1916).

Already in disrepair by the mid-1840s, an earthquake in 1899 further damaged the chapel. The murals remained in decent condition, considering. The Landmarks Club, headed by Charles Lummis, restored the chapel in 1901-2.[112] In exactly the same years, neighbors of the Luiseño, the Cupeño, were being forcibly relocated to Pala, after being expelled from Warner's Ranch, a semi-reservation near their homeland. Their removal was the result of a Supreme Court decision that Lummis had vehemently and publicly battled, and when their expulsion was inevitable, he had suggested that they be relocated to the mission at Pala, which he had already been working to restore. [Figures 2.25- 2.26] According to Lummis, to celebrate their arrival, his team worked painstakingly to preserve the extant Indian murals in the chapel, even enlisting "Indian artists," though he doesn't specify whether these were original Pala Luiseño residents, or the Cupeño newcomers. Likely, the group of artisans also included Mexicans who were living at Pala. Regardless of who exactly these "Indian" artists were, the preservation attempt was in vain. In his 1916 booklet, *Picturesque Pala,* Mission historian George Wharton James' described the fate of the interior wall paintings:

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[110] Kimbro, et al., *The California Missions: History, Art, and Preservation* (2 9), 143.

[111] The ambiguous historical position of Antonio Lugo seems deliberate. Visitors will assume that Lugo was an artisan at this site during the mission era, but he likely assisted in the restoration of the wall paintings in the 1950s, under the direction of Fr. J. M. Carillo. *The Story of Mission San Antonio de Pala*, (Balboa Island, CA: Paisano Press, 1959,) 19.

[112] Lummis founded the Landmarks Club in 1895; the Southwest Society (1903) was the precursor for the Southwest Museum he eventually founded in 1907.

> Unfortunately, soon after the Palatinguas came here, the resident priest… did not understand Indians, their childlike devotion to the things hallowed by association with the past… they were outraged to find the chapel interior freshly whitewashed so that all its ancient decorations were covered. This was another white man's affront which caused irritation and bitterness that it required many months to assuage.[113]

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[113] James, *Picturesque Pala*, 42. Another writer contemporaneous with the Index, Hildegarde Hawthorne, told a similar story: "The Catholic Bishop sent a priest to repair the chapel and reestablish contact with the villagers. Unluckily, this man had no taste and no understanding of the Indians. His first act was to smear whitewash over the delightful old murals, which to the Indians were heirlooms and sacred. They would have nothing to do with him. He was supplanted by a father of a different type, Father George D. Doyle, who did understand his flock and who felt interest in what the Franciscans had done here. Very carefully the whitewash was removed, the chapel was reroofed with tiles, the altar, which somehow was discovered in the church on the Warner Ranch… recovered…" After the land grant to the Indians was confirmed in 1913, "They began to plant trees and flowers. They were at home! Every Sunday the chapel…is crowded by the devoted Indians… the walls once again, above the dado with its neophyte decorations, are adorned with rows of painted columns linked by wide arches, distempered in a dull Indian red on the plaster." in *California's Missions, Their Romance and Beauty* (New York and London: D. Appleton Century Company Incorporated, 1946), 210.

The cover of Wharton James' book includes a dilapidated mission bell and crumbling chapel structure. [Figure 2.27] The story of the priest's careless whitewashing was published widely and used to gain public support for the Landmarks Club project. So, it was into this complex situation that the Index entered the picture in 1938-9. In their research notes, Index artists cited the 1903 whitewashing story often, including a 1915 account by Charles Francis Saunders, who framed it this way: "(the priest's) interest in aboriginal art was on par with that of the old Spaniards who made bonfires of Aztec hieroglyphics... perhaps time will eventually bring them to light again, like writing on a palimpsest."[114] The necessity of time's passage, as well as the Index's historical position within the "right" time, the 1930s, is key. Since the closing of the American frontier, art historians had begun to consider American art in terms of chronological phases of youth, formative years, and maturity.[115] For example, S.G.W. Benjamin's 1880 *Art in America: A Critical and Historical Sketch* begins, "The art of a nation is the result of centuries of growth; its growing excellence does not come except when maturity and repose offer the occasion for its development."[116] The New Deal era marked a new stage of the nation's artistic development, with the Depression as its catalyst. In many of their mission design-related notes, the Index sought to clarify California's confusing Spanish and Mexican periods, making this regional history more usable to the nation. While the Index project at

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[114] Saunders, quoted directly on reverse side of Index Data Report So.Cal. MSCL-45 (c), December 27, 1939. Signed by Director Dana Bartlett. Index of American Design, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

[115] In 1893, at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago, Frederick Jackson Turner would advance his "frontier thesis": that America's formative experience had been the conquest of the western frontier. Benjamin's comments anticipate this realization of an American era's end.

[116] S. G. W. Benjamin, *Art in America: A Critical and Historical Sketch* (NY: Harper and Brothers, 1880), 13.

San Fernando was centered on the process of uncovering and revealing a national prehistory, they took their role at Pala to be more about correcting previous mistakes in constructing this chronology; they saw their renderings as a means of creating a more authentic Indian past than their earlier 20th-century predecessors had.   Index artists George Rhone and Cornelius Christofffels did similar renderings of a “sunburst” design on the sanctuary wall which they found concealed under whitewash. [Figure 2.28] Their supervisor wrote, “Within recent years certain ‘restorations’ of wall paintings in this chapel have been made that are supposed to follow the crude Indian-applied originals, but survey by the Index has revealed numerous inaccuracies in the modern work.” He emphasized that “No attempt has been made to restore on the wall the design which forms the subject of this drawing.”[117] In their opinion, the Mexican government, who the U.S. then blamed for the ruin of the missions in general, the regional efforts of the CA Landmarks Club, and even the modern Franciscans themselves couldn’t preserve that past—but they, as Anglo-American artists, with their eye for the modern/primitive, and in their role as federally-sponsored documentarians, could.

Rhone, Christoffels and others created watercolor renderings of another design they found on the sanctuary wall.[118] [Figure 2.29] Two red Doric Columns flank a painted niche, while a blue and white waving arch above it supports three crosses at its peaks. The Data Report Sheet includes the notation, “coated with whitewash and replaced with an inadequate 'restoration."[119] Edith Buckland Webb, a mission historian working contemporaneously, but independently of the Index, was equally critical of their findings. Because she and the Index were both working from black and white historical photographs of the chapel as reference, neither could be clear on the original color scheme. The Index relied on a written description by James, who described the colors as "reddish-brown," but Webb used a description by the artist Henry Chapman Ford, who said the colors were "red, green and black," when he viewed the chapel. [120] Index artist William McAuley rendered the *reredos* in shades of red-brick, white, and sky blue. [Figure 2.30] The color and design scheme of the current restoration is not entirely consistent with the Index renderings.[121] [Figure 2.31]

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[117] Reverse side of Index Data Report Sheet So. Cal. MSCL-196, May 19, 1941. Index of American Design, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

[118] See Christoffels 1943.8.17848.

In a recent National Gallery catalogue of the Index's Spanish Colonial designs, the curator states that "some paintings," including the niche with three cross design, "were preserved unintentionally, when, in the later enthusiasm for the austerity of the Neoclassical style, they were covered with whitewash."[122] The idea that the modern aesthetic could inadvertently preserve its own roots is an interesting contemporary appendix to the Index's nationalist conception of a layered temporality and art historiography—by presenting the 1903 whitewashing as an act of protection, not destruction, the priest's "affront" to the native people at Pala is erased.

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[119] Index Data Report So.Cal MSCL-108, October 7, 1940, Index of American Design, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

[120] Edith Webb Papers, Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library, Mission Construction Ornamentation (Applied) Volume XII C. Webb's notes and related watercolor/colored pencil studies include her descriptions of "true Indian touches" such as a mother quail feeding her brood and some "Indianized" angel faces on tops of columns; the file includes her photograph sources, taken by Crandall, n.d. Notably, the Index did not select or record these same motifs as examples of "Indian" painting. Her notes in this folder include the date of her visit to Pala on January 23, 1946. In her series of mission dioramas, she chose to highlight the "Indian" Pala wall paintings, emphasizing their supervision by mission founder, Fr. Peyri. In early mission histories, Peyri was often attributed as the artist and "designer" of the wall paintings.

[121] It is more consistent with Norman Neuerburg's reconstruction of chancel "as it would have appeared when completed in the 1820s," as illustrated in *Decoration,* 33. Neuerburg used a photo of the chancel of the chapel dated c. 1890s as his reference. This photo appears on page 32 of *Decoration.*

[122] *The Art of the Spanish Southwest: an Exhibition of Watercolor Renderings by the Index of American Design,* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, no date/c. 1985),19. The niche with three cross design is listed in this catalogue as "So. Cal MSCL -108, Wall Painting, Original, Mission of San Luis Rey, California."

Following their visits to the SoCal missions, the Index produced "Mission Motifs," a set of prints based on their watercolors, meant to be used as a design source book for modern American artists.[123] [Figure 2.32] On pages dedicated to each mission, multiple designs are arranged in a composition resembling an arched window, creating the effect of an Islamic *mirador*. Through the "window" an architectural view of the mission is presented. Above and flanking the window are designs from the different mission walls. On the San Fernando page, for example, through the "window" a view of the arcade of the convento is visible. Above window is another arch with triangular zig-zags, a six-pointed star or flower, and the deer hunt figures. Flanking the window are two partial columns or pilasters, each filled with designs from the different convento walls at San Fernando. Below the arched window is the zigzag scroll motif. The garden fountain is situated below this motif, flanked by the two "ollas" with "native" flowers. The result is an imaginary a composite view of the unique designs at this mission. Through achronic assemblage, the history of each mission is reduced to/encapsulated into one page of streamlined, modern designs—Indian past and Anglo-American present have

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This exhibition, curated by Robert L Shalkop, celebrated U.S.- Mexico Commission for Border Development and Friendship.

[123] *Mission Motifs: A Collection of Decorative Details from Old Spanish Missions of California*, Monograph No. 2, n.d. edited by Lanier Bartlett with drawings by Hal Blakeley, Index of American Design Southern California Project File, National Gallery of Art Drawing and Print Collection, Washington, D.C.

been collapsed. Similarly, the Index created a set of 50 hand-painted illustrations of "Spanish Colonial Decorative Art."[124] On the page representing Pala, we see a boldly-rendered colorful design based on some of the Index watercolors I showed you earlier, but here it is taken out of its architectural and historical context. An introduction to this folio includes a brief overview of the role of indigenous painters in the production of "Spanish Colonial" art, but there is no attempt to interpret or describe any of the designs in Native terms. Instead, there are a few lines printed on the back of each page suggesting uses of these designs for modern American artists—some would work well as textiles, others for quilts, tilework, etc. The Index author noted that this particular design selected from the Pala altar was "suitable for etching on glass, for wood carving, or for painted decorations on wood." Both of these Index publications, (*Mission Motifs* and *Decorative Art of Spanish California*) meant to serve as the summary and conclusion of their So Cal project, are visual representations of the writing of mission art history from the U.S. perspective—abstracted, selected, aestheticized, reframed, removed from Native time, experience and meaning—these are the processes through which a "usable" Native past was created. [Figure 2.33]

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[124] Federal Art Project. *Decorative Art of Spanish California* (subtitled, "Selected by the Index of American Design Southern California Art Project, Works Progress Administration"), a portfolio of fifty screenprints on paperboard, based on original drawings by Hal Blakeley, with an introductory essay by Lanier Bartlett, no date. The full portfolio is in the Los Angeles Central Library Rare Book Collection, in which the Pala designs appear as Plate 10, "Wall Designs-Asistencia of San Antonio de Pala Mission." The text typed on the back of the colored print indicate that it was taken from "the wall at the back of the altar." In the accompanying line drawing of the Pala altar, the design is featured above the central niche. However, the designs stand alone, without any reference to the *bultos* enclosed in each niche. The design is catalogued in the National Gallery image database as Index of American Design, 1943.8.18136.

For too long, California mission art studies have relied on a temporal model that is not well-suited to decolonial theory and purposes. I draw from the ideas of Amy Buono, who argues that art historians, in their studies of objects or images produced in "intercrossed" colonial contexts, must "regard their methodologies as consubstantial with their objects of study, as well as attend to the diachronic processes of transfer and transformation."[125] Dipesh Chakrabarty calls this the "ontological now," which emphasizes the continuity between past and present— "living objects cannot be contained within a historical chronology."[126]

An excellent model for the separation of Indigenous imagery from its colonial "container" (the mission walls, in this case) can be found in the work of a contemporary Puyukitchum (Luiseño) artist James Luna. In 2 5, the National Museum of the American Indian sponsored an installation by Luna at the Venice Biennale, *Emendatio,* which included the *Chapel for Pablo Tac*, a space to honor the Luisenõ scholar/scribe who had been sent from Mission San Luis Rey to Rome in 1834 and subsequently recorded a dictionary and history of his people. [Figure 2.34] In his writings, Tac "embraced a shamanic concept of power," which he describes as being accessed via hallucinogenic substances and rituals involving "dream helpers." As Lisbeth Haas explains, images (of these dream helpers) are represented on rock paintings, "which could be returned to for the invigoration of the memory and power derived from the journey."[127] Like his ancestors, Luna used painted designs to trigger these memories. The nave of the chapel is lined with white cloth on which are painted cross and diamond patterns, which Luna says were inspired by the wall painting program at Pala. The installation also included *Past and Present Apparitions*, a display of projected images of Luna's ancestors, modern Luiseños, juxtaposed mission and Italian landscapes, in which Luna "contests the notion that there is a discontinuity between the indigenous world of the past and that of the present."[128] In an essay he wrote on the plane *en route* to the Venice Biennale, Luna recognized how his journey to Europe paralleled Tac's: "Here is the stratosphere in which Mr. Tac and I come together as tribal brothers. I think that despite time and place, we are living and thriving in a culture within a culture… we are cultural warriors." [129] While the theoretical emphasis of Luna's installation resided in the deconstruction of the European colonial (written) archive, I turn our attention to the significance of the design and materiality of the chapel walls. Like the Index, Luna selected and abstracted elements of the original Native Pala designs, but by rendering them on cloth rather than the surface of the wall itself, the crosses and diamonds become impermeable, transparent, unfixed, always suggesting the presence of the layers of history and meaning beneath them.

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[125] Amy Buono, "Historicity, Achronicity, and the Materiality of Cultures in Colonial Brazil," *Getty Research Journal*, no. 7 (2015): 21.

[126] Chakrabarty cited in Buono, "Historicity," 20.

[127] Haas, in "'Raise Your Sword and I Will Eat You': Luiseño Scholar Pablo Tac, c. 1841," in *Alta California: Peoples in Motion, Identities in Formation, 1769-1850*, ed. Steven W. Hackel, 95.

I am not sure whether Luna was aware of the complicated chronology of the Pala wall paintings which inspired his designs for the Pablo Tac chapel, but this brief history I have outlined adds an important layer to his 21st-century recreation of the designs. Placing my own study of the mission wall paintings in conversation with Luna's performative archival intervention has helped to solve a methodological problem—contemporary Native art provides a sound model for mission art historians on how to move beyond the “ideal mission moment” that the Index highlighted in their selection and documentation of the Deer Hunt and Grape Harvest scenes.[130]

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[128] Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landscapes*, 241.

[129] James Luna. "Fasten Your Seat Belts, Prepare for Landing," 45. In Haas, Lisbeth. Pablo Tac, *Indigenous Scholar: Writing on Luiseño Language and Colonial* History, c. 1840.

Through their various physical manifestations—the caves of Southern California, Native basketry, original wall paintings, painted restorations, the Index’s visual documentation, textual descriptions and contemporary Native interpretations and appropriations such as Luna’s— the California mission wall painting designs continue to experience an afterlife that defies colonial and national temporalities.

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[130] I elaborate on the problematic visualization of this “ideal mission moment” in “Imagined Mission Spaces: Challenges in Visual Culture Interpretation,” *Latin American and Latinx Visual Culture Journal*, University of California Press, Vol. 2, No. 3: 67-75.

CHAPTER III: *Franciscana* as a Usable Past

Imagining the Spanish Franciscans in the Early 20th-century U.S.

In 1905, Eliza A. Otis, in an essay for the *Los Angeles Times*, argued for the preservation of the California missions, emphasizing the important role that Protestant Anglo-Americans should play in this national project. She began by reminding her readers that the Franciscan fathers were, in fact, the boldest of pioneers "with no difficulties no less grave to encounter, and obstacles no less formidable to overcome than the Pilgrims of the Mayflower had to face."[1] After describing the decaying walls of these mission edifices, representing "the first dawn of modern civilization in the West," she praised the work of Santa Barbara artist Henry C. Ford, who in the late 1880s had created a series of etchings based on his visits to all twenty-one Alta California missions.[2] Though most of the physical structures were in a state of ruin when Ford visited, his etchings served to "restor(e) them to their original form and outline."[3] Like the Index would, Ford and other well-trained Anglo-American artists looked beyond the physical ruin and imagined the original state of the missions and their visual programs. Otis concluded that Ford's etchings should be placed in every public library in the nation, "for the interest centering about these historic piles is not merely local."[4]

> The pictures themselves are an eloquent story of a past that is of national interest to a country like ours… Puritanism commends the work accomplished by those early Mission Fathers, and comes here to sow and to

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[1] Eliza E. Otis, "Where Sets the Sun," in *Some Essays About the California Missions in Honor of the V Centenary of Evangelization* (California Catholic Conference and Knights of Columbus Council, 1992; orig. published in Los Angeles Times, 1905), 30.

[2] Ibid, 30. After their publication in an 1883 volume titled "Etchings of the Franciscan Missions of California" they were exhibited at the Chicago World Fair in 1893.

[3] Ibid, 30.

[4] Ibid, 30.

> reap in the soil which they prepared and which they made ready for the larger and grander life of this later century.[5]

The intended placement of "local" mission imagery in libraries throughout the nation is closely connected to national Index Director Cahill's (and his mentor, John Cotton Dana's) democratic goals; in addition, Otis' use of the phrase "sow and reap" echoes Cahill's continuous metaphor of digging into the soil of America's past. In both her and the Index's views, the Spanish Franciscans had prepared and planted seeds within this soil for future U.S. Americans to benefit from.

The Index catalogued the California mission designs as "Spanish Colonial" and in most cases attributed the specific designs to the Spanish Franciscans. This categorization would soon become typical of mid- 20th-century Spanish Colonial art histories, but its application by the Index in California in the 1930s and 40s related directly to the state's concurrent promotion of its Spanish Fantasy Heritage, which had emerged in the late 19th-century after the secularization of the missions.[6] Public and permanent displays of this heritage immediately foregrounded the Index's arrival in Southern California in the 1930s; throughout their project, the Index would continue to situate the Franciscans as its heroic designers and preservers. In an undated photograph taken at Mission Santa Barbara (c. 1936-42) Index artists stand beside brown-robed Franciscan priests of that mission, who had entrusted them with a fragment of a valuable but forgotten Neoclassical-styled *lienzo* to document. The photograph documents the collaborative

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[5] Ibid, 31.

[6] These histories, the foremost including Martin Soria and George Kubler's *Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal and their American Dominions* (Baltimore and Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1959) and Manuel Toussaint's *Arte Colonial en México* (México, D. F.: Impresar Universitaria, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México) would not be published until the late 1950s.

Franciscan and federal effort to bring such lost paintings to light and to situate them and the story of their colonial production into an American art and design history. [Figure 3.1]

In this chapter, I explore the reasons for and means by which the Index "nativized" Spanish Franciscan heritage as part of the creation of usable past. I will demonstrate that their naturalization of Franciscan aesthetics and design contributed to an already existing and homogenized Spanish Fantasy Heritage, yet still allowed for a consideration of the geo-political complexities of this shifting early 19th-century borderland and of the varying intentions and contributions of individual Franciscans who oversaw the visual programs at each mission. To reveal the Index's simultaneous investment in a "Spanish Fantasy" myth but also in exposing Native knowledge, I first consider the ways in which Anglo-Americans and Californians in the early 20th-century perceived and promoted the Franciscans and discuss Index-created images and reports related to these imaginings. Then, I present a detailed analysis of the Index's work at selected Santa Barbara, Oceanside, and Central Coast area missions, where they focused on understanding and interpreting Neoclassical designs in relation to a more nuanced Franciscan history. Finally, I explore the implications of the Index's Spanish Franciscan focus, namely, the ironic circumvention and elimination of a Mexican heritage from U.S. and California history and art history.

The Index's (and other early 20th-century writers') placement of the Franciscans in the role of supervisors of mission visual and architectural programs in the Americas is a trope in the early study of Spanish Colonial art in general. But in the last few decades, scholars have reconsidered the power dynamics at play between the friars and the neophyte artists they trained or oversaw. For example, art historian Jeanette Favrot-Peterson, writing about 16th-century murals at the Franciscan *convento* at Malinalco, concluded that Native artists (some of whom were heirs to the Aztec *tlacuilo* tradition) were involved in creating, not just in producing Franciscan-dictated designs."[7] Understandings of California mission art production, however, have remained centered on the supervisory and creative role of the Franciscans only. This limitation is especially evidenced in the late 20th-century writings of the trained classicist and California mission art scholar Norman Neuerburg, whom recent scholars have continued to rely heavily upon.[8]

While the Index attributed the mission designs to the Franciscans, their reports also hint at the nuances in the Franciscan-Native artisan dynamic later recognized by Favrot-Peterson and other contemporary art historians of Novo-Hispanic mission art:

> We cannot today determine how the Franciscans of the Southwest decorated the Interior of all their churches. Some of these buildings have disappeared entirely, and others renovated beyond all semblance of their original condition. But enough is left to give a satisfactory idea of labors of the Fathers and the Indians. At the outset: THE FATHERS UNDERSTOOD THE PRINCIPLE OF ARCHITECTURE, and created a NATURAL, SPONTANEOUS STYLE… They showed LITTLE SKILL IN matters of INTERIOR DECORATION, POSSESSING NEITHER

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[7] Jeanette Favrot Peterson, *The Paradise Garden Murals of Malinalco* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1993 and 2015).

[8] Notably, Neuerburg's art historical training was in Classical Antiquities, and he was the principal designer and painter of the Getty Villa's Roman-styled murals c. 1970s-80s. His source for this recreation was the Villa dei Papiri in Herculaneum. The Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library holds Neuerburg's papers related to the restoration/recreation of California mission murals, many of which he oversaw and personally painted. There are striking similarities between the motifs (Neo-Pompeian, Vitruvian) and painterly effects (i.e.marbleizing) of his Getty restoration and California mission restorations, which I believe are both tied to his project of highlighting the connection between California art and its European antecedents. A more recent investigation of California and its ancient classical precedents is Peter Holliday, *American Arcadia: California and the Classical Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).

> ORIGINALITY IN DESIGN, NOR YET THE SLIGHTEST APPRECIATION OF COLOR HARMONY.[9]

This brief comment references one Index reporter's awareness of the complications that prior renovations brought to their project, as well as the impossibility of historically determining Franciscan vs. Native authorship. If the mission designs were so unoriginal and lacked aesthetic harmony, why would the Index have wanted to integrate them into their national catalogue? Was it ultimately the Native contribution that would make these "Spanish Franciscan" designs usable? The Index's archaeological illustrations demonstrate the power of Native influence in ways that even the Index's written texts (and catalogue attributions) seem to deny. Close readings of the Index studies and watercolors will offer new insights into the role of the Spanish Franciscans in mission wall painting and their placement in American art history, in the 1930s and now. Drawing on the Index's tendencies to categorically attribute yet acknowledge the contextual and situational limitations of doing so, I argue that the Spanish Franciscans indeed have a rightful place in the history of both the art of the United States and "the Americas" at large. However, before (re) inserting these regional mission paintings and their author-designers into a 21st-century American index or narrative, I reconsider both the specific historical, social, political, environmental, and economic contexts in which the wall painting designs were produced. I examine the Index's recreations of these "Spanish

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[9] Index document entitled, "MISSION: INTERIOR DECORATION BY FRANCISCANS/ PART PLAYED BY INDIANS—Source of knowledge, artistry, medium" 6/2/38- HM. 442A Records of the Index of American Design, Subject Files-Spanish Colonial-Missions [Folder 1]. (This Index author is directly citing George Wharton James, *In and Out of the California Missions: An Historical and Pictorial Account of the California Missions* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1916), 450.

Franciscan," painted designs, their preconceptions about Spanish Franciscan biography/hagiography, history, artistic pedagogy and the ways in which they thought each of these would be usable to the nation.

In what might appear to be a reversal of the decolonizing methodology I employed in Chapter 2, this chapter takes as its focus individual Spanish Franciscan priests and considers their possible artistic contributions to the missions they oversaw. Through a critical examination of their involvement and of its ramifications on California mission art and interpretation, the insertion of the Spanish Franciscans into the history of American art (Arts of the Americas) can still represent decolonial art history. As historian David Rex Galindo has convincingly argued, "to comprehend the missions we have to pay attention to the missionaries as well as to the missionized."[10] His study, in which he focuses on the Franciscan missionaries of the Propaganda Fide from the Colegio de Santa Cruz de Querétaro, considers these men not as a homogenous entity, but as "subjects of ethnographic inquiry" and as individuals who used hagiographic biography for their own personal, political, spiritual and/or economic, motivations.[11] Following Galindo's approach, I have inserted brief biographies of selected early 19th-century Franciscans, as well as descriptions of the geo-political and economic situations in which they worked, within the following wall painting analyses. These Franciscan priests—including Father Ripoll (Santa Barbara), Father Peyri (San Luis Rey and Asistencia at Pala) and others who oversaw the wall painting programs as well as their later biographers-- are specifically named and described in the Index reports, and thus, were firmly inserted (without critical context) into American art and design history. The problematic result of previous Franciscan biographical approaches (to understanding the missions) is summed up in a line from a popular 30s-era California Mission tour book: "Each mission within its walls encloses the life history of one or more of the padres who were Father Serra's lieutenants in the work, and all are dying tributes to the courage of the man himself."[12] Given the Index's reliance on the writings of Father Zephyrin Engelhardt they inherited the Franciscan tendency to heroize and prioritize these priests in their narrative of mission art production and intention.[13]

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[10] David Rex Galindo, *Propaganda Fide: Training Franciscan Missionaries in New Spain,* dissertation, Southern Methodist University, 2010: 18. Galindo's *To Sin No More: Franciscans and Conversion in the Hispanic World,* 1683-1830, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2018) is an expansion of the 2010 dissertation. It represents the first study of the propaganda fide colleges and more specifically, the motivations driving the Franciscan friars, whom he argues were attempting to reawaken Catholic parishioners as much as they aimed to convert Native peoples.

[11] David Rex Galindo, *Propaganda Fide,* 21.

Despite this emphasis on Franciscan-penned mission histories, the Index may have known that other Mendicant Orders including the Jesuits, Augustinians and Dominicans had founded missions throughout New Spain beginning in the 16th century. But early 20th-century Californians could claim the humbly-attired Franciscans, who had been placed in charge of the Alta California missions after the Jesuit expulsion in 1767, as their own.[14] Imagining the humble, brown-robed St. Francis was key to the early 20thcentury (particularly Depression-era) construct of the Order's identity in California; both of the Order's 13th-14th century founders, St. Francis (Francesco Bernardone) and St. Clare (Offreduccio) of Assisi, famously took vows of poverty."[15] Not long after Francis' death, the Trecento fresco painter Giotto di Bonduce's *Life of St. Francis*, (1297-13), located in the upper church of San Francesco at Assisi, not only firmly established the Christian hagiographic- visual (Proto-Renaissance) tradition of presenting the lives of the saints on the public walls of churches, but also the long relationship between the Franciscan Order and fresco painting itself.

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[12] *California's Mission Tour,* Los Angeles: Automobile Club of Southern California, 1915: 8.

[13] See my summary of Fr. Engelhardt's writings in Introduction.

[14] Shortly after the Spanish conquistador Hernan Cortes invaded the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlan in 1519, the Franciscans were the first European mendicant order to establish missions in the new capital city of New Spain, Mexico City, and its environs. Beginning in the mid-18th century with the expulsion of the American Jesuits, Spanish Franciscans of the Propaganda Fide trained at the Colegio de San Fernando in Mexico City (*Fernandinos*) were sent to occupy the former Jesuit missions in Baja California. Junípero Serra then was sent north and established seven missions in Alta California between 1769-1782; he was succeeded by Fermín Lasuen, who established nine missions between 1786-1823. The brown robes that the

The Index's wall painting project in California was conducted simultaneously with the production of federally sponsored WPA murals throughout the nation. The connections between California wall painting, Giotto, the Franciscan Order and St. Francis himself would have not gone unnoticed by the Index or early 20th-century art writers and enthusiasts. A well-known story from the life of the young, restless Francesco, as he searched for his calling in life, established an important link between the saint's newfound spirituality and the renewal of the physical church: While he wandered in the hills of Umbria, just outside of Assisi, he came upon the small church of San Damiano, which was in need of major repair. He entered the crumbling structure and knelt before a Byzantine icon of Christ on the cross, asking, "Lord, what do you want me to do?" and a voice replied, "Francis go and rebuild my church, which, as you see, is

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Franciscans were known for, and that the early 20th-century Franciscans wear in the aforementioned Index photograph taken at Mission Santa Barbara, were not the same grey robes worn by Junipero Serra and the late 18th-century *Fernandinos*. Nonetheless, the brown robe became the most common and recognizable image of the Order.

[15] In fact, the former is sometimes referred to as "Il Poverello," (The Poor One), "The Most High Poverty," and the latter as "Lady Poverty."

falling down." Francis not only committed himself to rebuilding San Damiano and a few other stone churches near Assisi but understood the metaphor: the body of the Catholic Church itself needed repair. A fresco painting in the Upper Basilica of San Francesco d'Assisi, formerly attributed to Giotto, includes this famous miracle scene from the saint's life. As in architectural "cut away" views, the saint kneels in the central space of a church, whose side walls and roof have been partially destroyed to reveal a hollow interior. However, within the ruined space are a few hints of its former decoration and stability—some columns stand firm, still supporting a painted entablature and surviving portions of the clerestory windows, moldings, and other painted architectural features. For the next centuries, the Franciscan Orders in both Europe and the Americas would continue their founder's commitment to the production and preservation of the physical church, including their missions in the New World. In the 1930s, Index photographers documented modern American artists standing in the ruins of San Juan Capistrano, with notepads and tools at hand for recording and restoring not only the mission-era designs, but this deep and extensive Spanish Franciscan art history. [Figure 3.2] and [Figure 3.3] In the centuries following the production of Giotto's *Life of St. Francis* fresco, the walls of Franciscan churches and monasteries throughout Europe continued to be decorated with frescos, usually executed as programs or cycles. Several art historians have pointed out the similarities between early Mexican mission church fresco cycles and the formative models of Giotto's murals in Assisi and Padua, specifically, the program of the

Arena/Scrovegni Chapel. [16] In the same light, the Index could present the 19th-century Alta California paintings as not only a part of the 16th-18th century American Franciscan legacy, but an American art history that could be traced all the way back to the Italian Renaissance and St. Francis himself.

Following the Rule of St. Francis, to "wear humble garments," the First Order, that of the "friars minor," adopted gray and brown wool tunics as early as 1240. A biographer of Francis recalled the saint's admiration of the plain lark: "Its plumage is earthy… (an) example to religious women and men that they should not have elegant and fine attire, but rather wear dull colors, like that of the earth."[17] Almost all of the Franciscans who came to Alta California, including Father President Junípero Serra, were from the Colegio de San Fernando in Mexico City. The *Fernandinos*, as they were called, wore gray robes.[18] Grey or brown, images of humbly attired Franciscans certainly appealed to Depression-era audiences, figuring prominently in popular culture and imagery, including California orange crate labels and collectable Hummel ceramic figures. Franciscan-themed imagery and Spanish Colonial "mission-era" art collections could also appeal to wealthy Anglo-Americans: Frank Miller, the owner and designer of the eclectic Mission Inn in Riverside, California, (built 1876-1903) was known to greet high-society guests wearing a brown Franciscan robe and sandals. He was a collector not only of "fine art" Baroque Spanish oil paintings but of "*Franciscana*," all things Franciscan, such as mission bells, friars' garments, and contemporary prints featuring brown-robed Franciscans. [Figure 3.4] and [Figure 3.5] An Index watercolor rendering of an unidentified Franciscan "Santo Bulto" by George Rhone captured the simplicity of the quintessential Franciscan anti-regalia. Even in a design sense, the austere lines and course textures of the brown robe, hood, cape and cord against the blank white background express the plain sensibility then associated with California mission architecture. [Figure 3.6] Similarly, Index photographer Paul Park captured a brown-robed Franciscan standing in front of a set of wooden doors featuring a "river of life" motif. [Figure 3.7] The Index created several watercolor renderings of this design found on doors at San Fernando and other missions. [Figure 3.8] In Park's photograph, the subject and "motif" of the robed Franciscan priest is just as visually significant as the simplistic door design behind him. In 1914, architectural historian Rexford Newcomb had already distinguished a California mission style from the more elaborate (Baroque) Spanish Colonial structures in nearby Texas and Arizona. The priests and "Indians," of California, he surmised, "were compelled to build simply… they were able to create a style, which for the country, in which it was developed, has not been surpassed."[19] "Therein," he concluded, "lies the chief charm of the Franciscan edifices of California—

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[16] The majority of Italian Renaissance mural programs were executed in *buon fresco*, which involved the application of water-based pigments to a wet limestone-plastered wall. This medium is long-lasting, which gives the images a sense of permanence and connection to the architecture itself.

[17] Brother Guire Cleary, "Poverty and Wealth: Franciscan Dilemma in the Missions of California of 1769-1835," a paper presented at CMSA Annual Conference in Monterey, California, 2 1. Republished in California Missions Foundation website https://californiamissionsfoundation.org/articles/poverty-and-wealth-franciscan-dilemma/

[18] Serra specifically requested paintings to be sent to the California missions depicting saints wearing the *Fernandino* grey robes, not brown. Junípero Serra, *Writings of Junípero Serra*, Vol. 1, ed. and trans. Antonine Tibesar (Washington, D.C. Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955), 221. For the original Spanish, see Huckins, "Art in the Alta California Mission Churches," 70.

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[19] Rexford Newcomb, "Architecture of the California Missions," *Annual Publication of the Historical Society of Southern California*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (1914): 225.

simplicity and straightforwardness."[20] Like Miller and Newcomb, the Index recognized the appeal of simple, humble *Franciscana* to the American public, but also its viability as a charming "folk art" source that could also inspire and encourage a modern art and design Renaissance in the United States.[21]

Miller and the Index of course, were not the first to celebrate the Order in California. San Diego's Panama-California Exposition (1915-1917) was one of the first venues for the promotion of the state's European Catholic heritage and the introduction of Spanish Colonial Revival architectural "designs" to a largely Anglo-American public. The Exposition's exhibition halls, with their characteristic white-washed adobe facades and red-tiled roofs, would long be associated with both the Franciscan Order and with Spain.[22] The official program for the 1911 groundbreaking ceremonies described a parade of floats with human tableau representing the key contributions of each of the twenty-one missions.[23] Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue reported that the parade of floats at San Diego was designed to "recall (sic) to mind the glamour and mystery and poetry of the old

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[20] Newcomb, 233.

[21] That the experiences of humility and poverty could bring about glorious art was not a new idea. "We owe to the mind of Francis that a certain breath and inspiration nobler than human has stirred up the minds of our countrymen so that, in reproducing his deeds in painting, poetry and sculpture, emulation has stirred the industry of the greatest artists. Dante even found in Francis matter for his grand and most sweet verse; Cimabue and Giotto drew from his history subjects which they immortalized with the pencil of a Parrhasius; celebrated architects found in him the motive for their magnificent structures, whether at the tomb of the Poor Man himself, or at the Church of St. Mary of the Angels, the witness of so many and so great miracles." (Pope Leo XIII, Auspicato Concessum, n.22, 1882)

[22] Architects Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue and Frank Allen designed many of the buildings for the San Diego Exposition. For more on the Spanish Colonial Revival, see: Karen Weitze, *California's Mission Revival* (Los Angeles: Hennessy & Ingalls, Inc. 1984). For the most recent treatment and repositioning of this architectural style, see *Myth and Mirage: Inland Southern California, Birthplace of the Spanish Colonial Revival.* Eds. H. Vincent Moses and Catherine Whitmore and Ai Kelley, with an Introduction by Catherine Gudis (Riverside, CA: Riverside Art Museum Published with assistance of Getty Foundation, 2017).

[23] Groundbreaking ceremonies for the Exposition were set for July 19- 21, 1911. The parade of floats took place on Saturday morning, July 22.

Spanish days."[24] In a symbolic gesture of their famous humility, twelve sandaled Franciscan friars would walk in front of or alongside, not ride, the floats. Thus, the Order would be shown as "supporting" the more powerful allegories of Spanish Catholicism displayed on the floats themselves— robed scholars, sword-wielding Crusaders, *matamoros* and others representing the titular saints of the Missions. The intended pageantry was closely connected to the quintessential allegory of St. Francis (as Atlas) in the New World, in which the saint holds up three orbs and the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception. [Figure 3.9] In this typical representation of the saint, flanking the Virgin are two chariots, floating in the clouds, one holding the deceased Hapsburg kings and the other the Four Cardinal Virtues.[25] While St. Francis had figured prominently in the arts of colonial Latin American for centuries, the introduction of *Franciscana* to U.S. American audiences in the early 20th century was a colorful novelty.

San Diego Álcala was the first mission established by the Franciscans in California, so it is fitting that on this modern city's stage, the living friars, like St. Francis himself, would uphold the Spanish legacy and remind contemporary residents and visitors of its continuing benefits to the state.[26] The Mission San Juan Bautista float was to feature a broad platform on which "Indians and Mexicans will mold *adobe* bricks and tiles which were special projects of this mission."[27] The San Miguel Archangel float would "show Indians at work on friezes, columns and altars. A Franciscan will be seen directing the artists in their work."[28] By the time of the Exposition, San Miguel was already distinguished for housing the only extant interior mission mural program. "The Indians of this mission… were taught by the Padres in the arts of painting and decoration, and much of the work of this kind preserved in other Missions is from the atelier of the Mission of San Miguel."[29] This original vision for the celebration of specific mission "products" did not materialize. Instead, the floats were small-scaled architectural replicas of each mission and did not include the planned human tableau.[30] [Figure 3.10] Nevertheless, the Anglo-American planners' idea that Native painting supervised by Franciscan priests might be celebrated alongside the economic product of the twenty missions— cattle, grapevines, olives— demonstrates a keen awareness of the significant role these painted designs contributed to the early art history of the state and the nation at large. For the planners and their intended audience, the model of European-directed labor was central to the notion that Indigenous art of use to the state and nation could have only been borne out of a (Spanish) colonial environment largely engineered by the Franciscans.

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[24] Goodhue, 1916: 6; cited in Elizabeth Kryder-Reid, "Crafting the Past: Mission Models and the Curation of California Heritage," *Heritage and Society,* Vol. 8, No. 1 (May 2015): 66. "'Fantasy Heritage' by writer, lawyer, and politician Carey McWilliams addresses the disjunction in California and the Southwest of the United States between the treatment of Mexican residents and conceptions of the "Spanish" heritage of the Southwest. According to McWilliams, Californians idealize an imaginary foundational Spanish culture as the root of modern Californian identity." ICAA Documents of Latin American and Latino Art, synopsis of "Fantasy Heritage. https://icaa.mfah.org/s/en/item/1125928

[25] Cristina Cruz González, "Our Lady of el Pueblito: A Marian Devotion on the Northern Frontier," *Catholic Southwest: A Journal of History and Culture*, Volume 23, 2012: 3-21. The orbs traditionally represent the three divisions of the Franciscan Order (the laity, the Poor Clares and the friars; Cruz proposes an alternative symbolism related to Hapsburg politics—a representation of "Spanish privilege" in the Old World, the New World, and the heavenly world: 6. The print, which served to defend the Franciscan devotion to the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception, was disseminated via the Pontius print throughout New Spain and the iconography would have been well known to the Baja and Alta California Franciscans.

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[26] This Franciscan "self-promotion" resulted in increased Anglo-American involvement and interest in mission preservation in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

[27] Anon. "To Commemorate Old Missions, 1911, *The Tidings*, June 9, 1911, in Weber, *Some Essays About the California Missions in Honor of the V Centenary of Evangelization* (California Catholic Conference and Knights of Columbus Council, 1992), 55-57.

[28] Ibid, 57.

[29] Ibid.

[30] For historic photos of all the mission floats, see https://sandiegohistory.org/pancal/expo/485migu.jpg

While California mission exterior architecture and the imagery of the Franciscans themselves centered on austerity and simplicity, the wall paintings and interior visual programs prompted an association between the Order and Baroque color. Norman Neuerburg's 1996 *The Decoration of the California Missions*, the only publication focusing on the wall painting designs, begins with an introductory section entitled, "Color and Design in the Painted Decoration of the California Missions."[31] Neuerburg, a painter himself, who was responsible for the late 20th-century restoration of many of the painted designs based on his own illustrations in this volume, explains to the reader that, while the landscape of mission-era California was almost devoid of color, its mission walls were covered in vivid hues. According to Neuerburg, this "enlivenment" of the mission environment was the work of the Spanish Franciscans, who sought to bring aspects of their colorful artistic heritage, which dated back to the painted walls of prehistoric Altamira as well as to Romanesque church frescoes, Islamic tilework, and into the present with the abstract shapes and designs of Gaudi. Neuerburg commented on the happy coincidence of the shared Franciscan and Native predisposition to color: "even the Natives were not untouched by a love of color and ornament, though it was more likely to be on their bodies than on their dwellings."[32] Like the Index, he prioritized the prehistoric European roots and Spanish Franciscan agency in the production of these wall paintings, relegating the Native uses and conceptions of both color and design to a secondary position, clearly indicative of his colonizer-colonized positioning of their contributions. Similarly, the Index's close alignment of the "Native" designs with the lower status of "primitivism" allowed for them to serve as a convenient source for modern artists, rather than a representation of an autonomous artistic tradition.

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[31] Neuerburg, *Decoration*, 3.

[32] Neuerburg, *Decoration*, 3.

The hierarchy of design agency that Neuerburg still employed in the 1990s had been established and problematized in the writings of early mission historians, including the Index. For example, Index supervisor Lanier Bartlett's unpublished notes make clearly references to a colonialist notion of cultural control: "Arts and Crafts ideas were introduced into California by the Spanish Franciscan missionaries who entered the present State in 1769 and remained in control of cultural influences here until the middle 1830's (sic)."[33] He noted that while "These early padres were all Native Spaniards," they "brought with them, or soon requisitioned, Mexican artists as instructors in their industrial education programs."[34] Bartlett's emphasis on "industrial education" is understandable, given the Index's own attempt to connect art and industry in the 20th century. "Handiwork objects of this period were produced almost entirely by the indigenous pupils of the Christian missionaries. Designs may have been largely indicated by Spanish and Mexican teachers; but the ideas they imparted were translated into objective ornaments through the brains and hands of the local Indians, whose touch is seldom to be mistaken." [35] The Index presented mission artistic production and training within a strictly Franciscan didactic context, assuming that arts education was administered in the same way (and served the same goals) as it did the other industrial and agricultural activities the friars oversaw. Thus, within the Index's imagined system of colonial labor and artistic production in the California missions, a hierarchy was clearly established: 1. Spanish friar as controller of design, 2. trained Mexican painter as transmitter of design, with 3. execution of design by an easily distinguishable Native "hand."

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[33] Lanier Bartlett, Records of the Index of American Design, "Unfinished- growth of art in CA by Lanier Bartlett," penciled at top of typewritten document. This document included Lanier's conclusions about the "growth of art in CA," and a list of his historical sources from which he based this conclusion. Lanier Bartlett, "Unfinished- Growth of Art in California," undated, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives, 441A2, Records of the Index of American Design, Original Project (WPA), Subject Files- Spanish Colonial-Missions [Folder 1]. This report includes one of the only mentions of "Mexican" teachers: "That these Mexican-born assistants brought with them various New World cultural influences which they mixed with both the Romanic-Mozarbic ideas from over-seas and the crude aboriginal tendencies of the California coastal peoples is evidenced in the surviving relics of Mission Period arts and crafts..." None of the Mexican artist-teachers were researched or specifically named in the Index's Data Report Sheets.

[34] Lanier Bartlett, ibid.

Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn challenged the ways in which historians of Spanish Colonial art have named and recognized difference. For them, such naming implicates the historian in the political acts of centering, marginalization, and colonization. They draw attention to the "deceit of visibility" in which art historians only consider the stylistic mixtures that we can see, arguing that "Ultimately, the discourse of hybridity in art history has not been about what can actually be seen, but about the human hand and (post)colonial interest in the color of that hand."[36] The same act of naming the "human hand" complicated the Index's mission wall painting project. An important function of their "index" would be the attribution of designs, but how exactly would they identify or name the designer vs. "the hand"? In a colonial situation, is design a manual or intellectual exercise—does it originate from the hand (of the colonized) or the mind (of the colonizer)? The imagined California mission art production hierarchy that the Index came up with- that the manual skill of Native artists served the mind/design of the Franciscans-- is not far removed from the positioning of designer and producer within the Index's own 20th-century project. Like the Franciscan friars, the Index "supervisors" edited, curated, and directed the documentation of designs, while the Index artists (simply) provided the manual skills.

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[35] Lanier Bartlett, ibid.

[36] Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn, "Hybridity and Its Discontents: Considering Visual Culture in Colonial Spanish America", *Colonial Latin American Review*, 12:1 (2 3): 5-35.

Above his introductory remarks in the oft-cited *The Decoration of the California Missions*, Neuerburg included a black and white photograph of a diorama produced around 1942 by his mentor in California mission studies, Edith Buckland Webb (1877-1959).[37] Her diorama represented the mission *asistencia* at Pala, known for its painted chapel. [Figure 3.11] A closer look at it within the context of this chapter's theme—the questioning of the exact role of the Franciscans in the production and design of the mission wall paintings—will reveal that this Index-era image, much like the mission floats at the San Diego Exposition, represents a didactic and problematic trope in California mission art studies that practitioners of Critical Mission Studies need to move away from. In the diorama's center, a shirtless, barefoot neophyte wearing white pants and a headband holds a large paintbrush in his hand. Standing under a painted arch held up by Doric columns and topped with three crosses, he holds one hand behind his back as he reaches up to brush pigment onto to the wall with the other. The design he paints appears to have been pre-sketched or outlined. With his brush, he carefully applies color within these bold black contour line/designs. Next to the painted arch is a worktable topped with bowls of pigments, and standing by the table is Father Antonio Peyri, who looks patiently but intently toward the neophyte painter and his activity. Fr. Peyri holds one hand out as if he is conversing or directing the work. Under the photograph of Webb's diorama, Neuerberg included the inscription, emphasizing the priest's supervisory function: "PALA, Indian painting the side altar, supervised by Fr. Antonio Peyri."[38] While the shirtless artist at work appears to be the one directly supervised by Peyri, two other Native figures stand by and observe. They do not hold paint brushes and they wear tunics. One clasps his hands eagerly in front of his chest, expressing his understanding and appreciation of Peyri's verbal instruction. The other stands in the traditional Greco-Roman pose of "the thinker." Webb presented the mission church (and, specifically, its walls) as a place where artistic practice, theory and intellect came together. In this setting, both the (Neo)classical and Christian iconography rendered by the "Native hand" clearly stems from the mind of Father Peyri.

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[37] Neuerburg, "The Little Mission: History at an Inch to the Foot," *The Journal of San Diego History* 33 (4): 179-196, 1987 cited in Kryder-Reid, "Crafting the Past: Mission Models and the Curation of California Heritage," *Heritage and Society,* 8 (1): 60-83. Kryder-Reid discusses the history of mission model production, noting that Neuerburg first saw Webb's diorama in her garden in 1941. In her listing of early mission models, she notes a set commissioned for the 1939 Golden Gate International Exposition in San Francisco and a Plaster of Paris model of Mission Santa Barbara, now in that mission's Historical Museum, made by FAP WPA artist Christian Mueller, Sr.

Specific Index writings express a similar understanding of the primary role of this and other individual "Spanish Padres" in the production of the wall paintings, as it had been recorded by earlier writers. For example, Lanier Bartlett noted,

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[38] Neuerburg, *Decoration*, 3.

> An energetic Catalonian friar, Antonio Peyri, who founded Mission San Luis Rey de Francia in 1798 and guided its destinies for over thirty years, is credited by early-day travelers through this field with the many ornamental features still to be traced on walls, ceilings and fachadas, as well as in garden areas, of the old site…. Embellishments found at Mission Santa Barbara Martír seem to have originated largely in the brain of another padre, Antonio Ripoll, during the first two decades of the 19th century.[39]

Both the Webb diorama and the San Diego tableau I have just described illustrate key questions to be further considered in the following analyses of "Spanish Franciscan" mission watercolor renderings. To what extent did the Franciscans actually author the original wall-painting designs? What is the difference between authorship of the designs vs. dictating, directing, controlling, or curating the wall painting programs? Did the Index consider the painted designs, as seen in Webb's diorama, simply "decorative," (as Neuerburg later suggested) or did they attempt to align the 19th-century wall painting with those of the Alta California Franciscan's 16th-century forefathers, who used wall painting to "frame the sacred" liturgical imagery within their Mexican missions?[40] Whatever the Franciscan involvement, how did the Index attempt to present the designs as part of the state (and nation's) Spanish Fantasy Heritage, and "Spanish Franciscan" painting as part of the history of American art? Elizabeth Kreider-Reid summed up this Spanish fantasy heritage as follows:

> The story valorizes Spanish colonization, casting the Franciscan friars as selfless purveyors of salvation…The era of Mexican governance and the presence of immigrants from non-Anglo cultures are downplayed or ignored altogether…. To the extent that… (Native people's) presence at the missions is visible at all, it is generally constructed as a symbolic

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[39] Lanier Bartlett, "Unfinished- growth of art in CA by Lanier Bartlett," 1-2. 44A2 815/39.

[40] This phrase is taken from Eleanor Wake's study of 16th-century Mexican mission murals and relief sculpture, *Framing the Sacred: The Indian Churches of Early Colonial Mexico* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016). She argues that the paintings and sculptures reflect the beliefs of the indigenous artists who produced them.

> transformation from wild and civilized, manifested through the acquisition of Native people of the Spanish-introduced arts of agriculture, animal husbandry, industry, literacy and music.[41]

For Anglo-American viewers and the Index, the most obvious measure of the "acquisition" of artistic literacy in the California missions was Native competency in classical architecture and the painting of European-Neoclassical designs, specifically. In her diorama, Webb, though a self-described supporter of Indian arts and crafts, heroized the Spanish effort of training Native artists in a specifically classical European/Greco-Roman style. Her imagining of artistic activity in the missions bears comparison with a late colonial portrait of the Viceroy Galvez, founder of the Academy of San Carlos in Mexico City, the first European art academy in the Americas.[42] [Figure 3.12] Galvez was to ensure and continue the original goal of the Academy: to teach the Neoclassical style to Mexican painters (including *Indios*) in an attempt to improve the reputation of the colonies in Europe. Galvez presents the Native artists as provincial and untrained but suggests that the Academy would serve to "enlighten" them.[43] This classicized style, as well as the notion that its uses could civilize the "*indios*," extended from the Academy in Mexico to the missions of Alta California. In fact, many of the "Spanish Colonial" or "Franciscan" painted designs that the Index chose to document in their watercolors feature Neoclassical elements. The Index were impressed and pleasantly surprised by the presence of this "civilizing" stylistic factor in the unexpected location of California—the edge of the American frontier.[44]

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[41] Kryder-Reid, "Crafting the Past: Mission Models and the Curation of California Heritage," *Heritage and Society*, Vol. 8 No 1. (May 2015): 65.

[42] Founded by the King of Spain (Charles) in 1781, the original name of this government-sponsored art Academy was "The Royal Academy of San Carlos." The Royal Academy clearly looked to Europe as a model– in Europe, the French Academy of Painting and Sculpture, the British Academy of Painting, and the Italian Academy of Design had all been influenced by the ideas of the Enlightenment. At the time of the founding of the Alta California missions in the late 18th century, all the European academies had left the Baroque and Rococo styles behind and replaced them with the Neoclassical style. Following suit, the Mexican Academy of San Carlos would also design a curriculum that fostered and favored the classical tradition. While many artists of the Academy of San Carlos were *Criollos*, *mestizos* or *Indios*, the rules for judging their art were still derived from Europe. Most of the Academy's teachers and directors were recruited directly from the European academies. In 1791, when Andres Lopez painted his *Portrait of Viceroy Galvez as Viceprotector of Academy of San Carlos*, the Academy was still under the control/auspices of the Spanish Crown.

The Wall Paintings 1810-1824

Santa Barbara, Santa Ines, San Buenaventura

The Index found many expressions of classicism throughout their Southern California mission site visits, but the most direct were identified in the Santa Barbara region. A consideration of the mission wall paintings in Santa Barbara area missions that the Index visited and heavily documented-- Santa Bárbara, Santa Inés, San Buenaventura—requires an understanding of their physical evolution in relation to three major events: the earthquake of 1812, the Chumash revolt that took place in 1824, and the close relationship between this war and the Mexican independence movement. From the Index's perspective, as demonstrated in the number of specifically Vitruvian-derived designs from the Santa Barbara area missions included in their completed catalogue, the Franciscans served as THE pedagogical and corporal vehicle for transmitting Spanish-European culture, art and knowledge and their primary stylistic vehicle was Neoclassicism.

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[43] Eventually, after Mexico gained its independence in 1810, the Academy was controlled by the new Republic of Mexico. Though its name was changed to "National Academy of San Carlos," it would still promote the Neoclassical style, but in a way that would now help to shape a new Mexican national identity.

[44] For more on the civilizing effects of Neoclassicism in the New World see Paul Niell, "Neoclassical Architecture in Spanish Colonial America: A Negotiated Modernity," *History Compass*, Vol. 1, No. 3, (March 2014): 252-262 and *Buen Gusto and Classicism in the Visual Cultures of Latin America*, 1780-1910 (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2013).

Before re-establishing the connections between these classical features and their historical situation at these four missions, it is important to recognize a fact that the Index and most 20th-century visitors to the missions did not: the majority of the Alta California churches were constructed out of *adobe* at the time of their founding in the late 18th century (c. 1784-1791), most to be replaced by *adobe-ladrillo* structures, and finally, "modern," primarily Neoclassical stone churches completed in the early 19th. It is in this final building phase that the wall paintings were produced, but a consideration of this particular moment within the larger evolution of the mission spaces has not been addressed in the scholarship. It is the walls of these later stone churches that the Index focused on, yet, like most mission art historians, their general interpretations of the paintings (and their significance) remained within the framework of the late colonial era. In some excerpts of their written reports, however, they began to point toward the possibility of an extended reading, one that required more extensive research and a microhistorical dive into early 19th-century biography, political shifts and economic factors.

Aiming our focus on the specific artistic and architectural production that took place between the years 1810-1825 can aid in the reinterpretation of the wall paintings that the Index only began. In contrast to 18th-century church constructions in the capital cities of New Spain, whose completions were almost immediately witnessed by their patrons and designers, the building of the Alta California mission churches was, by economic and physical necessity, slow and gradual. In many cases, California earthquakes created conditions for multiple layers of renovations, reconstructions" and restorations; thus, mission histories, chronologies, and materials become even more difficult to re-imagine and interpret. This elaboration of the execution and concept of "completion" requires a new reading of the layering/superimposition of styles. As we have seen in the case of the Index's work at Mission San Fernando, and as the following case studies will demonstrate, the Index took upon themselves the task of analyzing and documenting not only the physical layers of paint and their formal elements, but their chronological and historical situation. In this sense, the Index modeled a revisionist and materialist historic practice. I continue their study of "layers" here, following and extending the short lines of biographical and historical evidence which they provided in their written reports.

Despite their apparent interest in and research into the historical layers of the mission walls and built environments, the Index did not emphasize or distinguish between the histories or agendas of the eight Father Presidents who approved these evolving building projects, mentioning only the more famed Father Junípero Serra in some of their reports. They may not have been aware that after Serra's death in Carmel, California in 1784, the project of transforming his *adobe-ladrillo* structures into tile and stone and was undertaken by his successor, Fermín Lasuén (b. 1786 d. 1803). The translation to a more permanent medium was accompanied by an intended replacement of style; however, the latter (Neoclassical) was merely superimposed upon the previous (Baroque). In Santa Barbara, a region of focus for the Index, the first two decades of the

19th century mark the exact period of this stylistic syncretism, which directly reflects the physical, economic and political transitions experienced by both the Franciscans and the Native population at this and nearby missions.

The Index illustrated the façade of Santa Barbara in a lithograph on weave print by James (signed J.F.) Jones.[45] An examination of this print will reveal how, by the 1930s, the transitional but significant years of the early 19th century (c. 18 -1825) had been effectively "erased" from mission and U.S. history. [Figure 3.13] Unlike their watercolors, the SoCal Index' architectural prints, all of which were produced by Jones, emphasize the sparse, linear quality of the mission buildings' façades and *retablo* designs. Compositionally, Jones presented the façade of Mission Santa Barbara as a flat surface, with shading used to delineate the projection of engaged Ionic columns, pediment and cornice decorative features. His use of grey tones and shading of columns, entablatures, bricks and blocks of stone add to their timeless, classical quality. In actuality, the façade of the stone Mission Santa Barbara church at the time of Jones' viewing was painted in a soft pink color, with brightly colored detailing of cornices and niches. It featured a dramatic sculptural program, including large figures of Faith, Hope and Charity in the pediment. The Index watercolor artists documented these sculptures [see Figure 0.7] but Jones did not include them nor figures of titular saints here in the Santa Barbara lithograph or in any other of his mission prints. In their execution and layout, the Jones prints eliminate any late colonial Baroque Catholic associations, pointing more directly to a connection between the California missions and western architectural theory.

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[45] There is scant information on the artist's biography. Edan Hughes noted that "While in Northern California circa 1938-1942, Jones did several lithographs of missions for the WPA." *Artists in California, 1786-1940*, no page. Sets of his completed mission lithographs are now in the collections of the National Gallery, the Metropolitan Museum, New York, and the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco.

The connections between Jones' Santa Barbara lithograph and Vitruvius go beyond their similar typology and documentary function. Mission architecture and art historians Rexford Newcomb, whose contemporaneous writings the Index relied on, as well as later 20th-century scholars including Kurt Baer and Catherine Ettinger, have highlighted the similarities between the façade of the fourth stone church at Santa Barbara and Plate X of M. Vitruvius' *Ten Books of Architecture*.[46] [Figure 3.14] At the time of the latest church's construction, a 1787 Spanish translation of *De Architectura* by Fr. José Ortiz y Sanz (1739-1822)[47] was in the possession of then pastor Father Antonio Ripoll and has remained since in the collection of the Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library.[48] Ripoll is said to have used this volume as the guide in designing the fourth church, after the third structure had been severely damaged by earthquake in 1812.[49] A native of Palma Mallorca, Spain, Ripoll had come to mission Santa Barbara from La Purísima in 1815, then remained in California until 1828 when he returned to Spain after the missions were secularized.[50] He and/or the Criollo Mexican master builder-architect José Antonio Ramírez (c. 1762/3- 1827) freely adapted several Vitruvian elements in the Santa Barbara church design, most obviously the Ionic hexastyle temple embedded in its façade.[51] The Jones print highlights a Greek step fret pattern based on Vitruvius' *Plate X*, which was carved in relief onto the architrave.[52] The Santa Barbara pediment and Ionic columns are drawn directly from the facade presented in Vitruvius' Plate X, as well as a Scenae frons of a Roman theater depicted as Plate XXXIX, Figs. 1 and 2 in the 1787 volume. [Figures 3.15-3.16] Jones' lithographic technique did not allow for the same level of linear detail as the 1787 Vitruvius (Ortiz y Sanz) prints but his overall composition, treatment of surfaces such as stone masonry and bas relief friezes are very similar. [53]

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[46] Rexford Newcomb (1886-1968) was the first to point this out, according to Norman Neuerburg. NN *Facades*, unpublished notes, 9. Newcomb's reference to the Santa Barbara Vitruvius volume may have been verbal. It does not appear in Newcomb's *Franciscan Mission Architecture of Alta California*, 1916, nor Karl E. Brown's *California Missions: A Guide to the Historic Trails of the Padres*, New York: Garden City Publishing Co., Inc. 1939, which Newcomb, then Dean of the College of Fine and Applied Arts at the University of Illinois, wrote the Foreword to (pp. 6-10). In 1914, Rexford Newcomb recognized and summarized the stylistic diversity of Franciscan art and architecture, remarking on the markedly simple and logical approach exemplified in California. "Architecture of the California Missions," *Annual Publication of the Historical Society of Southern California*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (1914): 225-235.

[47] Ortiz y Sanz was a member of the Real Academia de San Carlos in Valencia, Spain. He worked under the sponsorship of Carlos III and Carlos IV.

[48] Ripoll arrived in Alta California in 1812. He served at Mission Santa Barbara from June 14, 1815, to January 23, 1828. (Geiger 1969: 207-208.) *Los Diez Libros de Architectura de M. Vitruvio Polion*, translated by José Ortiz y Sanz (b. 1739-1822), 1787, Madrid. A copy of the same 1787 edition is in the collection of the Getty Research Institute. The Sanz volume is a prized possession of the Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library. A short essay by Rose MacLean and illustration of a few pages appear in *Many and Brilliant Lights: Treasures from the Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library*, edited by Robert Senkewicz and with a Foreword by Jack Clark Robinson, O.F.M. (publication sponsored by Academy of American Franciscan History, 2017), 52-53.

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[49] Notably, in the Pacific Coast Architecture Database (pcad.lib.washington.edu) he is listed as Antonio Ripoll (Architect), then in entry as "Architectural Designer, Mission Santa Barbara, c. 1815; 1815-1820."

[50] For Fr. Ripoll's life story, see Maynard Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California* (San Marino, CA, 1969), 207-208.

[51] Ramírez is described by Catherine Ettinger as the "probable designer/builder of the façade at Santa Barbara;" "Architecture as Order in the California Missions," Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library, 2 3, insert page. The label of "designer/builder" as it was applied in the Mexican Academy vs. Alta California is an ambiguous one; its application may have been adjusted between the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Ettinger notes that he "probably participated in building and or design activities at San Luis Rey and perhaps at San Fernando," explaining that these two churches, like Santa Barbara, use the ration of 1:6 in the floor plan, the ratio prescribed by Vitruvius in his third book, Chapter 1. Her source for the Ramírez attributions is Schuetz-Miller, *Building and Builders in Hispanic California*, 1769-1850, Tucson and Santa Barbara, 1994: 86-87.

[52] A Spanish version of Marco Vitruvius Pollio's *De architectura, libri decem,* known today as the *Ten Books on Architecture,* c. 20 B.C. was published in Madrid in 1787. Ortiz y Saenz provides the following description of Plate X: "Lamina X. Alzado de la fachada, y parte de la planta del mismo Templo próstylos, con los acroterios A, y el friso entallado, segun Vitruvio Lib. III, Num. 36, pag. 77. Esta entalladura, ó sea baxo relieve, podrá hacerse á gusto del Architectuo, procurando que tenga alguna congruencia con el sugeto á quien el Templo se dedicate."

The Jones prints resemble architectural diagrams presented in not only the aforementioned Vitruvius, but in other classical treatises such as Palladio's 1570 *I quattro libri dell'architettura* (The Four Books of Architecture), in which color was likewise eliminated in order to draw attention to design features. In a very general sense, Jones' task was similar to that of Vitruvius (80-70 B.C.), who was not the actual designer of the architectural motifs presented in his volumes, but rather the historian/researcher and documentarian. Jones' printmaking and research processes were not documented by the Index. It is unclear whether he visited each of the twenty-one missions or worked from photographs, but in the same vein as Vitruvius and other ancient architectural theorists and chroniclers, he created a 20th-century American treatise/guide based on his study and observation of ruins. The Santa Barbara façade must have been in fair condition at the time of his "viewing," but in many of his other mission lithographs, he highlights imperfections and ruined elements in the stone surfaces. The Jones prints, as they were situated within the Index archive, served as a model for future restorations (and possibly, new buildings based on mission design) but also as a historical documentation of their state at the time of his visit.

Jones' prints of the twenty-one mission facades not only documented their features but would serve as an "index"-- a control and measure of both quality and tradition for U.S. American modern artists and designers to follow.[54] Jones and the Index were surely aware of their own participation in the long trajectory of applying and promoting national design precedents through an archival vehicle. However, their decision to include the set of prints by Jones in their catalogue is unusual. While the subject matter is the California mission facades, the Jones prints, by nature and technical execution, are very different from the watercolor renderings of the mission interiors. The prints document and highlight an aspect of America unrelated to the Index's stated goals—in fact, classicism was the antithesis of the "folk" and "indigenous" designs they sought to capture.[55]

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[53] Illustrated in Neuerburg, *Painting*, 27.

In Jones' lithographs, an inscription indicating the founding date of each mission is inscribed at the lower center of each plate. The Santa Barbara inscription reads, "1786, Mission Santa Barbara, J. F. Jones," but the "completed" stone façade viewed and rendered by Jones was that of the fourth stone church, which was built between 1815-1820. It was quite different in appearance than the original *adobe* and *adobe ladrillo* buildings that had preceded it in the late 18th century. Thus, the date and image don't correspond historically—for the contemporary viewer of Jones' print, it appears that Neoclassical features (and the Greco-Roman humanist and Enlightenment ideas that they symbolize) were present from the very start of the mission era.

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[54] Since the publication of Vitruvius, classical architecture was governed by rules and conventions; in a theoretical sense, illustrated treatises were forms of cultural and political control, standardization and the visual establishment of tradition. For example, the French architectural and urban historian/theorist Francoise Choay summarized the administrative and authoritative functions of Alberti's *Re De Aedficatoria*, arguing that this and other architectural treatises contain and codify rules that are "presented as propositions which are indisputable, fundamental, and possessed of generative power." Ettinger, "Architecture as Order," 3, citing Francoise Choay, *The Rule and the Model: On the Theory of Architecture and Urbanism* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1997), 105. See also Carolyn William Westfall, *Vitruvius as the Model for Modern Architects* http://www.nccsc.net/essays/vitruvius-model-modern-architects. For an architectural theory more contemporary with the Index, see Nicolas Pevsner's *Academies Art Past and Present* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1940).

[55] The majority of the Jones lithographs emphasize their classical elements, such as round arches, Doric columns and pediments. Only a few feature non-classical elements, such as the sunburst-shaped window on the façade of Mission San Carlos Borromeo (Figure: Jones, Mission San Carlo Borromeo, 1943.8.18232) or the *espadaña* (wall with piercings for bells) at Mission San Gabriel Arcangel. (Figure: Jones, Mission San Gabriel Arcangel, IDA 1943.8.18235)

Into the 1980s, California mission art historian Norman Neuerburg continued to highlight the Vitruvian elements of the Santa Barbara façade. The Index would have appreciated this continuous historical framing of the design within a general American Palladian Revival context. However, in his express effort to situate the art of the California missions within the framework and trajectory of European Catholicism and its architectural history, Neuerburg also noted that the combination of the Vitruvian temple façade with twin towers had actually appeared quite regularly in Spanish architecture, most famously in the cathedral of Pamplona, whose façade was designed by Ventura Rodriguez, one of Spain's premier Neoclassical architects, in 1783.[56] Certainly, in some cases the Index made similar attempts to directly associate Santa Barbara and the California missions in general with its Spanish precedents. However, I bring up the problem of chronological displacement so inherent in the Jones lithographs—the façade of the fourth church was designed and produced after 1812, not in the 1780s.

In the 1990s, California state historian Kevin Starr summed up the significance of the Santa Barbara design in mapping the future of California architecture, noting that "based as it was on Vitruvius.. brought a note of distinction to the scarcely settled

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[56] Norman Neuerburg, *Facades,* 9. Neuerburg was intent on emphasizing Spanish and European influences in California mission art in order to elevate the lower status of California mission art scholarship in the middle to late 20th centuries. This focus has continued to problematize mission art studies.

California coast."[57] In line with the façade, many of the wall painting designs at Santa Barbara and missions in the area are also based on Vitruvius, the assumption amongst recent scholars being that Ripoll's 1787 edition served as an important vehicle for the spread of Neoclassicism in California-- passed around and shared with priests and artists at nearby missions. Neuerburg's and Starr's recent colonialist summary of the civilizing effects of classicism on the California frontier stems from the earlier scholarly emphasis on California mission art as simply as extension of the original 16th-century Spanish Colonial proselytizing project. Instead of focusing on these contemporary or early colonial meanings and intentions, we should ask, as the Index watercolor artists began to in their research, what possible meanings did the Neoclassical façade and related wall paintings project during the first two decades of the 19th century, considered the twilight of the mission era?

It is unclear how Ripoll acquired his 1787 edition of *De Architectura*. Did he specifically request it, was it passed on to him by another priest, did he bring it with him from Europe or was it shared with him by master mason Ramírez or one of the many architects being sent to Alta California from Mexico or Spain during the Lasuén era?[58]

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[57] Kevin Starr, *Material Dreams: Southern California through the 1920s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 232-233.

[58] See Mardith Schuetz Miller, *Building and Builders in Hispanic California 1769-1850* (Tucson, Arizona: Southwestern Mission Research Center, 1994) for a list of carpenters, masons and stonecutters sent to Alta California from Mexico and Spain (including Ramírez and stonecutter and mason Manuel Esteban Ruiz who worked at Mission San Carlos) and their brief biographies, 51-145. The "assistive" role of Mexican masons like Ramírez is referenced in the account of the French visitor Auguste Duhaut-Cilly to Mission San Luis Rey, who recognized "The buildings were planned on a grand scale after the ideas of Father (Peyri). He himself, and alone, could have superintended the construction, but he secured the cooperation of a very skillful man who had previously aided in the construction at Mission Santa Bárbara." Geiger, citing Duhaut-Cilly "Building Activities," 16-17, SBMAL in Schuetz Miller, 195.

This question should be further investigated—it may help us to understand if the text (and its expression/translation in the Santa Barbara façade) represents a direct connection between the Alta California Franciscans and Madrid, the place of its publication, or with Mexico City, where Neoclassicism and "*el buen gusto*" was heavily promoted by both the Catholic Church and the government-sponsored art Academy (of San Carlos), even as the era of the Bourbons was coming to a close and Mexican independence was eminent.[59] While we may never discover documents detailing Ripoll's acquisition of the illustrated Sanz volume, we may re-interpret the application of Vitruvian designs at Santa Barbara and nearby missions from several early 19th-century historical perspectives, beyond Fr. Ripoll's, whose role the Index and others have prioritized.

Next, I broaden the lens to investigate the nuances of Ripoll's relationship with the changing governments and his neophyte charges, the involvement of the Mexican Criollo master-mason Ramírez's, the regulations of the Mexican Academy, and the experiences of the Native Chumash's in the production and interpretation of the wall paintings.[60] By initiating this extended reading, I believe the designs will become even more "usable" to the national project that the Index set out to complete in the 1930s.

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[59] The Academy of San Carlos, first established in Mexico City as the School of Engraving in 1781, was the first art academy in the Americas. It was founded and funded by the Spanish Crown in 1785 as the "Royal Academy of San Carlos;" after Mexican Independence, it was controlled by the new Republican government and renamed "the National Academy of San Carlos." By this time, the national government's preference for the Neoclassical style was well established and oriented toward promoting the ideals of the Mexican Republic. Since its foundation, the Academy became the primary mode of training Mexican artists in the classical academic tradition, and served to replace not only the Baroque style, but the dynastic master-apprentice based system of artistic training that had been in place during the Spanish colonial era.

[60] Schuetz-Miller, in *Building and Builders in Hispanic California, 1769-1850*, states that the specific identification of the architect—either Ripoll or Ramírez-- is "a moot point." (194). I disagree- this is a key attribution problem I attempt to resolve here.

With their express interest in documenting "Spanish Franciscan mission" design, the Index did not take into full consideration the actual fiscal situation of the missions in the early years of the 19th century, and in particular, the direct relationship between them and the Mexican government at this time. During the mission era, Franciscan architectural projects and decorative programs had been funded by the *Fundo Pioso* (Pious Fund)--gifts of money, estates and factories that had been originally donated to the Jesuit Order to support their American missions. When the Jesuits were expelled from New Spain in 1768, the Baja California Franciscans inherited this important resource. The Alta California Franciscans continued to use the *Fundo Pioso*, but in 1810, when the Mexican Independence movement began, the funds were seized by government authorities in Mexico City. Fiscal transfers were suspended to the major cities of New Spain, including Mexico City and San Blás, where, since the late 1760s, Franciscan *procuradores* had purchased and transported goods for shipment to Alta California.[61] The California missions were left to support themselves and, as an emergency measure, the mission neophytes were forced to supply goods to the Spanish military without payment.[62] The resulting (temporary) status of these "independent" California missions is significant, because all of the known wall paintings documented by the Index were produced after 1810. Thus, their production occurred at a unique historical moment: after the "Spanish California period" (1769-1809) and just before the Mexican California" era (1825-1848); economic historian Marie Christine Duggan has aptly identified these years between 1810 and 1824 as "a period when imperialists in California were stranded without an empire."[63]

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[61] See María del Carmen Velázquez, *El fondo piadoso de las misiones de California* (Mexico: Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, 1985).

[62] Sydney Temple, *The Carmel Mission: From Founding to Rebuilding*, (Fresno, California: Valley Publishers, 1980), 68. See also Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., "Fray Antonio Ripoll's Description of the Chumash Revolt at Santa Barbara in 1824," *Southern California Quarterly* Vol. 52, No. 4 (December 1970): 345-364. He summarizes the effects of Mexican Independence (the announcement of in 1810) on the economic situation in California: "After 1810 ships no longer brought to California the annual supplies, soldiers' salaries were no longer paid, the padres' stipends were not forthcoming. The presidios called on the missions for more and more food and clothing for which receipts were given but the bills were never paid… The Indians had to work harder and longer to supply the requests but received no compensation from the military for their redoubled efforts." 346. Geiger translates Ripoll's account, entitled "Levantamiento de los Indios de Santa Barbara," Document 1599 of the Taylor Collection in the Archdiocesan Archives of San Francisco, a copy of

How did the wall paintings function within this fiscally and politically "stranded" situation of the mission(s)? This situation poses questions regarding their traditional art historical categorization as "Spanish Colonial," which must still be resolved: Without financial support from either Spain nor Mexico, should the physical materials (pigments, etc.) and the resulting designs be considered "Spanish Colonial," as the Index categorized them? While many of the supervising priests were Spanish, their loyalties to Spain, the

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which is in the Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library. The first Mexican governor of California, José María de Echeandía, was not officially appointed until 1825, and even when he was installed, regular fiscal exchanges between the capital city and the California missions were not systematized or existent.

[63] Marie Christine Duggan, "With and Without an Empire: Financing for California Missions Before and After 1810," *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 85, No. 1, 2016: 26. In her comparative analysis of account books (inventorios and memorias) dating before and after 1810, Duggan reveals the economic and social impact of the cessation of financing. She argues that the pre-1810 purchase records and patterns of spending are indicative of the processes of Franciscan cooptation (she says, "missions were designed to co-opt the interior allegiance of Indians," 26; in most cases, the church's interiors were decorated with artworks within 10 years of their completion; of the uprising at San Diego, she notes that the Kumeyaay were loyal to the images and vestments, which they "took care not to break, and… carried to their homes. This suggests that they viewed the images as benevolent and perhaps powerful." 43 She notes that at several missions, including Santa Clara, any time the mission income exceeded 15 pesos, the extra revenue was used for investing in "spiritual capital," artwork and church decoration and religious devotional objects—cloth, candleholders, retablos, paintings, bultos. 54. La Purísima ordered a retablo collateral for 11 pesos in 1811, when their extra income was 2, 0 pesos. 56) Duggan cites Taylor, in *Magistrates of the Sacred*, 1, 3, argues that "within walls, there was an intimacy between priests and parishioners and a converging experience of the sacred that were rarely achieved elsewhere…" arguing that we can apply this argument to California.) The records after 1810 show a different relationship between the Franciscans and their charges—one in which the Native population worked under fear and brutality leading to revolt, but at the same time demonstrated their commitment to mission decoration and imagery. Her study focuses on the purchase records at missions San Diego, Santa Clara and La Purísima.

Native populations and/or Mexico were highly individual. Did Father Ripoll, who had arrived at Santa Barbara five years after the cessation of funds, and was forced to rebuild the church after a major earthquake, turn to the Vitruvius as a sign of his loyalty to the Spanish empire, or at least his former/idealized conception of it? The priest's writings, which clearly illustrate his growing adversarial relationship with Spanish government officials and military, would dispel this idea. In this case, then, is it more likely that these Neoclassical elements were a Mexican intervention, delivered by the Criollo master mason Ramírez? This reading would certainly have contradicted the Index national project, which sought to marginalize or exclude Mexican culture from its definition of "American."

The Index made specific references in their reports to the rebuilding of mission churches following earthquakes that occurred in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Of San Juan Capistrano, for example, they noted that "After partial demolition and abandonment… as a result of the earthquake of 1812, the earlier edifice was refitted… it may have been redecorated at the time of its reopening, for worship, in 1812 or 1813."[64] On the fourth church at Santa Barbara, they reported that "Its immediate predecessor was dedicated in 1794, although there is a record that its fachada was completed in 1811. It was irreparably damaged by the great earthquake of 1812. Construction of the fourth stone edifice was begun in 1815 and its dedication took place in 1820… Fray Antonio

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[64] DRS dated May 2, 1940, So.Cal MSCL-44 (a). signed by artist Randolph F. Miller.

Ripoll is credited with designing this church."[65] In the simplest terms, such reports indicate their positioning of the rebuilt churches as a practical and direct response to the physical destruction of the former ones. Their assumption was that once the new church was completed, the business of Catholic missionizing could resume as usual. Later 20th-century scholars have similarly framed the uses Neoclassicism in the Alta California missions as means of physically restoring order following these natural disasters; Franciscan priests viewed the rebuilt churches as sites and symbols of spiritual restoration and the renewal of the Order itself. [66] Missions San Gabriel, San Juan Capistrano, Santa Barbara, Santa Ines, San Buenaventura, San Fernando and La Purisima, as well as the Presidio at Santa Barbara were damaged or destroyed by a series of powerful earthquakes in 1812.[67] On the Santa Barbara quake, Padre José Señan reported:

> At Mission Purisima the bells rang out without the aid of a bell ringer and in a few minutes the mission was reduced to rubble and ruin presenting the picture of a destroyed Jerusalem.[68]

The series of earthquakes continued into 1813, leaving the existing adobe structures at these missions damaged beyond repair and "conditions across the region were nothing short of chaotic."[69] Señan's comment references not only the physical demise of the *adobe-ladrillo* mission churches in the Santa Barbara area, but the ruin of the 16th-century colonial landscape built by the Franciscans in the New World—one whose plain and sturdy basilica-planned churches the first missionaries imagined as the foundations of a New Jerusalem. By the early 19th century, this ruined millenarian landscape, which had culminated in the Baroque style, was in need of reinvention. The early 19th-century Franciscan efforts in the restoration, rebuilding and redecorating of mission churches in the Neoclassical style could be understood in relation to the creation of a new physical and spiritual epoch. The Vitruvian vocabulary which Ripoll possessed in his personal volume could be used as a tool of erasure of the missions' Baroque past and as a means of initiating a new sense of order, one that was urgently necessary, given that these were the same years in which another threat on the destruction of their missionary efforts—Mexican Independence and the Chumash revolts—were immanent.

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[65] Typed notes on back of DRS dated Nov. 1, 1939, So.Cal MSCL22 (a), assigned to artist Hal Blakeley, signed by Director Dana Bartlett. The front of the DRS states under the heading "Designed by:" "Fr. Antonio Ripoll or some Spaniard engaged by the padre as an interior decorator.

[66] "Architecture as Order" is the title of Catherine Ettinger's essay on California mission architecture. *Architecture as Order in the California Missions*, Los Angeles, California: Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library, 2 3. Published in *Southern California Quarterly*, Vol. 85, No. 1 (Spring 2 3): 1-12.

[67] The first, estimated 6.9-7.5 on Richter scale; Wrightwood Quake, also known as the San Juan Capistrano Quake, shook on December 8, 1812, reaching San Buenaventura, San Gabriel, San Juan Capistrano and San Diego. The Great Stone Church at San Juan Capistrano was destroyed and forty Native people were killed during the mass service celebrating the feast of the Immaculate Conception. The bell structure of Mission San Gabriel collapsed. The second, the Ventura Quake, also known as the Santa Barbara Quake, took place on December 21, 1812. The estimated earthquake magnitude was 7.0-7.25.

[68] Padre José Señan, O.F.M., *The Biennial Report from Mission San Buenaventura, 1811-1812*, translated by Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., Old Mission, Santa Barbara, California, 1974. https://projects.eri.ucsb.edu/sb_eqs/1812/senan.html

News of Mexican Independence did not reach California until March of 1822. Shortly after, Fray Mariano Payeras (1769-1823), head of the California missions, and ex-prefect Fray Vicente de Sarría (1767-1835, Basque, founder of Mission San Rafael Arcangel, 1817) traveled to Monterey and swore their allegiance to the newly formed Mexican empire ruled by Agustín Iturbide.[70] Fr. Payeras sent missives (via circulars) to each of the missions, which formally announced Mexican independence and the new policies related to Indigenous rights, as written in the 1821 Plan de Iguala, Mexico's declaration of independence and rules for governing its new republic. According to this plan, the term "*indio*" was to be replaced with "citizen." Several years earlier, the constitution passed by the Spanish Cortes de Cádiz (1810-14) had already established the precedent for Indigenous citizenship and equality, and included prohibitions specific to Native corporal punishment, taxation, coercive labor and tribute. It awarded legal equality to Indigenous peoples—the same rights of Spanish citizens—and terminated missions that had been established for 10 years or more.[71] Significantly, the Alta California missions had successfully ignored the dictate, hanging in the balance from the passing of the Cortes de Cádiz in 1813 until the 1822 news of the Plan de Iguala reached them. This period of economic and political limbo coincide with the Vitruvian façades at Santa Barbara and other missions, as well as the production of many of the (Neoclassical) mission wall paintings the Index documented.

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[69] Rose MacClean, *Fifty Treasures from the Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library* (Santa Barbara, California: Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library; Distributed by A.H. Clark Co., 2017), 53.

[70] This empire existed for only one year, 1822-23. Iturbide was a Spanish conservative Loyalist which may have might have made his policies more palatable for some Alta California Spanish Franciscan "loyalists."

It is also significant that the decades in which the new Mexican liberal government aimed for Indian rights and the secularization of Spanish missions (c. 1810-1830s) coincided with the United States' era of Manifest Destiny, and just preceded the enactment of that nation's Indian Removal Act.[72] While this act would not directly affect the Native population of the California missions (since this territory would not become a state until 1850), the U.S. Indian policy in place at the time of the production of the mission wall paintings contrasted greatly with Mexico's. The 19th-century Franciscans surely grappled with the bipolar policies, geo- political tensions and nationalist contradictions of their times, as the Index would continue to one hundred years later.

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[71] Lisbeth Haas, *Saints and Citizens: Indigenous Histories of Colonial Missions and Mexican California* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2014), 117.

[72] Signed into law by President Andrew Jackson on May 28, 1830, this act authorized the president to grant Indians unsettled (western) prairie land in exchange for their territories (the most desirable being in the Southeast). To accommodate this exchange, Indian tribes were forcibly removed and "resettled." Many Indians perished during the migration, most famously, the Cherokee "Trail of Tears" of 1838-1839. The impetus for the act was the discovery of gold on Cherokee land in Georgia.

As previously mentioned, the Index named several individual "Spanish Franciscan" art supervising friars in their reports, though they did not thoroughly investigate their varying political affiliations in relation to the Mexican Independence movement. In response to the directives from Mexico, most of the early 19th-century Franciscan missionaries believed, like Payeras did, that the Native population had been "corrupted with ideas of liberty (and) emancipation," and remained loyal to Spain, but only one refused to sign the required oath of allegiance to Mexico. Of those who did sign, many simultaneously requested permission to return to Spain.[73] The list of those who requested to leave would have been of significant value to the biographically-centered interpretation that the Index only hinted at: it includes both missionaries (in charge) at San Luis Rey (including Fr. Peyri, who oversaw the wall painting production there), San Juan Capistrano, San Juan Bautista and San Jose; the sole missionaries at San Buenaventura (Fr. Jose Señan, died 1823), La Purísima, San Antonio, Santa Clara, and Soledad. The missionaries at Santa Barbara (Frs. Ripoll and Payeras) did not request to leave.[74] Given that these are the same years in which the wall paintings were produced, the uses of a "Spanish" vehicle (the 1787 Vitruvius) may represent an act of Spanish

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[73] Payeras, as quoted in Haas, *Saints and Citizens,* 119.

[74] Haas, *Saints and Citizens*,119.

Franciscan resistance of Mexican law in this region. In the 1930s, anti-Mexican sentiment still prevailed and thus, this reading of the Franciscans as the civilized Europeans resisting the Mexican government would have been most “usable” to the Index in their national U.S. project.

Almost all the California missions, including the nearby Santa Ines church, included a marbleized motif on walls, columns and most visibly, *retablos*.[75] The Index documented many of these at Santa Barbara and other missions. [Figure 3.17] In their rendering of the marbleization at San Luis Rey, for example, artists replicated the various Roman (pre-Pompeian) First Style painting effects that the mission artists themselves had employed. Paint has been applied to simulate blue and green ribbons of color set against cream-colored marble veined with terracotta-rose. The resulting “marble” patterns appear to swirl up the length of the pilasters, enlivening their otherwise static quality and architectural function. As in ancient Rome, First Style painting, also known as Masonry style (2 -60 B.C.E.) was used to add a decorative element to exterior walls and surfaces whilst eliminating the high cost of real marble panels. Typically, the wall was divided into three horizontal painted zones topped by a stucco cornice with Doric dentils.[76] In their written descriptions of the marbleized elements they rendered, Index artists made reference to both classical and Baroque vocabularies. The painted representations of-colored marble on the walls and *retablos* of the California missions drew not only from ancient Roman prototypes, but Catholic Baroque architecture, in which columns themselves were made of colored marbles that contrasted with those of the wall panels. In their many attempts to categorize California mission design, the Index alternated between highlighting either or their Classical or Baroque features. The multiple sources (17th-century Rome, Roman Spain, Ancient Rome) of the 19th-century California colored marble surfaces presented a prime example of this difficulty in categorization.

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[75] Marbleizing was not featured or applied in the earlier Serran mission walls or *retablos*.

[76] A prime example of Roman First Style (faux marble) painting is a cubiculum from Bilibilis, Spain, c. 50 B.C.E., a modern reconstruction of which can be seen at the Museu de Calatayud, Spain. The German scholar August Mau first characterized this as the “Incrustation Style.” See his *History of Decorative Wall Painting in Pompeii* (Weimer, Berlin, 1882).

The Index did not make specific connections between the marbleized surface of the walls and the Vitruvian façade at Santa Barbara. Recognizing this connection would involve looking beyond the often-referenced Plate X of Ripoll's 1787 Vitruvius edition and more closely at the text and material of the volume itself.[77] As we open the leather-bound volume, we see the brilliant effects of simulated colored marble on the paste down and end sheet, and then a rather significant dedication in the front matter to "AL REY." [Figure: 3.18] That the Franciscan priest Sanz would dedicate his Vitruvius translation to Carlos III, (just one year before the king's death) is no surprise—Carlos had been a major sponsor of the 18th-century excavations at Herculaneum and Pompeii, which were located in the Kingdom of Naples where he had ruled before returning to Spain as Carlos Tercero. In the pages preceding the Prologue, Sanz recounted the history of dedicating Vitruvius to royalty: "Vitruvio ha sido siempre libro de Monarcas. A Cesar Augusto le dedico su autor: al Ponifice Julio II el P. Ioncundo, y despues a Juliano de Medicis…" Fr. Sanz also made several references in his Prologue to Claudio Perrault's translation of

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[77] I viewed both 1787 versions (at the SBMAL and Getty Research Institute) looking for connections to the wall paintings beyond Plate X and the "Vitruvian Thunderbird." Both featured the striking marbleized endpages.

Vitruvius for “su gran Rey Luis XIV;” thus, he positioned himself as part of the tradition of dedicating architectural treatises to royalty. Ripoll’s uses of Vitruvius in the Santa Barbara façade and wall paintings continue this act of dedication- it commemorates Carlos III and the Bourbon successes in recreating the order and solidification of the Roman imperium not just in Spain, but in the far reaches of New Spain. Clearly, at a time of such political, environmental and economic instability, the early 19th-century Franciscans (Ripoll and Fr. President Lasuén) wanted to associate their continuing missionary efforts with the same sense of order.

Looking through the façade into the interior, the very same marbleized patterns found in the endpages of the 1787 Vitruvius were used to decorate the nave walls and retablos of the new church at Santa Barbara, lending the mission an aura of ancient Pompeii. In both, as in the Index watercolor renderings of the walls at this and other missions, the variegated marble consists of large green and cream asymmetrical globules highlighted with or separated by salmon and grey-black veining. While colored marble in Novo-Hispanic churches could serve as a Baroque element for its dynamic and dramatic visual effects, its uses within an early 19th-century Neoclassical program in California serve to create connections between the missions and antiquity, Italy, Spanish monarchy, wealth, and generally, imperialism at a time when Alta California was technically a “stranded empire.”[78]

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[78] In an undated document entitled “Notes for Decoration of CA Missions” Norman Neuerburg made a specific historical note regarding “Marblizing”(sic) in Alta California missions under the jurisdiction of a “… Royal Edict 1790 specifying marble and prohibiting wood with gilding.” Norman Neuerburg Papers, Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library. Box 6 Folder 10: Notes for Decoration of CA Missions.

The application of Vitruvian designs at Santa Barbara and other California missions may also be understood as a sign of Mission President Fermín Lasuén's acceptance of the dictates being imposed by the Academy of San Carlos in Mexico City, dedicated to the Spanish King Carlos III's patron saint. Vitruvius's presence was strongly felt in the Academy, beginning with its inception in 1785 and continuing into the early 19th century. In fact, the façade of the Mexican Academy of San Carlos building exhibits the key concepts of Leon Battista Alberti, through whom Vitruvian ideas had been filtered and popularized in the 15th and 16th centuries, and unquestionably, the Academicians who designed it understood its ideological function in an American setting.

Art historian Paul Niell has provided a much-needed revisionist approach to understanding the uses of Neoclassicism (and the intended erasure/replacement of Baroque) in the Spanish Americas as a form of nationalism, not imperial control.[79] He and other historians of Mexican art, including Stacie Widdifield, Esther Acevedo, Fausto Ramírez, and Jaime Cuadriello, recognize the complexity of the shift from viceroyalty to nation, and the ways that both temporal constructs were associated (and benefited) from classicism.[80] The multivalence of the Neoclassical style in Latin America has been similarly noted by Kelly Donahue-Wallace:

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[79] Paul B Niell, *Buen Gusto and Classicism in the Visual Cultures of Latin America, 1780 - 1910* (Albuquerque, NM: Univ. of New Mexico Press, 2013). Riegl, Kubler, Shapiro, and others have theorized on the origins and transformation of style. Instead of seeing it as a symptomatic trait, Niell and Widdifield reject the idea of a complete transformation, turning their attention to issues of taste and reception. Niell argues that the rise the Bourbon dynasty in Spain at the beginning of the 18th century led to "a gradual and uneven" transformation" of the visual landscapes of both Spain and its American colonies. (xiii) While the Spanish art academies of San Fernando (Madrid, 1752), San Carlos (Valencia, 1768) and San Luis (Zaragoza, 1793) promoted the copying of antique models and drawing as the basis of its curriculum, works commissioned by Charles III still reveal the Rococo style of earlier eras. The Academy of San Carlos, founded in Mexico City in 1785, was modeled after these Spanish examples, and has been often understood by scholars of Spanish Colonial art as the primary vehicle for a swift and drastic replacement of the Catholic Baroque style with Neoclassicism. (Monographs and surveys by Manuel Toussaint, Jean Charlot, George Kubler, introduced this concept, and it has since been the dominant "normative" narrative, i.e. Thomas Brown, Marcus Burke.) Niell argues that it wasn't so much a transformation as a superimposition and simultaneity of styles that characterized 18th-century Spanish art on both sides of the Atlantic. In this edited volume, Niell and Widdifield selected essays that reveal the ways that classicisms were "imposed, promoted, adapted, negotiated, and contested" in 18th and 19th-century America. In fact, in Spain and New Spain, the term Neoclassicism was not employed. Instead, the vague idiom, "buon gusto" appears in most didactic academy-related publications of this era. Niell's argument is that the rupture suggested by Kubler et. al is nonexistent. Also see his "Neoclassical Architecture in Spanish Colonial America: A Negotiated Modernity, *History Compass* 12/3 (2014) 252-262 10.111/hic3.12146 (pf on desktop), in which he urges scholars to investigate the roles of Neoclassically-styled objects in self-fashioning and social mediation.

> While crown administrators may have viewed the neoclassical style as evidence of American loyalty to Spain, many Latin Americans, particularly the elite *criollo* populations, may not have agreed. Independence-minded colonists may have associated neoclassicism with the art of France and the United States of America, whose late 18th-century revolutions soon inspired Latin Americans to pursue freedom.[81]

Following this logic, Mexican and Criollo settlers and visitors in Alta California may have experienced a similar identification of Neoclassicism with Mexican independence, or possibly even with the ideals of American independence, despite the political animosity between U.S. and Mexico. These connections between Neoclassicism, democracy, U.S. American independence and nationalism would certainly have not been lost on the Index and early 20th-century viewers.

In terms of architecture, California mission concessions to the Academy were regular. The first clear evidence of Neoclassicism in California can be found in documents relating to the design of the Presidio Chapel in Monterey. Designed by master mason Manuel Estevan Ruiz and began in 1791, its design required official approval from the Academy. Letters between the governor in California and officials in

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[80] For essays by Acevedo, et al, see *Los Pinceles de la Historia* (1999-2 3) and Esther Acevedo, *Hacia Otra Historia del Arte en México*. (Mexico, D.F.: Conaculta 2 1).

[81] Kelly Donahue-Wallace, *Art and Architecture of Vicergeal Latin America*, 1521-1821 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2 8), 240.

Mexico City demonstrate that the Academicians were not happy with Ruiz's submission.[82] Modifications were suggested by the Academy's instructor of architecture, Antonio Gonzáles Velazquez, for the simplification, classicizing and correction of the design.[83] Likely the same review process was in place for other masons who worked in Alta California, but did it include Ramírez, whose status was rising at the time of his construction of the fourth church at Santa Barbara? For Ramírez, a Criollo, the façade may have represented a summation and reflection of his knowledge, training, and his establishment as a "master," on par with the Academicians in both Mexico City and Europe. It is worth noting that the Index did not include Ramírez's name; through this obvious exclusion, their emphasis on Father Ripoll as author becomes concretized in their narrative. Given the complexity of his connection to Mexico as a Criollo, Ramírez would certainly have viewed the Santa Barbara façade and related wall paintings much differently than his patron, Fr. Ripoll. The Index's incorporation, albeit inadvertent, of these complex and combined perspectives into their portfolio (as I've demonstrated thus far with the Jones print and Index renderings of marbleized mission walls) allows for a much more nuanced understanding of the uses of Neoclassicism in California and an alternative to the traditional Jeffersonian-NeoPalladian story of Neoclassicism in the U.S.

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[82] Neuerburg states that Ruiz was from Guadalajara; he is also the possible designer of the Mission at Carmel; Carmel Mission website says Ruiz was from San Blas, Mexico.

[83] Neuerburg, "Neoclassicism in Spanish California," typed notes for possible lecture or publication, 2. Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library, Norman Neuerburg Papers Box 8, Series 2 MR.

Santa Barbara is just one of five Alta California stone churches that survive.[84] Though all five were built under the direction of Fermín Lasuén, not all of them make direct references to the Vitruvian formulas so clearly expressed at Santa Barbara. Though he was not directly involved in their designs, in correspondences of 1797-1798, we can see that Lasuén was pleased with their building progress and the significance of their translations from the Serran simple *adobe-ladrillo* structures to complex-plans executed in stone and tile. He reported to the governor of Alta California, Diego de Borica:

> The church of San Carlos was blessed and dedicated in September of 1797 and it is good. That of San Gabriel has the vaults closed except over the choir. That of San Buenaventura proceeds, and at San Juan Capistrano they have been working very hard on a beautiful one of a cross-shaped plan.[85]

But Borica's reply reflects his disapproval:

> This type of work should really be done with the knowledge of the government and they should let us know how they are paying for it, and they should build them in line with the plans that they should request through his excellency the Viceroy from the Academy of the Three Noble Arts established in Mexico… here we can help them, but they just go on their merry way not making use of our services![86]

Before Mexican independence, some Franciscans were already resisting Academy dictates imposed by the Spanish Crown from Mexico City. This demonstrates Niell's and Galindo's premises—that complex stylistic negotiations in Spanish colonial mission setttings reflect individual agendas, not a homogenous "Franciscan" choice or taste. In this, the Index were correct in their belief that one specific Franciscan "style" did not exist in the California missions, and that Franciscan biography mattered.

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[84] Santa Barbara and the Presidio at Monterey (completed 1794 by Ruiz), San Gabriel, San Carlos Borromeo (1797 by Ruiz), San Juan Capistrano (1796-1803) by master mason Isidro Aguilar.

[85] Fermín Lasuén, letter to Governor Borica, in Finbar Keneally, *Writings of Fermin Francisco de Lasuén* (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1965) Volume II, 91.

[86] Neuerburg, citing Lasuén in *18th Century Santa Barbara Presidio Chapel: Secrets Uncovered by 20th Century Research* (Santa Barbara, California: Santa Barbara Trust for Historic Preservation), no fn provided.

Apparently, the Index worked closely enough with those in charge at Santa Barbara during their 1939-40 visits to allow for a *lienzo-reredos*, (painted canvas altarpiece) which by then only existed in fragments, to be brought out of storage.[87] [See Fig. 3.3] The *reredos* is believed to have remained hanging for a full century, until the 1925 earthquake, when it was "dismantled and stored away."[88] The Index watercolors of *lienzo* fragments featuring St. Joaquim and St. Anne have captured the original brilliant color and Byzantine, iconic quality. [Figure 3.19] and [Figure 3.20] Despite their praise for the "sophisticating" effects of painted marble framing the images of each saint here, both early visitors and 20th-century art historians commented on some of the "crude" elements found in the figures themselves—garish color, faces, flatness, lack of illusionistic space .[89] Relying on an 1820 report written by the priests at Santa Barbara in which the *lienzo* is described, the Index assumed that it had been produced specifically for the fourth church's opening. Due to what he observed as "Caucasian features," Index supervisor Lemmon tentatively attributed its authorship to Native painters under the direction of a trained artist, namely, the Spaniard from Monterey, Esteban Munrás, who had overseen the painting program at Mission San Miguel in the 1820s. [90] It is clear from the aforementioned Index report by Lemmon that preliminary provenance research had been undertaken by the artists and/or supervisors working at Santa Barbara. To better understand the history and authorship, as well as the significance of this particular item's placement in the Index's "national" archive the *lienzo-reredos* should instead be presented in light of the Index's findings in the Santa Barbara Mission archive and within the artistic, historical and political context of the 1820s.

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[87] In DRS So.Cal. MSCL-81 (a) signed by Lemmon on November 21, 1939, he notes its exact location as "In storage at mission. Was part of a large reredos." It is dated c. 1820, the same date as listed for the fourth church's completion. These two renderings, (a- Joaquim, b-Ana) are signed by Lemmon, also the supervisor who signed the report. He also indicates that a "description of this reredos extant in mission archive." This also demonstrates that the Index were provided access to the SBMAL materials. I bet they were also shown the 1787 Vitruvius, one of the prized items in their collection. The description of the *reredos* he refers to is included in an 1820 annual report, which is reprinted in Engelhardt, *Santa Barbara*, 1915, Chapter VIII, p. 13: "The record was translated by Fr. O'Keefe and it reads as follows: 'The interior is neatly finished; the walls are plastered; the columns and the cornices are frescoed; the ceiling is lathed, hard finished, ornamented with the designs from Vitruvius, cut from cedar and painted… Over the high altar, on a bracket in the wall, stands a statue in wood of Santa Barbara. On each side of Santa Barbara is a painting on the canvas wall-piece of St. Joachim and of St. Anne. Directly under these on brackets are the statues in wood of the Blessed Virgin and of St. Joseph. Small wooden statues of St. Dominic and of St. Francis may be seen on each side of the high altar, on pillars."

[88] Kurt Baer, *Painting and Sculpture at Mission Santa Barbara*, 1955, 43. Baer dates the lienzo-reredos c. 1825, the time of the 4th church's dedication. Later, Neuerburg had a different opinion, referring to it as "the neoclassical painted canvas reredos imported in 1806 (and still partially in fragments) for the third church." *Decoration*, 58. SBMAL archivist Rebecca Vazquez pulled the 1806 inventory for me in March 2021. From the description in this source, it is unclear whether the 1806 *lienzo* is the same one hanging in the church from 1820-1925.

Beginning in the last years of the 18th century and in the first decade of the 19th, Neoclassical style painted and gilded wood *retablos* (sometimes called *reredos*) were installed in several California missions. Many of these were ordered direct from the workshop of José Uriarte in Mexico City.[91] 1810 in particular saw the installation of nine from the Uriarte workshop, all rendered in the full Neoclassical style.[92] Most of these, including the *retablo* still displayed at Mission San Gabriel, was "heavily marbleized in the Spanish fashion," and features elegant urns painted in the "Neo-Pompeian mode."[93] (See Figure 0.2)

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[89] The central figure was Santa Barbara, flanked by the painted *lienzo* figures of Joachim and Anna. Below Anna was possibly a statue of St. Joseph. Below Joachim was a statue of Our Lady of Sorrows. Flanking the tabernacle were small statues of St. Dominic and St. Francis. (conjectural drawing, "architectural drawing design and layout of original 1786 lienzo" published on website of Fine Arts Conservation Laboratories website, Scott M. Haskins, "Original 1786 Lienzo Discovered Forgotten in Storage: Art Restoration Expert Tells Story," January 24, 2020. https://www.fineartconservationlab.com/murals/santa-barbara-missions-original-1786-lienzo-discovered-lost-in-storage/

[90] Lemmon cites mission report of 1820 included in Zephyrin Engelhardt, *Santa Barbara" Queen of the Missions*, 1923, 113. Data Report Sheet: DRS MSCL 81(a)..

[91] San Carlos, San Miguel, La Purísima, San Fernando Rey, San José, San Luis Rey, San Francisco, and San Diego all identified in 1809 invoice; San Gabriel identified in 1810 invoice. "Four are thought to be extant: SBV, San Gabriel, San Francisco de Asis, San Luis Rey." Kimbro, et. al, *The California Missions*, 260, footnote 14, based on Neuerburg "New Light," 9-11.

However, a *retablo* from Mexico was not ordered for the fourth Santa Barbara church, perhaps as a result of the elimination of the Pious Fund in 1813. Instead, at the time of this church's dedication in 1820, a *lienzo-reredos* was displayed—possibly the same one documented by the Index. The *lienzo* prominently features Saints Ana and Joachim, figures described in the 13th-century Golden Legend. The subject held special significance for the Franciscans, who had long supported the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, as promoted by Duns Scotus. An angel appeared to Anna (while she sat lamenting her barrenness in a garden under a laurel tree) and Joaquim (while contemplating his shame over being cast out of the temple because of the couple's inability to conceive) prompting their meeting at the Golden Gate of Jerusalem, where they embraced after learning from the angel that they had finally conceived. The Franciscans believed it was through the embrace and/or a kiss between Ana and Joachim that the Virgin Mary was conceived without sin.[94] Traditionally, the closed gate (of Jerusalem) is a symbol of the Mary's virginity and a figure of the *La Imaculata* herself was placed between the figures of her parents, Ana and Joachim.[95] Though it is not visible in the 1950-era photograph, the figure of the mission's titular saint was placed in between Ana and Joachim instead. The placement of the saints within the gates of a new and glorious Jerusalem—now rendered in marbleized Vitruvian/classical terms-- would have taken on special significance for Ripoll and his fellow clergy after the destruction of the previous church by the 1812 earthquake.

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[92] For the San Gabriel altarpiece, Uriarte was paid 15 pesos for the large central portion and 4 each for the smaller 2 wings. Clara Bargellini, "The Arts of the California Missions: Clusters of Meaning," *California Mexicana: Missions to Murals, 1820-1930*): 298, fn 10.

[93] Neuerburg, "Neoclassicism in Spanish California," 3, NN Series II: MR Box 8 folder "Neoclassicism," Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library. Carlos III and his collection served to initiate the Pompeian Revival in Spain, then London. The Uriarte *retablo* (and its *bultos*) at San Gabriel were damaged in the 2020 fire. Uriarte had trained under the painter Rafael Ximeno y Planes at the Academy of San Carlos before relocating his workshop to Guadalajara in 1817. This very direct connection between the California missions, Uriarte and the Mexican Academy is a significant one: the Mexican government-sponsored institution likely directed and/or planned the Uriarte commissions and deliveries, and thus were attempting to control the shift from Baroque to Neoclassical via the imported *retablos*.

By the 1820s, the Native populations of the Alta California missions had been either baptized or decimated.[96] In specific regard to the missions in the Santa Barbara region, an 1804 smallpox and 1807 measles epidemic dramatically reduced the Chumash population.[97] For the simple fact of its significantly reduced and already baptized population, the wall paintings here were not meant to serve the same proselytizing function as they had in early Spanish Colonial missions. At the same time, tensions between the Chumash and the Spanish Franciscans had been escalating since the first few years of that century, when Native efforts to revive their traditions had been initiated.[98]

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[94] In Giotto's c. 1305 Scrovegni Chapel presentation of the theme, Ana and Joachim kiss.

[95] The formalization of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception doctrine did not take place until Pope Pius IX's, *Ineffibilus Deus* in 1854. However, the Franciscan Order in the Americas had supported the doctrine since the original 16th century debates. Mission founder Junípero Serra and the first wave of Franciscans in Alta California, the Fernandinos (from the Colegio de San Fernando in Mexico City), were specifically devoted to *La Imaculata* and named her patroness of the missions.

[96] It is estimated that their total populations went from 18,5 in the 18th century to just a few thousand by the early 19th.

[97] In 1807, Father Tapis reported that more than two hundred Chumash had died on Santa Cruz and Santa Rosa Islands during a measles epidemic. Engelhardt, *The California Missions, 2*, 620: Nunis, "Medicine in Hispanic California," 42.

The Chumash planned a coordinated attack on the missions of Santa Ines, La Purisima and Santa Barbara on Sunday, February 22 during the celebration of the mass, but a confrontation between a Chumash man and a mission garrison at Santa Ines the day prior prompted the earlier start of the revolt.[99] The entire mission complex was burned down, with the exception of the church.[100] Meanwhile, at Santa Barbara, Chumash *alcalde* (leader) Andrés Sagimotmatsee had to improvise. He convinced Fr. Ripoll to remove the garrison from that mission and when the priest left for the presidio to make the request, the Chumash gained control of the mission. Apparently, the Santa Barbara church was also left intact. Having overseen its building and painted visual program, Ripoll interpreted the sparing of the Church as a symbol of Native loyalty, "Tears come to my eyes every time I recall the actions of the Indians in locking the church and handing over the keys as if to say, 'Take the keys, padre, our war is not against the

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[98] Lisbeth Haas explains how the Chumash revolt was directly related to the beginning of the Mexican Independence movement: "The timing was important. The 1824 war took place about two years after official news arrived from Mexico about the country's independence from Spain." *Saints and Citizens*, 116.

[99] This summary of the events is based on Beebe and Senkewicz' translation and interpretation of a letter written by Father Vicente Sarría, the Spanish Franciscan Prefect of the California missions who is credited with bringing the revolt to an end. Beebe and Senkewicz, "The End of the Chumash Revolt in Alta California: Father Vicente Sarría's Account," *The Americas*, 53 (2) (October, 1996) :274. The authors note that James A. Sandos "presents the most compelling interpretation of the revolt," in his "Levantamiento!: The 1824 Chumash Uprising," *The Californians*, Jan-Feb. 1987 and in "Christianization Among the Chumash: An Ethnographic Perspective," *American Indian Quarterly*, 15 (Winter 1991): 65-89.

[100] According to Geiger 1970: 360 fn 22: "The (Santa Ines) Indians set fire to the house in which the soldiers had taken refuge. When this spread to the roof of the sacristy and endangered the church, the Indians themselves put out the fire." Geiger points to Engelhardt as his main source: "For further details, see Zeyphyin Engelhardt, O.F.M., *Mission Santa Ines* (Santa Barbara, 1932), 33."

Church nor against the ministers of God…'"[101] For Ripoll, the preservation of the church building, its façade, wall paintings, oil paintings, *retablos* and sculptures, represented the survival of the Church and the Spanish Franciscan missionary project, even as it faced insurmountable and multiple political, economic and environmental challenges. Four years after the *lienzo's* premiere, it would have certainly taken on new meaning for both Ripoll and the Chumash in the direct aftermath of the former's perceived suppression of the 1824 revolts. If the Index's 1820 dating of the *lienzo* is correct, I believe it is more likely that author is the Native Chumash painter Juan Pacífico, who is reported by the eyewitness and Chumash informant Fernando Librado to have executed paintings at San Miguel and San Buenaventura during the same years.[102] Librado recalled that Pacífico painted the church walls at Santa Barbara just after the completion of the church and his arrival in there in 1825.[103] Art historian Kurt Baer argued that the only original elements of the Santa Barbara mission interior (as of the 1950s, when he photographed it) were the marbleized pilasters and dado painted by Pacífico.[104] A 1936 *Los Angeles Times* report outlined the Index's work and made reference to Pacífico's baptistery paintings at San Buenaventura, which they also documented. [Figure 3.22] The author reinforced the Index's hierarchy in which a Native "hand" was controlled by a Franciscan priest:

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[101] Ripoll, "Levantamiento de los Indios de Santa Barbara," Document 1599 of the Taylor Collection in the Archdiocesan Archives of San Francisco, a copy of which is in the Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library; translation by Geiger, 1970: 356.

[102] In my comparative observation of Pacífico's work at San Buenaventura with the Santa Barbara *lienzo*, I noted that the floral swags and urns are very similar. Santa Barbara Mission Museum Emeritus Kristina Foss dates the *lienzo* to the third church, not the fourth church, due to the similarities in light blue altar (c. 1789) pigments and the *lienzo* color palette.

[103] Yve Chavez, *Indigenous Artists*, 145; This is one year after Chumash revolt of 1824: could the repainting of the interior be a response to that? Was the previous visual program damaged during the revolt? Neuerburg states that "Librado asserted that the neophyte Juan Pacífico had done the painting here as well as at San Buenaventura, but it is more likely that he worked as an apprentice here and then went on to San Buenaventura to work on his own. Some motifs there clearly were inspired by details in this church rather than the other way around." 58. He also suggests that given the "fairly professional quality of much of the decoration," architect José Antonio Ramírez may have also been "involved in the painting" at Santa Barbara. 59.

[104] Yve Chavez, *Indigenous Artists*, 150, citing Kurt Baer, *Painting and Sculpture at Mission Santa Barbara*, 52.

> It is one of the most colorful, and in some ways the most odd, of all the current early American discoveries within California mission walls. It consists of lengthwise panel in full color and the motif comprises a rooster, a hen, some wheat, an urn, and lamb embellished with California wildflowers. From the lamb are flowing drops of blood, indicative of the sacrifice of the Lamb of God. The whole work is a perfect example of primitive craftsmanship supervised and softened by the teaching of the padres. Still, from the standpoint of the strict commercialist, this work alone offers many opportunities for early American design in printed chintz, wall paper, (sic) or pottery.[105]

While an 1807 inventory at Santa Barbara briefly references a painted *lienzo*, it is unclear whether it is the same one that was displayed in the later 1820 church. Regardless of this thirteen-year gap in the *lienzo's* provenance, we need to explore the possibility that it was rendered and possibly even designed, following Fr. Ripoll's Vitruvius, by a Native artist. Pacífico and other Native painters working in the first decades of the 19th century would surely have acquired painterly and design skills which enabled them to produce works in a style and at a level "on par" with their Spanish or Mexican counterparts. Its Native authorship may explain why the Chumash spared it in their attack on this mission in 1824.[106]

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[105] Newspaper article clipping from Ferdinand Perret Papers, Research Materials on California Art and Artists, 1769-1942, Archives of American Art, and Library of National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, clipping from *Los Angeles Times Sunday Magazine*, October 11, 1936, "Ornamentation for the Old Baptistery at San Buenaventura Mission."

[106] Up to this point, an 1831-32 Ferdinand Deppe landscape of San Gabriel mission has been considered "the first oil painting produced in California," but the Santa Barbara oil on canvas *lienzo* pre-dates it by at least a decade. Its art historical significance highlights the urgency in recognizing at least a partial Native attribution.

Another Vitruvian design at Santa Barbara, based directly on Plate XXXII of Ortiz y Sanz's 1787 *De Architectura*, (The Ten Books of Architecture) was painted on wood chandelier holders. A watercolor rendering of the design was produced by Dana Bartlett. [Figure 3.23] and [Figure 3.24] Bartlett rendered the "thunderbird" figure in flat, opaque colors: the body of the bird is brown, with gold arrows, brown gold and blue wings, all against a white background. There is no attempt to simulate the textures of the actual wood chandelier holder. The related Data Report Sheet provides the dimensions of the actual "carved wood—painted" object as having an "overall length about 6 ft. 2" relief." It is attributed to "Indian Neophytes," as verified by "Mission records."[107] On the back of the watercolor, "this ceiling ornament was covered with plaster until the earthquake of 1925 in Santa Barbara. Enough color remained on the wooden carving to restore it to its original state."

Though the design is clearly derived from Vitruvius, it has long been interpreted as a thunderbird, a powerful spirit in the form of a bird common in Native North American mythology, particularly Northwest Coast, Plains and Midwestern tribes. In these traditions, the (often double-headed) bird is responsible for watering the earth; lightning comes from its beak and the beating of its wings is associated with thunder. While there is no equivalent in the Chumash pantheon, the Catholic priest Geronimo Boscana, the anthropologist A. L. Kroeber (1808), and others have documented the early 19th century Chumash and Luiseño, Shoshonean myths and ceremonies related to condors and eagles, their ritual killing and the wearing of their feathers. At the Chumash cave site,

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[107] Index DRS September 21, 1936, signed by Walter Lemmon.

Mutua Flat, (also called Condor Cave) Index artist Lala Eve Rivol documented pictographs of condor-impersonators, which bear only a slight similarity to the so-called Vitruvian Thunderbird.[108]

Leila Weekes Wilson, who visited the mission in 1913, recognized the use of Native material, but connected the chandelier design iconographically with the Norse tradition: "on entering the front door, you will probably notice the ceiling at once. The wood carvings and designs are the original INDIAN work, cut from cedar. They have been recently restored and painted bright reds and greens and blues, to correspond to the original colorings. Notice the repeated design of the THORS THUNDER BIRD, the Winged Lightning."[109]

Neuerburg, in his later 20th-century description of the restored paintings on the plastered ceiling at Santa Barbara, continued the "thunderbird" association highlighted by the Index and early 20th-century writers, also noting Vitruvian rosettes here and at other missions, such as Santa Ines.[110] In his design, Vitruvius was referencing a Greco-Roman mythological bird-- either a phoenix and/or Zeus. Appropriated into the mission setting, it is unclear whether the bird presented an example of convergence, in which one image/design can maintain dual meanings or of syncretism, where two cultures make use of a single symbol, “but let it fuse into something new… and can also address each audience in a distinct way.”[111] The Index and their contemporaries were drawn to this particular motif because it represented a universal design that could connect these classical, European and Native American traditions. Their documentation of the design transformed it into an example of convergence in the 1930s, regardless of its function in the early 19th-century mission era. Today, the painted chandelier holder is still displayed as an example of Native painting in the Santa Barbara Mission Museum—in the century after its production, the Vitruvian motif continues to serve as a binder of these traditions—one symbol expresses the significance of the California missions as sites for connecting disparate “American” symbols and their antecedents. The Index’s naming and interpretation of this design as a thunderbird in their national catalogue presents an opportunity for understanding the use of Neoclassical design in early 19th-century California mission wall paintings not (only) as a Franciscan means of imposing imperial order, but as a vehicle for cultural reconciliation at the time of their production and continuing into the present.

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[108] See Lala Eve Rivol, *Petroglyph: Mutua Flat,* Ventura County, California, c. 1935-38. Allocated by the Federal Art Project, L43.2.5888, Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco. For recent photographs of these petroglyphs, see http://www.condortales.com/california-condor/condors-and-indians.html.

[109] Leila Weekes Wilson, *Monograph on the Old Franciscan Mission Santa Barbara* (Pacific Coast Publishing Company, 1913), 21 (Hathitrust version). In the Norse pantheon, the hammer-wielding Thor, son of Odin, is associated with lightning, thunder, strength, fertility and the protection of mankind.

[110] Neuerburg, *Decoration*, 59. On page 23 of the same volume, he provides an illustration of Santa Barbara rosettes and thunderbird chandelier next to Plate XXXII "from the 1787 Spanish edition of the *Ten Books of Architecture* by Vitruvius."

Paul Park’s c.1939 photograph indicates that the artists worked in teams, with some sketching, examining wall surfaces and taking measurements. [Figure 3.25] One of the artists pictured here is Edward Jewett, who is accompanied by Supervisor Warren Lemmon. [Figure 3.26] Jewett produced a watercolor based on a step fret pattern adorning a wall at Mission Santa Ines, c. 1817. [Figure 3.27] The design consists of a simple Greek key/fret motif surrounded by stylized flowers and leaves. Since some of these flowers are based on the rosette pattern presented in the 1787 Vitruvius, it has been assumed that the priests at Santa Ines borrowed Ripoll's copy. The related 1939 Data Report Sheet completed by Jewett and signed by Supervisor Walter Lemmon includes several items/comments that typify their historical research and attribution methods.

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[111] Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Art of Colonial Latin America* (London and New York: Phaidon Press, 2 5), 89.

The Index artists were quite aware that the "fret" design first appeared in Classical Greek architectural frieze and vase ornamentation. In these ancient appearances, the band consisting of short vertical and horizontal sections connected at right angles has been commonly referred to as a "meander" pattern because it recalls the winding course of the 250-mile long Maender River in Asia Minor, now present-day Turkey. As such, it has traditionally signified unity and infinity, and the eternal flow of life/things. In the Roman imperial era, a more complex design of interlocking Greek frets was placed below the main sculptural/figural subject and above a band of stylized acanthus leaves on the Ara Pacis, the altar of Augustan Peace consecrated in 9 B.C. This juxtaposition of the Greek fret with stylized acanthus continued into the Renaissance and beyond, including 18th-century Neoclassicism in France, Regency in Britain and the Federal Style in the U.S. It was Andrea Palladio, in his Book IV of *Quattro Libri dell'Architettura*, who made the design known to future generations.[112]

Perhaps due to these obvious Greco-Roman and Renaissance connotations, Jewett concluded that the image was "Designed by: possibly a padre; probably a layman with experience as a painter," and that the painting was "Made by: Designer with assistance of Indian neophytes." He lists the "Historical style" as "Spanish-California Mission." On the back of the watercolor rendering dated August 4, 1939, Jewett recorded:

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[112] See Palladio, Book IV, Chapter VII, Figure 6: Temple of Mars Ultor: p. 21 detail and Roland Fréart, Sieur de Chambray, *A Parallel of the Ancient Architecture with the Modern* (1664), 111, John Evelyn translation https://www.classicist.org/articles/classical-comments-the-complex-greek-meander/

> The existing church at Mission Santa Inés is the third structure used for worship at this mission. It was dedicated July 4, 1817. Construction was begun in 1814. Padres to whom the planning and supervision of the work is credited were named Luis Gil y Taboada and Francisco Xavier Uría. There is a similarity noticeable in certain decorative designs at Mission Santa Inés and Mission Santa Barbara, suggesting that the same designer influenced both plans. However, much of the painting at Santa Inés seems more crudely executed than most of the painting at Santa Barbara. For reference to the design rendered on this plate see: Holway, Mary G. Art of the Old World in New Spain and the Mission Days of Alta California: S.F., A. M. Robertson 1922, p. 113. James George Wharton, In and Out of the Old Missions of California, Boston, Little, Brown and Co. 1905…Holway finds a likeness between the murals in the church at Santa Inés and those in the church at Mission San Miguel, credited by this author to a Spaniard named Murras (properly Munrás). According to Bancroft's History of California, Munrás did not arrive in Alta California until 1820. However, it is possible that the church at Santa Inés underwent decoration or re-decoration at a point later than the year of its completion (the word "completion" is crossed out and "dedication" penciled in), as was the case at San Miguel.

I have included a transcription of Jewett's full DRS notations above, including his listing of bibliographic matter, to demonstrate the thoroughness of his research, the speculative language often employed in these reports (i.e. "finds a likeness between," "it is possible,") and the Index's involvement in the chronological detective work that has characterized California mission art history in general. His review of the current literature played a part not only in the questioning of his own attributions of this particular design ("Designer with assistance of Indian neophyte" rather than the "Indian neophyte" attributions listed on the San Fernando Data Report Sheets, for example), but also in his own recognition of its artistic merit and significance. For example, George Wharton

James, in his 1905 and 1916 *In and Out of the California Missions*, downplayed the altar and *retablo* paintings at Santa Ines, pointing instead to the Greek key design as "the most striking and pleasing mural decoration of the whole building is found in the seclusion of the sacristy… The flower and leaf below the Greek key, and the conventional flower and leaf above are the most artistic decorations I have yet seen in the California missions."[113] James, like so many other early mission historians and art viewers, privileged the classical European designs, thus reinforcing the supremacy of the knowledge and aesthetic systems of the Spanish Franciscans.

Interestingly, given their express interest in and extensive documentation of the "Native" Via Crucis at Mission San Gabriel, an oil on canvas painting of the Archangel Raphael holding a fish, long-attributed to a Native painter at Mission Santa Ines, was not documented by the Index. [Figure 3.28] The painting was produced c. 1825, the year after the Chumash revolts, and has recently been interpreted as an image of Native power and resistance, and reconciliation: a Chumash leader presented in the guise of a Catholic saint. It appears in the 1845 final inventory of goods at this mission with the notation, "*pintado por indio*."[114] Today, the painting is hung prominently in the mission museum. It is unclear where it was originally displayed or how the Index might have missed it during their visit. I imagine it was at some point displayed in the nave of the church, perhaps just above the Greek step fret wall painted designs. Its contemporaneous production with this and other Neoclassical wall paintings here brings up questions that were pertinent to the Index's project, but that they never addressed directly: How did the positioning of Native imagery change the intended Franciscan meanings of the classical wall painting? For Native viewers, did the Neoclassical wall painting designs become simply decorative background? Does the Spanish Franciscan classical framing of the "Native" signify their attempt to reconcile the two traditions?

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[113] James, *In and Out of the California Missions*, 339.

[114] Ms. 89/95, Inventorio—Cuentas de los bienes, 24 January 1846, Mission Santa Inés Miguel Cordero, SBMAL (also cited in Haas, fn 21, p. 208). For full interpretations of this painting, see Haas, *Saints and Citizens* "Introduction," 1-2 and "The Politics of the Image," 85-90; Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 168; and Chavez. As early as 1956, Kurt Baer 1956: 224 described it as an "Indian Neophyte painting." It is not clear when the painting first came to light.

The Munras Murals at San Miguel

In one of the most published and brilliant of their mission watercolor renderings, Index artist Randolph Miller featured the full *reredos* at Mission San Miguel. [Figure 3.29] William Kieckhofel also produced a rendering in 1940. [Figure 3.30] At the time of the Index's visits and documentation, San Miguel was already known and distinguished as the only mission with an extant full wall painting program. In both Miller and Kieckhofel's renderings, Franciscan iconography is clearly and carefully presented—over the left niche the crossed arms of Christ and St. Francis, and over the left niche, the five wounds of Christ.[115] Beginning in their 16th-century *conventos*, the Franciscans introduced images, devotions and iconography specific to their Order—many of these same motifs and designs would appear in the California missions and be recorded by the Index, so we can understand their assumption that the meanings and intentions of these designs had remained the same for more than three centuries.[116] The appearance of the Coat of Arms here at San Miguel is unusual—the Franciscans did not visually promote their Order as directly at the other early 19th-century Alta California missions.

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[115] Neuerburg describes the coat of arms as "arms of the first and third Orders of St. Francis," *Decoration,* 66. The five wounds correspond to St. Anthony; the crossed arms correspond to St. Francis; statues of both saints are placed in the niches.

Within the San Miguel painted *reredos*, framed by painted columns, a carved wooden statue (*bulto*) of the titular saint would have been placed in the center, flanked by St. Anthony on the right and St. Francis on the left. However, the *bultos* are eliminated in both Miller's and Kieckhoffel's rendering. The entire *reredos* was originally carved out of Cambria pines, with its surfaces painted to simulate marble and *tecali* (Mexican alabaster or onyx); both Index artists took care in rendering these various surfaces, though Kieckhoffel's overall treatment captures chipped and peeling wood surfaces and faded paint, while Miller's is crisp, clean, as if the *reredos* had been fully restored. Chronologically, however, the Kieckhoffel rendering was produced three years after Miller's. Above the entire scheme is an "Eye of God" placed within a triangle which may represent the Holy Trinity. The triangle is then inscribed in a cloud representing heaven. Gold and white rays of light emanate from the cloud. The same emblem of an eye within a triangle, the Masonic "Eye of Providence," was adopted in 1782 as part of the symbolism of the Great Seal of the United States and was also a popular motif in Mexican neoclassical altarpieces.[117]

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[116] For example, at the Mexican *convento* at Huejotzingo, the same Coat of Arms appeared on the pediments of four *posas* (corner chapels) constructed and carved by Native artisans between 1547-1571. Two angels carved in high relief flank a central shield of cross, crown and Marian symbol (monogram). Beneath each angel is the Franciscan Coat of Arms: A Tau cross, which according to St. Bonaventure, Francis had traced on himself before beginning all of his actions. It also resembled the Franciscan habit with arms outstretched and is a symbol of daily and self-sacrificing love.[116] Christ's bare right arm shows the nail wounds from his cross and Francis' robed left arm/hand bears the stigmata. Surrounding the angels and framing the arched entrance to the chapel is the knotted cord of the Franciscan habit. This iconographic scheme was deliberately situated at the four corners of the heavy, crenellated walls of the *convento*, which symbolized the Franciscan concept of the mission as a New Jerusalem. The emblem was also prominently featured on the central facade Junípero Serra's 18th-century mission church of Santiago de Jalpán in the Sierra Gorda, Mexico.

The Index's choice to document the *reredos* at San Miguel was an obvious one, given its prominent position within the visual program and its colorful and spectacular effect—they would document several others in both California and New Mexico. The sheer number of Index photographs and watercolor renderings of mission *retablos* or *reredos* demonstrates their interest in expanding beyond individual "designs" to a larger consideration of the complex Catholic content and iconography embedded within the interior painted environment. In almost all mission churches in New Spain, the *reredos* was the visual focus and culmination of the entire visual program, which often began on the exterior (façade) of the church.[118] Throughout the Serran era, Counter Reformation requirements for church layout and visual program were still typically adhered to in Alta and Baja California. Many of the displays/arrangements of saints in these mission churches follow a 16th-century Edict by Carlo Borromeo which required that men should be seated on the left or "cross" side of the church, while women were to sit on the right or "birth" side of the church.A 1563 Council of Trent ruling indicated that the titular saint must be featured in the center of the *retablo*, but the typical arrangement in the late 18th-century California missions was *La Imaculata* in the center, flanked by San Francisco or Santo Domingo on the left and San Jose or San Antonio on the right. In the 1820s and into the period of secularization, changes in church doctrine, namely the Franciscan-led ratification of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception by Pope Pious IX in 1846-1854, may have resulted in shifts in placement of artwork by individual priests in charge. In addition, during the decades of tumultuous political shifts from Spain to Mexico to United States, many oil on canvas paintings and *bultos* were transferred from one mission to another for safekeeping, resulting in sometimes odd or unorthodox combinations of saints presented within the *reredos*.[119] Thus, we see many discrepancies between the placement of saints within *reredos* in the Index's watercolors, late 19th-century photographs, and early 19th-century written accounts of the same. Fr. Engelhardt noted that the interior program at San Miguel was the same as it was in mission times, so likely, due to their reliance on his writings, the Index understood the arrangement of *bultos* they viewed as original.[120]

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[117] This association with Mexican Neoclassical altarpieces is per Neuerburg, *Decoration*, 17, though he does not provide any Mexican examples, nor make reference to the appearance of this motif in any of the other California missions. He located an unsigned, undated drawing for altars featuring a similar eye of God motif in the Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library. He includes this drawing on page 43 of *Decoration* but does not provide details of its SBMAL location.

[118] Though some art historians and writers have used the terms *reredos* and *retablos* interchangeably, the former refers to the actual screen behind the altar (which may feature religious figures and subjects of various media, such as *bultos* and oil paintings), while the latter is a votive image or smaller display above and behind the altar. According to the Getty *Art & Architecture Thesaurus Online*, "A 'retable' is distinct from a 'reredos'; while the reredos typically rises from ground level behind the altar, the retable is smaller, standing either on the back of the altar itself or on a pedestal behind it. Many altars have both a reredos and a retable.

As in all their mission work, Index artists were particularly interested in attribution. They conducted research on San Miguel and noted that the painted interior scheme there had been produced in 1821-22 by Native artists working under the supervision of Estebán Munrás. The Spanish diplomat, trader and painter arrived in Monterey, California from Lima, Peru (via Mexico) in 1820 and died at the mission in 1850.[121] The Data Report Sheet accompanying Randolph Miller's watercolor, SoCal MSCL 97 (a), signed by SoCal Index Supervisor Dana Bartlett in 1940, summarizes this research: The painted *retablo* and surrounding walls are recorded as "made by Estévan Munrás assisted by Indian neophytes."

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[119] Many of the paintings and statues in the San Miguel church today, for example, were originally commissioned for Mission San Antonio de Padua; some of these were specifically ordered by Serra himself.

[120] Engelhardt also commented on the great value of the painted walls: "On the interior of the church building are remarkable frescoes, dating from 1821, are preserved intact… Here in our California priceless frescoes painted by Indians under a Spanish master artist are in danger of being lost forever." Zephyrin Engelhardt, *Mission San Miguel*: *The Mission of the Highway* (Santa Barbara, CA: Mission Santa Barbara, 1931), 92.

The supervisory role of a Spanish artist, not a Spanish Franciscan priest untrained in the arts, presented a situation (and biography) of specific interest to the Index—the direct hand of a European artist could bring a further degree of sophistication to their narrative of California mission art and design. On the back of this Data Report Sheet is typed a lengthy report which outlines the research and presents a summary of Munrás biography and political prominence in Monterey. One of their sources was George Wharton James (*In and Out of the California Missions*, 1905); According to Bartlett, James spoke to Father Zephryin, who informed him that the decorations at San Miguel were done by "one Murros, (sic) a Spaniard, whose daughter, Mrs. McKee, at the age of over eighty, is still alive at Monterey. She told him that the work was done in 1820 or 1821. He copied the designs out of books, she says, and none but the Indians assisted him in the actual work, though the padres were fully consulted as it progressed."[122] As at other missions, the Index were interested in presenting the supervisory-producer relationship between the Franciscans and the Native artists, but here they encountered a third and fourth element: not only a hired and trained European artist, but the design book sources he brought book with him. However, relying on Mrs. McKee's account, Bartlett apparently agreed that the Franciscans ultimately controlled the design subject and product that Munrás had chosen.

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[121] He married Catalina Manzeneli at Mission Soledad in 1822. He and his wife lived with her stepfather at the Monterey Presidio until their permanent home, La Granja, (now known as Casa Munrás) was completed in 1824. The house was the "heart of his sprawling Rancho San Vicente, a principality of 20, 0 acres stretching to Carmel." Casa Munras Garden Hotel and Spa website, 2021. https://www.hotelcasamunras.com/?gclid=EAIaIQobChMIsZL6y9-59QIVbRvUAR1hLgrPEAAYASAAEgJB-PD_BwE

[122] James, *In and Out of the California Missions*, 334.

Bartlett specifically referenced another key source: Father Engelhardt's volume on Mission San Miguel: "a Franciscan historian, who had apparently interviewed the "widow of Dr. McGee," the daughter of Munrás. It is notable that Bartlett's DRS included more commentary on Munrás political and social standing than of his art training, of which not much is known. For example, he noted that Munrás had "become a citizen of some prominence under ensuing rule of the Mexican Republic, and was exempted from Governor Echeandía's (1827) order of expulsion of Spaniards 'because of his value to the territory through his knowledge of the arts and sciences.'"[123] Consulting another source, Hubert Bancroft, he explained that this historian never mentioned that Munrás was a painter.

> We learn further… that Munrás at one time accupied (sic) the positions of acalde and of juez at Monterey; was several times a member of the Departmental Assembly of Alta California under Mexico, notably of the assembly of 1844 which was 'called in to meet in special session… for the purpose of devising means for the protection of the territory against foreign invasion, notably from Americans."[124]

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[123] Bartlett is citing Hubert H. Bancroft's *History of California* (San Francisco, History Publishing Company, 1884-1890). He lists no pages.

[124] Index of American Design Data Report Sheet accompanying Randolph Miller's watercolor, SoCal MSCL 97 (a), signed by SoCal Index Supervisor Dana Bartlett, January 5, 1940, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

Bartlett listed Munrás' landholdings (*ranchos*) and reported that he "is said to have been a friend of the wealthy Yankee trader and United States consular agent at Monterey at the time of the seizure of Monterey by the United States forces in 1846, Thomas O' Larkin." He concluded the biography of the "artist" by citing Bancroft again: by the time that the Americans had taken over California, Munrás was "disgusted with Mexican politics and ready for a change of government."[125] Bartlett's typed report on Munrás highlights his shifting loyalties: that the artist was a friend of the Franciscans, a loyal Spaniard who held important Spanish titles and privileges, but also had economic ties with some Americans, who he eventually came to prefer over the imposing Mexican government. What might explain Bartlett's interest in describing and recording these political and economic connections? I believe he was attempting to initiate the kind of microhistory I am continuing here in this dissertation—it is exactly these nuanced, complicated relationships and experiences that resulted in the stylistic variety of designs and motifs at San Miguel. Bartlett's research efforts in the 1930s and 40s demonstrate an approach that has only recently been fostered in California mission studies: that beyond the obvious mission-era Native and Franciscan meanings and dynamics, the painted designs and the visual program at large could be understood as part of the history of American art. To do this, he took us forward-- out of the mission era and into the 1840s (twenty years after Munrás completed the mural)—to focus us on the period of American occupation of this mission territory. Bartlett's recognition and sorting out of the artist's various and shifting loyalties would allow for multiple readings of the Munrás mural iconography: it encapsulates not only Native artistic agency in presenting the key Catholic iconography of the Franciscans but also the sophistication of a trained Spanish/European artist who lived and worked on this Spanish frontier as it was evolving into the United States.

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[125] Ibid.

To continue Bartlett's biographical approach, it will be helpful to step back to the time of the mural's production and investigate Munrás' relationship with some of the individual Franciscans at Mission San Miguel. Founded in 1797 by Fermin Lasuén, the mission's first administrators were Father Buenaventura Sitjar (b.1739 –d. 1808), followed by Father Juan Martín (b 1770-d.1824). Martín was in charge at the time of the church's dedication in 1818. Father Juan Cabot (b. 1781- d. 1856), who succeeded Martín after his death, is cited as the priest with whom Munrás solidified the wall painting commission.[126] In many popular (and current) mission histories, Munrás is described as "a friend" of the Franciscans, who in 1820, "offered to decorate the church without charge."[127]

In 1817 the clergy at San Miguel had requested a copy of Vitruvius from the governor. Likely, the San Miguel priests were aware of the Vitruvian elements employed in the Santa Barbara area missions.[128] In addition to the Vitruvius, the priests also requested pattern books and wallpaper samples in the latest styles, such as Victorian and Queen Anne, for reference. In the same 1940 DRS, Bartlett observed these "wallpaper like designs," stating that "traditionally, this… appearance was effected with raw-hide stencils cut by the decorator's Indian helpers." Of Munrás, he wrote,

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[126] Father Cabot was called "El Marinero" by English, Russian and Yankee hide and tallow traders. (See Alfred Robinson, 1834). Before his tenure at San Miguel, he was stationed at Mission La Purisima, where Father Mariano Payeras had established a hide and tallow trade with British traders, including Alfred Robinson.

[127] The reference to the generosity of Munrás is reported in: factcards.califa.org. For an account of the Munrás commission, the Index also referenced Mary Gordon Holway's *The Art of the Old World in New Spain and the Mission Days in Alta California*, (San Francisco: A.M. Robertson, 1922.

[128] It is unclear whether Fr. Cabot or Fr. Martín requested the volume and/or if the requisition was at Munrás' prompting.

> the imaginative designer showed a leaning toward the Byzantine" in the pulpit and canopy, but in the chancel, "a trend which includes quasi-classical urns, foliate festoons, the pineapple symbol, the Greek key motif and Christian emblems," and over the main altar, "an 'Eye of God,' painted in a triangle (Trinity) on a tablet of Native wood in cloud-like effect…. Separated from the baroque ensemble, the details of embellishment afford lively studies.

Bartlett's comments indicate that he was unable to reconcile this variety of historical styles but appreciated the opportunities they might provide for modern artists and designers. Bartlett did not attempt to interpret the Byzantine, Greco-Roman and Christian iconography he described. The assumption amongst most historians of the early 20th-century, (including Fr. Engelhardt) was that the painted symbols should be read from a Spanish Franciscan perspective, given that they were the patrons and supervisors. This assumption has been continued in contemporary California mission studies.[129]

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[129] For example, Pamela J. Huckins included a case study of the wall paintings at San Miguel in her 2011 dissertation. Her thesis is that the wall painting program was a deliberate presentation of Catholic doctrine, and more specifically, of the teachings of St. Francis and Duns Scotus." Huckins' reading presents Father Cabot as the "designer" of the wall painting program, with the assumption that Munrás brought only his technical skills to the project. Her thesis is dependent upon Father Cabot's intensive study and knowledge of Scotist theology, as well as of its related Catholic iconography. "The imagery in the sanctuary illustrates the confluence of Heaven and Earth in the fully human and fully divine body of the living Christ, and the same confluence of divinity and flesh in the Eucharist. It represents the culmination of the Scotist journey started at the main portal: the culmination of the spiritual journey from outside the church—through catechism, baptism, and conversion—and the physical journey—thorugh the *sotocoro,* baptismal aedicule, and naïve—to salvation at the communion rail." Pamela J. Huckins, *Art in the Alta California Mission Churches: 1769- no end date,* (Ph.D. Dissertation, New York University, 2011), 414. She also summises, "Taken as a whole, the painted interior decoration of the church at Misión San Miguel is remarkably germane for a mission among a pagan populace and a vivid illustration of the theology of John Duns Scotus. The entire scheme is a visual lesson in the Scotist concept of degrees of spiritual progression leading to ultimate union with God." 413.

In addition to the main *reredos* at San Miguel, Index artists also documented the wall paintings of the side chapels and walls. [Figure 3.31] A photograph taken by Paul Park dated c. 1940 documents the presence of a Franciscan priest as the artists arrange lighting and take measurements and notes of their observations. Several renderings by Index artists Randolph Miller and Edward Jewett capture specific painted (classical) architectural and iconographic elements of the complex wall painting program here: a doorway is framed by Ionic columns, while a side chapel features "temples" based directly on Vitruvius domed temple with central plan. The acorn finial of the painted domes have both Greco-Roman and Christian meanings: acorns from the great oak tree symbolized fertility, new life, eternal hope, strength, and growth. Along the walls of the nave, green banners feature stylized pomegranates—symbols of the body of the Church containing and protecting its "seeds." The altar side wall features a giant coral-pink colored scallop shell.

The painted wall program at San Miguel moves from subtle colors and simple two-dimensional designs along the length of the nave to energetic, complex patterns rendered *in trompe l'oeil* on the sanctuary, namely, the *retablo*. Pamela J. Huckins argues that this stylistic progression is deliberate and metaphorical: in her view, the nave symbolizes the Church Militant (simple design) and the apse symbolizes the Church triumphant (complex design). While this Franciscan-centered interpretation is valid, the Index's renderings of and written reports on the San Miguel wall paintings in the 1930s allow for a broader understanding, one in which the *retablo* and the San Miguel wall painting program become visual expressions of the evolving relationship between the

Franciscans, Munrás, their native Spain, Mexico, the U.S., and the Native Salinans. As at other missions, they Index created renderings of specific and actual views (altar, chancel, walls) and details, but their compilation of various designs onto one page (similar to *Wehye's Ornament* compositions) allowed for the modern appropriation of each without any of the historical, political or religious connotations implied in their reports. [Figures 3.32-3.36]

One of the popular "historical" sources which the Index did not mention in their San Miguel reports was Maria Antonia Field's (1886-1962) *Chimes of Mission Bells: An Historical Sketch of California and her Missions,* 1914. Field, the great-granddaughter of Munrás, was a staunch supporter of the Franciscans and her writings of the early 20th century demonstrate her personal and family loyalty to Spain. While the "Munrás murals," as they came to be called, have been dated 1821 by other historians, including Engelhardt, Field reported that "the brilliant frescoing of this mission was done in 1824," and that her great grandfather, who "had studied art in his native city of Barcelona," was "intimately connected with the early missionaries, especially those of Monterey, where he resided." She noted that the paintings had been done at the request of Father Juan Cabot, "also a native of Barcelona" and "Thus we see the undaunted steadfastness of these early missionaries, who, although California had already passed from Spanish to Mexican rule, and mission power was beginning to wane, still were zealous for the greater adornment of God's holy temples." The shared Barcelona origin presented by Field conflicts with earlier biographies of both Munrás and Fr. Cabot. (Apparently) her goal was to solidify the connection between her great-grandfather and the Spanish

Barcelona Franciscans and to circumvent the fact of his Monterey, Mexico residence.[130] Her statements also serve to express her understanding of the mural program's purpose: a steadfast statement of the Franciscan aesthetic at a moment when their political power was decreasing. Even today, the histories of the Munrás family and the Franciscans at nearby Mission at Carmel are closely intertwined—just behind the basilica is a small adobe, the Munrás Museum.

San Luis Rey, Pala and Fr. Peyri

In his 1936 watercolor rendering, Howard H. Sherman presented a composite of several painted architectural motifs against the backdrop of one of two almost identical side altars at Mission San Luis Rey which had been painted around 1820.[131] [Figure 3.37] The three insets feature colorful and abstract painted designs from the Doric columns flanking the central niche and stylized floral (acorn and lotus-like) designs painted above this central niche and along the length of the nave. The primary color scheme of a leaf patterned-design is blue and gold, recalling the *fleur-de-lis*, symbol of the kings of France. One of these insets conceals a statue of the mission's titular saint, San Luis Rey (King Louis IX of France) in the central niche. Only the crown and part of the saint's sword or scepter is visible. On one of the side niches, Sherman has fully rendered a statue of a Franciscan saint in brown robe, who holds one hand to his chest and the other gesturing out toward the viewer. Above the altar, two angels hold a crown. Stylistically, the designs and the rough, sketchy quality of the angels suggests a different artist than Juan Pacífico or the painters of the Santa Barbara area churches. It is unclear from Sherman's watercolor rendering, however, if the rough quality is meant to simulate the ruined state of the painted designs when he viewed them in 1936 or their original stylistic features.

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[130] All quotations in this paragraph from Chapter II of Maria Antonia Field, *Chimes of the Mission Bells: Tribute to Junípero Serra and the Mission Padres* (Monterey, California, 1914), no page numbers, gutenberg.org version. Index reporter/supervisor Bartlett speculated in *Mission Motifs*, 1940, that Munrás may have hailed from Northern Spain, possibly León. Per Fr. Sarria, 1817, Fr. Cabot's origins were Bunola, Mallorca, not Barcelona.

[131] Neuerburg, *Decoration*, 46.

An historic photograph of the San Luis Rey side altar includes two smaller *bultos* on the side niches. This photograph is included in the mission museum's didactic display which outlines the period between 1892 and 1912, when Father Joseph J. O'Keefe, along with Zacatecan priests from Mexico, began to restore the ruined church after years of neglect following the mission's secularization. [Figure 3.38] The Zacatecans returned to their homeland in 1903, but O'Keefe continued restoration efforts after their departure. [Figure 3.39] Most likely, these undated photographs indicate the approximate state and condition of the side altar at the time of the Sherman's 1936 visit. While the goal of the Index was to document "design," here, and in several other cases, the artists have highlighted the Franciscan saints and devotional images themselves, in order to provide the religious context in which the designs were presented.   Sherman chose to partially conceal the crowned figure (St. Louis IX), but fully present the brown-robed Franciscan. In William Kieckhofel's 1941 rendering of the same side altar, *bultos* appear in all three niches. He presented the *reredos* in its entirety, with no differentiation between his treatment of the painted designs, architectural elements and figures. [Figure 3.40] In sum, the Index employed two compositional approaches here: designs within their full architectural context allowed for historical reading/interpretation (simultaneously celebrating Spanish Fantasy heritage, but also participating in a dialogue that embraced American cultural diversity, as Index editor Glassgold prioritized); on the other hand, isolated and combined/collaged designs would allow for easy appropriation by modern artists and architects without the historical baggage. The Index's contrasting approaches (contextualization vs. isolation of designs) point to their understanding of a key premise of modernism: that it should stand as the antithesis of European historicism. For example, Sherman produced another rendering featuring wall painting designs from San Luis Rey in which the classical architectural features appear almost invisible beneath the colorful, abstract designs and marbleizing of surfaces. [See Figure 3.19][132]

In a portfolio entitled, "Decorative Art of Spanish California," the designs on front pages are "isolated," but on their reverse sides are taped line drawings of the architectural settings from which the designs were taken. For example, a line drawing of the same side altar rendered by Sherman is included in this portfolio. It is taped on to the reverse side of a colorful print of an isolated and enlarged "acorn" design. [Figure 3.41] In the line drawing, we see San Antonio de Padua in the left niche, San Luis Rey with his scepter in the central niche, and another saint, possibly St. Francis in the right niche; the acorn design is only a framing element to this primary subject of Catholic saints. But the typed description below the "isolated" acorn design print avoids any reference to its

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[132] Marilyn Friedman noted the waning of Spanish colonial revival in Los Angeles by the 1930s: "a number of architects were producing distinctive modern houses, in contrast to the prevalent Spanish hacienda-style homes." Marilyn F. Friedman, *Making America Modern, Interior Design in the 1930s* (New York: Bauer and Dean Publishers, 2018), 93.

Catholic context, indicating only its dual authorship and that, “Work done by padres and neophytes. Suitable for wallpaper border designs and for textiles.”

The next chapter in the mission’s history was significant in the Index’s overall framing of mission art as “Spanish” (or even “California Pastoral”) as opposed to “Mexican.” As in most of the missions, painting restorations had taken place during the century between secularization and the Index’s arrival in the 1930s. In 1846, San Luis Rey was sold to Mexican Governor Pio Pico, and was stripped of most of its statues and oil paintings. The building structure fell into ruins soon after. In 1865, Abraham Lincoln signed a patent to restore the mission to the Catholic Church. It remained abandoned for another thirty years, until the Franciscans returned in 1892, but these came from the Mexican Colegio de Zacatecas, not the Colegio de San Fernando, where Serra, Lasuén and most other late 18th-century missionaries to Alta California had. Shortly after, (in the early years of the 20th century) the Irish Franciscan Father Joseph Jeremiah O’Keefe arrived, and along with the Zacatecans already there, worked to restore the mission. The mission underwent another major restoration in 1931, just before the Index arrived. As is the case in most mission or church settings, the arrangement of *bultos* (*santos)* within the *retablo/reredos* was modified over these years. The changing arrangements reflect not only the evolving/depleting art collections of the missions, but the shifts in Catholic doctrine and/or the Order’s priorities. It was into this evolving physical situation San Luis Rey that the Index arrived, so the *reredos* arrangement and painted designs they recorded may have been early 20th-century inventions or reconstructions by O’Keefe and/or the Zacatecan Franciscans.

Of the 19th-century Franciscan friars associated with the production and/or the preservation of mission wall painting, the most famous is Father Antonio Peyri, the same priest prominently featured in Edith Webb's diorama of Native painters working at the *asistencia* at Pala. Fr. Peyri is chronicled in the writings of the Luiseño scribe, Pablo Tac (1822- d. 1841 Rome), who accompanied the priest to Rome, where he wrote an account of his people and their history and customs.[133] A later Luiseño account of Peyri's departure from Mission San Luis Rey was recorded in 1895, decades after the mission had been secularized.[134] According to this Native source, "We all dearly loved the padre, he was so good, and it was happiness to do what he demanded…. No one could do anything unless he had the padre's consent.".[135] At the two sites overseen by Fr. Peyri, there are major stylistic and iconographic differences in the wall painting designs. The Index recognized a more apparent Native accommodation (on Peyri's part) at the *asistencia* of Pala than at San Luis Rey, so in their catalogue, San Luis Rey was usable for its Spanish Franciscan elements, while Pala was for its more distinctly Native designs.

Notes on the DRS for Sherman's *Pilaster and Side Wall in Church of San Luis Rey* indicate that the Index artists and supervisors were aware of the mission's general history, as told by their commonly used sources, including Fr. Engelhardt.[136] A brief account of this history will be instructive here. Mission San Luis Rey was established in 1798 by Father Fermín Lasuén. In the same year, Father Peyri was immediately put in charge and remained at this mission until his departure for Rome in December 1831. Like many of the Fernandinos at the Alta California missions, he retired due to his discouragement over Mexican "innovations" and impending secularization. While Peyri has been noted for his artistic and architectural contributions to the mission and its *asistencia* at Pala, the "architect and director" of the mission church, completed in 1815, was José Antonio Ramírez.[137] Peyri was known for employing a decentralized approach to missionization, allowing neophytes to remain in their rancherías and practice their own traditions outside of the mission church spaces. Mission historian James Sandos credits this, along with Peyri's long tenure, to the positioning of San Luis Rey as the most peaceful (no major Indian revolts) and economically successful in the chain.[138] His supervision of the wall paintings should be considered in light of his decentralizing tendencies.

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[133] "Indian Life and Customs at San Luis Rey, Pablo Tac, c. 1835" published in *Ethnology of the Alta California Indians/* edited with an introduction by Lowell John Bean and Sylvia Brakke Vane, 1992. This publication is a reprint of "Indian Life and Customs at Mission San Luis Rey: A Record of California Mission Life by Pablo Tac, An Indian Neophyte," Written about 1835; edited and translated with Historical Introduction by Minna and Gordon Hewes, *Old Mission San Luis Rey*, 1958. https://pages.ucsd.edu/~rfrank/class_web/ES-110/ETHN110articles/California/tac_ps.pdf

[134] *The Flight of Padre Peyri* (CA Genealogy website); https://californiagenealogy.org/missionstories/padrepeyri.htm

[135] Ibid. Recently, historian Lisbeth Haas has compiled a complete biography of Pablo Tac, which includes additional direct references to Peyri. Haas, Lisbeth. *Pablo Tac, Indigenous Scholar: Writing on Luiseño Language and Colonial History* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2011).

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[136] Index Data Report Sheet So Cal MSCL-52, October 26, 1936, signed by San Diego supervisor Laura M. Bradley) includes "verification" by: Engelhardt, Mission San Luis Rey, Rexford Newcomb, Franciscan Mission Architecture of California, and Smythe's History of San Diego (Part One). Also see Index Data Report Sheet for Sherman's rendering of Side Altar, San Luis Rey: So.Cal MSCL-50 (a), b, October 26, 1936, also signed by supervisor Bradley and listing the same sources. This DSR references two related photographs: 3(So.Cal MSCL- 50 (a), b.

[137] "Key facts, "according to "a document from the mission's cornerstone." https://missionscalifornia.com/san-luis-rey-francia-mission/key-facts)

[138] James Sandos, *Converting California*:(New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 2 4), 30. An 1878 Native account by Luiseño Julio César suggests that Peyri's colleagues and successors were also well-received by the neophytes. Of the priest in charge at San Luis Rey in 1824, Father Ventura (who was followed by Father Francisco González de Ibarra while Pio Pico was administrator) César recalled, "He was called 'Teguedeumia,'and Indian word that meant the Father was very well known and admired by the Indians. And, in fact, he was a very loving and good priest." Translated by Rose Marie Beebe in *Lands of Promise and Despair*, 468-9.

Peyri was highlighted in Helen Hunt Jackson's 1884 novel, *Ramona.* The protagonist, Alessandro, the son of Luiseño Chief Pablo, who was a chorister and violinist at Mission San Luis Rey "in the last years of its splendor," is known for his beautiful singing voice. Jackson writes, "There was not at any of the Missions so fine a band of performers on stringed instruments as at San Luis Rey. Father Peyri was passionately fond of music and spared no pains in training all of the neophytes under his charge who showed any talent in that direction."[139] In *Ramona*, music was a symbol of Alessandro's civility. The Index were well aware of the novel and its popularity in Southern California.[140] Given Jackson and the Index's parallel goals (drawing public national attention to California's indigenous and Spanish history while promoting the preservation of the mission physical spaces), they (and the WPA at large) would have considered the production of Spanish-supervised wall paintings and liturgical art along the same lines as Jackson did mission music—a civilizing force, but one gently administered by this "sympathetic" friar.

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[139] Helen Hunt Jackson, *Ramona*, originally published 1884, (New York: Signet Classics, 1988), 54.

[140] Index administrators were also aware of WPA literature on the missions. In the Federal Writers Project *Guide to California*, Ramona's house in Camulos Ranch and the Ramona Pageant in Hemet are both suggested for the Southern California tour. See: Works Progress Administration, *California: A Guide to the Golden State*, New York: Hastings House, sponsored by Mabel R. Gillis, California State Librarian, May 1939: xxiii (Calendar of Events includes Ramona Pageant, Serra Pageant at Carmel, Mission Pageant, Old Spanish Days, Mission Festival….); 38. The section on Ramona includes an explanation of the fate of Indians in California under Spain, Mexico, and the supposed U.S sympathy to their plight. The chapter on "Education," begins with the sentence, "Franciscan friars, the first white settlers who plodded northward into California, came with books in their hands, for the purpose of their pilgrimage was to educate the heathen Indians… five decades of rigorous training—planned to make them civilized tax-paying subjects of the Spanish king." (130). In the Guide's chapter on "The Arts": "An earlier visitor to California would have gone to the mission churches to satisfy an interest in the arts, for the mission fathers were the first art patrons, decorating their chapels with paintings, instructing neophytes in music and church drama…" (139). Under a "Painting and Sculpture" section: "The indigenous art… became oddly intermingled with the old World tradition… Most of the early mission murals were later covered with whitewash and plaster; they are being reclaimed today, chiefly through the efforts of the Index of American Design… (155) Under "Architecture": The whitewashed exterior walls, with their simple architectural adornments… are in striking contrast to the contemporary Churrigueresque style of viceregal Mexico… Generally free of the emotionalism and excesses of the Spanish baroque, the interiors of the missions reflect the simple taste of the Franciscan order." (169).

In his excellent study of California mission music, historian James Sandos explained that choristers were provided a higher ranking within the mission community, separated from the forced labor system. Instead of a master-slave laborer relationship, a teacher-pupil one was established:

> While the priest imposed his will on upon his pupils and they responded submissively to his will, the relationship was reciprocal because the priest needed the Indians to perform in a certain way and they had the power to resist if they chose… Although Indians learned from the priest, they also shared their talents with him. Reciprocity, rather than simple dominance, characterized these clerical events.[141]

Since Peyri is credited with overseeing the wall painting at San Luis Rey and Pala, it is likely that the Native painters shared this same elevated social status and that he allowed or fostered the same reciprocal relationship with him as the choristers had. It is also possible that through their direct involvement in the production of the wall paintings, Peyri intended a stronger connection/loyalty to be established between the painters and their new (Christian) faith. In his short study of music and conversion, Sandos posed the question, "How was conversion achieved? How, and to what extent, were those Indian hearts and minds transformed?"[142] He suggested that by studying the Franciscan approaches to teaching neophytes music and investigating the Native responses, we might be able to more accurately measure conversion. Sandos' study should prompt art historians to consider the connections between music and visual programs within the church setting, which were meant to be experienced as a whole. Doing so will shed light on Peyri's "Franciscan" artistic pedagogy in which he may have combined his ideas regarding the teaching of music with that of painting.

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[141] Sandos, *Converting California*, 148.

[142] Sandos, *Converting California,* 129. Sandos' phrasing is reminiscent of Robinson's 1829 description of the "illuminated walls" at San Gabriel, of which he noted "were well adapted to captivate the simple mind of the Indian…who seemed absorbed, heart and soul, in the scene in front of them."

Images of *santos* (wooden, painted statues of saints) enclosed within painted or actual niches featured prominently in the Index's mission studies. In many of their watercolors, the saint is surrounded by painted floral designs and patterns. Such images were categorized under "Wall Painting," so the assumption is that the floral designs were their intended focus, but the artists and supervisors became interested in the "design" and artistry of the *santos* as well. For example, Index artist Juanita Donahoo produced a watercolor rendering of a "Statue of Santo, (probably St. Dominic)" that she found "located on right side of main altar in chapel" at the *Asistencia* at Pala.[143] [Figure 3.42] In the Data Report Sheet completed for this item, she described a "carved pine statue… face and hands flesh, hair dark, eyes brown," then proceeds to attribute is as "designed by: Mexican Indians." This typed entry is crossed out in pen, with a corrected entry handwritten above it: "Chinese, or Phillipines." It is impossible now to ascertain what Donahoo meant by "Mexican Indians" as opposed to "Indians," and why she, or her supervisor, who perhaps caught and corrected her attribution error before signing the report, decided ultimately on an Asian attribution. It is possible that Donahoo at first mistook the statue for a well-known one of San Luis Rey himself, also framed by flowers, originally located at nearby mission San Luis Rey. Early 20th-century mission art historian Paul Elder and others had noted the significance of that statue's Native production: "A wooden statue of San Luis Rey, carved by the Indians, is in the chapel, and other statues and several paintings, all of which are much prized by the worshippers."[144] Another description of the Pala chapel interior by George Wharton James, one of the mission historians whom the Index referenced often, was based on an 1893 visitor's account:

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[143] Santo Domingo (Domini canis, "Dog of the Lord") was born in Burgos in 1170. His barren mother made pilgrimage to Silos; she had a dream that a dog leapt from her womb carrying a torch in its mouth to "set the world on fire;" Dominic is usually represented wearing the white habit and black mantle of the Dominicans, a tonsure and clean-shaven face, with a star on his forehead, a symbol of his wisdom. In Donahoos' rendering, the saint is wearing a colorful robe and has facial hair and short brown hair.

> Three wooden images yet remain upon the altar, but they are sadly broken and their vestments are gone. One is a statue of St. Louis, and is held in great veneration by the Indians. They say it was secretly brought from the San Luis Rey mission and placed here for safekeeping. When the annual reunion of the Indians takes place this image is decorated in cheap trappings and occupies the post of honor in the procession… what remains is very quaint and odd, being largely of Indian workmanship.[145]

Donahoo's initial attribution to "Mexican Indians" would have positioned the "probable St. Dominic" within the same tradition of the Indian-made and revered statue of San Luis Rey.

Including examples of Native workmanship in their "index" of Spanish Colonial art served to highlight 19th-century Franciscan accommodations to their Native populations. One of the most common visual signals of this accommodation appears in the imagery of saints framed by Native flowers. While this framing is certainly ubiquitous in the history of Catholic art, those in the Pala chapel bear specific comparison with a set of murals from the 16th-century Mexican *convento* in Tlalmanalco, in which images of the Franciscan founder-friar of that mission and female co-founder of the Order, St. Clare, are "framed" with a Native Aztec psychotropic flower. [Figure 3.43] In her rendering of the "probable St. Dominic," Donahoo has paid careful attention to the glossy, iridescent quality of his robes. A circular "halo" of squarish-petaled flowers frames the head of the saint. Though stylized and abstract, the petals resemble *toloache*, or jimsonweed, a plant commonly used in Native rituals throughout Alta California. It is useful to think about the Franciscan continuation of "framing the sacred," especially given the possible identification of Native psychotropic flowers in both, but the production of both *santos* and wall paintings in the early 19th-century may have been the result of very different interests on the part of the supervising friars, depending on the mission.[146]

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[144] Paul Elder, in *The Old Spanish Missions of California: An Historical and Interpretive Sketch* (San Franciscso: Elder and Co. 1913), 80, describes the interior of the Pala chapel.

[145] Professor Frank J. Polley, former President of the Southern California Historical Society, is cited in James, *Picturesque Pala*, Chapter VII: Further Desolation, 40. Silk vestments and other luxury items were commonly imported into the Alta California via the Manila Galleons. For a general treatment of these exchanges, see: Gauvin Alexander Bailey, "Asia in the Arts of Colonial Latin America," in Joseph J. Rishel with Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt, eds., *The Arts of Latin America*, 1492-1820 (Philadelphia Musuem of Art, Yale University Press, 2 6): 57-69.

Art historian Frances K. Pohl's descriptions of the contemporaneous work of early 19th-century New Mexican *santeros* (painters and sculptors who produce *santos* in the form of wooden *bultos* or small *retablos*) Pedro Antonio Fresquís (1749-1831) and Rafael Aragón (1795-1862) may provide some guidance in interpreting the California mission floral "décor" painted on walls and surrounding saints. Notably, at the time of the SoCal Index studies at Pala, the New Mexico Index of American Design was documenting *bultos* and their surrounding wall paintings programs in New Mexican missions.[147] Fresquís' work is characterized by "light, delicate," floral patterning, "attributable to the influence of popular prints from Mexico, which in turn were influenced by textiles from Southeast Asia and India," via the Manila Galleon.[148] Index artists were clearly interested in this variety of designs that appeared on the Fresquis and similar New Mexican *retablos*. In her brief analysis of a Fresquís *retablo*, Pohl noted that "the prominent role of plant forms, often indigenous, in depictions of saints by Fresquís and others suggests… the power of the saint is supplemented by the healing powers attributed to particular plants in indigenous rituals."[149]

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[146] Father President Fermín Lasuén wrote several letters to Governor Borica between 1797-1798 describing the use of actual flowers to frame images of saints, altars, and in church processions. Finbar Kineally, *Writings of Fermin Francisco de Lasuén*, Vol. II (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1965). Letters dating 1797-1798.

The Data Report Sheet for this item brings up several questions: Did Donahoo correctly identify the *santo*? If she is correct, would the placement of this saint have been significant to the Franciscans who commissioned it? The Index didn't seem to distinguish or highlight particular Franciscan devotions, nor were they likely aware of the reasons why this Dominican saint was often featured in Franciscan churches. Father Peyri may have known that Dominic represented a link between these two Mendicant orders (both established in the 13th century in Italy) especially in terms of their image theories: both Orders embraced visualizing the sacred. Painted imagery provided a lesson in the faith, a memory aid (*visio divina*, strengthening of memory), and a stimulus to devotion, as can be seen in the writings of their key theologians, St. Thomas Aquinas (Dominican) and St. Bonaventure (Franciscan).[150] The Index's arbitrary blending of Mendicant saints into their narrative of Franciscan art points to their express interest in selecting, interpreting and recording to serve their national goal, not in necessarily explaining Franciscan image theories and devotions. However, a few years later, Christensen (NGA Director) explained the role of painted *bultos* in the Spanish Colonial Southwest missions: "To the mind of the native, the image itself was the source of supernatural power; its magic could heal sickness and benefit crops. However, a saint who ignored the prayers of his (native) worshipers might be punished by having his face turned to the wall."[151] The Index, as elaborated on by Christensen, interpreted the abstract floral framing as not only as evidence of Trans-Pacific artistic exchange, but of Franciscan accommodation of Native spiritual traditions. This is fairly evolved art history for the 1930s-- their commonly loose identifications, i.e. the “probable St. Dominic” and self-corrected DRS attributions indicate that the Index were willing at times, to think outside the box. In doing so, the Index supported, yet also problematized, reigning narratives of Euro-Franciscan style and influence in mission design.

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[147] From 1936-1942 Index artists also visited missions in New Mexico, where they encountered a large community of modern artists, collectors, and writers who shared their goal of locating distinctly "American" visual sources. Their completed watercolor renderings of wall painting, sculpture, textile and furniture designs from New Mexico and California were later combined and archived as a National Gallery collection entitled "Folk Art of the Spanish Southwest. https://www.nga.gov/education/teachers/teaching-packets/index-american-design.html In the summer of 2021, I viewed and photographed several of the wall painting programs, *bultos* and *retablos* documented by the New Mexico Index, including those at San Francisco de Assis, Taos; El Santuario Chimayo and Santa Cruz de la Cañada, Santa Fe; San Jose, Laguna Pueblo, Albuquerque. Many of the sculptural and portable works selected for recording by the Index are currently in the collections of the Harwood Museum, Taos, New Mexico, Denver Art Museum and the Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center. Some of the *santos* the New Mexico Index recorded, many of which are framed by flowers, were St. Anthony, (1943.8.6843); La Nuestra Señora (1943.8.6954), St. James Santiago (1943.8.1641), St. Isidore (1943.8.16638) and St. Michael, Archangel (1943.8.6974). Images available for viewing at Open Access at the National Gallery of Art. https://www.nga.gov/open-access-images.html

[148] Frances K. Pohl, *Framing America: A Social History of American Art*, (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2017), 204. Most of the missions, including San Gabriel, have large collections of silk embroidered textiles, vestments, altar cloths, etc. that evidence this trade. What the Index was reading as European, "Spanish," or Franciscan in the textiles, wall paintings, *retablos* and *santos* they recorded may have actually been Mexican and/or Asian. This is significant, but a comparison of mission textile designs and wall painting designs is too large a project to undertake here.

[149] Pohl, *Framing America*, 204. (*St Inez*, late 18th-early 19th century, Spanish Colonial Arts Society Collection, Santa Fe, New Mexico).

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[150] John Skillen, "Arts of Devotion: Francis and Dominic," *Studio for Art, Faith, History*, artfaithhistory.org. Also see *Sanctity Pictured: The Art of the Dominican and Franciscan Orders in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Trinita Kennedy, (exhibition catalog, First Center for the Visual Arts, 2014) and *Monasticism and the Arts*, ed. Timothy Verdun, Syracuse, 1984. Skillen provides a brief explanation of (Franciscan) Bonaventure's *Lignum Vitae* (Tree of Life) and the Dominican (anonymous) *De Modo Orandi* (The Manner of Prayer), written c. 1260-1288 as a means of illustrating the two Orders' uses of the arts: Franciscans emphasized the power of art to stimulate the affective side; the Dominicans to cultivate intellectually rigorous forms of meditation. Both Orders valued the uses of art as a memory aid. https://www.artfaithhistory.org/arts-of-devotion-francis-and-dominic

[151] Christensen, *The Index of American Design*, National Gallery, 1950, 29. The National Gallery publication in which Christensen makes this statement includes an Introduction by Holger Cahill. Christensen expresses his indebtedness to Cahill for his "detailed and expert criticism," and also to several former Index administrators and collaborators, including Adolph C. Glassgold, Romana Javitz. (vi)

Revealing Layers and Mexican Ironies

Like they had at San Fernando, the Index found layers of paintings at San Luis Rey and Pala and understood them as representative of the different religious and political factions who had controlled their production over the years. To conclude, here is a summary of the chronology the Index “read” in these layers: the first few decades of the 19th century were marked by accommodation on the part of the Father Peyri, who was remembered in later Anglo-American and Franciscan accounts (some of which were based on interviews with Native descendants) as sympathetic toward the plight of the Native population. While the classical designs and Christian iconography introduced by Peyri brought a sense of sophistication to the New Spanish frontier, he was also presented as a keeper of Native memory, as evidenced in the designs he oversaw at Pala. The post-secularization Mexican period (30s and 40s) was marked by corruption and greed—a time when the physical mission spaces, including the designs painted within them, were “usurped,” appropriated and misused by politicians. In this narrative, the decay and ruined state of the missions and their visual culture in the 1850s-80s was a problem inherited by, and to be solved by the United States government and the state of

California. The U.S. government’s (heroic) solution was to return these missions to the Church, and to cooperate with the Franciscans in reviving these spaces to their mission-era glory. The Index was interested in presenting and promoting both the Franciscan and the Native elements of the wall paintings. These histories were equally usable, but Mexican history was completely excluded.

In several Index reports, including Homer W. Evans’ summative “Handwriting on the Walls: Artist Explorers Uncover Indian Wall Paintings Which Made Old Missions Bright with Color,” the project of documenting and preserving both “Indian” and Franciscan motifs at the missions was balanced by strong anti-Mexican sentiment. In general, the Index’s view was that, while the Spanish Crown had dispossessed Native Californians of their land and customs, the good-willed Franciscans allowed their visual culture to persist via the wall paintings. Spanish Franciscan priests remained in Alta California for decades after the secularization of the missions and continued to oversee artistic production, but from the perspective of the Index and in their selective documentation of painted mission designs, the historical context of the historical “Spanish Period” (1769-Mexican Independence 1810) was most significant. They framed the “Mexican Period,” which resulted in the removal of many (but not all) Franciscan friars and the secularization of the missions, as the period in which the paintings were “lost” and the missions “fell into ruins.” An anti-Mexican sentiment and placement of blame on the Mexican government for the loss of the missions and their visual programs is apparent in several of the Index’s reports. For the Index, “The American Period,” (when Mexico ceded these territories to the U.S.), was marked by heroic Anglo-American efforts to restore the mission ruins. The Index positioned these restoration efforts, especially those of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, as a U.S. American rescue of the original Franciscan project, one that they sought to continue: like the Spanish Franciscans had, they saw themselves as archivists and “keepers of memory.”[152]

According to Evans (who relied on Fr. Engelhardt’s history of this mission), not only would the paintings and mission structures come to a tragic demise under Mexican rule, but so would their Native and Franciscan producers.

> …these primitive people… by the secularization of the missions in 1834 under the Mexican Government, they became miserable pawns of unscrupulous politicians. The latter seized the Mission properties, allowed general plundering and destruction of vast heads of cattle, and abandoned the Indians to wretched poverty, slavery and utmost degradation, even to being hunted down like wild animals. This shameful chapter in human selfishness ended in the virtual extermination of a peaceful people, once noble and virtuous according to their tribal codes…[153]

The most obvious culprit was the Mexican Governor Pio Pico, who, according to Evans, “without consulting national authority… passed a decree (May 28, 1845 for “Renting Some Missions and Converting Others into Pueblos..)” Evans proceeded to tell the story of how, following this decree, Pico went on to lease Mission San Fernando, which he later sold illegally. “Thus,” concluded Evans, “the Mission fathers and the Indians were sold out.” But, he writes, a “measure of retribution” came to Pico in 1848, just preceding California statehood, when he was forced to take refuge in the mission as a fugitive and eventually "died penniless, stripped of his wealth by moneylenders."[154] It is notable that of his brief ten-page typed report on mission wall painting and the stories they might reveal, the account regarding "Pico the Usurper," takes up at least two pages. Their regular inclusion of lengthy biographies and (biased) historical context is indicative of the Index's desire to understand the recorded mission designs in direct relation to these figures, events and "American" biases.

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[152] The idea of the Franciscans as “keepers of memory,” (particularly Spanish) is based on a conversation with Dr. Emmanuel Ortega, Fall 2020. For more on the Franciscan uses of imagery as Bourbon reform propaganda in early Mexican missions, see his Ph.D dissertation, “Testimonies of Violence: Images of the Franciscan Martyrs in the Provinces of New Spain,” University of New Mexico, 2017.

[153] RG17 Index of American Design, Box 7, Reference Files Spanish Colonial, Evans, “Handwriting on the Wall,” 7.

Similar labels and versions of the Pio Pico story are typed on the back of several Index Data Report Sheets, including one signed by Walter Lemmon in October at 1939 at Mission San Fernando. It is in this anti-Mexican light that the Index documented the "Governor's House," that Pico inhabited during his refuge. [Figure 3.44 and Figure 3.45] Here, he noted, the "artist-explorers found painted arches… reflecting the Moorish influence on Spanish architecture,"[155] then continued with his negative opinion of the Mexican Governor:

> Mission records and travelers' tales do not indicate that it was customary for the padres to cause decorations be made on their temporal buildings… California Mexican administrators moved into the mission houses bag and baggage and revamped the living quarters so suit themselves, as did the political favorites to whom mission properties were leased or sold under the administration of Pio Pico…. Whether executed in the second, third, or fourth decade of the 19th century, these decorations were probably applied by Indians attached to the missions; but it is also probable that they were designed by a white man in all instances where architectural forms are depicted.

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[154] Evans, "Handwriting," 8.

[155] Evans, "Handwriting," 8. According to Evans, who at the end of his report, listed Fr. Engelhardt's *San Fernando Rey: The Mission of the Valley*, Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1927, as his main source, "The mission also served as the countryhome for Pico's brother, Andrés, and a permanent home for his nephew, Romolo." 8. The Data Report Sheet MSCL 87 (a), b, signed by Walter Lemmon, October, 1939, corresponds to watercolors of the "Governor's House" at San Fernando.

He then specifically cited pages from Engelhardt's 1927 volume on San Fernando Rey. In sum, the Index suggested that Pio Pico adjusted the painted designs to his taste and may have directed Native painters who remained at the mission, just as the Franciscan friars had done before his arrival.[156]

Notably, all the wall paintings documented by the Index were produced under the direction of the Fernandinos (Franciscans of the Mexico City Colegio de San Fernando), but their eventual caretakers were the Franciscans from the Mexican Colegio de Zacatecas. The San Diego Spanish settler and Mexican congressman Juan Bandini (18 -1859; who in 1837 was made administrator of the San Gabriel Mission by Governor Alvardo) reported that as of 1830 only twenty-four Propaganda Fide Franciscans, most of advanced age, remained in Alta California.[157] In the same year, the Mexican government of Alta California was split: Governor Agustín Vicente Zamorano was situated in Monterey and governed everything north of that city, and Governor José María de Echeandía, from San Diego, oversaw the southern part of the state. This confusing governance was remedied in 1833, when the Mexican government appointed Jose Figueroa to all of Alta California. Figueroa brought with him ten new Franciscan missionaries, all native Mexicans from the Colegio de Zacatecas. As Rose Marie Beebe and Robert Senkewicz explain, the goal was to "replace the Spanish priests with Mexican ones and to move the control of mission lands out of the clergy." The Zacatecans were understood to be "less attached to the colonial regime," and to "traditional ways of organizing the missions to which the Fernandinos were bound."[158] The ten new Zacatecans were assigned the missions from Monterey North, while the old Franciscans (Fernandinos) remained at or were sent to the missions from Monterey down—these are the same missions that the SoCal Index visited and documented.[159]

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[156] However, they didn't question the appearance of the Native designs on the temporal buildings (i.e., the friar's *sala*) that I discussed in Chapter Two.
[157] Beebe and Senkewicz, *Lands of Promise and Despair*, 379.

Through their unequivocal acceptance of Engelhardt's "historical" account of the Mexican presence at the missions during the years of secularization, the Index reports fail to address the fact, that like their Fernandino predecessors, their Zacatecan replacements were individuals who were forced to continue the missionary endeavor they had been trained for at their respective Colegios while facing extreme political upheaval and economic uncertainty. But unlike Peyri and other friars who had occupied the California missions for decades, the Zacatecans had experienced the Mexican independence movement first-hand, and therefore, it has been assumed that their loyalties to Mexico ran deep. Some of these friars, who had been trained as missionaries, "found themselves in the wholly unexpected position of being caretakers to ruined buildings bereft of the populations that had built them and whom they were meant to serve."[160] The degree of the Zacatecan involvement in the removal, restoration, or creation of new wall paintings in the post-secularization period should be further studied—many of the wall paintings the Index documented might, in fact, be more “Mexican” than “Spanish Franciscan.”[161]

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[158] Beebe and Senkewicz, *Lands of Promise and Despair*, 396-397. Included in this volume is Beebe's translation of a letter written by Fr. José Antonio Anzar from Mission San Juan Bautista to Governor Figueroa pleading for services, as well as the latter's curt and negative response. Such accounts are a testament to the growing tensions between the new Mexican government and the Old Spanish Fernandinos, who felt abandoned and forgotten.

[159] Mission historian Doyce B. Nunis, however, states that by 1821 Zacatecan Franciscans were already replacing the Mexico-City trained Fernandinos, in Alta California. Regardless of the date (whether 1821 or 1833), the ramifications of this replacement in regard to the wall painting programs and their upkeep is a key area for future study.

[160] Damian Bacich, "Surviving Secularization: A Mexican Franciscan in a Changing California, 1833-1851," *California History* (Vol. 94 No. 2): 44.

As I have demonstrated in this chapter, there was a more obvious Mexican irony at play in the wall paintings documented by the Index: a clear connection between the rise of Neoclassicism in California mission art and architecture and the promotion of that style via the dictates of the Mexican National Academy. Thus, in their focus and promotion of the California missions’ Neoclassical elements, the Index were actually (and inadvertently) incorporating an element of Mexican national identity into their construct of U.S. nation. This irony will have major ramifications on the re-situation of California mission art from within a “Spanish Colonial and/or U.S. American art (that the Index prioritized in the 1930s) into a more inclusive art of the Americas that embraces multiple nationalisms.

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[161] Bacich’s recent study of one Zacatecan Franciscan’s experience in a “changing California” c. 1833-1851 aims to recontextualize the “unorthodox” choices and actions that have led to their continued marginalization Damian Bacich, “Surviving Secularization: A Mexican Franciscan in a Changing California, 1833-1851,” *California History* (Vol. 94 No. 2): 41-57. In his short biographical treatment of one Zacatecan Franciscan stationed at Mission San Carlo Borromeo (Father José María del Refugio Sagrado Suárez del Real) Bacich demonstrates how the “missionary identity transformed and his moral character (was) assailed at a time when the whole Franciscan mission in Alta California was called into question.” 42. He argues that, beginning with Bancroft’s *History of California* (1884-90), historians have characterized the Mexican Zacatecan Franciscans as “black sheep’ whose actions besmirched the good name of the Spanish padres.” 54. The Index regularly included Bancroft and James Alexander Forbes, both of whom Bacich cites as participants in this characterization, in their bibliographies.

CHAPTER IV: Indexing Materiality (An Arc of Material Engagements)

Homer Evans, reporting on the Index's mission wall painting studies, succinctly presented his theory regarding the continued (and Franciscan-approved) uses of Native pigments in the mission-era:

> The Indians' simple native arts in the painting of pottery, animal skins and their bodies had previously been the means of developing pigments and a native color sense. They knew where to go in canyons and hillsides to find the mineral pigments they needed and which plants would furnish the necessary vehicle and binder. These handicrafts of the neophytes were used and developed by the padres, who knew the value of work to keep their people content and out of mischief.[1]

Evans' statement demonstrates the ways in which the Index framed their pigment studies primarily in Native terms. He suggests that the Franciscans conceded to the use of local minerals not only for logistical reasons, but because their use might appease the neophytes and/or result in the production of the wall painting designs the Franciscans desired. Evans imagines a dialogue in which the Franciscans allowed the use of pigments and their inherent/hidden Native meanings, if only to ensure that the interiors of their edifices would be suitably decorated. In this chapter, I examine the ways in which the Index simultaneously assigned design agency and material control to the Spanish Franciscans (demonstrating the project's "colonial" stance) but also allowed for the possibility of reading the materials themselves in Native terms (thus demonstrating the project's proto-de-colonizing aims). By presenting the Franciscans as tolerant overseers of the visual programs, at least in physical and substantive/material terms, they invite multiple interpretations of both the pigments employed and the overall resulting designs in the 1930s and beyond. In this chapter, I explore these interpretative possibilities, and in addition, I use contemporary materiality theories to understand the Index's various material engagement(s) with the wall paintings. I argue that within this arc of engagements- first locating, then revealing, researching and analyzing pigments, producing watercolor recreations to match these, and finally participating in physical restorations at some mission sites—the Index sought to materialize Native history and knowledge.

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[1] Homer W. Evans, "The Handwriting on the Walls: Artist-Explorers Uncover Indian Wall Paintings Which Made Old Missions Bright with Colors," 4. RG17 Index of American Design. Box 7 Reference Files Spanish Colonial, National Gallery Archives, Washington, D.C.

Due to the unique and, at the time, elusive materiality of their key subject of investigation in Southern California—the painted mission walls—the Index became more physically involved in understanding their substances. In their Data Report Sheets, Index artists and supervisors detailed the physical state of plastered walls, proposed theories regarding the original (mission era) pigments and developed chemicals and techniques for the re-creation and preservation of such. The material practices undertaken by the Index in the 1930s were significant (and warrant a full chapter in this dissertation) because they allow for a reconsideration of the representation and interpretation of these materials in the existing California mission scholarship, then and now. They also provide the basis for a new material-based rationale for integrating California mission art into the larger arts of the Americas.

In general, the Index's conclusions were centered on a desire to connect the original pigments (and by extension, their own pigment re-creations) to either Native or

European (Spanish Catholic) traditions and ideologies, though Index supervisors often stated that their method was strictly scientific. In fact, the Index did not have a wide array of scientific pigment analyses available as references. Thus, many of their conclusions are limited. In their reports, Index supervisors realized that their findings were only a first step and expressed their hope that future scholars would continue the material studies they began. Today, we have learned much more about the pigments and materials used by Amerindians, including Native Californians, and about the ontological functions of color and color-making processes.[2] In my analysis of wall paintings from missions San Miguel and Santa Ines, I propose a material-based reinterpretation of both European and Native colors and pigments based on these recent studies. Following up on the Index's understanding of the alleged Franciscan concession to the uses of Native pigments on mission walls, my contention is that Native painters used specific pigments, colors and processes to indicate different temporalities and spaces, such as Native time and colonial present.

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[2] Paul Douglas Campbell, *Earth Pigments and Paint of the California Indians: Meaning and Technology* (Los Angeles: Paul Douglas Campbell, 2 7); D.W. Robinson, Chapter 3, "Transmorphic Being, Corresponding Affect: Ontology and Rock Art in South-Central California," in *Archaeology After Interpretation: Returning Materials to Archaeological Theory*, edited Benjamin Alberti, Andrew Meirion Jones, Joshua Pollard (Walnut Creek, California: Left Coast Press, 2013), 59-78.; D.W. Robinson, "Drawing Upon the Past: Temporal Ontology and Mythological Ideology in South Central California Rock Art," *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 23, no.3 (2017): 373-394. Clare Bedford, D.W. Robinson, Devlin Gandy, "Emigdiano Blues: The California Indigenous Pigment Palette and an In Situ Analysis of an Exotic Color," *Open Archaeology*, Vol. 4, no. 1 (2018): 152-172; D.A. Scott and William D. Hyder, "A Study of Some California Indian Rock Art Pigments," *Studies in Conservation*, Vol. 38, No. 3 (August 1993): 155-173; D.A. Scott, Stefanie Scheerer and Daniel J. Reeves, "Technical Examination of some Rock Art Pigments and Encrustations from the Chumash Indian Site of San Emigdio, California," *Studies in Conservation*, Vol. 47, No. 3 (2 2): 184-194. For an excellent treatment and thorough bibliographic listing of mission era sources dealing with Native pigments, see Henry C. Koerper and Ivan H. Strudwick, "Native Employment of Mineral Pigments with a Special Reference to Galena Manuport from an Orange County Rock Art Site," *Pacific Coast Archaeological Society Quarterly*, Vol. 38, No. 4 (2 2): 1-19.

The technical and material focus of the Index resulted in visual "documents" (watercolor renderings, color sketches and written reports) whose meanings and intentions, like the mission-era wall paintings themselves, lie beneath their surfaces. This chapter presents a close reading of Index images and texts to reveal new directions for understanding the materials. In addition to analyzing their California mission pigment studies, I examine the various methods and materials employed in the Index's documentation process, arguing that these were essential to the nationalization of the original painted wall designs. I seek to understand what occurred in the 20th-century "translation" of the original painted images and materials. I consider the technical skills and backgrounds of the Index artists and the significance of their chosen vehicle— *tromp'loeil* style large-format watercolors — for their official documentation of the various layers of the mission designs they identified. As I will show, the relevance and implied meanings of these physical layers for the Index was significant to their project.

Lastly, through a study of the Index's involvement in the restoration of the chapel walls at Mission La Purísima Concepción, I examine the material processes, symbolism(s) and theoretical bases of mission (wall painting) conservation, preservation and restoration in relation to both the Index's construction of nationalism in the 1930s and our understanding of American nation today.

Mission Pigments

I began Chapter 3 with a critique of Edith Webb's diorama of the Spanish Franciscan Father Peyri "supervising" Native painters, proceeding to argue that most mission wall paintings were instead a result of their artistic collaboration. [Figure 3.13]

I return to the diorama as a point of departure here because it features not only the Native and European “co-producers” and their product, but, positioned prominently in the foreground, their materials and media. It is the specific content of these oversized jars of paint (as imagined in the diorama) that both Webb and the Index almost contemporaneously, but independently, took as a major subject of inquiry. Throughout the 30s and 40s, both would initiate pigment studies in their efforts to better understand the original meanings of California mission wall paintings. These investigations represent an extension of activities archaeologists had performed during the so-called “museum age” (1880-1920); it was in the similar acts of digging for, touching, cleaning, piecing together, and displaying artifacts of prehistoric and nonliterate cultures, in fact, that the field of material cultures studies began. In these earlier materialist efforts, the “latent effect was to objectify, hierarchalise and marginalize the cultural expressions of non western cultures.”[3] The Index’s engagement with the California mission walls and, by extension, the “non-western” cultures that produce them, was physically and theoretically a materialist one at heart. For example, several photographs and reports included in the Index’s archives draw attention to the physical involvement of the artists with the materials they encountered on site and employed in their recreations. [Figure 0.8)] They “chipped away” at walls in an effort to first locate painted designs; they used preservatives to seal and protect certain layers they found; they attempted to compile existing scientific consensus on pigments; and finally, they made watercolor renderings, then they restored based on watercolor renderings. The case studies I present here will illustrate this arc.

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[3] Ian Woodward, “Locating Material Culture,” *Studying Material Culture: Origins and Premises* (Denmark: Syddansk Universitet, 2 7), 18. Art historians have typically employed the term “material culture” to decorative art objects—the same type of objects (furniture, carved and painted wood, etc.) that the Index focused on. For more on the art historical incorporation of material culture theory, see Michael Yonan, “Toward a Fusion of Art History and Material Culture Studies,” West 86th: *A Journal of Decorative Arts, Design History, and Material Culture*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (Fall Winter 2011): 232-248. Also see Christopher Tilley, ed. *Handbook of Material Culture* (London: Sage, 2 6), 232.

Likewise, in the 1940s Webb described herself as having "picked up rocks at mission San Gabriel and experimented with them, "grinding pigments seated on the ground Indian fashion," believing that she needed to "dabble in paint" as a means of gaining a better understanding not only of the pigments and their properties, but of the original culture that employed them.[4] These early 20th-century Anglo-American acts of involvement with mission-era pigments did not result in the same conclusions; today, many inaccuracies regarding the wall painting pigments and their Native meanings continue to be forwarded in California mission art scholarship.[5]

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[4] Edtih Buckland Webb, "Pigments Used by the Mission Indians of California," *The Americas*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (October 1945): 145-148. This image of Webb calls to mind Franz Boas' diorama of A Kwakwaka'wakw Woman Weaving, 1894. Photographs of Boas posing as Native body to "model" and mime his intended display, including "Franz Boas Posing for Figure in and Exhibit Entitled 'Hamats'a Coming Out of Secret Room, c. 1895, were produced in an effort to demonstrate to his colleagues the specific way that he wished the Native figures to be posed. Some of these are published in Noémie Étienne, "Through the Looking Glass: Dioramas, Bodies and Performances in New York," *ZMK*, Vol. 11 (2020): 29. The image of Webb "grinding pigments" on the ground and the Index's various performative acts of material engagement may also be understood in relation to the ideas of Diana Taylor, as presented in *Archive and Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham, N.C. and London: Duke University Press, 2 3). She considers the ways in which the performative repertoire, which had been displaced by colonial writing, banished into the past and relegated to "ethnic memory," might be revived. In this study, she offers Native performance as a path toward reviving cultural memory; however, she does not discuss what happens when Europeans or Anglo-Americans take it upon themselves to direct and archive these "performances."

[5] The papers of Edith Buckland Webb are held at the Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library. They consist of approximately 50 boxes of photographs, correspondence and scrapbooks. Most research files, original sketches, typed and handwritten notes on mission mural painting iconography, materials and methods that led up to her publication of *"Pigments Used by the Mission Indians of California"* in 1945. Notes and materials related to this study are also included in the boxes dedicated to individual missions, EBW Vol. 1-21. In several of her handwritten documents c. 1936-37, the years during which the Index was at Mission San Fernando, she makes reference to their problematic interpretive approach, noting that "the

The Webb diorama presents a perfect example of the perpetuation of the inaccuracies and preconceptions that the Index (and related federally-sponsored) material studies at times contributed to but may also help to resolve. A black and white photograph of the diorama, along with several others she produced, was published in her 1952 book, *Indian Life at the Old Missions*.[6] Since then, the same image has been continuously presented as not only a representation of the act, agents and subjects of wall painting in the California missions, but of the (multi)cultural significance of the local and imported materials employed. This can be seen in a recent Santa Barbara museum display case where ground pigments in abalone shells are displayed before a line illustration based on the Webb diorama. In the edited line drawing, the image of the supervising priest (Father Peyri in the diorama) has been eliminated to correspond with the curatorial emphasis of this particular display: Native Painting. A typed label indicates that, "Painting is an art that was not unknown to our California Indians," a line taken directly

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'restorations' which followed these (their) discoveries were not, we fear, always in keeping with the original design…The reredos…was not copied but another design said to have been uncovered under this simple, dignified piece of work, was followed instead. The result is a curious mixture of two antagonistic designs…" (Webb Papers, San Fernando Mission File, no page, Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library) Some of the noteworthy visual materials in the Webb papers are her colored-pencil sketch of a motif from San Luis Rey, illustrating what she describes as "true Indian touches" such as a mother quail feeding her brood and some "Indianized" faces on tops of columns; also significant are several painted sheets illustrating the results of her pigment mixing experiments. The files remain organized according to Webb's filing system, which suggests the chronology of her research and the development of her ideas about native materials. For example, she has filed typed excerpts from the mission's 1789 Spanish edition Vitruvius, in which he describes uses of pigments, alongside a study by geologist William R. Hayward, who had analyzed the pigments used on the walls of mission Santa Ines; her reliance on his findings resulted in her own attempt to dispel the long-standing myth of floral pigment uses in the mission paintings. (In the same bound file are photographs of mission interiors and walls taken by Webb and her husband in the 1920s and 1930s, which future researchers should compared to later photographs taken by the Index—this will demonstrate if changes had been made to walls by Webb, her student, Neuerburg, or others prior to the Index's arrival.) For a transcription of Neuerburg and Georgia Lee's 1989 summary of mission pigments, see Appendix 5 of this dissertation.

[6] Edith Buckland Webb, "Chapter 17: The Use of Pigments not Unknown to Our Indians," in *Indian Life at the Old Missions* (Los Angeles: 1952, reprinted by University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 231-244.

from Webb's chapter title where the diorama photo was originally published. Another didactic museum panel regarding the pigments echoes Lemmon's, indicating that she may have been away of his report: "The colors and designs in decorating the mission walls and ceilings were a great attraction to the Indians. Although pigments were obtained from natural sources in the hill and mountain regions of Santa Barbara, they were also ordered and received from Mexico." A sample (replica?) of a painted wood star from the original ceiling of the fourth church at Santa Barbara is displayed near the pigment samples. "Ceiling stars were carved and painted by the Chumash to decorate the church. They were assembled with wooden dowels and hand-forged iron nails. Dyes and pigments from the surrounding area, as well as Mexico, were used for the coloration."[7] Current misconceptions about the specific European vs. local origin of these mission-era pigments, as well as their associated uses and meanings are based on the 30s-40s era conclusions of Webb (as visually summarized in her oft-used diorama), but no one has yet studied the material-focused records and processes of the Index's California project. My intention here is not to resolve the numerous pigment identification discrepancies between Webb, the Index and others, but to consider the usefulness of interpreting various materials and colors, both European and Native (imported and local), in relation to evolving conceptions of California identity and U.S. "nation" in the 1930s and 40s.

Before examining the Index's mission wall painting pigment studies, it is helpful to briefly outline the existing literature on this specialized topic of materials. Since its publication in 1987, *Decoration of the California Missions*, written by Webb's protege, Norman Neuerburg, has been the most referenced source on mission wall painting materials and processes. Throughout this short volume, he highlighted the supervisory role of the Spanish Franciscans, most directly through his inclusion and description of a photograph of Webb's Pala diorama. In addition, he made references to non-Franciscan Spanish and Mexican supervisors or "journeyman painters," including Esteban Munrás at Mission San Miguel, Agustín Davila at Santa Clara, and an unnamed "wandering Italian," at San José, and the American sailor Thomas Doak at San Juan Bautista, though he did not suggest that any of these itinerant painters brought pigments with them. Instead, he relied on a few *memorias* from various missions which referenced specific pigments requested and received by the priests. Thus, in Neuerburg's recent narrative, the Spanish Franciscans assumed agency/control of both the designs themselves and the materials used to render them.[8] At the time of the publication of *Decoration,* Neuerburg was well aware of the Index's pigment studies, but he made no reference to them in this book, nor in a study of Native contributions to mission art that he co-authored with anthropologist Georgia Lee.[9] In *Decoration*, under the heading "Materials," he continued to rely on Webb's conclusions published in her 1947 essay, "Pigments Used by the Mission Indians of California." He summarized these as such, adding information about imported European pigments, of which he posited that, for wall painting purposes, were blended with local/Native binders:

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[7] Wall text as photographed by the author in 2017 before reinstallation and re-curation of this entry gallery display case in the Santa Barbara Mission Museum.

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[8] Neuerburg, *Decoration*, 9-10. He references "Letter from Fr. Tomás de Ahumada at San Borja, 20, February 1815, to José de la Guerra at the Presidio of San Diego, DLG Papers, SBMAL (DLG 13-1 requested from SBMAL), fn 5, 76. This letter only includes requests for patterns, not pigments."

[9] Xeroxed copies of Lemmon's "Study of Early American Wallpainting," and Evans' "Handwriting on the Wall" are included in Neuerburg's papers. He did not annotate or add commentary to them, which is uncommon for his process. Likely, his distrust of their documentation process of the wall painting designs in general carried over into his disregard of their pigment conclusions. (For example, in an unpublished essay, "The Lost Indian Mural Paintings of Mission San Fernando," he includes a footnote referencing Indexer Lanier Bartlett's Mission Motifs (Index of American Design Monograph No. 2), noting that "the drawings are totally unreliable." No page, handwritten footnote 56.) The study he co-authored with Georgia Lee is "The Alta California Indians as Artists Before and After Contact," *Columbian Consequences*, Vol. I (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989), 473.

> The pigments were almost exclusively mineral in origin with the exception of black from charcoal or soot and some blue made from indigo. No colors were made from flowers, contrary to popular myth, for such tints will quickly fade. Reds could be obtained locally from iron ores or cinnabar, thought the brilliant vermillion, carmine, and orange had to be imported. Yellows mostly came from ochre which are found abundantly throughout California. Much green came from copper ore which could be found locally, but it was also imported in the form of verdigris. Both requests and invoices for colors sent appear among mission documents. These colors, which came in the form of powder, would be mixed with some locally obtained medium, such as cactus juice, for use on walls or on furniture painted in tempera, but linseed oil was employed for the making of the more rarely used oil paints. Paint also eventually was obtained from the Yankee ships. Although some brushes were ordered in the early years, most probably were made locally of available materials.[10]

The authors of a recent Getty publication on California mission art relied on Neuerburg and Webb's conclusions regarding the mission pigments and make no reference to the Index's material studies. In a chapter entitled, "Painting and Painters," Edna Kimbro concluded, "Both Indians and Spaniards were adept at making paints and pigments from local clays and minerals,"[11] then summed up the Native palette as follows: "Red was from hematite (red ochre) and cinnabar; white was obtained from diatomaceous earth (chalk-like fossil rock); black was charcoal, burnt graphite or asphaltum."[12] Referencing requisitions from mission Santa Barbara, she surmised that the mission walls consisted of an equal combination of Native and European pigments, both of which's substances and application were determined by the supervising Spanish Franciscans: "To these sources the Spanish added pigments imported from Mexico."[13] Kimbro's particular phrasing privileges Spanish agency. It implies that Spanish friars were informed on the locations and sources of Native pigments and that they supervised their gathering and preparation. She suggests that these were applied to the walls first, after which Mexican/European pigments were requested, received, and applied to supplement the former. While differences between the Webb/Neuerburg and Index pigment studies are apparent, it is also clear that both attempted to establish direct links between Native vs. European cultures and their respective materials.[14] Both mapped pigments and techniques, just like the physical bodies that employed them, into a hierarchy that privileged Europe.

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[10] Neuerburg, *Decoration*, 5-6.

[11] Edna Kimbro, Julia G. Costello, Tevvy Ball, *California Missions: Art History, Preservation* (Los Angeles, California: J. Paul Getty Trust, 2 9), 134.

[12] Kimbro, et al., *California Missions*, 134. The author provides a reference to Neuerburg's *Painting*, but no other source.

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[13] Kimbro, et al., *California Missions*, 134, with footnote to Santa Barbara requisition lists of 1797 and 18 .

[14] Jules Prown's inquiries into the relationship between material things and culture (and the mind of cultures) are helpful in my current assessment of the Index's pigment analysis methods. In Prown's material culture theory, it is archaeologists who locate, assemble, date, sort and quantify materials, while it is the task of the art historian to interpret this data and attribute materials and objects to particular cultures. In the 1930s, the lines between the two disciplines were not clear. Index artists were assigned both material evaluation and cultural/historical research. Ultimately, since the scientific data itself was unreliable (i.e. Hayward's pigment report at Santa Ines), the Index's cultural conclusions were unfounded. Authenticity is at stake in Prown's approach to materials, as was the order of investigation, which he argues, should move from first *description* to *substantial evaluation* of an object's physical substance, in which the dimensions and materials, as well as their distribution, fabrication and articulation, are considered. "It is preferable for the issue of authenticity to be resolved before the analysis proceeds beyond *description*. If a material culture investigator is to arrive at cultural conclusions on the basis of material evidence, the specimen being studied must be an authentic product of the culture in question." 8, fn 13. In the case of the mission wall painting pigments, the Index emphasized not only their distribution and articulation—application of different colors and designs in layers—but also the mode and location of their collection. Prown doesn't address the relationship between materials, place, and culture. See Jules David Prown, "Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method," *Winterthur Portfolio*, Vol. 17, No. 1. (Spring, 1982), 1-19. http://ciuhct.fc.ul.pt/textos/Prown_1982.pdf

This hierarchy is still in place in contemporary mission studies. In a short section entitled "Military Artists," Neuerburg provided his own line drawing illustration of "Lt. Zúñiga painting decorations in the chapel of the Presidio at San Diego."[15] Here, the finely dressed commandant of that Presidio stands on a ladder, paintbrush in hand. Beneath him, kneeling on the ground amongst clay vessels filled with paint is a young Native boy dressed in a loincloth. Neuerburg's uses of scale and hierarchical positioning of the European and Native figures and their materials is not far removed from earlier colonial representations of artistic training in the Americas.[16] In New Deal America, with its emphasis on the creation of a usable past, colonialist understandings of both Native and European artistic production were solidified. Native cultures and artistic traditions could be tangibly accessed and represented not only via design, but by local minerals, colors and hues, circumventing direct access and interaction with the Native peoples who originally employed them. The Index are just as complicit in this colonialist circumvention as Webb and other early 20th-century "scholars." For example, none of the Index reports indicate that they ever interviewed, consulted, or dealt directly with Native peoples to ask them about pigments, pigment quarry sites, meaning of pigments, etc. They did not invite Native peoples to assist them in their recreations or restorations. They turned instead to "scientific" experts and to the hands/skills of their own artists. Lemmon reported, "It has been through the combing of old files of photographs, translating original orders for supplies and consulting scientists and historians, that we have added to our Government's archives this record of cultural beginnings on the Pacific Coast."[17] The "original orders for supplies" that Lemmon referenced are Spanish *memorias* and *inventarios* recording European pigments requested and received from Mexico. Many mission-era primary sources on pigments would have been available in the Santa Barbara Mission archive, which the Index visited. However, it is unclear from their reports how in-depth their efforts at translating these Spanish *memorias* were; they rarely, (if at all) incorporated the records/presence of European pigments their findings.[18]

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[15] Neuerburg, *Decoration*, Webb diorama 3; Lt. Zuniga line drawing, 9.

[16] For example, see Andrés López's 1790-91 Portrait of Vice Protector Don Matías de Galvez, y Gallardo of the Mexican Academy of San Carlos, discussed in Chapter 3.

The Index Pigment Reports

As the Index's activities in Southern California expanded beyond their typical visual documentation, namely, the watercolor renderings that characterized/represented the bulk of their national project efforts, they became directly and expressly involved with the original mission wall painting materials themselves. An unsigned report indicates that it was the “Annual Fiesta of 1936 at Mission San Fernando Rey de España” that “brought to light the immediate need of recording all available material on mural treatment of Alta California days.”[19] Homer Evans also highlighted the team’s hands-on work on the walls of this mission, some of which, according to Lemmon, were “GENERALLY PLASTERED OVER, IN SOME CASES AN INCH THICK.”[20] Evans says: “on the standing walls, careful lest they might break further large areas of plaster from the adobe walls, a gentle tapping and flaking process was evolved to loosen the whitewash and plaster, layer by layer.”[21] Evans indicated the project’s new turn: “at first these artist-explorers were content of make sketches of existing traces of old wall paintings. The natural earth colors which they found had been dug by the Indians from outcrops of minerals in the area of the Mission rancho. These colors were matched against those the Index artists had in their tubes.”[22] The process and act of matching their own modern colors to the historical pigments to the ones “dug by the Indians” is significant—for the Index, color and by extension, the place/land of its extraction, was understood as a vehicle for more accurately reconnecting these histories. The Index, unlike Franz Boas and many early 20th-century anthropological contemporaries, did not require an actual Native person/body to connect to the Native past.[23] They could circumvent the physical bodies and accomplish this connection via the materials only. Their own physical involvement and self-ascribed technical-material expertise enabled them to claim this past for modern Anglo-Americans.

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[17] Lemmon, "Study of Early American Wall Painting in Southern California," 2.

[18] Here is a brief listing of the Spanish references to imported pigments most commonly referenced by 20th and 21st century mission scholars. I viewed originals of some of these in the Archivo de Indios, Sevilla, Spain; copies are also available at the Santa Barbara Archive Library and the Bancroft Library, Berkeley: A 1782 letter written by Fray Francisco Pangua to fiscal secretary of Royal Treasury in Mexico City "lists the paints Fray Pedro Cambón brought from Manila to Mission San Francisco de Asís. Case 13 contained "some papers of paints: blue, red and yellow, two crates of each color." (Yve Chavez, 2017, 148-149 cites this letter as: Francisco Pangua, Letter to FISCAL of the Royal Treasury TYP, January 25, 1782, Mexico, Doc 885, Junípero Serra Collection, SBMAL); Kurt Baer refers to *memorias* of Santa Barbara (archives) "there are lists of paints requested by the padres between 1797 and 1809. The reds include almagre (a red ochre), vermellón (vermilion), orange, indigo (which was also used as a dye), cardenillo (a verdigris green) and purple or violet "ochre," as well as blues made from copper compounds, these in addition to the colors which were used by the natives." (Chavez, 2017, 49, citing Baer, *Painting and Sculpture*, 49, citing Webb, "Pigments Used," 140); Pamela J. Huckins, 2011, 322-24 references several primary sources documenting receipt of pigments at various missions, including the 1817 *Memoria* for Misión de San Buenaventura, which includes requests for —1. arrobas indigo. . . roba Paris green. . . 5 pieces Prussian blue; lb. carmine; lb. bright yellow; . lb. orange; lb. vermillion; 2 lbs. dark brown. See Señán (1962): 94-95. Norman Neuerburg references a "Letter from Fr. Tomás de Ahumada at San Borja, 20, February 1815, to José de la Guerra at the Presidio of San Diego, DLG Papers, SBMAL DLG 13-1; Kimbro 134 refers to "SB requisition lists from 1797 and 18 , for example," : fn 12, Ch. 6, p. 260 refs Webb, p. 232-3 and Lee-NN, p. 473; Edith Webb reported that, "That the Padres ordered and received from Mexico pigments of many colors is provided in their memorias. For example, in 1797, the Santa Barbara Fathers secured 3 pounds of cardenillo, 3 pounds of almagre, etc…". In 18 , their lists included 2 pounds of purpled ochre, etc…". In each of the years 1807, 1808, and 1809, they sent for 2 arrabas, or 50 pounds of indigo." (Webb, "The Use of Pigments not Unknown to Our Indians, "Chapter 17, *Indian Life in the Old Missions*, 233).

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[19] 442A Records of the Index of American Design, Subject Files: Spanish Colonial Missions- Folder 1, NGA Gallery Archives, “2 0.5.c” written in margin, 6-3-38 HM fldr 26,“Early American Wall Painting” by Walter Lemmon.

[20] Ibid. (Lemmon, in 442A Records, Index of American Design, National Gallery of Art, Gallery Archives, Washington, D.C.)

[21] Evans, “Handwriting,” 2.

[22] Evans, “Handwriting,” 3.

The SoCal Index's ideas regarding pigments are referenced most specifically in reports written Warren W. Lemmon, who supervised the office on Temple Street in Los Angeles. He penned one entitled "The Study of Early American Wall Painting in Southern California"[24] in which he described his employees' efforts in studying the wall painting materials as having "added to our Government's archives this record of cultural beginnings on the Pacific Coast."[25] Here, a regional director is attempting to incorporate and highlight local California materials into the Index's U.S. national project. While this subject matter (painting materials) had not been seriously considered in previous east coast scholarship, there were several west coast scholars, including Edith Webb, Mary Gordon Holway, Frs. Engelhardt and Weber, who had written extensively on the subject of mission art and architecture in the previous decades and posited on the origin of pigments used on and within these structures. Webb, in fact, was already aware of some of the indigenous murals which the Index supposedly "discovered" at San Fernando and elsewhere, though she wouldn't publish her conclusions until 1945.[26]

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[23] There is a significant amount of literature on "displaying cultures" via Native bodies at national pavilions and World Fairs in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. For example, see Constance Classen and David Howes, *The Museum as Sensescape: Western Sensibilities and Indigenous Artifacts* (2 6) and Elizabeth Hill Boone, *Collecting the Pre-Columbian Past* (1993).

[24] Walter Lemmon, "The Study of Early American Wall Painting in Southern California," undated (1937) National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. RGI7 Index of American Design Box 7 Reference Files Spanish Colonial. Homer Evans wrote a related report, "The Handwriting on the Wall," which mentions the material processes of "chipping away," plaster to reveal underpaintings, but doesn't go into specific detail on the original pigments employed. In his list of "Sources," for "Handwriting on the Walls," Evans provides a date of 1937 for the Lemmon "Study." In the fall of 2017, a slightly different version of the 1937 report was provided to me from the unfiled papers of Charles Ritchie, then Associate curator of American and Modern Prints and Drawings at the National Gallery. A written inscription at the top of the document "9/10/1947 E.O.C." suggests that the original 1937 report was retyped and slightly edited 10 years later.

[25] Lemmon, "Study," 2, 1947 version.

Lemmon's report included a summary (part of which is a straight transcription) of the unpublished studies of W.R. Hayward, a Santa Barbara-based geologist and painter, who, twenty-five years prior, had analyzed wall pigments at Mission Santa Ines.[27] (See Appendix 3) Lemmon relied solely on Hayward's description of materials and methods used by the neophyte painters, broken down by color. For each color heading—red, yellow, white, black, brown, ochre, green and blue—only local (Native) pigments and some of their locations/sources were provided. Emphasis was also placed on the description of natural binders, including cactus juice, poppy and olive oil, and sheep tallow. Unlike the Webb (and later Neuerburg who worked under her) studies, there are no references to imported pigments. This suggests one of two things: that the Index realized the possibility of European pigment uses, but in the interest of their "national" project, were only interested in identifying and reporting on the Native/regionally indigenous pigments, or, that they believed no European pigments were used at this particular mission. There is no proof of the accuracy of Hayward's account. Apparently, in neither Hayward's original report or Lemmon's abbreviated version of it, descendants of the Native artisans were not consulted, nor was Webb, or her young protégé, Norman Neuerburg. The absence of references to their contemporaneous pigment studies in particular suggests that Lemmon privileged government-sponsored work over independent/regional scholarship, perhaps finding the latter too subjective, personal and unreliable. He recalled that "personalities, political and religious beliefs, have been disregarded in the spirit of the research which has prevailed, together with the realization that no agency other than the Federal Government could gather such material in an adequate manner."[28]

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[26] Webb, Edith. "Pigments Used by the Mission Indians of California." *The Americas* 2, no. 2 (1945): 137-50. talks about her attempt to recreate designs from Pala; her footnote 28 indicates a 1903 date of the whitewashing by priest. In 1952, she included an updated chapter on pigments in her book, *Indian Life at the Old Missions* (Caldwell, N.J.: Blackburn Press, 1952 and 2 4).

[27] W. R. Hayward's c. 1910-1925 study at Mission Santa Ines, the CCC's reports by Frederick Hageman, c. 1938 at Mission La Purisima, republished in Fred Hageman and Ewing Russell's *An Archaeological and Restoration Study of Mission La Purísima Concepción: Reports Written for the National Park Service* (Santa Barbara, California: Santa Barbara Trust for Historic Preservation, 1980), and a recent 2 ? Getty Conservation Institute study of pigments at San Miguel, are the only known scientific studies of mission wall painting pigments that I have located. A summary of the GCI San Miguel study is provided in Pamela Huckins, *Art in the Alta California Mission Churches, 1769-c. 1834,* dissertation, New York University, 2011: 327. Huckins refers to a 2 7 report by Susan L. Buck: *Preliminary Condition Assessment of Interior Decorative Surfaces, San Miguel Arcángel, Mission San Miguel*: 99-102.

The Index's specific interest in materials is also evidenced in a 1937 radio interview with Lemmon entitled "Was there a Mission Style of Design?" and within many of their Data Report Sheets.[29] Of his team's work at Santa Ines, Lemmon stated that "the sacristy and sanctuary being the only parts of the Mission uncovered by whitewash and plaster, the remaining wall area promises thrilling and valuable work for Index artists, when they remove the outer layers."[30] The "thrilling" and "valuable" work of uncovering layers became just as significant to their project, if not more so, than their completed watercolor renderings of the wall paintings. It is no surprise that many of these acts of removal were well documented by Index photographers. Through these photographs and their promotion in national venues, the Index's physical engagement became a performative act, and sometimes even a re-enactment of the original wall painting process. In a colonialist sense, their expert touching and handling of the mission walls is an image of U.S. control and possession.

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[28] Lemmon, "Study," 7, 1947 version.

[29] Interview with Warren Lemmon conducted by Frank Freidel, November 26, 1937. "Was There a Mission Style of Design ?" Panorama of History Series, KRKD, Los Angeles, 442A Records of the Index of American Design, Reference Files, Radio Scripts, Los Angeles, St. Louis, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. All the Data Report Sheets include a "Description" entry field with blank lines entitled "Materials, Color, Finish," "Present Condition," and "Measurements."

[30] Lemmon, "Study," 3, 1947 version.

Index photographer Paul Park produced black and white images not only of the wall paintings and mission objects and designs themselves, but of the Index artists in the physical acts of touching, handling and carefully examining fragments, reassembling these fragments, flaking away plaster, matching pigments, and touching up walls. Several of these images were published in local newspapers. A 1936 *Los Angeles Times* report included Park's photographs of the team at San Fernando under the subline, "Experts are chipping skillfully at drab walls and paving the way for a complete portfolio of early American expression—an integral part of the nation. Let's go into the field and watch them."[31] [Figure 4.1, Figure 0.8]

Allowing the public to witness the specific ongoing processes of chipping away at layers of plaster provided proof of the Index's key premise: that the mission walls had passed through three distinctive decorative periods. In the same radio show Lemmon stated, "The later stage of decoration, in the case of San Fernando, shows the dominance of western civilization over the cruder forms of the earlier neophytes of the missions."[32] Clearly, in the work at San Fernando (unlike the Hayward study conducted at Santa Ines, which focused only on Native pigments) he wanted to present the wall painting layers as physical evidence of the mission's art history—one that logically progressed from crude Native designs and local materials to refined (usually classical) designs and European pigments. Lemmon also noted the necessity of material experimentation for the Index team, given the unexpected situation they found themselves in at Mission San Fernando: "However, activities were intensified through the interest in the artists when, upon closer examination of the weathered walls, under-paintings of a different design and character were revealed. How to separate these designs was a matter of experiment."[33] Thus, the idea of separating the "Spanish" vs. "Native" layers of designs and understanding their chronological relationship would become a key focus for the Southern California Index.

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[31] Crist, Kenneth, "American Art Comes Back to America," *Los Angeles Times*, Oct. 11, 1936, 116.

[32] KRKD radio interview with Warren Lemmon, 1937, 2.

According to Lemmon, the San Fernando color palettes revealed in this underlay pointed to different stages or periods of the walls' decoration: "the earliest period is defined by a predominance of haemetite red, the second by inclusion of two unusual blues which may have been imported (Prussian Cobalt?) The latest paintings include yellows and greens."[34] In this way, the Index artists involved themselves in establishing a chronology that was defined by material positioning. They assumed that the local/indigenous colors were applied in the first layer(s), while the European "imported" colors were used in the top layer(s). While the general public would never have immediate access to Index pigment reports, it is clear that they shared their findings with the local press. For instance, L.A. Times reporter Kenneth Crist referred to specific indigenous pigments identified in the bottom layer in his 1936 feature on the Index's ongoing work at Santa Ines, San Fernando and other missions:

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[33] Lemmon, "Study of Early American Wall Painting," 6.

[34] Lemmon, "Study of Early American Wall Painting" 7, 1947 version.

> You must remember that the Indians were not without color for their works. They had pure vermillion, mercuric oxide, and they knew how to use it. They got tints from a red shale called hemaetite, and a bush which grew near Santa Ines Mission furnished them with a blue die. (sic) Beside all these they used California wildflowers as paint pigments. One of the queer elements seems to be that with no developed system of distribution these paint elements seem to have been disseminated through most of the tribes.[35]

Almost immediately, at San Fernando and other mission sites, issues of preservation came to the forefront, and Index artists were assigned the task of inventing new material processes for this purpose. Lemmon pointed out a key concern at San Fernando: as the team uncovered each layer, they had to figure out a way to "record and yet not destroy the remaining fragments of decoration."[36] Their only option: they needed to destroy some designs in order to preserve others. In this sense, they were in a unique position to choose not only which designs, but which materials were more valuable to their national project. In most of the walls at Mission San Fernando, they chose to preserve the "Native" element.

At the first revelation of these three "layers," the artists began the careful chipping and flaking process of other walls at San Fernando, followed by "spraying a preservative of ambroid and acetone on all portions." [37] Significantly, Lemmon pointed out that these preservative materials were donated by "individuals who recognize the value of our work, which they or their societies could not undertake."[38] My research thus far has not revealed who exactly made these donations, but an interesting connection arises nonetheless—that preservative materials were associated with modern American individuals. Thus, through the preservation and restoration processes they sponsored, these Anglo-Americans physically became part of the mission's art history.

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[35] Kenneth Crist, "American Art Comes Back to America," *Los Angeles Times*, 1936, 117. Norman Neuerburg rejected the possibility of pigments derived from flowers. *Painting, 37.* No technical analysis of wall painting pigments has been undertaken at Mission San Fernando, as far as I know; there is an ongoing study of walls at nearby Mission San Gabriel, which was initiated after the 2020 fire.

[36] KRKD radio interview with Walter Lemmon, 1937, 3. 44A2, Records of the Index of American Design, Reference Files-Radio Scripts-Los Angeles, St., National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives.

In his "Study of Early American Wall Painting" report, Lemmon prefaced his summary of the Southern California Index mission project with statements alluding to the Index's "modern" techniques as a major contribution to the history of American art.[39] He highlighted the material processes that allowed the Index to not only physically connect with, but to recreate and preserve this past: "A new standard of national art is being created by the artists of this country, in developing modern methods of wall treatment" or "in digging into our historic past for that which we lost."[40]

In addition to their material handling of the painted designs, the Index was interested in understanding and manipulating the actual surfaces—the white adobe walls themselves-- that the original pigments were applied to. Painted walls could evoke a more specific European art historical connection than any other media, calling to mind the flat surfaces of prehistoric caves, ancient tombs, and medieval churches on which "history" had been visually inscribed. Like other cultural critics of this era, Lemmon drew comparisons with Europe's rich artistic legacy and the sad fact of the missing American equivalent. In describing the Chumash paintings discovered (by archaeologists, not by the Index) in the Santa Barbara region near the mission, he claimed that "the paintings found in the caves of these prehistoric tribes" were America's version of "those famous bison in the caves of Southern France and Egyptian tomb paintings."[41] Likely, concurrent pigment and material studies of Paleolithic and Egyptian wall painting being conducted in both Europe and the United States in the 1930s and drove the Index's own efforts. One of these pioneering studies, in fact, was being conducted at Harvard's Fogg Museum, where the Index held exhibitions of their completed watercolors.[42]

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[37] Excerpted and paraphrased sections of Lemmon's "Early American Wall Painting," Page 4, (6/3/38-HM-Fldr26) Subject Files-Spanish Colonial-Missions [Folder 1], National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives.

[38] Ibid, 4.

[39] "The Study of Early American Wall Painting in Southern California," Xeroxed 1947 version of report, RG17 Box 7, Reference Files Spanish Colonial. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C, National Gallery Archives.

[40] Lemmon, "Study," 1947 version, 1.

Lemmon recognized that the simultaneous discovery of new cave paintings and the production of FAP murals prompted the Index's express interest in walls and painting materials:

> In Southern California, recent archaeological finds, the Federal Art Project MURALS OF VARIOUS MEDIA, and Index work have unfolded A COMPLETE HISTORY OF WALL PAINTING DURING THIS PAST YEAR. NEW CAVES OF PREHISTORIC TRIBES have been discovered;

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[41] Lemmon, "Study," 1947 version, 1.

[42] For an example of European-led pigment studies undertaken in the 1920s and 30s, see Friedrich Rathgen and Ludwig Borchardt, 1923 chemical analyses of dyes and pigment used on Bust of Nefertiti. G.Bayer, "The Bust of Nefertiti," *Analytic Chemistry*, Vol. 54, No. 4, April 1982. Also see "A Short History of a Pigment Collection (and Art Conservation) in the United States," which explores the Edward Forbes collection of pigments at Harvard's Fogg Museum. Using Forbes' collection of over 1, 0 pigments, Gettens and Stout created a catalogue and in 1942 published a pioneering work, which became a standard reference work for conservation: Rutherford J. Gettens and George L. Stout, *Painting Materials: A Short Encyclopedia* (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1942). https://harvardartmuseums.org/article/a-short-history-of-a-pigment-collection-and-art-conservation-in-the-united-states

Likely, Forbes had acquired most of these pigment samples by the time of the Index of American Design Exhibition at the Fogg Museum of Art, Jan. 27-Feb. 10, 1937.

> THEIR WALLS…COVERED WITH GLYPHS. For these a – SIMPLE PALETTE was obtained from charcoal, haemetite and lighter-colored shales.[43]

He is suggesting that modern WPA murals could be included in a history of California wall painting going all the way back to prehistory. This is a significant claim because this is exactly what the Index was supposed to do—provide a visual index and justification for connecting modern art to its roots. In the So Cal project, the index would not only include documentation and record of designs, but their materials. In other words, if the designs themselves could not or would not directly inspire modern American artists, the inclusion and positioning of modern art as the "conclusion" of this American material history might fulfill the task.

Material Reinterpretations of Wall Paintings at Missions Santa Ines and San Miguel

In Chapters 2 and 3 I introduced wall painting designs from Missions Santa Ines and San Miguel primarily in relation to Native and/or Franciscan iconography. In this section, I add a material culture/materialist reading to the same examples because, as I have demonstrated in my analysis of some of the Index reports above, their construction of a materialist narrative was just as significant, if not more so, than their recording of the designs themselves.

In addition to the completed watercolor renderings of the wall painting designs themselves, the Index also preserved some of the Index artists' sketches and color notations. At Mission Santa Ines, for example, Index artist Edward Jewett documented his process of close observation and recording of materials and pigment details in relation to specific designs.[44] [Figure 4.2] Of the Greek step fret design fragments found on the walls of the nave, he noted in pencil, "design outlined in deep green thin line; scratched in some places," and of a painted acorn motif, "note wash of greyed green under black; wash diluted with terracotta; between 15 +16 petals (majority of center chipped out of flowers." (no end parenthesis) Near his pencil sketch of the stylized red flowers beneath the step fret, he noted that the wash of pink and blue-green of the flowers matched that of the stripe above the step fret. Next to his watercolor sketches of the Greek key motif are penciled contour lined drawings of the same design without color. In these written and illustrative notations, he does not attempt to interpret or explain the original color or pigment choices. There is a clear separation between Jewett's objective act of visual recording versus the subjective processes of historical research, attribution and interpretation which were both required for his completion of the typed Data Report Sheet. That the Index preserved Jewett's "sketch" with technical color notes along with his finished product—the completed watercolor rendering of the step fret design-- is significant. The illustrations themselves were considered insufficient markers of the artist's material engagement. The inclusion of these color notes in the Index archive provided proof of the artist's careful processes of observation and the accuracy of color in his final watercolor renderings, which would serve as reference for later restorations of the original wall paintings.

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[43] 442A Records of the Index of American Design, Subject Files: Spanish Colonial Missions- Folder 1, NGA Gallery Archives, "2 0.5-a" written in margin, 6/3/38-HM-Fldr 26.

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[44] Artist's notations in pencil on front and back of watercolor rendering, Jewett, 1943.8.18 8, Wall Painting, c. 1939, Index of American Design, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

The Index's national project goal, according to Cahill and the D.C. area administrators, was to locate and document the deeper roots of a "national" design. The SoCal Index's publicized acts of digging and flaking clearly illustrated their abilities in locating designs hidden below the walls' surfaces, but their detailed color sketches (such as Jewett's) would do something even more important for local California mission art history: they would allow for easier comparison with nearby Chumash rock art paintings and pigments, presenting the possibility that their Native meanings survived within the mission setting. There is no evidence that Jewett and/or the rest of the Index team working at Santa Ines were provided with the Hayward Santa Ines pigment study. However, I draw attention to the assumed connection between the study and the Jewett Santa Ines renderings and notes here, because it clearly was Lemmon's intention to link mission wall painting colors and their related pigments with Native meanings. In particular, I explore the relationship between Native pigments and temporality as well as the agentic power of Native pigments in Southern California and Ancient American ontologies, in general.

Given the Index's (via their source, Hayward) identification of mission wall painting pigments comparable with those used in nearby (Chumash) caves, they must have considered the possibility that the former contained Native cultural and material meanings. In the late 20th century, Georgia Lee and others began to consider the similarities between the Alta California cave and mission pigments, but the Index were the first to do so. There was not a wide array of interpretive art historical scholarship on California rock art in the 1930s for the Index to draw from, though they did turn to contemporaneous and mission-era anthropological accounts.[45] Through their pigment studies, and given their material and anthropological focus (unusual for a project that was supposed to be centered on design), the Index began to restore Native meanings to the mission wall paintings before Native knowledge was a major concern in western art history.

Recent California rock art material theories now provide the link to restoring Native knowledge that the Index was missing in the 1930s. Current scholars of California rock art, including D.W. Robinson, believe that for Native Californians, "pigments enacted tangible connections between people and place" and that each process: travel, site location, collection, processing, and mixture of pigments was "imbricated with social relations." Pigments were associated with identity, specific rituals, and could also reference the power of the place where they had been extracted. Thus, "pigment is relational, substances deeply enmeshed in ontological notions of causality and essence."[46] Recently, Robinson has attempted to break away from the conventional shamanic theories that I presented in my analysis of the San Fernando wall paintings in Chapter Two.[47] For him, these focus only on individual cognitive imagery and "largely overlook the agentive role of rock art within the Chumash society." He proposed that by looking more closely at the ethnographic literature we can get a better appreciation of the active role of rock art and its sentient materials within Chumash power and ideology. In other words, "rock art was meant to do something, rather than passively represent an image" or internal/shamanic vision… “the image and its materials had the ability to affect transformation.”[48] In sum, Robinson believes that Chumash notions of affectability are key to understanding the meaning of pigments.[49] “The physical world consisted of different forms of sentience “that enabled dialogue between human and non-human actors to occur,” including specific plants and minerals from which pigments were derived.[50] Assuming that these sentient functions were maintained in the case of mission wall paintings, what might Native painters have wanted these European rendered in Native pigments to do, and what kind of dialogue might they have enacted? These important questions were foregrounded by the So Cal Index studies, research, and physical renderings, when analyzed as a whole.

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[45] For example, Bancroft, Harrington, and Boscana were referenced in various Index bibliographies.

[46] Robinson, 2 4, 2013a, 2013b, cited in Bedford, et. al, "Emigdiano Blues," 153.

[47] These included David Lewis Williams (1990s theories regarding rock art of Sans Bushmen) and David Wheeler (rock paintings in Southern California); also related is Lisbeth Haas' interpretation of the Deer Hunt Scene. See Haas, Chapter Two, 17.

In the next section, I examine the individual pigments documented by Index artist Edward Jewett in his rendering of the step fret design at Mission Santa Ines in light of the (limited) Hayward report available to the SoCal Index in the 1930s and the recent scholarly conclusions on Native material agency I just described.

RED

If Hayward/Lemmon’s identification of pigments at Santa Ines is accurate, we can associate specific ones with the wall paintings Jewett recorded. For example, the red petals on the flower were, according to Hayward, “NOT hemaetite,” but possibly “red oxide, burnt Monterey shale, cinnabar (vermillion), red chalk, or quicksilver.” [Figure

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[48] Robinson, “Transmorphic Being,” 72.

[49] In his ideas on affectability, Robinson has relied on T.C. Blackburn, *December’s Child: A Book of Chumash Oral Narratives* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975).

[50] Robinson, “Transmorphic Being,” 63.

4.2] Likely, Hayward and Lemmon were aware that red was the dominant color in Chumash rock paintings in the Santa Barbara region. Sources of red ochre were known to early Spanish explorers in California. Juan Crespí, in 1769, recalled in his journal of the Portolá expedition through San Juan Creek (area that would become San Juan Capistrano Mission) that on July 23 the group found "… two mines apparently of good red earth, ochre and an earth very white… clearly the heathen had worked the mines for their paints which are their ordinary dress."[51] Crespí's account concurs with the current consensus, as summed up in Paul Douglas Campbell's 2 7 study of "the California palette:" that the reds found in most California cave walls were derived from red ochre (hematite, an iron oxide, basically rust Fe 2, O 3).[52] He suggests that, as in many uses of red ochre throughout time and across the globe, its association "with the red of blood, the life force;" was shared by Native Californians, including the Atsugewi of upper California, who use the word "ishuri ta'wi," "blood-colored." He also points out that they mixed the red ochre with deer grease and transported it in deer pericardium, "the membrane that holds the heart and contains and pumps blood."[53] The ethnologist and linguist J.P. Harrington (1884-1961), whose studies on the Indigenous people of California would have been available to the Index, noted the Luiseño names for various red pigments: *navy't* for regular red ochre, *to'xat qwayaqwyac* for red clay, and *teel-inic 'qwayaqwyac* for red earth from a fireplace, *moo'ic* from red hematite obtained from springs and then dried, *páa'isval* for the same red burned over an oak bark fire.[54] Harrington's notes also contained more specific reference to Chumash uses of red which would have been helpful to the Index and/or Hayward in their attempt to identify local sites where materials could be collected and studied. For example, Harrington states that the Chumash picked ochre pebbles from the local beaches.[55]

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[51] Juan Crespí's, July 23, 1769 account cited in Campbell, *Earth Pigments and Paint of the California Indians: Meaning and Technology*, (Los Angeles: self-published, 2 7), 30. The two mines Crespí describes still exist.

[52] Campbell, *Earth Pigments*, 27.

[53] Ibid, 28.

In Southern California (as in much of the ancient Southwest and Mesoamerica) cinnabar was a valuable trading commodity and was also used as a medicine and as face paint. Hayward's suggestion that the same pigment was used in mission painting points to its continued economic and ritual value.[56] In their research and bibliographic notes, the Index (author unknown) suggested the strong possibility of local vermilion in the mission wall paintings. In a typed document entitled, "NATIVE SOURCE OF VERMILION PAINT," they note that "Hutching's California Illustrated Magazine (S.F. Hutchings & Rosenfeld) carries an article entitled "The Quicksilver Mines of New Almaden," in the issue of July 1856 vol. I, p. 98"). In it the following statement is made: "This mine (near San José) has been known for ages by the Indians, who worked it for the vermilion paint it contained, with which they ornamented their persons, and on that account had become a valuable article of exchange with other Indians from the Gulf of California to the Columbia River. Its existence was also known to the early settlers of California."[57]

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[54] Ibid, 35.

[55] Luiseño names for red pigments (per Harrington) listed in Campbell, 35. (Delete later: Campbell also cites Hudson and Blackburn, 1985 and 1987, on Chumash pigments from Harrington's notes. He also talks about the difficulties modern studies, such as the Getty Research Institute team of David A. Scott and William D. Hyder have had in matching red ochre sources with rock paintings. Campbell, 36).

[56] "Emigdiano Blues," 156.

Of its appearance in rock art, Robinson noted that the more vibrant reds were used for sun disk and radiating ray designs than for figurative designs.[58] In this sense, the red flower petals in the Santa Ines paintings may have carried the same "vibrant" connotations for Native viewers. Art historian Yve Chavez has recently suggested that cochineal may have been used in Alta California mission painting; if she is correct, what meanings could then be associated?[59] Why did Native mission painters mix red ochre with calcite, as Hayward (and Lemmon) concluded in their reports? Was it just to get pink, or would diluting the red result in a reduction of its Native power? While such questions can only be posed here, it is significant that the Index pigment studies in the 1930s prompts them.

GREEN, BLUE, AND BLUE-GREEN

Hayward identified the blue-green on the walls of Santa Ines, as seen on the leaves and step fret design, as "local chert or local copper oxide," mixed with a binder of cactus juice. He noted that the black (outlines surrounding the leaves) were "exclusively ground charcoal. [Figure 4.2] He and Lemmon were both aware of nearby Chumash rock art. Though they did not specifically mention the San Emigdio rock shelter, they may have speculated whether the blue-green pigments on the walls of Santa Ines were the same as those used at this well-known site. Azurite is rare in the Chumash area, yet blue and blue-green appeared regularly on their painted bodies and rock art. A mission-era account by Governor Pedro Fages includes descriptions of a blue clay that the Chumash used for body paint.[60]

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[57] 442A Records of the Index of American Design, Subject Files: Spanish Colonial Missions- Folder 1, NGA Gallery Archives. Cinnabar also known as vermilion- the terms have been used interchangeably since antiquity, since the two are chemically equal: HgS (mercuric sulfide). See Ellen Spindler's blog, "The Story of Cinnabar and Vermilion (HgS) at The Met," February 2018. https://www.metmuseum.org/blogs/collection-insights/2018/cinnabar-vermilion

[58] Robinson, "Transmorphic Being," 62.

[59] Yve Chavez, *Indigenous Artists*, 2017, 146.

If the blue-green pigments (or different pigments with similarly resulting hues) at Santa Ines match those found at San Emigdio and other Chumash sites, the Index would certainly have been interested in this color's significance in Chumash ontologies. David Scott of the Getty Conservation Museum Research Laboratory analyzed pigments at the nearby San Emigdio site and discovered that the green pigment was terra verte (either celadonite or the similar glauconite iron potassium silicate.)[61] Georgia Lee had described the same pigment as a "deep earthy green."[62] Campbell posited that "many native North Americans, such as the Diegueño, or Kumeyaay of southern California did not distinguish in their language between blue and green, using the same word for both. Azurite (blue) tends to become malachite (green) over time. What might this color transition from blue to green symbolize? For the Kumeyaay and possibly other Native Californians, blue-green had a directional symbolism—south (red was for north, white for east, black for west); since the blue-green at Santa Ines is presented on several walls, it likely did not have directional associations here.[63] Kroeber (and others) recorded Chumash story where Coyote doctors revived dead Prairie falcon with a blue stone, described as the same type from which blue paint is derived.[64]

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[60] Pedro Fages, 1769, cited in Campbell, 60.

[61] Scott, el al., (2 2). Emigdiano is a subgroup of the Chumash. The San Emigdio rock art site is located in the San Emigdio hills on the Wind Wolves preserve, Kern County. This inland location is located approximately 120 miles from missions Santa Barbara, Santa Ines, La Purisima and San Buenaventura.

[62] Campbell, citing Georgia Lee, "The San Emigdio Rock Art Site," *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (1979): 295-305, in *Earth Pigments and Paint of the California Indians: Meaning and Technology,* 45. At San Emigdio, six layers of paint were found. Scott et. al (2 2) believe that some of these layers may have been green malachite from an azurite-malachite mine nearby, but since they were working from fallen fragments and detached bits, they could not state this more conclusively.

The appearance of enigmatic blue pigments at the Emigdiano site has been of interest to scholars over the past decades. Georgia Lee, in her 1979 study, "The San Emigdio Rock Art Site," "proposed that at least portions of these Chumash walls "may have been painted in an effort to activate supernatural forces against the Spanish-Mexican intruders" and that the missions may have been the source for the atypical opaque greens, blue-greens and true orange colors found at this site.[65] Lee noticed that the blues appeared to be mixed with a "white substance, making them light reflective and therefore more vivid. No other known site in Chumash territory has this opaque quality in the pigment." Due to this unique effect, she proposed that the pigments must have been imported from Europe: "It appears that the motifs painted in this cave shelter were made, at least in part, with mission pigments and perhaps were intended to activate supernatural forces against the Spanish, and give new power to their old cosmic themes."[66] Lee's speculative theory is interesting, because she recognized the same blue-green in mission wall paintings at Santa Barbara, San Miguel and Santa Ines--the step fret design at Santa Ines is blue-green, as are the leaves.

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[63] Warren W. Lemmon also described blue-green wall paintings at Mission San Juan Capistrano, in San Diego County: "Six remaining original decorations are in situ around what remains of the rim of the great stone dome and in its keystone. These are pigmented with a cupreous oxide, giving a greenish blue to their odd shapes. "Study of Early American Wall Painting in Southern California," 10. See Figures: Index of American Design watercolor rendering by William Kieckhofel, Ceiling Decoration, c. 1941, 1943.8.6512 and 1943.8.6513 Almost all Ancient American cosmologies associate colors with the four cardinal directions. Campbell, 43, notes that this directional symbolism may not have extended to all of California.

[64] Campbell, 44.

[65] Lee, Abstract, "San Emigdio Rock Art Site," (1979): 295.

[66] Lee and Neuerburg, *Alta California Indians as Artists*, 474. She also points out that, "The Santa Barbara site has a mandala-like motif consisting of wedge-shaped rays that radiate out from a center, quite typical

However, more recently, a group study of the uses of “Emigdiano Blue” has been conducted at the Three Springs site in the Wind Wolves Preserve. They concluded that the pigments used there were not azurite from a local quarry were not used, but instead, a composite of black, white or grey materials which mimic the appearance of blue.[67] The possible reasons for the uses of “optical blue,” given the availability of mineral blues such as azurite, are briefly presented in their study of a painted figure called “Blueboy:”

> “…If rock-art, was at least in part, meant to be employed to be affectual works, then the care and attention of the elements produced by optical blue may be indicative of the power that was meant to be employed in their making. Were the charcoals and whites used in the paintings making reference to some special place in the landscape, something other than the azurite quarry? Were the artists (or artist?) viewed by others as having a special status?.... This prompts questions regarding the reasons behind the selection of raw materials and technique used to create such blue paints for rock art.”[68]

[Figure 4.3] The same questions posed in the 2018 San Emigdio study might be applied to the blue-green Jewett documented at Santa Ines. Jewett noted that the “blue-green wash” of the fret pattern was the same as the one used behind the bordering floral-leaf designs; in addition, he noted that the “deep green” outline of both was the same.

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for the Chumash style; however, the colors are pink and green and have an exact match in the still extant church paintings at Mission San Miguel. One might assume that these same colors were common at Santa Barbara and Santa Ines missions also. It is also of interest that the site is located near the pass that leads between these missions.” Ibid, 474.

[67] This has also been called “perceptual blue.” The black-white-grey mixture is often a grey clay or a mixture of calcite or gypsum with charcoal. Campbell, 2 7, recognized that “when placed next to yellow or red… it appears green to the human eye.” Cited in “Emigdiano Blues,” 158.

[68] Clare Bedford, D.W. Robinson, Devlin Gandy, “Emigdiano Blues: The California Indigenous Palette and an *In Situ* Analysis of an Exotic Color,” *Open Archaeology*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (2018): 169.

Following the argument of the 2018 authors, the Native application of the same combination of pigments (resulting in perceptual blue) to the floral/landscape element and the classical design (Greek step fret) may represent their attempt to connect Native past with mission present.

CACTUS JUICE

Hayward's report referenced the use of cactus juice at Santa Ines: "The vehicle for pigments was prepared by using the juice of cactus with tallow added. This tallow, mainly from sheep, gave a body to hold the colors in solution. It also aided in making the finished work impervious to water."[69] He, Lemmon and the Index artist/researchers had access to J.P. Harrington's interviews with the Chumash painter named Juan Pacífico, who reportedly used cactus juice as a binder. Neuerburg and others have associated Pacífico (baptized at San Buenaventura in 1797) with the wall painting programs at San Buenaventura and Santa Barbara, basing their conclusions on the recollections of Fernando Librado, as recorded by Harrington. Librado recalled that "Juan would squeeze the meat out of the red tuna cactus fruit into some vessel and add the whites of eggs or pitch. He used the tail of a duck or of some kind of animal for a bush."[70] It is possible that the same pigments and binders, including cactus juice, were used at Santa Ines, though no scientific analyses beyond Hayward's has been undertaken. Index artists and supervisors, especially given their proximity to several Mexican murals by Los Tres Grandes (Diego Rivera, Jose Clemente Orozco and David Alfaro Siqueiros) in Southern California, may have been aware of Diego Rivera's widely publicized uses of nopal juice as a binding material in his murals; this technique was apparently short-lived, as the fermented cactus juice did not combine with plaster and decomposed.[71] Rivera claimed that he had resurrected "this ancient process of painting," and that it was "of basic importance for our pictorial art, giving as it does to our painters access to a genuine and characteristic technique that answers the necessities of our climate and general local conditions." [72] The cactus plant is a unique and native American flora and cultural identifier shared by Mexico, California and the Southwest United States. The Index's numerous references to cactus juice in their reports at Santa Ines and other missions indicate the ways that a material could serve as a "binder" of not only Native and Spanish Franciscan ideologies, but also of U.S. and Mexican nationalisms that had been established by the 1930s.[73]

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[69] Hageman, CCC Report, Appendices, 218-219. For a transcription of Hageman report excerpts, see Appendix 4 of this dissertation.

[70] Chavez, *Indigenous Artists*, 146, citing Librado in Hudson, *Breath of the Sun*, 8.

BROWN AND BLACK

Jewett's written notations indicate that the brown centers of flowers in the Santa Ines wall paintings are "local burnt umber," and the brownish shadows on leaves are

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[71] Instead of drying into plaster as the color does in Italian fresco, the paint remained as a top layer of the limestone; water from the plaster could not penetrate the "glue like coating," which formed blisters that chipped off eventually. Rivera had a major exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art, New York in 1931. Gilberto Artioli, Michele Secco and Anna Adis state that "There is "ample evidence that in Mesoamerica the lime plaster was prepared by mixing .. juice extracted from a number of local plants such as cactus (nopal juice, Oputnia ficus indica." in"The Vitruvian Legacy: Mortars and Binders Before and After the Roman World," *EMU Notes in Mineralogy,* Vol. 20 (2019): 167. See also Diana Magaloni, R. Pancella, Y. Fruh, J. Canetas and V. Castano, "Studies on the Mayan Mortars Technique," in *Materials Issues in Art and Archaeolgoy* (P.B. Vandiver, J.R . Druzik, J.L.G. Madrid, I.C. Freestone and G.S. Wheeler, editors (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: Materials Research Society, 1995), 483-489.

[72] Jean Charlot, Appendix 1: Fresco Painting in Mexico, "Diego Rivera Discovers a Secret of the Mexica" no page, web version. https://jeancharlot.org/english-texts/mmr_appendix-1.html Charlot refers to a report by Renato Molina in *El Universal Ilustrado*, June 19, 1923: "The artist painter Diego Rivera has rediscovered, in the opinion of the certain technicians of painting, the process used by ancient Mexicans to produce their splendid frescoes, such as those we admire today at the monuments of Teotihuacan." El Abate Benigno coined a refrain, "Dipped in cactus juice is authentic, Rivera's brushes in waltz time tick."

[73] Images of cactii are prevalent in Mexican art from the Pre-Cortesian era to the early 20th century. This imagery is also prominent in 20th-century art depicting the American Southwest.

"black diluted with terracotta." [Figure 4.2] At Chumash rock sites, Getty Conservation Institute researchers David A. Scott and William D. Hyder found a strong tendency to paint black (charcoal) as the first layer and red over a black underlayer.[74] Jewett was likely unaware of this tendency to paint red over black (dilute black with red), but the fact that he made note of the process suggests that he found it unusual. Was it simply to produce the visual effect of dark red? Or is there another reason for layering of pigments?

Walter Lemmon concluded that the layered pigments uncovered by his team presented an obvious visual record of Spanish colonization— the more sophisticated Spanish (yellows, blues, greens) pigments on the top layers concealed the Native "natural" pigments (red and black) in the first. This simplistic interpretation minimizes, but does not eliminate the possibility of Native agency in choosing, applying or determining their own spiritual or temporal meanings of the pigments, whether derived locally or imported, as well as their various combinations. To address these limitations in the Index's understanding of the layered pigments and their chronological significance in Native vs. western European terms, I turn to Diana Magaloni's recent studies of the production of the 16th-century Nahua document, the Florentine Codex, as a model. In her recent analyses of pigments employed by Aztec *tlacuilos* in their production of this 16th-century manuscript, she argued that uses of pigments from Europe (such as minium) represented the Spanish-dominated present, while those from Mesoamerica the indigenous past.[75]

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[74] Scott and Hyder, 36.

[75] Diana Magaloni Kerpel, Colors of the New World: Artists, Materials, and the Creation of the Florentine Codex (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2014), 45.

Like the California wall paintings, the codex was produced under Franciscan supervision, and was, from the Franciscan point of view, meant to function as part of their Catholic-European system of knowledge, serving as a direct tool for their Tridentine, educational, "civilizing," and humanist efforts. In both Mexico and California mission settings, the Franciscan mode of art instruction, given its reliance on texts and treatises brought from Europe, emphasized a system of image-making and materiality rooted in the classical ideas of Pliny and Vitruvius.

The California mission wall paintings, in fact, feature very direct references to designs from the (aforementioned "Thunderbird," Greek step fret, Santa Barbara façade, etc.) pages of the 1787 Santa Barbara Vitruvius and other Neoclassical architectural motifs clearly derived from ancient Roman/Pompeiian painting. Vitruvius wrote about "the use of colors and the brave show they make," indicating that color could serve as a vehicle for the bolder expression of one's subject. In his treatise, Vitruvius' presented a clear hierarchy of the pigments used in Roman painting: red was the most common color used, usually derived from pigments that were in abundance, such as hematite, red ochre and ruddle, all of these made from iron ore. The more brilliant and expensive red was vermillion made from cinnabar, but Vitruvius warned that it was unstable— it eventually turned black if exposed to sunlight. Yellows and browns, usually derived from local ochres were staple colors for backgrounds and flesh tones. The choicest pigments were blues (indigo), greens (malachite) and purples, but some were so expensive to import (i.e.

Armenian blue) that Roman painters usually imitated them.[76] The valuing of pigments as local staples vs. choicer imports extended into the later history of western European art and was certainly in the minds of the Spanish Franciscans who oversaw the wall painting production in the early 19th-century as well as Lemmon and the Index artists when they attempted to determine their own hierarchy of pigments used in mission wall paintings.

The presence of Vitruvius' text in the Santa Barbara Mission library provides the most direct link between ancient Roman and 19th-century mission wall painting material ordering, processes and conceptions, but to better understand the relationship between Native California painters and these, we might also take a brief look at Pliny the Elder's Natural History (*Naturalis historia*), a book in the library of the Real Colegio de Santa Cruz in Tlateltolco, Mexico. Pliny's text may have served as a model for the Florentine Codex, painted by Aztec *tlacuilos*. In Books 33, 34 and 35 of the History, he discussed metals, minerals and pigments. As Magaloni has pointed out, Pliny based his taxonomy on Aristotle and Theophrastus but deviated from their system of metallurgical classification.[77] Instead, he organized the metals according to the way they are used by artists, establishing "a direct relationship between the raw material as part of nature and the artist's capacity to understand it and transform it." This, for Pliny, is what granted artists the status of Artifex (maker) and *inventore* (creator); this also granted painting itself its status as a liberal art.[78] The Native writers and painters of the Florentine Codex followed Pliny's ideas regarding the significant role of painters in transforming natural materials, (this can be seen in the illustrations designating the maker of the pigment from the painter) but they reserved their own beliefs about the role of the raw materials themselves—for them, it was the (transformed) materials, not the artist, that ultimately "activate and define an image as the subject."[79] [Figure 4.4]

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[76] See Sir Humphrey Davy, *Some Experiments and Observations on the Colours Used in Painting by the Ancients*, (London: Royal Society of London, 1815) and Ruth Siddall, " 'Not a Day without a Line Drawn,' Pigments and Painting Techniques of Roman Artists," *In Focus Magazine: Proceedings of the Royal Microscopical Society*, Issue 2 (June 2 6): 18-31.

[77] Magaloni, *Colors*, 19.

Magaloni explores the meaning of the Nahua word *ixiptlah*, the "image, substitute of something or someone" in relation to the words' role in describing the painted "covering" over the related image of the king Paynal. Drawing from the work of Salvador Reyes Eguiguas and Alfredo López Austin, who believe the *ixiptlah* were "always the product of human creation," such as sculpture, costumes, paintings on hide or paper,[80] she argues that, in Amerindian ontologies, as opposed to the Pliny/western conception of images as objects, the painted image is activated as subject— the activated image has been set into action by a Native point of view/ontology. As she summises, "the symbolic and cognitive operation of the Nahuatl text and the painted image is to make Paynal's *ixiptlah* 'appear,' not merely to have it be the illustration or ornamentation of information of the ancient gods. Thus, to the Nahuas, the action of painting and the painting itself responded to different rules than those we are familiar with today."[81] Magaloni compares one function of images in ancient Mesoamerica to western writing— she believes they served as a system for recording and building indigenous knowledge; however, she added another function related to this knowledge building: that these images may also be conceived of as subjects. She explains that the Nahua dual concept of *in tlilli in tlapalli* (the black ink, the colors) is the vehicle for producing this knowledge. The black outlines and forms are filled in, illuminated with color— it is the color that brings this knowledge to life. She concludes that Nahua *tlacuilos* did not choose organic pigments in an effort to obtain different colors than they could using minerals, and thus, "their use of minerals… was related to their materiality and provenance, implying that colors had a specific significance based on their raw material and organic state."[82] In sum, in the production of the Florentine Codex, color was the most active agent in determining native response.[83]

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[78] Magaloni, *Colors*, 20.

[79] Magaloni, *Colors*, 21.

[80] Magaloni, *Colors*, 12.

[81] *Colors*, 12.

The current consensus is that mission wall paintings contain a mixture of organic/inorganic, natural/synthetic, native/imported pigments. Would the Native painters in California have read anything in these combinations, as Magaloni suggests? In the production of the Florentine Codex, *tlacuilos* placed special significance on colors based on their "raw material" or "organic" state. She proposed that for them, pigments derived from minerals (like red hematite and cinnabar, found in mines/caves) have "telluric associations" and make reference to the underworld/origin of the world and that those derived from plants (which grow in the sun) have solar associations. She also explains that the Native use of cinnabar in the Florentine Codex related to the time of the ancestors, while the use of the European red minium was used to refer to the colonial present; in addition to these temporal references, she suggests that saturated and diluted colors made reference to "death" of an era and/or rebirth and that undiluted colors were more powerful. [84] Did Native California rock art painters, like the Nahua *tlacuilos,* also distinguish between black outlines and color within—and did they carry this idea over into the mission wall paintings? Future scholars may turn to Magaloni's theories to help explain the use of impractical processes and combinations such as black diluted with red and "perceptual" blue in California rock art and possibly mission wall painting, such as the one Jewett recorded at Santa Ines.

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[82] *Colors*, 35.
[83] Ibid.

With respect to their express interest in pigments and focus on color effects, the Index would have certainly been drawn to the colorful wall paintings at Mission San Miguel. One of the most brilliant watercolor renderings produced by the Index, and one that has been published often, is Randolph F. Miller's "Reredos and Wall Paintings," at San Miguel, dated 1937. [Figure 3.31] It is fitting that this would become the representative image of the Index's wall painting studies, as San Miguel is the only mission of the 21 (and of the subset visited by the Index) that contains its original interior mural program. Miller's image also served to highlight and promote the Index's technical abilities. As discussed in Chapter Three, the original wall paintings at San Miguel have been attributed to Estebán Munrás. Neuerburg later deduced that "much of the work was done with the aid of stencils, and in general, the painting is very precise in a mechanical sort of way." The skills of Munrás and his team of artists, who reportedly included Native Salinan painters, as well as the intricacy of the designs and simulated textures, must have presented a fine challenge for the Index illustrators to reproduce.

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[84] *Colors*, 38-40.

Material descriptions of the pigments used by Munrás and his team vary, but none refer directly to the Index material reports or notes, which I located in the National Gallery Archives. In their Data Report Sheet for Randolph Miller's watercolor rendering of the Munrás *reredos* (So.Cal MSCL 97 a, January 5, 1940, signed by Dana Bartlett), the materials are listed simply as "oil paint on wooden reredos; distemper paint on plastered wall." In the Index publication *Mission Motifs*, Bartlett described the diverse color palette but makes no reference to possible pigment sources: "Colors throughout run a gamut of blues, greens, reds, purples, res, pinks, yellows and browns."[85] Perhaps he/they assumed that, due to the variety in the color palette at San Miguel, the pigments were likely imported, and not worth investigating.

Most of the current listing of pigments used at this mission are not the same ones listed by the Index. For example, in the Mission Museum at San Miguel, a current label reads: "Pigments (Pigmentos): The colors (mineral pigments) used in painting the Church included: Ocher (for red, brown, or yellow); Vermillion (red) from cinnabar found near San José; Cobalt (blue) from Mexico. Charcoal, lime, and talc were also used in making colors. Cactus juice and various kinds of oil were used in making the paints."[86] The San Miguel Mission Museum case features shells filled with pigments and a didactic panel listing," ochre, vermillion, cinnabar, cobalt from Mexico, charcoal, lime, and talc; cactus juice and various oils as binder; mission records indicate that some pigments also imported from Spain." The museum's listing of pigments differs from Racine McRoskey's, who, in his 1914 "Historical Vignette" included: "yellows extracted from poppies, the blues from nightshade and the reds from stones found on the beach." In her 2 6 brief treatment of mission interiors, Alison Lake, citing a 1938 source who likely relied on McRoskey, lists the materials as "berries, lichens and mosses were mixed with cactus juice and glue from bones. Stones from the seashore were used for red, and nightshade for blue."[87] Norman Neuerburg lists the pigments at San Miguel as "red from hematite (red ochre), local iron ore from cinnabar, yellows from ochre, greens from local copper."[88] Almost all of these descriptions included cactus juice—a binder that we know interested the Index in their studies of local and Native materials at Santa Ines.

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[85] Bartlett, *Mission Motifs,* 6.

[86] Wall text, San Miguel Mission Museum, as viewed and documented by author in June 2013.

Pamela J. Huckins, in her primarily iconographic study of the wall paintings at San Miguel, concluded that "Although we know that other missions requested pigments from Mexico, we have no such record for Misión San Miguel."[89] "Nonetheless, the pigments used to mix the colors for the interior painted decoration of the mission church were probably imported."[90] Her assumption was that, since the master artist was imported, so were the pigments and the Catholic-European ideologies associated with them. “Others— such as red ochre, yellow ochre and burnt sienna— are natural pigments derived from minerals that, while they might have been collected, refined, and mixed locally, nonetheless, were probably imported, as suggested by the requests for mineral pigments made by the friars at Misión Santa Barbara.”[91] She supports this probability with the following evidence: “In fact, analyses of paint chips taken from various areas of the interior establish that imported pigments were used for the painted decorations at Mission San Miguel. Some of the pigments identified in laboratory analysis— such as blue and/or green verditer, red lead, white lead and Prussian blue— are synthetic pigments that could only have been produced in New Spain.”[92] However, combinations of natural and synthetic pigments were present and identified. For example, the 27 Getty analyses confirmed in several wall sections the mixing of red ochre with calcite, calcium carbonite, or a combination of lead particles and calcite, and of red ochre and burnt sienna with calcite.[93] Huckins found no meaning in these combinations of local, natural, synthetic or imported pigments, concluding that these were sometimes employed “by the artist(s) to achieve a desired effect.”[94]

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[87] Alison Lake, in *Colonial Rosary: the Spanish and Indian Missions of California* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press and Swallow Press, 2 6),. 117, citing Mrs. Fremont Older, *California Missions and their Romances* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1938), 230.

[88] Norman Neuerburg, unpublished notes, Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library, NN Series II, Mission Studies and Involvement, Box 8, Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library.

[89] Huckins, 322, citing Edith Buckland Webb (1952), 233.

[90] Ibid.

The Getty study and Huckins’ extensive and thorough research and explanation of the pigments identified at San Miguel marked a promising first step toward integrating materiality issues into California mission art studies through collaboration between art historians and conservation scientists. Her conclusions point to an interpretation of the wall paintings primarily in relation to Catholic/Spanish Franciscan theories on materials. Indeed, some of the Franciscans in 19th-century California may have had a general understanding of techniques such as *encarnaciones*, the polychroming of wood *santos* to make their surfaces flesh, and the Catholic doctrines that this physical/material transformation symbolized.[95] At the Colegio in Mexico City, where many of the Fernandinos were trained, treatises on architecture and painting theories and techniques would have been available, including Francisco Pacheco's instructions for creating and applying pigments to sacred imagery, as well as the volume, "Pintar sin Maestro," which was requested by the priests at Mission San Gabriel in 1771. At this date, no record of the receipt of this book at San Gabriel or other Alta California missions has been located, but their written request acknowledges their awareness of and intent to employ such volumes and the specific pigment recipes they prescribe.[96]

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[91] Ibid, 325.

[92] Huckins, 325.

[93] Huckins, 326.

[94] Ibid.

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[95] *Encarnaciones* (literally, "made flesh"), is a method described by the 17th –century Spanish painter and theorist Francisco Pacheco (1564-1654) for transforming the surfaces of wood sculpture into flesh. While Pacheco rejected the use of glass eyes and human hair, he placed great emphasis on the effects of a painted realism in sanctifying the wooden form. Pacheco's theories shed light on 17th-century Catholic and artistic notions of materiality and the ways in which the polychromed surfaces of religious sculptures invited viewers to make connections between flesh-colored pigments, the Gospel of John the Evangelist ("the word became flesh and made his dwelling among us,") and the doctrine of transubstantiation. The idea that physical materials could be sanctified and miraculously transformed into the divine body of Christ easily lends itself to the processes of *escultores* and *pintores de ymaginería,* who employed and manipulated the substances of wood, gesso, pigment, and oil to create the appearance of his sacred body and blood. For more on these processes, most of which were introduced in 17th-century Spain, see Xavier Bray, *The Sacred Made Real: Spanish Painting and Sculpture, 16 -17* (London: National Gallery Company, 2 9).

[96] The book they requested was probably the Anonymous Tratado de barnices, y charoles, enmendado, y añadido en esta segunda impression de muchas curiosidades, y aumentado al fin con otro de miniature para aprender fácilmente a pintar sin Maestro; y secreto para hacer los mejores colores, el oro bruñido, y en concha (Treatise about varnishes, and lacquers, amended, and supplemented in this second imprint of many curiosities, and augmented at the end with another chapter of miniatures to learn easily to paint without a Teacher, and (the) secret for making the best colors, burnished gold, and shell.") translated into Spanish by Francisco Vicente Orellana (Valencia: Impr. de J. Garcia, 1755). Misión de San Gabriel Memoria (1771) SBMAL. See also Neuerburg (1996): 7; most California mission art historians following Neuerburg make reference to this request as evidence of the Franciscan involvement in liturgical art production. For example,

The Index wasn't interested in European materials and their associations with Franciscan image theories and Catholic doctrines. The only aspect of the Franciscan story "usable" to their narrative were the designs, which for them, demonstrated the transmittal of a sophisticated and classical Spanish heritage that could be integrated into the Spanish fantasy most Anglo-Americans (Protestants) ascribed to. So, while they embraced the "Spanish-European" designs, they eliminated (or never attempted to highlight) the imported pigments and their Catholic meanings. The marginalization or exclusion of Catholic art has long been an issue in American art history and American history in general. Materiality studies may serve as a means of integrating American Franciscan history into the history of American art.

The Index Manual: Techniques and Pigment Instructions

Employing the combined media of graphite, watercolor and sometimes crayon and gouache, Index artists sought to match the original pigments and recreate the textures and physical features of the designs they found on the mission walls. Federal Index Manuals provided very specific instructions for how artists (working in all states) were to match their own watercolor pigments to the ones they were studying.[97] In this section, I

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see Huckins, 346. The volume is available online as: https://bivaldi.gva.es/es/consulta/registro.do?id=3532 The 239-page volume is more technically oriented (and organized) than Pacheco's The Art of Painting, with no specific references to the spiritual responsibilities of painters and/or suggested uses of specific pigments or processes in that regard. In regard to pigments for wall painting, there is only a brief section on the last few pages (238-239) entitled "Para Trabajar Al Fresco." The suggested pigments for fresco are: "Albayalde, Ocre, Ocre quemado, Almagra, Bermellon, Genuli, Genuli dorado, Tierra de fombra, Tierra de Colonia, Piedra negra, Sanguina, Azul." 238.

[97] The Index Manual's section on materials and their application was likely authored by Suzanne Chapman, Index art instructor: "Consult a good treatise on colors to learn qualities; experiment with then to learn their possibilities, particularly their mixing limitations. Some colors when nixed with others will go muddy; others will form precipitates. Palettes: These depend upon the type of material to "be rendered "but are determined "by the antagonism of some colors to others in mixtures. As a rule, the following colors are

seek to understand how the Index's chosen materials and processes shaped, limited and regulated their understanding of the mission walls.

Cahill summarized the techniques used by the Index in his Introduction to *The Index of American Design*, 1950. He insisted upon "strict objectivity" and the careful rendering of "material, color and texture so that the Index drawing might stand as a surrogate for the object."[98] In this mode of physical/material preservation, the surrogate became more than just a record of the original, and in cases, more valuable to the national project.[99] Certainly, as I have explained in earlier chapters, the actual mission walls have

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non-precipitating, permanent and mix well with each other: Ultramarine Blue, Venetian Red, Cadmium Orange, Cadmium Yellow Light, Cadmium Red Light, Alizarin Crimson. Opaque colors - So far the best results 011 the project have been secured by the "transparent" color method. Opaque colors lose brilliance, sparkle and flexibility where most needed. If white is wanted, retain the brilliant white of the paper rather than using opaque white. However, some subjects are best recorded in entirety or in part by tempera or gouache. Study the object carefully and then decide upon the most appropriate medium." #18, p. 16, *Index of American Design Manual*, W.P.A. Technical Series, Art Circular No.3, November 3, 1938, Works Progress Administration, Division of Women's and Professional Projects, Washington, D.C. Most of the Index's stable watercolor pigments were synthetic, while the colors they attempted to match were derived from organic pigments. Here is a breakdown of the "palette" listed by in the Manual, #18, with my short explanation following each heading: **Venetian Red**- red earth color; most modern versions made with red iron oxide (ferric oxide of the hematite type);**Cadmium)range**- cadmium seleno-sulfide (opaque, with high tinting strength);**Cadmium Yellow Light**—a mixture of zinc sulfide and selenium sulfide; **Cadmium Red Light**- cadmium seleno-sulfide which produces an intense vermilion shade; **Alizarin Crimson**- a synthetic lake pigment from the madder plant; **Ultramarine Blue**- during the Renaissance, made with lapis lazuli, while the modern 1826 synthetic "French" version is a mix of kaolinite, sodium carbonate and sulfur; Mixing alizarin crimson with French ultramarine and Aureolin (Cobalt Yellow) results in sienna and umber—this particular mixture was used often in the Index So Cal watercolors.

[98] Cahill, "Intro to Christenson," *Index*, xiv. (Delete later: cited in my Chapter 1, p. 18.)

[99] The connections between "strict objectivity" in visual representation of commonplace objects, American labor and national culture have been explored by Michael Denning. In his discussion of the American cultural front, he explains that a new aesthetic term emerged in the mid 1930s: Fernánd Leger's (1881-1955) "New Realism," an idea that the painter-printer-filmmaker advanced in his 1926 essay, "A New Realism—The Object (Its Plastic and Cinematic Value). "Every effort in the line of spectacle…should be concentrated on bringing out the values of the object—even at the expense of the subject… the technique emphasized is to isolate the object or fragment of the object and to present it on the screen in close-ups of the largest possible scale," which would "give it a personality it never had before and in this way it can become a vehicle of entirely new lyric and plastic power." Denning defines New Realism as "a name for a modern art based on montage and closeups of commonplace objects" and notes that "the concept attracted the American painter Stuart Davis. Davis, who had previously worked under Robert Henri, took on that artist's liberal politics and created covers for *The Masses*. From 1934-1939 Davis was a member of the Artists Congress and editor of its

continued to deteriorate or suffer the effects of bad restoration efforts since the 1930s; some of the Index's physical recreations have provided the only visual record available to current restorers and researchers.

Cahill attributed the Index's objectivity to good training, and particularly to the leadership and artistic expertise brought by its regional supervisors. Most of the Index artists were commercial artists and illustrators, and their renderings were "primarily distinguished by a high degree of technical proficiency."[100] Following their site visits, they took between two and ten weeks to produce meticulous images which Cahill considered more successful than photography at capturing the "essential character" of their subjects.[101] He noted that

> In the beginning many artists felt that the Index was dead copying. Index artists had to discipline themselves to meticulous rendering techniques and to the objects they recorded. They could not express themselves through the free use of form and color and so felt cheated of the created assignments they had expected from the Federal Arts Project. But they discovered that documentary art may become a creative activity even with severe discipline and limitations. This change in the artists' attitude was brought about by the steady improvement of project standards and the missionary work of supervisors…. Suzanne Chapman…. and Walter Lemmon in California.[102]

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journal, *Art Front*.99 The journal featured Leger's 1926 essay, "A New Realism—the Object," in its May 1935 edition, with Davis' painting on the cover. See Michael Denning, *The Cultural Front: The Laboring of American Culture in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Verso, 1997), 121.

[100] Aleesa Pitchamarn Alexander, National Gallery website, Index of American Design, citing VirginiaTuttle Clayton, ed. *Drawing on America's Folk Past: Folk Art, Modernism, and the Index of American Design* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2 2). https://www.nga.gov/features/exhibitions/outliers-and-american-vanguard-artist-biographies/index-of-american-design.html

[101] Ibid.

[102] Cahill, xiii, *The Index*, 1950. For a brief biographical treatment on Suzanne Chapman, see Walter Muir Whitehill, *In Tribute to Suzanne E. Chapman* (Boston, Massachusetts: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1970). This volume references examples of Chapman's archaeological illustrations of Greek vases, Egyptian artifacts and other historical subjects. Thank you to Mary Lee Corlett of the National Gallery, Washington, D.C. for providing this background on Chapman.

Chapman's contributions to the national project were significant. She wrote instructions for the manual in which she included specifics about watercolor pigments and their physical properties and detailed the recommended processes. The use of "federal" instructions and technical guidelines for all artists suggests the degree to which the Index's rendering approach was, in opposition to their goal of material "accuracy," non-material specific. Chapman did note that some painting and drawing materials might be more suitable for rendering various subjects, but overall, watercolor was the recommended uniform medium that would tie all the completed renderings together in the national catalogue. Cahill summed up the requirements:

> The technique recommended in the Index Manual (WPA Technical Series, Art Circular, No. 3) for most categories of objects was a transparent water-color method. The object was first carefully studied and a light outline drawing made. The lighter passages of color were then washed in, gradually working up to the darkest passages. One wash might be applied directly over another, allowing the first wash to dry thoroughly, or a glaze might be applied and new washes of color laid in over the glaze. High lights (sic) and shadows were simplified and accidental reflections and cast shadows eliminated. Another method described in the Index manual was the opaque water-color method in which the darkest undertone passages were laid in first, then the lighter tones, with the darkest and lightest accents picked out last. [103]

Apparently, Index artists documented their application of these techniques, perhaps as reference for other watercolor renderers in California and elsewhere. For example, the Index records contain a compilation of designs from the *asistencia* at Pala produced by George Rhone entitled "Technique Demonstration." The watercolor rendering includes five details of painted designs on wood and plastered walls in which he has magnified and isolated shapes, contour lines, colors, and surface textures. [Figure 4.5] In his recent study of Maya cartography, Scott Hutson examined a convention called “prisms” (archaeologists call them malerisms) in which details not evident in the field (due to ruin) are made evident in the western representation. He argued that the continued use of this convention in 19th-century through current day maps could be understood “not as an inevitable march toward ever-more-accurate representations of archaeological sites,” but rather as an expression of 19th-century nationalisms, imperialisms related both to science and the ideas/agendas of individual explorers and sponsoring institutions.104 It is helpful to consider the Index’s conventional and regulated uses of watercolor in the same light. Watercolor could make more clear –- illuminate-- the wall details that could not be viewed in the ruined condition of the missions. In addition, the medium, like the prism convention discussed by Hutson, served as a convenient way to “federalize” the watercolors from all the states materially and aesthetically into one national product.

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[103] Ibid, xiv. For the entire Index Manual and instructions, see supplement No. 1 to the Federal Art Project Manual: Instructions for the Index of American Design.

Watercolor on the surface of paper, of course, creates a very different effect than the original pigments would have made on the surface of a plastered wall. To translate their soft washes and saturated hues into something resembling paint on the surface of an actual wall, Index artists took great care in adding scratches, flakes, holes, cracks. Material Studies scholar Jules David Prown recognized (and warned) that the initial *description* of physical objects (and by extension, the materials employed in their

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[104] Scott R. Hutson, “‘Unavoidable imperfections’: Historical Contexts for Representing Ruined Maya Buildings,” in *Past Presented: Archaeological Illustration and the Ancient* Americas, edited by Joanne Pillsbury (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 284).

production) is by nature, a “synchronic exercise.” In this regard, we should be reminded that the Index and other early 20th-century investigators read and documented the wall paintings at a particular moment in time and that “the object is almost certainly not identical to what it was when it was fabricated; time, weather, usage will all have taken their toll.”[105]

Despite this temporal contradiction of documenting the mission’s present vs. its past state, the Index’s meticulous and skillful techniques, which likely involved fine tipped paintbrushes and magnification tools never employed by the original mission-era painters, often resulted in quite dramatic *tromp l’eoil* effects. 19th-century *trompe l’eoil* painters such as William Harnett have been presented as early models for the Index, in that they illustrated American “things” against fairly 2-dimensional backdrops; like Harnett, the Index was “devoted to the representation of the actual.”[106] In their insistence on traditional watercolor and visual accuracy, the Index recast Indigenous knowledge (as expressed in both original material and design) according to western optical values, thereby representational clarity. But in addition to this quest for visual “accuracy,” there was also a modernist intention here. Jennifer Roberts has observed in Audobon’s watercolor “collisions” or combinations of three-dimensionally-rendered birds against a landscape or backdrop related to a separate 3D system of perspective. In the resulting image it appears as if a three-dimensional bird was cut and pasted against a “window” into the world. She argues that Audobon “raised sharp questions about the relationship between actuality and illusion and about the materiality of representation itself, questions that would not be taken up again with such urgency until the late twentieth century”[107] and that materials matter greatly in the processes of mimesis. Similarly, viewers of Index watercolors questioned what was real and what was not real, and at times with the mission wall painting renderings, would not be able to ascertain an actual object or painted wall surface from the media of watercolor painted on paper.

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[105] Prown, “Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method,” *Winterthur Portfolio,* Vol. 17, No. 1 (1982): 8.

[106] See Judith Barter’s 2015 Art Institute of Chicago lecture, “Trompe-l’eoil and Modernity,”May 7, 2015, “Lectures on American Art: Innovation and Scholarship video 5:38.

https://www.terraamericanart.org/what-we-offer/american-art-resources/trompe-loeil-and-modernity-by-judith-barter/

The SoCal Index catalogue contains several excellent examples of mission watercolor renderings beyond the wall paintings which demonstrate the same ambiguous relationship between actuality and illusion as the Audobon watercolors. A rendering of Chumash basket produced by Index artist Gordena Jackson illustrates their specific interest in understanding and recreating the original textures and material substances of the mission objects.[108] [Figure 4.6] In his 1950 volume on the Index, Erwin O. Christenson described a “Basket, made in 1822 by Anna Maria Marta” at Mission San Buenaventura as “one of the finest California Indian baskets in existence… the basket is made in the usual Indian manner of coils covered in rush and sewn together. A tall, thin grass is used for the body of the coil, but only the covering rush appears on the surface. At the missions, basket-making was done by the women. For weaving, they sat on the ground; the only tool they used was a bone awl, a spine of cactus or a nail."[109] Jackson's rendering captures both the surface textures and design intricacies of the coiled rush. Dana Leibsohn later described the same object as "made of rushes (juncus textiles)" a "material that was locally tended, honoured, and harvested before and after the arrival of the Spanish… And so this basket speaks directly of evangelization practices in America—a primary filament in the cross-cultural web that bound Franciscans and Chumash together in this period." [110] The *tromp-l'oeil* quality of Jackson's rendering were not only appealing to U.S. American audiences in a technical sense, but allowed for the deeper consideration of the unique materiality of mission-era objects and their related meanings.

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[107] Jennifer Roberts, “Audobon’s Burden: Materiality and Transmission in the Birds of America,” *Transporting Visions: The Movement of Images in Early America* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2014), 99.

[108] Today the NGA (website “Folk Arts of the Spanish Southwest from the Index of American Design”) takes wording almost exactly from Christenson: “An inscription woven into the border reads: "Made by Anna Maria Marta, Neophyte of the Mission of the Serafic Doctor, Saint Bonaventura." The central panel shows the coat of arms of Spain: a crown above the castles of Castile and the lions of Leon.” https://www.nga.gov/features/slideshows/folk-arts-of-the-spanish-southwest-from-the-index-of-american-de.html/

These optical illusions and "deceive the eye" tricks impressed the regional and national directors and eventually, the viewers who would see the watercolors publicly exhibited in the late 1930s through the present. The cultural and aesthetic valuing of forced illusionism and verisimilitude (achieved via pictorial skill of the artist) in wall painting can be traced back to (Greek) and Roman fresco painting—an interesting point here, given the Greco-Roman nature of the mission wall painting designs and overall painted programs.   Erika Doss views verisimilitude in New Deal Art as indicative of the 1930s cognitive national culture—certainly, the documentary emphasis of this era, particularly via photography, was key to the Index's project.[111] They faced two competing knowledge goals—to restore Indigenous meaning that might be locked in the local materials, but also to rectify those "raw" materials to satisfy the modern 1930s cognitive expectation of verisimilitude. With the same watercolor medium used to document the original object and their archival recreation of it, it became difficult to tell the two apart. (But) more specifically, the Index understood verisimilitude as a material function—achieving visual realism involved physical things and processes, such as accurately matched pigments, careful application, specific tools, manual skill, and reliance on photographs as evidence.

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[109] Erwin O. Christensen, (1950) 30, in chapter titled "Saints and Saddles."

[110] Leibsohn, "Exchange and Value: The Material Culture of a Chumash Basket," in *Writing Material Culture History*, ed. Anne Geritsen and Giorgio Riello (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), 102.

An undated newspaper clipping makes reference to SoCal Index photographer Paul Park. It reads, "Paul Park, chief cinematographer of Index of American Design Federal Art Project has received from Co-ordinator C.A. Glassgold, "compliments for his extremely fine work— clear, well-composed and honest."[112] Former National Gallery

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[111] In her brief overview of the Index, Erika Doss has pointed out that photography played a key role in the cultural engineering overseen by Cahill, and that the dual employment of a documentary form of photography and *trompe-l'oeil* (or, what she calls, "photographic-cum-archeological") watercolor renderings corresponded with the New Deal's bureaucratization of American culture and society. Doss, "American Folk Art's Distinctive Character," in *Drawing on America's Past: Folk Art, Modernism and the Index of American Design* (Washington, D.C. and Chapel Hill: National Gallery of Art, 2 2), 71. Diana Magaloni Kerpel links cognitive culture skills to a society's worldview, or mental and symbolic representations of reality. She cites Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience*, 29-103, who similarly argued that "the pictorial skill shown through an artist's work reflects a society's visual and cognitive culture." *Colors,* 16. In her related footnote 40, p. 56 she writes, "The imitation of nature was regarded as one of art's merits; it assimilated the idea of imitating Truth." This Quattrocento cognitive view is comparable with the 1930s documentary-centered view, as exemplified in the work of Roy Stryker, Arthur Rothstein, and other Federal Art Project photographers. See William Stott, *Documentary Expression in Thirties America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973).

[112] NGA Index of American Design Reference Files- Publicity, clipping from *The International Photographer*, Nine, "In Cinecamerafornia." Park was apparently "on loan" to the project. (Park's LA address is listed as "on 7th St.)

Modern Prints and Drawings curator Laurie Weitzenkorn highlighted the Index's uses of photography in their California mission projects:

> the use of photography and telephoto lenses helped Index artists explore the ruins of the Stone Church at San Juan Capistrano. Index artists often relied on photographs when they couldn't have the original objects in front of them, but here photographs made it possible for artists to render designs that were too faraway (sic) for them to see clearly. With a telephoto lens, Index photographer Paul Park made photographs of painted decorations in the church dome which artists used to ensure the accuracy of their renderings. They then even employed binoculars to take accurate color notes.[113]

At Mission San Buenaventura, "the artist drew only the door in this rendering, but an Index photographer recorded the entire church to illustrate its architectural context."

Supervisor Warren Lemmon, in a 1937 article for *The International Photographer* (a publication associated with Local 659, of which Paul Park was a member), highlighted the role of the photographic medium in the Index's work in California: "In dealing with the various textures, such as old woods, faded textiles, or designs which have been revealed by scraping plaster from old walls, etc., filtration has solved many a problem in representing the contrast of delicate tones. Retouchers are assigned to aid the photographer in such work as opaquing, to eliminate background immaterial to our studies."[114] [Figure 4.7]

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[113] Weitzenkorn, discussing the Index's work at San Juan Capistrano, "Untitled Notes," 25. See her figs. 53, 54, and 55). The Index's uses of photography as a vehicle for contextualizing and/or improving the "accuracy" of their watercolor renderings (like 15th-century Flemish painters used "visual realism"—providing background details that could never be seen with the naked eye) is important, but theoretically, photography as a form of documentation and the history of 30s photography in U.S. is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

[114] Warren W. Lemmon, "Index of American Design (A Federal Project), in *International Photographer*, c. 1937, Reference Files- Publicity- 1937, National Gallery of Art Archives.

Susan Sontag, in the opening lines of *On Photography*, (in a section titled, "The Image World") quoted from Feuerbach's 1843 *The Essence of Christianity*. He wrote that "our era… prefers the image to the thing, the copy to the original, the representation to the reality, appearance to being." Written just ten years after the secularization of the missions, and at a time when the original mission wall painting programs were "disappearing," his statement speaks to a modern conception of an "Image World," in which the Platonic depreciation of the image has been reversed—1930s documentary photography, including the work of the Index, was situated in the same modern image world. For Sontag, photography was not only a resemblance, but "also a trace… like a footprint or a death mask," which can in a sense, revive and even acquire the primitive status of the original. It was not simply an instrument for recording the original or simply producing a "memory" of it, but in fact, a photograph serves as a reinvention or replacement. [115] Thus, the Index photographs deserve a similar investigation by future scholars of their role as accurate visual sources for authentic watercolor "recreations."

The Index as Restorers: Piecing Together Fragments at La Purisima

In the previous pages, I have described the Index's attempts to recoup both Native and Spanish Franciscan knowledge and meaning via their research and study of materials, followed by the production of watercolor recreations/renderings. Both of these activities led up to the final phase of their involvement in restoring these early meanings—the literal restoration of mission sites. Raymond Noble's and Gerald Transpota's watercolor renderings of a wall painting from Mission La Purísima are visual testaments to the

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[115] Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 1977), 154.

Index's commitment to not only documenting but restoring mission ruins. [Figures 4.8 - 4.9] The Index pieced together the only remaining wall painting fragment found at this mission to create the design, which had possibly run along the dado of the chapel. [Figure 4.1] Rendered in a reddish-brown hue to match the fragment, the monochromatic design consists of stylized flowers enclosed within looping circles and topped by finials. A repeated diamond band runs across the bottom.[116] The Index reported the fragment's production and design as "Made by: Indian neophytes. How verified: obvious." Designed by: Probably Indian neophytes under direction of a padre."[117] Lemmon, in his 1937 "Study of Early American Wall Painting," wrote that findings regarding pigments at Santa Ines (Hayward's list) "have been presented to those now working on Lompoc's Mission… which had been reduced to a heap of fragmentary bits of plaster. These scattered pieces have proven a real "jigsaw" puzzle for the C.C.C. boys, who are encamped on the old Mission site while restoring… Later, Index artists will be assigned to make restoration drawings from what data is available, thereby saving another motif for our national archives."[118] Even before his team arrived at the site, Lemmon was well-aware of the fragmentary nature of the original materials, but he believed that the rescue of at least one motif could be of national value.

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[116] La Purísima Concepción de Maria Santisima was the 11th mission in the chain, founded 1787. The original mission buildings were destroyed in the earthquake in 1812. The Chumash revolt of 1824 caused additional physical damage. Following its secularization in 1834, the site was abandoned and plundered.

[117] All from Data Report Sheet MSCL-173 a, (b), signed by Dana Bartlett on April 12, 1940, corresponding with Raymond Noble 1943.8.6518. Gerald Transpota rendered the same fragment: 1943.8.6517, c. 1940. There are no obvious differences between Transpota and Noble's renderings in terms of color palette or design. Typed on the back of the related Data Report Sheet under "Remarks," is a brief description of the mission's physical history: "This mission was founded in 1787 near the site of the present town of Lompoc in Santa Barbara County. Following alarming earthquakes and floods in 1812 the establishment was moved to higher ground four miles distant, where construction of buildings for various purposes continued throughout two decades. The wall decoration presented on this plate were in the church. Restoration drawing was made by an Index artist from reassembled fragments found under the ruins of the church in 1937 which (sic) restoration of the principal buildings was in progress. This establishment has been (sic) in large part reconstructed through cooperative efforts of Federal, State and Santa Barbara County governments, assisted by an organization of citizens of Lompoc Valley known as 'La Purísima Mission Association.' Labor was furnished by the CCC under direction of the National Park Service. Buildings and site are owned by the State of California and constitute a State Park."

The Index's restoration efforts at this mission site were part of a cooperative effort among private, state and federal factions. Heading these efforts was Fred Hageman, who had previously served as Staff Architect of the National Park Service. In July of 1938 he prepared a report entitled, "An Architectural Study of Mission La Purísima Concepcion," which has been the most valuable source regarding the study of pigments at this mission.[119] Since the titles to the mission ruins had been granted to the California Division of State Parks, a state park commission called upon the National Park Service to establish a Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camp at the site. For all involved, it was important that "authentic" designs, materials, and construction methods would be used, so several local scholars and engineers were called upon for research assistance. The aforementioned mission scholar Edith Webb was one of the key "local" research contributors to the State Park/CCC project.[120] However, as Lemmon noted above, Index artists were to be more directly involved in the restoration Hageman oversaw here.[121]

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[118] Lemmon, "Study of Early American Wall Painting," 5, 1947 typed version.

[119] This report is cited by Edith Webb as "Hageman, An Architectural Study of the Mission La Purísima Concepción, California January 1935-April 1938." Webb, 1945, 144. In her later book chapter dedicated to this topic Webb noted that Hageman had "recently" conducted a study and "laboratory tests" at La Purisima. (Webb, 1952, "The Use of Pigment Not Unknown to Our Indians," 233). The only laboratory report on pigments I found in Hageman's report is a "test of inside plaster color materials," which includes a substance report from a San Francisco lab on six tested samples of colored plaster chips provided by Hageman's team. The National Park Service Region 4 "Chemist," responding to "your letter of March 11, 1938," reported: S.F. Lab No. 36698 Your Envelope No. 1 green- A copper compound; Envelope No. 2 orange-yellow- Yellow Ochre; Envelope No. 3 green- A copper compound; Envelope No. 4 blue- A copper compound; Envelope No. 5 blue-green- A copper compound; Envelope No. 6 blue-grey- Wood charcoal." National Bureau of Standards Report, United States Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C., April 2, 1938, reprinted in Hageman Report, Appendices, 196.

The restoration of the church building (chapel) began in 1937, after a year of extensive research. The FAP had "expressed their desire to set up a project working out the designs of the interior of the Mission buildings by matching the plaster fragments, a large quantity of which are on hand here."[122] In 1938, Southern California Index supervisor Walter Lemmon arranged for artist Clyde de Lano to piece together the fragments and record a design that could be used as reference for the church restoration.[123] Two years later, Index/WPA artist Henry Helmle was hired to produce preliminary sketches and supervise the actual painting of the restored church walls. In

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[120] Webb's research files are still held in the La Purisima Mission State Historic Park Collection, Edith Webb Papers 1931-1962 Box 7: 21-28 Correspondences; Box 7: 33 Research.

[121] Hageman, Frederick C. "An Architectural Study of Mission La Purisima Concepcion California" (published as Part 1 of California's Mission La Purísima Concepción: The Hageman and Ewing Reports. Reports Written for the National Park Service by Fred C. Hageman and Russell C. Ewing. Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Trust for Historic Preservation, 1991: xvii- xxxi and 1-93. (Also see Cristine E. Savage, New Deal Adobe: The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Reconstruction of Mission La Purísima 1934-1942 Santa Barbara: Fithian Press, 1991). Also see An Archeological and Restoration Study of Mission La Purísima Concepción: Reports Written for the National Park Service by Fred C. Hageman and Russell C. Ewing. (A 302-page substantive study, sponsored by Santa Barbara Trust for Historic Preservation, published in 1980). In his report, Hageman makes brief references to the Index's involvement. For example, in a footnote to a section of his report dealing with "Materials and Uses," he explains, "Research work on paint and pigment materials in this locality by the American Index of American Design. A short paper on the subject is reproduced in Appendix C, pp. 216-218." For more on the CCC-Index collaboration, see Weitzenkorn, 17-21.

[122] H.V. Smith, Superintendent of La Purísima reconstruction project, to Dan R. Hull, State Procurement Officer, San Francisco, California, 14 January 1938. Cited in Weitzenkorn, 36, fn 4. She notes that "Copies of all of the correspondence related to La Purísima are in Index of American Design research files." Box 9:42, IDA-FAP 1937-1942.

[123] Walter Lemmon to H.V. Smith, February 1938. La Purísima research files, Box 9:42, IDA-FAP 1937-1941.

March of 1941 the State finally confirmed their sponsorship of the Index and approved Helmle's drawings.[124]

In the late 1980s, Laurie Weitzenkorn of the National Gallery studied the correspondences between the federal and state agencies regarding the restoration at this mission. She noted that "Smith (title) stressed the State Park Commission's 'purist' attitude" and stringent requirements, and their "policy not to permit anything to get into our work until we have every scrap of authentic information and have finally agreed unanimously that it is the best that can be done." Despite this intent for authenticity, the restored sanctuary, was, as Weitzenkorn describes, "a combination of the one reassembled fragment found from the church and motifs recorded at other southern California missions."[125] Index artist William Kieckhofel produced a watercolor rendering of Helmle's 1941 restoration drawings. [Figure 4.10]

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[124] As of the submission of this dissertation, I have not received permission to view these drawings in person. They are held in the archives of the La Purísima State Historic Park. "During November and December of 1940, an artist from the Index of American Design came to La Purísima to decorate the interior of the reconstructed church. Unemployed painter Harry Helmle was paid $25. per month plus expenses through WPA funds, and was supervised by Mr. Dana Bartlett of the Index's office in Los Angeles. Helmle had previously painted a number of murals in public building and around Los Angeles. Bartlett's department had worked out most of the original La Purísima decorations from the old plaster fragments and from the research files of the Index of American Design and Helmle painted the walls of the church, the altar decorations, and the pulpit with the assistance of two enrollees… When the art projects were nearly completed, the Federal Art Project sent Paul Park to photograph the work." Christine Savage, *New Deal Adobe*, 151. (Delete later: see Savage's footnotes #6-13 related to these statements) Dec. 1940 Index artist visit and Helmle's salary info: Dana Bartlett letters to H. V. Smith; Helmle's LA murals: H.V. Smith letter to Inspector Clarke, October 29, 1940; November 12, 1940, November 4, 1940, Paul Park photos: September 10, 1941, all above from correspondence files, Mission La Purísima Archives, Lompoc, California. "Bartlett's department…from research files of IDA:" Pearl Chase Papers, La Purísima Guest List for Old Mission Days, Boxes 1-9, Community Development and Conservation Collection, Special Collections Library, University of California at Santa Barbara. (delete later: took pics of these fn pages- see photo library)

[125] Weitzenkorn, 21. She lists the related Index rendering as, "Church sanctuary as restored by Henry Helmle, rendering by William Kieckhofel, c. 1942, Index of American Design, southern California project.

In Kieckhofel's rendering, several floral design motifs are incorporated into the wall areas surrounding the central and two flanking niches. These include vine-like floral patterns arranged into vertical "columns" between the three niches. Between these "columns" are painted blue-green marbleized wall panels. On the corner of the two nave walls is a wallpaper-like diamond pattern rendered in reddish-brown pigment. A painted band of repeated diamonds runs across the cornice area of the simulated retablo. This particular pattern resembles the geometric "diamonds" and triangles found at Mission San Fernando. The boldest and most colorful floral designs (deep blue, green, red, pink, yellow) are situated within a small arched area above the central niche, which features a statue of La Purísima. Several other stylized flowers are placed in decorative horizontal bands above the retablo area. Many of these flowers resemble the ones found on interior walls at San Juan Capistrano, Pala and other missions. The interior of the mission today is still based on the conjectural design by Helmle, as recorded by Kieckhofel.

Helmle's restoration color palette, (as recorded by Kieckhofel in his rendering) matches the color descriptions provided in the Hageman report, though much of this report dealt with the mission residence building, not the church interior. "1. White- (whitewash) 2. Reds (Light pink and deep burnt sienna) 3. Ochres- (From orange-yellow to straw color) 4. Grey- (Grey with a blue cast) 5. Blues- (Deep Prussian blue to light cobalt) 6. Bluegreen- (Pale). 7. Green- (Clear pure color) 8. Gilt. Recovered color fragments have been identified

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See also figs. 38 and 39 (socal-mscl-210)"; she references a related photograph, "View of restored church sanctuary showing dado design on side walls, Mission La Purisima Concepcion, photographer unidentified, c. 1941, Index of American Design, southern California project," 56.

as to chemical base, but it was not possible for the laboratory to state the exact material used as the coloring agent."[126]

"During the archaeological investigation of the ruins, all the plaster fragments which showed evidence of having been colored were collected. Later they were analyzed and color charts were made up to serve as a guide for the decorative designs."[127] While the majority of Hageman's written color report deals with those found in various mission residence mission rooms, a chart entitled Plate XI, provides important information regarding the pigments used in the chapel, which was to be restored by Helmle in 1940-41.[128] The plate is a reproduction of a June 1938 drawing by "FCH" is entitled, "Interiors and Color Treatments." [Figure 4.11] The drawing includes architectural renderings and elevations of the chapel and a detail of the North Wall, where the altar is located. Alongside this detail is a telling inscription which points to the problem with working with fragments, and how this would eventually lead to conjectural restorations: "Appearance of altar is **conjectural**. The images in the church were: The Holy Virgin, St. Bonaventure, St. Anthony." A detail of a wall labeled "Dado and treatment around openings" indicates the area where the **fragment** of a painted design was found. A notation along the dado line reads: "These colors not found matched to colors found elsewhere in the building. **Fragments** of these colors found." At the bottom of the drawing (underneath the elevations and details) are "Samples of Colors Recovered from Original Walls," with a notation that "These were all applied as wash colors- many found in **fragmentary form preventing determination of design**." The sample colors from the interior walls are presented in small boxes labeled "1-1 Yellow ochre, 1-2 Red, 1-3 Light Blue, 1-4 Dark Blue, 1-5 Blue Green, 1-6 Green, 1-7 Gray Blue." The exterior color samples are labeled "E-1 Yellow White, and E-2 Pink." Integral plaster colors are labeled "P-1 Red Pink and P-2 Buff Ochre."[129]

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[126] "Painting, Coloring and Decoration," in Hageman 1937 Report, Chapter 4: "Original Materials and Methods of Construction," 95-96, republished in Fred C. Hageman and Russell C. Ewing, with Richard S. Whitehead, ed. *An Archaeological and Restoration Study of Mission La Purísma Concepción: Reports Written for the National Park Service by Fred C. Hageman and Russell C. Ewing* (Santa Barbara, CA: Santa Barbara Trust for Historic Preservation, 1991).

[127] Savage, referring to Frederick C. Hageman and Olaf T. Hagen, "Mission La Purísima Concepción—A Glance Through its History and the Story of its Restoration," National Park Service, Department of the Interior (no date): 14. La Purísima Archive.

[128] Plate No. XI, p. 132 Hageman Report, as published in Richard Whitehead, ed. *An Archaeological and Restoration Study of MLP*C, 1991.

In his written report, Hageman provided additional notation on some of the interior wall colors included in Plate XI: "Ochres were also widely used, since it was an earth color, lime-fast, and could easily be obtained. This color was used in connection with gray as illustrated in Plate XI. Traces of this color were also found in room number 4."[130]

> Blues, blue-greens and greens were also found in room number 4, but these were in such condition as to preclude definitive statement as to any pattern… Laboratory tests showed all the blues and greens to be copper compounds. The blues were probably derived from mineral azurites, and the greens from the copper carbonate group known as malachites. Grays were easily produced with either bone or wood charcoal, the latter being used in this building mixed into lime whitewash.[131]

He noted the significance of the red color, mentioning the popular "cactus juice binder" theory: "From the varieties of shades found, it was evident that reds were used both with lime, and pure in some clear vehicle such as glue or cactus juice."[132] Savage later, summing up Hageman's report, noted that "Red was used extensively on the buildings. Hageman found the only authentic way to duplicate the color."[133] He also recalled that:

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[129] Boldfaced emphasis mine to highlight conjectural and fragmentary nature of the designs located and "recreated" at La Purísima by the CCC and the Index.

[130] Hageman 1937 Report, Chapter 4: "Original Materials and Methods of Construction,", 97.

[131] Hageman, 1937, 97. In related footnote 40, he adds: "See Field Plan number 1."

[132] Hageman, 1937, 97.

> During the excavation, a number of solid lumps of red pigment were recovered, varying in shade from a light pink to a deep purplish red. Samples of this were referred to a geologist who was very familiar with the area. He was able to identify it as red diatomite and to point out the location of the deposits. A crew of enrollees was sent out to gather approximately a thousand pounds of this material, which they packed out to the road on their backs for a distance of about a mile. It was sent to Los Angeles to be ground and was used for applying the dadoes (decorated lower walls) to the restored buildings.[134]

The federal performative aspect of "Native" pigments is made clear—we can imagine the diatomite being identified, dug up from its source, carried on the backs of CCC men, and then transported to the Index offices in Los Angeles to be ground, mixed, and then carried back to Lompoc to be used in the wall painting (dado) restoration. Hageman's description of this scene provides a clear visual narrative of how the materials researched, collected and applied by these government-sponsored projects/employees could provide a direct link to the past. Hageman concluded his report by pointing to the Index's work at San Fernando, "There is little doubt that more decoration existed other than what was found by this investigation… However, La Purísima cannot be said to have been as highly decorated as was San Fernando, where recent investigations have revealed unsuspected wall paintings and decorations below layers of whitewash."

In addition to Hageman's pigment notes and conclusions, the photographic document of Index artist Clyde De Lano "piecing together fragments" [See Figure 4.1] was key to the success of the La Purísima restoration project, especially in terms of public relations for both the CCC and the Index. The photograph provided direct evidence of an Index artist handling and manipulating the original materials—small, seemingly insignificant fragments of paint and plaster from the dado—into a cohesive and usable design. De Lano's abilities to piece back together this single and simple design served to legitimize the Index's involvement and the La Purísima restoration efforts at large.

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[133] Savage, 111, referring to Frederick C. Hageman and Olaf T. Hagen, *Mission La Purísima Concepción—A Glance Through its History and the Story of its Restoration*, National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior (undated), Mission La Purísima Archives, Lompoc, California, 14.

[134] Savage, 111, citing Hageman and Hagen, 14.

In his 1938 report, Hageman had described the dado fragments from the church interior and credited the Index with attempting to fulfill this up to then, impossible task:

> reds and pinks were sometimes used as all-over colors as dados, as narrow stripes in deeper tones and as line decoration in the form of geometrical and conventionalized floral decorations on walls. They are found in a variety of shades, from light rosy pink to deep burnt sienna…These designs, from fragments found in the excavation of the Church, were in such fragmentary form that restoration of the complete design has not been possible. An attempt will be made to restore the complete design by the WPA unit known as the index of American Design.[135]

In a short section of his report (under the heading "Restoration," Painting and Decorating), Hageman commented on the overall "simplicity" of the original color treatment of the walls, but that "an exception was the decorative work in the chapel, where special talent was secured through the cooperation of the Federal Art Project to make color studies and execute the decoration" of that space. He pointed out the significance of fragments to the project:

> This work could be based on the most fragmentary evidence…With these few clues, the Federal Art Project series of color plates of existing mission decorations were studied in order to supplement the restoration scheme…

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[135] Hageman 1937 report, 96, and related fn 38, p. 228.

> the colored dadoes were matched as closely as possible to the preserved fragments.[136]

On the Index Data Report Sheet accompanying Noble's restored dado design watercolor, the condition is listed as "fragmentary."[137] The continuous employment of the term "fragment" by Hageman and the Index is notable. Susan Stewart has recently explored the Renaissance interest in ruins that was fully developed in the late 19th century—the same years in which the California missions fell into ruin. She argues that ruins—the physical rubble and fragments of the built environment-- take on significant meaning in times of conflict and financial collapse.[138] In various mission restoration efforts, the reassembly of a fragment could represent the preservation of not only the physical object and its inherent design, but of mission and pre-mission history and a "ruins lesson" or reminder of the events that led up to the destruction of the original. In the midst of the Depression, the Index's act of painstakingly rebuilding the nation's past piece by piece, one fragment at a time, took on more weight.

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[136] Hageman 1937 report, "Restoration," 1938, 123-124, (reprinted in Whitehead, 1991).

[137] Data Report Sheet MSCL-173 a, (b), signed by Dana Bartlett on April 12, 1940, corresponding with Raymond Noble's watercolor rendering, "Wallpainting, Restoration Drawing," c. 1940, 1943.8.6518. Index of American Design, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

[138] Susan Stewart, *The Ruins Lesson: Meaning and Materiality in Western Culture* (University of Chicago Press, 2020) and *Irresistable Decay*, a Getty Research Institute website focusing on images of ruin drawn from special collections of the Research Library. https://www.getty.edu/research/exhibitions_events/exhibitions/irresistible_decay/Also see Getty "The Fragment" theme for 2020-21 and 2021-22 academic years, https://www.getty.edu/research/scholars/years/current.html Getty scholars consider the relationship between materiality and memory, with a focus on the theory of ruins, decay, fragments, and the processes of conservation and preservation of ruins. They highlight the idea that ruins are reclaimed so that we can save them from decay and preserve memory, and also the idea that the passage of time (history/chronology) is irresistible and inevitable, and transitory. Also see an earlier but related Getty publication on the theme of fragments: William Tronzo, *The Fragment: An Incomplete History* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2 9).

In a later Index portfolio publication*, Decorative Art of Spanish California*, a line drawing of the La Purísima "fragment" is accompanied by this description: This design is taken from a restoration drawing of fragments that were found in the ruins of Mission La Purísima Concepción. This mission is now completely restored. Design is suitable for wood carving on box covers or tooled leather book covers."[139] [Figure 4.12] The La Purísima fragment, which Index artist Clyde DeLano physically "pieced together," was rendered in watercolor, and finally translated into a black and white print. Through media translation and manipulation, it could be more conveniently adapted to a decorative design for modern utilitarian objects. Byron Ellsworth Hamann's study of the convention called "field of fragments" in Mesoamerican studies provides an excellent model for understanding the Index prints of design fragments far removed from their original context. Of a 16th-century *lienzo* (from Tlaxcala, Mexico), he notes:

> Tlaxcalan artists made all sorts of sophisticated compositional choices. All of these choices, and their fundamental impact on the *lienzo's* meaning, have remained hidden ever since the document was printed in fragmentation in 1892. Visual fragmentation has made many aspects of the *lienzo* incomprehensible.[140]
>
> The circulation of a particular set of copied images has helped to disappear and dematerialize the spatial contexts in which the *lienzo's* images were once embedded and arranged. When most Mesoamericanists think about the *lienzo…*they imagine it as a series of separate vignettes. The circulation of fragmented images makes it easy to forget how these images were once arranged together. And yet we are able to study the sixteenth-century *lienzo* today only because a line-drawing tracing of it was made in the nineteenth century and because those line drawings were used to create a fragmented lithographic edition in 1892. Scholars working with the fragmented

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[139] Lanier, *Decorative Arts of Spanish California*, no date, unnumbered page dedicated to Mission La Purísima Concepción.

[140] Byron Ellsworth Hamann, "Drawing Glyphs Together," *Past Presented: Archaelogical Illustration and the Ancient Americas* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection), 272.

> lithographs have discovered many things about the *lienzo's* imagery. But the importance of these past studies, and of the document as a whole, is radically transformed when its fragments are brought together again.[141]

A similar fragmentation took place in the Index's simplification, dematerialization and circulation of the La Purísima dado design into/as a black and white print. Like the *lienzo* line drawings described by Ellsworth Hamann, the spatial context of the dado fragment is lost in the transformation from original to archive. The Index were seemingly aware of this limitation. On the back of most of the prints in this volume they provided line drawings of the original mission church setting in which the design was located, leaving open the possibility of future scholars and restorers to bring together these fragments.[142]

The Index's involvement in the restoration at La Purisima was widely celebrated. "Writers of popular travel literature regard Mission La Purísima as the "Williamsburg of the West" because it is the most historically accurate reconstruction on the West Coast."[143] The restoration of the 18th-century Williamsburg, Virginia site, undertaken in 1926 with the support of the Rockefeller Foundation, surely provided a model for the CCC/National Park Service project at La Purísima. Unlike the Williamsburg project, however, the use of authentic "Native" materials, tools and techniques in the mission restoration was key. Significantly, Christine E. Savage has pointed out that "Most of the methods and tools they used (at La Purísima) were the same as those of the unskilled

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[141] Ellsworth Hamann, 273.

[142] The only exception was the line drawing attached to the back of the La Purísima wall fragment print in this portfolio. Here, instead of presenting the interior space from which the design was derived, they simply include a line drawing of the exterior of the main building at this mission. This may indicate that the Index were unaware of the specific location where the fragment was found by the CCC.

[143] Savage, *New Deal Adobe*, 9. Savage cites William Wilson Robinson, *Panorama: A Picture History of Southern California* (Los Angeles: Title Insurance and Trust Company, 1953), 60 as an example of this "popular travel literature."

Chumash Indians who constructed the mission the first two times under the direction of the Spanish padres."[144] The adobe brick production methods employed by the CCC certainly attest to this statement but was it the federal/state agencies' intention to restore Indigenous history through the act of recreating the mission with authentic materials? Or was it to claim these materials for the nation?

Art historians Barbara Mundy and Aaron Hyman remind us that the conservation and restoration of colonial Latin American art has been at its core, "about the preservation of national cultural patrimony."[145] Despite the fact that Latin American museums and the writing of colonial Latin American art histories have been nationalist projects in themselves, state-sponsored conservation and restorations have not aligned with the academic agendas of the museum or the art historian. Thus, the results of these Latin American restorations are 'colonial' works of art that are "materially, and in turn, historically fictitious;" in addition, these fictions often reinforce colonial legacies, acting as a veritable "second Conquest."[146] The associations made by Hyman and Mundy between materiality, coloniality and history are significant to my own conclusions on the Index and their material intents. It would first appear that their investment in Native materiality and meaning only or primarily to serve their nationalist goal of establishing a physical connection to and possession of American "roots." While the resulting restoration at La Purísima may have been “historically fictitious,” the Index’s research, pigment reports, color notes, contextual drawings and watercolor renderings, when read and “pieced” together, actually opened up the possibilities for future scholars to restore Native knowledge.

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[144] Savage, 9. On same page she also notes that "It took the CCC men about as much time to reconstruct the site as it had originally taken the Chumash Indians under the direction of the Spanish Padres." For the Index and the CCC, the combination of local materials, Native tools and actual work time resulted in authenticity.

[145] Barbara Mundy and Aaron Hyman, "Out of the Shadow of Vasari: Towards a New Model of 'the Artist' in Colonial Latin America." *Colonial Latin American Review*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (2015): 308.

[146] Ibid, 309.

CONCLUSION: After the Index

> "It is ironic but true that today the Index, like the objects it excavated in the 1930s, lies buried… It awaits its archeologist!"[1]

The Federal Art Project was terminated in 1942. The collection of Index of American Design plates (watercolors, photographs, pencil drawings and ink sketches), produced by over 7 artists working in thirty-four states, were moved into storage at the Metropolitan Museum. All the visual materials, including the SoCal watercolor renderings, photographs, and prints, were later transferred and stored in the Painting and Prints Department of the National Gallery, Washington, D.C., where they remain.[2] Some SoCal Index materials from the Los Angeles offices were never sent to D.C.; these are still in the collection of the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County. In the 1950s, when the Index collection had been moved to and secured in the National Gallery, that institution assembled "Exhibit" boxes, which could be borrowed at no cost and included curated watercolor renderings and interpretive notes. In addition, "Lantern Slide" sets could also be borrowed at no cost.[3] Though these later uses of the Index renderings and materials were not documented, their continued availability after the FAP's demise speaks to their ongoing democratic and national value.

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[1] Elizabeth Stillinger, *A Kind of Archaeology: Collecting American Folk Art*, 1876-1976, (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011), 323.

[2] The correspondences and documents of the SoCal and Cal Index are now stored in National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C. Record Group 69: Records of the Works Progress Administration, state series for California 651.3155.

[3] *Index of American Design: Traveling Exhibitions and Color Slides*. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery, 1957. This is a sampling of boxes/slide set titles (check which) that were made available to borrowers: Pennsylvania German Arts and Crafts, Shaker Craftsmanship, The Art of the Spanish Southwest, Toys, Negro Handicrafts from Southern Plantations, I Remember That, The Story of Punch (Punch and Judy puppets),Wood Carving, Ceramics, Glass and Metal Furniture, Costumes and Textiles, Demonstration of Techniques (for study in Art Departments, rather than public exhibition), Iron, Color, Index of American Design Part I, Index of American Design Part II, Our Wide Land, From East to West in Early America, Homemade and Shop Made.

The planned Index portfolios (printed compilations of the watercolor renderings along the lines of Weyhe's *Ornament*) were never published. Despite the relative failure to complete its publication and dissemination, the Index product (if only in the form of public exhibitions and slide sets) was well-received for at least a decade after its demise. For example, in 1950 George Biddle, a friend of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and an early supporter of the Federal Art Project, praised the Index and its National Director Holger Cahill, listing his attributes as "a scholar, a critic and a shrewd politician, guided by a passionate belief in American Art and a love of its folklore…[He believed] that it was not just the Michelangelos who created the fifteenth century, but rather the culture of the fifteenth century that made possible the Michelangelos." 4 Though meant to be praiseworthy, Biddle's comment in fact speaks to an institutional combination -- (pseudo) scholarship, a definition of art and "folk" guided by regional and national politics, and a belief that art is a product of a culture/nation itself shaped or created by cultural administrators—that was ultimately problematic. The Index project, as it was solidified and archived in 1942, represents an unsustainable conception of American design and artistic production for the 21st century.

Cross Purposes

In his 1969 volume on the Federal Arts Programs, William Francis McDonald summarized the Index's "four purposes: 1. To preserve a record of past achievement. 2)

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4 George Biddle "Monument to Americans," *The American Scholar*, 1950, 252.

to promote new design. 3) to develop a reference work for scholars. 4) to employ out of work artists." He concluded that:

> only the first and last of these goals was satisfactorily met. The reasons why the Index did not advance folk art scholarship or become the major source for American design are too complex to explain here. Let it suffice that we recognize that the commercial and academic motives represented in the goals of the Index worked at cross purposes.[5]

In this dissertation, I have examined several of the "cross purposes," that existed within the national and California state Index programs and in the interactions between the two: the clear deviation of the SoCal Index from the National administrators' conception of "indigeneity" and its significance to the nation; the conflicting aesthetic vs. practical and economic goals of the national Index in relation to the dual projects of American art modernity and industrial design; the simultaneous quest to identify "folk" design and objecthood as sources for modern art; the SoCal Index's thoughtful, progressive, yet still ambiguous situation/attribution of the California mission painted designs to Spanish Franciscans and/or Native artists. The SoCal Index's apparently equal interest in California mission-era art/artists and American modern art/ artists led to the U.S. American appropriation of the Native and "Spanish" designs into a fixed (static) national archive—today, they are still catalogued under the name of Index artist who signed the watercolor rendering, not their true authors.

These cross purposes are highlighted in the recent scholarly valuations of the national Index project: Virginia Tuttle Clayton persuasively argued that "the mass circulation of this doctrine (of folk art as a usable past) by the Index gave enormous publicity to the idea that these artifacts possessed definitively American qualities, and further, that American folk art was the antecedent to American modernism;" thus, it helped to formulate today's mainstream notions of what "looks and feels 'American'."[6] Erika Doss had a similar verdict, as do I, that "New Deal projects helped restore and revive traditional cultures… yet they also tended to reinforce limiting, stereotypical understandings of ethnic (or 'folk') art and artists, and obscured complex, colonial relations of power between dominant government policies and agencies (such as the Bureau of Indian Affairs) and indigenous subjects." [7] My brief investigation of the Index's conflation of folk and modernism, its multiple intersections with coloniality and nationalism, and of the similarities between their agendas and terms with that of the BIA represents a first step in revealing these complexities.

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[5] William Francis McDonald, *Federal Relief Administration and the Arts: The Origins and Administrative History of the Arts Projects of the Works Progress Administration*, (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1969), 446.

I believe that the Index's ambiguous use of the term "design" as well as National Director Cahill's limited dialogue and collaboration with practicing modern industrial designers, also contributed to the failure of their project.[8] None of the California "mission designs" the SoCal Index documented were ever translated into modern ones in the same way that Frank Lloyd Wright incorporated ancient Maya designs in his 1922 California Hollyhock House, for example. The Index's conception of "American design," especially in their determination of the aesthetic significance of those found in the missions, was further complicated by the art historical overlap and sometime conflation of modern European design movements such as Art Deco (1920s-1930s), Art Nouveau (c. 1890-1910) and Arts and Crafts (c.1890s-1910) with regional architecture movements such as Mission Revival (1890-1920) and Spanish Colonial Revival (1920-1939). These two (loosely) mission-inspired revivals would have been the most obvious venues in which to feature the painted California mission designs, but both had come and gone, with public and commercial interest in "mission style" already waning before the Index concluded their project. A comparison of the original mission designs documented and promoted by the Index with decorative design elements employed in late 30s "Spanish Colonial Revival" architecture reveals limited, if any, direct references.

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[6] Tuttle Clayton, 3.

[7] Erika Doss, "American Folk Art's Distinctive Character, "in *Drawing on America's Past: Folk Art, Modernism and the Index of American Design* (Washington, D.C. and Chapel Hill: National Gallery of Art, 2 2), 114.

[8] See Dominic Bradbury, *Essential Modernism: Design Between the Two World Wars* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2018). While he focuses on Europe and the U.S. in this volume, Bradbury presents the designers alphabetically, suggesting they were all following the same trajectory and that there was nothing to distinguish American modern design of these years from its European counterparts. That a historian in 2018 did not mention the Index of American Design in his account, nor recognize an "American" element in interwar design history points to the general failure of the Index project in its intersection with actual contemporary designers.

Cosas Nuestras

One of the goals of this dissertation was to conceptualize California mission art and the Index California project as part of the history of the Art of the Americas. In my research, I hoped to find evidence of the ways in which the U.S. nationalist art dialogues and terminologies related to "folk" and "primitive" corresponded to Latin American and Pan-American ones. The answer I discovered: they didn't. The Index project was firmly rooted in an insular nationalism. On the other hand, the links between Latin American modern art and Pre-Columbian "primitive" form and iconography have been addressed in several recent studies, including Michele Greet's investigation of the uses of Indigenism in the construction of modern and nationalist Andean art [9] and Harper Montgomery's study of early 20th-century Guatemalan artist Carlos Mérida's ancient-inspired modernism.[10] For example, Montgomery demonstrated that Mérida's movement from the self-colonizing tendencies of indigenism involved a prioritizing of form over the human element of the indigenist subject itself. This shift served to highlight the aesthetic, rather than any socio-political connection between modern artists and indigenist artists. Mérida's interests in materiality and objecthood (i.e. *artes populares*) were clearly expressed in his statement in a catalogue of his paintings—"My work speaks to the thoughtful, to the intelligent, to those who are interested in *cosas nuestras*."11 The connection between Latin American artists with primitivism and indigenism has a long tradition, given that Latin America itself has been commonly linked with "non-Western…states of nature." 12 The same connection in the United States is still relatively understudied and there has been little scholarly attention to the fact that Latin American and U.S. modern artists often drew from the same "primitive" sources. As art historians become more aware of the sharing of "*cosas nuestras*," the closer study of Indigenous American objects and designs (or, the material essence of the objects and designs themselves) may provide a means for future scholars to engage, rather than separate the histories of California, Mexican, New Mexican, Native and U.S. American art.

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[9] Michele Greet, "To New York and Back Again," in *Beyond National Identity: Pictorial Indigenism as a Modernist Strategy in Andean Art, 1920- 1960* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2 9), 141-160.

[10] Harper Montgomery, "Carlos Mérida and the Mobility of Modernism: A Mayan Cosmopolitan Moves to Mexico City," *The Art Bulletin*, Volume 98, No. 4 (Winter 2017): 468-509.

[11] Jochen Wierich, 491.

[12] Tenorio-Trillo, *Latin America: The Allure and Power of an Idea* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017), 36.

Critical Mission Studies: California Missions as Art of the Americas

In their SoCal project, the Index, like most of their "scholarly" contemporaries, certainly contributed to the romanticization of the Spanish Franciscan missions, their art, and their history, as well as to the interjection of a Spanish fantasy heritage into a modern American history and art/design history. However, I have argued that their simultaneous concern with Native agency, materiality and meaning (albeit veiled by the limited New Deal nationalist terms and agendas) prefigured or laid the framework for presenting the important questions and contradictions at the center of Critical Mission Studies and American art scholarship and American art museum practices today.[13]

A recent museum reconceptualization of an American art collection confirms the relevancy of my dissertation and its situation within the evolving field of "Art of the Americas." In November of 2021, the Huntington Library, Art Museum and Botanical Gardens presented their newly contextualized permanent display of their American art collections, entitled "Borderlands." The exhibition's thematic anchor is a large watercolor by Los Angeles–based artist Sandy Rodriguez, entitled "*YOU ARE HERE / Tovaangar / El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora la Reina de los Ángeles de Porciúncula / Los Angeles*."

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[13] My research was partially supported by Critical Mission Studies, a University of California initiative funded between 2018-2021. The grant leaderships consisted of University of California and California Indian Tribal Nations representatives. Their mission statement is: Critical Mission Studies supports Indigenous perspectives on the California colonial missions and their aftermath. Through reconsideration of the missions as both physical places and objects of interpretation, we pursue new research collaborations that surface both Native and Mexican/Mexican-American voices in the history of California and the U.S. Our research fosters more complex, multidimensional public engagements with difficult and traumatic histories." https://criticalmissionstudies.ucsd.edu For an example of these engagements and dialogues between mission art historians, Tribal Nations representatives, Museum Studies scholars, etc. see Cynthia Neri Lewis and Jennifer Scheper Hughes, co-guest editors, "Dialogues: the California Missions and the Arts of Conquest," *Latin American and Latinx Visual Culture Journal*, Volume 2, No. 3 (2020): 53-59.

[Figure C.1] Rodriguez, in her attempt to recall and redirect the dialogue that existed between 16th-century Franciscan scholars and Indigenous painter/*tlacuilos*, uses "locally sourced pigments and colorants, derived from mineral and organic sources, and 23-karat gold applied to amate paper, a native fig-bark paper that was traditionally used in Mexico but outlawed by the Spanish in the 16th century." She had removed colonial and modern borderlines, replacing the Spanish names of California cities and mission sites with the names of the original Indigenous inhabitants. As *tlacuilos* did in ancient and colonial era documents, she includes images of flora and fauna representing Native place and territory. A rainbow of local pigments, another symbolic convention drawn from 16th-century Nahua codices, serves to unify the composition and according to Rodriguez, represents harmony, continuity, cultural and physical healing and promise.[14] In one section of the exhibition entitled "Art and Color," Indigenous knowledge is highlighted through didactic displays of local pigments and plants. Huntington curator of American Art Dennis Carr described the work as a "multilingual map of the greater Los Angeles area, representing the topography, language, flora, fauna, and land stewardship in the region over time and illustrating the movement and histories of peoples who have called—and continue to call—the area home;" he presented the related exhibit as a look at "how artworks have registered the crossing of geographic, political, social, linguistic, and personal boundaries…The history of the United States has been shaped by innumerable borders, whose endurance or dissolution continue to impact us today."[15] The painted designs the Index documented and that I reinterpreted, reframed and recontextualized in this dissertation have the capacity to do the same Borderlands (Studies) work in an era and political climate in which these borders have been especially contested. In a recent conversation with Rodriguez, we discussed painted mission designs representing Native resistance and survivance, including the San Fernando "Deer Hunt" scene, that she might incorporate into her California *mapa* series.[16]

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[14] Sandy Rodriguez, Getty Research Institute, "Imaginaries of L.A.: Umar Rashid and Sandy Rodriguez," November 10, 2021. https://www.getty.edu/visit/cal/events/ev_3356.html According to Diana Magaloni, the rainbow with all its colors (*ayauhcocamalotl*) is a symbol that unites both worlds: the indigenous America and Europe." The frontispiece of Book 12 of the Florentine Codex includes a scene of the meeting of Native and Europeans under a rainbow. The rainbow was painted using both European and Native pigments derived from organic (representing sun) and mineral (representing earth) substances. See Diana Magaloni, Kerpel, *Images of the Beginning: The Painted Story of the Conquest of Mexico in Book XII of the Florentine Codex* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2 4).

This dissertation is a much a continuation as it is a critique of the Index's study and documentation of the mission wall paintings. I present my study of California mission art and its selection, interpretation, appropriation and promotion by the Index of American Design in the 1930s as a textual equivalent of Rodriguez's work. A physical and metaphorical superimposition of her *mapa* over Index artist Hal Blakeley's mission map [See Figure 0.12] illustrates what might be carried over/extended from the Index's studies and conclusions into the 21st-century treatment of California missions and their visual culture, but also what I have attempted to update. In the end, this project led me to question the nature of a national archive—what is its role? Did the Index of American Design represent a project of Native inclusion, possession, or both? How is it accessed, who has access to it, and how/why is an archive forgotten? How can it be revised and re-accessed by Native peoples today? Five key tasks of my project recast the original "index" of mission designs into a more flexible, accessible and "usable" contemporary American archive:

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[15] The Huntington Library Press Release, "News Release: Major American Art Reinstallation, 'Borderlands' Set to Open November 20, 2021." https://www.huntington.org/news/borderlands-open-nov-20

[16] Conversation and studio visit with Sandy Rodriguez regarding Native pigments and the intersections between our academic, research and studio practices, Fall 2021.

The incorporation of Native art, temporality, agency and knowledge into the history of American art and design: While the SoCal Index attempted to recognize Native agency and meaning in selected designs, their understanding of Native time and knowledge was limited to a western perspective. Tataviam representative Caroline Ward Holland, when viewing painted designs in Mission San Fernando with me, stated that her Ancestors would not have liked the repetition and patterns imposed upon them by the Spanish friars. "They thought in terms of circles—everything is interconnected, not rigid and structured like this…Everything we do is in circles."[17]

The incorporation of Spanish Franciscan art and biography into the history of American art and design: In Blakeley's map inscription, he made a direct reference to the primary role of the "padre pioneers" in bringing mission art to the California frontier. Rodriguez's *mapa* seemingly eliminates the Spanish Franciscans and their missions named after Catholic saints, yet in its Spanish colonial "codex" format, still recognizes the interactions that took place between individual priest-scholar-teachers (such as Fr. Bernardo Sahagún, who oversaw the production of the Florentine Codex) and their

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[17] Personal interview with Tataviam representative Caroline Ward Holland conducted at San Fernando Mission, September 20, 2019. She explained that she was unaware of the Index's project at her home mission, San Fernando, in the 1930s, or that the designs of her Ancestors have been stored in the National Gallery for over 70 years. She believes that there is much to be learned from these painted designs and encouraged my decolonizing project and investigation: "The writing is on the wall for you." When I told her of my Mexican-American heritage, she expressed her belief that my ancestors have led me to write this dissertation, a comment which speaks to her conception of a Pan-American Indigenism in the 21st century.

Native "charges." Similarly, following the Index's lead, I have attempted to present a less homogenized, more nuanced reading of the relationship between individual Franciscan friars and the Native artists of Alta California in relation to the economic, political and practical contexts in which the mission walls were painted in the early 19th century.

The incorporation of Material Studies into the history of California mission art: The Blakeley map reference to "the Indian's palette of Native earth" and several Index reports and records (related to pigments) that I have analyzed here speak to the great significance the Index placed on both original material substances and objecthood and material illusionism in their recreations of such. Reading their material involvement as a performative means of connecting 1930s national interests with a colonial and Native past opens the way for new dialogues between California Mission Studies and Material Studies scholars and theorists that go beyond the technical, scientific and anthropological interests of the Index.

The unraveling of racial, geographical, political and national constructions and the incorporation of Mexican art into the history of American art and design: The painted designs, visual and architectural programs of the late 18th and early 19th-century California missions were the product of many cultures and traditions, including Spanish, Mexican, Native American, Russian, Anglo-American, but Blakeley's map featured only two figures- a dark-skinned Native American man and a lighter-skinned Spanish friar. In the accompanying text, is the recognition that, "the pioneer priest's culture was tri-fold: Moorish, Spanish and Italian…the Native culture fused with that of the padres." The Index (and most of their mission history predecessors) directly associated stylistic features such as geometric abstraction and classicism with race and/or political factions. These classifications complicated their construction of "nation" and resulted in their effective erasure of Mexican authorship and agency in the painted mission designs. As Phoebe Knopp recently recognized, the "widespread appropriation of Indian, Spanish and Mexican past is… so forceful that to disentangle romance and history, one would have to unravel race and nation itself."[18] The Index's project of the 1930s provided an ideal venue for understanding the "entanglement" of the Americas, because this is precisely when and where much of the "tangling" was done.[19]

The incorporation of California mission art history into an Art of the U.S. and Art of the Americas: Blakeley's map was intended to commemorate the Index's successful incorporation of California mission art history into a usable U.S. American art narrative. The scant art historical scholarship on the California missions has not fully entered any canon of art history, and even in recent considerations and inclusions, it has been at least twice-marginalized from European art histories and U.S. American art histories. Given their peripheral location on the most Northern frontier of New Spain and the western frontier of the U.S., historians of Spanish Colonial and Mexican art, and U.S. art have not thoroughly investigated their cosmopolitan nature and more immediate connections to the metropole; their physical location has determined their peripheral status in these art histories.

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[18] Kropp, Phoebe, cited in Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landscapes: Race, Memory and the Politics of Heritage* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016), 135.

[19] Archaeologists have recently employed the phrase "entangled histories" to describe their interest in colonized countries' entanglements with their colonial empires. The work of Nicholas Thomas and Shalini Renderia are representative of this bidirectional approach to understanding colonial encounter. See Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific*, 1991. Also see E.H. Gould, "Entangled Histories, Entangled Worlds: English-Speaking Atlantic as a Spanish Periphery," *American Historical Review*, Volume 112, No. 3 (June 2 7): 766-767.

The physical and visual landscapes of the Alta California missions were and are sites of complex and often incongruous religious experiences; historical trauma and romantic vision; Indigenous exploitation, resistance and survivance; state building and global enterprise. Given their ambiguous chronological and geographical situation between the Early Modern and Modern periods, and in territory that has shifted from New Spain to Mexico to California, they present a unique opportunity for investigating the emerging field, "Arts of the Americas."

Spanish Colonial art scholar Clara Bargellini has recently proposed new directions and approaches for scholars focusing on the California missions, encouraging cross-disciplinary methods, blending anthropology, sociology, conservation science, architectural history, and ethnography. She believes these will allow for an understanding of the missions as "clusters of meaning and information," related to one another in webs of facts and interpretations. This has provided a valuable model for my study of the painted mission walls—the designs on the walls, previously understood as merely decoration, are both "images" themselves and frameworks for understanding the architectural structures they support and the objects and images placed within their scheme. This model also allows for establishing connections between images and objects separated geographically and chronologically. By positioning the Index renderings as the fixed point/coordinate, I was able to identify "clusters of meaning" not visible from the vantage point of either the mission era or the present. The physical material of the SoCal

Index (actual walls, renderings, photographs, restorations, archive) allows for looking in multiple temporal directions—creating a continuum between the Spanish colonial and indigenous past, national motivations of the thirties and the present, and evolving "American" nationalisms.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: Norman Neuerburg's Summary of State of California Mission Wall Paintings, late 20th century

(Transcription of notes for a chapter/article on mission mural decoration); NN Series II Mission Studies and Involvement Box 8, Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library

"Fate has not been kind to the mural decorations of the California missions, but it is remarkable that as much survived for as long a time as it has. The first settlers from the U.S. found them "crude daubs"—if they noticed them at all—while the mostly foreign born priests assigned to this rough frontier considered them unworthy of the House of God and in many cases whitewashed them over. Twelve of the mission churches were soon in ruins and four of these disappeared entirely. Of those that survived Mission Dolores had most of its walls whitewashed before the first photograph of the interior of 1868; Santa Clara's painted façade was covered over in 1860 though some of the interior murals may have survived till the adobe walls were removed in 1883. San Luis Obispo got new plaster and decoration for the centennial in 1872 while San Gabriel also had its murals covered over by whitewash and during remodeling in the. 1870s… In the 1880s San Buenaventura lost its well preserved murals in a campaign of modernization…At some indefinite date before 19 the interior of San Juan Bautista was whitewashed as was the nave of Santa Ines, though the decorations in the sanctuary survived largely untouched, until an ill-advised "restoration" in 1978. Santa Barbara's decorations were 'freshened up" around 19 and then replaced with replicas after the 1925 earthquake. The Indian decoration of the asistencia at Pala were covered over in 1901. Only San Miguel's remain untouched.

When California gained statehood historical preservation was all but unknown in the young and developing nation and although an appreciation of the necessity of preserving ancient buildings was developing, in Europe it scarcely would have included buildings only a few decades old. And this was the attitude of the foreign priests when it was suggested that perhaps the missions and their relics were worth saving at all. Even such a booster for the missions as George Wharton James had harsh words to say about the quality of the painted decoration in the missions.... Along with the mural decoration the architecture of the buildings will be discussed as well for the two are profoundly connected… A Mexican author recently called the decoration of walls the “skin of architecture” and while architecture can exist without decoration, just as the body can exist without clothes the converse is not true; decoration has no function till it clothes something.”

Appendix 2: Transcription of Lanier Bartlett's Report, "The Stations of the Cross"

Index of American Design, "Stations of the Cross," Southern California, March 18, 1937, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives, 44A2, Records of the Index of American Design, Original Project (WPA), General Files, Reference Files-Spanish Colonial-Missions

Regarding the paintings of the Stations of the Cross at San Gabriel Mission, efforts have been made to find records of exactly who painted them, but no written data is now available. If any such manuscripts do appear later, it would be well to investigate their authenticity at the Missions San Gabriel and San Fernando, with many document (sic) and objects, were partially destroyed in their early years by marauding Indians.

Closer investigation of the actual paintings reveals clearly enough that tradition is not entirely correct in regard to the pigments. As mentioned in the article on the "Stations of the Cross" sent to your office on November 12th, organic pigments from flowers were used. This might be true in the case of the mixed colors, however, one familiar with earth colors can readily distinguish many of them in these paintings.

As to who were the actual artists, a personal opinion must be ventured and I see no others than Indians who could possibly have rendered these canvases. California history informs us that at each mission two padres were stationed. In some recoreds mention is made of a Mexican painter brought here to teach the Indians. This Mexican and the padres were chosen for their ability to carry out such assignments as converting whole civilizations and they were without doubt very competent and well versed in their Bible stories.

This First Station in this series, However, shows the gross error of Christ washing his hands before Pilate. This error in depicting the costume of the soldiers, and the Roman Buildings in imitation of Mission architecture, seem to reflect the impression of one who had never seen other forms of dress and of buildings. Moorish influences show in the paintings point to the close supervision of the padres in putting the Indians to work to keep them occupied and to prevent uprisings.

Appendix 3: Transcription of Pigments List, Mission Santa Ines

Warren Lemmon, "Study of Early American Wallpainting in Southern California," pp. 4-5, September 10, 1947 (based on Hayward report, c. 1910-1925)

Red: Haematite was not used, as we know it, but the softer parts of Monterey shale were burnt, or found in nature in the form of red oxide. The early colorists super-induced to get different shades, deriving colors from a very pale pink to an English Venetian red. Some evidence of cinnabar was found. This vermillion was not used in a pure state but gave almost permanent colors of purples and light brown. Red chalk deposits and quicksilver mines are located near the Mission.

Yellow: Light Monterey shale was used in most painting. However the more brilliant "Dutch pink" or "Primrose yellow" as we know it today, was manufactured.

White: Diatomaceous earth, a pure white silica, which is almost indestructible, is used as a pigment today. The early inhabitants of this district took advantage of nearby deposits of this material for their flat whites. Monterey shales were also used when found in light chalky deposits.

Black: Ground charcoal was used almost exclusively. However, carbonized asbestos in a flaky form is found near Santa Ines on the El Cielo Ranch, but its use was very limited. There is no evidence of animal blacks in the Santa Ines study.

Brown: Prepared from raw and burnt umbers, quite prevalent and of a good quality in the district. An air-bath was given to this pigment by the gravity process, the finer material being used direct, the heavier used in mixing the by-colors.

Ochre: These colors were made from the reds and yellows which are now exposed on the San Marcos Pass roads and along the ocean escarpment. They are a peroxide of iron.

Green and blue: The Indians ground a deposit of chert to obtain a great range of colors from greens to blues. Copper oxides along the east (west?) range of mountains may have been the source of the brighter green and blues. Vegetable dyes were obtained for some blues. Most colors, being from native earths, were little affected by the lime putty prepared in primitive Indian kilns. Pigments were pounded dry to a powder, rather than being ground as si (sic) customary today. The vehicle was prepared by using the juice of cactus (opuntia) with tallow added. This tallow, mainly from sheep, gave a body to hold the colors in solution and aided in making the unfinished work impervious to water.

Distemper colors, as used in this early period of Mission history, were ground in water or in a solution of distilled grain.

Oil colors were used on rare occasions, poppy and olive oil being used very sparingly. As these were non-drying oils, the early painters used ground pigments on a pad, which they would pat on the surfaces of the painting. These dry powders adhered to the oils, preventing the effect of being ground with the oil. The above findings on painting technique have been presented to those now working on Lompoc's Mission, La Purisima Concepcion which had been reduced to a heap of fragmentary bits of plaster. These scattered pieces have proven a real "jigsaw" puzzle for the C.C.C. boys, who are encamped on the old Mission site while restoring the Mission village for a State Park and Museum. Later, Index artists will be assigned to make restoration drawings from what data is available, thereby serving another motif of our national archives.

Appendix 4: Transcription of "Appendices" dealing with pigments from Hageman 1938 report, "An Architectural Study of Mission La Purisima Concepcion" (published in ed. Richard S. Whitehead, 1991, 216-219)

Pages 216-217

An Outline of Pigment Studies of the Wall Paintings in the Early Missions in Southern California

Warren W. Lemmon, Supervisor, Index of American Design Federal Art Project

"Pigments Used in Mission Wall Paintings Spanish-California Period"

During the years 1908 and 1909, Mr. Hayward went to the Santa Ines Mission for a particular study of the pigments and methods of painting as used by the Indians.

Pages 218-219

"The vehicle for pigments was prepared by using the juice of cactus with tallow added. This tallow, mainly from sheep, gave a body to hold the colors in solution. It also aided in making the finished work impervious to water.

REFERENCE: John Gamble, prominent Santa Barbara artist. Corroborated by Bert Harmer (Santa Barbara artist), William R. Hayward (geologist, painter and teacher of Santa Barbara), and Dr. Rogers of the Santa Barbara Museum.

"The gesso work was done by the Indians under the direction of the mission fathers. The binder for the gesso was the juice of the cactus known as prickly pear (opuntia), which was pounded out and allowed to settle and then drained off and mixed with kilned lime.

The best part of the lime was used in the finer work, and the other being used in the construction of the buildings.”

REFERENCE: “In and Out of the Old Missions of California,” by G.W. James.
“The colors used in the interior decorations of the missions are believed to be mostly of vegetable origin and were sized with glue. The yellows were extracted from poppies, blues from nightshade, the reds from pebbles found along the beaches (probably cinnabar). The glue was manufactured on the spot from the bones of animals slaughtered for food.” --- Page 333

REFERENCE: “San Juan Capistrano,” by Z. Engelhardt.
“An artisan named Mariano Mendoza was brought from Mexico to teach the Indians the art of dyeing products of the loom, but the experiment did not prove very encouraging so the neophytes were thrown back on their own resources. Dyestuffs were campeachy wood, Brazilwood, Sacastal (a week). The work of weaving and dyeing was inferior to that brought in from Mexico but was considered and accepted as good enough for the country.” -- Page 36

Appendix 5:
Transcription of pigment descriptions, excerpted from Georgia Lee and Norman Neuerburg, "The Alta California Indians as Artists Before and After Contact," in *Columbian Consequences: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on the Spanish Borderlands West* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989): 467-480.

473

Pigments available to native Californians were hematite (red ochre) or cinnabar for the color red; white, usually obtained from diatomaceous earth; and black, which might be obtained from charcoal, hydrous manganese oxide, burned graphite, or asphaltum. Although yellow ochre (limonite) is quite common in a natural state, it was rarely used in rock painting. All are fairly transparent in appearance. This contrasts with the pigments at San Emigdio, which appear to have been mixed with a white substance, making them light-reflective and therefore more vivid. No other known site in Chumash territory has this opaque quality in the pigment. However, Indian neophytes who were painting mission walls would have been familiar with the art of mixing pigments in order

474

to obtain particular colors, as in the mission "instruction" for painters; mixing gypsum or lime with powdered pigment (Hageman and Ewing 1979: 165-166) would result in characteristic opacity. Webb (1945: 149) also states that diatomaceous earth, when mixed with pigment, gives the requisite colors. Mission records show requests and receipts for malachite and azurite to be sent from Mexico for pigments to decorate the missions (Webb 1952: 233). This might well be the source of these unusual colors found at the San Emigdiano site. It appears that the motifs painted in this cave shelter were made, at least in part, with mission pigments and perhaps were intended to activate supernatural forces against the Spanish, and give new power to their old cosmic themes.

474

The Santa Barbara site has a mandala-like motif consisting of wedge-shaped rays that radiate out from a center, quite typical for the Chumash style; however, the colors are pink and green and have an exact match in the still extant church paintings at Mission San Miguel. One might assume that these same colors were common at Santa Barbara and Santa Ines missions also. It is also of interest that the site is located near the pass that leads between these missions.

Chapter 0 Preface and Introduction

Figure 0.1
Toppled Statue of Junípero Serra, 1934, bronze statue, Olvera Street, Los Angeles, Photograph by the author, July 2020 (copy of original 1930 statue by Ettore Cadorin, National Statuary Hall, Washington, D.C.)

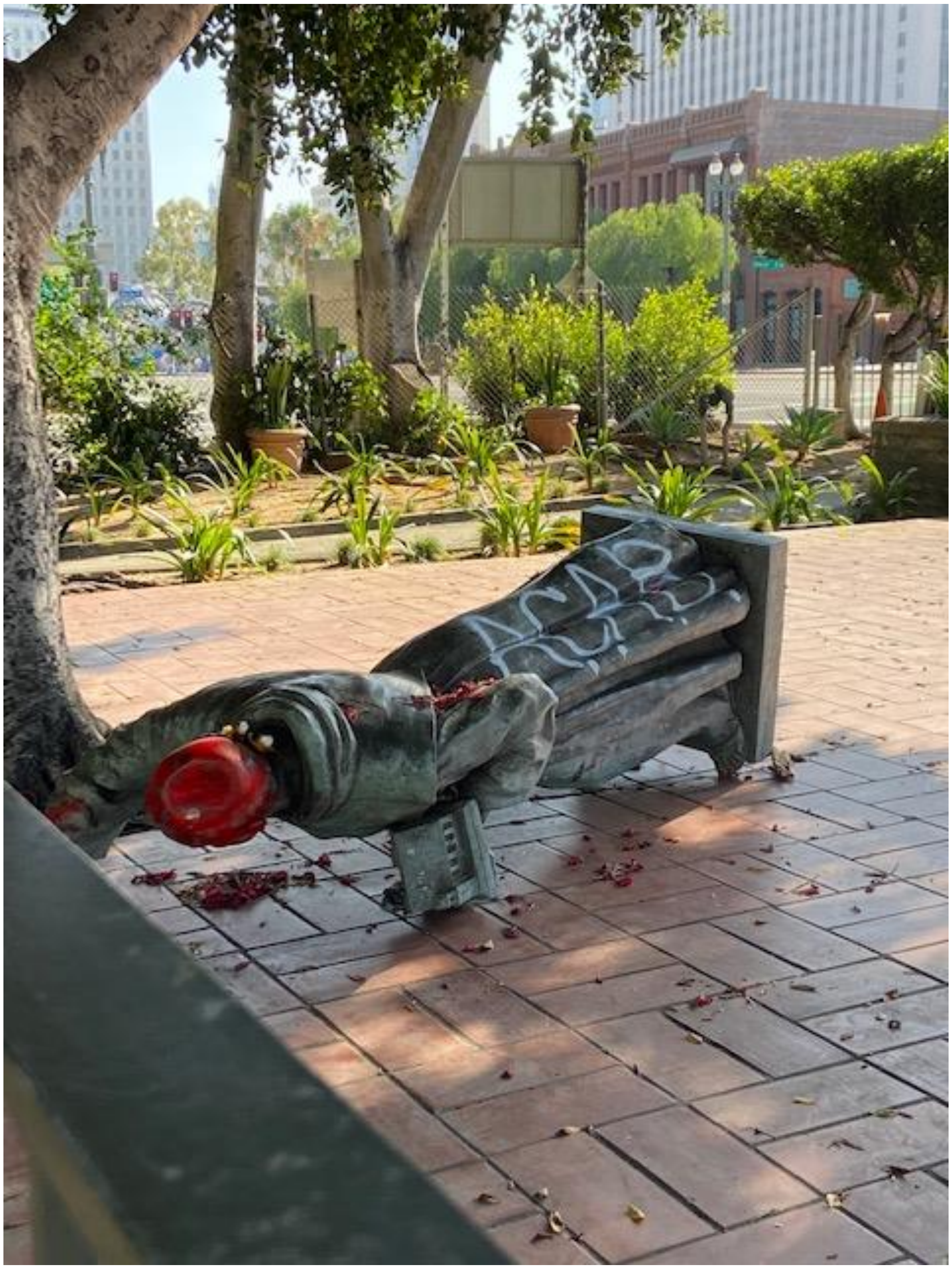


Figure 0.2
Uno John Palo Kangas, *Statue of Junípero Serra*, bronze, commissioned through Works Progress Administration, dedicated and placed 1936, Ventura, California. Photograph by the author, July 2020.

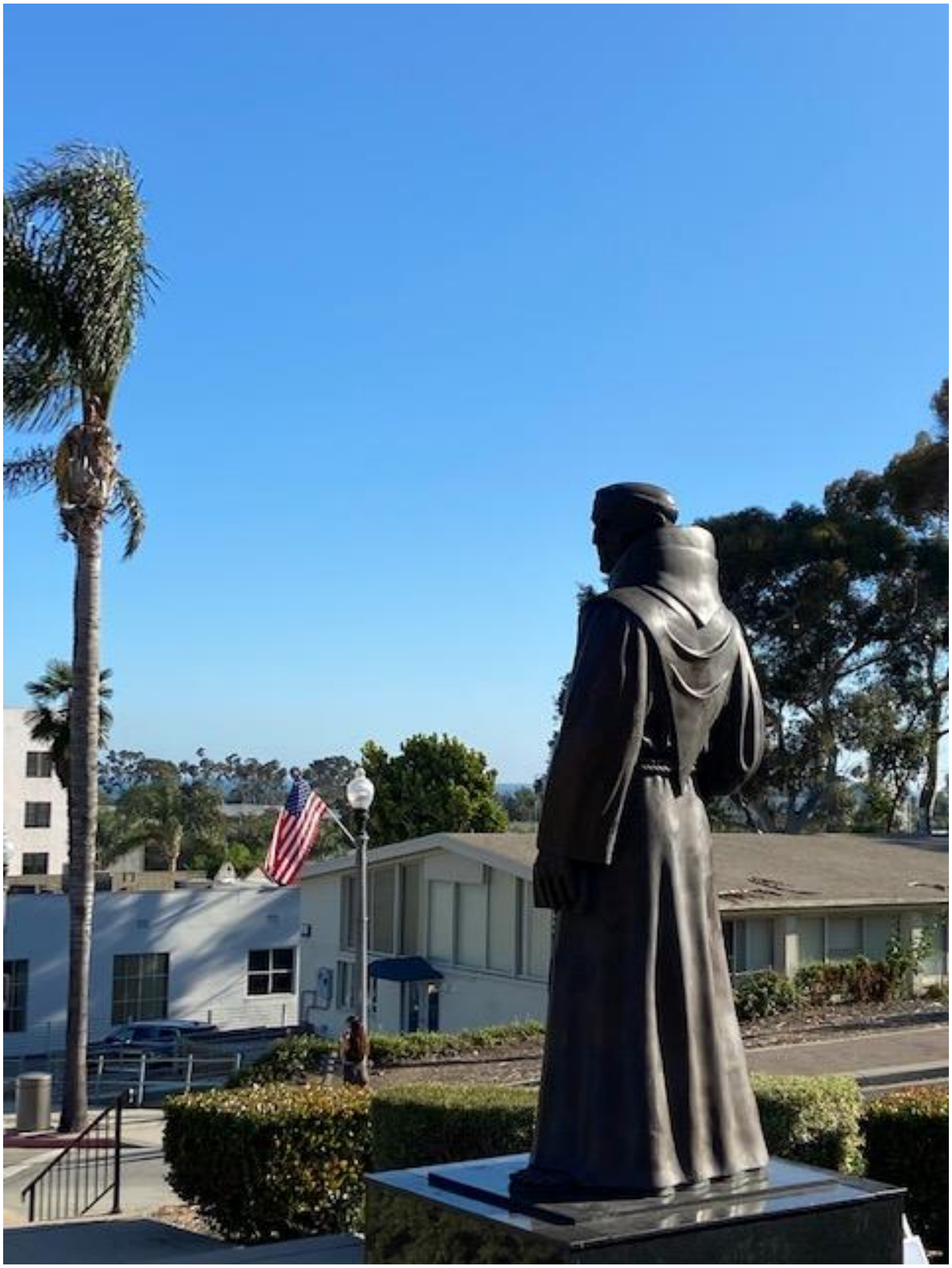


Figure 0.3
Interior of Mission San Gabriel, c. 1890, California Historical Society Collection, 1860-1960, University of Southern California.

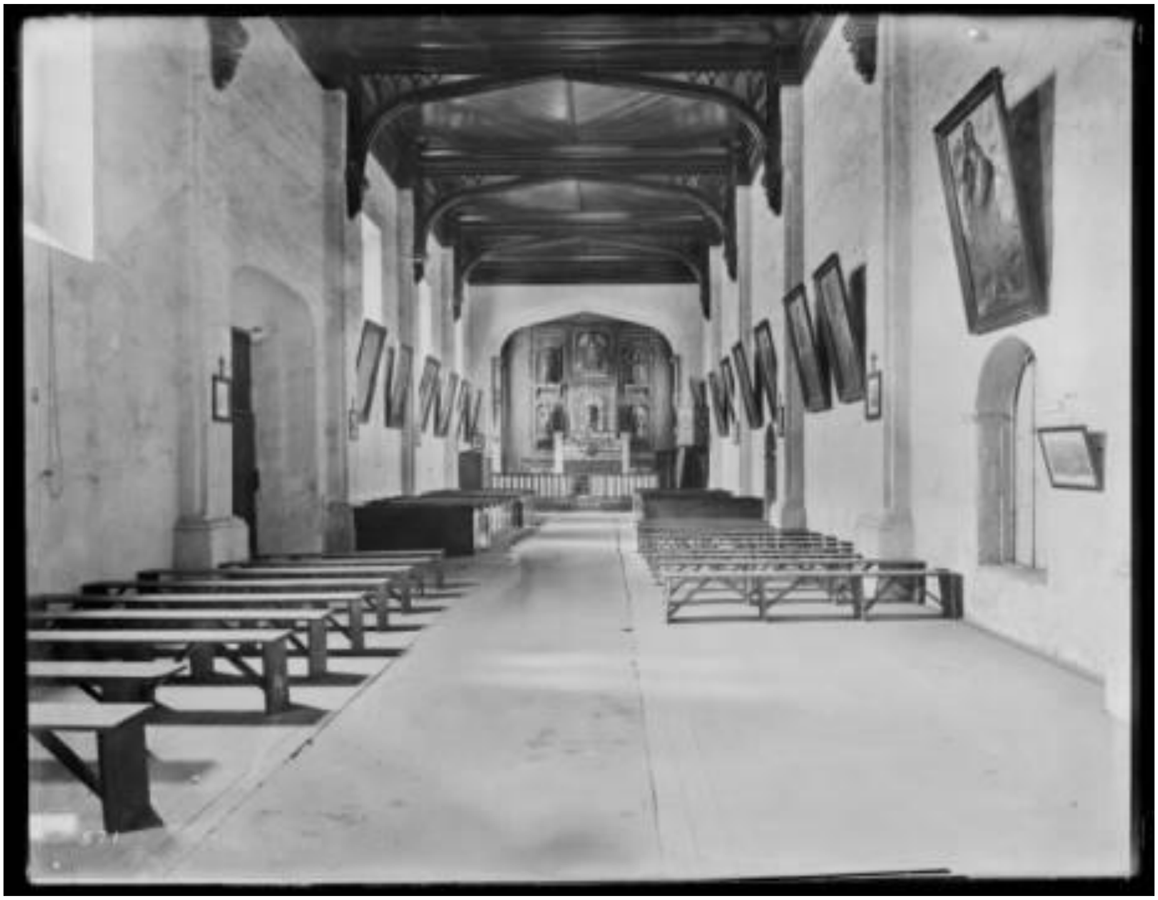


Figure 0.4
Dana Bartlett, *Wall Painting*, (San Gabriel altar panel), c. 1936, watercolor, gouache, colored pencil and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.5993

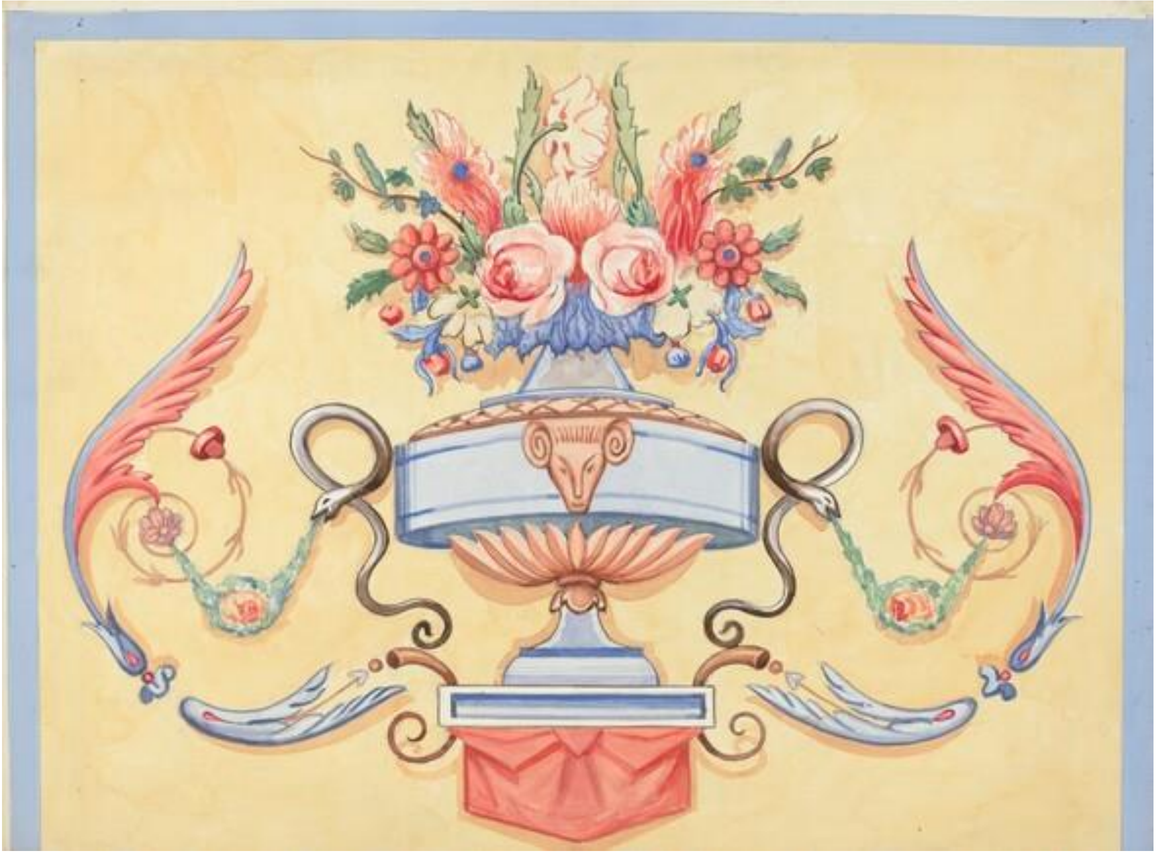
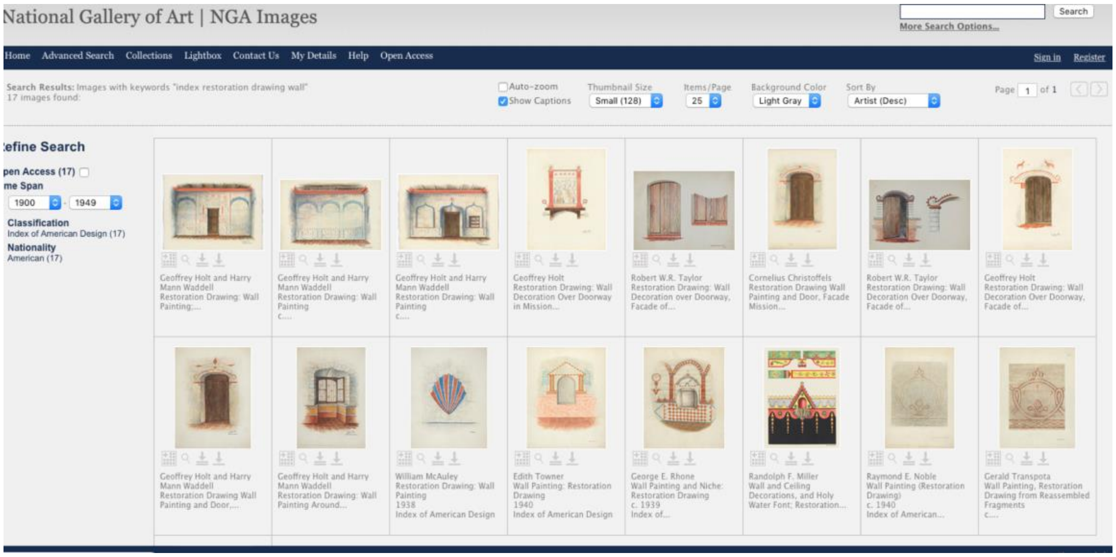


Figure 0.5
Sampling of IAD So Cal Index Mission Watercolor Renderings, as presented in National Gallery of Art current open access image catalogue, January 2022.



Search Results: Images with keywords "index restoration drawing wall"
17 images found:

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Thumbnail Size: Small (128)
Items/Page: 25
Background Color: Light Gray
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Restoration Drawing: Wall Painting:...

Geoffrey Holt and Harry Mann Waddell
Restoration Drawing: Wall Painting
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Geoffrey Holt and Harry Mann Waddell
Restoration Drawing: Wall Painting
c....

Geoffrey Holt
Restoration Drawing: Wall Decoration Over Doorway in Mission...

Robert W.R. Taylor
Restoration Drawing: Wall Decoration over Doorway, Facade of...

Cornelius Christoffels
Restoration Drawing Wall Painting and Door, Facade Mission...

Robert W.R. Taylor
Restoration Drawing: Wall Decoration Over Doorway, Facade of...

Geoffrey Holt
Restoration Drawing: Wall Decoration Over Doorway, Facade of...

Geoffrey Holt and Harry Mann Waddell
Restoration Drawing Wall Painting and Door,...

Geoffrey Holt and Harry Mann Waddell
Restoration Drawing: Wall Painting Around...

William McAuley
Restoration Drawing: Wall Painting
1938
Index of American Design

Edith Towner
Wall Painting: Restoration Drawing
1940
Index of American Design

George E. Rhone
Wall Painting and Niche: Restoration Drawing
c. 1939
Index of...

Randolph F. Miller
Wall and Ceiling Decorations, and Holy Water Font; Restoration...

Raymond E. Noble
Wall Painting (Restoration Drawing)
c. 1940
Index of American...

Gerald Transpota
Wall Painting, Restoration Drawing from Reassembled Fragments
c....

Figure 0.6
Josephine Romano, *Tabernacle*, Mission Santa Barbara, c. 1939, watercolor rendering, IAD 1943.8.6639.

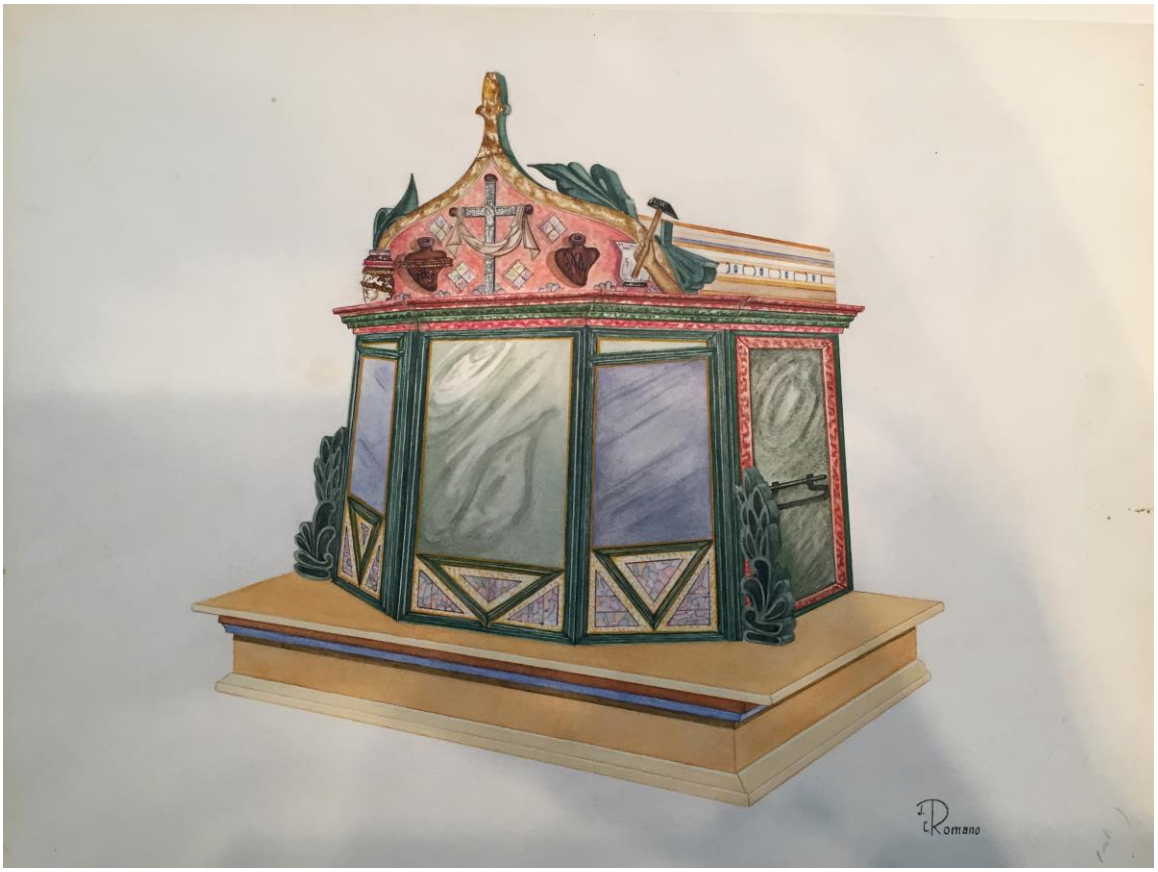
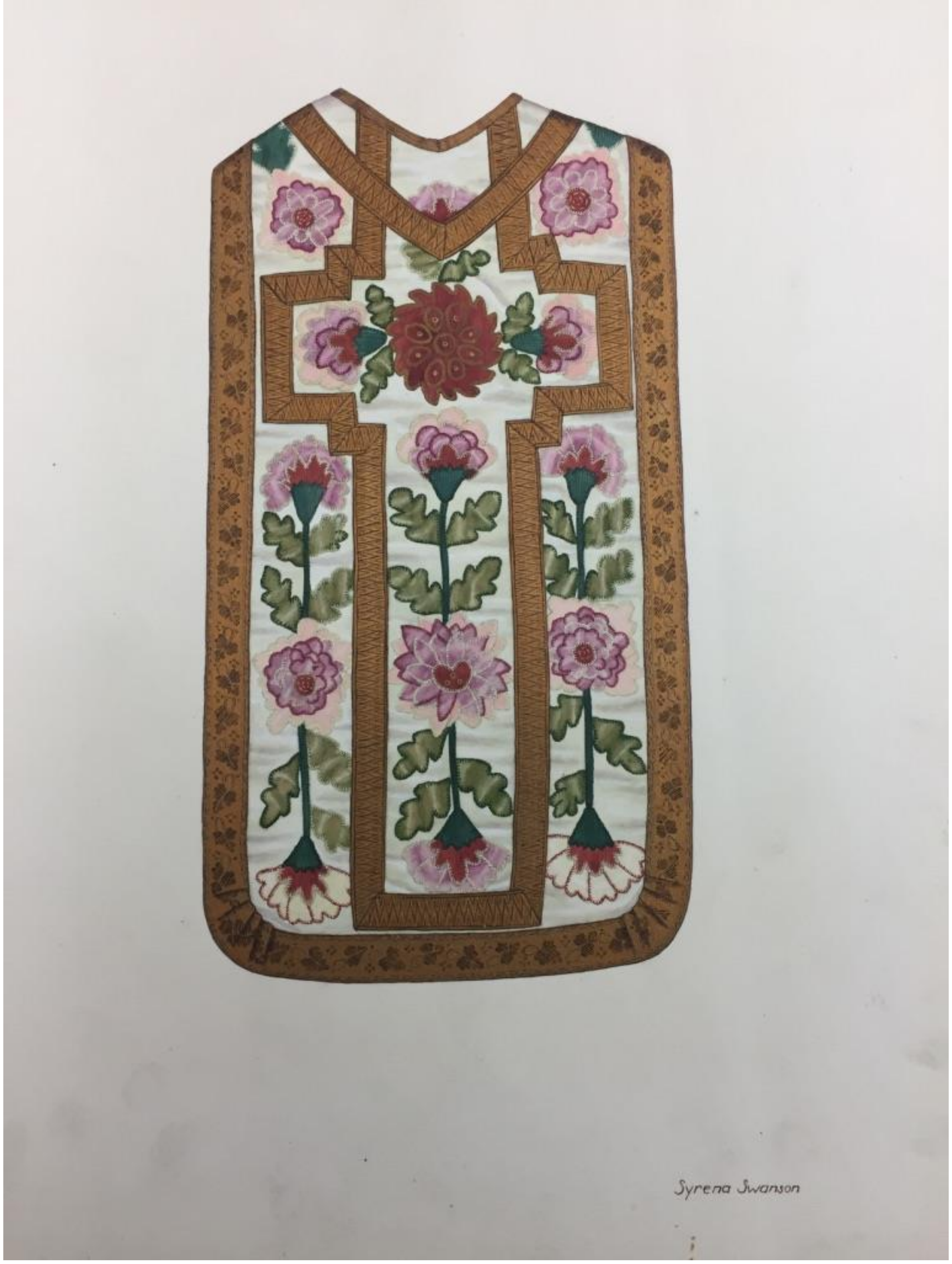


Figure 0.7
Syrena Swanson, *Ecclesiastical Vestment*, c. 1939, watercolor rendering, IAD 1943.8.16746.



Syrena Swanson

Figure 0.8
Robert W.R. Taylor and William Kieckhofel, *Santo de Retablo (Virgin Mary)*,
1939/1940, watercolor, colored pencil and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.7569.

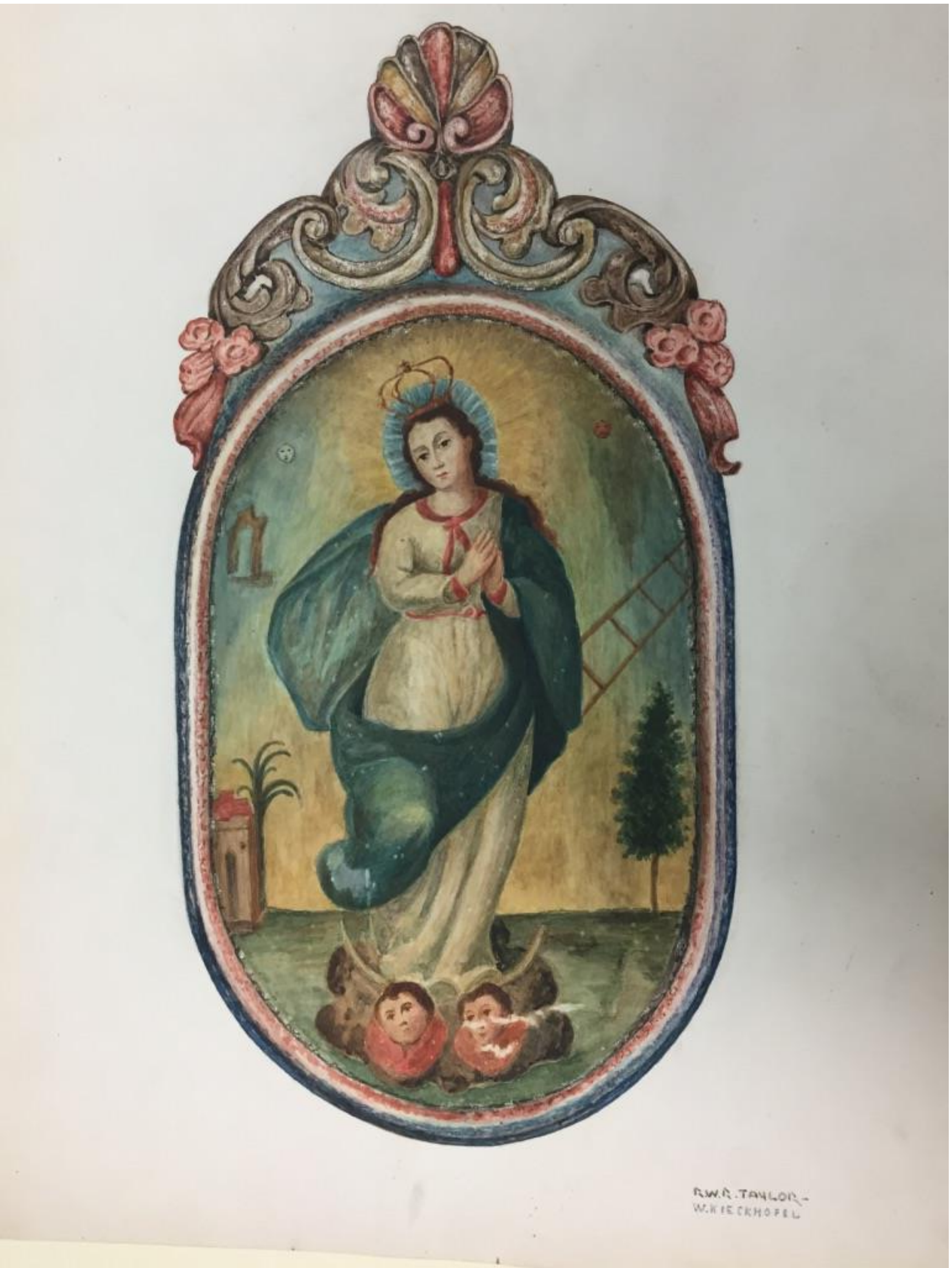

R.W.R. TAYLOR-
W.KIECKHOFEL

Figure 0.9
Edward Jewett, *"Faith, Hope and Charity" Stone Figures*, Mission Santa Barbara, 1936, watercolor rendering, IAD 1943.8.6897.

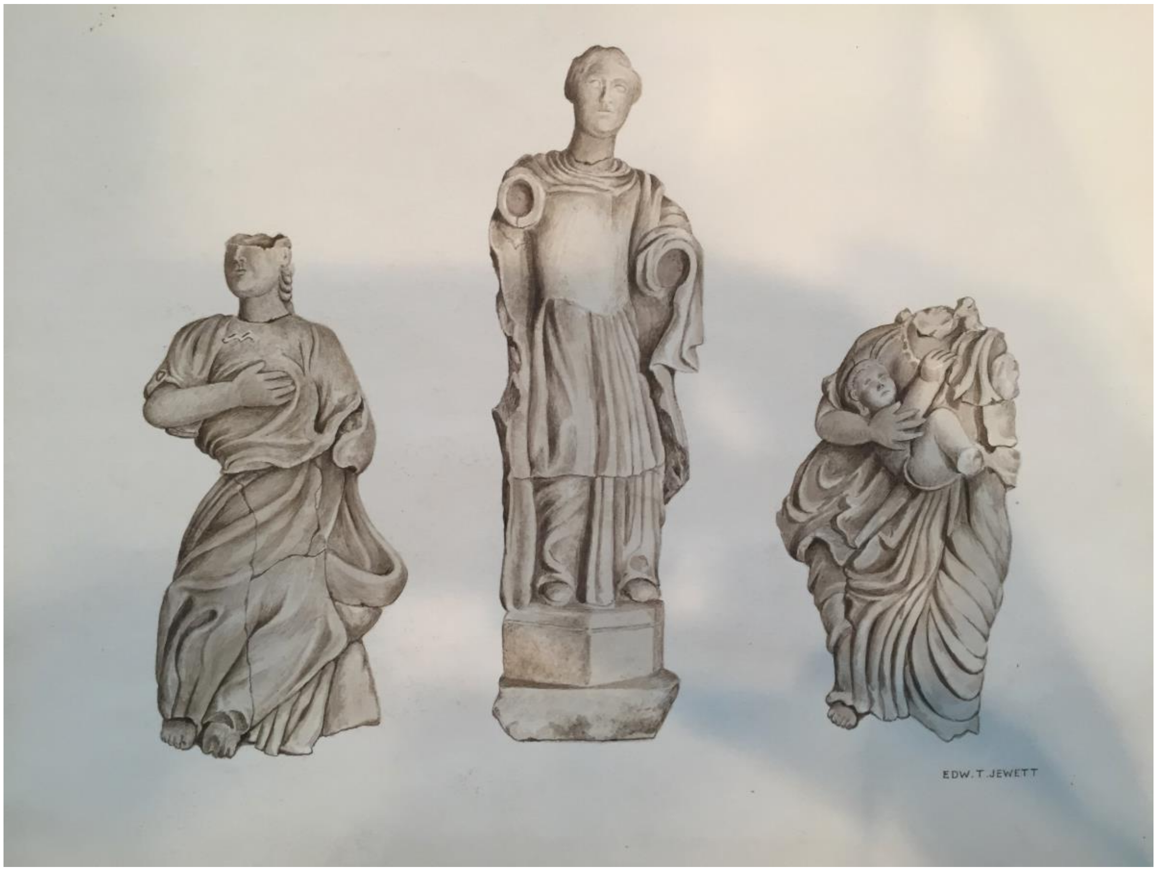


Figure 0.10
Le Roy Robbins, photograph of Index “artist-explorers” at Mission San Fernando, 1936, 44D5_86114_SoCal MSCL 90f_01, Miscellaneous - Southern California SoCal-Mscl-90f Doorway San Fernando Mission. NGA D.C., Gallery Archives. RG44D, Records of the IAD, Original Project (WPA) Images - Objects and Renderings.

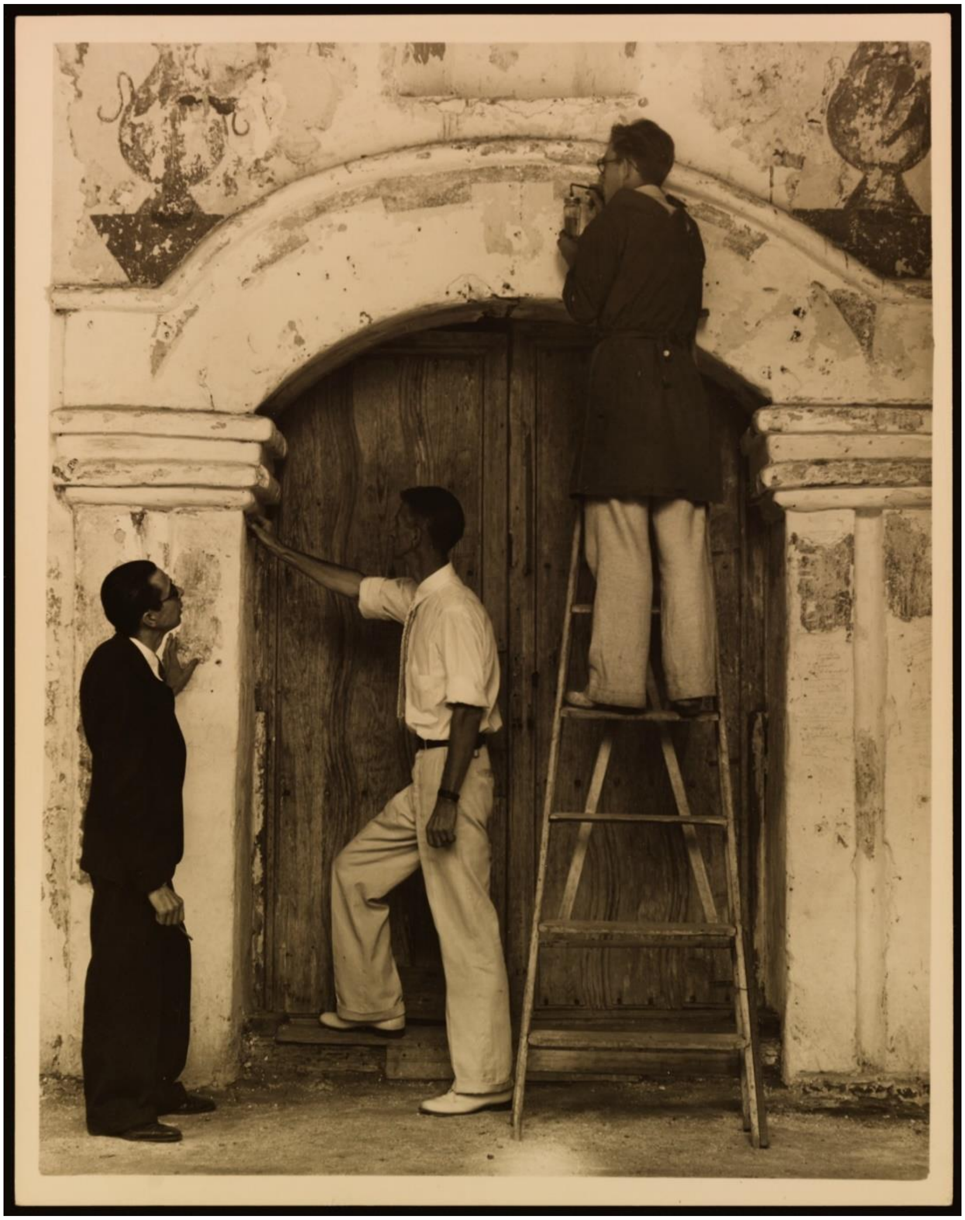


Figure 0.11
Petroglyphs at Chumash Painted Cave State Historic Park, high above Santa Barbara, California, Carol M. Highsmith, photographer, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division (LC-DIG-highsm-24389).

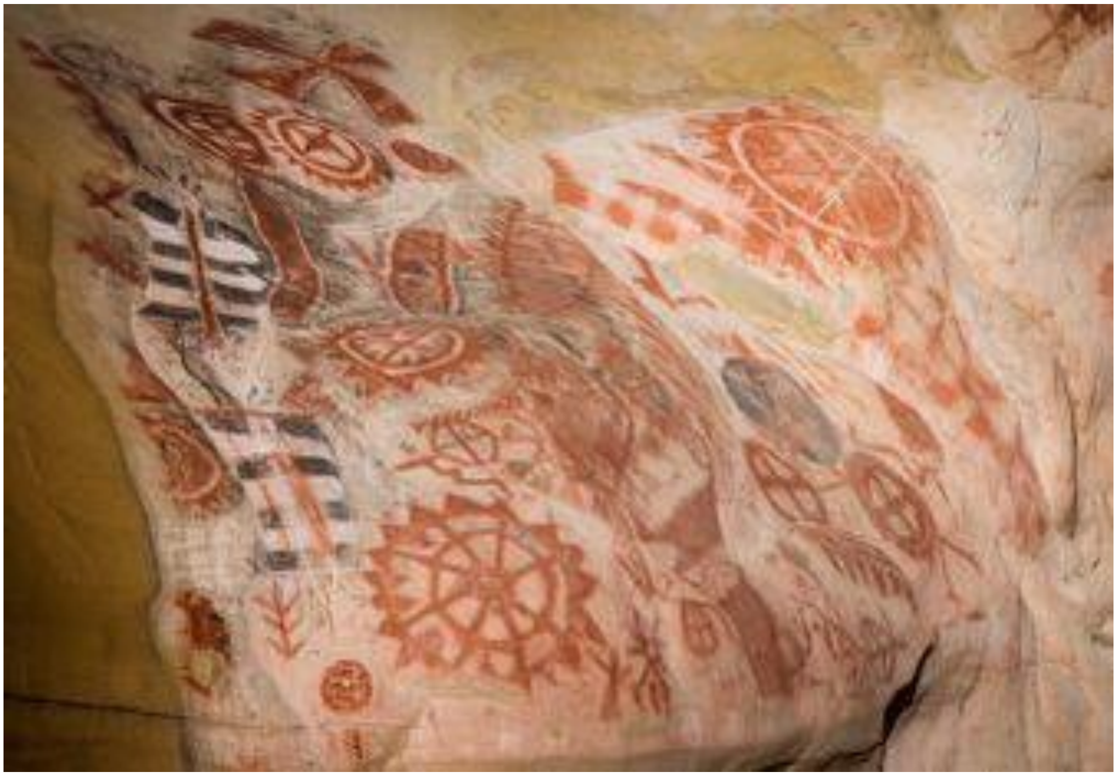


Figure 0.12
View of Panama-California Exposition, San Diego, 1915 (official guidebook cover designed and engraved by Pacific Photo Engraving Co., featuring Spanish Baroque/Colonial Revival buildings by Bertram Goodhue).

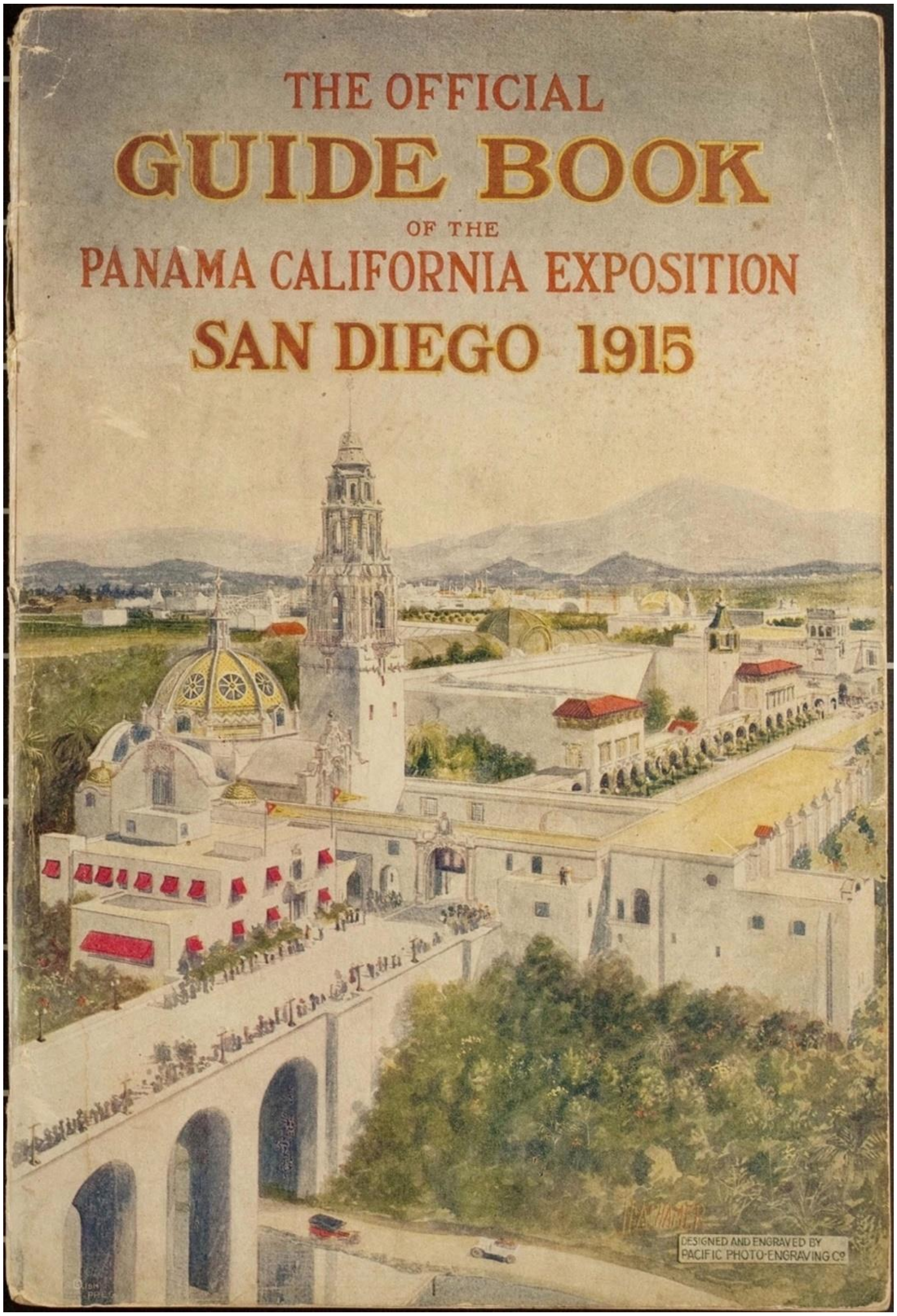

THE OFFICIAL
GUIDE BOOK
OF THE
PANAMA CALIFORNIA EXPOSITION
SAN DIEGO 1915
DESIGNED AND ENGRAVED BY
PACIFIC PHOTO-ENGRAVING CO

Figure 0.13
Zephyrin Engelhardt in his study at Mission Santa Barbara (published in Rev. Francis J. Weber's "Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M. Dean of California Mission Historians, Southern California Quarterly, Volume 47, Issue 3 (September 1965): 235 (listed as "courtesy, Franciscan Fathers of California.

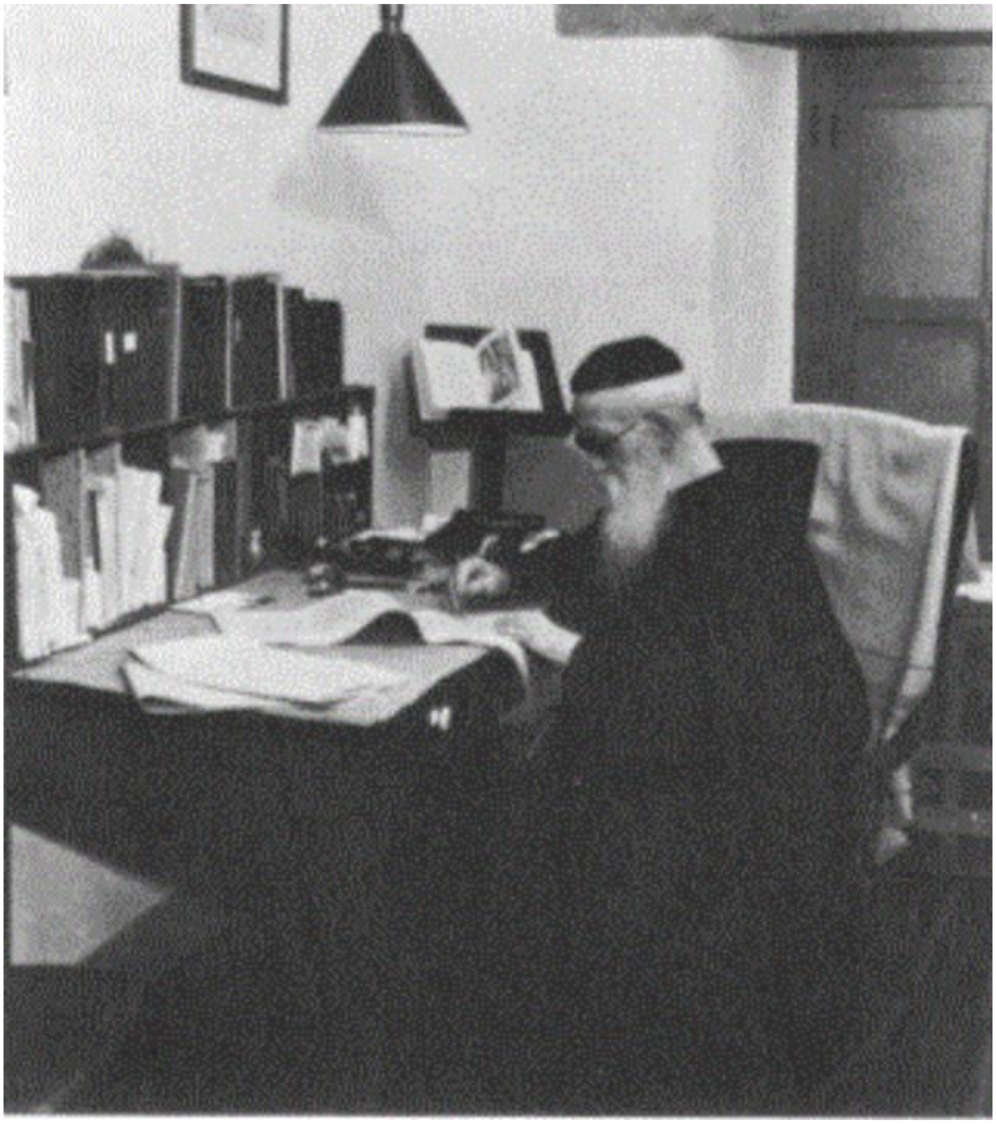
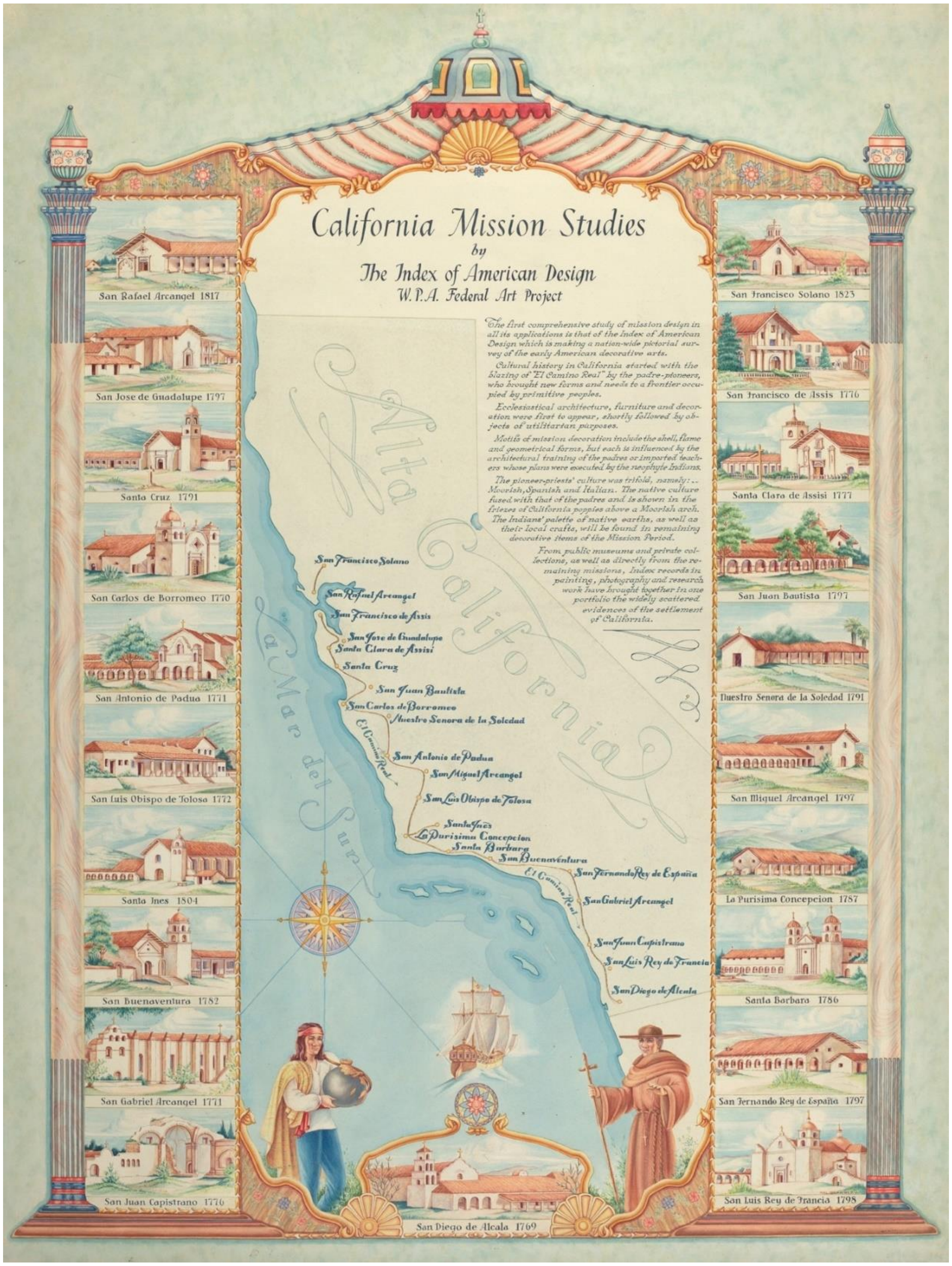


Figure 0.14
Hal Blakeley, *California Mission Studies*, 1935/1942, watercolor, colored pencil, graphite, heightening and gold ink on paper, IAD 1943.8.6985.


California Mission Studies
by
The Index of American Design
W.P.A. Federal Art Project
Alta California
La Mar del Sur
El Camino Real
San Rafael Arcangel 1817
San Jose de Guadalupe 1797
Santa Cruz 1791
San Carlos de Borromeo 1770
San Antonio de Padua 1771
San Luis Obispo de Tolosa 1772
Santa Ines 1804
San Buenaventura 1782
San Gabriel Arcangel 1771
San Juan Capistrano 1776
San Diego de Alcala 1769
San Francisco Solano 1823
San Francisco de Assis 1776
Santa Clara de Assisi 1777
San Juan Bautista 1797
Nuestra Senora de la Soledad 1791
San Miguel Arcangel 1797
La Purisima Concepcion 1787
Santa Barbara 1786
San Fernando Rey de España 1797
San Luis Rey de Francia 1798
San Francisco Solano
San Rafael Arcangel
San Francisco de Assis
San Jose de Guadalupe
Santa Clara de Assisi
Santa Cruz
San Juan Bautista
San Carlos de Borromeo
Nuestra Senora de la Soledad
San Antonio de Padua
San Miguel Arcangel
San Luis Obispo de Tolosa
Santa Ines
La Purisima Concepcion
Santa Barbara
San Buenaventura
San Fernando Rey de España
San Gabriel Arcangel
San Juan Capistrano
San Luis Rey de Francia
San Diego de Alcala

The first comprehensive study of mission design in all its applications is that of the Index of American Design which is making a nation-wide pictorial survey of the early American decorative arts.

Cultural history in California started with the blazing of "El Camino Real" by the padre-pioneers, who brought new forms and needs to a frontier occupied by primitive peoples.

Ecclesiastical architecture, furniture and decoration were first to appear, shortly followed by objects of utilitarian purposes.

Motifs of mission decoration include the shell, flame and geometrical forms, but each is influenced by the architectural training of the padres or imported teachers whose plans were executed by the neophyte Indians.

The pioneer-priests' culture was trifold, namely:.. Moorish, Spanish and Italian. The native culture fused with that of the padres and is shown in the friezes of California poppies above a Moorish arch. The Indians' palette of native earths, as well as their local crafts, will be found in remaining decorative items of the Mission Period.

From public museums and private collections, as well as directly from the remaining missions, Index records in painting, photography and research work have brought together in one portfolio the widely scattered evidences of the settlement of California.

Figure 0.15
Vintage Mission Tour Map, Curt Teich and Co. Inc., c. 1930s- 1949.

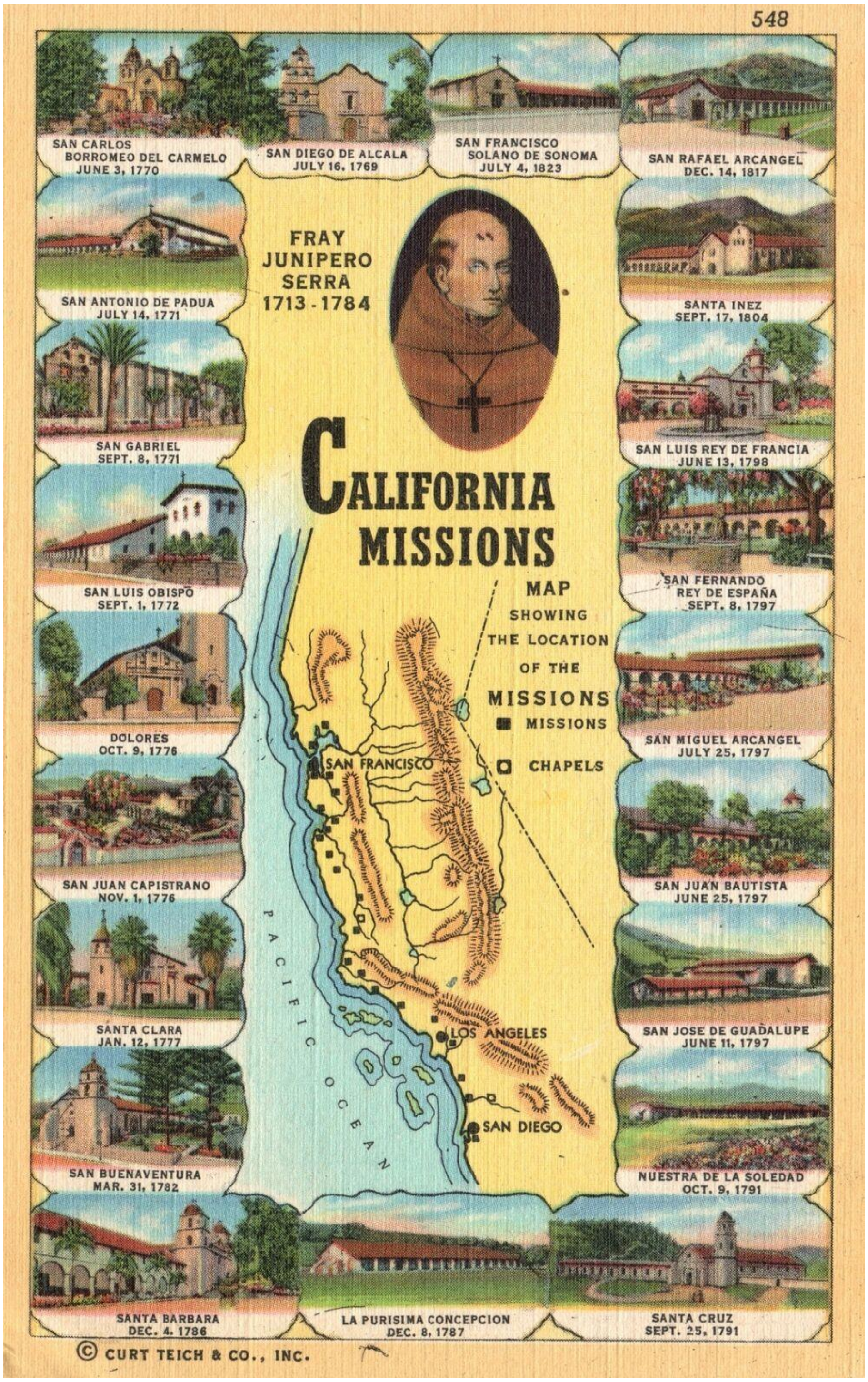
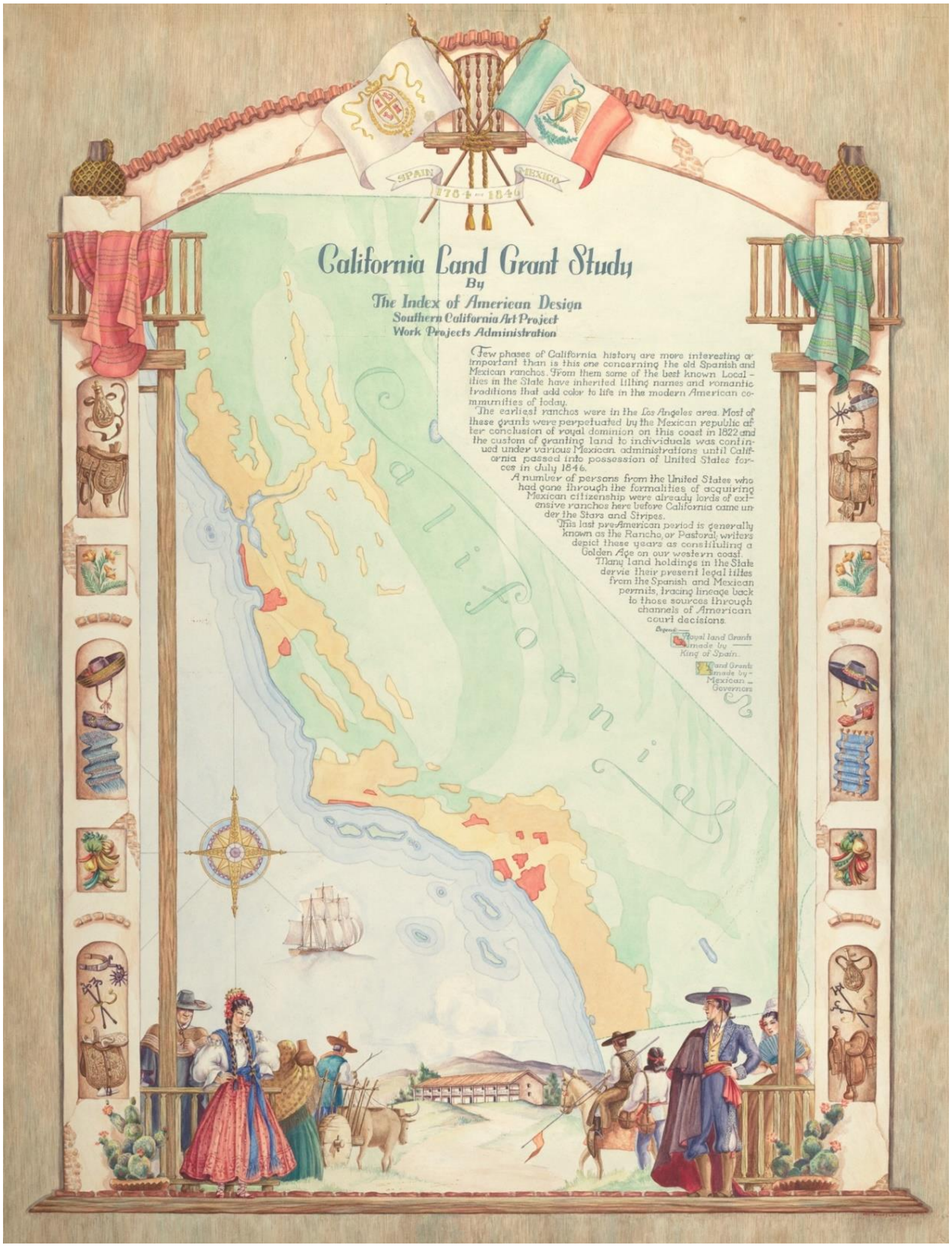

548
SAN CARLOS BORROMEO DEL CARMELO JUNE 3, 1770
SAN DIEGO DE ALCALA JULY 16, 1769
SAN FRANCISCO SOLANO DE SONOMA JULY 4, 1823
SAN RAFAEL ARCANGEL DEC. 14, 1817
FRAY JUNIPERO SERRA 1713-1784
SAN ANTONIO DE PADUA JULY 14, 1771
SANTA INEZ SEPT. 17, 1804
SAN GABRIEL SEPT. 8, 1771
SAN LUIS REY DE FRANCIA JUNE 13, 1798
CALIFORNIA MISSIONS
SAN LUIS OBISPO SEPT. 1, 1772
SAN FERNANDO REY DE ESPAÑA SEPT. 8, 1797
MAP SHOWING THE LOCATION OF THE MISSIONS
■ MISSIONS
□ CHAPELS
DOLORES OCT. 9, 1776
SAN MIGUEL ARCANGEL JULY 25, 1797
SAN FRANCISCO
SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO NOV. 1, 1776
SAN JUAN BAUTISTA JUNE 25, 1797
PACIFIC OCEAN
SANTA CLARA JAN. 12, 1777
SAN JOSE DE GUADALUPE JUNE 11, 1797
LOS ANGELES
SAN DIEGO
SAN BUENAVENTURA MAR. 31, 1782
NUESTRA DE LA SOLEDAD OCT. 9, 1791
SANTA BARBARA DEC. 4, 1786
LA PURISIMA CONCEPCION DEC. 8, 1787
SANTA CRUZ SEPT. 25, 1791
© CURT TEICH & CO., INC.

Figure 0.16
Hal Blakeley, *California Land Grant Study*, 1935/1942, watercolor, graphite and colored pencil on paper, IAD, 1943.8.7683.



SPAIN
MEXICO
1784 – 1846
California Land Grant Study
By
The Index of American Design
Southern California Art Project
Work Projects Administration
California

Few phases of California history are more interesting or important than is this one concerning the old Spanish and Mexican ranchos. From them some of the best known Localities in the State have inherited lilting names and romantic traditions that add color to life in the modern American communities of today.

The earliest ranchos were in the Los Angeles area. Most of these grants were perpetuated by the Mexican republic after conclusion of royal dominion on this coast in 1822 and the custom of granting land to individuals was continued under various Mexican administrations until California passed into possession of United States forces in July 1846.

A number of persons from the United States who had gone through the formalities of acquiring Mexican citizenship were already lords of extensive ranchos here before California came under the Stars and Stripes.

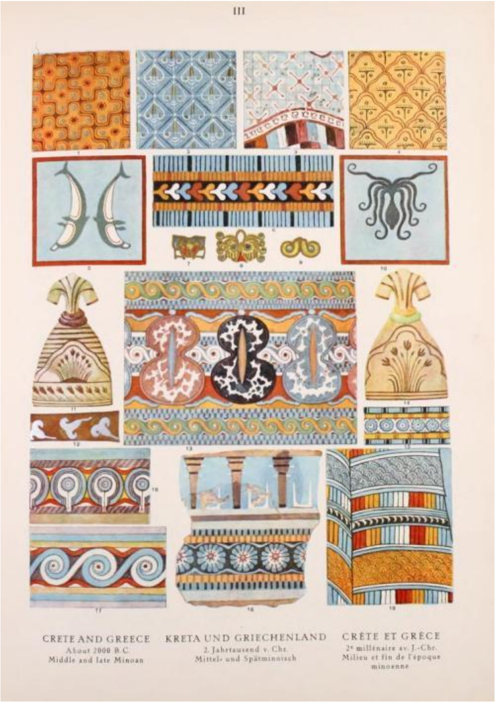
This last pre-American period is generally known as the Rancho, or Pastoral; writers depict these years as constituting a Golden Age on our western coast.

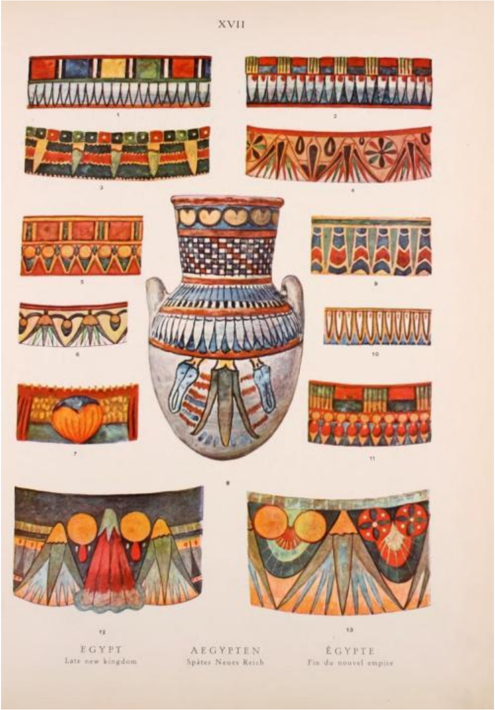
Many land holdings in the State dervie their present legal titles from the Spanish and Mexican permits, tracing lineage back to those sources through channels of American court decisions.

Legend —
🟥 Royal land Grants made by — King of Spain.
🟨 Land Grants made by — Mexican — Governors

Chapter 1 Index, Indigeneity and Nation

Figure 1.1
Sample Plates from Wehye's Ornament (Bossert, 1924); Plate XVII Egypt, Plate III Crete and Greece, Plate CX Oceana.


III
CRETE AND GREECE
About 2000 B.C.
Middle and late Minoan
KRETA UND GRIECHENLAND
2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.
Mittel- und Spätminoisch
CRÈTE ET GRÈCE
2e millénaire av. J.-Chr.
Milieu et fin de l'époque minoenne


XVII
EGYPT
Late new kingdom
AEGYPTEN
Spätes Neues Reich
ÉGYPTE
Fin du nouvel empire

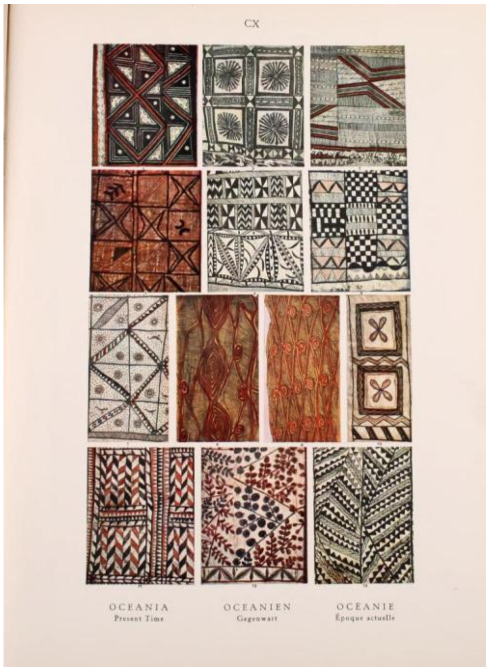

CX
OCEANIA
Present Time
OCEANIEN
Gegenwart
OCÉANIE
Époque actuelle

Figure 1.2
Randolph Miller, *Wall and Ceiling Decorations, and Holy Water Font; Restoration Drawing*, 1936, watercolor, colored pencil, pen and ink, gold ink and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.5998.

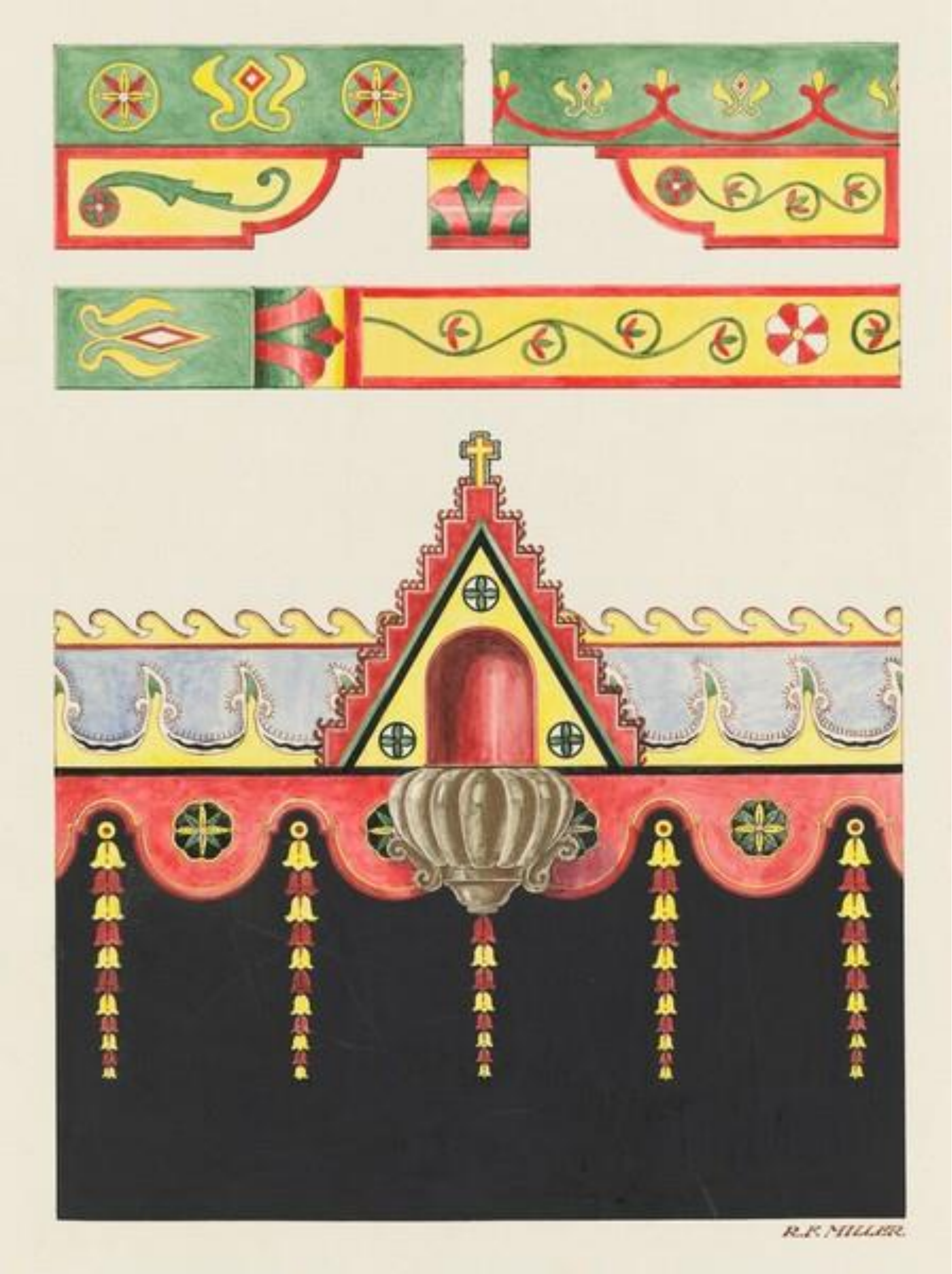


Figure 1.3
Alfred Kroeber, *Line Drawings for California Basket Designs*, Figs. 1-42. Design Elements, p. 164, from “Basket Designs of the Mission Indians of California,” *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*: Vol. XX, Part II (1922): 149-183.

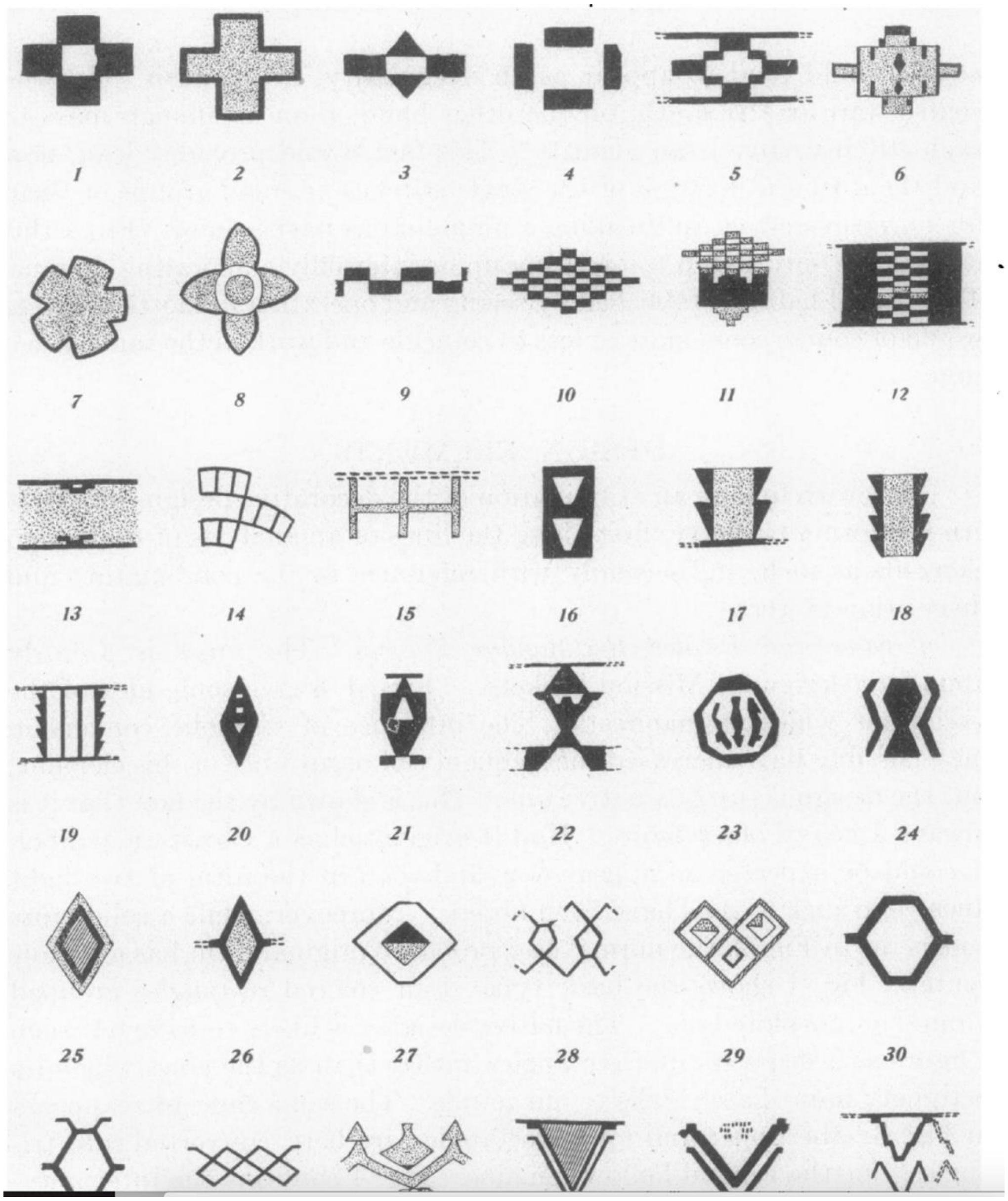

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Figure 1.4
Ferdinand Cartier, *Hadley Chest,* watercolor over graphite,1939, IAD 1943.8.5821.

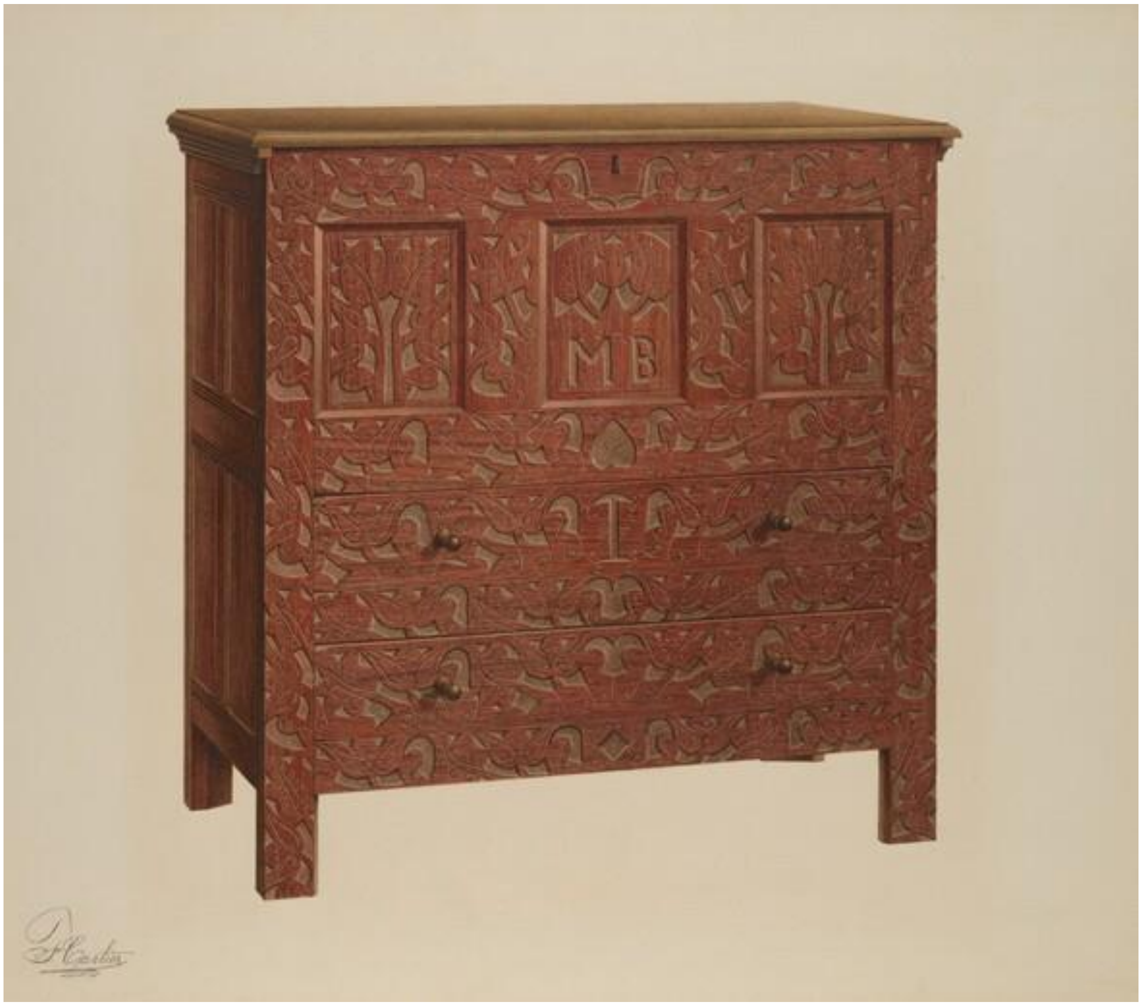


Figure 1.5
Auguste Racinet, “Primitif,” from *L’Ornement Polychrome,* colored lithograph, 1869 M. A. Racinet, *L’Ornement PolyChrome: Cent Planches En Couleurs Goret Argent Contenant Environ 2,000 Motifs de Tous Les Styles*, (Paris: Librarie de Firmin Didot, 1869).

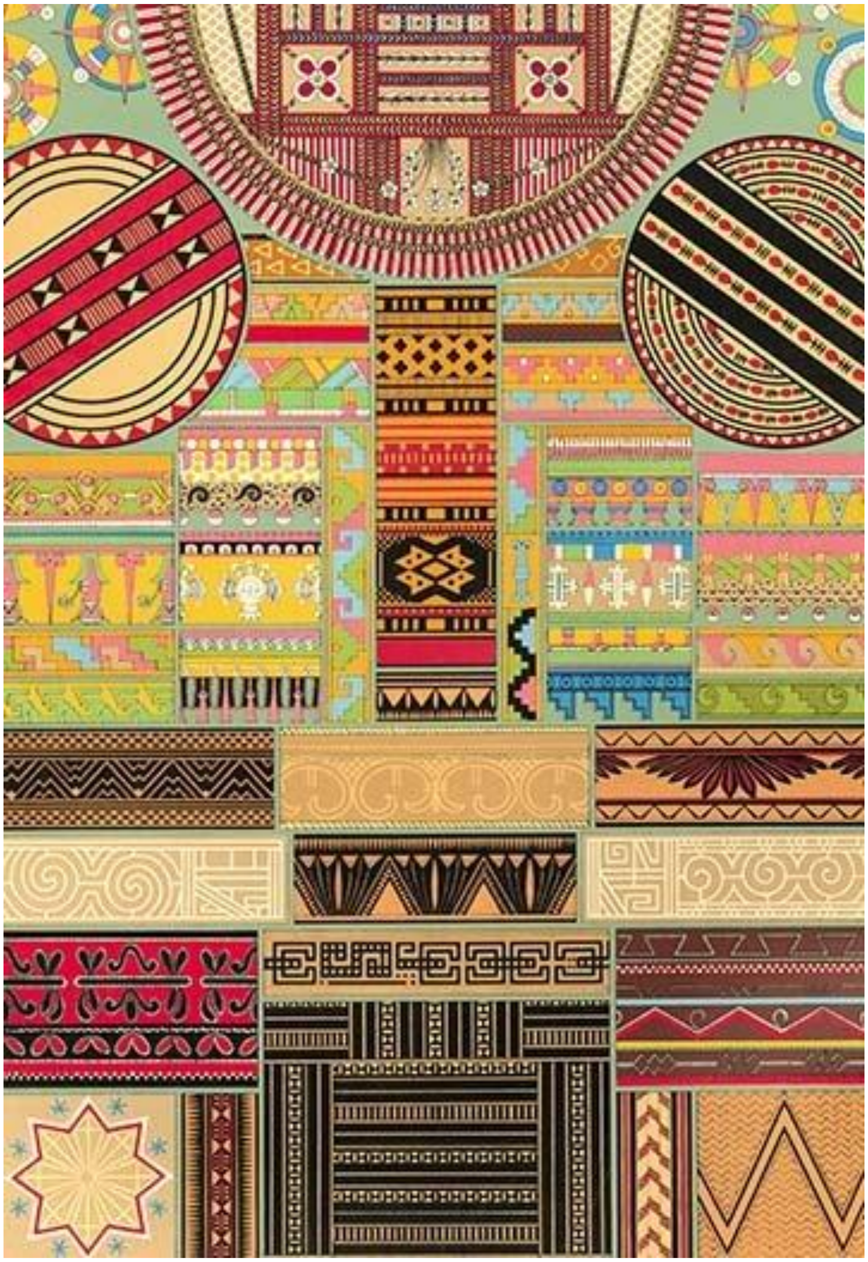


Figure 1.6
Auguste Racinet, *Greco Roman Plate*, from *L'Ornement Polychrome*, colored lithograph, 1869. (M. A. Racinet, *L'Ornement PolyChrome: Cent Planches En Couleurs Goret Argent Contenant Environ 2,000 Motifs de Tous Les Styles*, (Paris: Librarie de Firmin Didot, 1869).

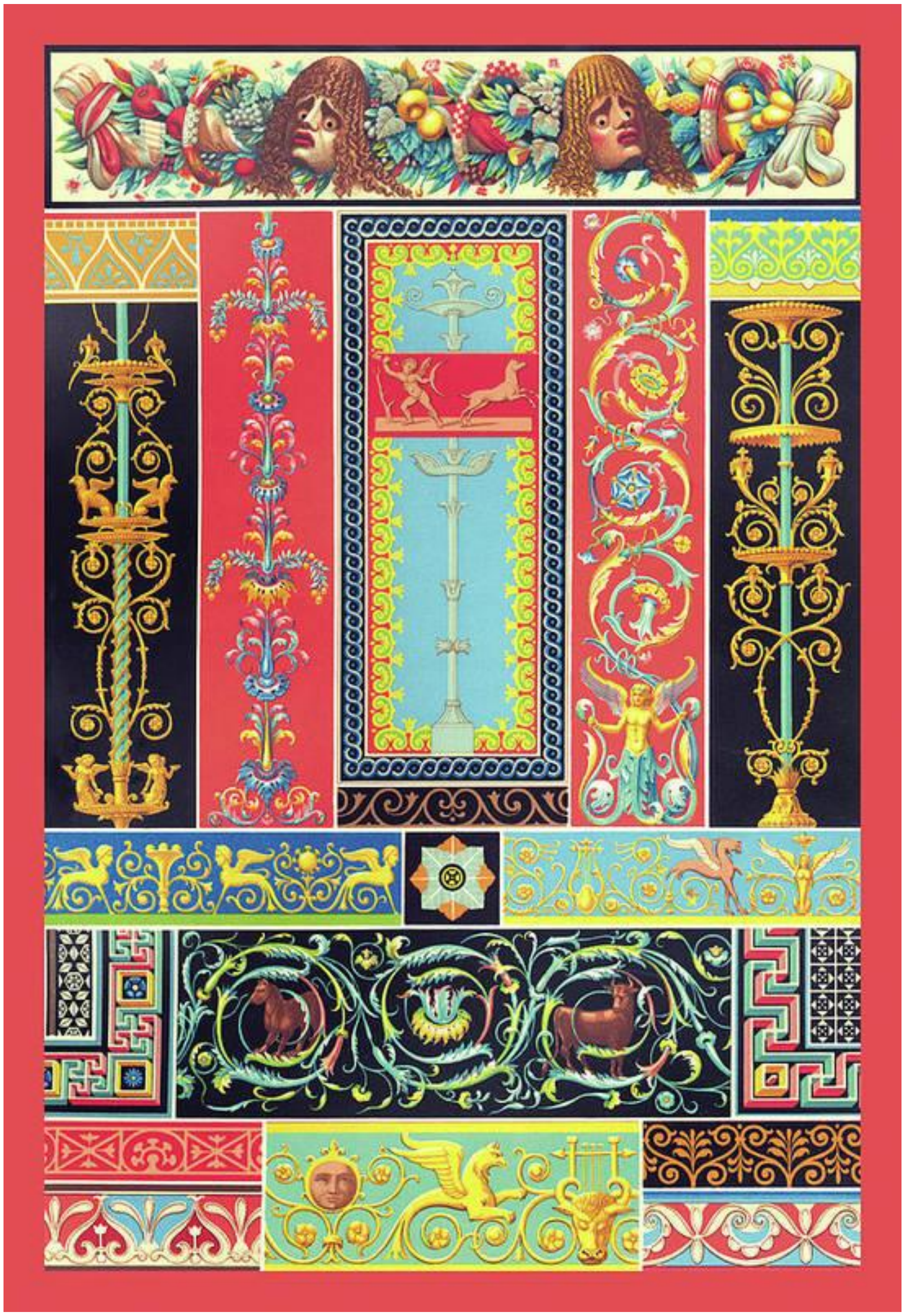
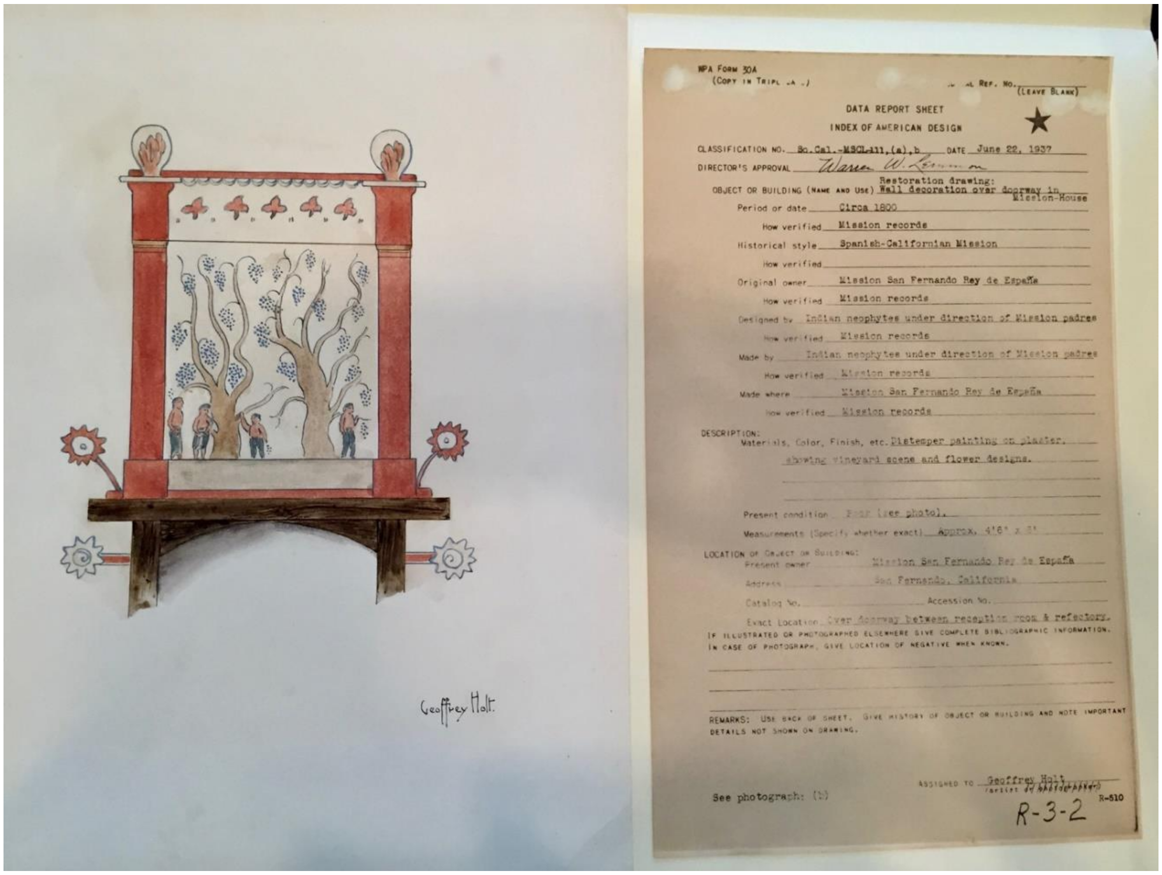


Figure 1.7
Sample Data Report Sheet, IAD, NGA, D.C.


Geoffrey Holt.

WPA Form 30A
(Copy in Triplicate)

[illegible] Ref. No. ____
(Leave Blank)

DATA REPORT SHEET
INDEX OF AMERICAN DESIGN

CLASSIFICATION NO. So.Cal.-MSCL-111,(a),b DATE June 22, 1937
DIRECTOR'S APPROVAL Warren W. L[illegible]
OBJECT OR BUILDING (Name and Use) Restoration drawing: Wall decoration over doorway in Mission-House
Period or date Circa 1800
How verified Mission records
Historical style Spanish-Californian Mission
How verified
Original owner Mission San Fernando Rey de España
How verified Mission records
Designed by Indian neophytes under direction of Mission padres
How verified Mission records
Made by Indian neophytes under direction of Mission padres
How verified Mission records
Made where Mission San Fernando Rey de España
How verified Mission records

DESCRIPTION:
Materials, Color, Finish, etc. Distemper painting on plaster, showing vineyard scene and flower designs.

Present condition Poor (see photo).
Measurements (Specify whether exact) Approx. 4'6" x 3'

LOCATION OF OBJECT OR BUILDING:
Present owner Mission San Fernando Rey de España
Address San Fernando, California
Catalog No. ____ Accession No. ____
Exact Location Over doorway between reception room & refectory.

IF ILLUSTRATED OR PHOTOGRAPHED ELSEWHERE GIVE COMPLETE BIBLIOGRAPHIC INFORMATION. IN CASE OF PHOTOGRAPH, GIVE LOCATION OF NEGATIVE WHEN KNOWN.

REMARKS: USE BACK OF SHEET. GIVE HISTORY OF OBJECT OR BUILDING AND NOTE IMPORTANT DETAILS NOT SHOWN ON DRAWING.

See photograph: (b)

ASSIGNED TO Geoffrey Holt
(Artist or Photographer)

R-510

R-3-2

Figure 1.8
Federal Art Project (N.Y.) and Robbins, *IAD at Macy's Department Store, NYC*, 1938 July 30. Holger Cahill papers, 1910-1993, 10321. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

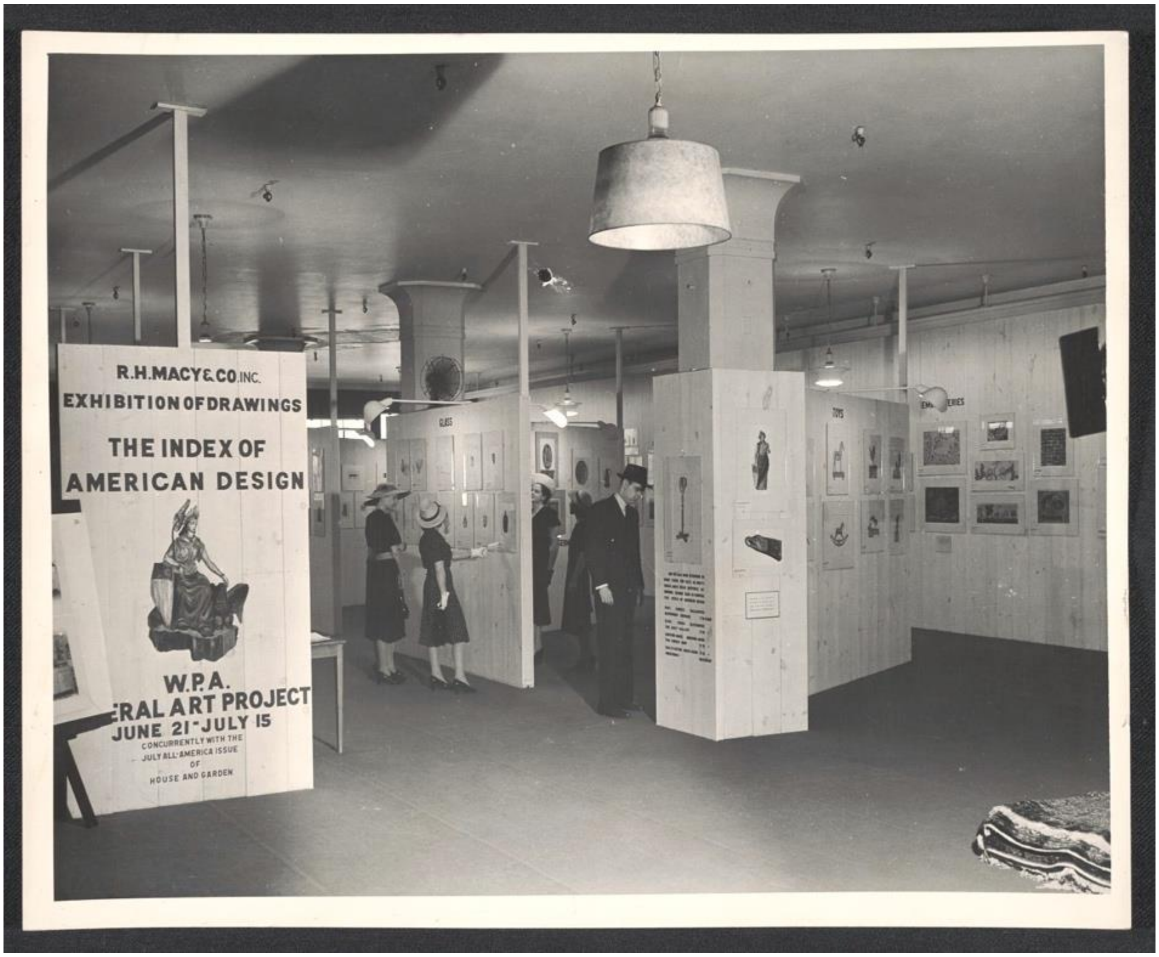

R.H.MACY & CO. INC.
EXHIBITION OF DRAWINGS
THE INDEX OF
AMERICAN DESIGN
W.P.A.
ERAL ART PROJECT
JUNE 21 - JULY 15
CONCURRENTLY WITH THE
JULY ALL-AMERICA ISSUE
OF
HOUSE AND GARDEN
GLASS
TOYS

Figure 1.9
Gallery IX-Exhibit of Guatemalan Textiles, 1936, The Cleveland Museum of Art Gallery 220, Installation view of ‘Guatemalan Textiles and Costumes Collected by Ruth Reeves; Negative Number 16856, Cleveland Museum of Art Archives.

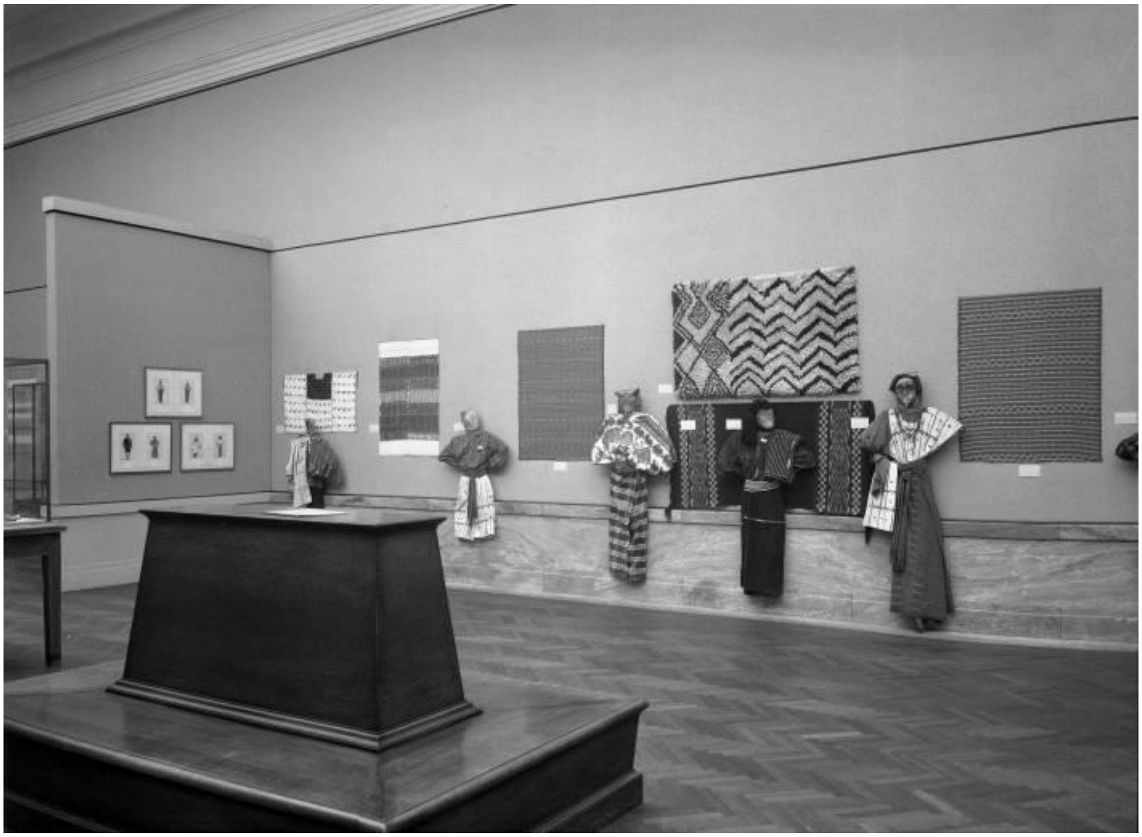


Figure 1.10
Ruth Reeves, *Festival*, tapestry, 1935.

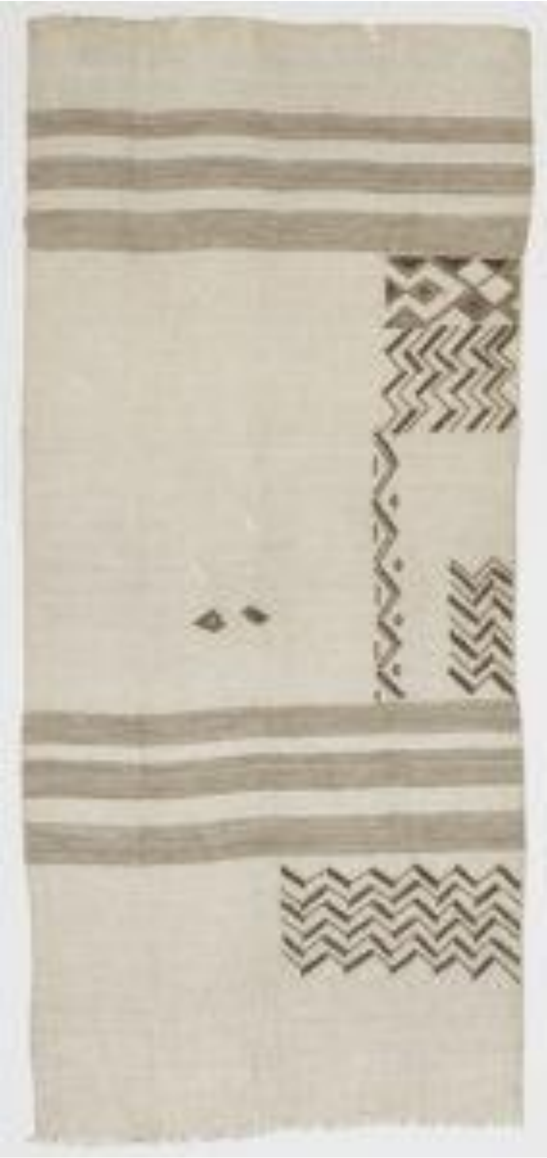


Figure 1.11
Wayne White, *A Civil War Drum*, 1939-1940, watercolor, graphite, and colored pencil, and pen and ink, IAD 1943.8.8142.

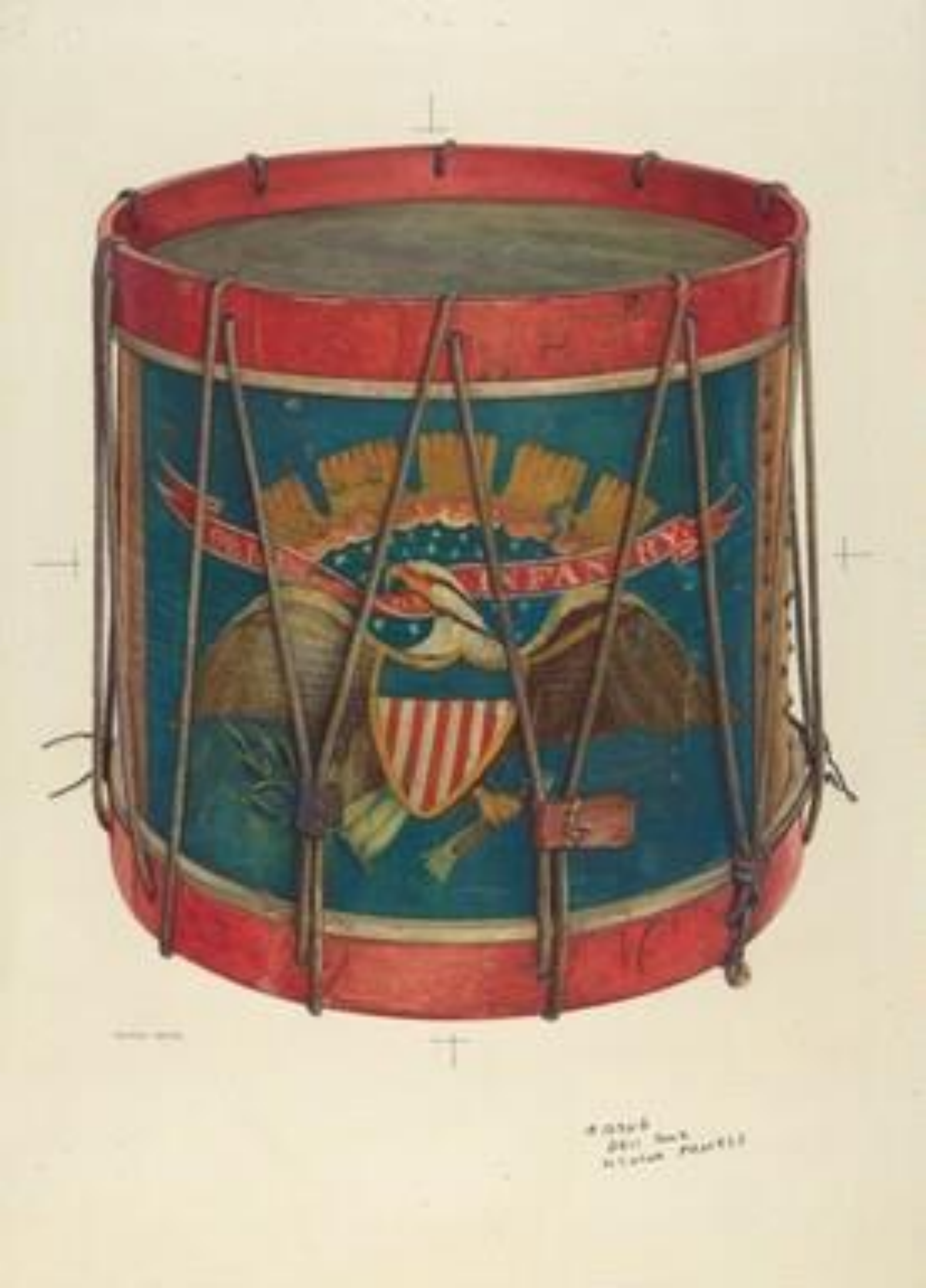


Figure 1.12
Elizabeth Moutal, *Shaker Knitting Needle Case*, 1936, watercolor and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.13664.

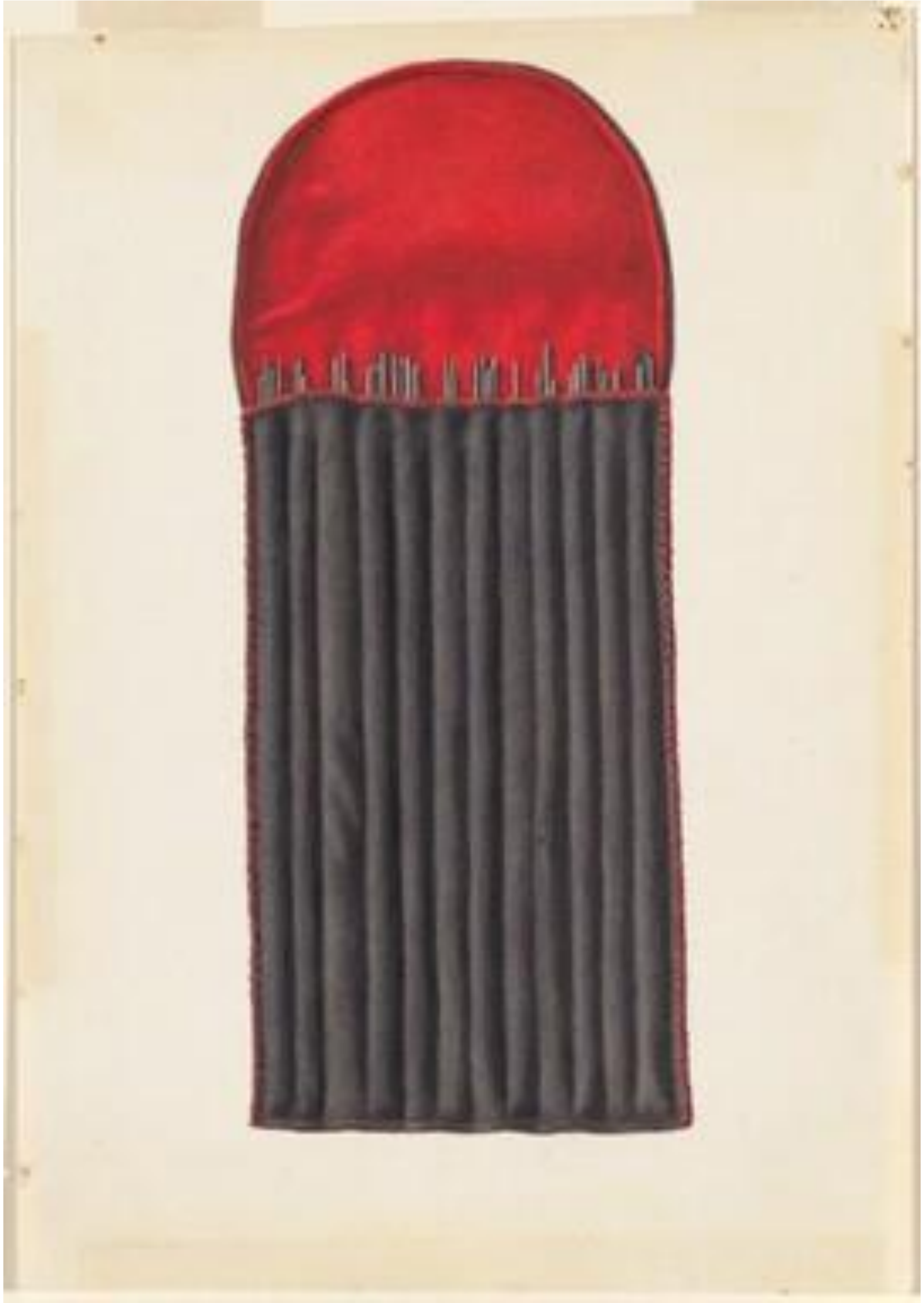


Figure 1.13
Toaster, c., watercolor and graphite on paperboard, IAD 1943.8.16601.

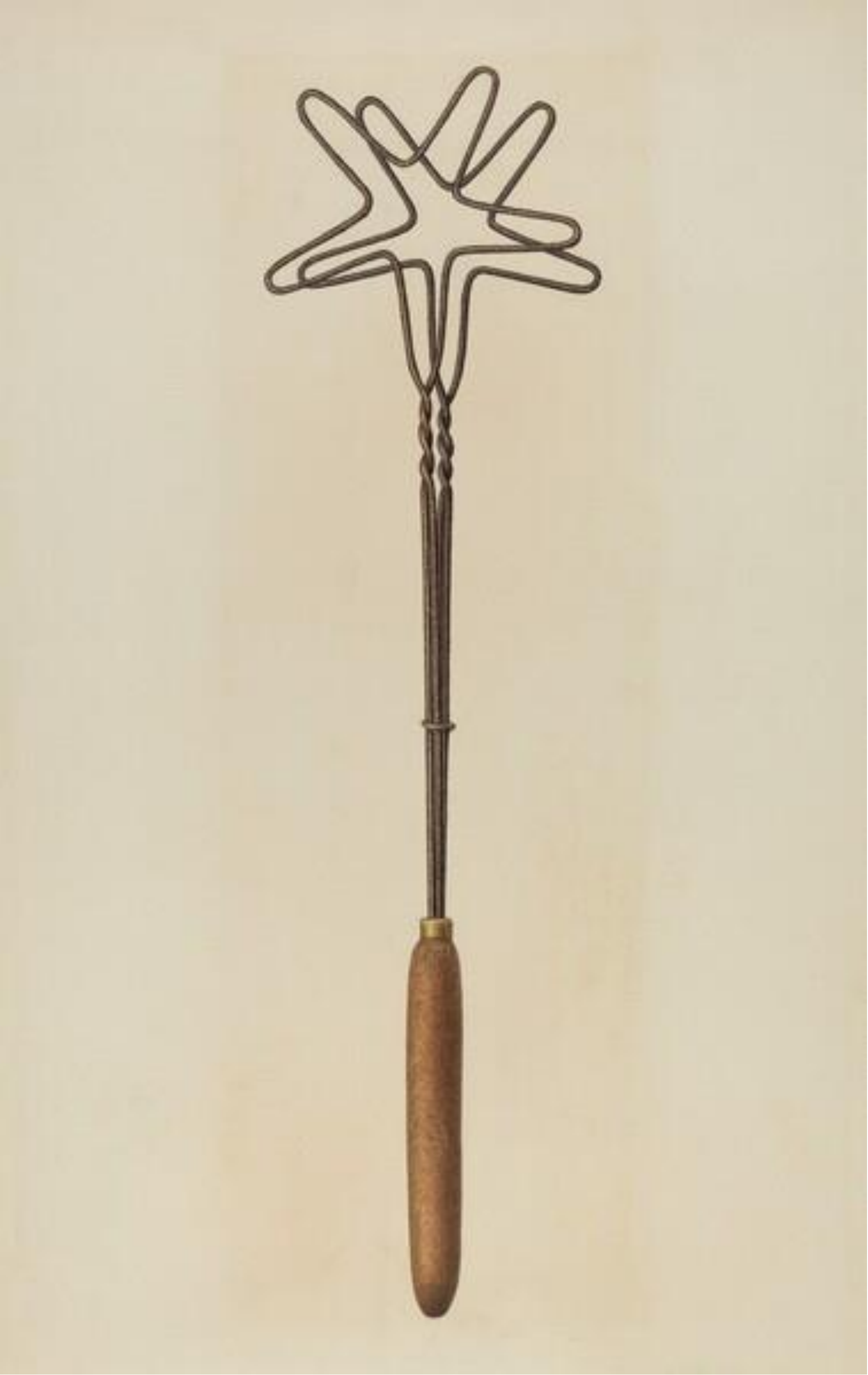


Figure 1.14
Aztec, Inca and Mayan art on display in American Sources of Modern Art Show, 1933, Museum of Modern Art, May 8, 1933–July 1, 1933. Photographic Archive. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York. IN29.3.

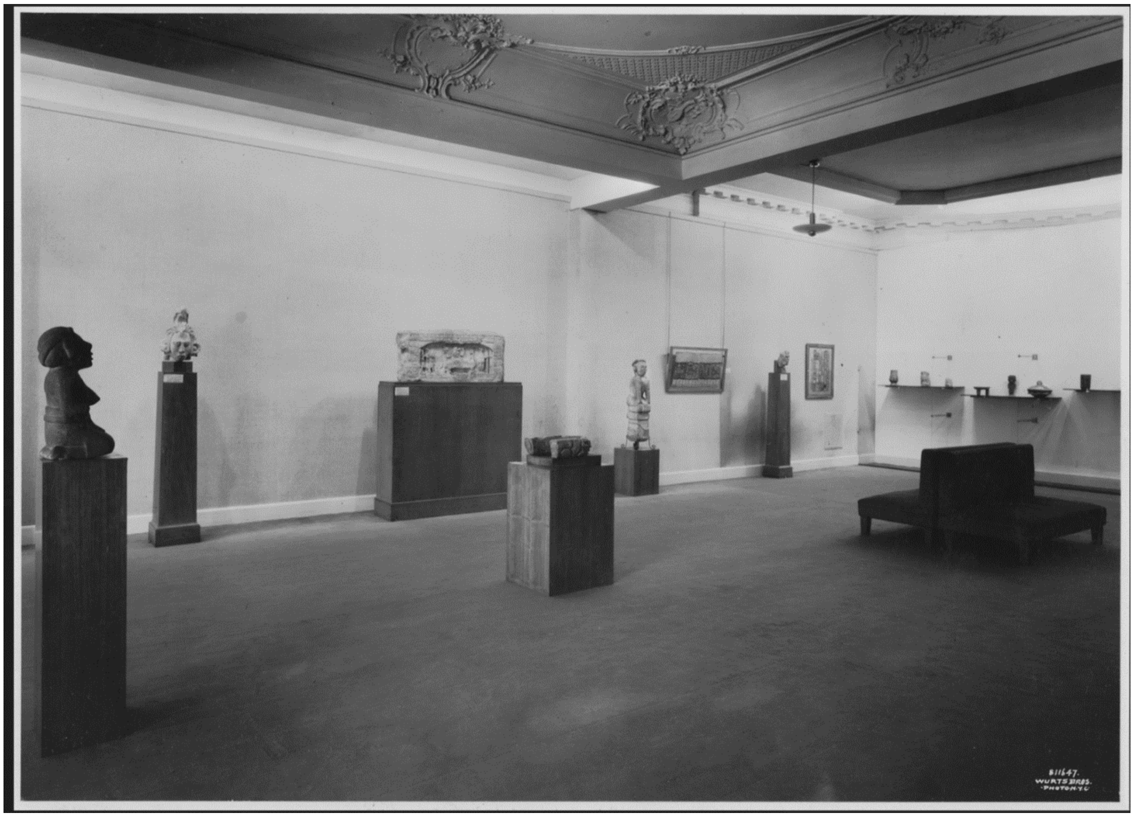

811647.
WURTS BROS.
·PHOTO N.Y.C

Figure 1.15
Charles Sheeler, *Americana*, 1931, oil on canvas, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1992.24.8.

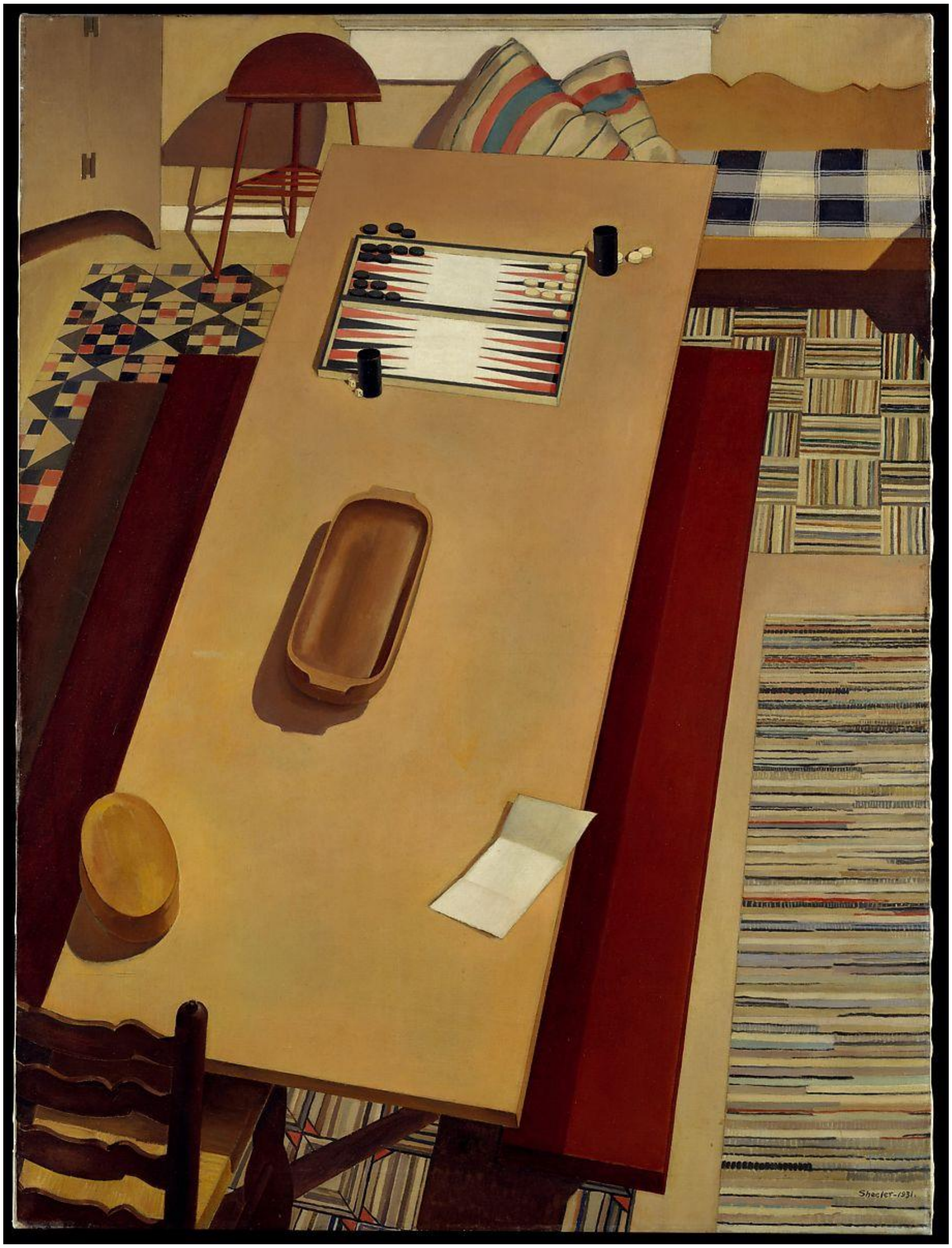

Sheeler-1931.

Figure 1.16
Marsden Hartley, *El Santo*, 1919, oil on canvas, New Mexico Museum of Art 523.23P.

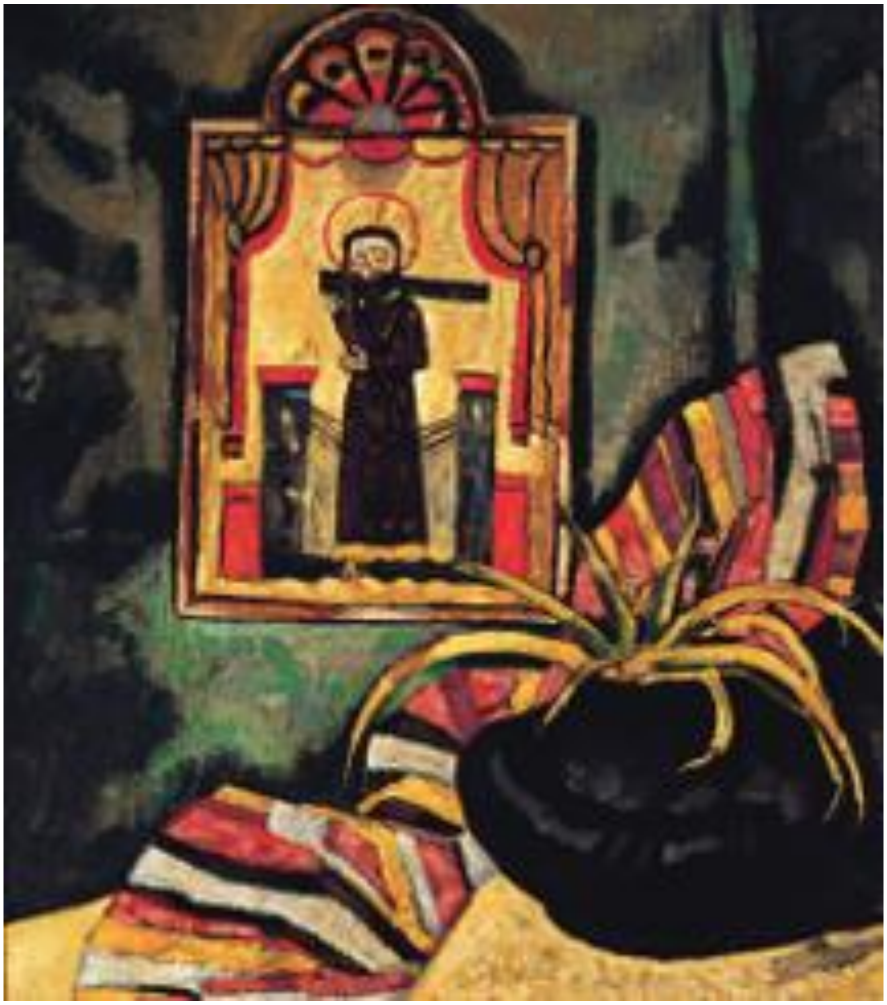
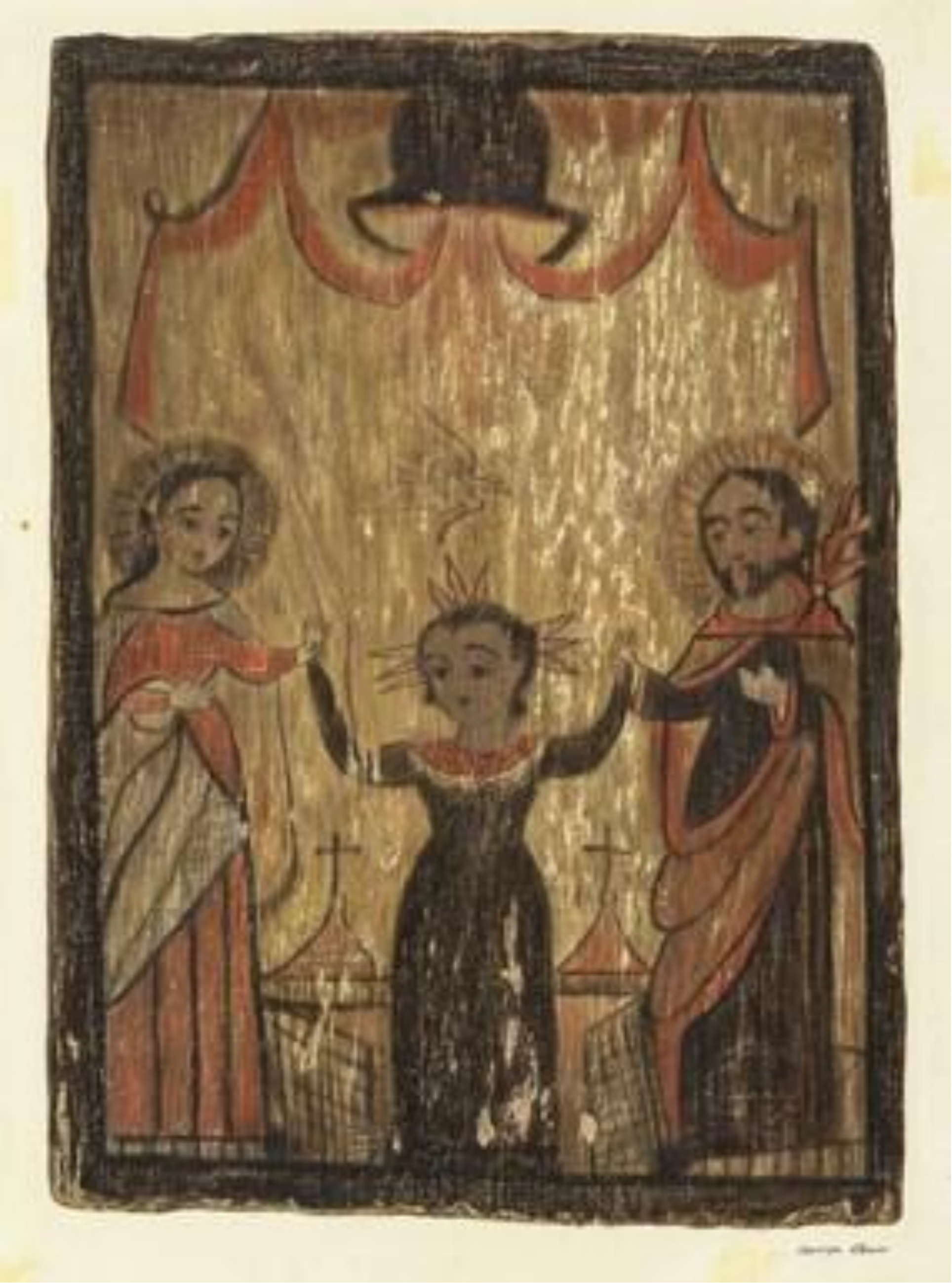


Figure 1.17
George Rhone, *The Holy Family*, c. 1938, watercolor and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.17080.



Chapter 2 Native Painting as a Usable Past

Figure 2.1
Alfred Kroeber, *Linguistic Groups of California*, from *Handbook of the Indians of California*, Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1925.

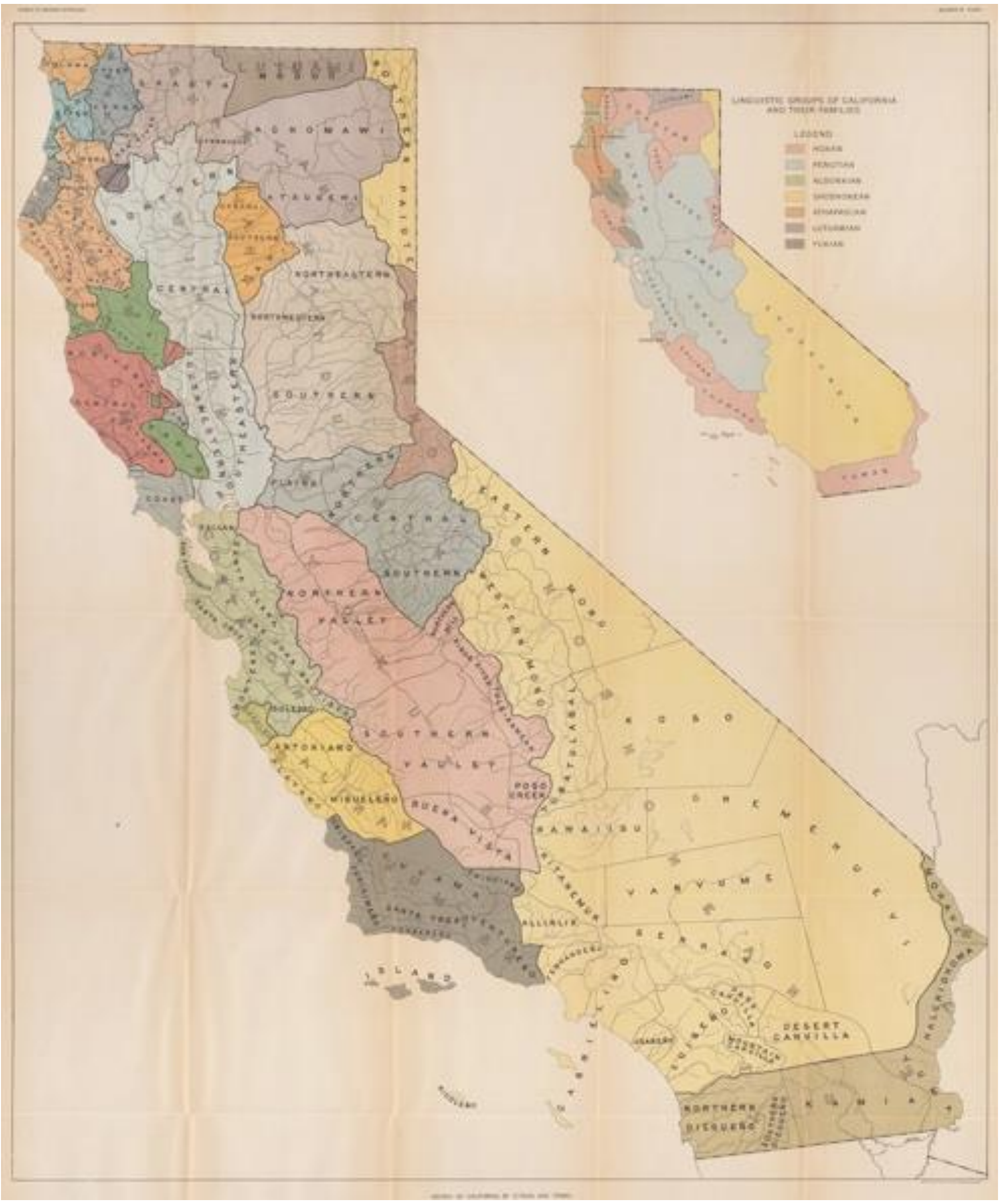

LINGUISTIC GROUPS OF CALIFORNIA AND THEIR FAMILIES
LEGEND
HOKAN
PENUTIAN
ALGONKIAN
SHOSHONEAN
ATHABASCAN
LUTUAMIAN
YUKIAN
SHASTA
ACHOMAWI
PAIUTE
NORTHEASTERN
CENTRAL
SOUTHERN
NORTHERN
VALLEY
EASTERN MONO
WESTERN MONO
KOSO
CHEMEHUEVI
KAWAIISU
VANYUME
SERRANO
DESERT CAHUILLA
NORTHERN DIEGUENO
KAMIA
ISLAND
POSO CREEK
BUENA VISTA
MIGUELENO
ANTONIANO
SOLEDAD

Figure 2.2
Niceley, *Chumash Cave Paintings in the Burro Flats Painted Cave*, Simi Valley, CA. This file is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International license. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Chumash-Paintings-Simi-Valley.png

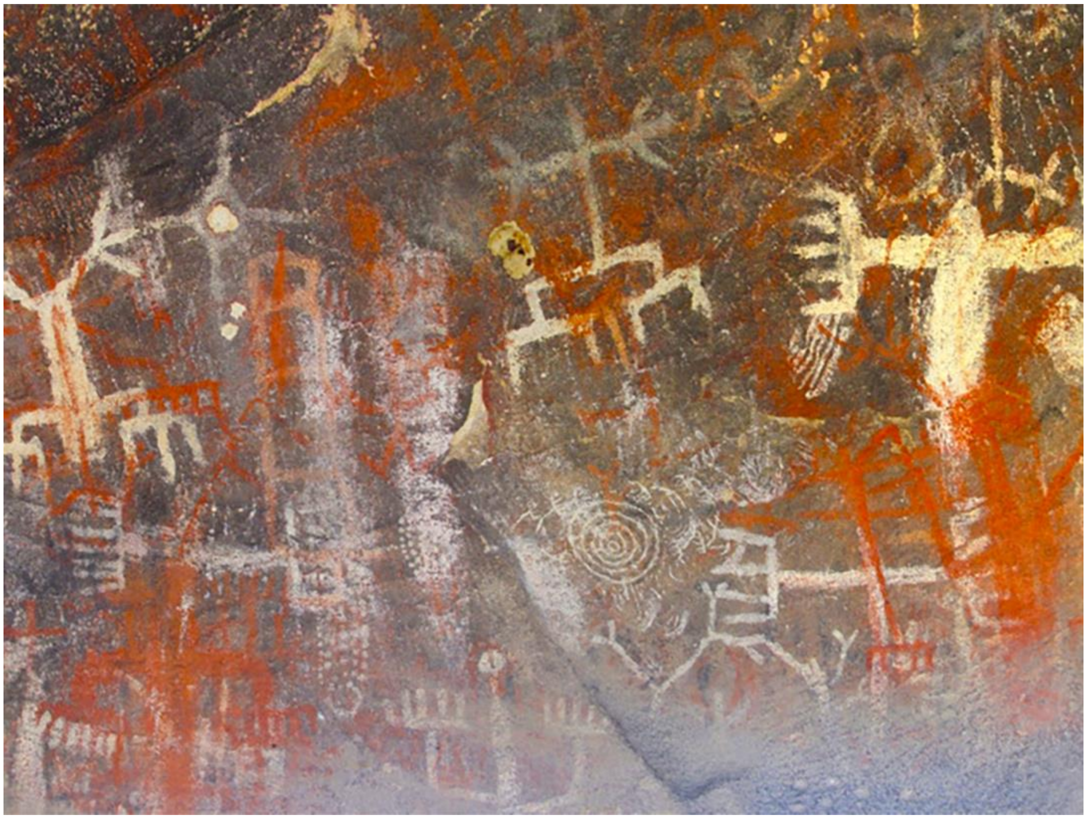
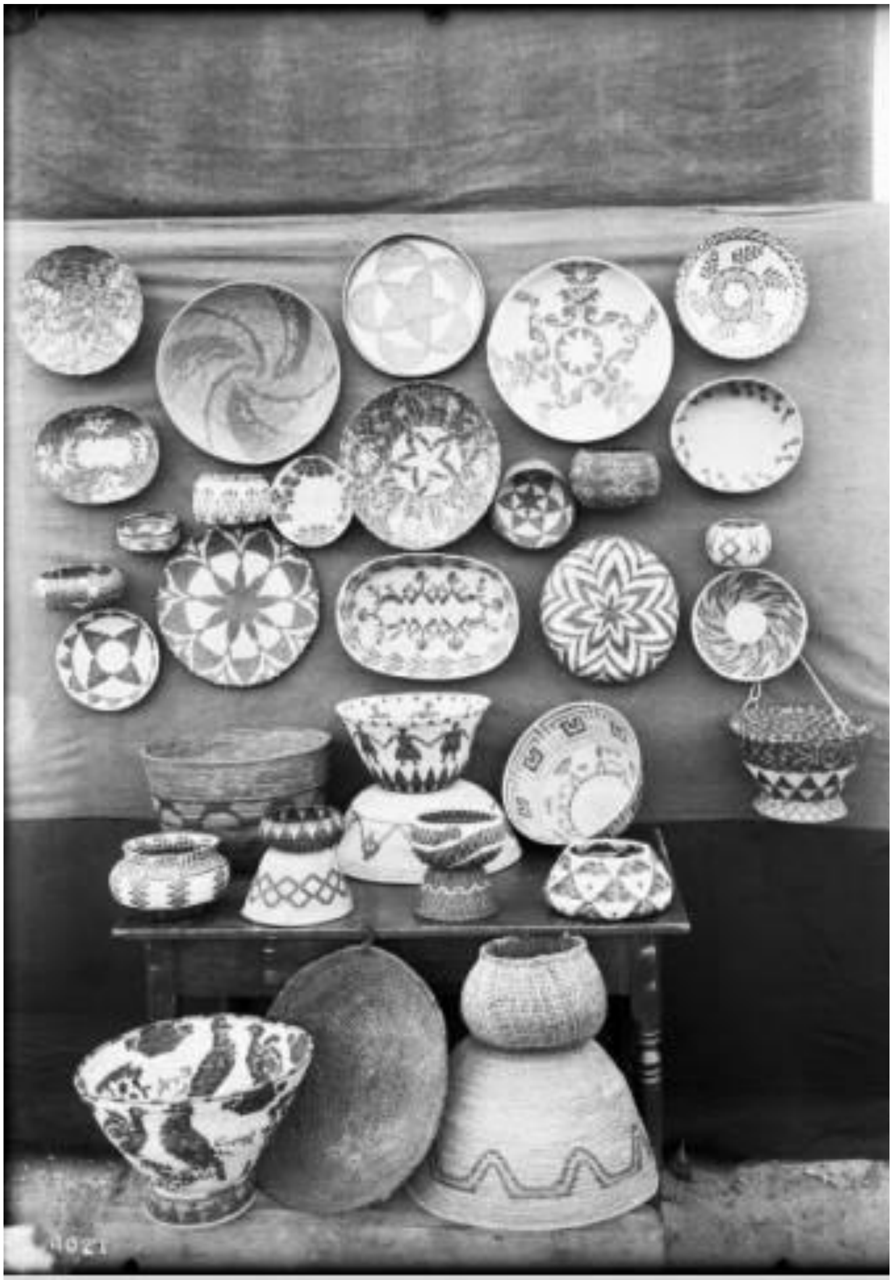


Figure 2.3
C. C. Pierce, *Collection of 36 Pala Mission Indian Baskets*, c. 1905, glass plate negative, University of Southern California Libraries and California Historical Society, University of Southern California Digital Library.



Digitally reproduced by the USC Digital Library; From the California Historical Society Collection at the University of Southern

Figure 2.4
Lala Eve Rivol, *Petroglyph in California*, c 1935-1942, color lithograph of Chumash Cave Painting, Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, L43.2.578. (corresponds to *Petroglyph*, 1935-1942, Lithograph on wove paper, IAD 1943.8.7603)

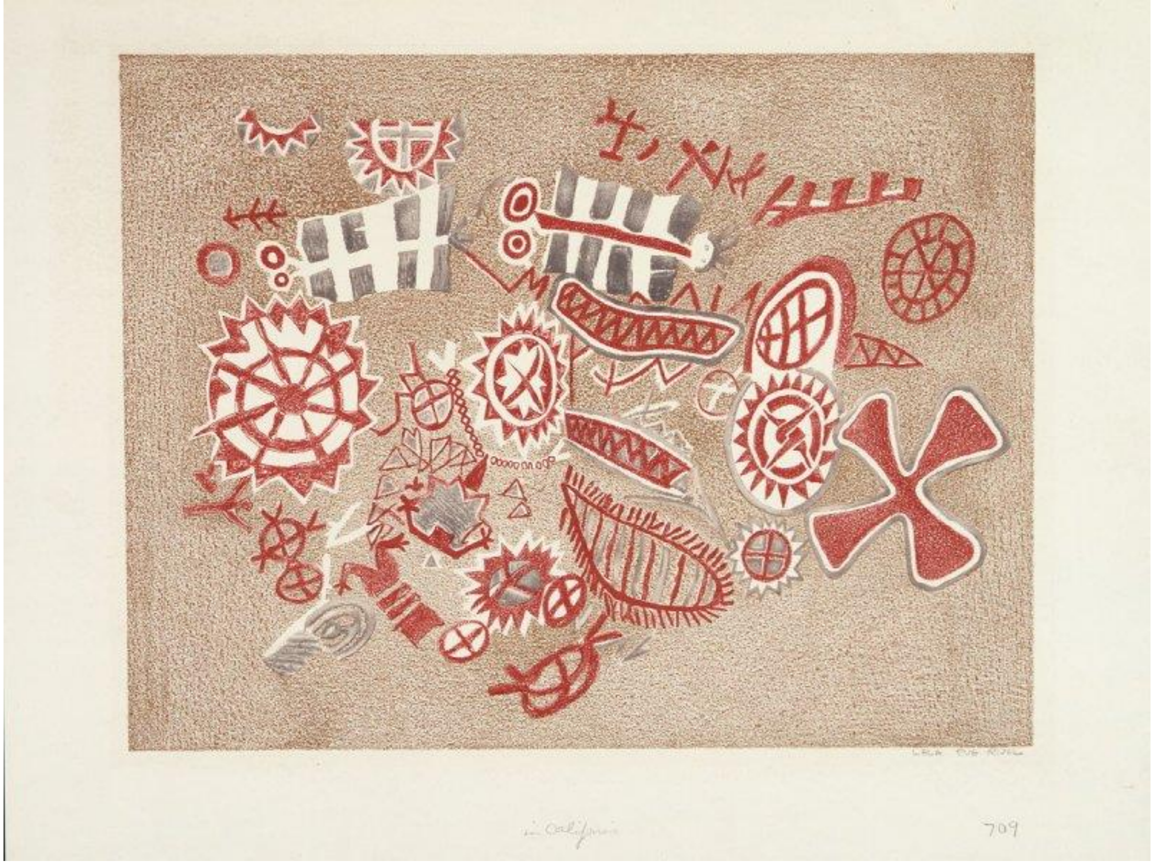
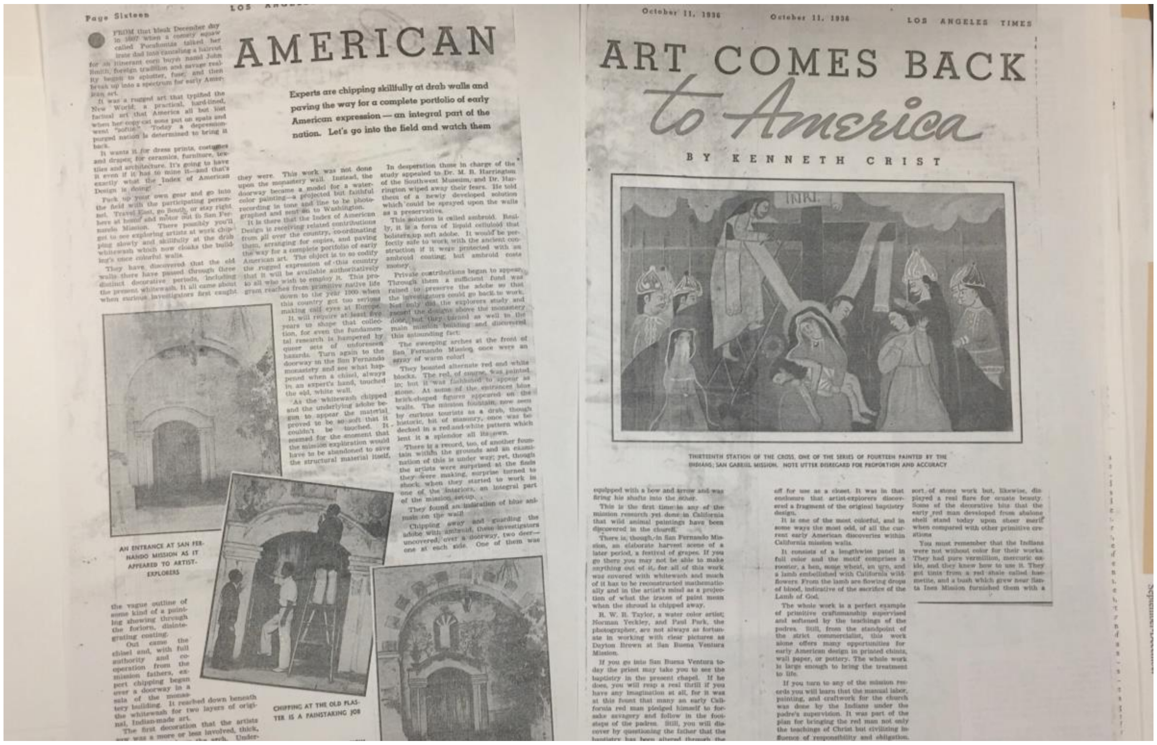

LALA EVE RIVOL
in California
709

Figure 2.5
Kenneth Crist, “American Art Comes Back to America,”*Los Angeles Times*, Oct. 11, 1936, 216-217.



Page Sixteen

LOS ANGELES TIMES

October 11, 1936

October 11, 1936

AMERICAN ART COMES BACK to America

Experts are chipping skillfully at drab walls and paving the way for a complete portfolio of early American expression — an integral part of the nation. Let's go into the field and watch them

BY KENNETH CRIST

AN ENTRANCE AT SAN FERNANDO MISSION AS IT APPEARED TO ARTIST-EXPLORERS

CHIPPING AT THE OLD PLASTER IS A PAINSTAKING JOB

THIRTEENTH STATION OF THE CROSS, ONE OF THE SERIES OF FOURTEEN PAINTED BY THE INDIANS; SAN GABRIEL MISSION. NOTE UTTER DISREGARD FOR PROPORTION AND ACCURACY

Figure 2.6
Poster for California Mission Studies Exhibition, Fine Arts Gallery, University of Southern California, Nov. 15- Dec. 10, 44A2 Records of the IAD (General Files 1936-1942), Reference Files- Exhibitions-California, Los Angeles, NGA, D.C., Gallery Archives.

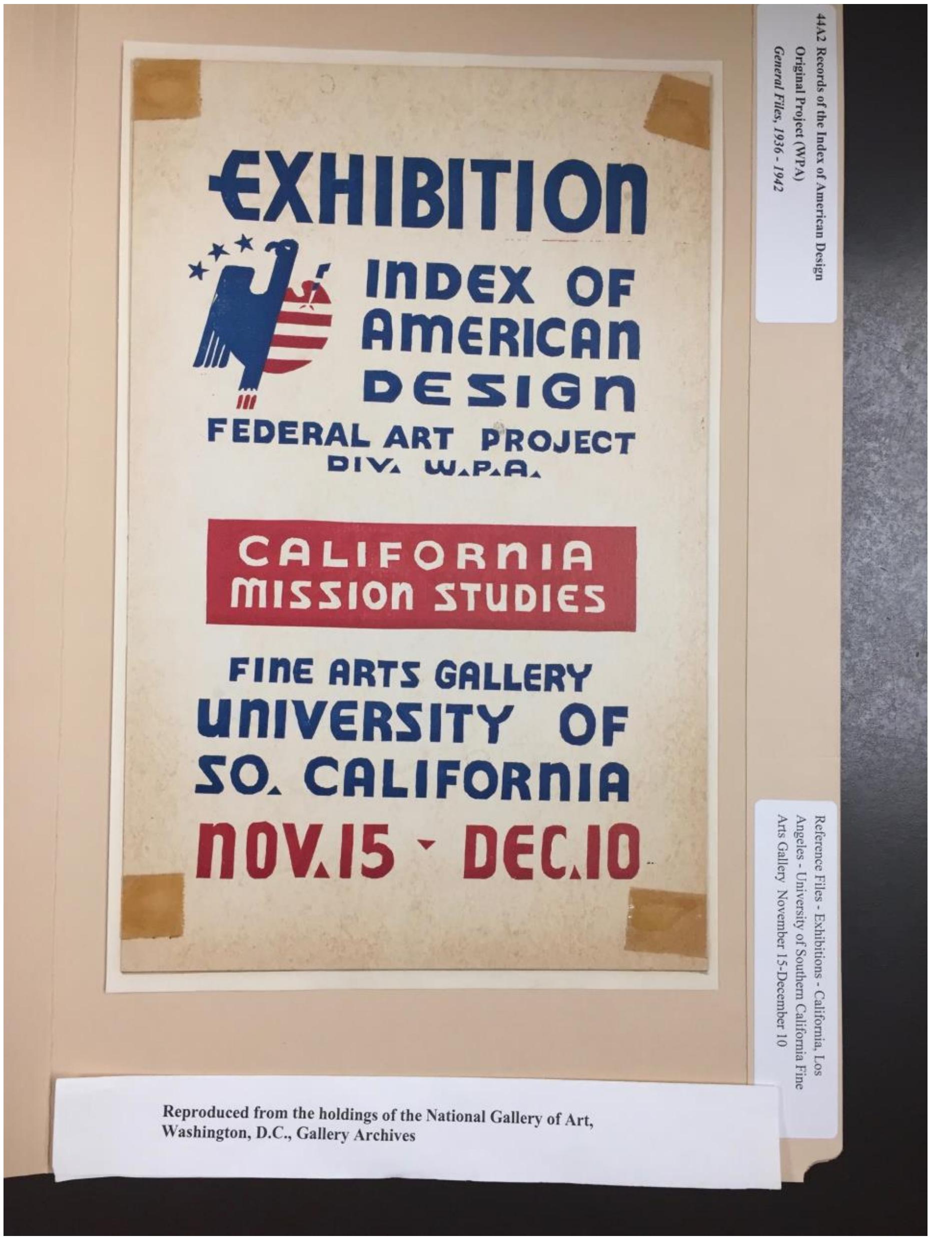

EXHIBITION
INDEX OF AMERICAN DESIGN
FEDERAL ART PROJECT
DIV. W.P.A.
CALIFORNIA MISSION STUDIES
FINE ARTS GALLERY
UNIVERSITY OF SO. CALIFORNIA
NOV.15 - DEC.10
44A2 Records of the Index of American Design
Original Project (WPA)
General Files, 1936 - 1942
Reference Files - Exhibitions - California, Los Angeles - University of Southern California Fine Arts Gallery November 15-December 10
Reproduced from the holdings of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives

Figure 2.7
Corridor of convento, Mission San Fernando, in M.R. Harrington, *The Story of the San Fernando Mission*, published by San Fernando Mission Curio Shop, 1954.

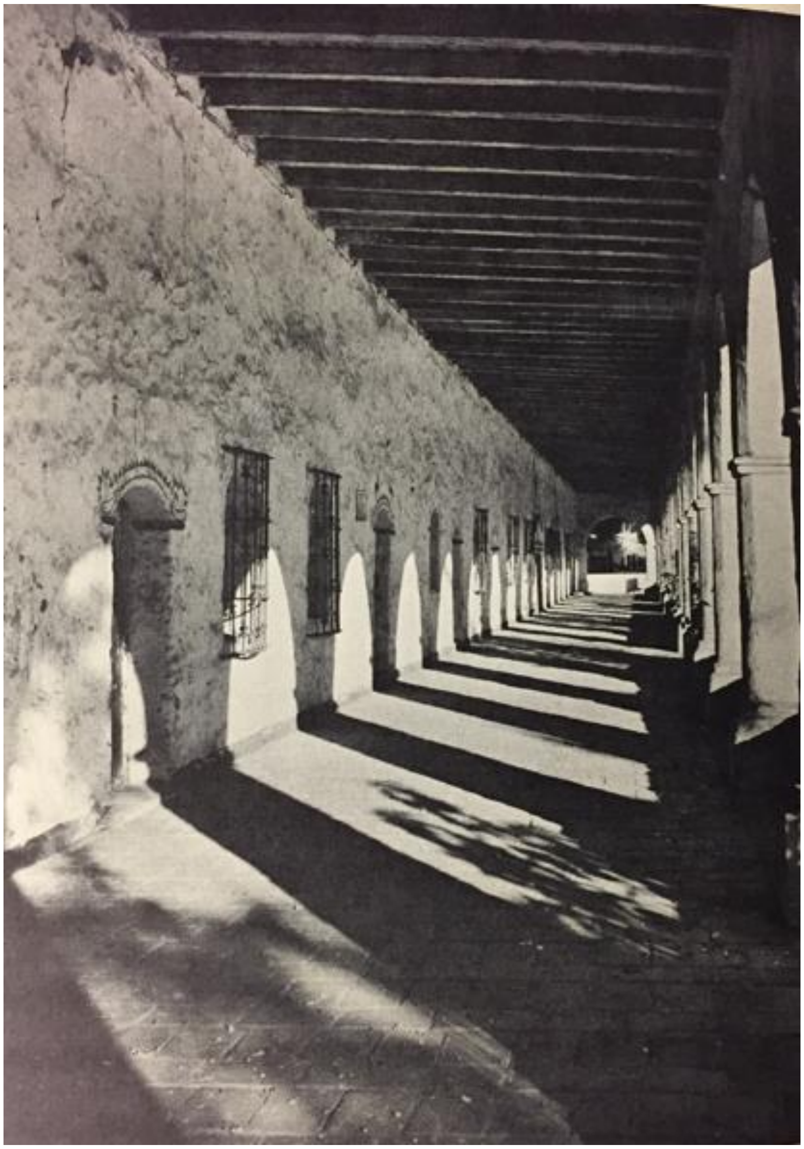


Figure 2.8
Geoffrey Holt, *Restoration Drawing: Wall Decoration Over Doorway, Façade of Mission House*, c. 1937, watercolor, colored pencil and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.5941.

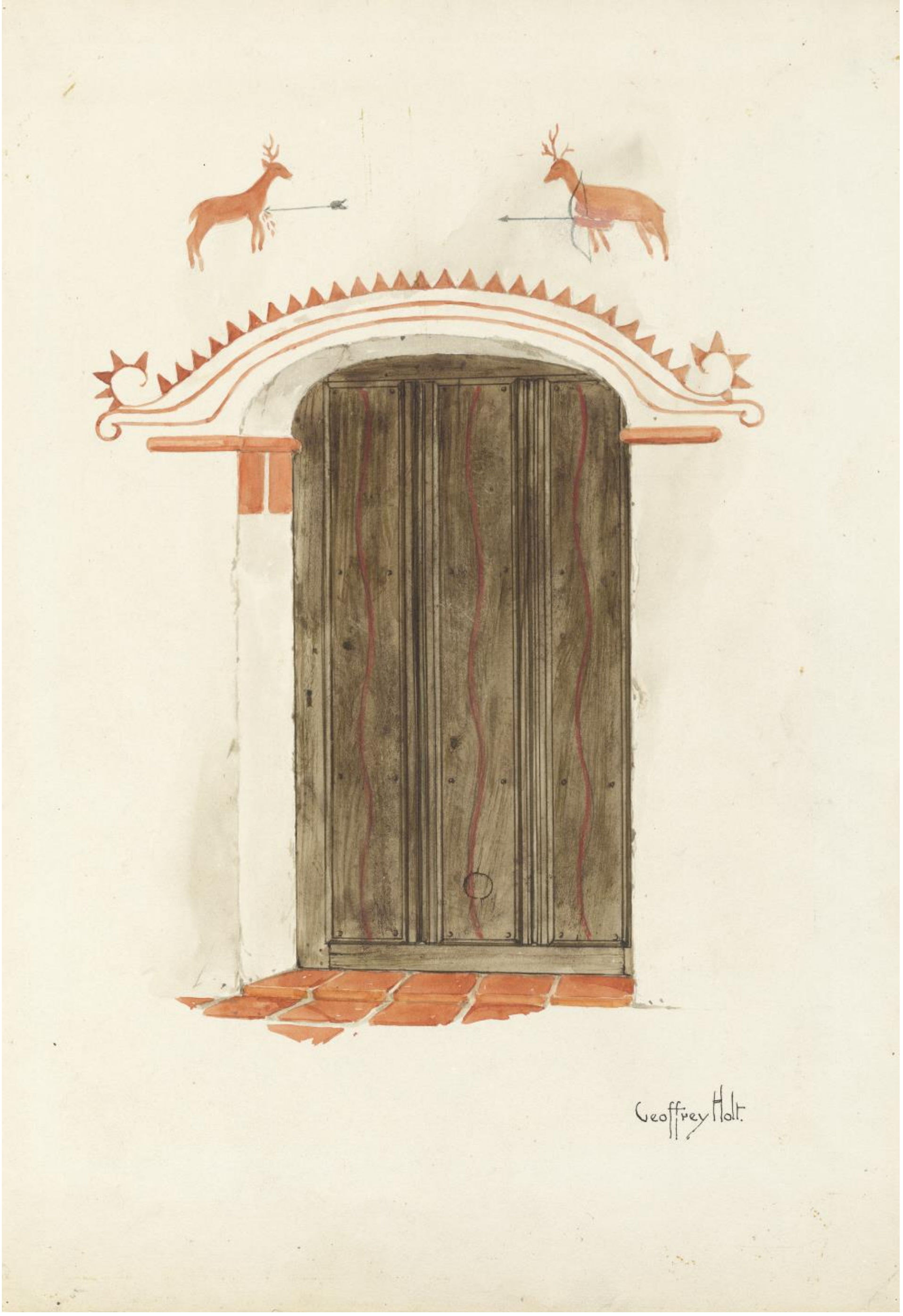

Geoffrey Holt.

Figure 2.9
Geoffrey Holt, *Restoration Drawing: Façade of Mission House*, 1937, watercolor, colored pencil and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.5943.

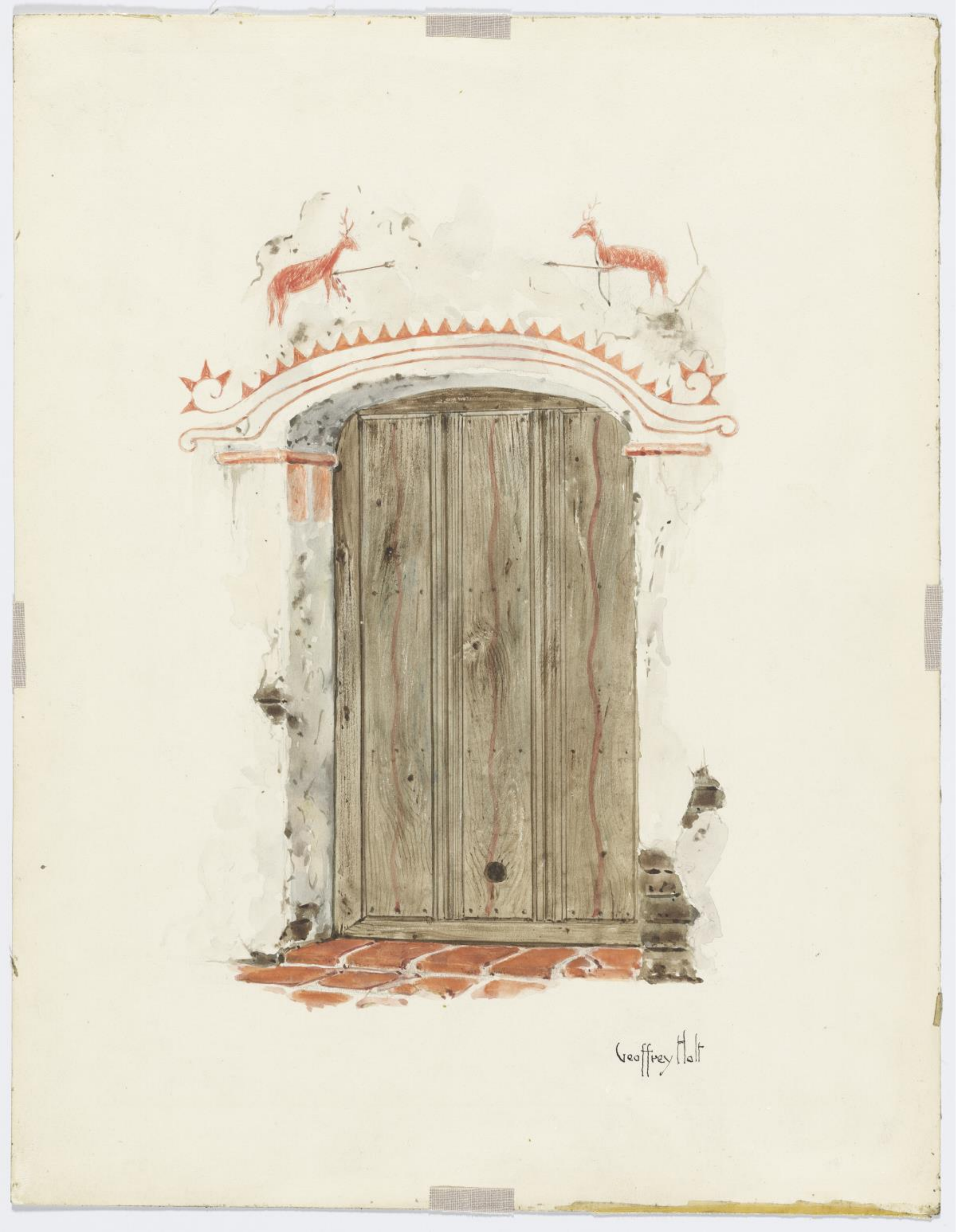
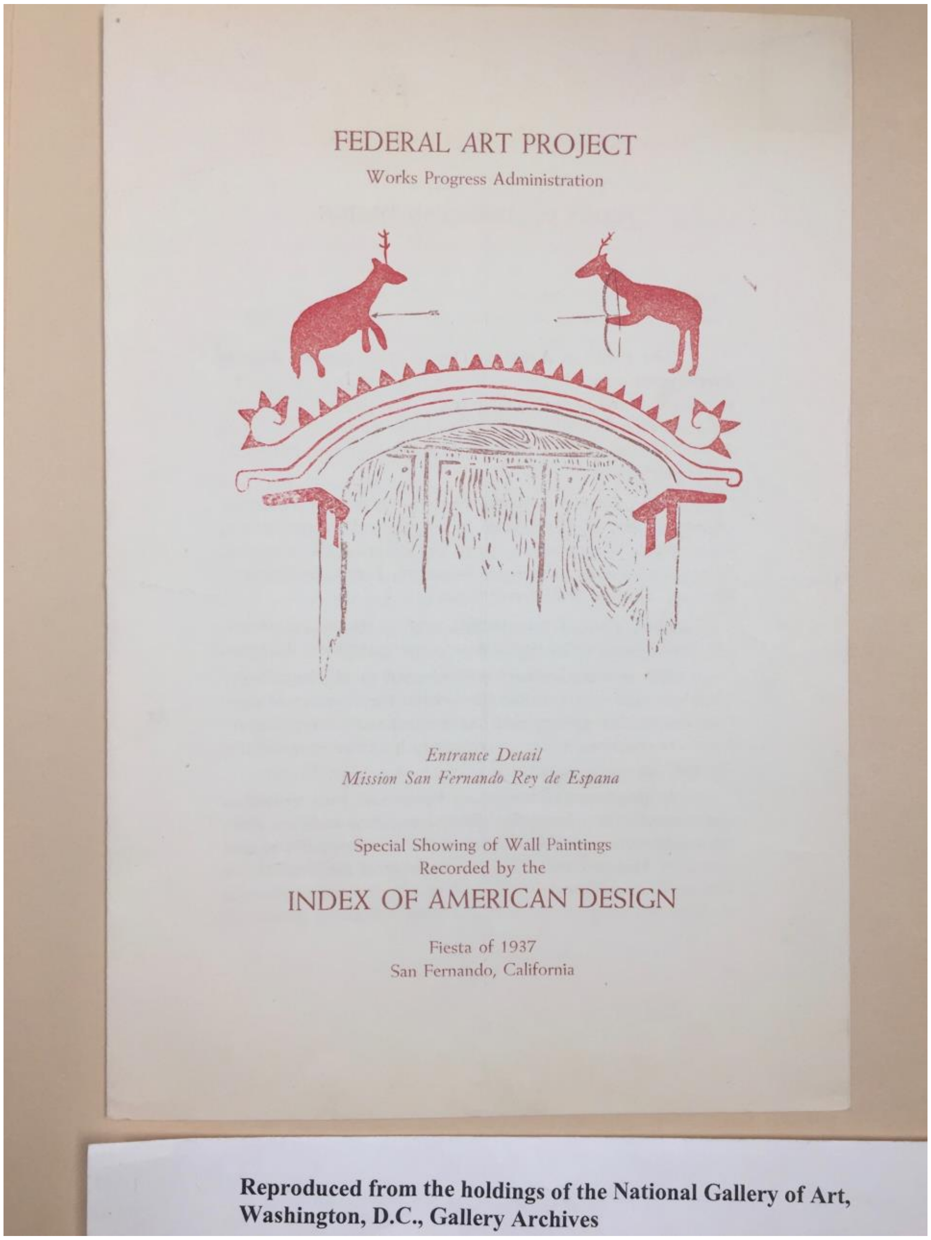


Figure 2.10
Exhibition Brochure, San Fernando Mission Fiesta, 1937. 44A2 Records of the IAD (General Files 936-1942) Reference Files- Exhibitions-California, Los Angeles, NGA, D.C., Gallery Archives.



FEDERAL ART PROJECT
Works Progress Administration

Entrance Detail
Mission San Fernando Rey de Espana

Special Showing of Wall Paintings
Recorded by the
INDEX OF AMERICAN DESIGN

Fiesta of 1937
San Fernando, California

Reproduced from the holdings of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives

Figure 2.11
Louis (Ludwig) Choris, *Hunting in the Bay of San Francisco*, 1816 hand-colored print on paper, from *Voyage Pittoresque Autour du Monde*, 1822 The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

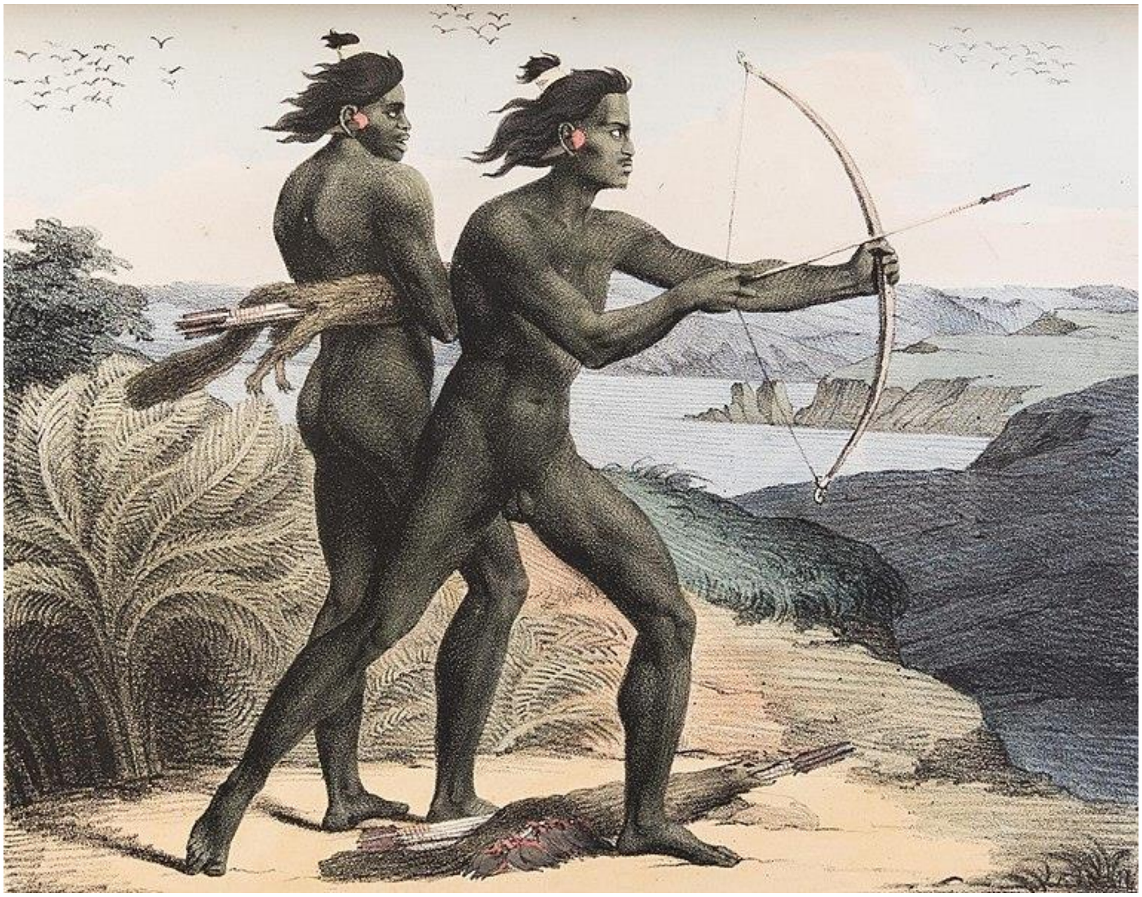


Figure 2.12
Paul Park, *Index photograph of Deer Hunt Scene at San Fernando*, 1936, 44D5_86109_SoCal-Mscl-89b_01, NGA D.C., Gallery Archives. RG44D, Records of the IAD, Original Project (WPA) Images - Objects and Renderings.

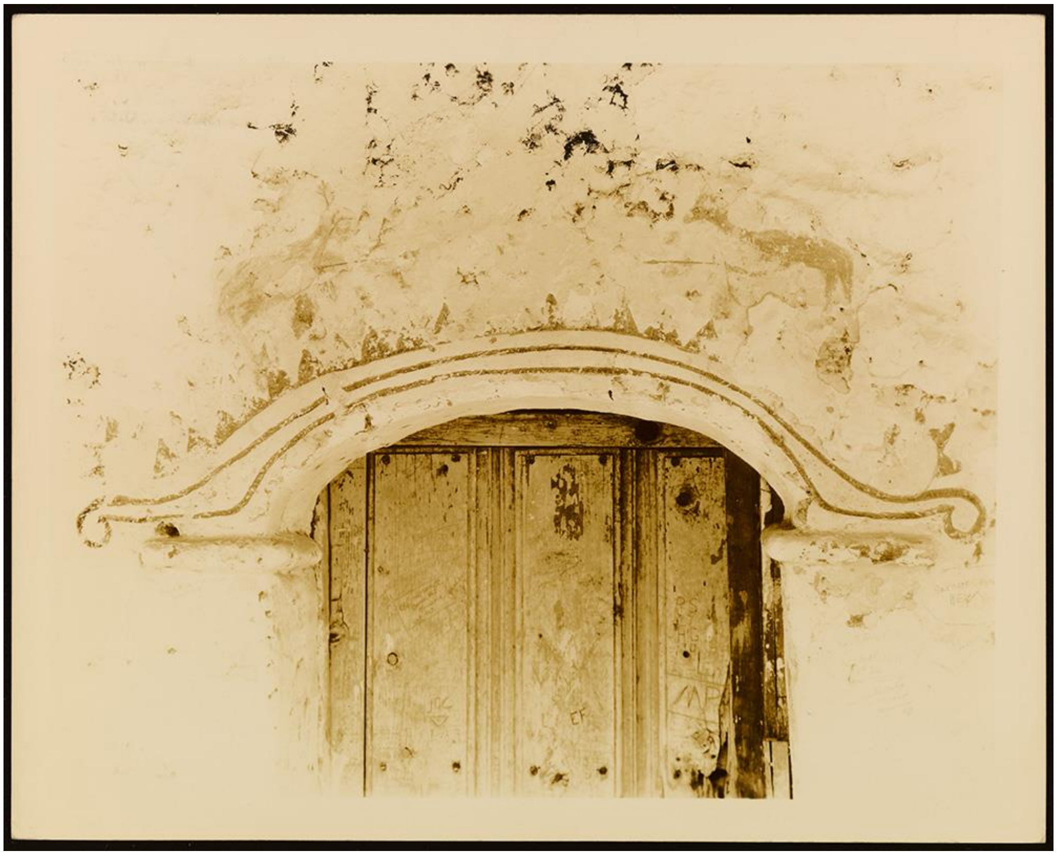


Figure 2.13
Index Photograph of Sala doorway with Bowman, 44 D5_86045SoCal-Mscl-39a_01 Miscellaneous - Southern California SoCal-Mscl-39a Interior Doorway San Fernando Mission NGA D.C., Gallery Archives. RG44D, Records of the IAD, Original Project (WPA) Images - Objects and Renderings.

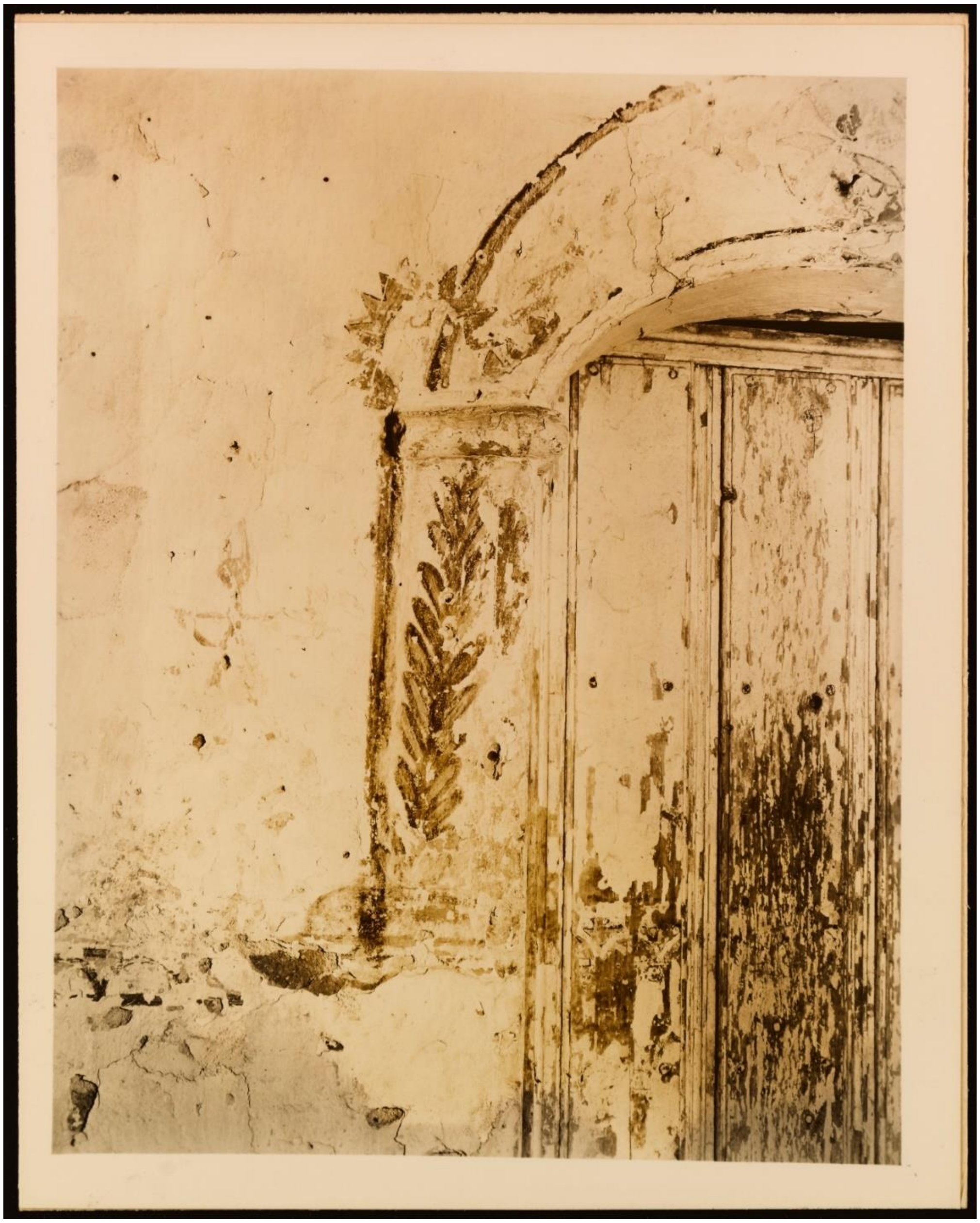


Figure 2.14
Geoffrey Holt, *Wall Painting and Door (Interior)*, no bowman included, San Fernando Mission, 1937, watercolor, colored pencil, pen and ink and graphite on paper, IAD, 1943.8.5956.

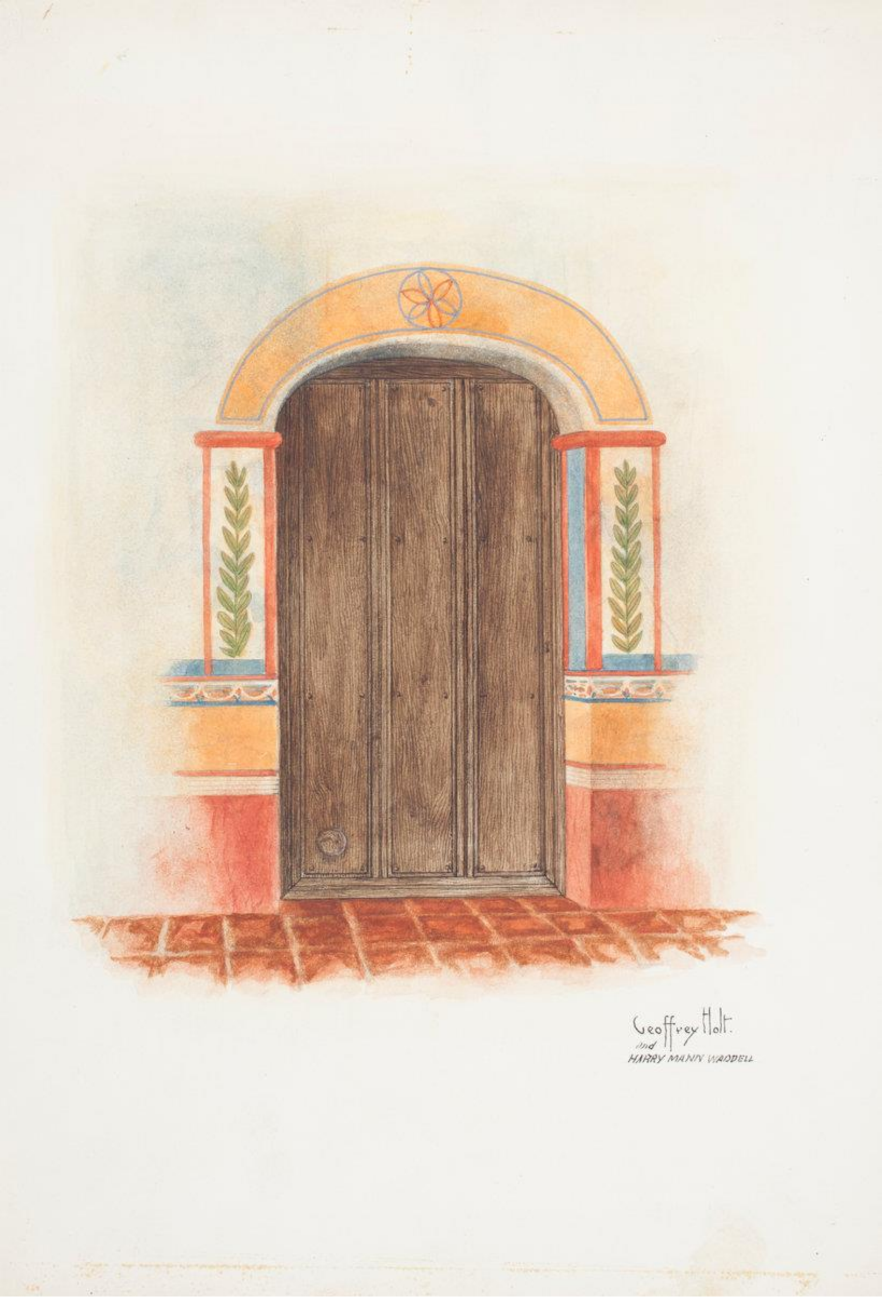

Geoffrey Holt
and
HARRY MANN WADDELL

Figure 2.15
Index photo of *Grape Harvest Scene*, c. 1936, 44D5_86143_SoCal-Mscl-111b_01Miscellaneous - Southern California SoCal-Mscl-111b Wall Decoration over Doorway San Fernando Mission, NGA D.C., Gallery Archives. RG44D, Records of the IAD, Original Project (WPA) Images - Objects and Renderings.

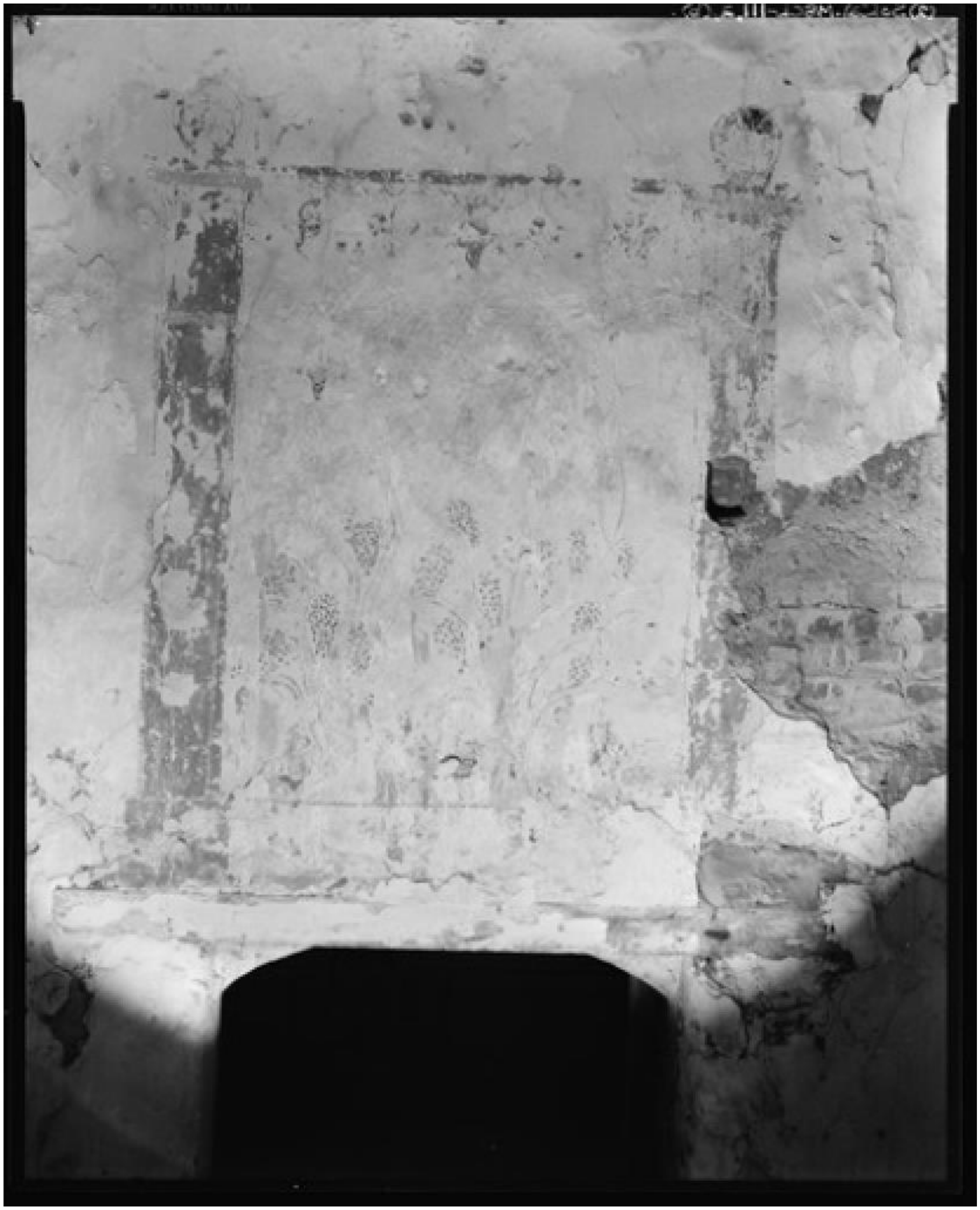


Figure 2.16
Geoffrey Holt, *Restoration Drawing: Wall Decoration Over Doorway in Mission House*, 1937 (Grapevine Scene, San Fernando Mission), watercolor, colored pencil, pen and ink and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.5972.

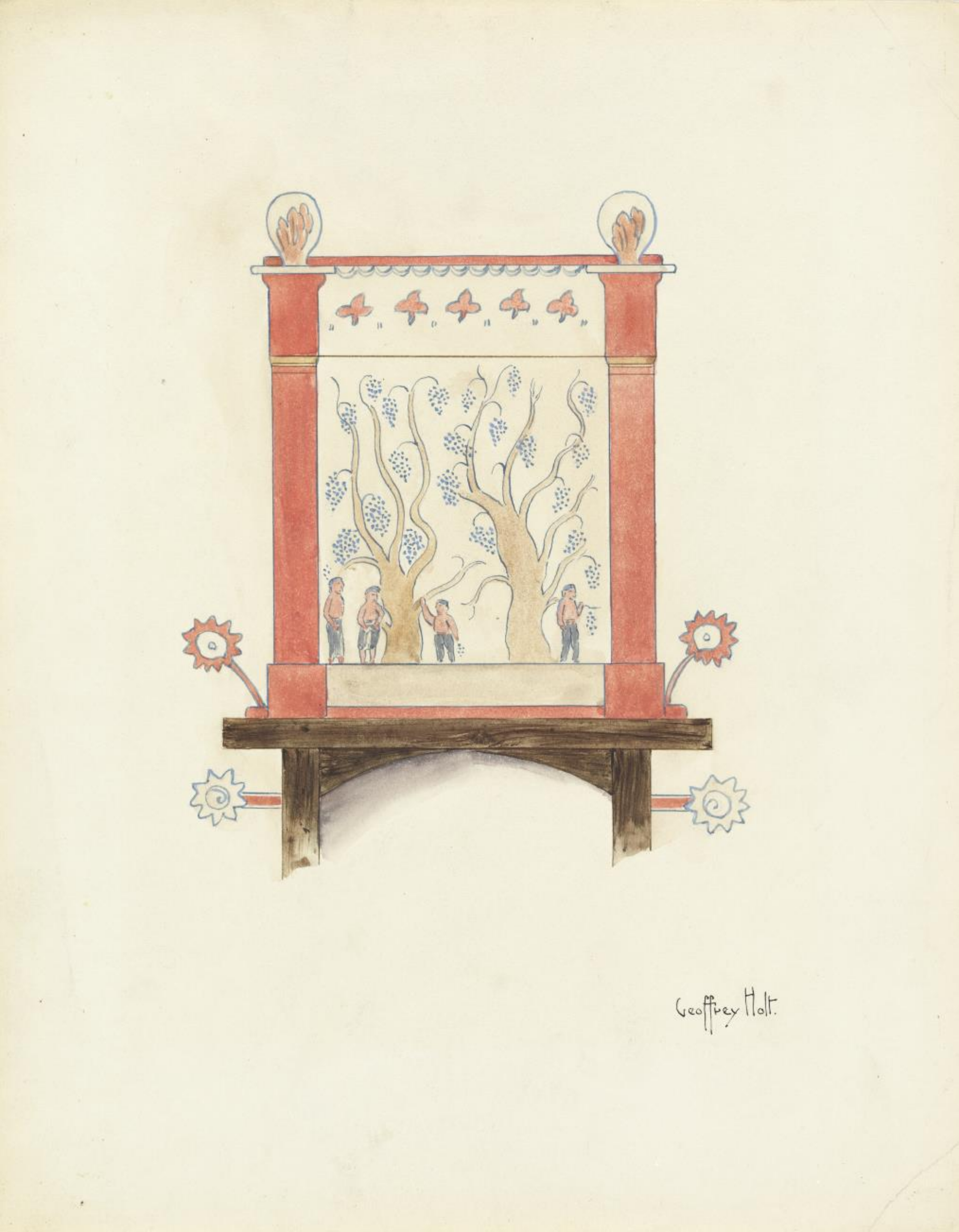

Geoffrey Holt.

Figure 2.17
Beulah Bradleigh, *Station of the Cross No. 7: Jesus Falls the Second Time*watercolor, gouache, colored pencil and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.6746.

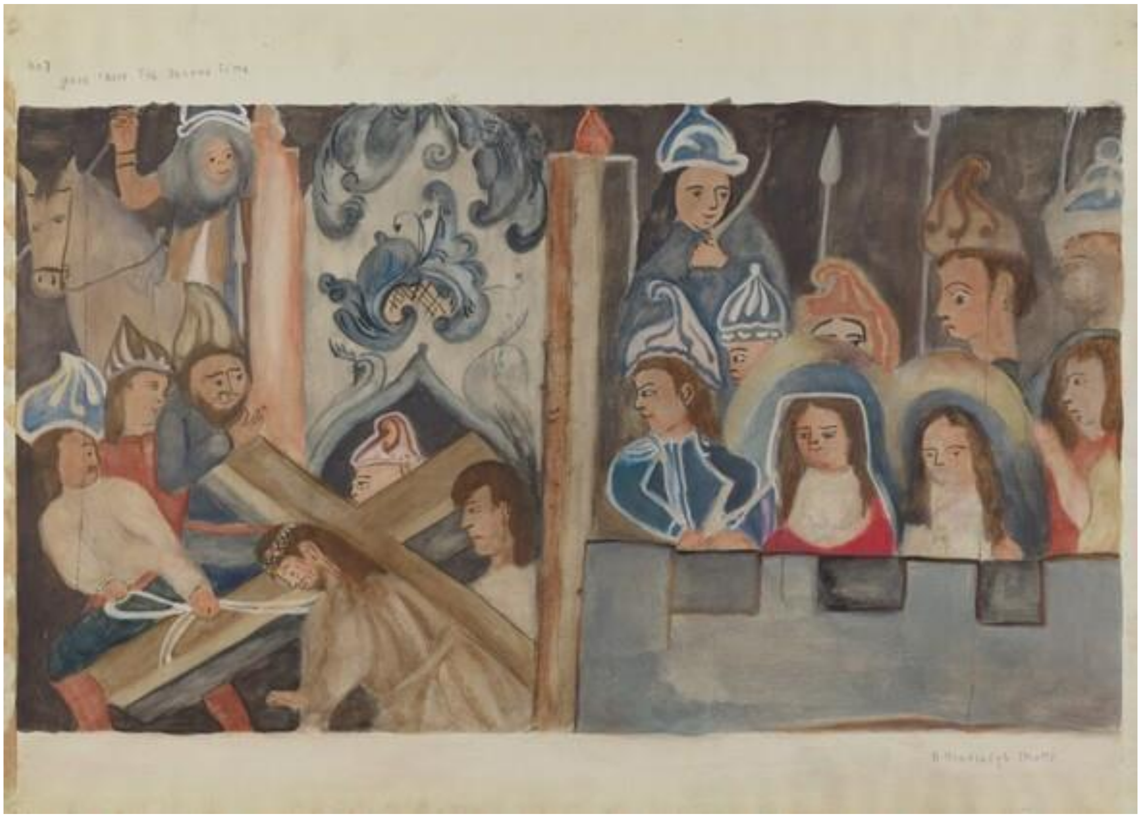


Figure 2.18
Beaulah Bradleigh, *Station of the Cross No. 1: "Jesus is Condemned to Death,* c. 1936, watercolor, gouache, colored pencil and graphite in paper, IAD 1943.8.6741.

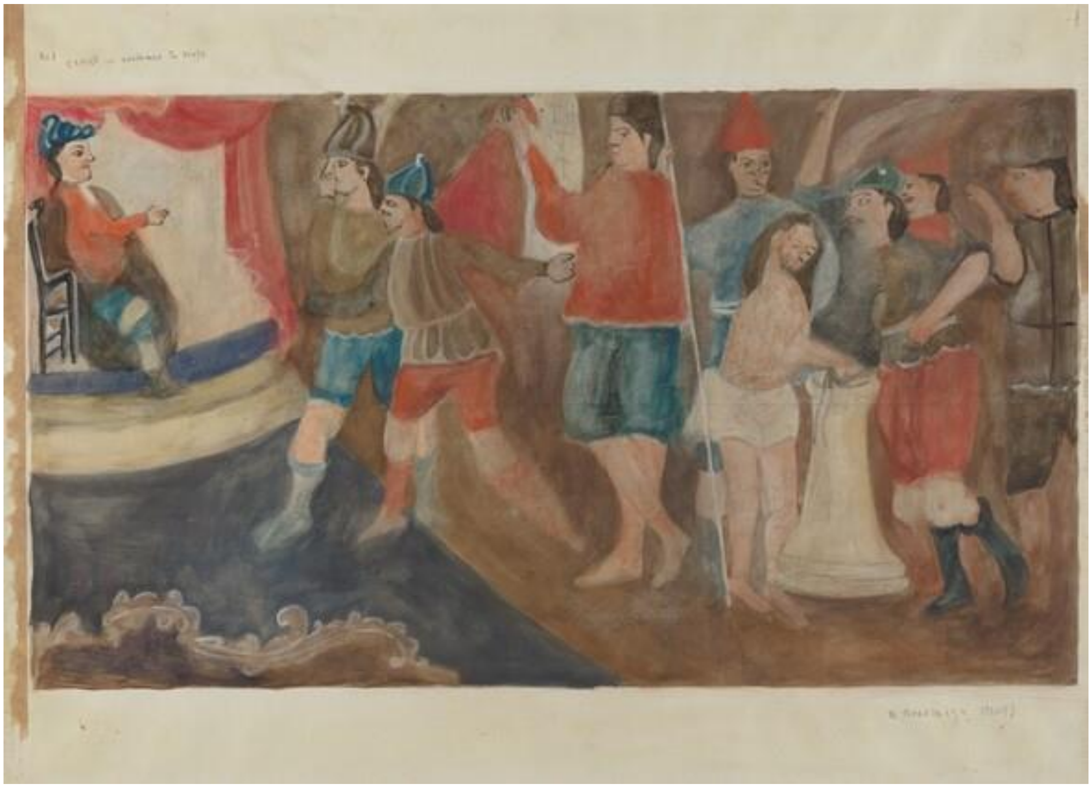


Figure 2.19
Plate XVI, San Gabriél Arcángel, *Mission Motifs: A Collection of Decorative Details from Old Spanish Missions*, Dana Bartlett, Hal B. Blakeley and Lanier Bartlett (Los Angeles: IAD, 1940).

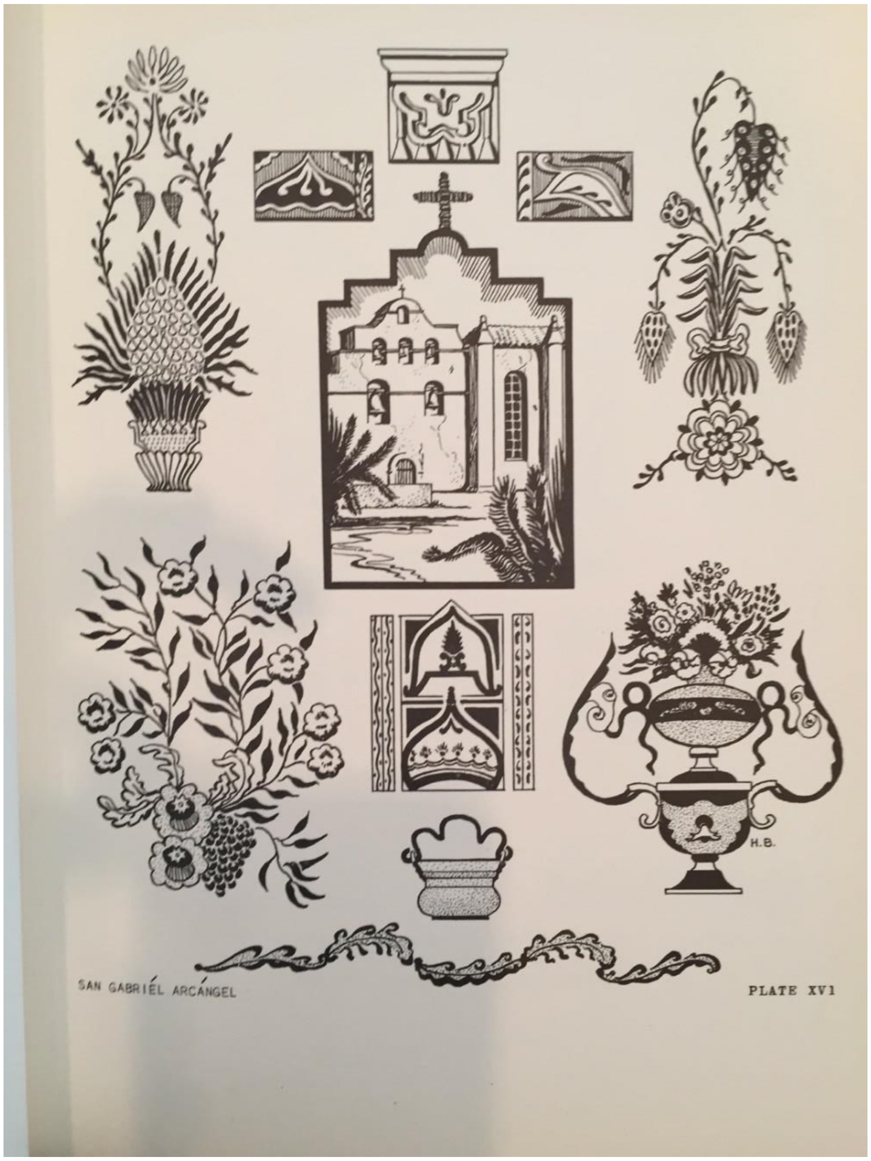

H.B.
SAN GABRIÉL ARCÁNGEL
PLATE XVI

Figure 2.20
Geoffrey Holt, *Stations of the Cross No. 10: "Jesus is Stripped of His Garments,"* watercolor, gouache, colored pencil and graphite on paper, c. 1936, IAD 1943.8.6752.

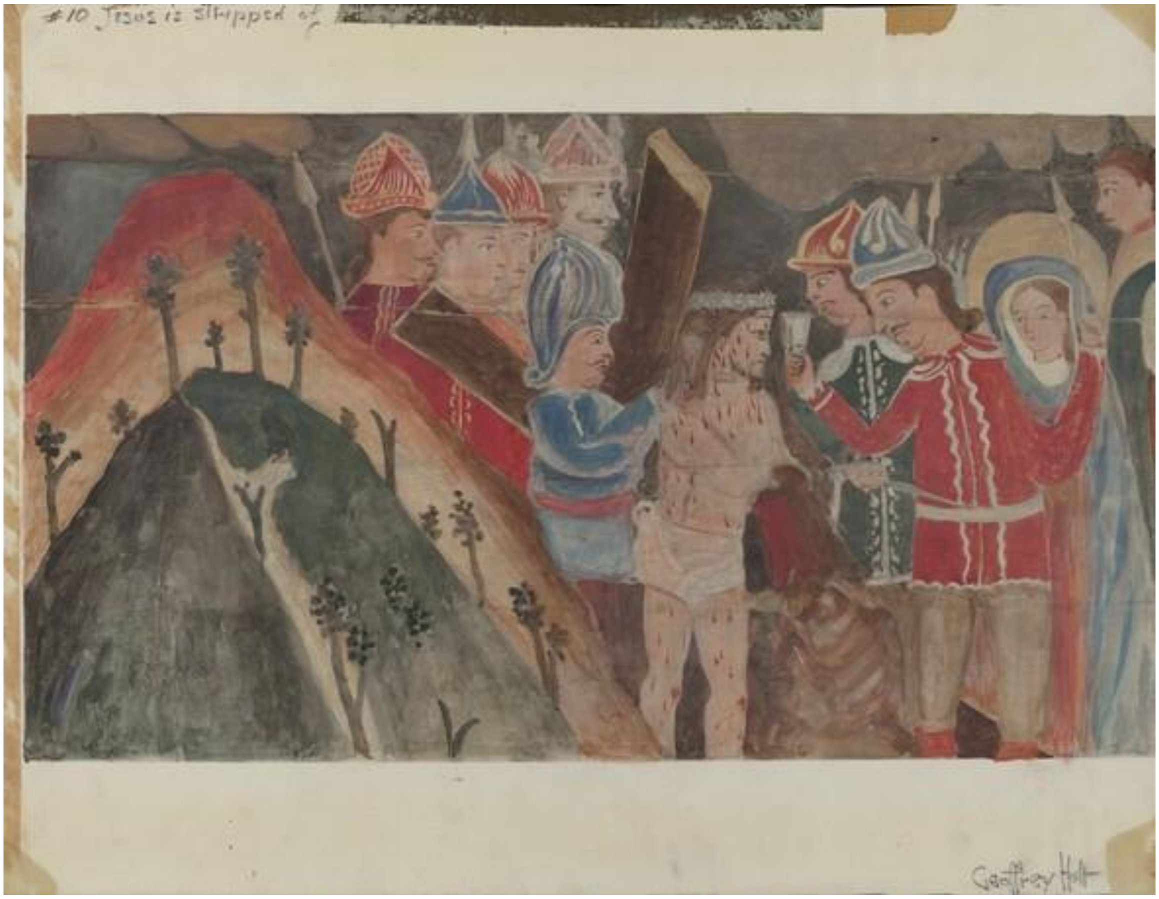

#10 Jesus is stripped of
Geoffrey Holt

Figure 2.21
William Herbert, *Stations of the Cross No. 4: “Jesus Meets His Mother,”* watercolor, gouache, colored pencil, and graphite on paper, c. 1936, IAD 1943.8.6742.

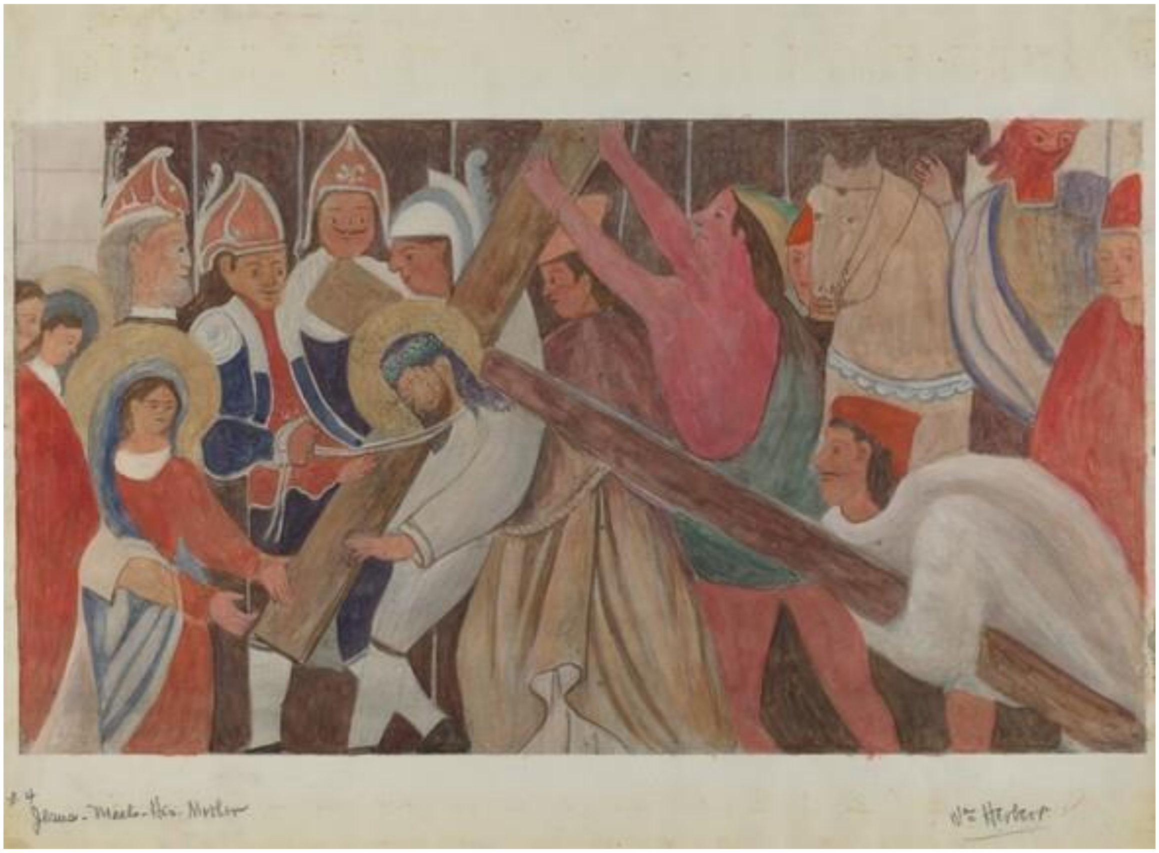

#4 Jesus - Meets - His - Mother
Wm Herbert

Figure 2.22
Maxine Albro, *Harvesting Grapes*, San Francisco, 1933, Works Progress Administration.

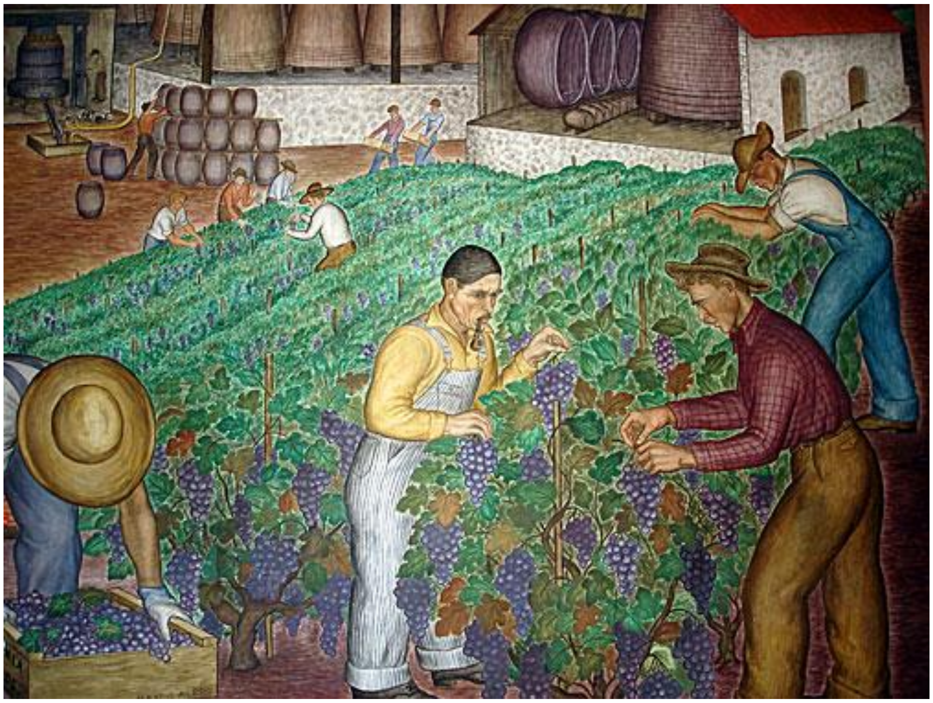


Figure 2.23
Geoffrey Holt and Harry Mann Waddell, *Restoration Drawing: Main Doorway, with Decorations*, Mission House, 1938, watercolor, colored pencil and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.5949.

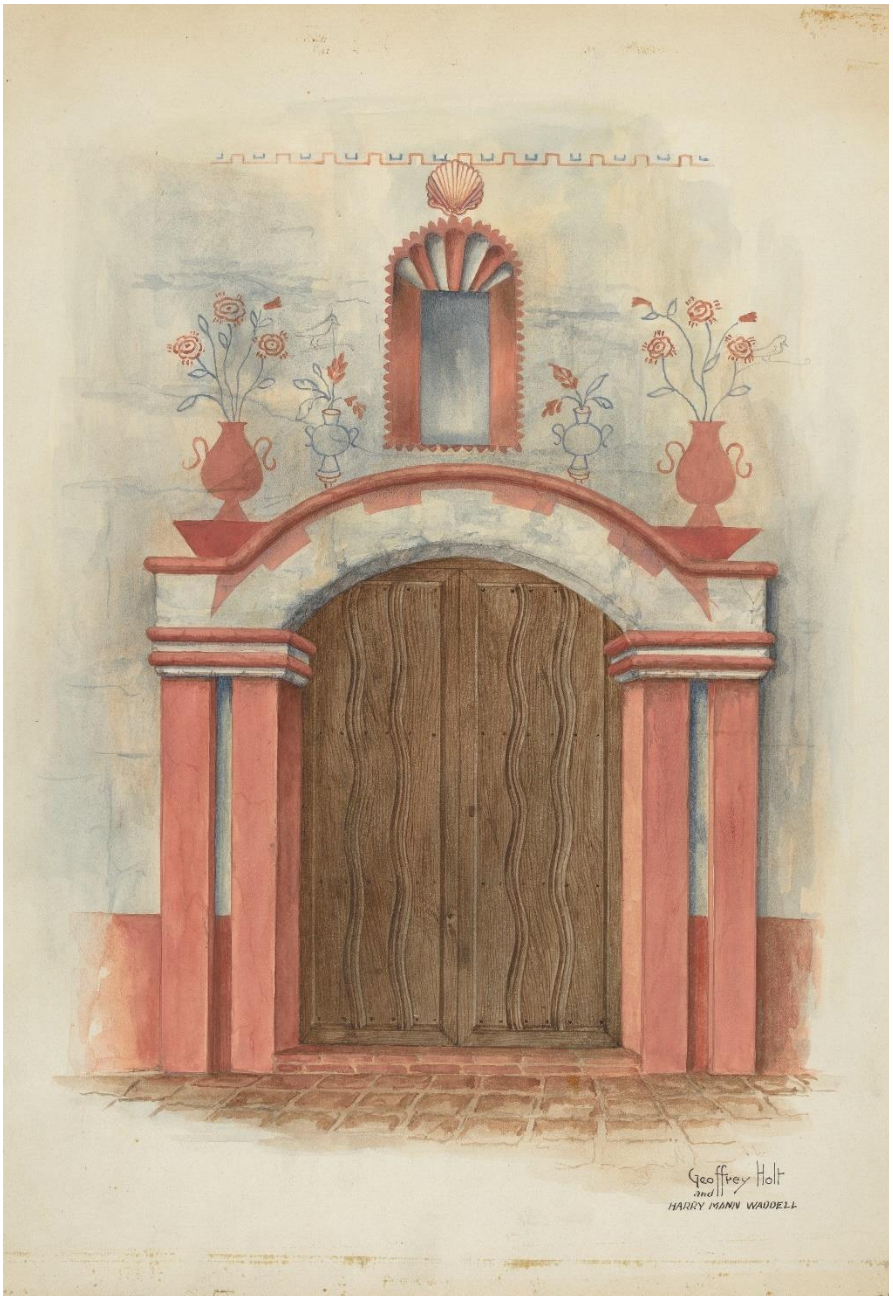

Geoffrey Holt
and
HARRY MANN WADDELL

Figure 2.24
Harold Taylor, *Pala Chapel interior*, early to mid- 1900s, gelatin silver printAutry Collections P.19161.

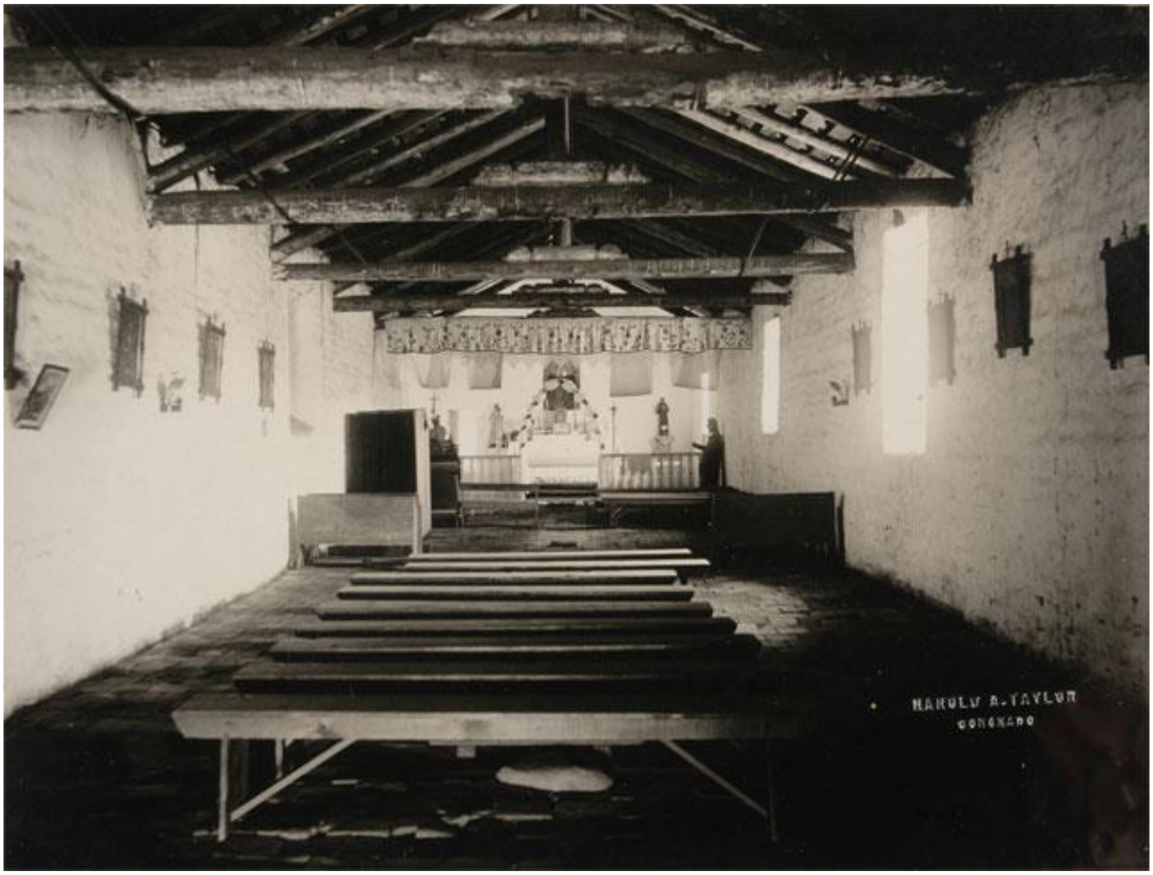

HAROLD A. TAYLOR
CORONADO

Figure 2.25
Sawyer, *Removal of the Mission Indians of Cupa from Warner's Ranch*, 1903, Autry Collections, P.1295.

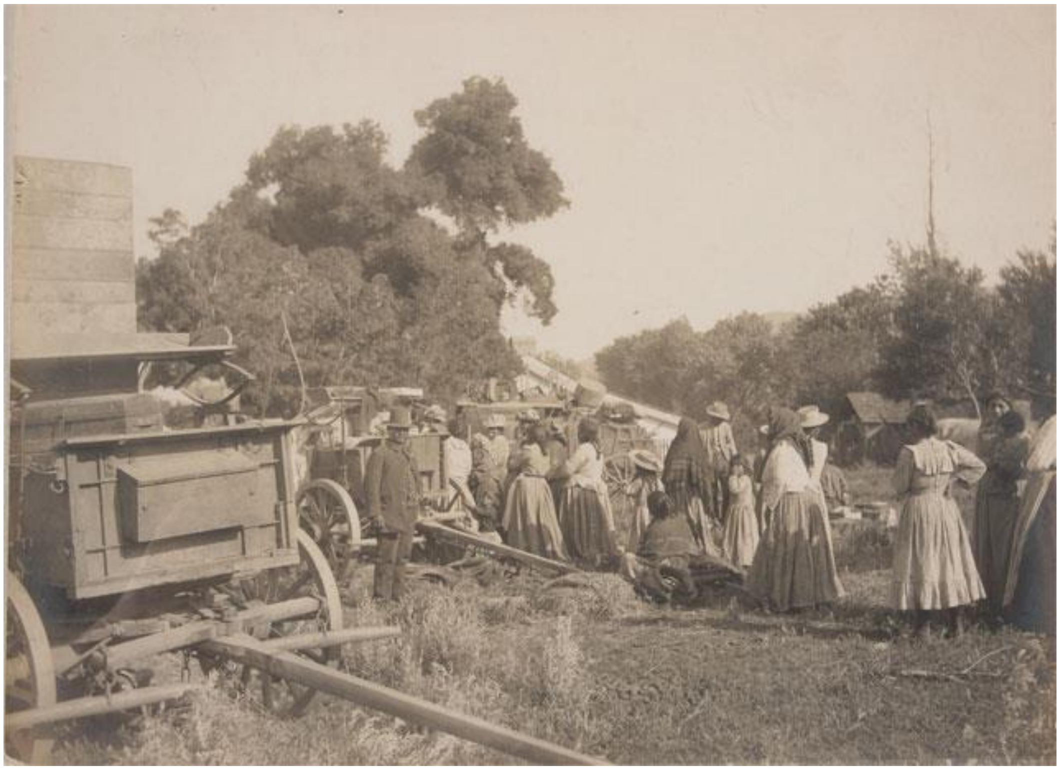


Figure 2.26
Charles Fletcher Lummis, *Interior of Pala Chapel*, 1903, Autry Collections P.19144A, Gift of Charles F. Lummis.

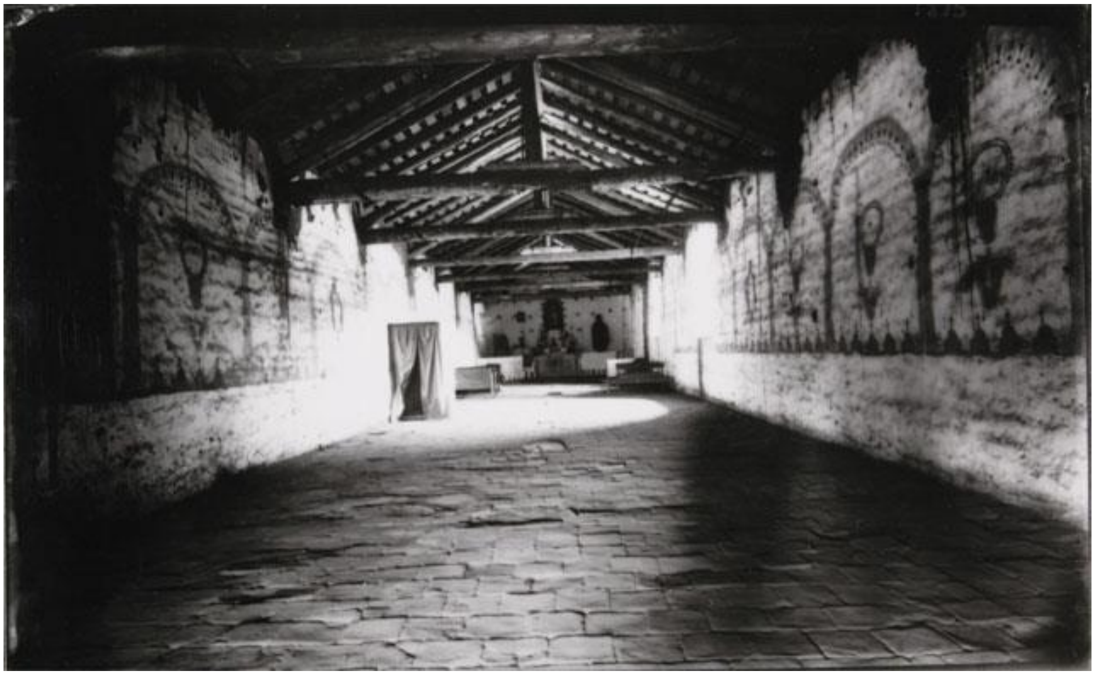


Figure 2.27
George Wharton James, *Picturesque Pala: The Story of the Chapel of San Antonio de Pala Connected with Mission San Luis Rey*, Pasadena, California: The Radiant Life Press, 1916, Los Angeles Central Library Rare Books.

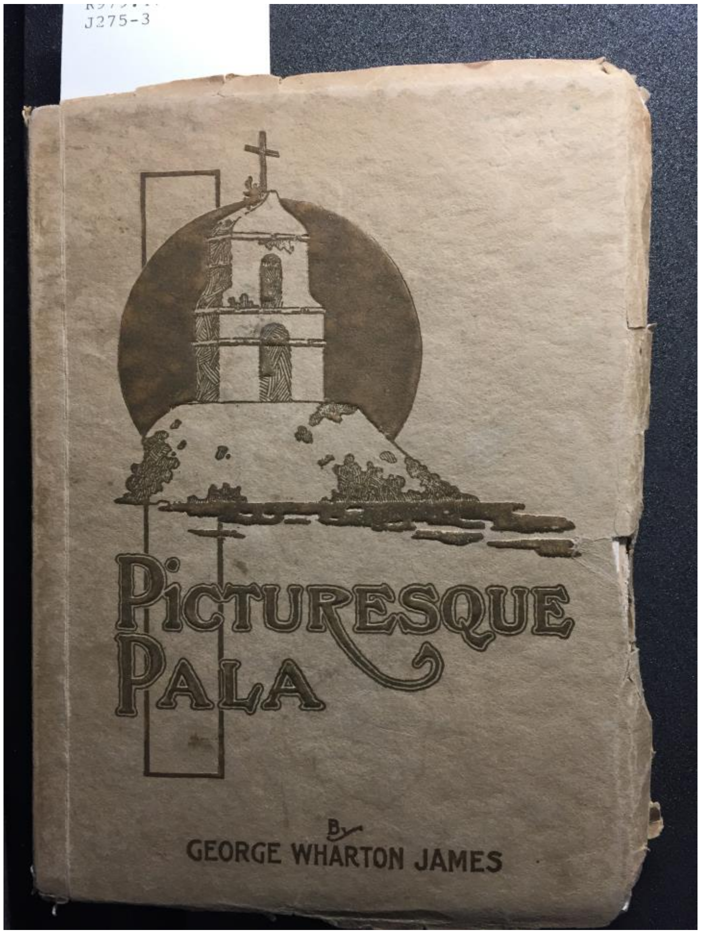

J275-3
PICTURESQUE
PALA
By
GEORGE WHARTON JAMES

Figure 2.28
George E. Rhone, *Wall Painting*, c. 1939, watercolor, pencil and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.5980.

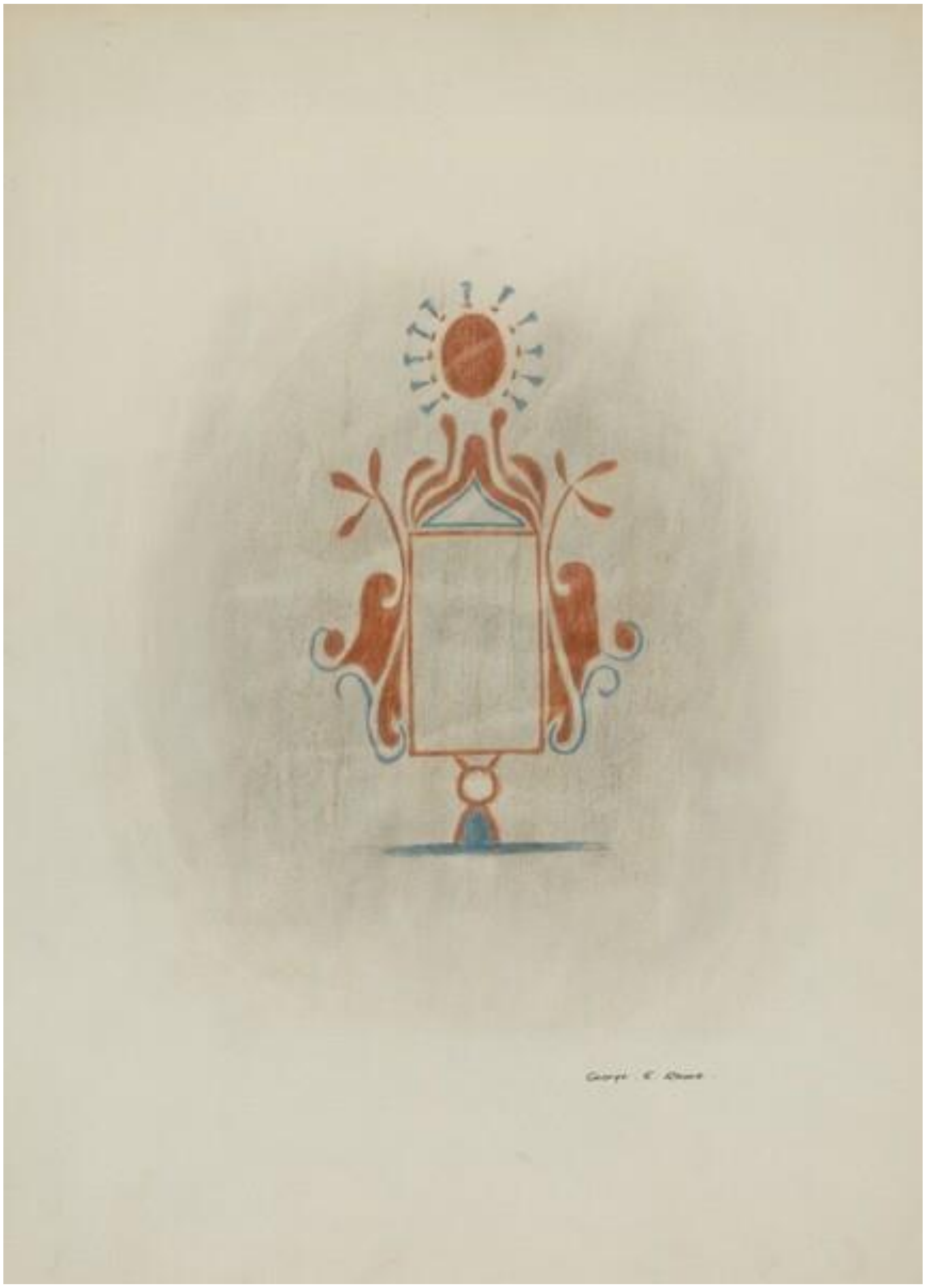


Figure 2.29
George E. Rhone, *Wall Painting*, c. 1939, watercolor, colored pencil and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.5977.

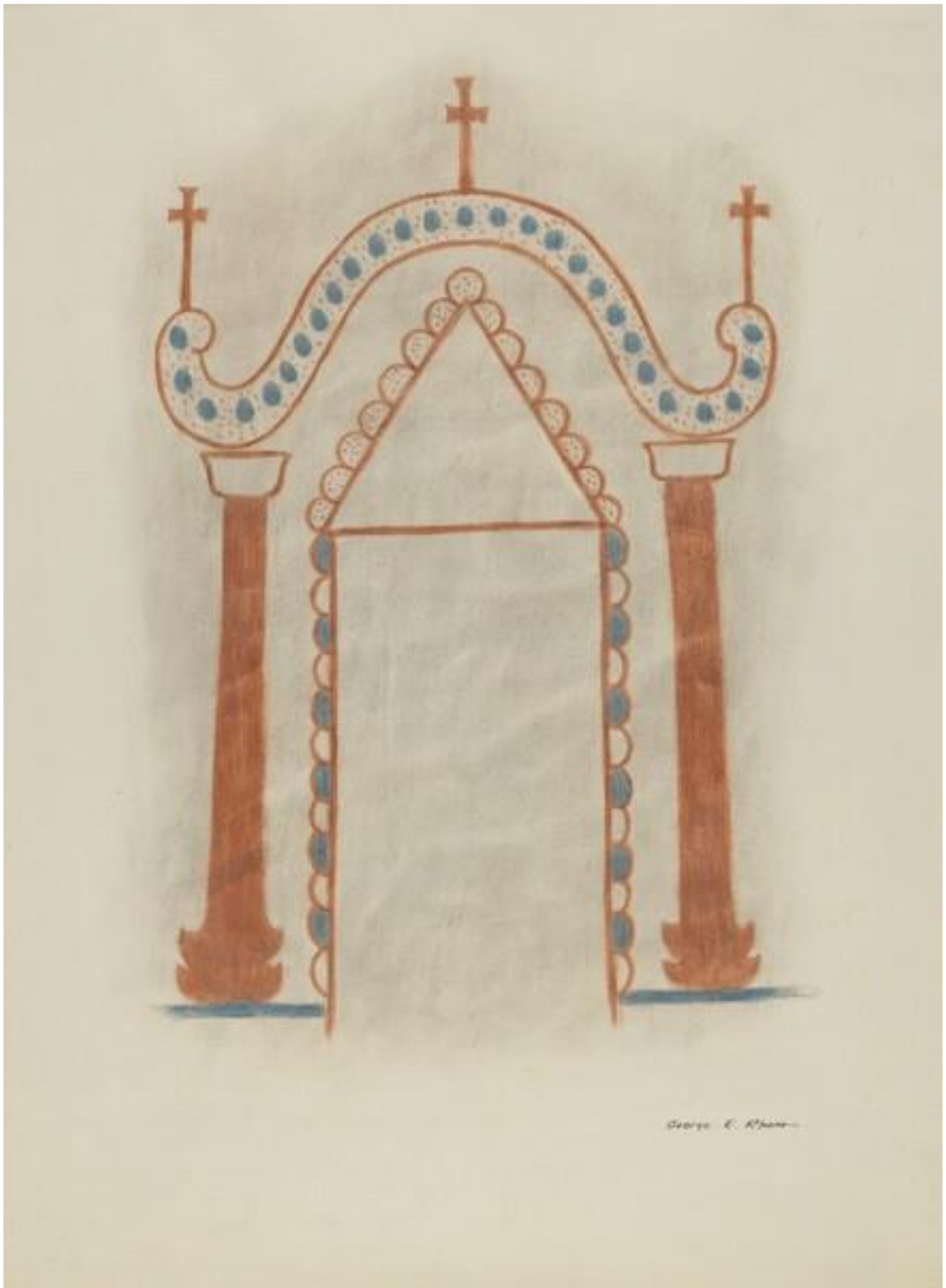


Figure 2.30
interior of Pala Chapel, photograph by the author, November 2019.

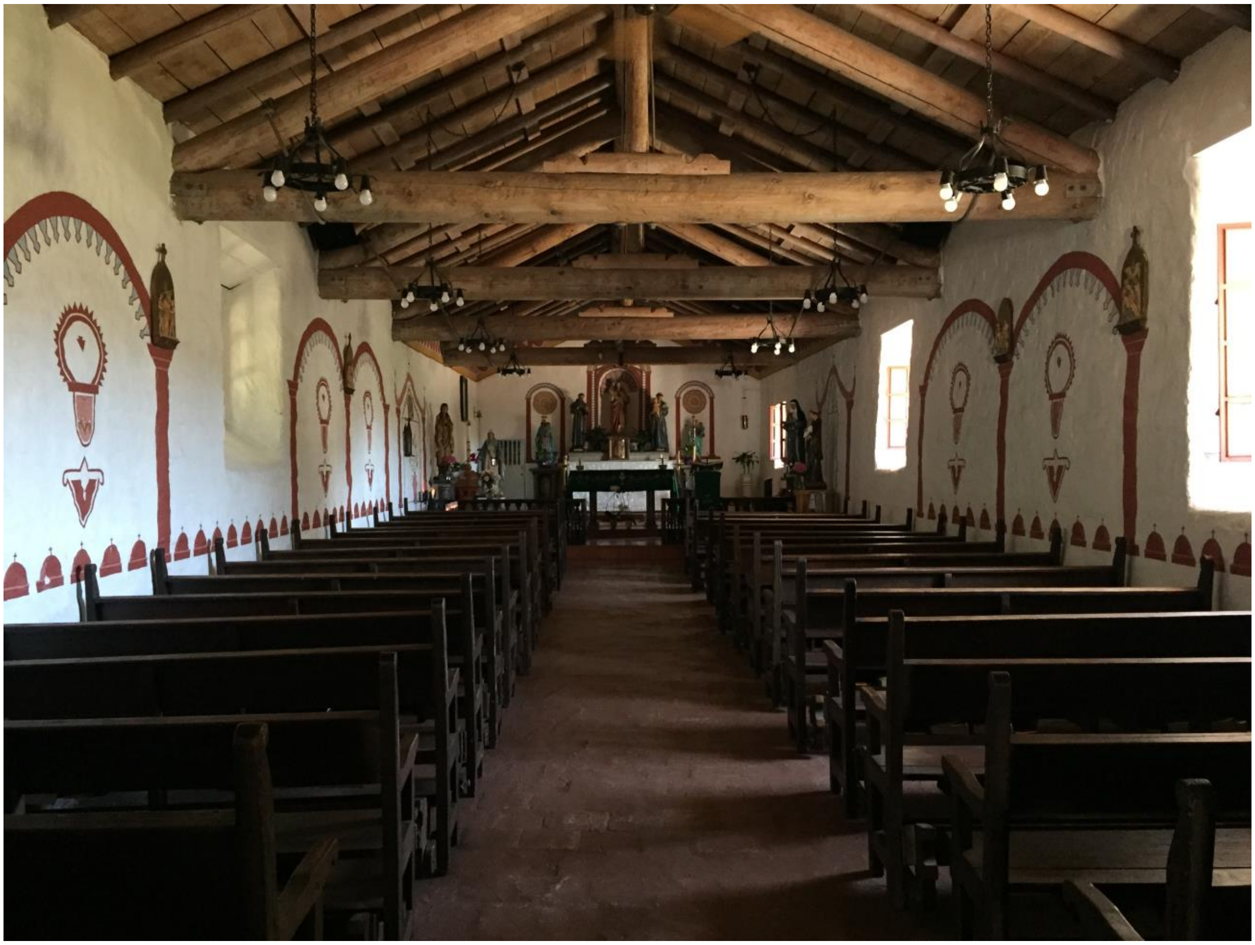


Figure 2.31
William McAuley, *Wall Painting (Reredos)*, 1939, watercolor, colored pencil and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.5997.

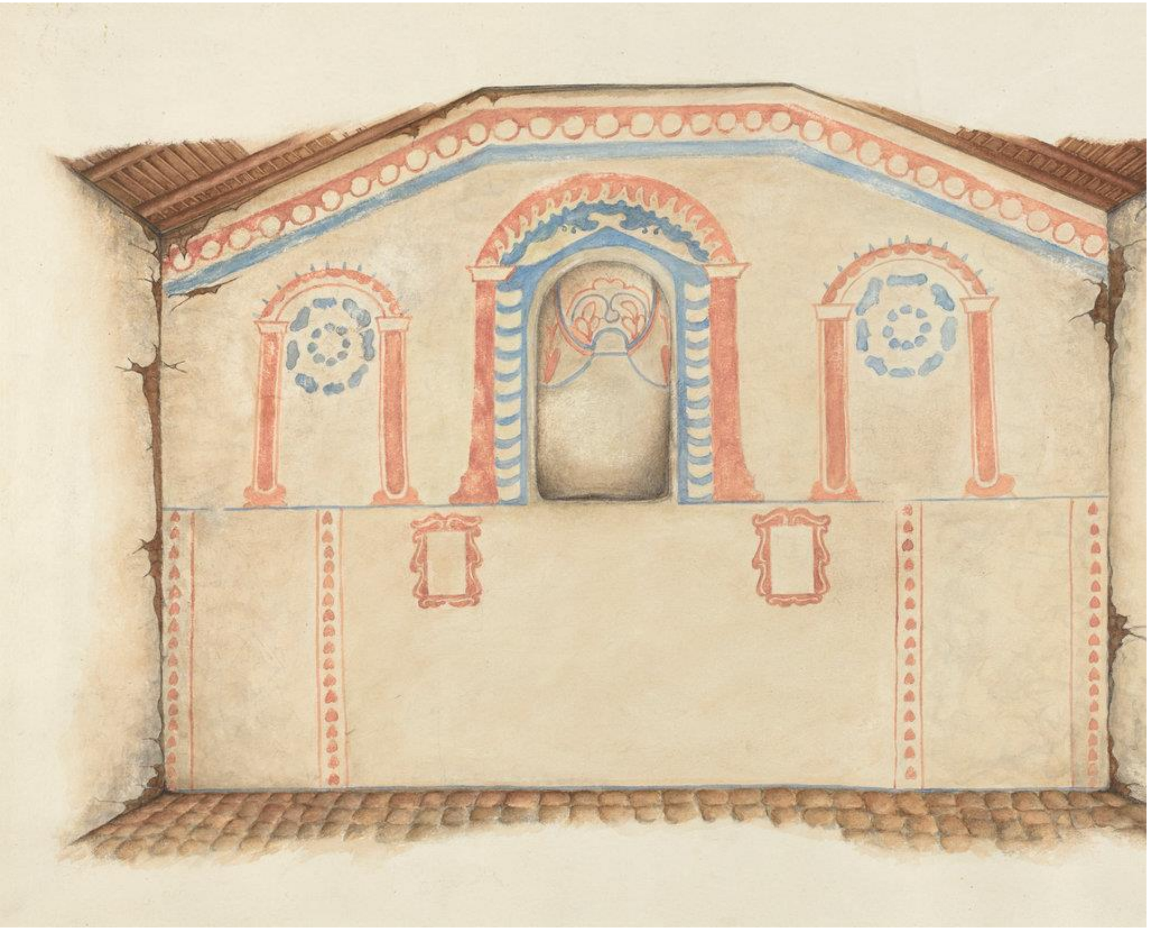
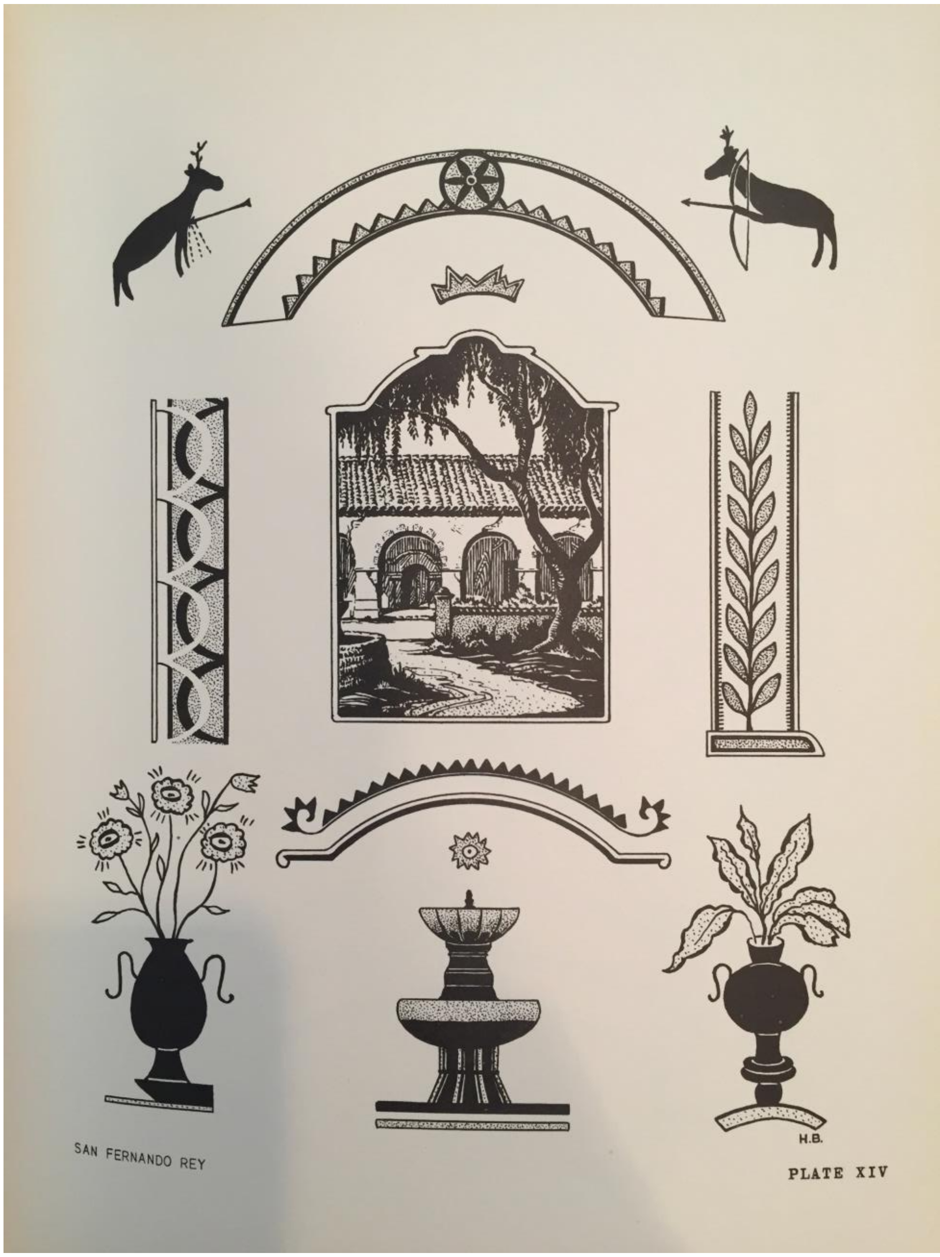
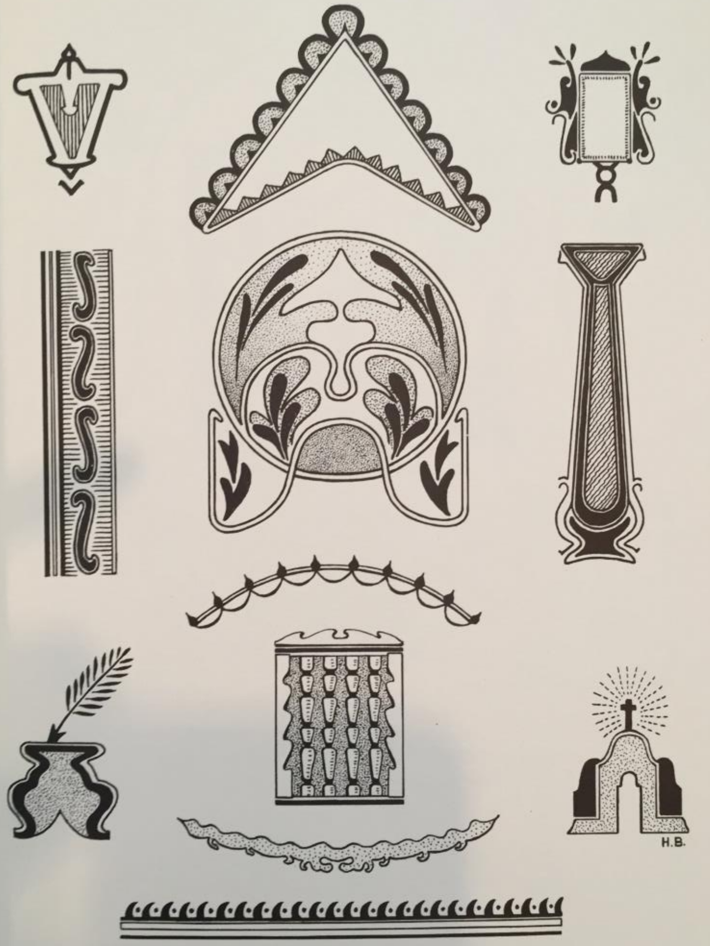


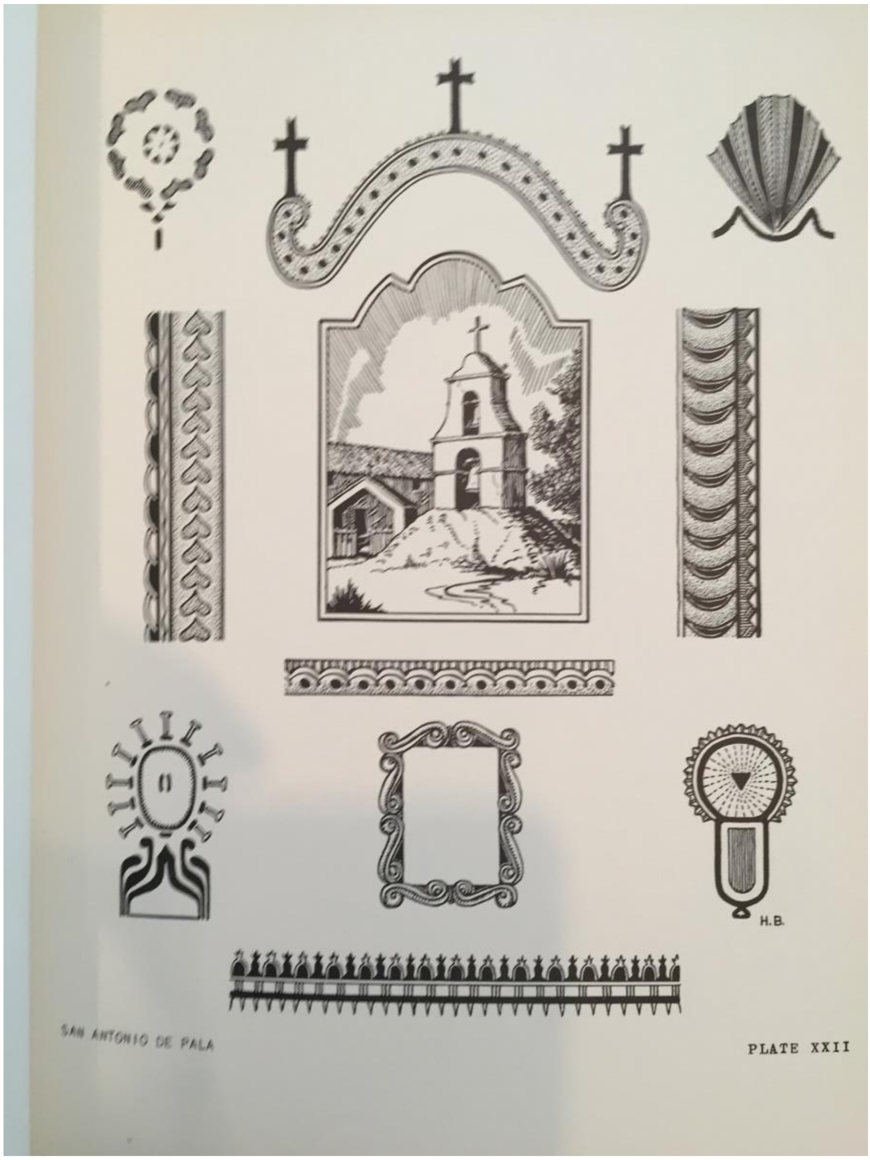
Figure 2.32
Mission Motifs; A Collection of Decorative Details from Old Spanish Missions of California, Plate XIV, San Fernando Rey and Plates XXII and XXIII, San Antonio de Pala, Monograph No. 2, n.d. edited by Lanier Bartlett, drawings by Dana Bartlett and Hal Blakeley, Los Angeles: IAD, 1940, IAD Southern California Project File, National Gallery Drawing and Print Department.





SAN ANTONIO DE PALA

PLATE XXIII



SAN ANTONIO DE PALA

PLATE XXII

Figure 2.33
James Luna, Puyukitchum (Luiseño), *Chapel for Pablo Tac*, Venice Biennale, 2005.

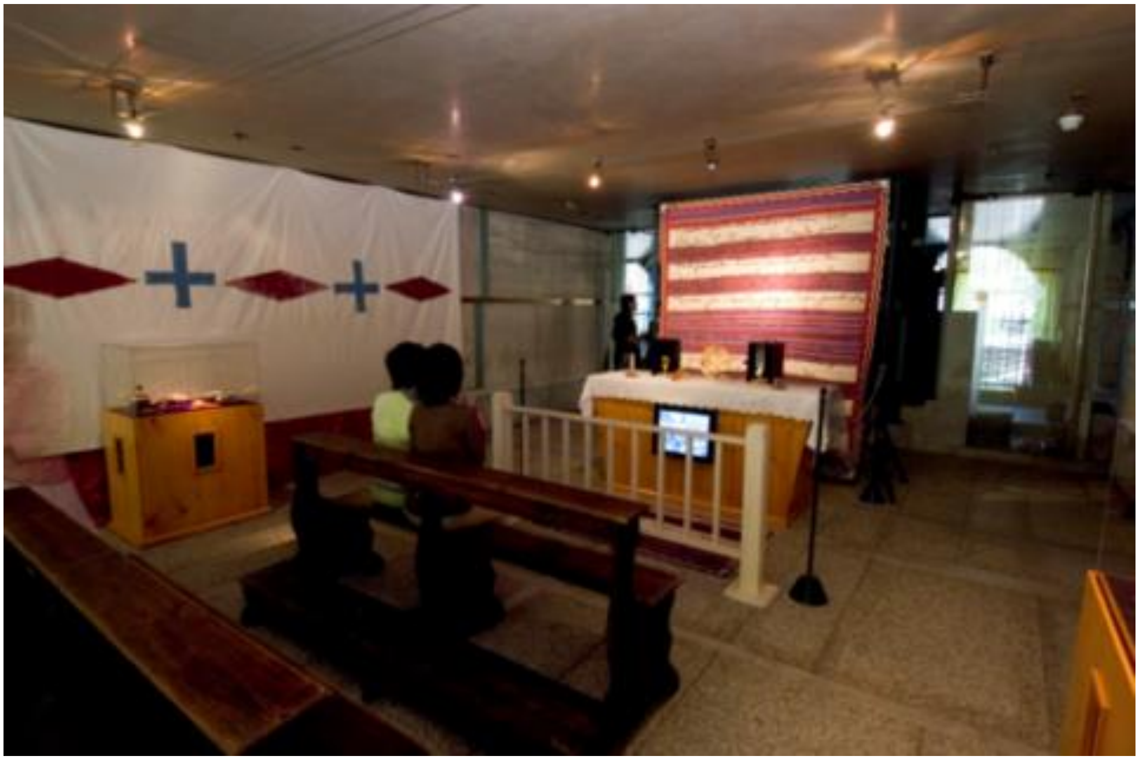
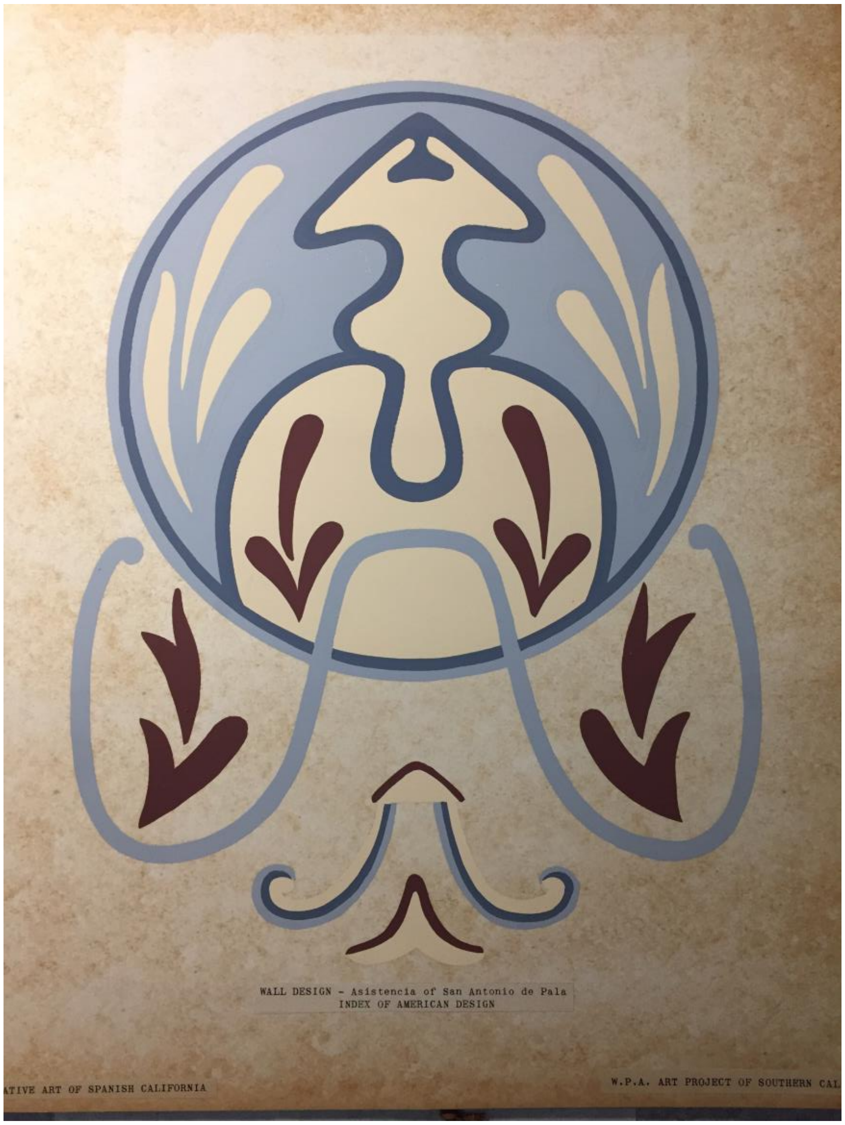
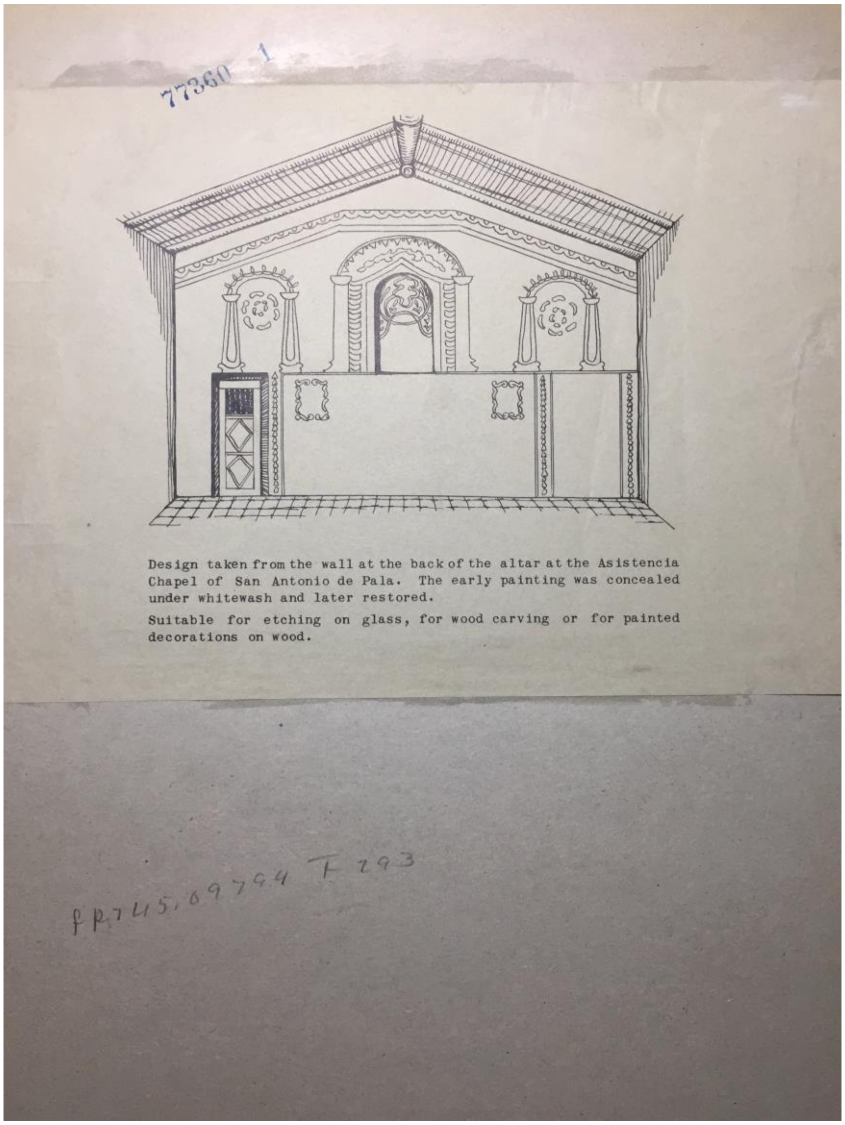


Figure 2.34
IAD, *Plates featuring design from Pala Chapel and line drawing of altar on reverse*, in *Decorative Art of Spanish California, c.* 1942, Federal Art Project Southern California, Los Angeles Central Library Rare Books.


WALL DESIGN - Asistencia of San Antonio de Pala
INDEX OF AMERICAN DESIGN
ATIVE ART OF SPANISH CALIFORNIA
W.P.A. ART PROJECT OF SOUTHERN CAL



77360 1

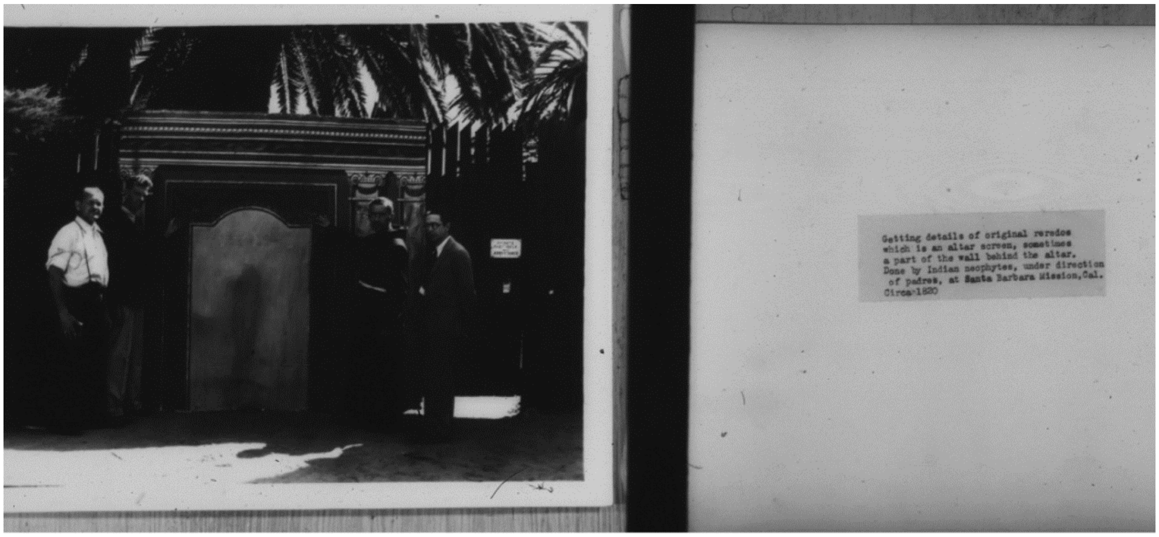
Design taken from the wall at the back of the altar at the Asistencia Chapel of San Antonio de Pala. The early painting was concealed under whitewash and later restored.

Suitable for etching on glass, for wood carving or for painted decorations on wood.

fp745.09794 F293

Chapter 3 Franciscana as a Usable Past

Figure 3.1
Index Photograph of brown-robed Franciscan priest at Mission Santa Barbara posing with Index artists and fragment of *lienzo*, c. 1936-42, Ferdinand Perret (1888-1960) Research Material on California Art and Artists, 1769-1942, Archives of American Art and Library of National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.



Getting details of original reredos
which is an altar screen, sometimes
a part of the wall behind the altar.
Done by Indian neophytes, under direction
of padres, at Santa Barbara Mission, Cal.
Circa-1820

Figure 3.2
formerly attributed to Giotto di Bonduce, *Miracle of the Crucifix*, Upper Basilica of San Francesco d' Assisi, c. 1297-1299.

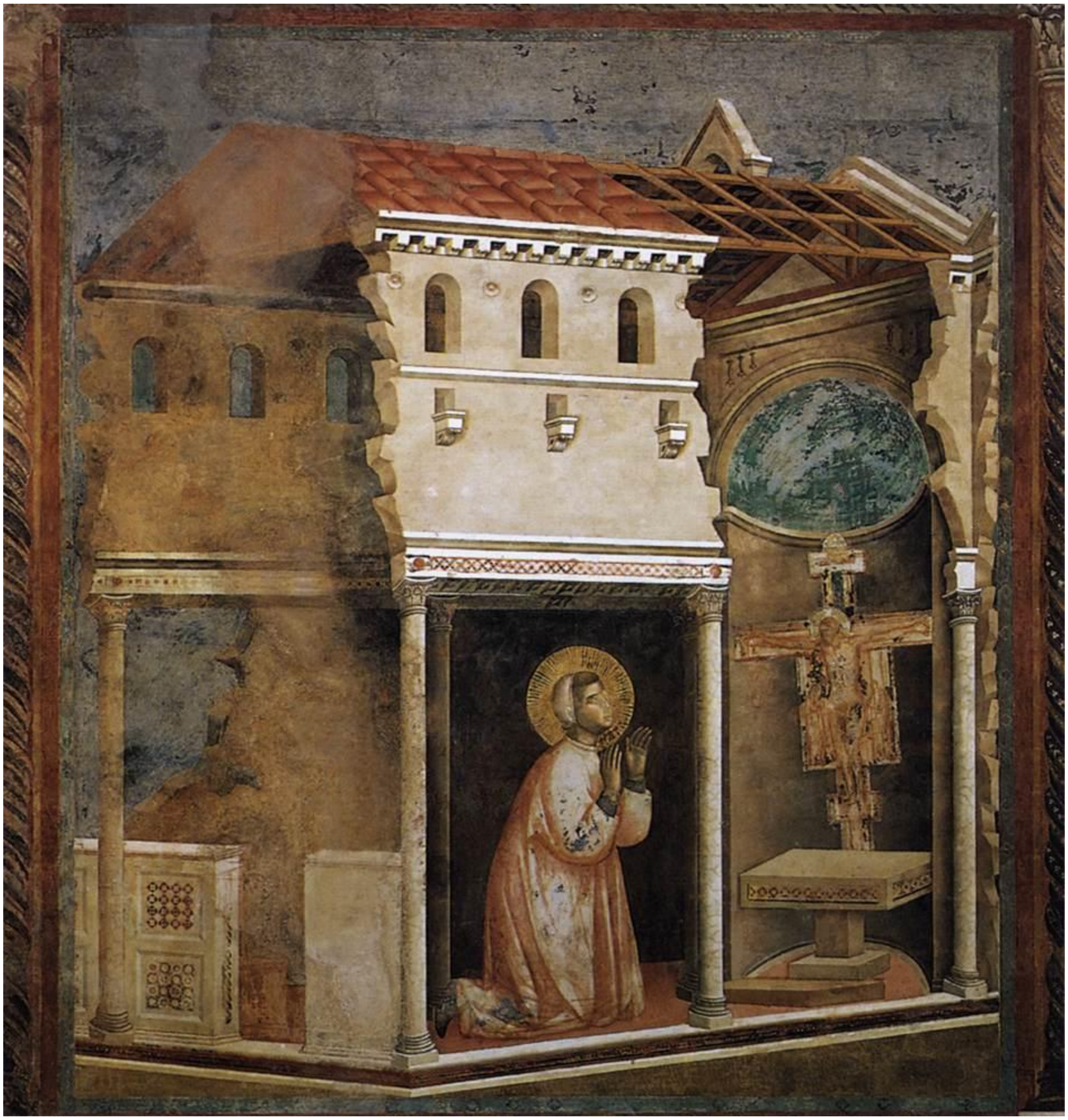


Figure 3.3
Paul Park, Index artists at San Juan Capistrano, n.d., NGA D.C., Gallery Archives, RG44D, Records of the IAD, Original Project (WPA) Images - California Missions and Related Subjects 44D12_94017_01.

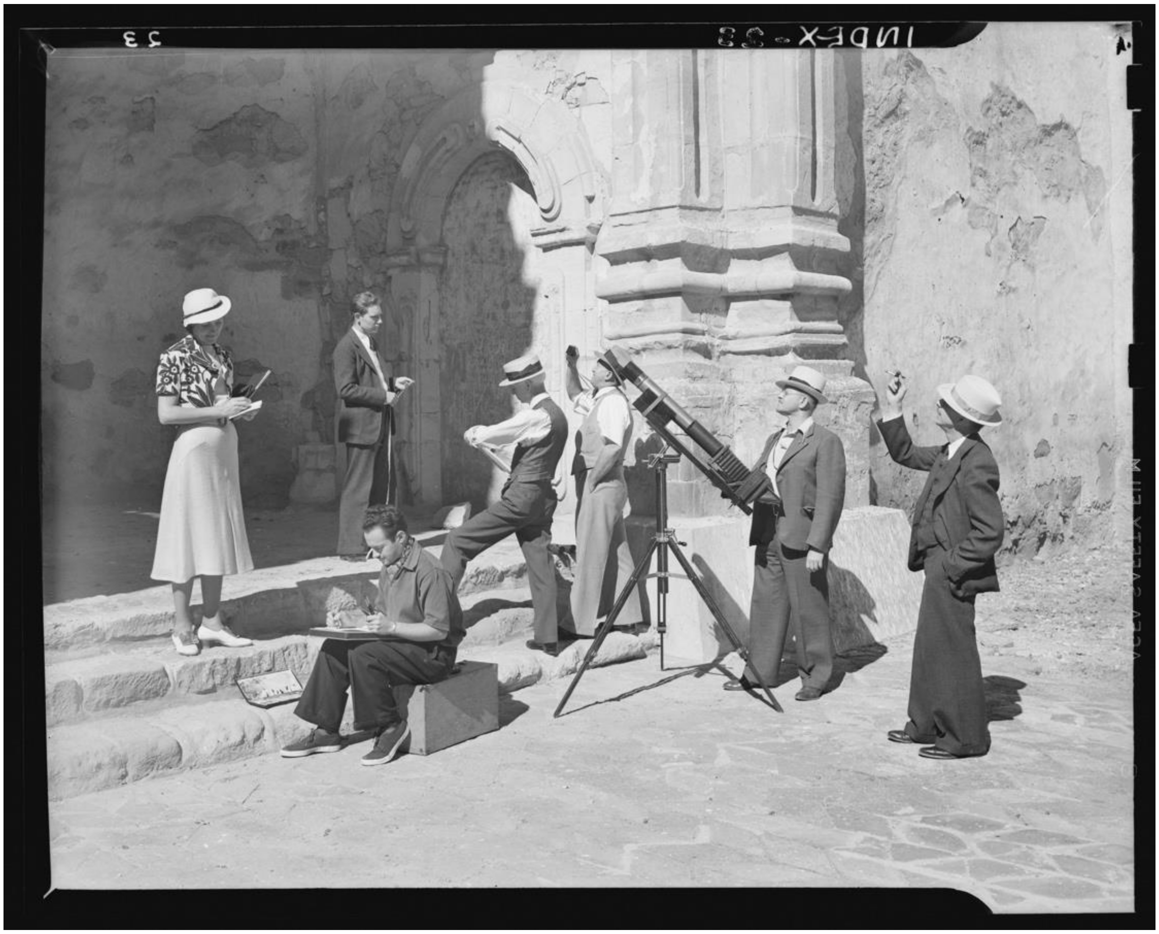


Figure 3.4
Riverside Mission Inn owner Frank Miller dressed in Franciscan robe, 1913, republished in *The Press Enterprise*, “Eclectic Collection Reflects Mission Inn’s Past,” https://www.pe.com/2015/09/08/riverside-eclectic-collection-reflects-mission-inn8217s-past/.

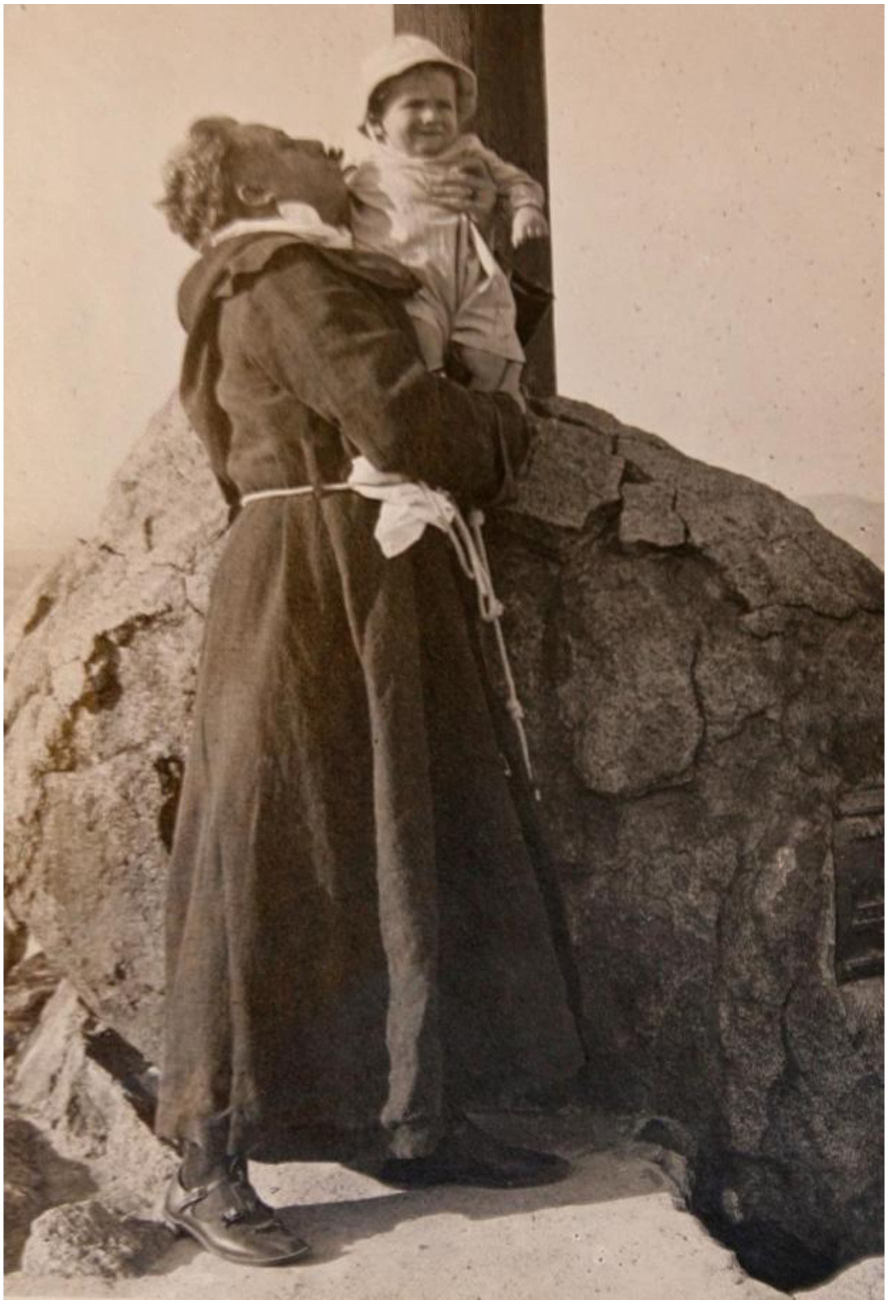
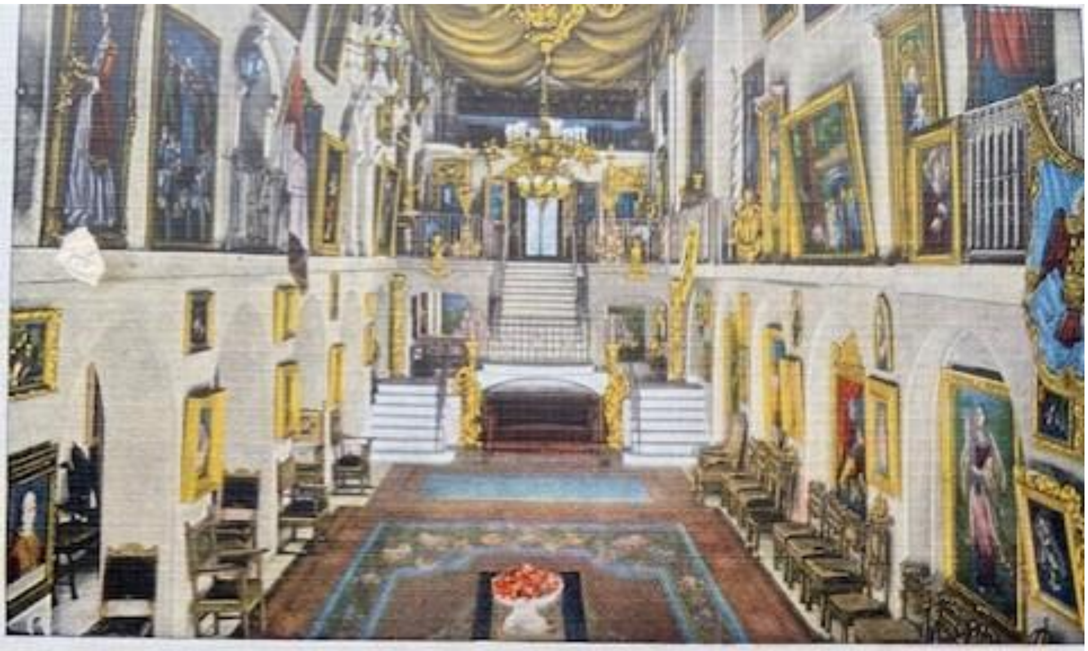
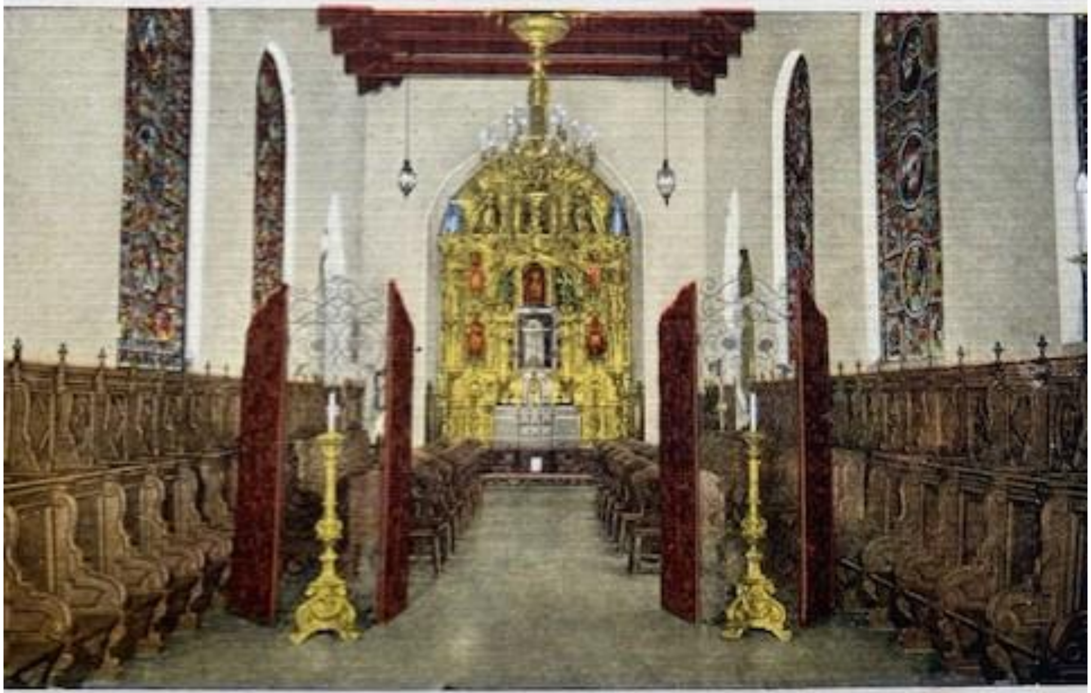


Figure 3.5

Figure 3.5: Early 20th-century Mission Inn Postcards, “St. Francis Chapel” and “Spanish Art Gallery,” Riverside, California.



MISSION INN, RIVERSIDE, CALIFORNIA—4



ST. FRANCIS CHAPEL, MISSION INN, RIVERSIDE, CALIFORNIA — 5

Figure 3.6
George Rhone, *Santo Bulto*, 1939, watercolor, graphite and pencil on paper, IAD 1943.8.6806.

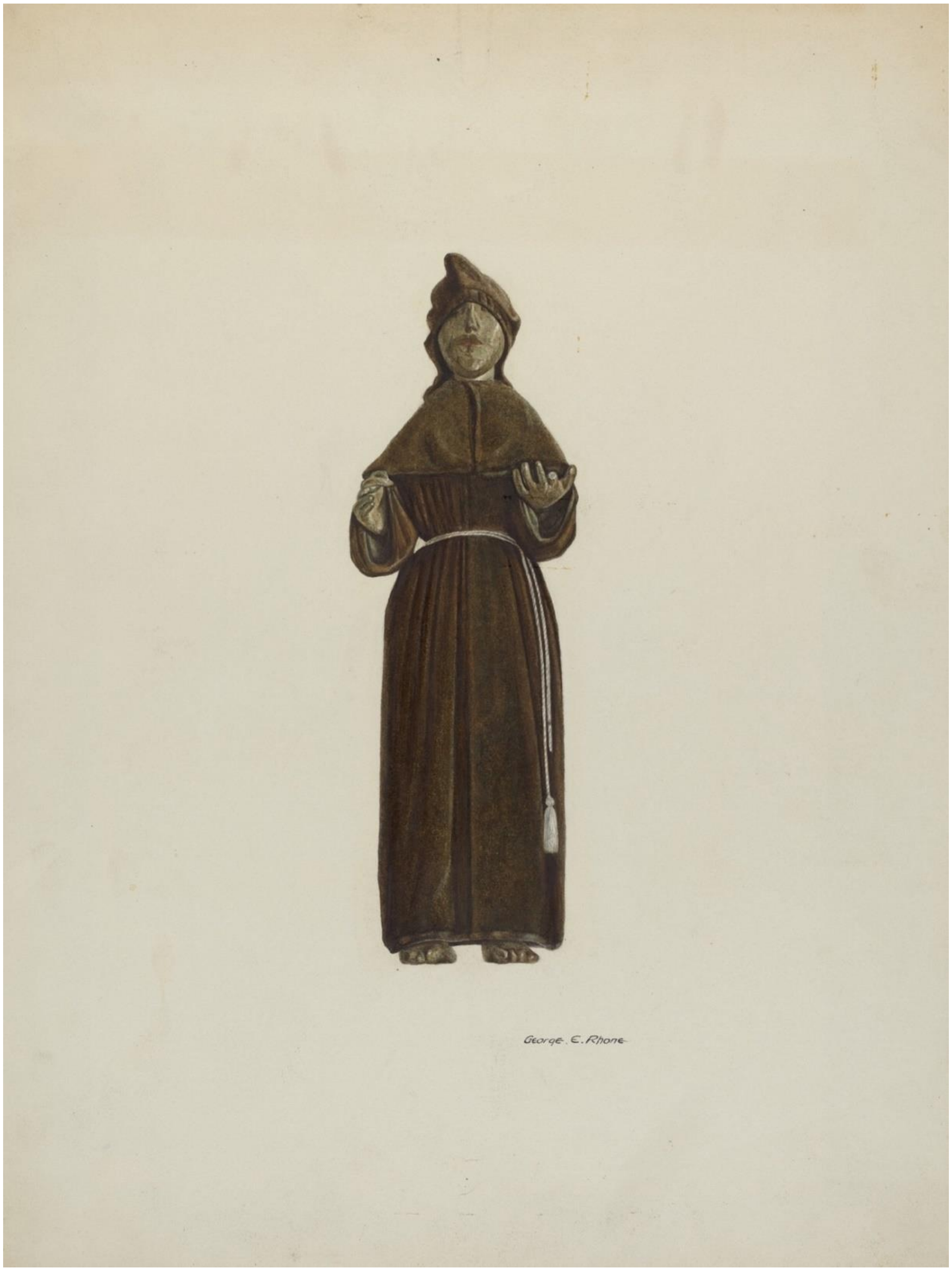

George E. Rhone

Figure 3.7
Paul Park, Photograph of Franciscan priest standing in front of River of Life Doors, San Fernando Mission, National Gallery Archives 44D5_75738_SoCalCa11_01.

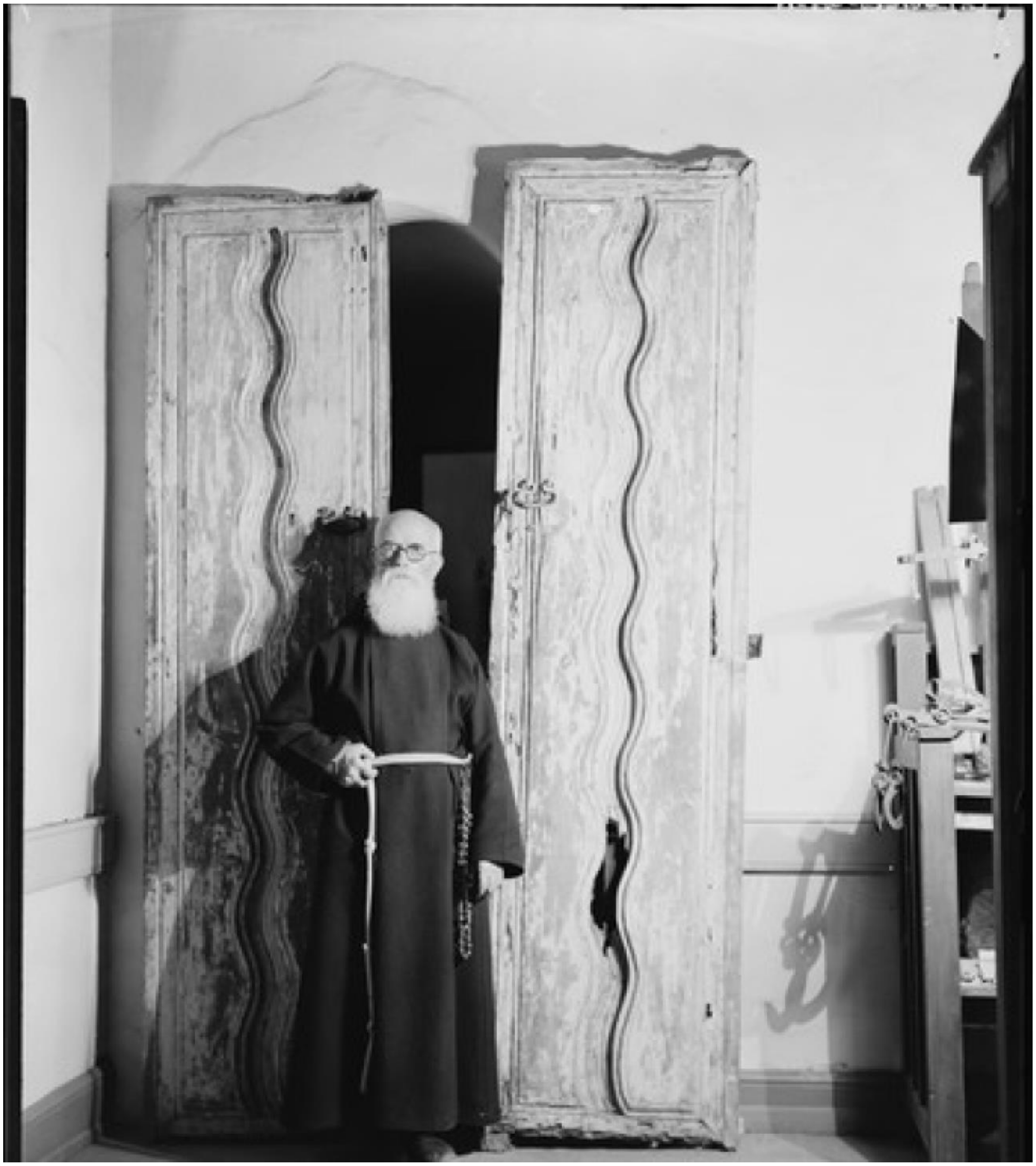


Figure 3.8
Robert Taylor, *Restoration Drawing: Wall Decoration over Doorway, Façade of Mission House* (River of Life Doors at San Fernando), c. 1935, watercolor, colored pencil and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.5944.

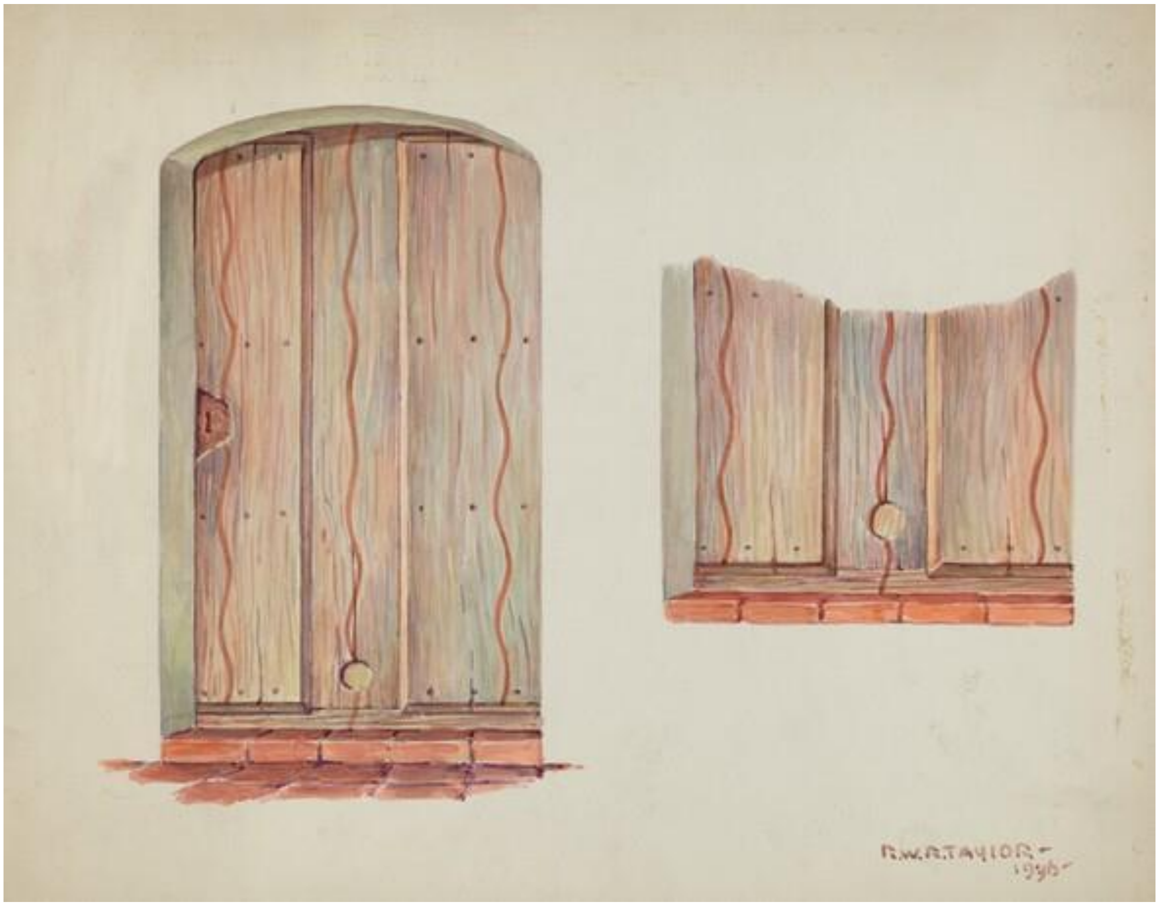


Figure 3.9
Peter Paul Rubens, *Franciscan Allegory of the Immaculate Conception*, oil sketch on panel, 1631-32 (based on print by Paul Pontius), Philadelphia Museum of Art Cat. 677.

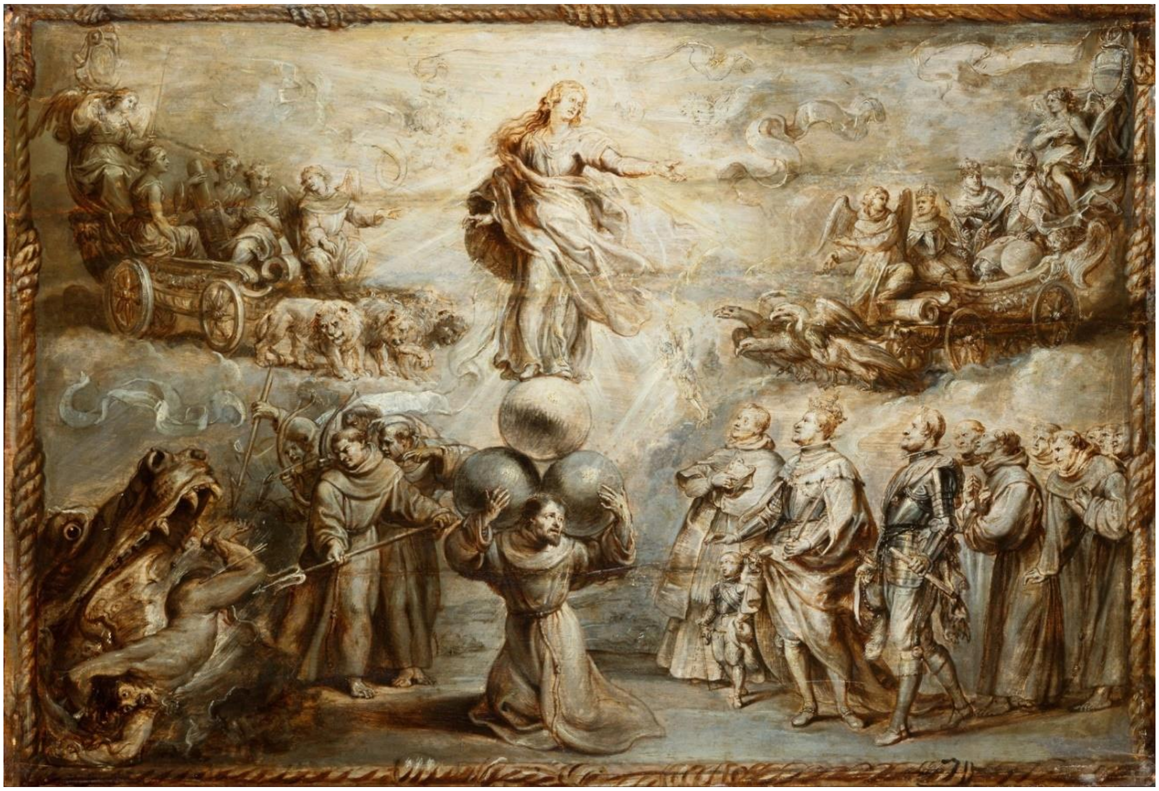


Figure 3.10
Mission San Miguel Float, San Diego Exposition, 1915,
https://sandiegohistory.org/collection/photographs/list485/.

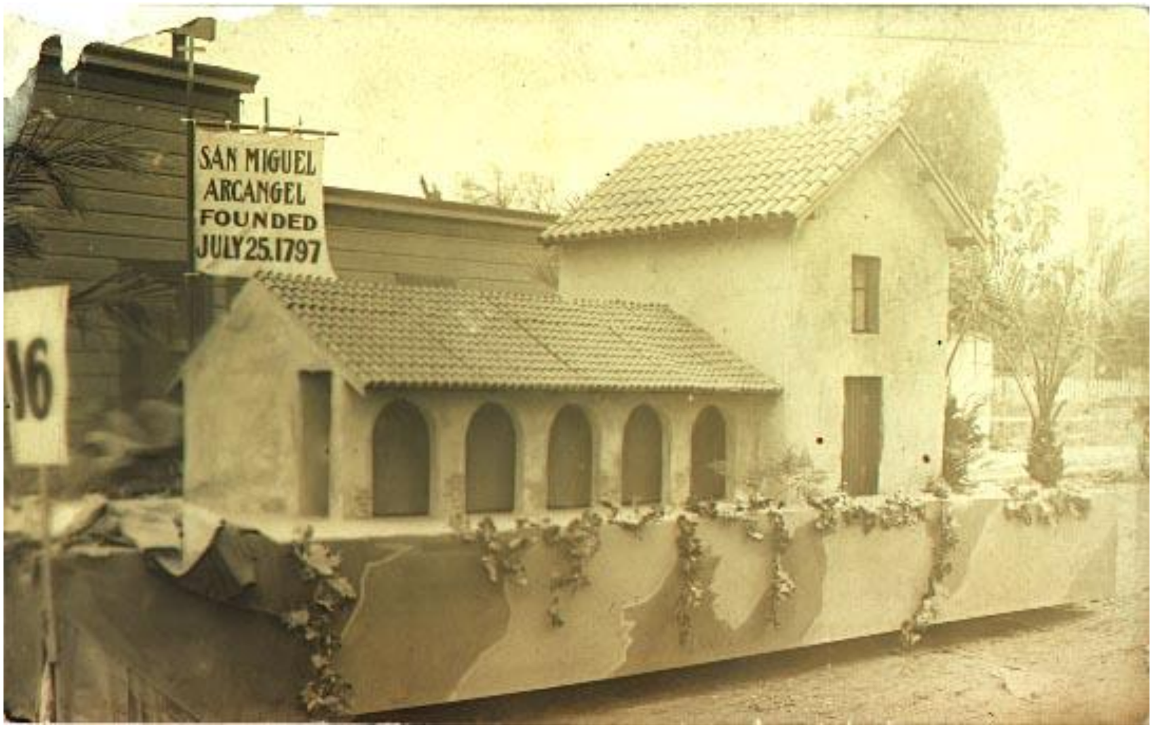

SAN MIGUEL
ARCANGEL
FOUNDED
JULY 25.1797
N6

Figure 3.11
Indians Painting Side Altar at Pala, Supervised by Father Antonio Peyri, photograph of diorama by Edith Webb, c. 1940s, Edith Buckland Webb Papers, Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library.

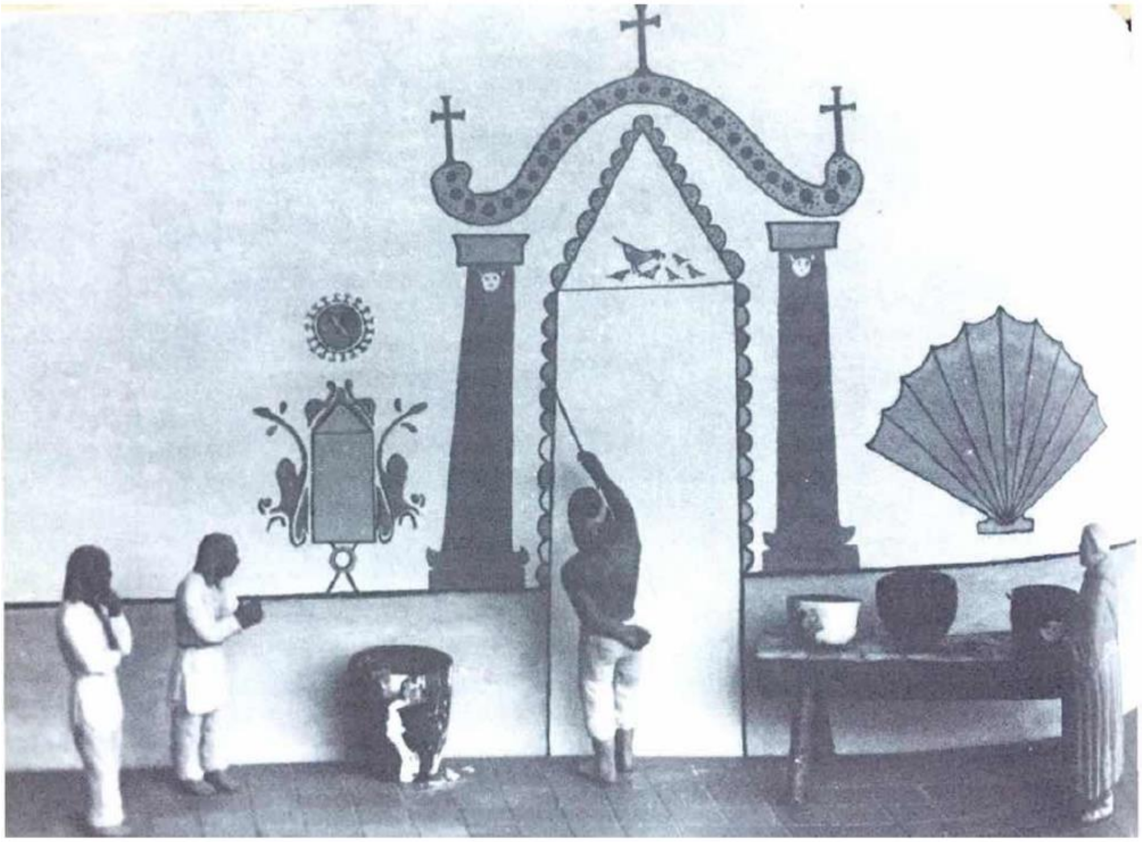


Figure 3.12
Andres Lopez, *Portrait of Viceroy Don Matías de Galvez y Gallardo as Viceprotector of Academy of San Carlos*, 1790-1791, oil on canvas, Museo Nacional del Virreinato, Tepotzotlán, Mexico.

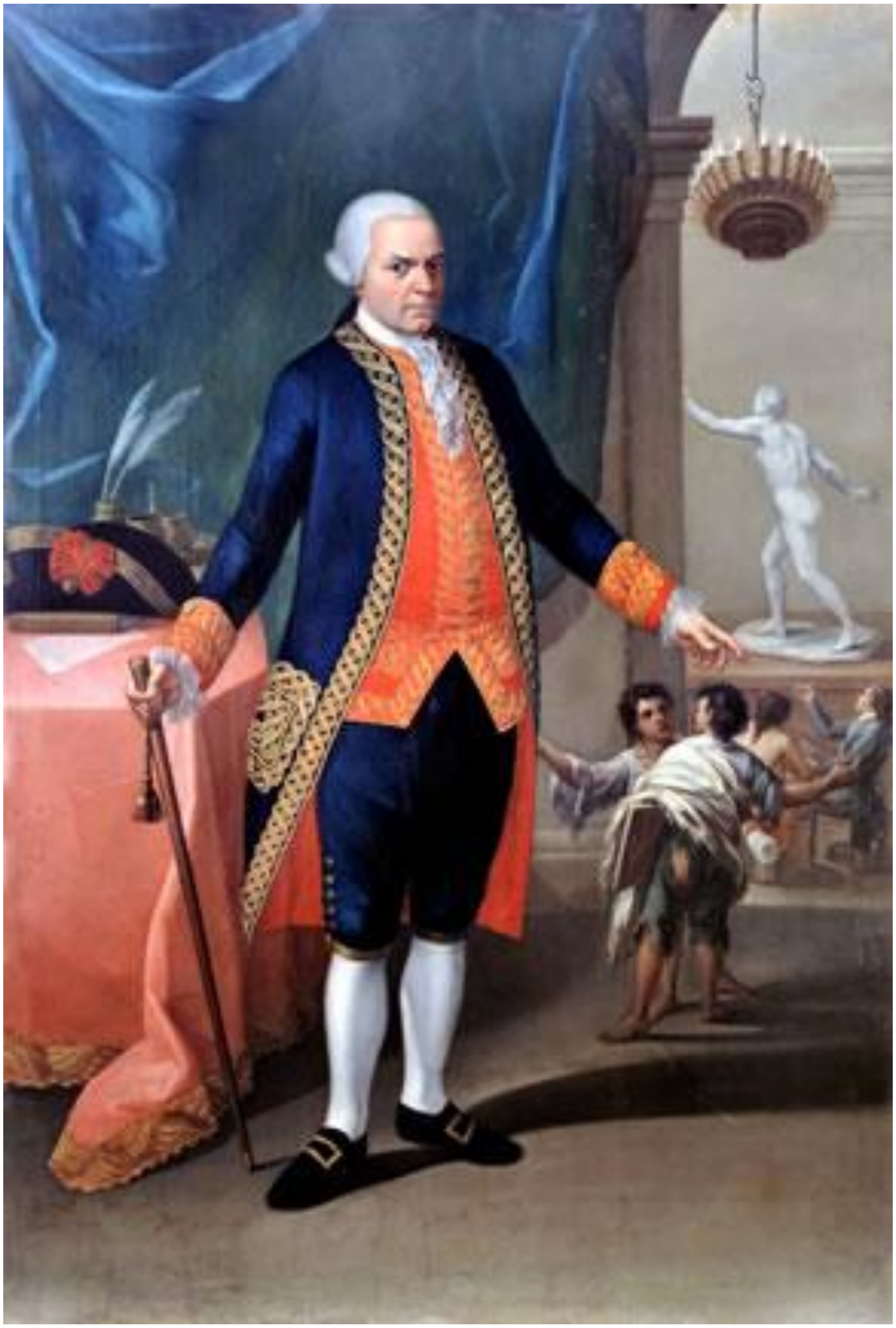


Figure 3.13
Santa Barbara Mission façade, James Jones, 1935/42, lithograph on wove paper, IAD 1943.8.18241.

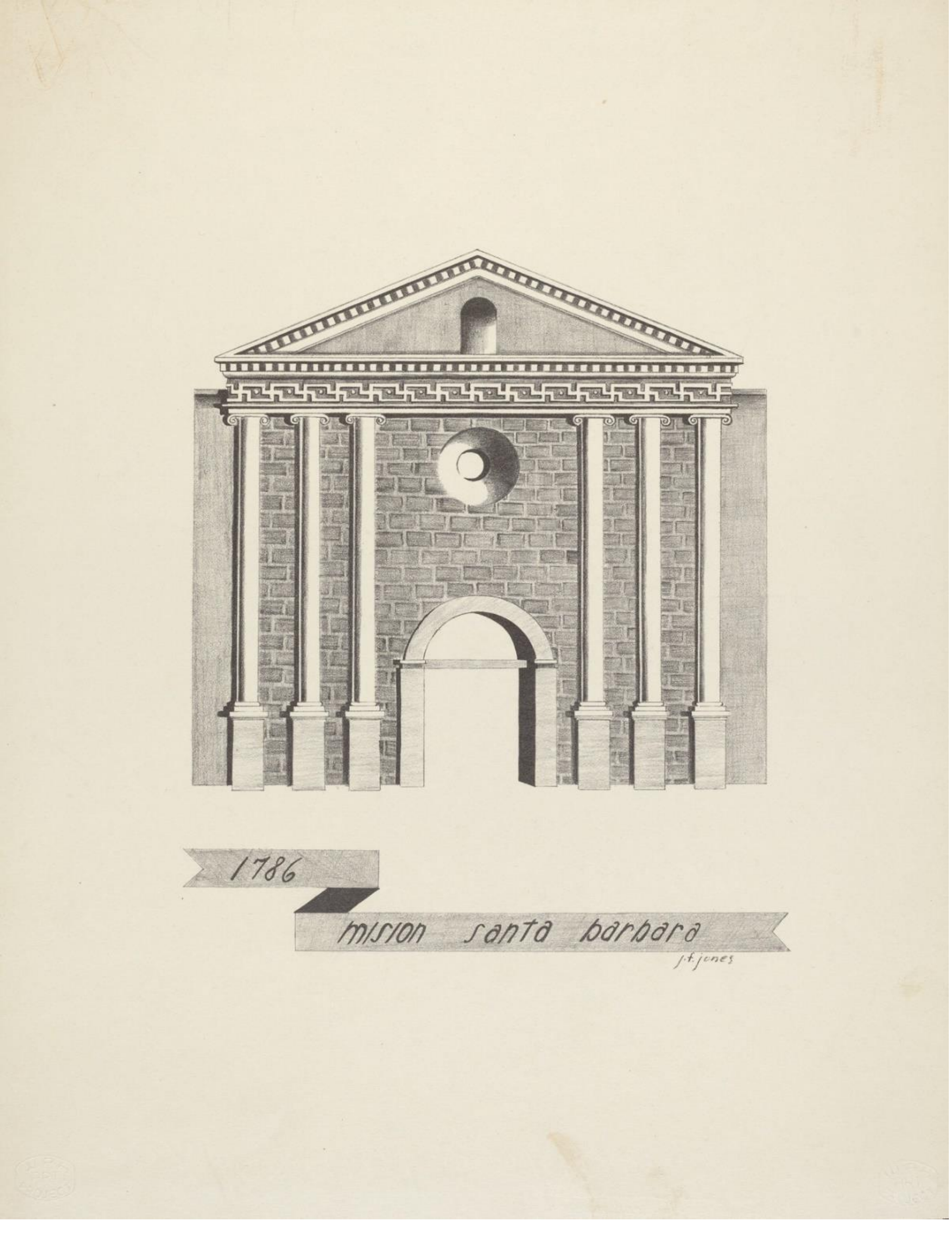

1786
mision santa barbara
j.t. jones

Figure 3.14
Vitruvius Plate X, *Ten Books of Architecture*, Ortiz y Sanz, 1787, Madrid, author's photograph, Getty Research Institute.

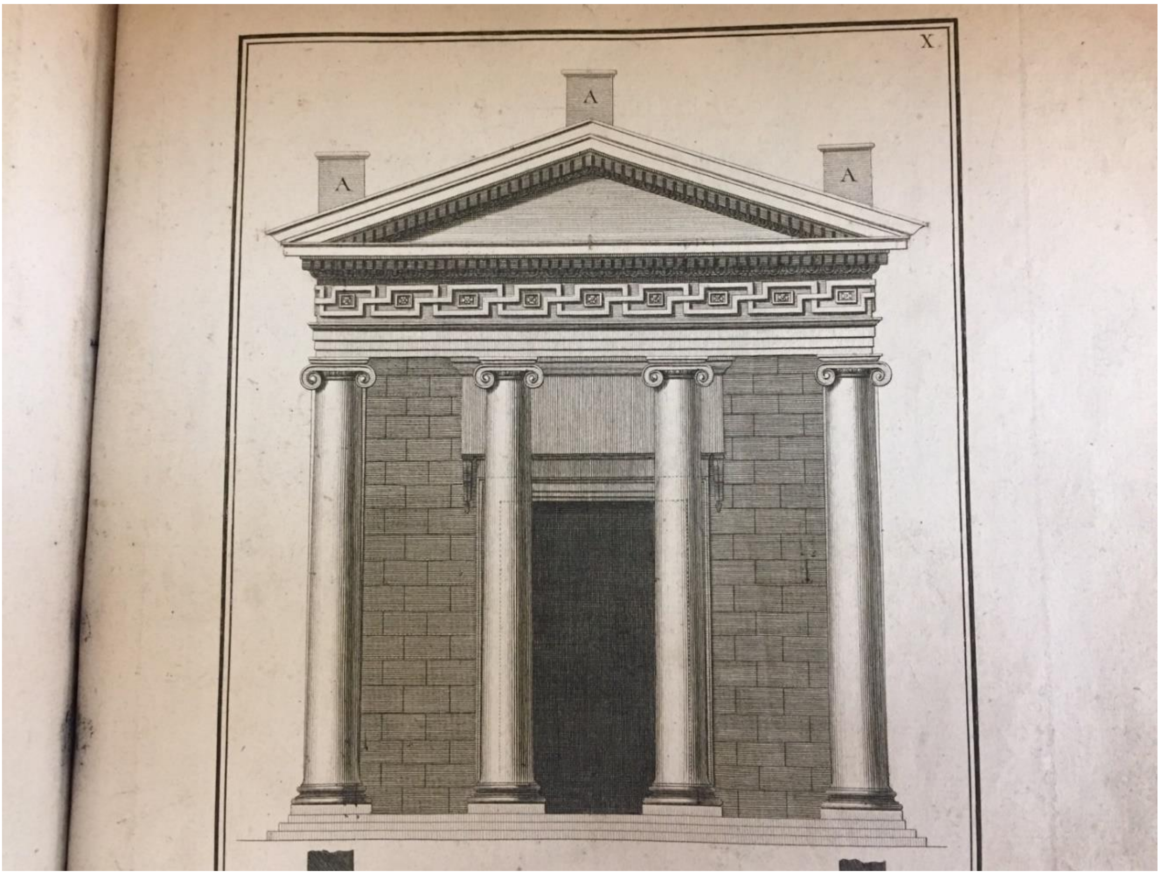


Figure 3.15
Vitruvius Plate XXV, *Ten Books of Architecture*, Ortiz y Sanz, 1787, Madrid.

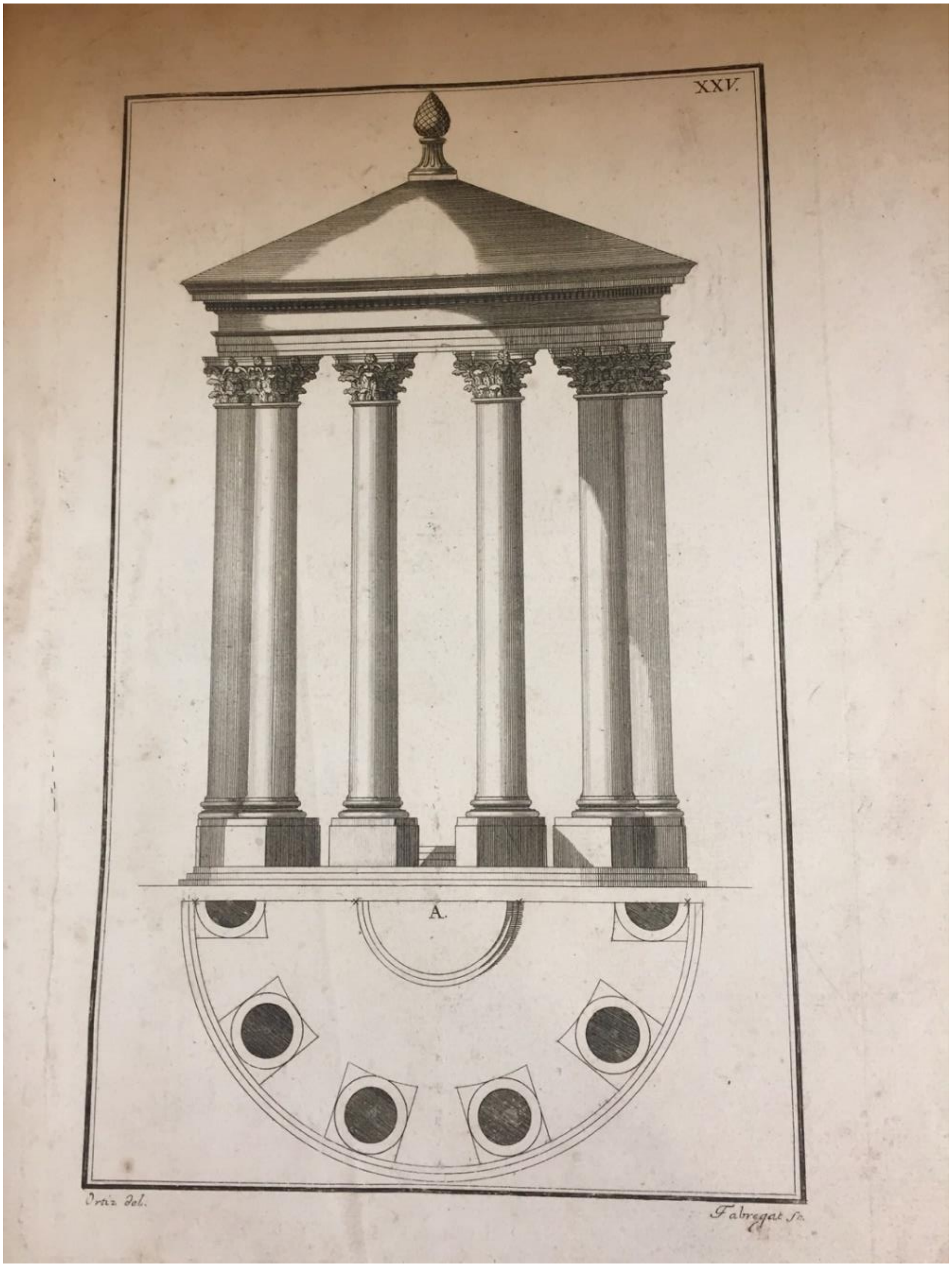

XXV.
A.
Ortiz del.
Fabregat sc.

Figure 3.16
Vitruvius, Roman Scenae, *Ten Books of Architecture*, Ortiz y Sanz, 1787, Madrid.

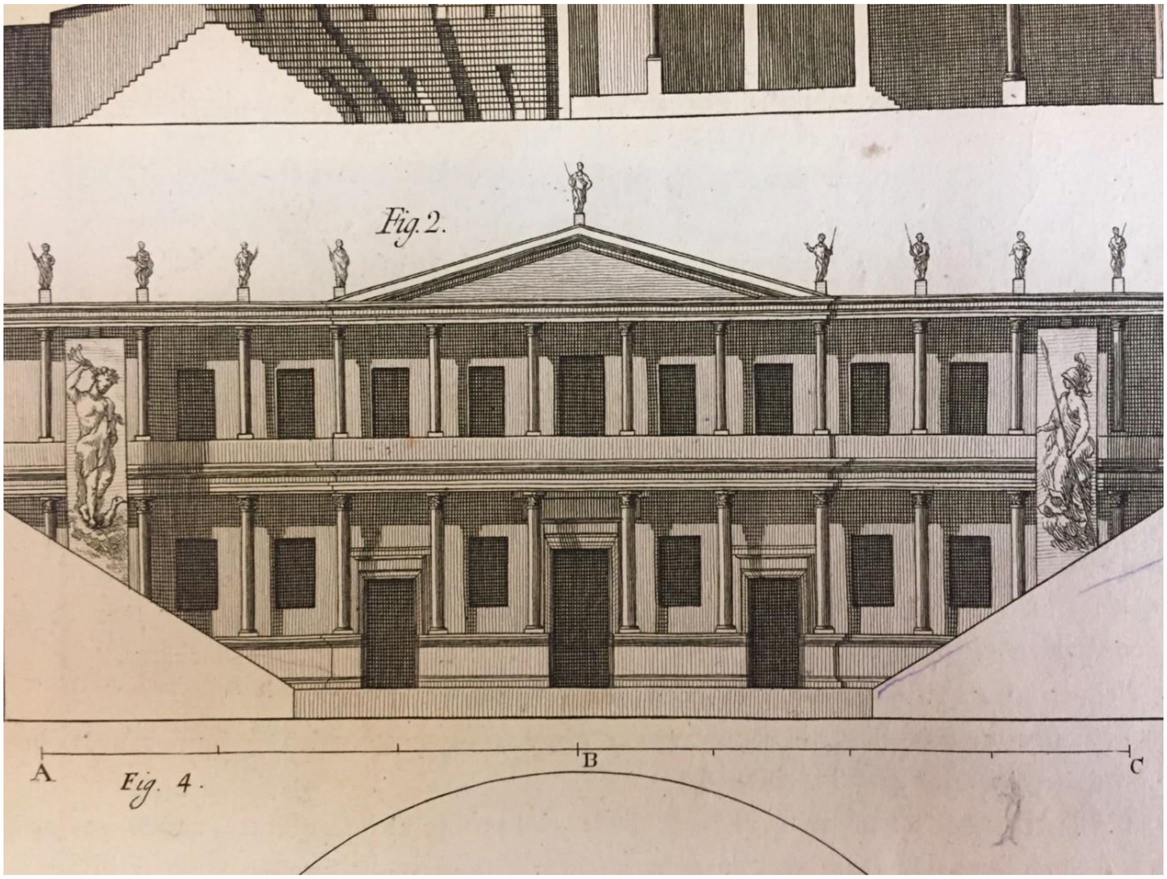


Fig. 2.
A
B
C
Fig. 4.

Figure 3.17
Howard H. Sherman, *Pilaster and Sidewall in Church* (featuring marbled pilasters), San Luis Rey Mission, c. 1936, watercolor, gouache, colored pencil, pen and ink, and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.5991.

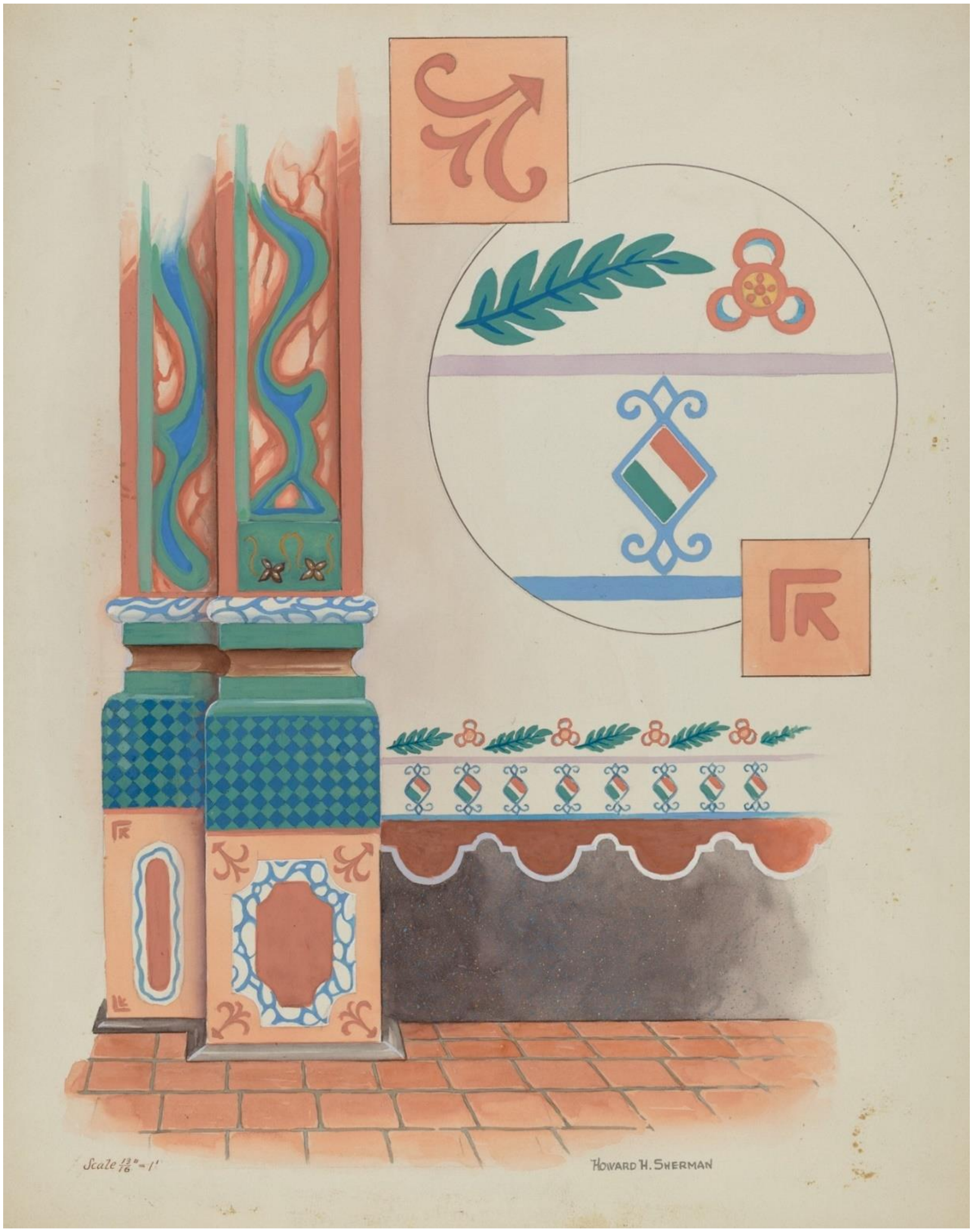

Scale 13/16" = 1'
HOWARD H. SHERMAN

Figure 3.18
Marbleized end sheets, Ortiz y Sanz, *De Architectura*, Vitruvius, Spanish edition, 1787, Madrid. Author's photograph, Getty Research Institute.

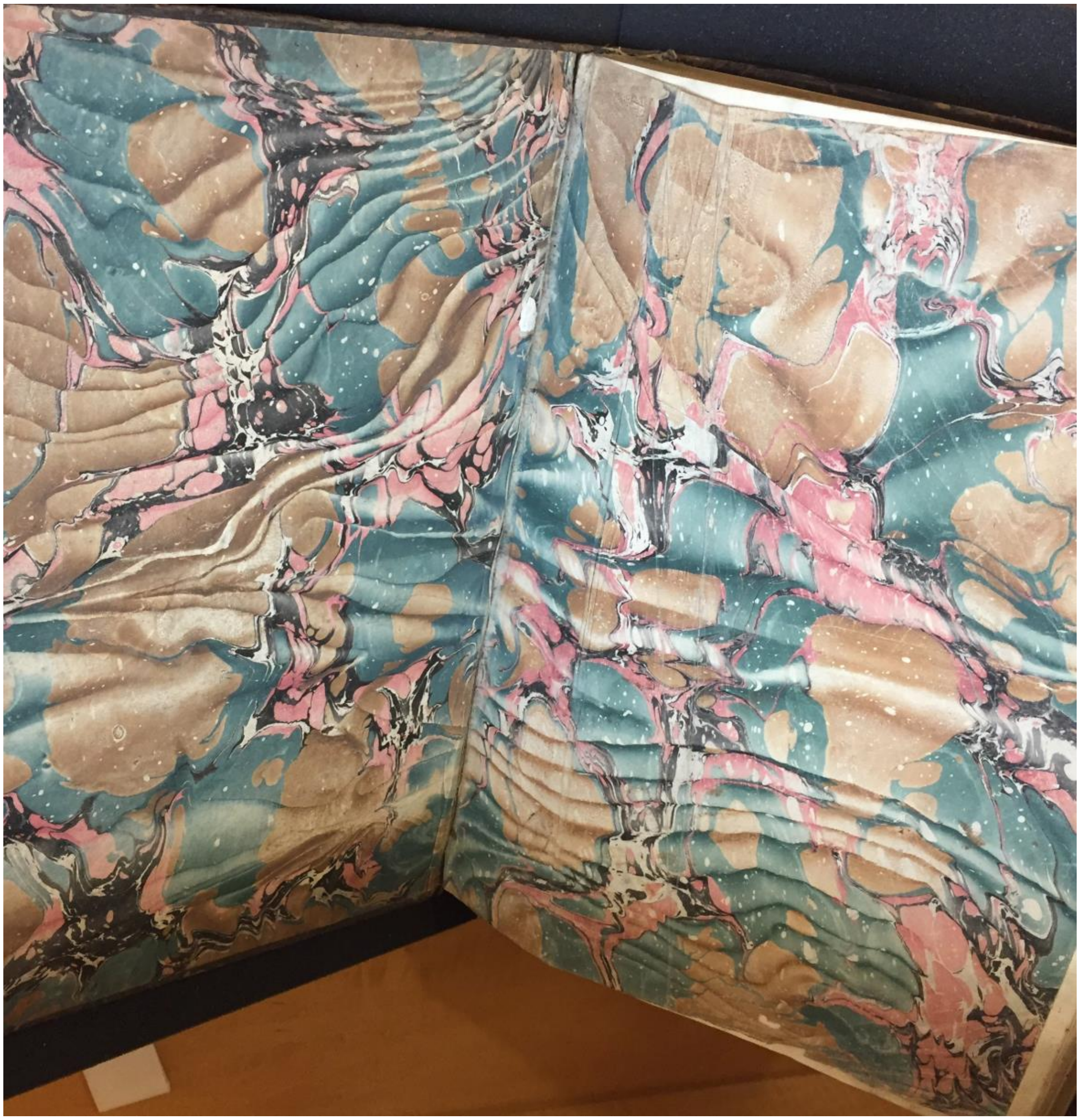


Figure 3.19
Warren W. Lemmon, *Fragment of Reredos*, (Santa Barbara *lienzo* featuring St. Joaquim (detail,), c. 1940, watercolor, colored pencil, gold ink, and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.6816, b.

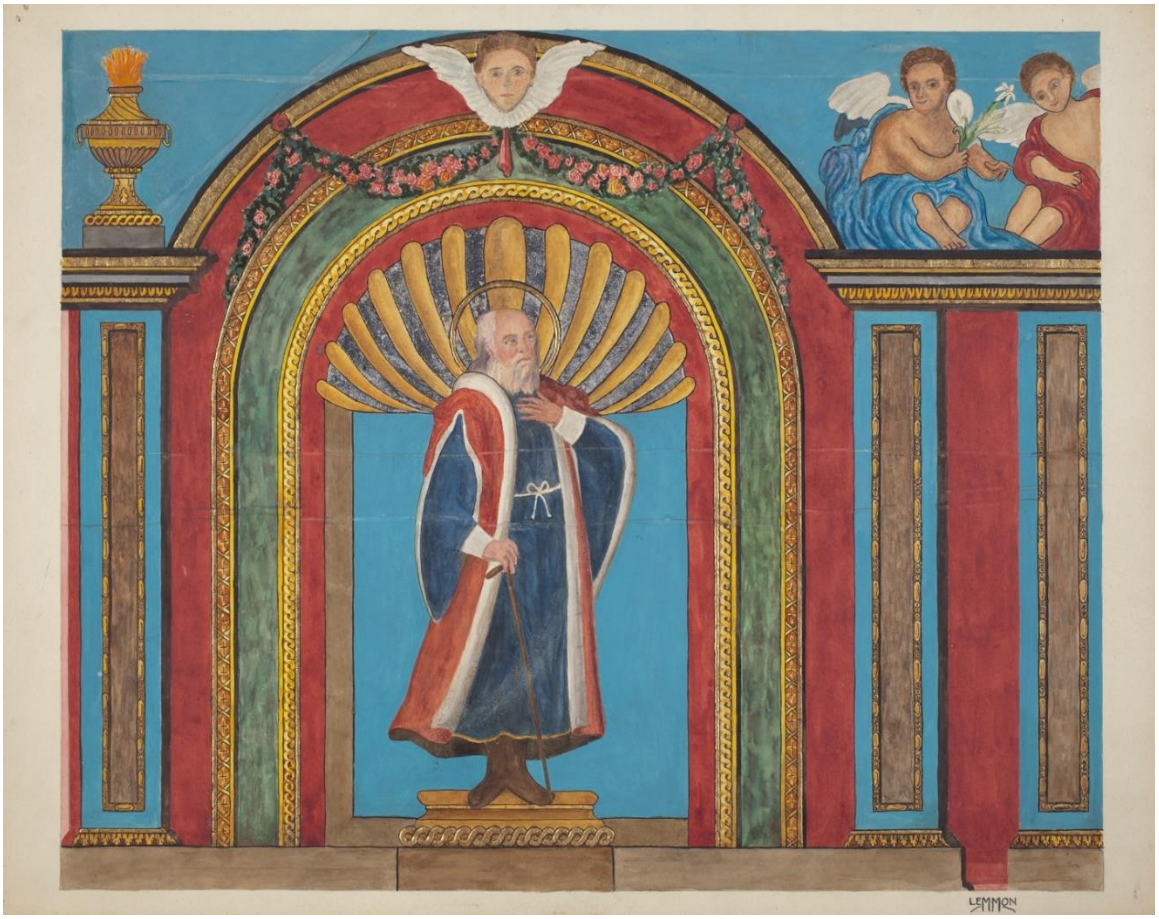


Figure 3.20
Edward Jewett, *Fragment of Reredos* (detail of Santa Barbara lienzo featuring St. Anne (detail, a), c. 1940, watercolor, gold ink, silver ink, colored pencil, and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.6817.

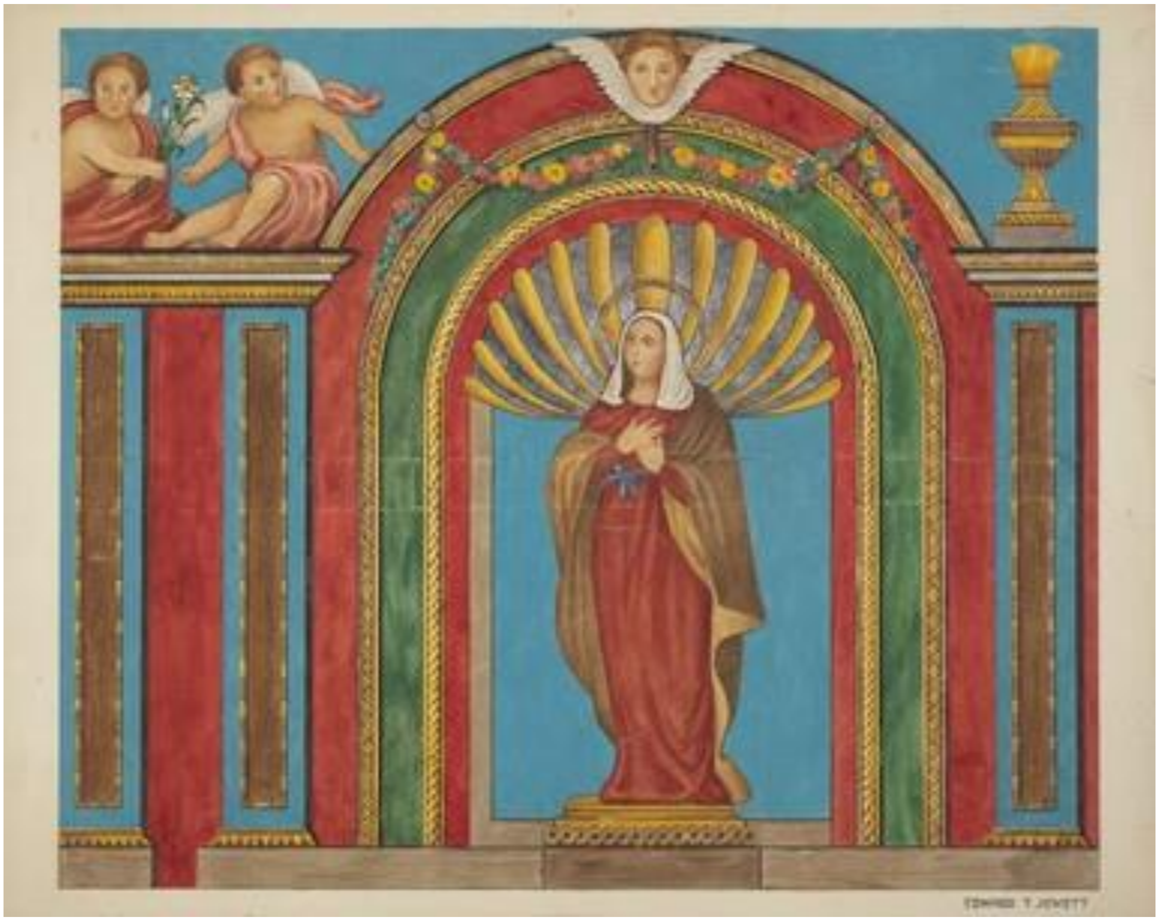


Figure 3.21
Photograph of Santa Barbara reredos, c. 1925, republished in Baer, *Painting and Sculpture at Mission Santa Barbara* (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955).

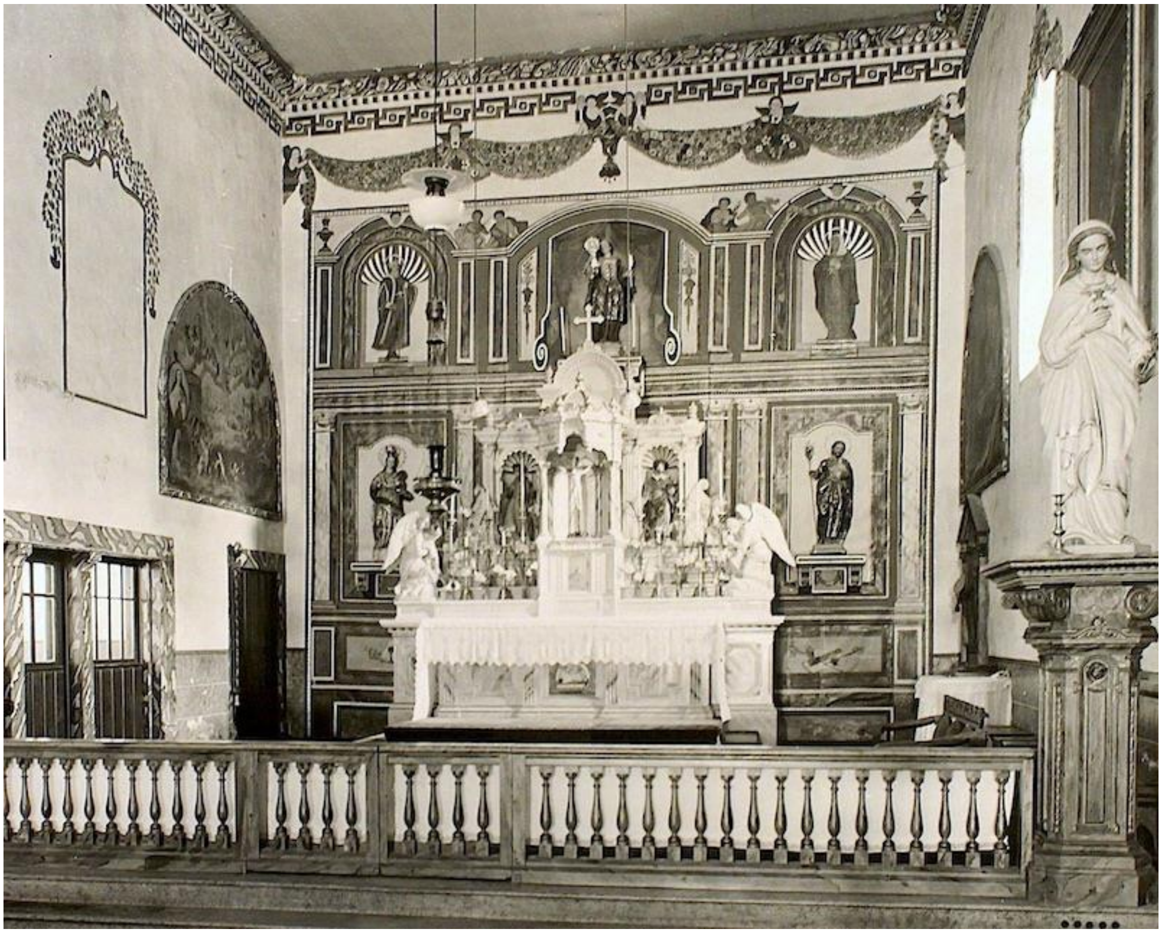


Figure 3.22
Gerald Transpota, *Wall Painting*, 1938 (original wall painting at Mission San Buenaventura attributed to Juan Pacífico), watercolor, colored pencil, and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.6501.

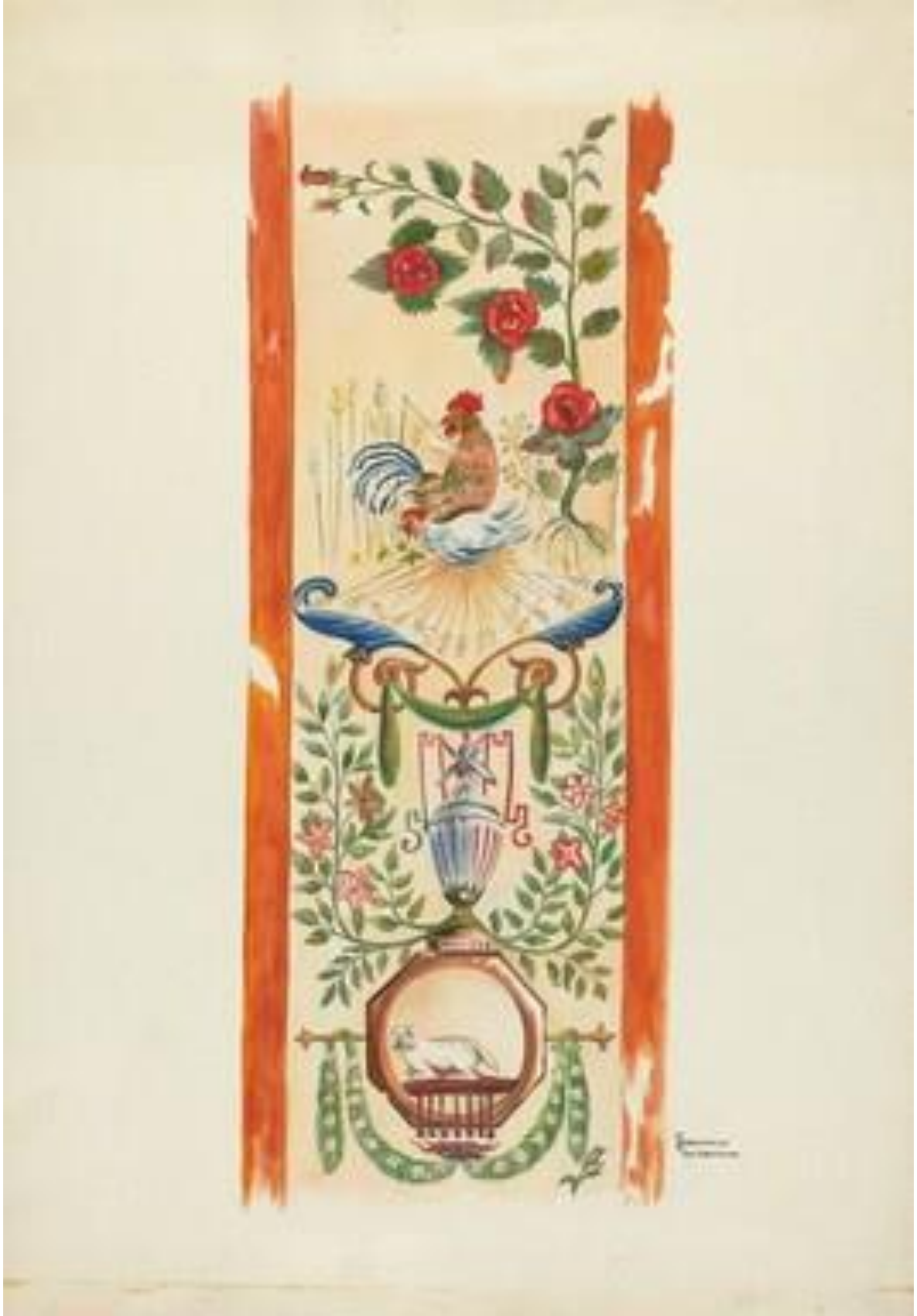


Figure 3.23
Dana Bartlett, *Ceiling Ornament* (Vitruvian Thunderbird), c. 1936, watercolor, colored pencil, and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.6520.

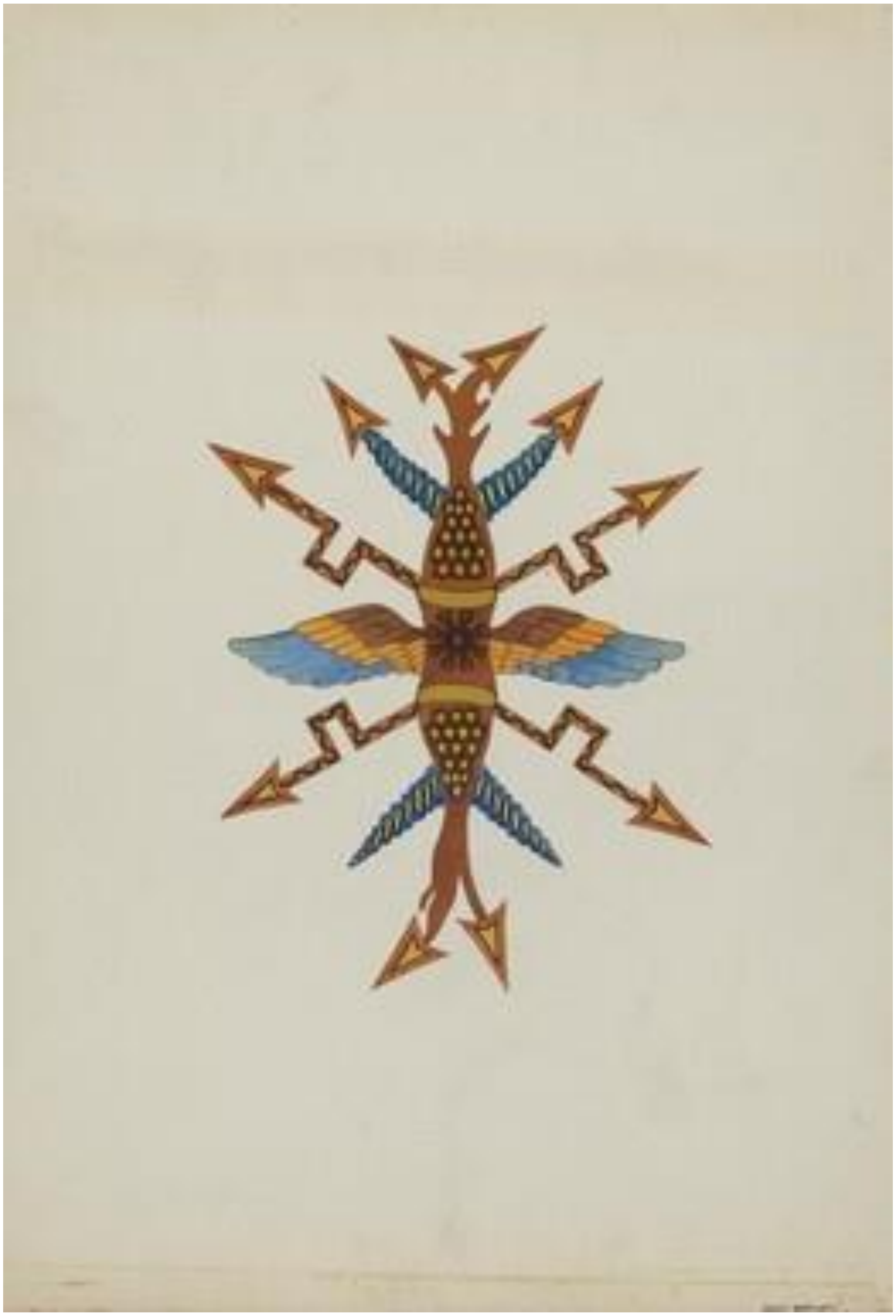
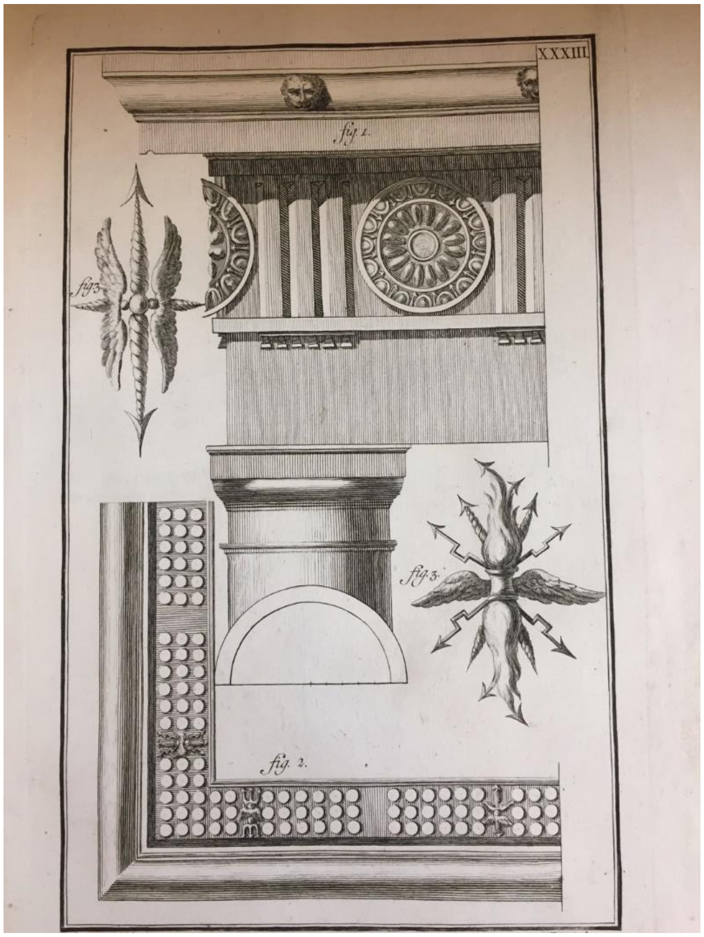


Figure 3.24
Vitruvian “Thunderbird,” *Plate XXXII*, Ortiz y Sanz, *De Architectura*, 1787, Madrid.


XXXIII
fig. 1.
fig. 3.
fig. 3.
fig. 2.

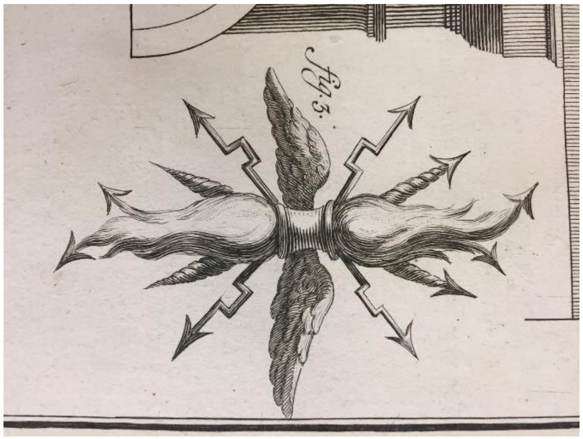


Figure 3.25
: Paul Park, IAD photograph of wall at Santa Ines, 44D5_86199_SoCal-Mscl_176 ab_02. Original Wall Decoration, NGA DC, Gallery Archives. RG44D, Records of the IAD, Original Project (WPA) Images - California Missions and Related Subjects.

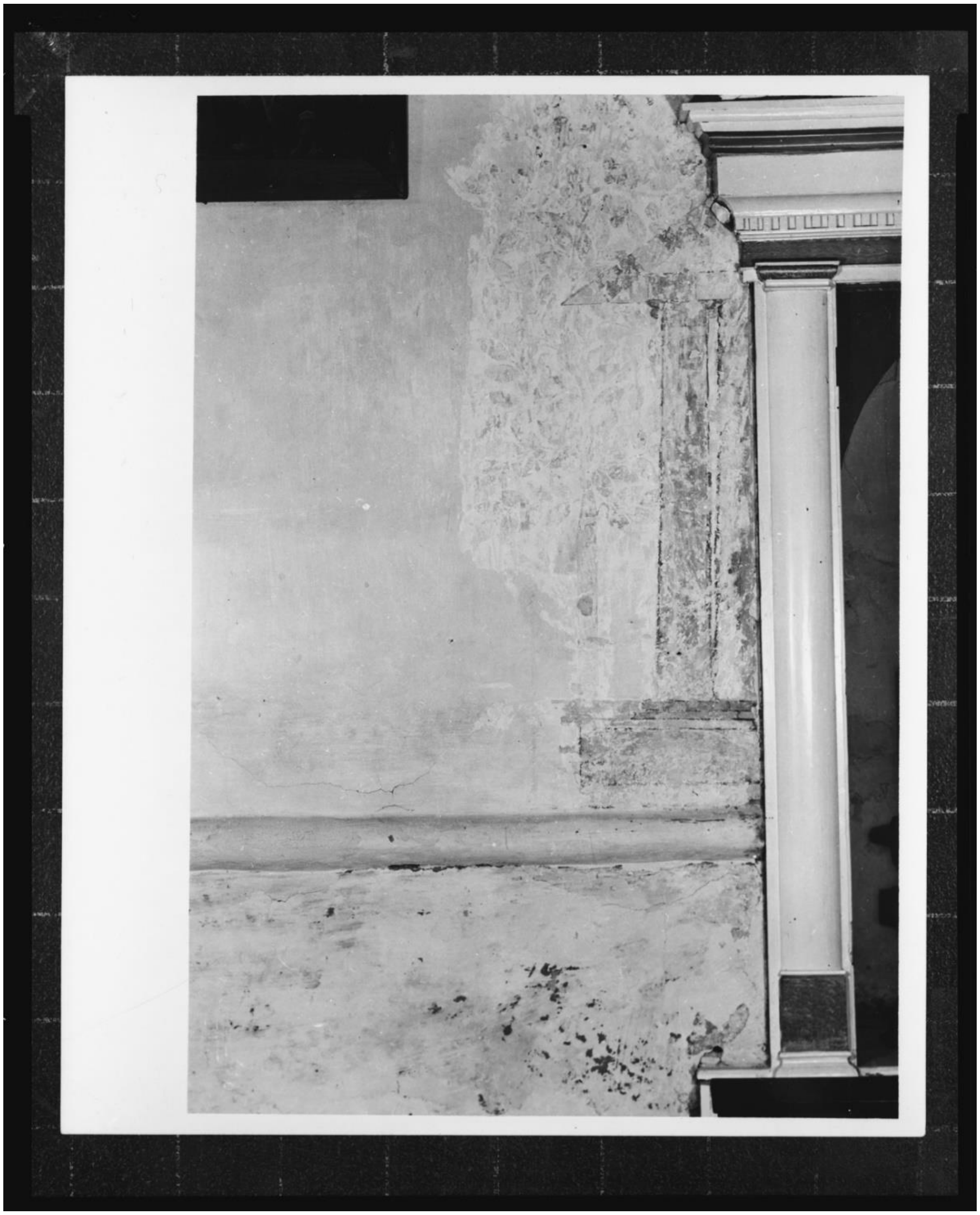


Figure 3.26
Paul Park photograph of Index artists at Santa Ines, 1939; left to right: Albert Pratt, Ralph de Frietas, Warren Lemmon, supervisor, and Edward Jewett, 44D5_94065_01 Missions - Santa Inés - 87. Artist Uncovering Original Wall Decoration [includes Index staff] NGA DC, Gallery Archives. RG44D, Records of the IAD, Original Project (WPA) Images - California Missions and Related Subjects.

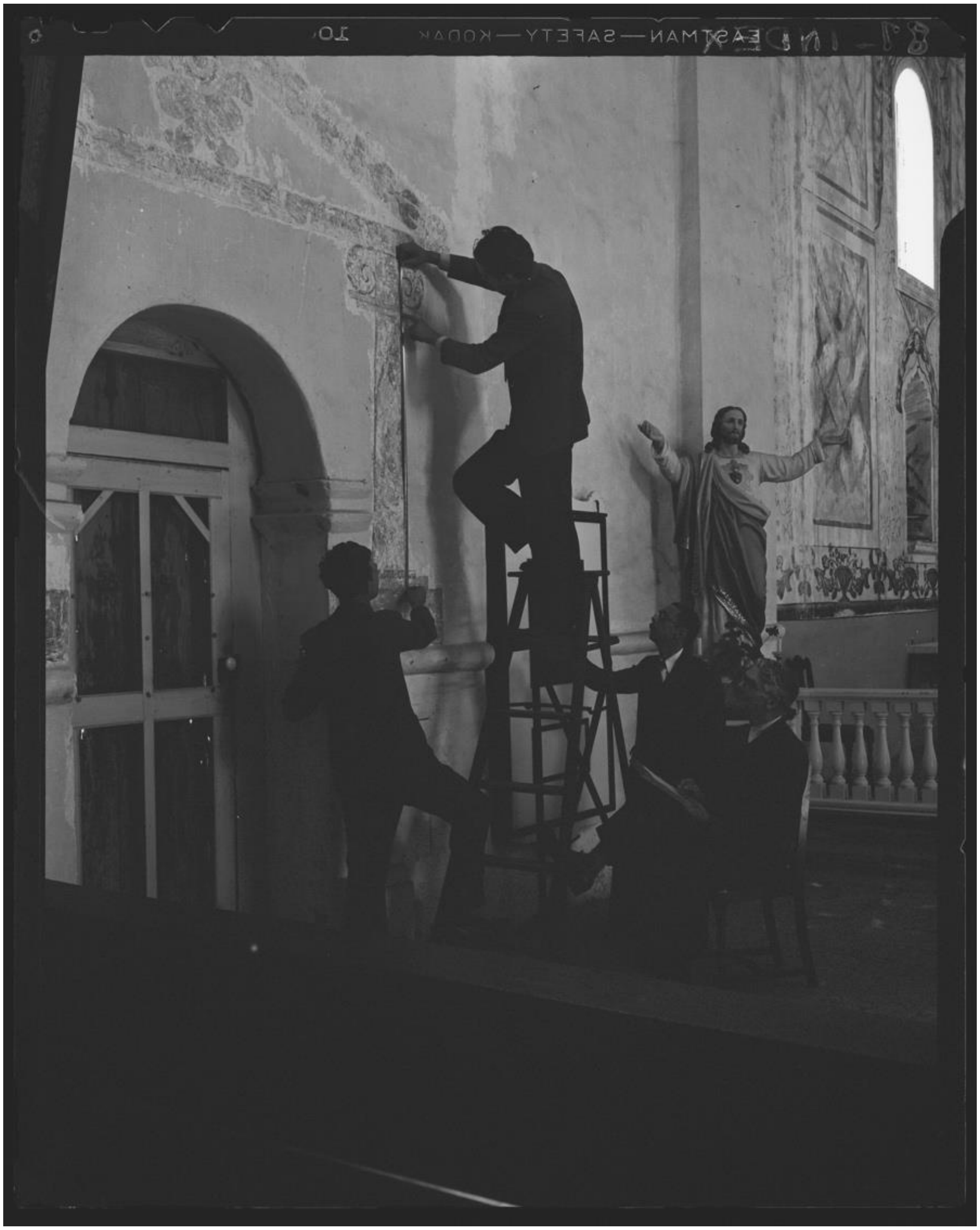


Figure 3.27
Edward Jewett, *Wall Painting*, (Mission Santa Ines step fret design), 1939, watercolor, colored pencil and graphite on paper, SoCal MSCL-35 (a), b, IAD, 1943.8.5987.

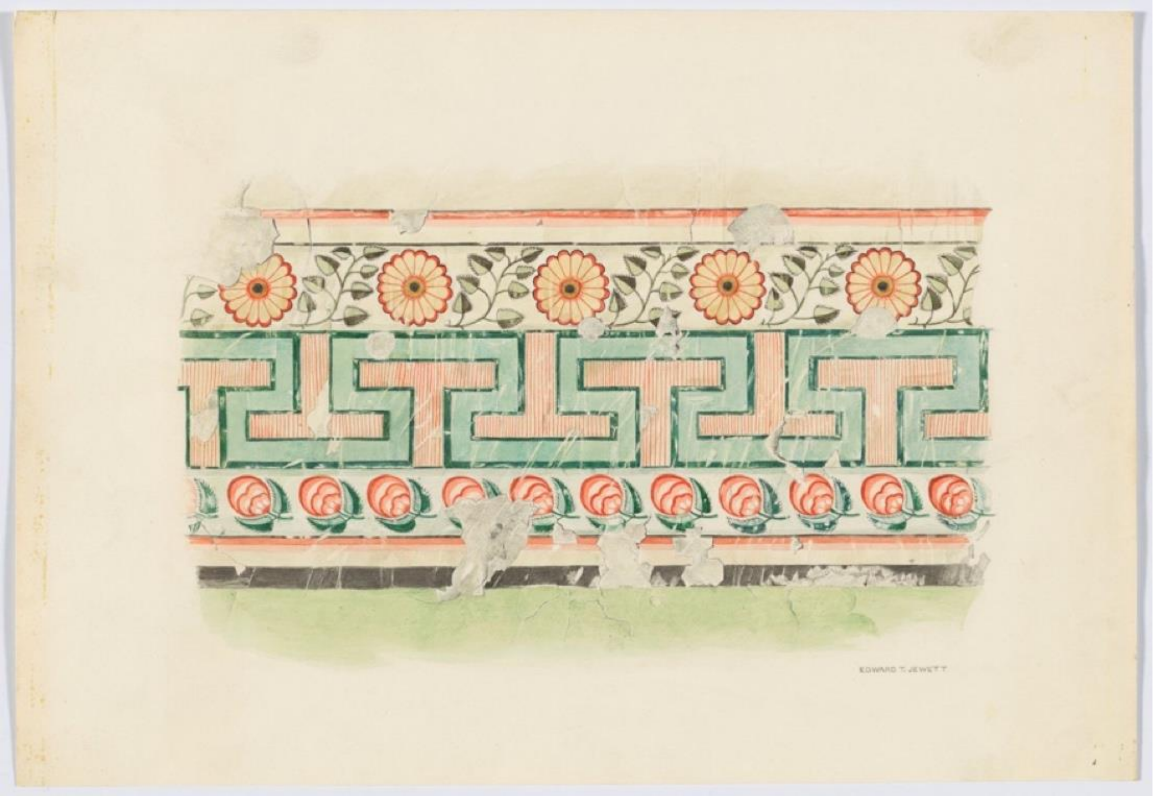


Figure 3.28
Chumash Painting of Archangel Raphael, c. 1825, Mission Santa Ines Museum.

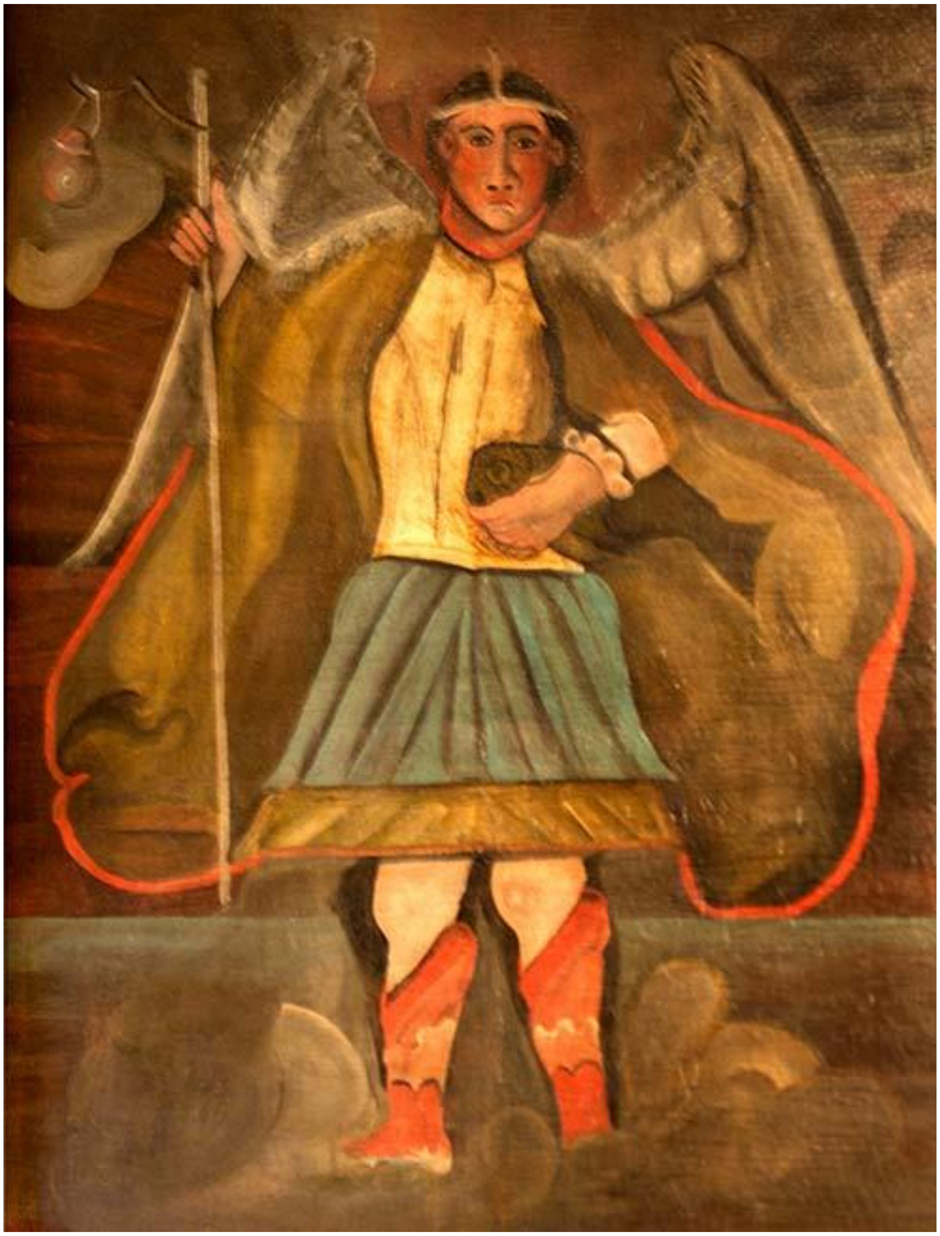


Figure 3.29
Randolph F. Miller, *Reredos and Wall Paintings*, Mission San Miguel, 1937, watercolor, colored pencil, pen and ink, gold ink and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.6508.

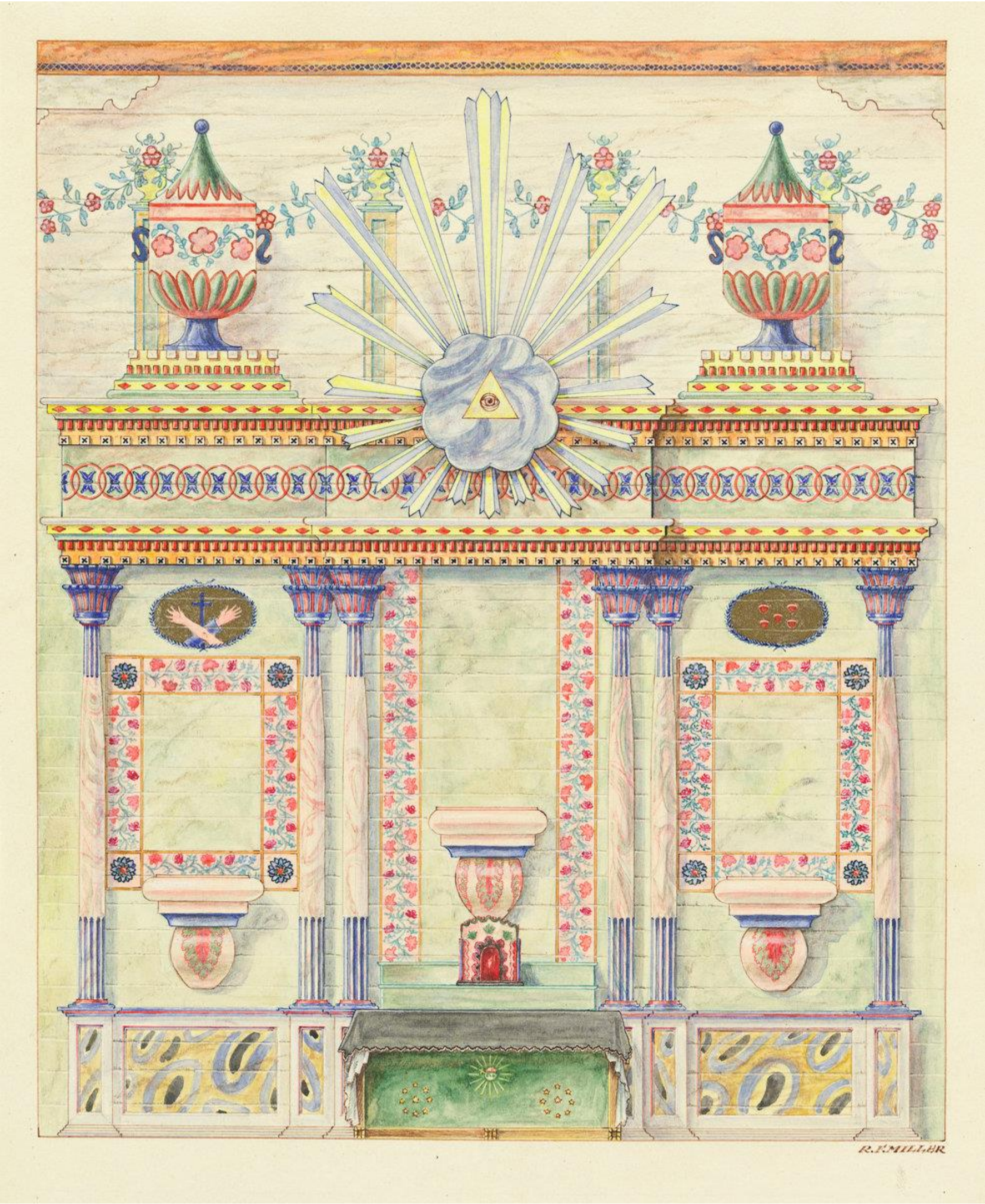


Figure 3.30
William Kieckhofel, *Decorations on Reredos and Sanctuary Walls,* Mission San Miguel,1940, watercolor, colored pencil, and graphite on paperboard, IAD 1943.8.6509.

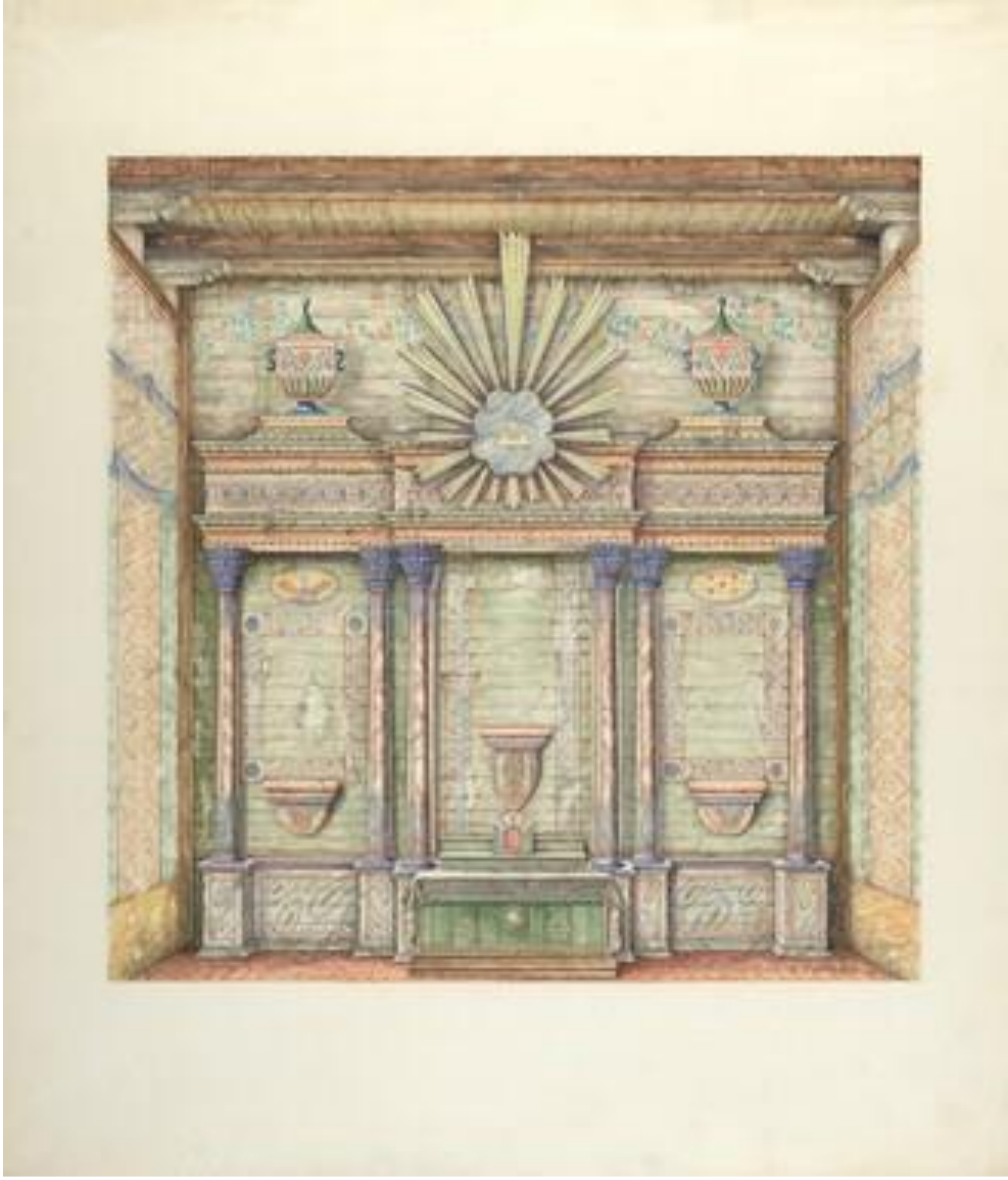


Figure 3.31
Attributed to Paul Park, Photograph of Index artists working at Mission San Miguel, c. 1940. 44D5_94048_01, Missions - San Miguel Arcángel - 32. Index staff at work on Pulpit, NGA DC, Gallery Archives. RG44D, Records of the IAD, Original Project (WPA) Images - California Missions and Related Subjects.

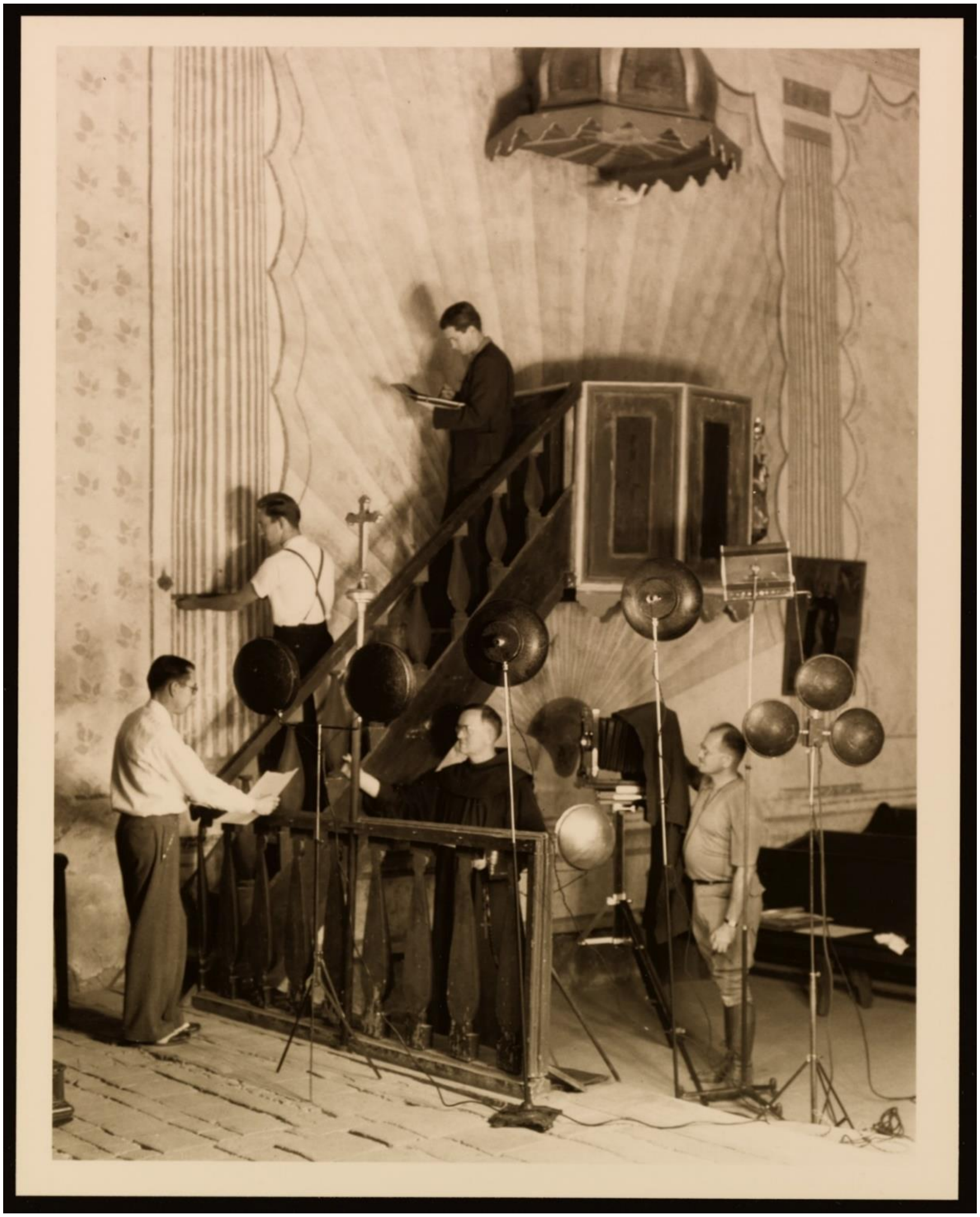


Figure 3.32
Edward Jewett, *Wall Painting*, (doorway framed by Ionic columns and pediment) Mission San Miguel, 1939, watercolor, colored pencil and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.5984.

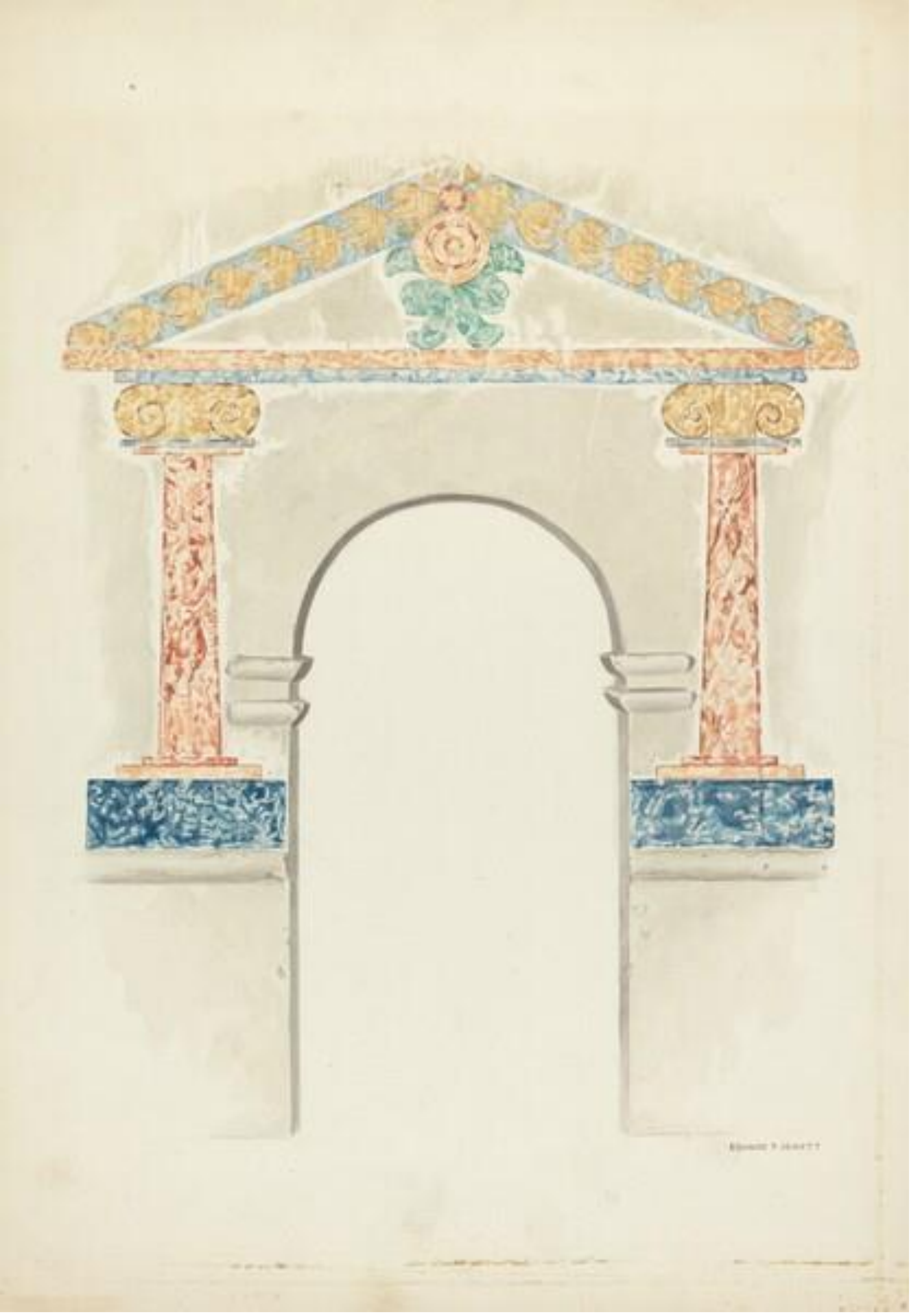


Figure 3.33
Randolph Miller, *Details of Painted Decorations on Reredos and Walls*, Mission San Miguel, 1937, watercolor, colored pencil, pen and ink and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.5990.

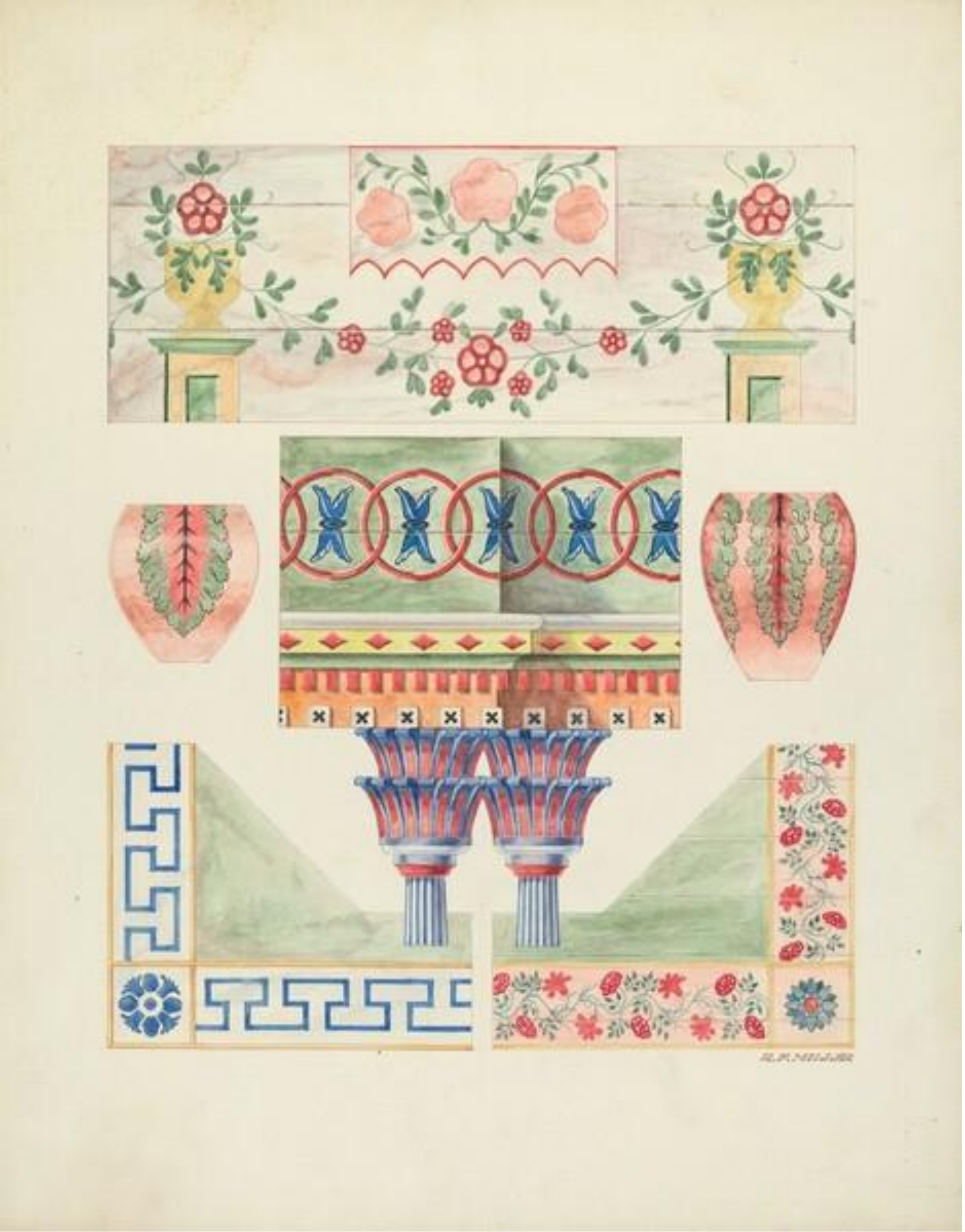


Figure 3.34
Randolph Miller, *Details of Painted Decorations, Side Wall of Sanctuary*, Mission San Miguel, 1935/1939, watercolor, colored pencil, pen and ink, graphite and heightening on paper, IAD 1943.8.5999.

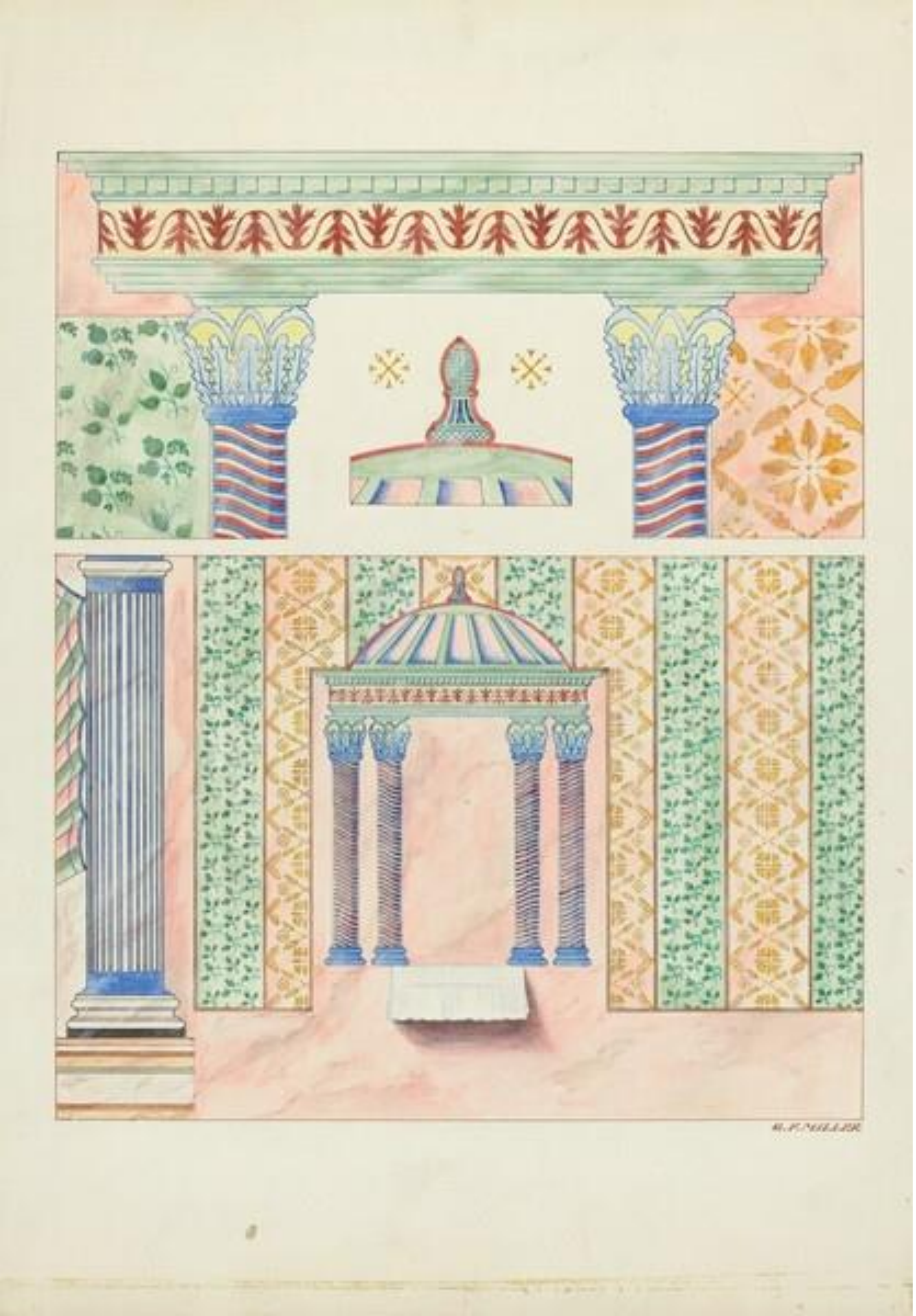


Figure 3.35
Randolph Miller, *Detail of Wall Painting*, Mission San Miguel, 1937, watercolor, colored pencil, pen and ink, graphite and heightening on paper, IAD, 1943.8.6000.

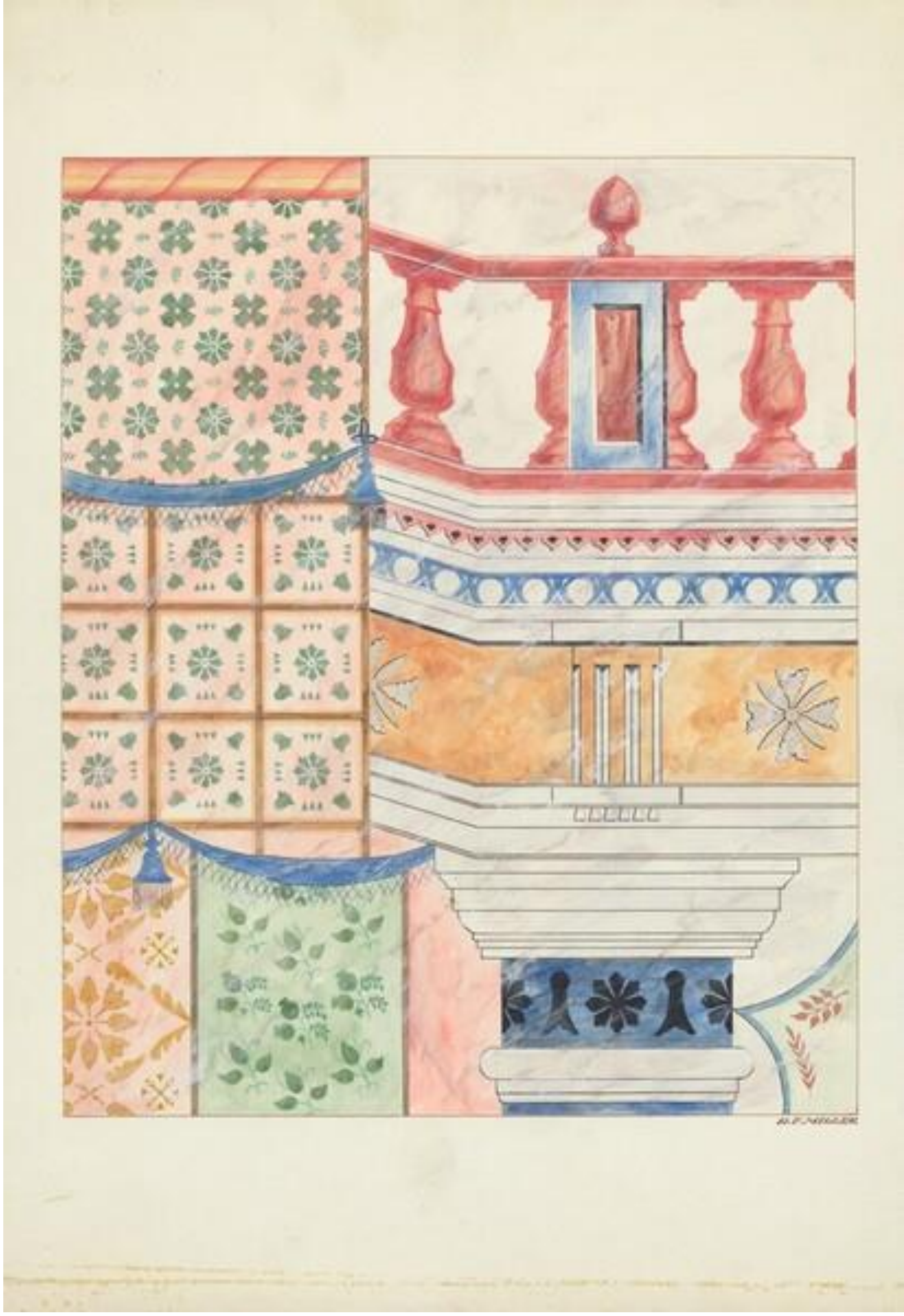


Figure 3.36
Randolph Miller, *Pulpit and Wall Painting*, Mission San Miguel, 1937, watercolor, colored pencil, pen and ink, silver ink and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.6507.

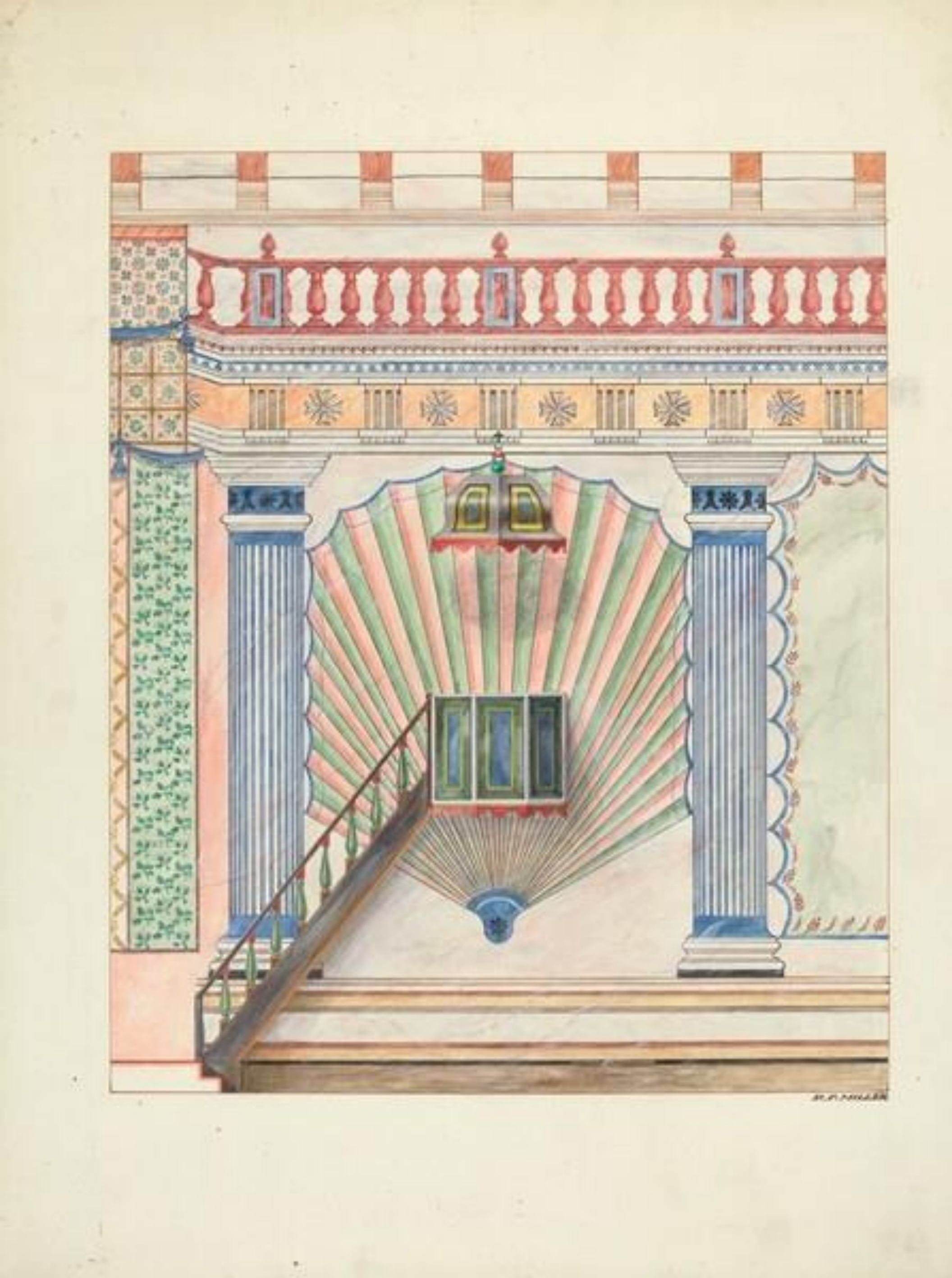


Figure 3.37
Howard H. Sherman, *Side Altar* (collage view), San Luis Rey Mission, 1936, watercolor, colored pencil, gouache and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.6506.

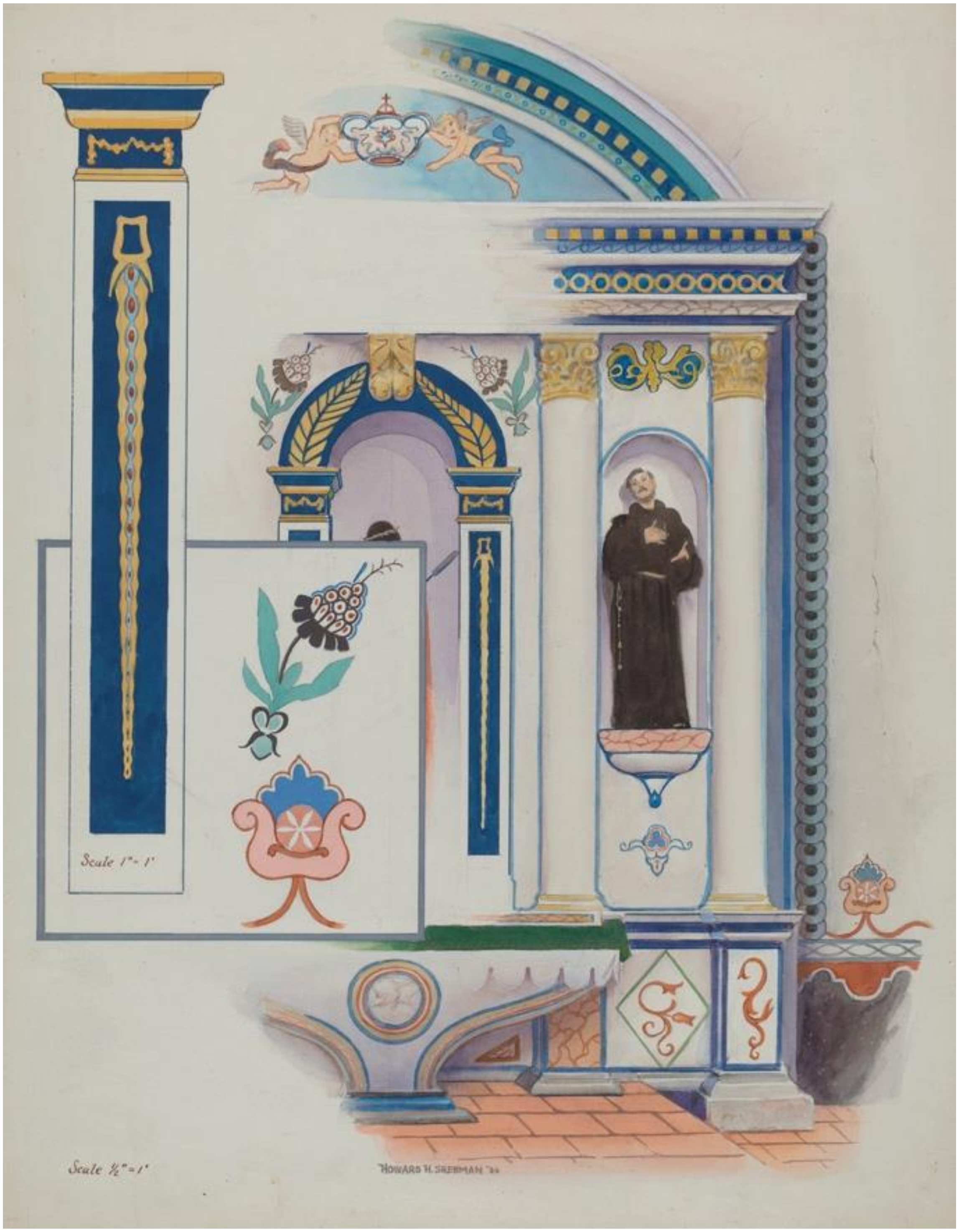

Scale 1" = 1'
Scale ½" = 1'
HOWARD H. SHERMAN '36

Figure 3.38
undated historic photograph of side altar, photograph displayed in Mission San Luis Rey Museum, 2021.

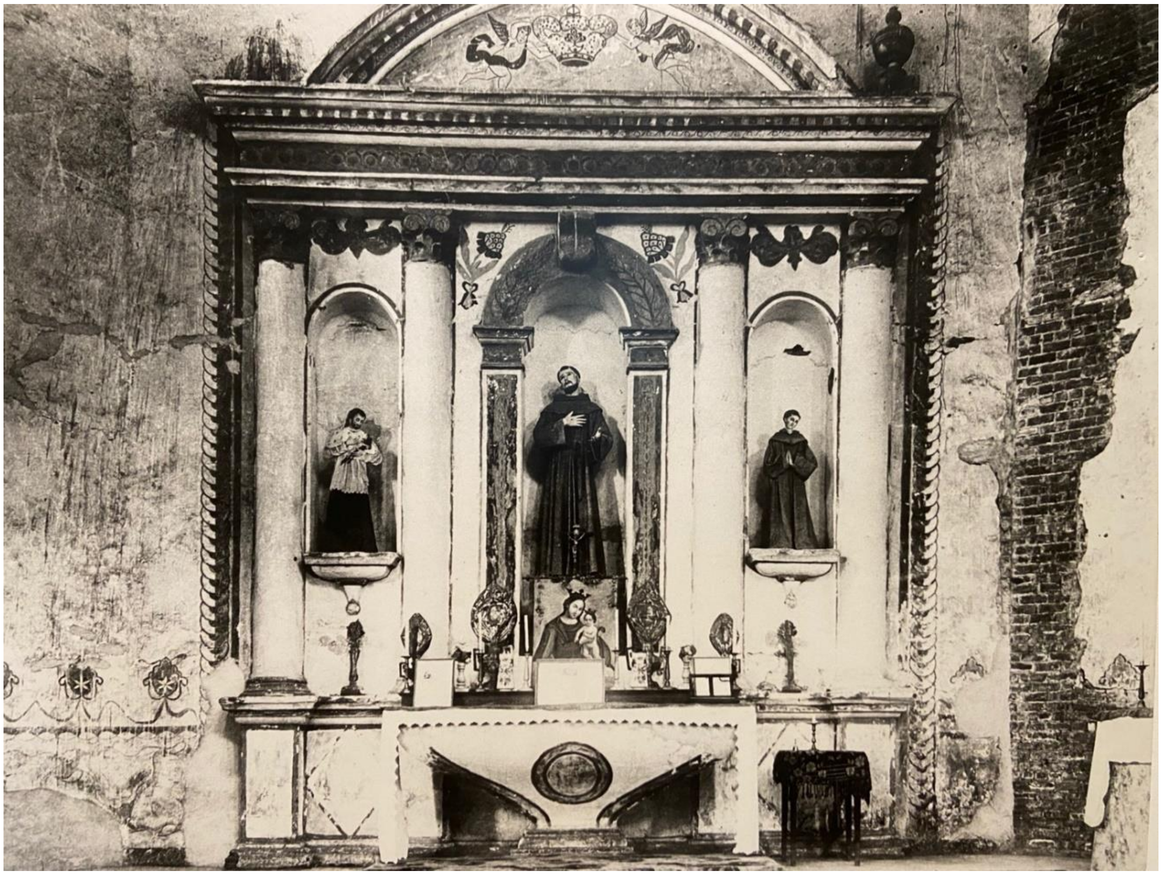


Figure 3.39
Undated photographs of Father O’Keefe and Zacatecans standing in front of damaged wall paintings; photographs displayed in San Luis Rey Mission Museum, 2021.

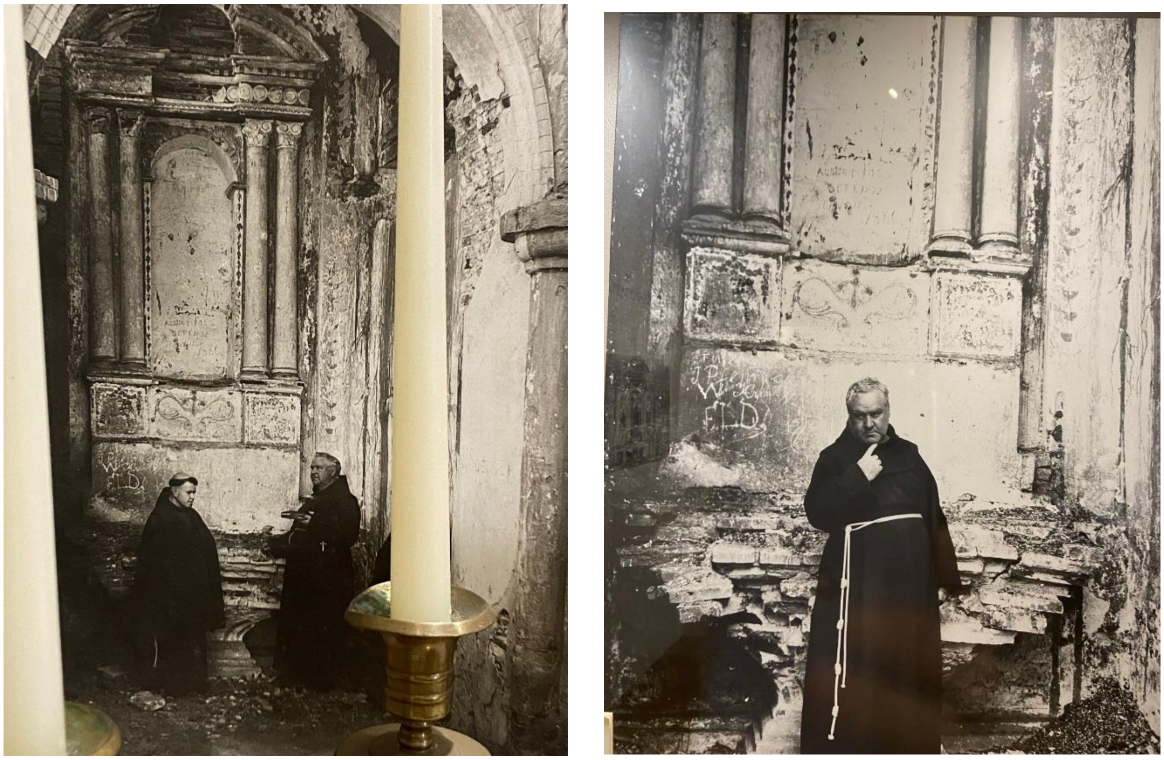


Figure 3.40
William Kieckhofel, *Side Altar*, San Luis Rey Mission, (full reredos view) 1941, watercolor, colored pencil, pen and ink and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.6505.

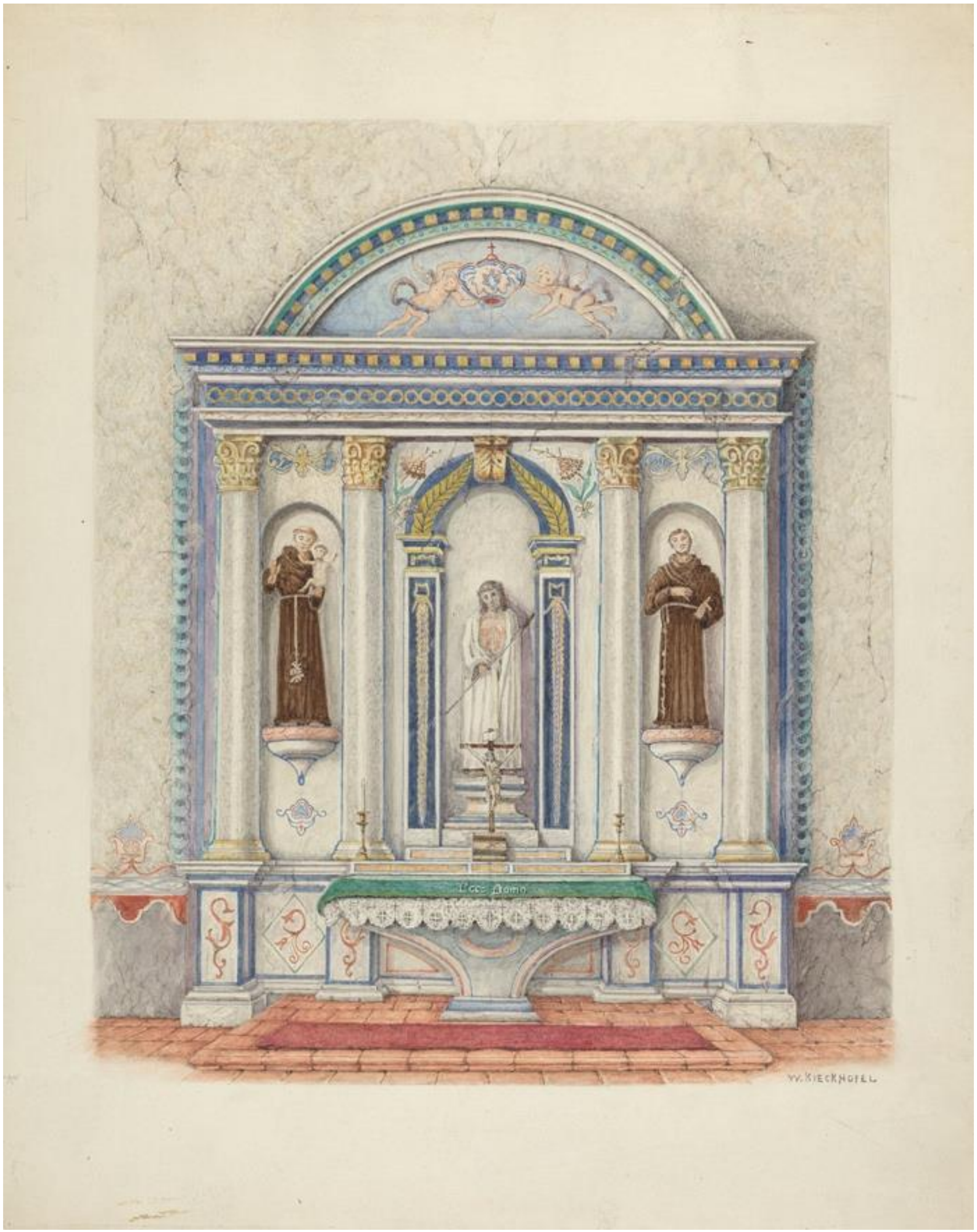
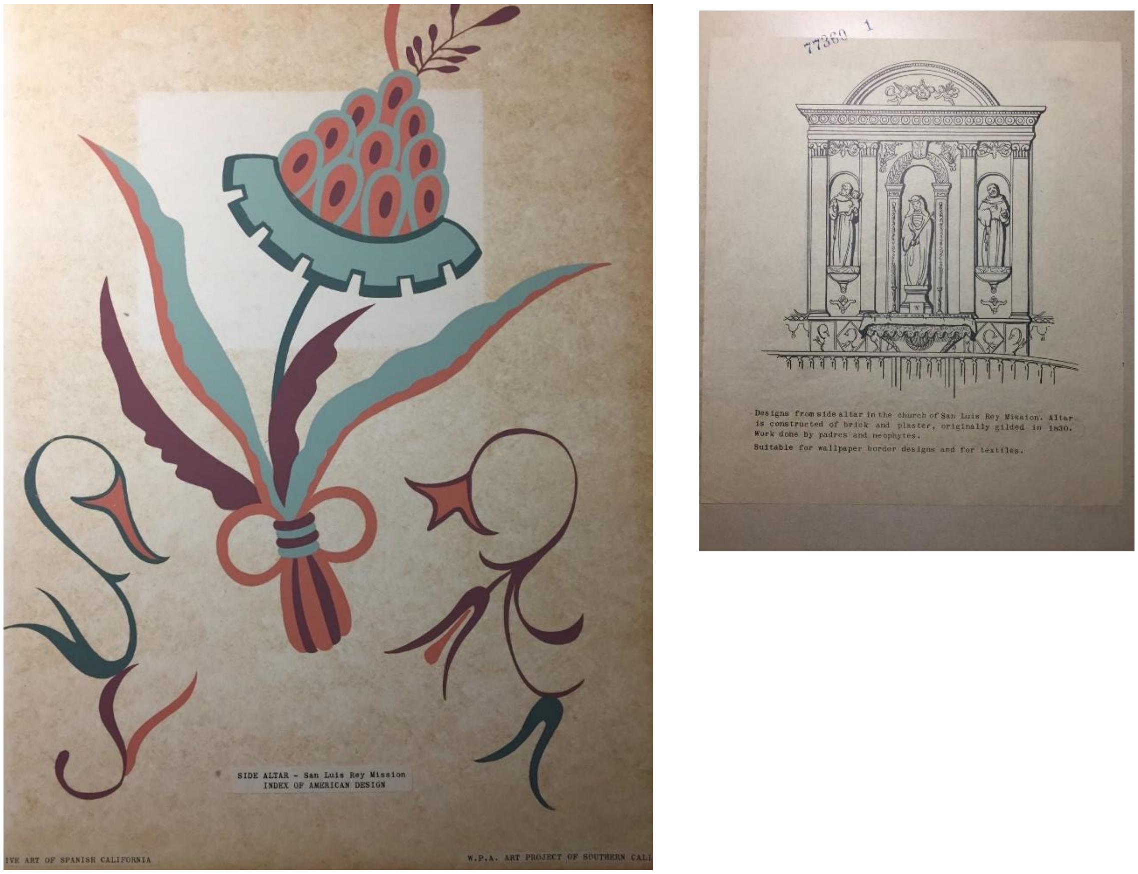

Ecce Homo
W. KIECKHOFEL

Figure 3.41
Plate XIII: Side Altar, San Luis Rey, (front- design out of context and back- design within architectural setting) in undated portfolio, *Decorative Art of Spanish California Selected IAD*, Introduction by Lanier Bartlett, with colored prints based on original illustrations by Hal Blakeley, Southern California Art Project, Federal Works Agency, Works Progress Administration, Los Angeles Public Library Central Branch Special Collections.


SIDE ALTAR - San Luis Rey Mission
INDEX OF AMERICAN DESIGN
IVE ART OF SPANISH CALIFORNIA
W.P.A. ART PROJECT OF SOUTHERN CALI
77360 1

Designs from side altar in the church of San Luis Rey Mission. Altar is constructed of brick and plaster, originally gilded in 1830. Work done by padres and neophytes.

Suitable for wallpaper border designs and for textiles.

Figure 3.42
Juanita Donahoo, *Statue of Santo* (probably Saint Dominic), *Asistencia* at Pala, 1941, watercolor, colored pencil and graphite on paper, SoCal MSCL 184, 1941, IAD 1943.8.5973.

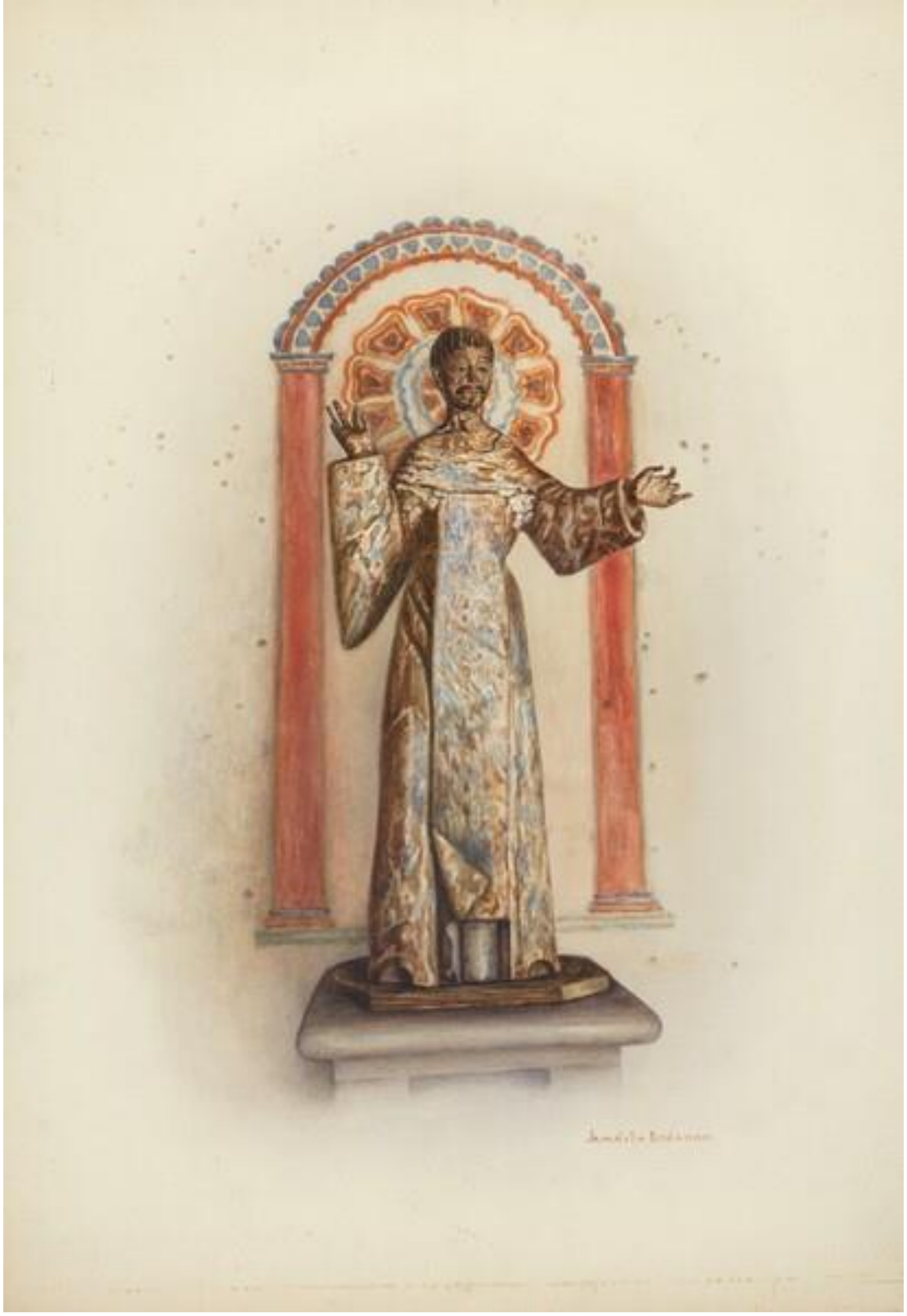


Figure 3.43
Tlalmanalco frescoes, 16th century, Mexico *Fray Martin de Valencia*, cloister mural, San Luis Obispo, Tlalmanalco, 1582-91 and *St. Clare of Assisi*, cloister mural, San Luis Obispo, Tlalmanalco, 1582-91.

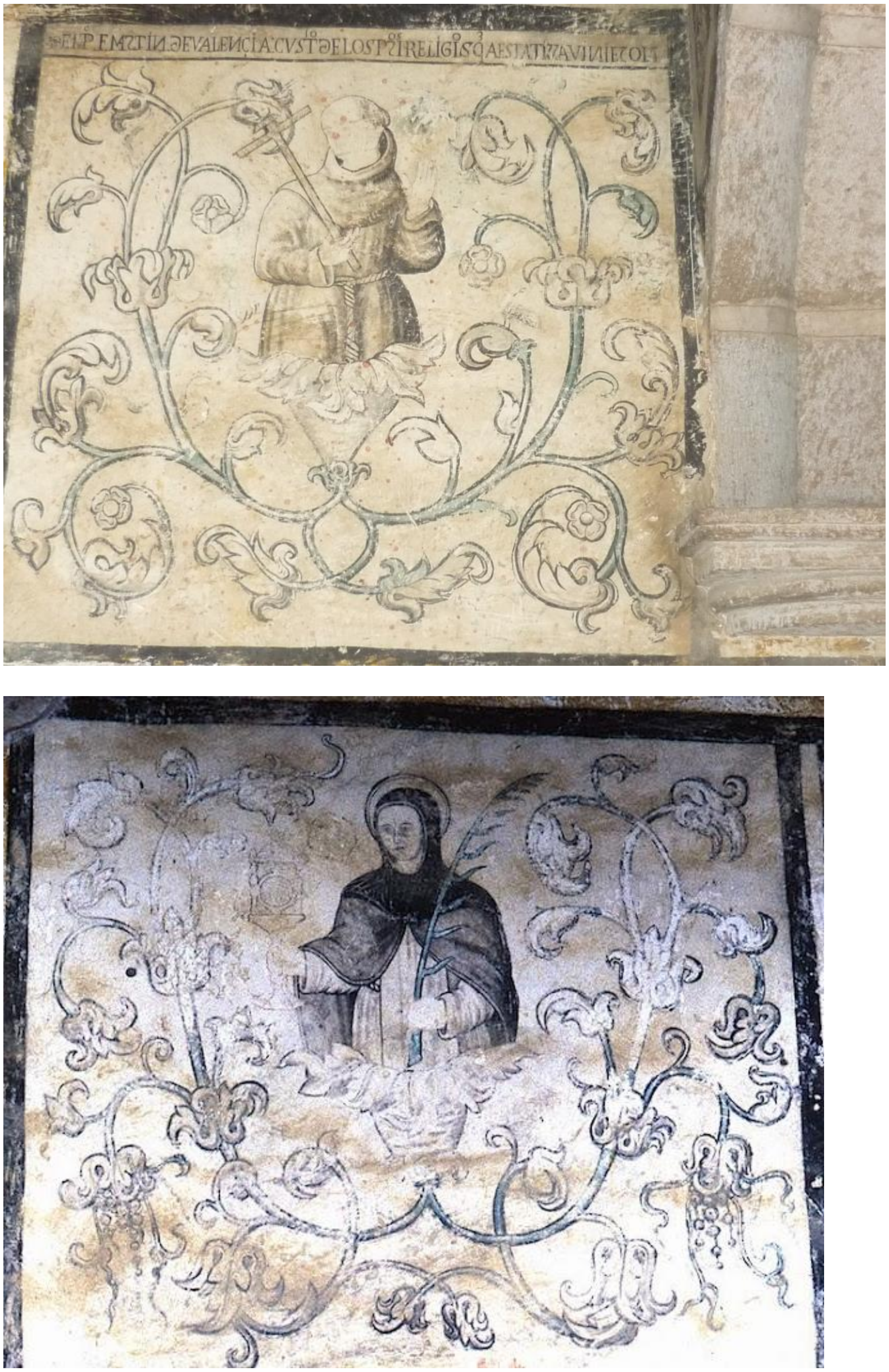

ELP EMZTIN DEVALENCIA CVST DELOS PZ IRELIGISQ AESTATIRAVINIECOL

Figure 3.44
William Kieckhofel, *Wall Painting (Door), Governor's Room, San Fernando*, c. 1939, watercolor, colored pencil and graphite on paperboard IAD 1943.8.5954.

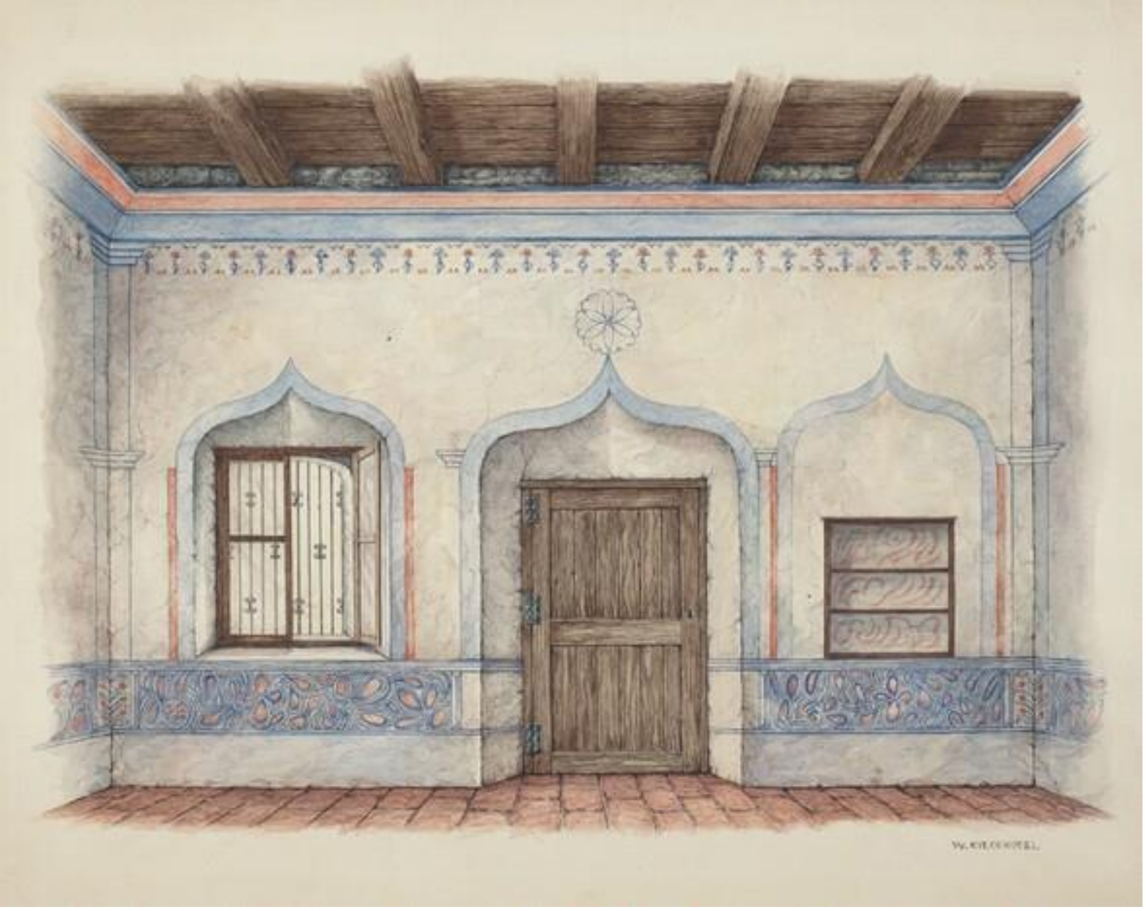
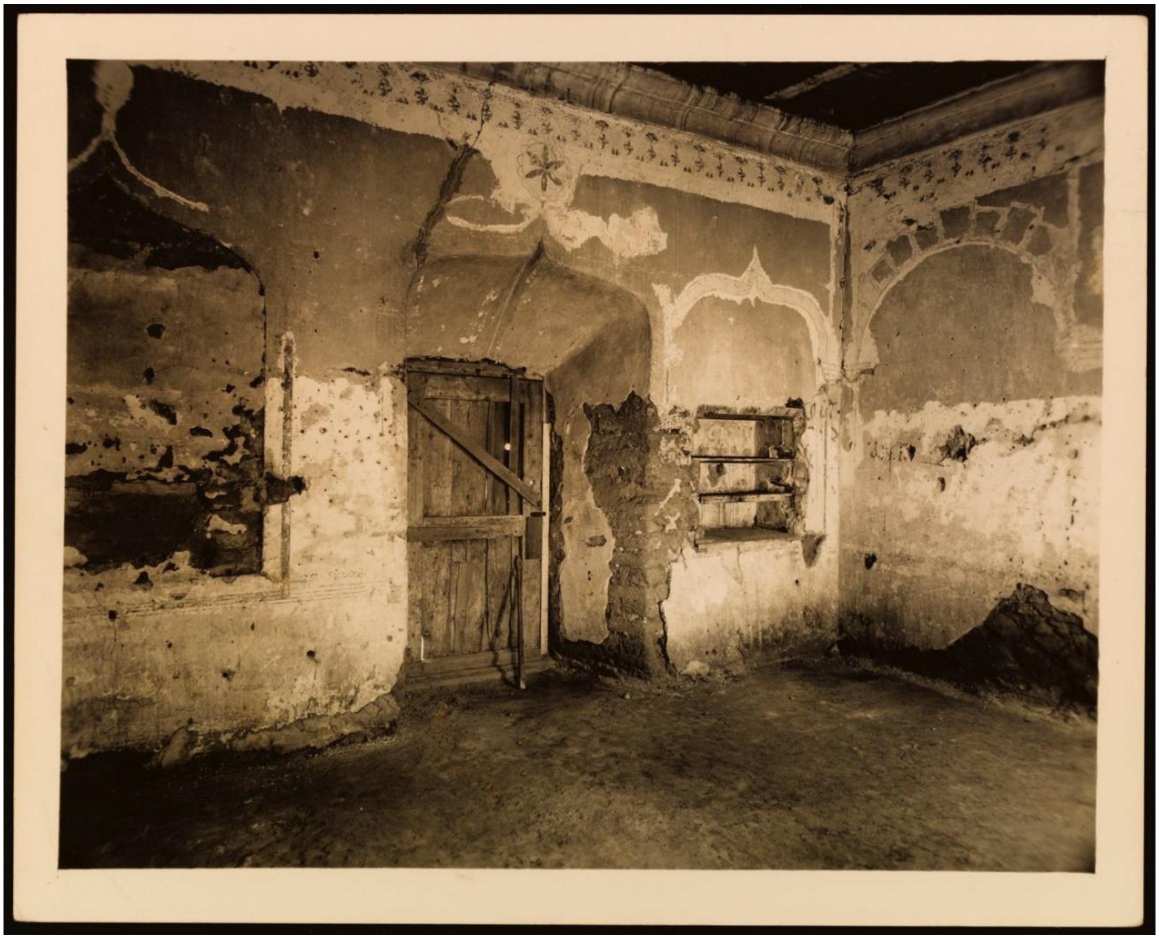


Figure 3.45
Index photograph of Governor's Room, 44D5_86051_SoCal-Mscl-40b_01. Southern California-Miscellaneous-San Fernando Mission, NGA, D.C., Gallery Archives. RG44D, Records of the IAD, Original Project (WPA) Images- Objects and Renderings.



Chapter 4 Materiality and Meaning

Figure 4.1
Paul Park, photograph of Index artist Clyde De Lano working with fragments from church sanctuary, c. 1938, Mission La Purísima Concepción, 44D12_93949_02 Missions - La Purisima - 73. Fragments of Plaster from Wall Decoration NGA D.C., Gallery Archives. RG44D, Records of the IAD, Original Project (WPA) Images - California Missions and Related Subjects.

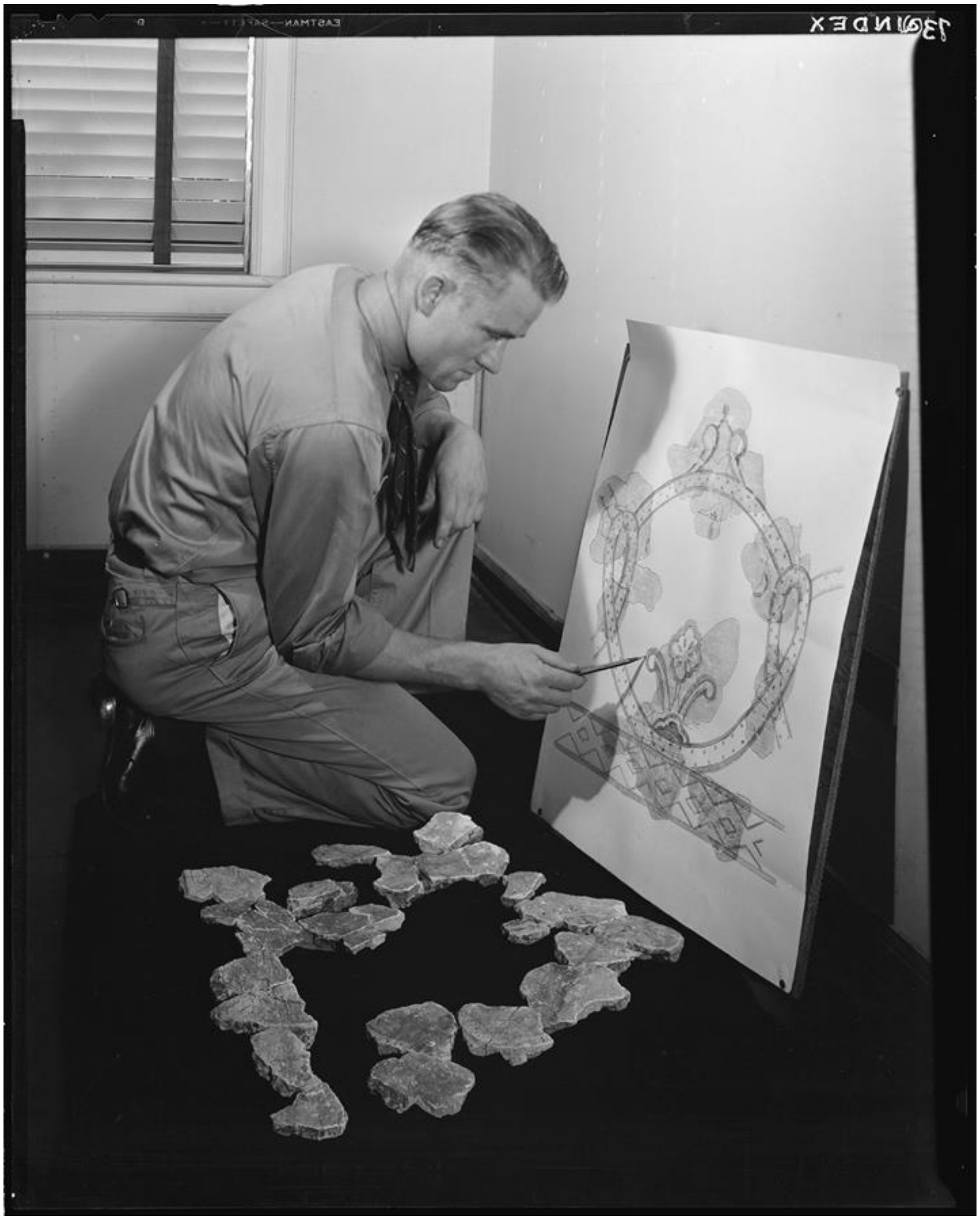


Figure 4.2
Edward Jewett, *Wall Painting* (Color Notes on Santa Ines Step Fret), c. 1939, watercolor, graphite and colored pencil on paper, IAD 1943.8.18008.

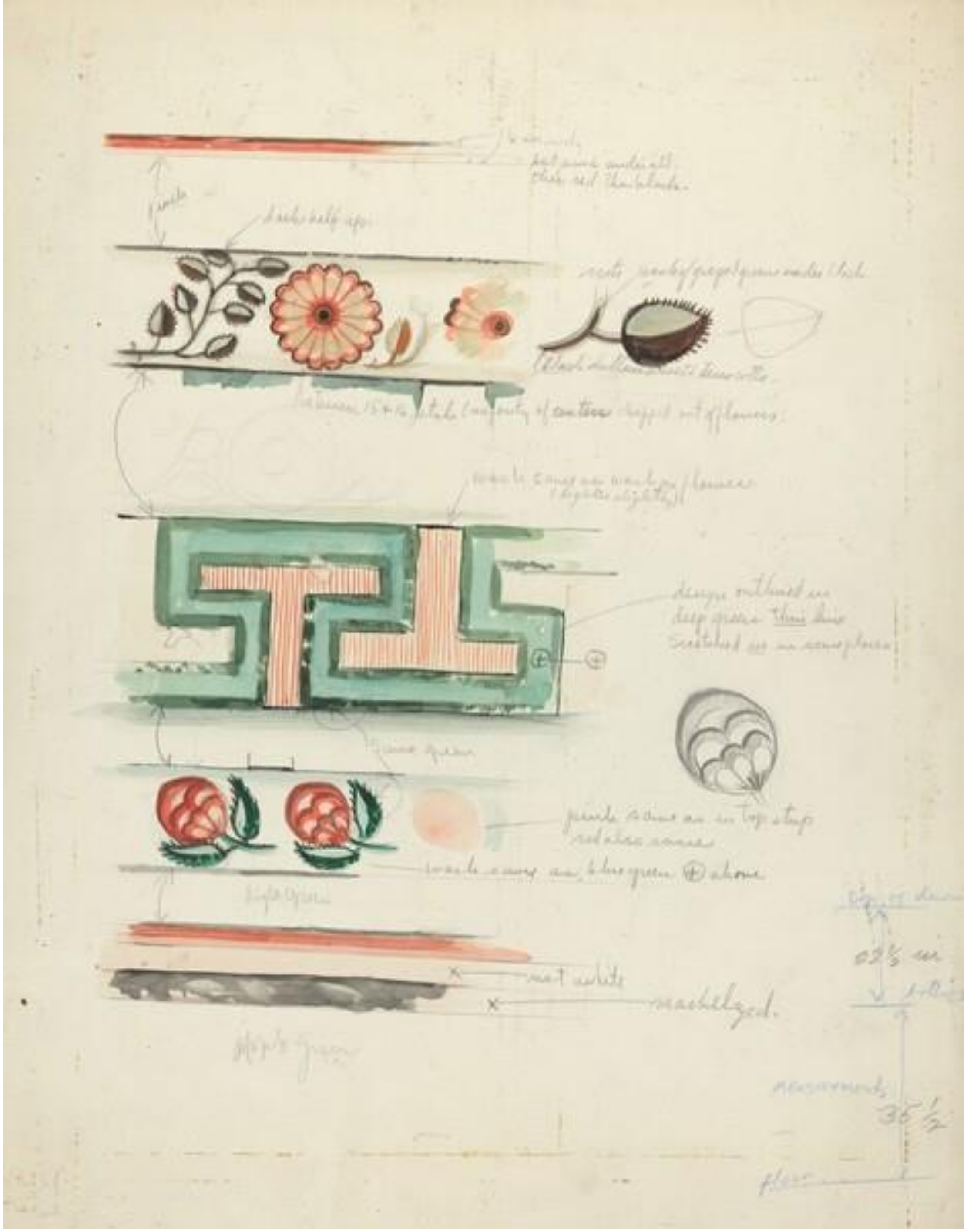

dark half up
design outlined in
deep green thin line
pink same as in top strip
red also same
green same as blue green ⊕ above
light green
mat white
marbleized.
measurement
38 1/2
floor

Figure 4.3
Blueboy, Overview of rock shelter at Three Springs with XRF assay *points* marked (published in “Emigdiano Blues,” Fig. 7, p. 163 and detail, Fig. 13, p. 167).

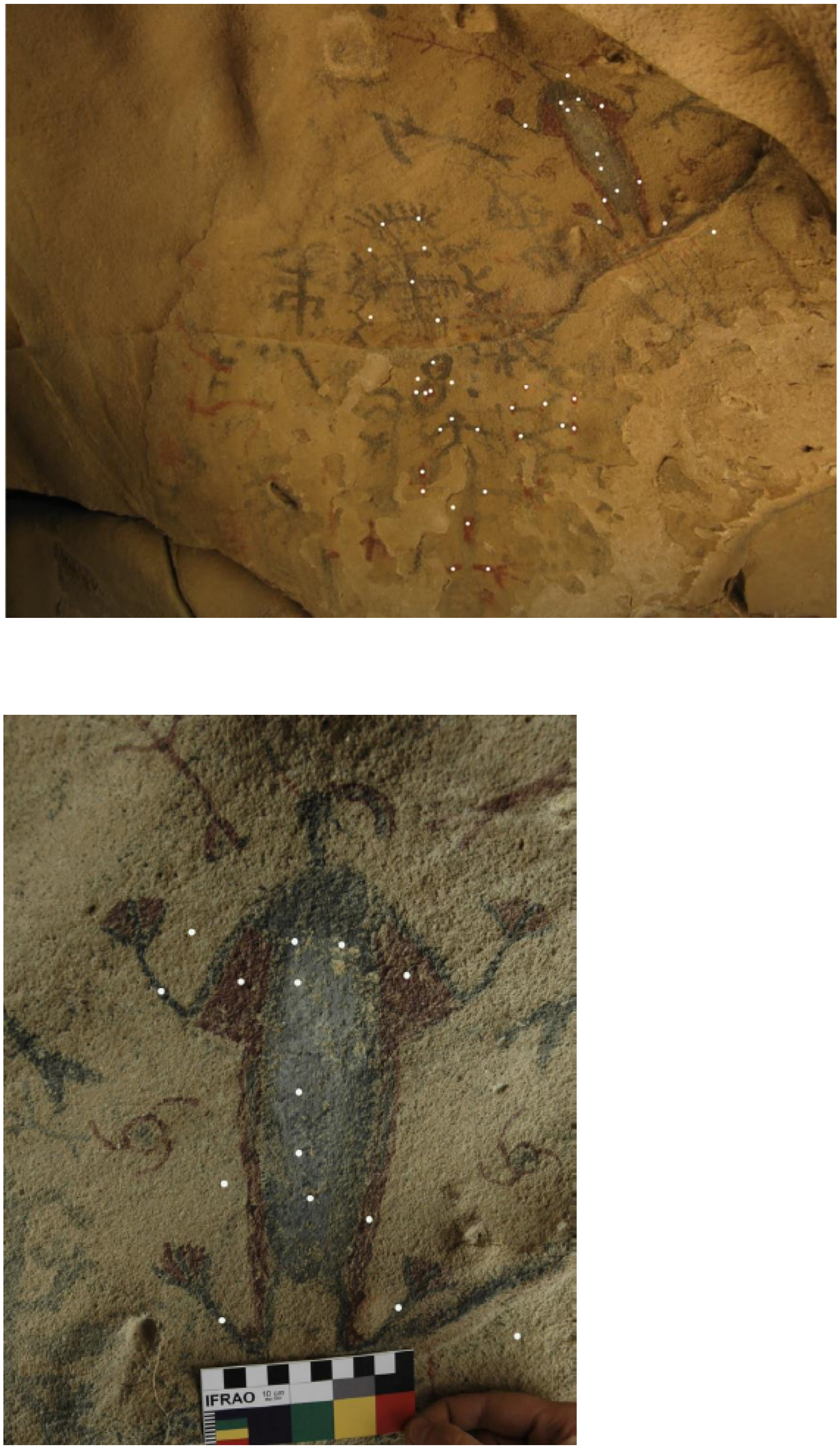


Figure 4.4
Tlacuilos working in Spanish Franciscan School of San Jose, (illustrating the natural sources and production of quiltic, or Maya Green), Florentine Codex, Mexico, 1577, bk. 11, fol. 372v (detail), Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

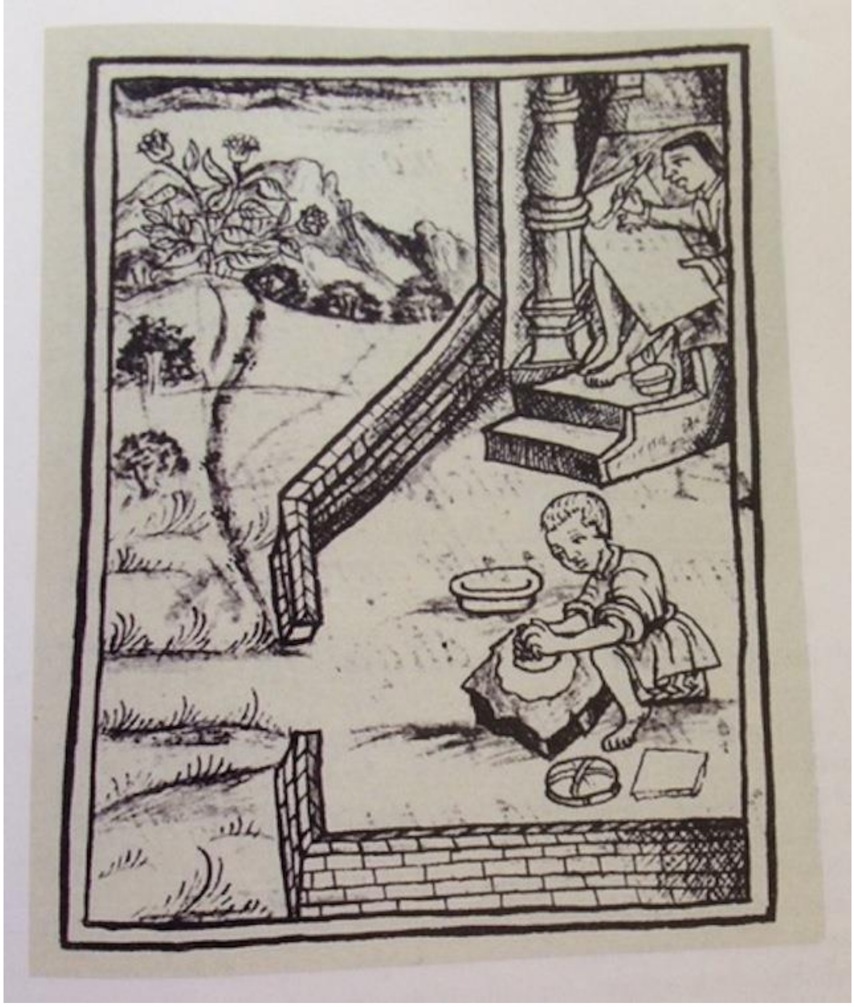


Figure 4.5
George Rhone: *Technique Demonstration*, (Pala chapel designs and surface treatments) 1935/1942, watercolor and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.18022.

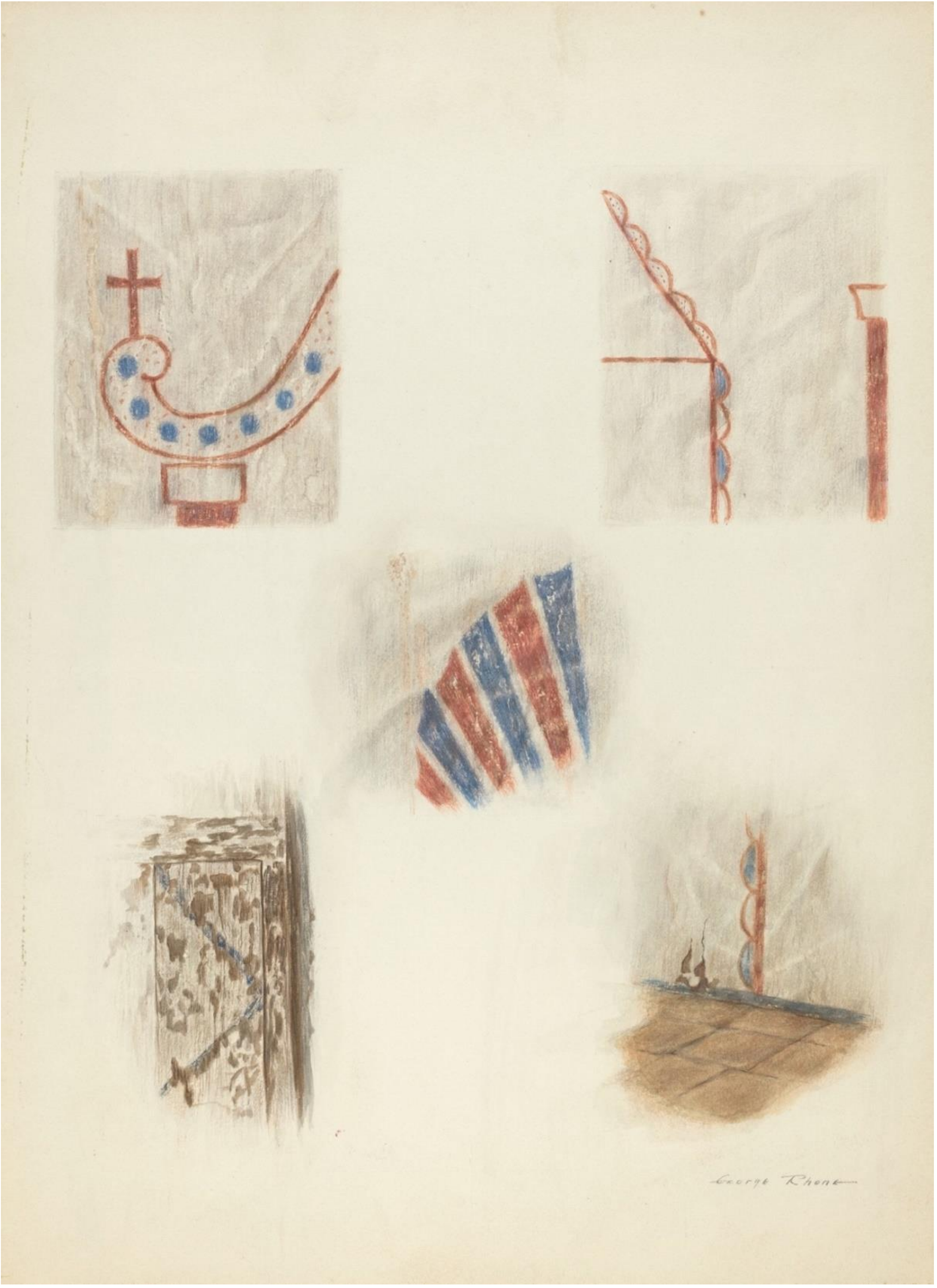


Figure 4.6
Gordena Jackson, *Indian Basket*, 1935-1942, watercolor, graphite, gold and silver ink on paperboard, IAD 1943.8.8118.

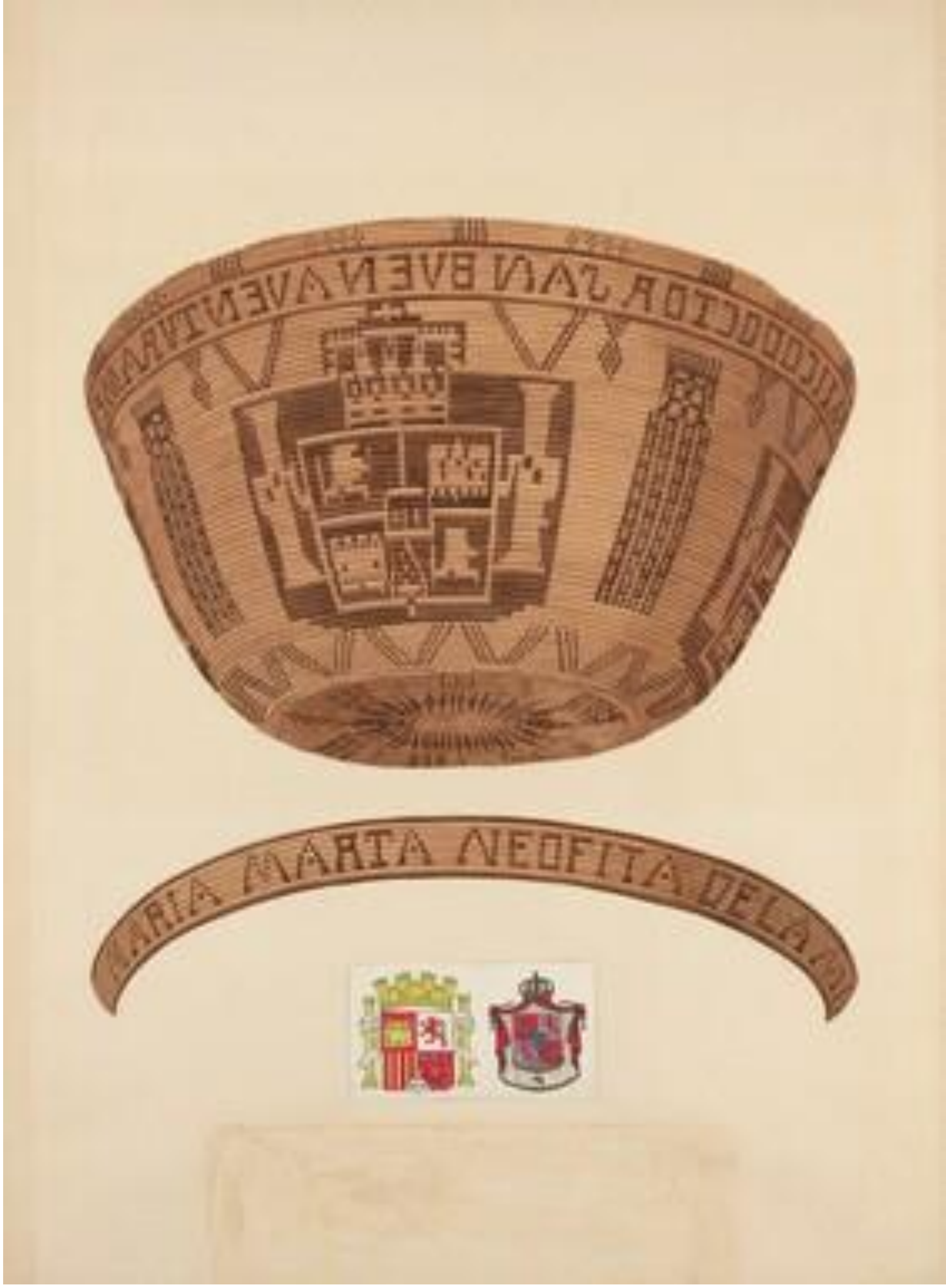
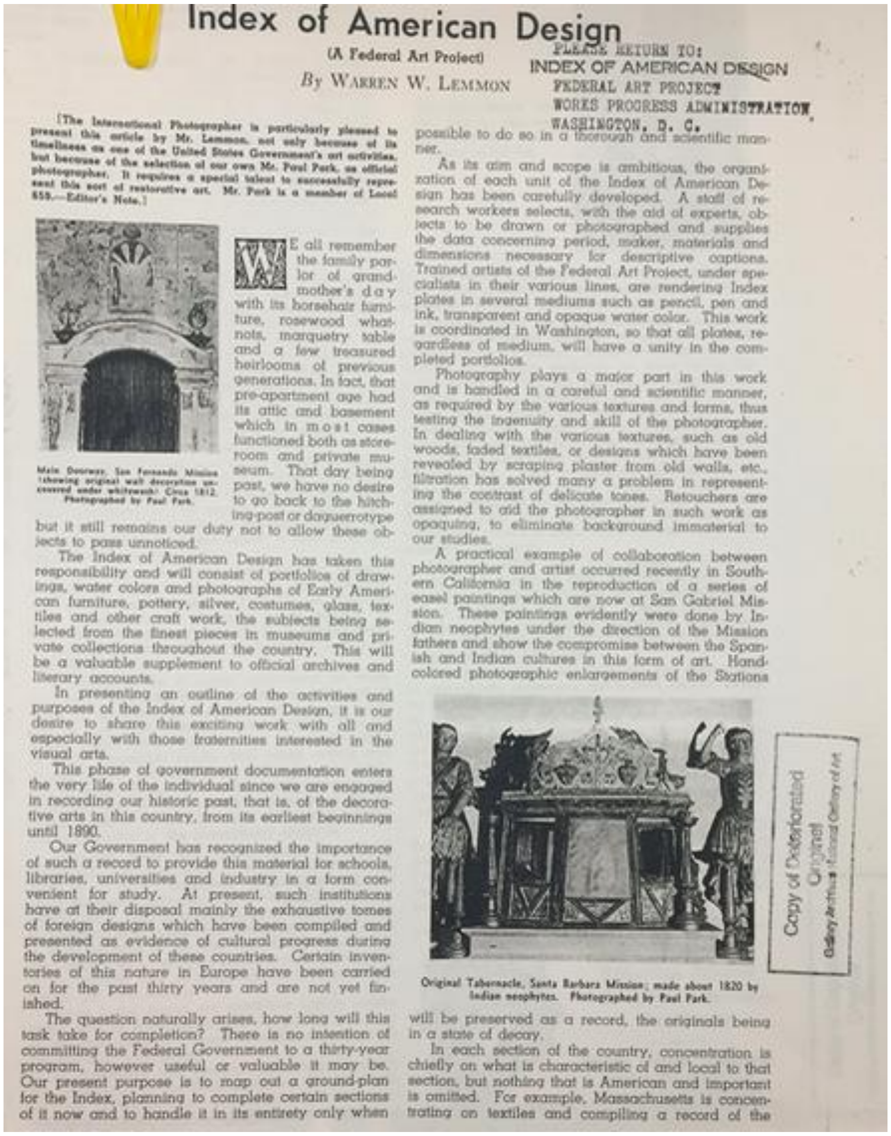

MARIA MARTA NEOFITA DE LA

Figure 4.7
Paul Park photo published in Warren W. Lemmon, "Index of American Design: A Federal Art Project), International Photographer, c. 1937, captioned as, "Paul Park, Main Doorway, San Fernando Mission (showing original wall decoration uncovered under whitewash), Circa 1812." Reference Files- Publicity. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives. The photo published here is catalogued as 44D_86115_SoCal-Mscl-90g_01.



Index of American Design

(A Federal Art Project)

By Warren W. Lemmon

PLEASE RETURN TO:
INDEX OF AMERICAN DESIGN
FEDERAL ART PROJECT
WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON, D. C.

[The International Photographer is particularly pleased to present this article by Mr. Lemmon, not only because of its timeliness as one of the United States Government's art activities, but because of the selection of our own Mr. Paul Park, as official photographer. It requires a special talent to successfully represent this sort of restorative art. Mr. Park is a member of Local 659.—Editor's Note.]

Main Doorway, San Fernando Mission (showing original wall decoration uncovered under whitewash) Circa 1812. Photographed by Paul Park.

We all remember the family parlor of grandmother's day with its horsehair furniture, rosewood whatnots, marquetry table and a few treasured heirlooms of previous generations. In fact, that pre-apartment age had its attic and basement which in most cases functioned both as storeroom and private museum. That day being past, we have no desire to go back to the hitching-post or daguerrotype but it still remains our duty not to allow these objects to pass unnoticed.

The Index of American Design has taken this responsibility and will consist of portfolios of drawings, water colors and photographs of Early American furniture, pottery, silver, costumes, glass, textiles and other craft work, the subjects being selected from the finest pieces in museums and private collections throughout the country. This will be a valuable supplement to official archives and literary accounts.

In presenting an outline of the activities and purposes of the Index of American Design, it is our desire to share this exciting work with all and especially with those fraternities interested in the visual arts.

This phase of government documentation enters the very life of the individual since we are engaged in recording our historic past, that is, of the decorative arts in this country, from its earliest beginnings until 1890.

Our Government has recognized the importance of such a record to provide this material for schools, libraries, universities and industry in a form convenient for study. At present, such institutions have at their disposal mainly the exhaustive tomes of foreign designs which have been compiled and presented as evidence of cultural progress during the development of these countries. Certain inventories of this nature in Europe have been carried on for the past thirty years and are not yet finished.

The question naturally arises, how long will this task take for completion? There is no intention of committing the Federal Government to a thirty-year program, however useful or valuable it may be. Our present purpose is to map out a ground-plan for the Index, planning to complete certain sections of it now and to handle it in its entirety only when possible to do so in a thorough and scientific manner.

As its aim and scope is ambitious, the organization of each unit of the Index of American Design has been carefully developed. A staff of research workers selects, with the aid of experts, objects to be drawn or photographed and supplies the data concerning period, maker, materials and dimensions necessary for descriptive captions. Trained artists of the Federal Art Project, under specialists in their various lines, are rendering Index plates in several mediums such as pencil, pen and ink, transparent and opaque water color. This work is coordinated in Washington, so that all plates, regardless of medium, will have a unity in the completed portfolios.

Photography plays a major part in this work and is handled in a careful and scientific manner, as required by the various textures and forms, thus testing the ingenuity and skill of the photographer. In dealing with the various textures, such as old woods, faded textiles, or designs which have been revealed by scraping plaster from old walls, etc., filtration has solved many a problem in representing the contrast of delicate tones. Retouchers are assigned to aid the photographer in such work as opaquing, to eliminate background immaterial to our studies.

A practical example of collaboration between photographer and artist occurred recently in Southern California in the reproduction of a series of easel paintings which are now at San Gabriel Mission. These paintings evidently were done by Indian neophytes under the direction of the Mission fathers and show the compromise between the Spanish and Indian cultures in this form of art. Hand-colored photographic enlargements of the Stations will be preserved as a record, the originals being in a state of decay.

In each section of the country, concentration is chiefly on what is characteristic of and local to that section, but nothing that is American and important is omitted. For example, Massachusetts is concentrating on textiles and compiling a record of the

Original Tabernacle, Santa Barbara Mission; made about 1820 by Indian neophytes. Photographed by Paul Park.

Copy of Deteriorated Original
Gallery Archives National Gallery of Art

Figure 4.8
Raymond Noble, *Wall Painting (Restoration Drawing)* Mission La Purísima, c. 1940, watercolor, colored pencil and graphite on paper 1943.8.6518.

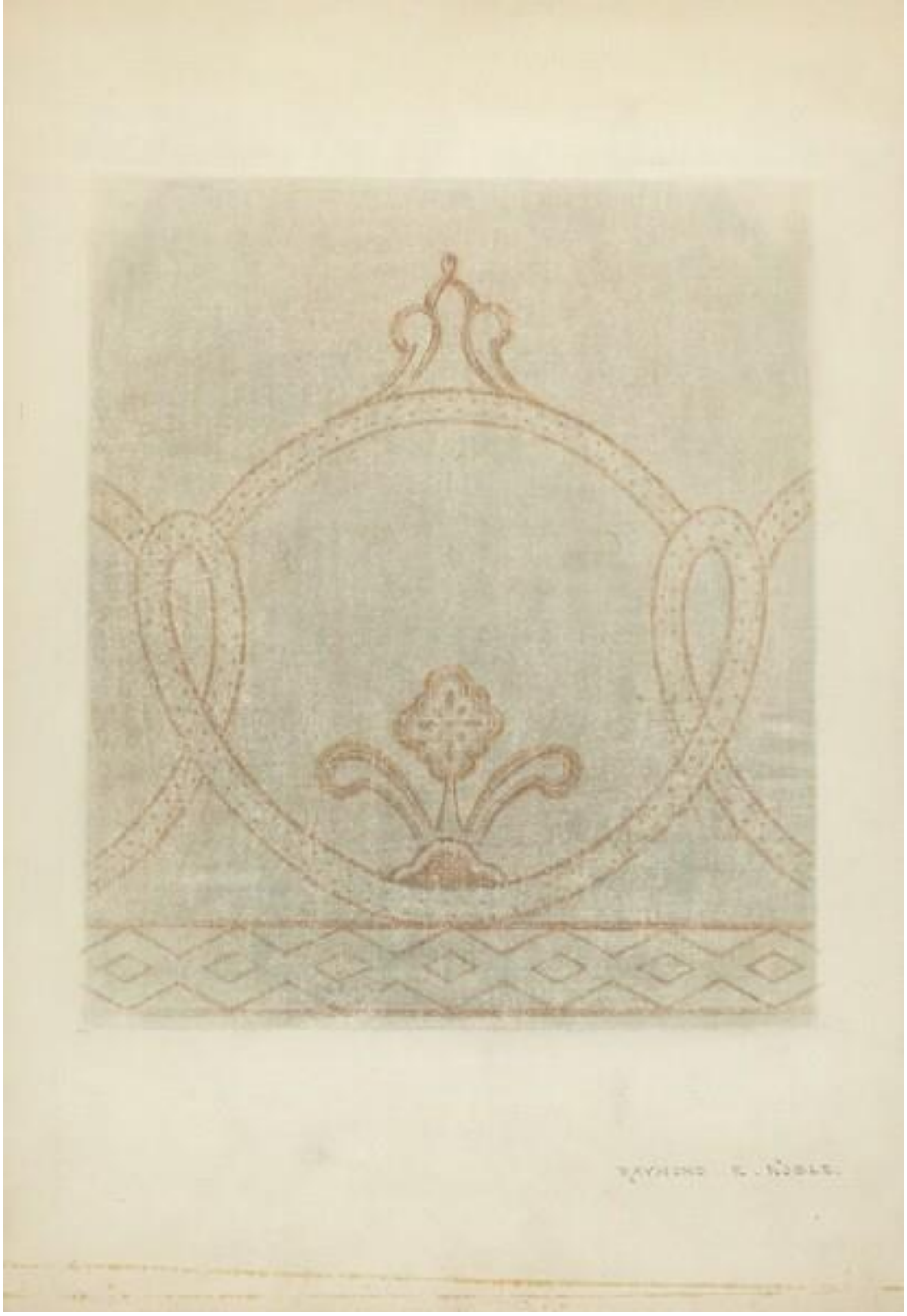


Figure 4.9
Gerald Transpota, *Wall Painting, Restoration Drawing from Reassembled Fragments* (Mission La Purísima), c. 1940, watercolor, colored pencil and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.6517.

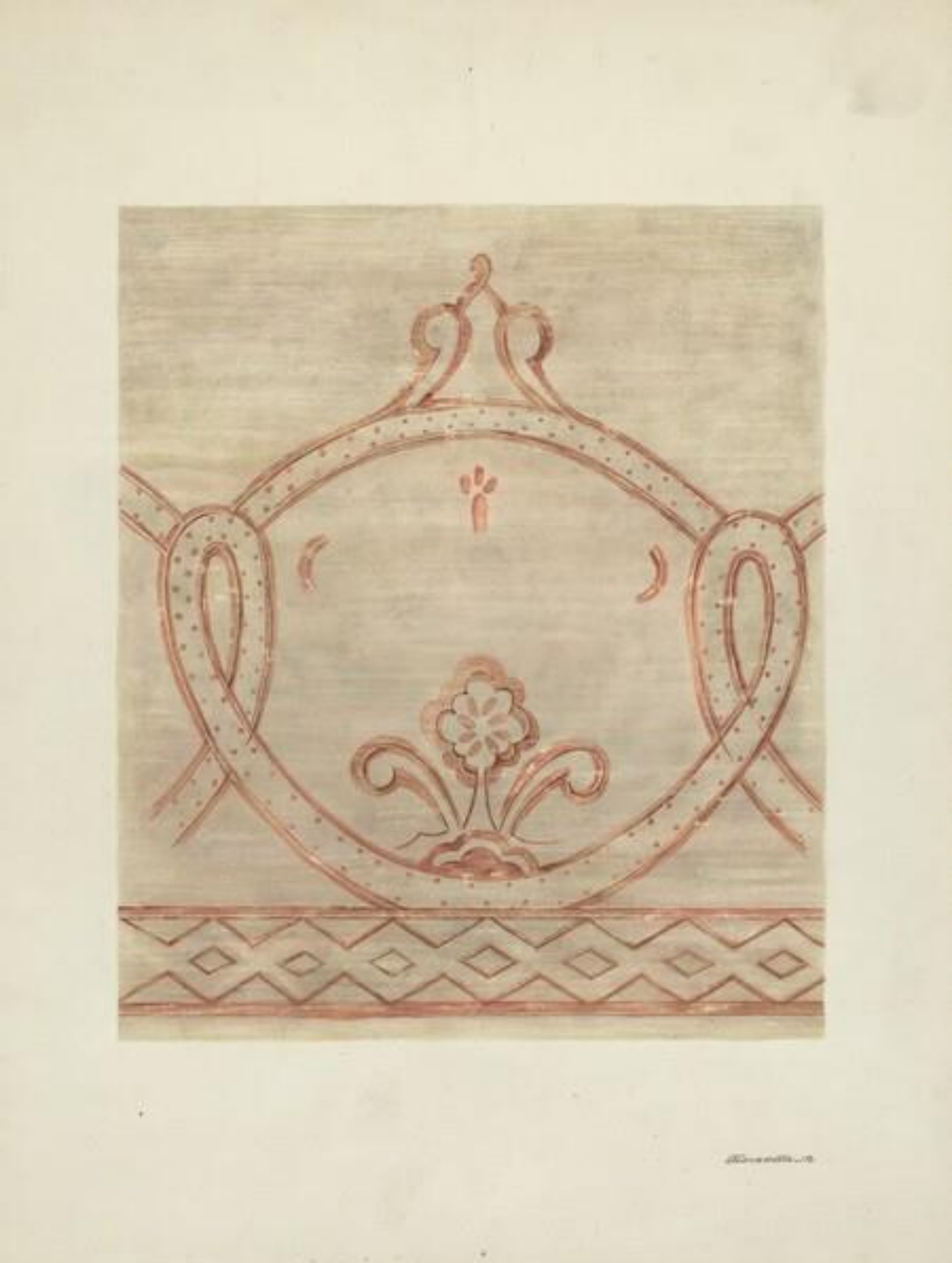


Figure 4.10
William Kieckhofel "La Purismima Mission, Restored in 1941," c. 1942, watercolor, colored pencil and graphite on paper, IAD 1943.8.6504.

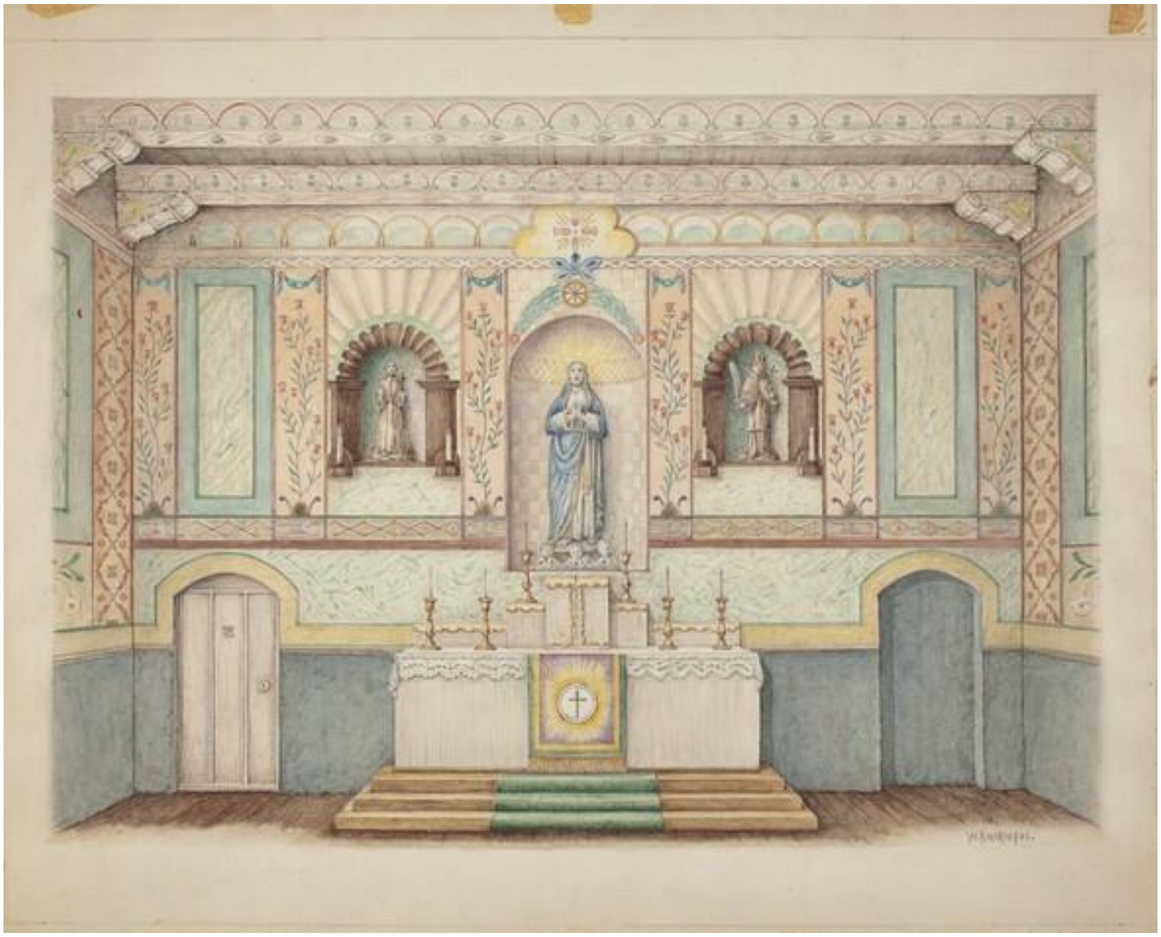


Figure 4.11
Fred Hageman, *Color Chart of Pigments used at Mission La Purísima*, 1939 published in Hageman, Fred C., Ewing, Russell C. and Whitehead, Richard, ed. *An Archaeological and Restoration Study of Mission La Purísima Concepción: Reports Written for the National Park Service* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Santa Barbara Trust for Historic Preservation, 1980) Plate No. XI.

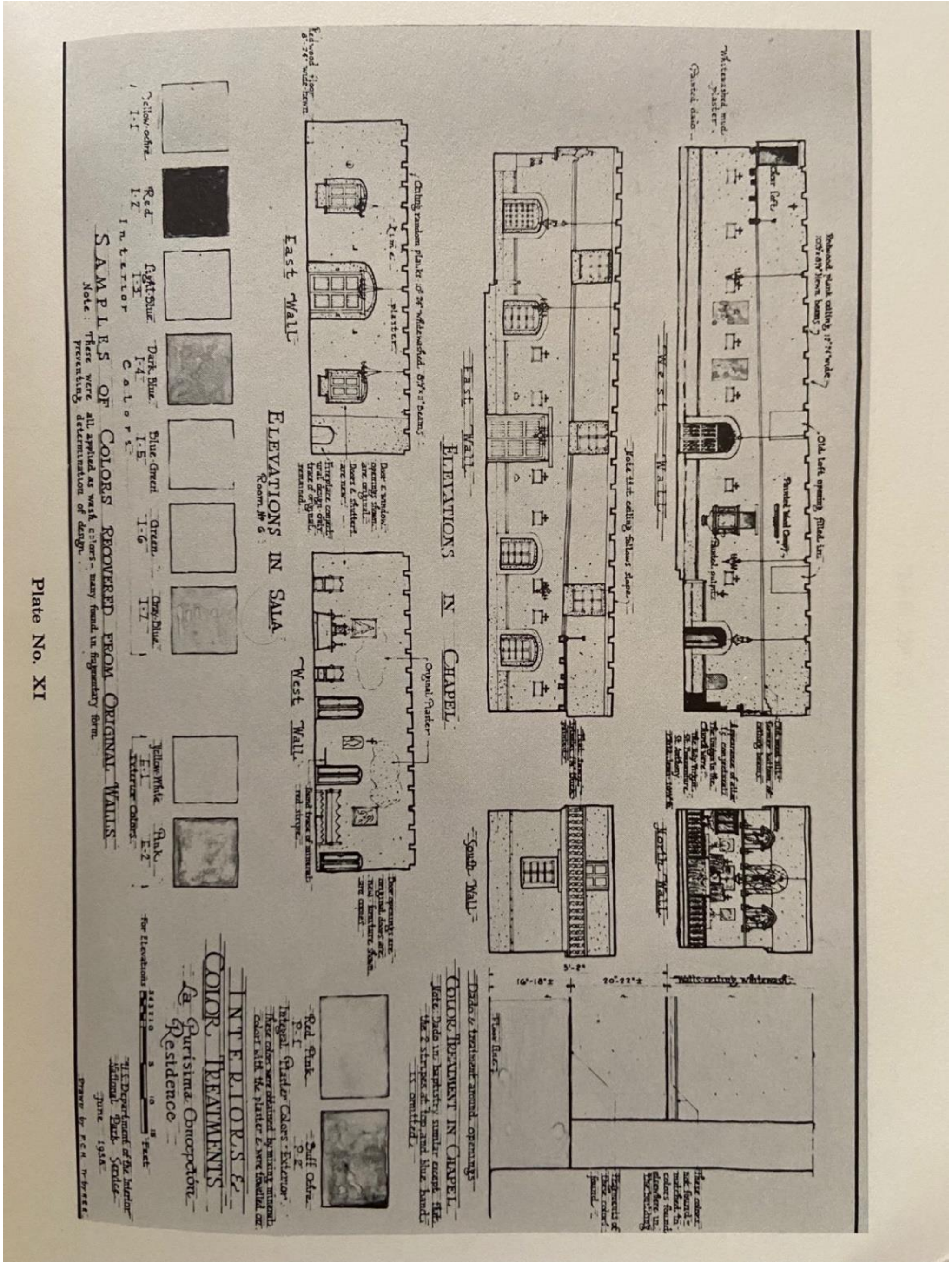
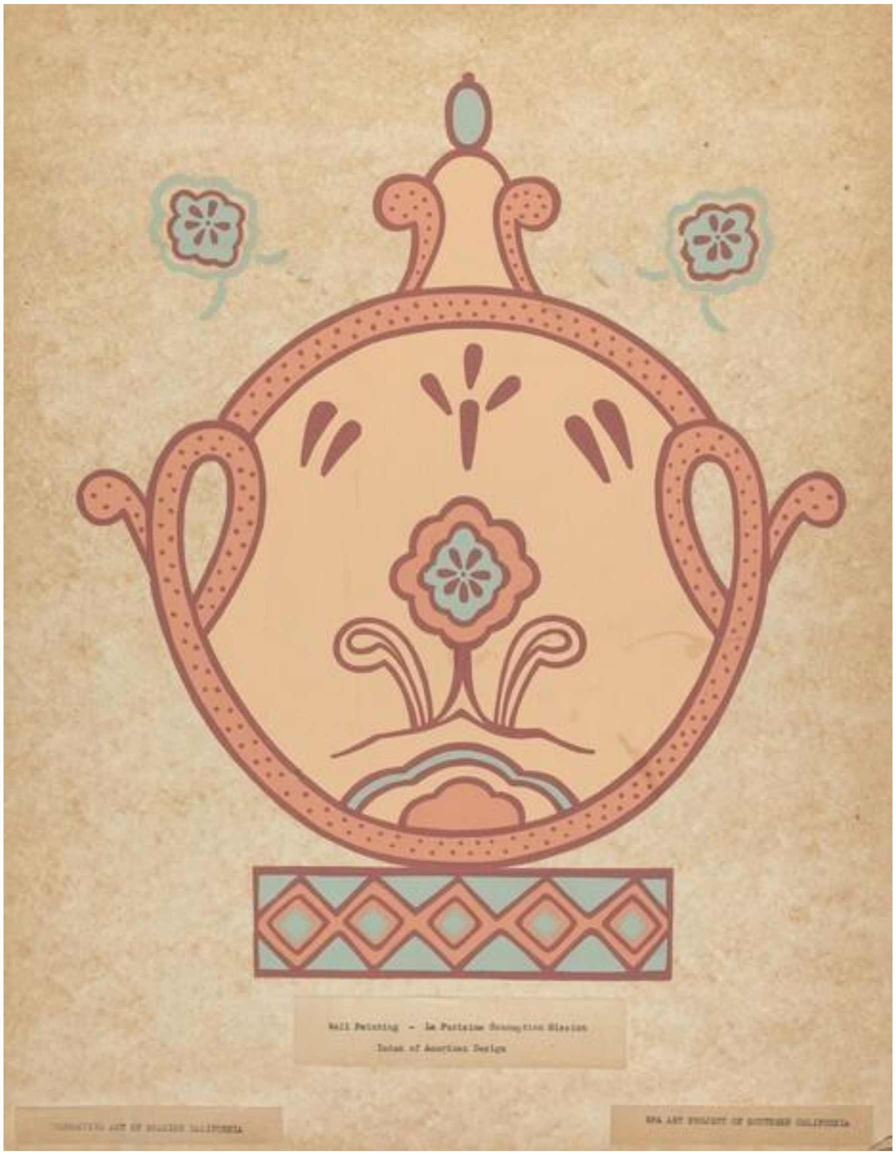

West Wall
North Wall
East Wall
South Wall
ELEVATIONS IN CHAPEL
East Wall
West Wall
ELEVATIONS IN SALA
Room № 6
Original Plaster
Yellow ochre I·1
Red I·2
Light Blue I·3
Dark Blue I·4
Blue Green I·5
Green I·6
Gray Blue I·7
Interior Colors
Yellow White E·1
Pink E·2
Exterior Colors
SAMPLES OF COLORS RECOVERED FROM ORIGINAL WALLS
Note: These were all applied as wash colors - many found in fragmentary form preventing determination of design.
Dado & treatment around openings
COLOR TREATMENT IN CHAPEL
Note: Dado in baptistry similar except the 2 stripes at top and blue band is omitted.
Red Pink P·1
Buff Ochre P·2
Integral Plaster Colors - Exterior
These colors were obtained by mixing minerals colors with the plaster & were troweled on
INTERIORS & COLOR TREATMENTS
La Purisima Concepcion Residence
For Elevations
Feet
U.S. Department of the Interior National Park Service
June 1938
Drawn by F.C.H.

Plate No. XI

Figure 4.12
Plate 2: Wall Painting- La Purísima Concepción Mission, Index screenprint on paperboard of La Purisima Wall Painting Fragment, in *Decorative Art of Spanish California Selected by the IAD*, undated, Southern California Art Project, Federal Works Agency, Works Progress Administration, Los Angeles Central Branch Library Special Collections. (IAD 1943.8.18133 *La Purisima Concepcion Mission Wall Painting from the Portfolio "Decorative Art of Spanish California*, 1935/1942, screenprint on paperboard).


Wall Painting - La Purisima Concepcion Mission
Index of American Design
DECORATIVE ART OF SPANISH CALIFORNIA
WPA ART PROJECT OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Chapter 5 CONCLUSION

Figure 5.1
Sandy Rodriguez, YOU ARE HERE/Tovaangar/El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora la Reina de los Angeles de Porciúncula/ Los Angeles, preparatory sketch, 2021. Hand-processed watercolor on amate paper 94 x 94 .5 in.

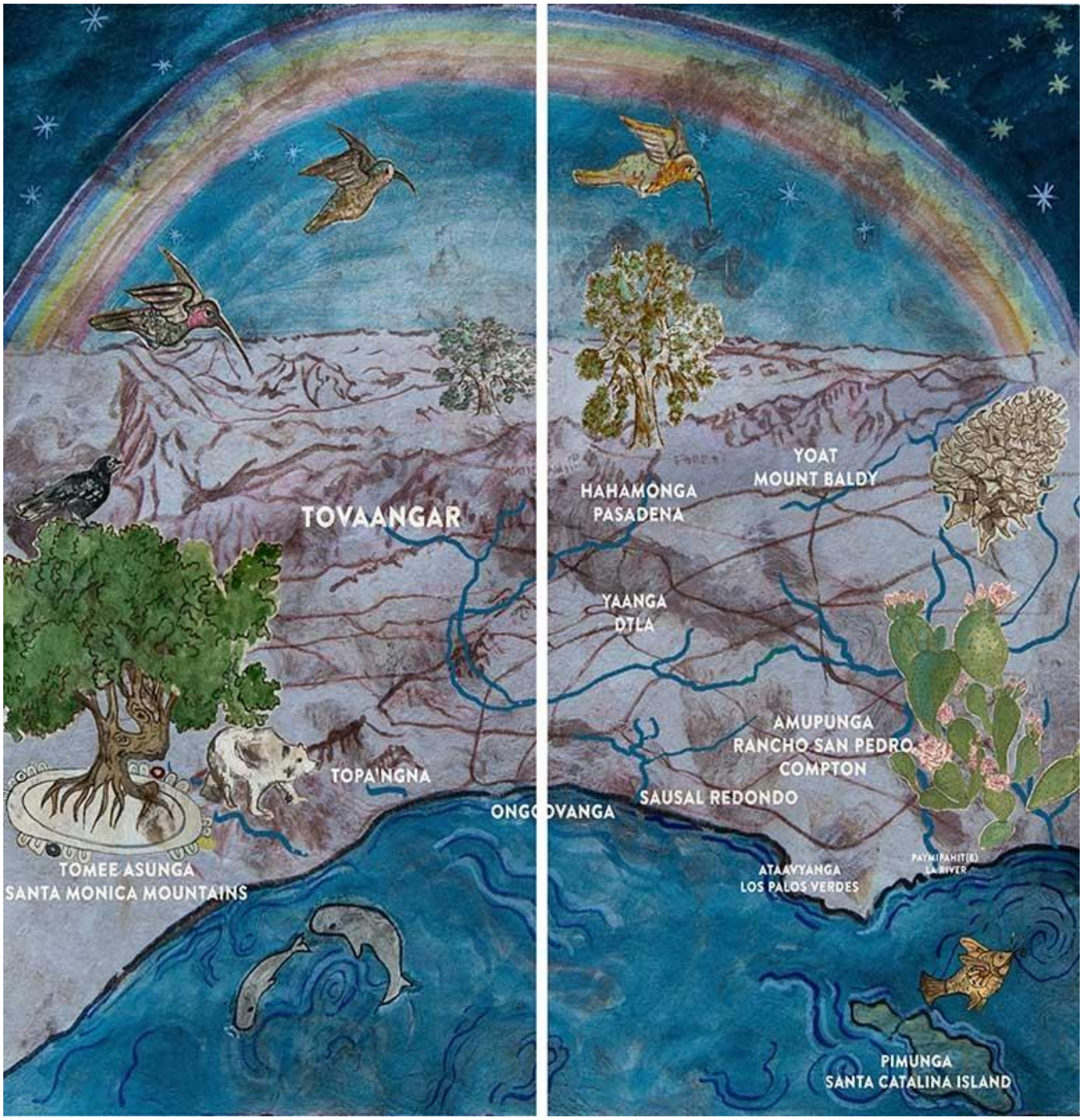

TOVAANGAR
HAHAMONGA
PASADENA
YOAT
MOUNT BALDY
YAANGA
DTLA
AMUPUNGA
RANCHO SAN PEDRO
COMPTON
TOPA'NGNA
ONGOVANGA
SAUSAL REDONDO
TOMEE ASUNGA
SANTA MONICA MOUNTAINS
ATAAVYANGA
LOS PALOS VERDES
PAYMIPAHIT(E)
LA RIVER
PIMUNGA
SANTA CATALINA ISLAND

Figure 5.2
installation view of Sandy Rodriguez, YOU ARE HERE/Tovaangar/El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora la Reina de los Angeles de Porciúncula/ Los Angeles, 2021. Hand-processed watercolor and 13K gold on amate paper 94 x 94 .5 in., photograph by the author.