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Flora, Fauna, and Food: Changing Dietary Patterns at the Royal Presidio of Monterey, 1770-1848

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THE IMAGES OF THE VIRGIN DE LA CARIDAD DEL COBRE DE CUBA AND THE UNIDENTIFIED VIRGIN OF MISSION DOLORES
A Comparison

Maureen Bourbin

The Spanish colonial devotional paintings of Alta California's mission era have a predominantly undocumented provenance. Paintings were used by colonial missionaries and friars as a form of painted prayer and didactic models for Christianity and the conversion of indigenous populations. Artists created images as a language to establish an analogy between the Virgin Mary, Christ, and the saints to educate people about the sacred and profane. While many of the saints in the paintings can be identified some remain a mystery. Such is the case with a painting in Mission Dolores in San Francisco, California of an unidentified incarnation of the Virgin Mary. The Virgin is flanked by two candles in an altar-like scene with a crescent moon in front of her as she genuflects in the bow of a boat which floats on clouds. She holds the nursing Christ Child in her arms bearing a similarity to Madonna Lactans however, there are differences (Figure 2, next page). Above and near her right shoulder a white dove representing the Holy Spirit carries an olive branch, and behind her on her left is a partial view of the sun with a human face. The three patrons below her and the proclamation phylactery, or banner, held by puttis above her give the painting an ex-voto quality. The background of the painting depicts two Spanish galleons sailing from distant lands that later encounter a perilous storm. The three European patrons below the Virgin look up to her in devotion; one with hands held in prayer and two with hands to heart. Though not definitively identified, the man in the right-hand corner is alleged to be Viceroy Bernardo de Gálvez, and the priest in the left-hand corner Archbishop Alonso Núñez de Haro y Peralta. The man next to him has yet to be identified. The

About the Author
Maureen Bourbin has an M.A. in Museum Studies from San Francisco State University and specializes in researching the symbolism in Spanish colonial devotional artwork. She has curated exhibitions and lectured and consulted on the subject. Publications include co-authoring the article The Examination and Conservation of a Spanish Colonial Sculpture with a Silver Halo in the Journal of the Institute of Conservation (July 2015), and co-authoring Mission Dolores and the Missing Miraculous Painting in the Boletín (2011 & 2012). Ms. Bourbin currently serves on the Board of the California Mission Studies Association and on the Advisory Board of Groundswell at City College of San Francisco. Former Board service includes the Museum Studies Special Interest Group of San Francisco State University, and the Treasure Island Museum Association.

words *Consolatoris aflitorum* (comforter of the afflicted) issue from the mouth of the Archbishop while Gálvez and the unidentified man respond with *Ora pro nobis* (pray for us). The painting is unsigned, but patrons often commissioned devotional paintings from unknown artists who may not have signed their artwork because they did not consider the image their own, causing the names of these artists to be lost to antiquity (Brenner 166). However, the fact that the patrons commissioned paintings from specific artists informs us that they were aware of various artists and their styles.

Figure 1. Unidentified Virgin of Mission Dolores. Photo by the author.

The painting is rife with symbolism. The Virgin's red and blue garments represent the colors of the Bourbon monarchy (Haas 59), and the candlesticks, spiritual illumination, the seed of life, and salvation (Chevalier, Gheerbrant 151). When the Virgin is enthroned, as she is on the ship in this painting, she is the living throne of Jesus and is interpreted as the mother of the Holy Church (Campbell 213). The ship itself has been an allegory for the Church since the Middle Ages. Bartolomé Carrasco de Figueroa described one incarnation of the ship as the ship of St. Peter or the Apostles in the following poem (Stratton-Pruitt 122):

> The Holy Church is a ship
> and God is the pilot,
> the Virgin a lantern that calms
> the sea;
> the gentle zephyr
> and pleasant south wind
> that is diving love fills the sails
> the mast is a high cross
> and the anchor, hope
> and the twelve Argonauts,
> simple, cautious souls,
> go with the favor of heaven and
> faith in the Holy Shepherd . . .

Figure 2. *Madonna Lactans* c. 18th century. Courtesy of Case Antiques.

Who is this Virgin? During a trip to Cuba in 2016 I found correlations between the Virgin de la Caridad del Cobre de Cuba and Mission Dolores' painting. The parallels led me to a closer examination of the unidentified Virgin and the hypothesis that the Virgin de la Caridad del Cobre de Cuba could have been reinterpreted as the image of the unidentified Virgin by the patrons in the painting when it was commissioned. By analyzing and comparing images of the two Virgins, and noting the connection of the patrons in Mission Dolores' painting to Spain, Cuba, Mexico, and Alta California, I will illustrate that there may be a connection between them.

Little information is extant about the paintings in Mission Dolores and records of the Mission's artwork and supplies do not mention the unidentified Virgin in the boat. Existing documentation of the Missions' artwork begins in 1778, two years after the Mission was founded, when it acquired paintings of Our Lady of Sorrows, The Patronage of St. Joseph, and St. Francis receiving the stigmata. In 1782 Father Francisco Palóu recorded that one of the side altars had a painting of the Archangel Michael and that the Mission also had a "print" of Our Lady of Remedies behind glass in a hammered silver frame. The Church also possessed six smaller canvases with similar images and prints of the fourteen Stations of the Cross (Newell 33, 34). In 1784 the Mission received a painting from Mexico of John the Baptist baptizing Christ (Newell 41). An 1810 report sent to Governor Arrillaga and the College of San Fernando from Fathers Abella and Lucio listed "two side altars carved from wood and gilded," a statue of St. Michael the Archangel, and four large canvas paintings on the walls. A painting representing the birth of Christ in a silver frame and a painting of St. Roch without a frame were also recorded (Engelhardt 145). The only art piece listed in Father Thomas Esténaga's 1823 inventory was "a silver crown with diadem and twelve stars for the statue of the Blessed Virgin (Engelhardt 184)." Esténaga documented "four framed pictures" without naming their subjects in 1827. In 1853, nineteen years after the Mission was secularized, the November issue of the *Annals of San Francisco* reported that the walls had "several common paintings of saints and sacred subjects (Engelhardt 351)."

Figure 3. ***Map of New Spain*** **18th century. Courtesy of Barry Lawrence Ruderman Antique Maps Inc.**

Mission Dolores' Unidentified Virgin

In 1993 art conservators Andre and Barbara Bossak performed conservation work on Mission Dolores' paintings. Pre-restoration photographs in the Mission's archives document that the painting of the unidentified Virgin had been reduced and mounted on smaller stretcher bars and placed in a frame of corresponding size which hid the banner at the top. When the painting was removed for remounting to its original size on larger stretcher bars measuring 31" W x 38" H the damaged banner was revealed (Bossak 2006). Although the writing on the banner is almost illegible the first two words *Quasi Navis*, and the last word, *Suum*, and enough of the extant letters, are sufficient to conclude that the banner reads *Quasi Navis Institoris de*

Longe Portans Panem Suum ([She] is like a merchants ship she bringeth her bread from afar) (Proverbs 31:14).

Archival records document supply ships and overland caravans which brought supplies to the missions. One of the mission supply boats, the Santiago, arrived in San Francisco Bay on June 26, 1779 to bring supplies, clergy, and mail, setting out for her return trip to Mexico on July 26. The ship had two accidents: 1. in the channel the bowsprit struck a rock; 2. just outside the port the ship threatened to overturn. The crew attributed the safety of their ship and their salvation to the "Blessed Virgin" (Engelhardt 74). Was a storm responsible for threatening the overturn of the ship leading to the commissioning of the painting of the Unidentified Virgin?

Figure 4. ***Virgin de la Caridad del Cobre*** **17th century. Courtesy of Decoration Posters.**

Ex-Votos

In addition to considering the artist guilds in Mexico who were responsible for the creation of many of the mission paintings one must also consider patronage or votive paintings known as ex-votos (Brenner 166). Patrons often commissioned these paintings to pay tribute to the Virgin or saint who saved them from a malady or disaster such as a fire, an accident, or from a shipwreck or drowning at sea. In fact "it was almost impossible not to find one [a ship] that was not placed under the protection of a saint, one of the incarnations of the Virgin, or the plurality of blessed souls (Pérez-Mallaína, Pablo E. 237)." Sometimes a votive painting is created and donated to the Church, but typically ex-votos are displayed publicly in the home of the beneficiary of salvation so all can attribute the person's good fortune to the Virgin or saint in the painting. Anyone contemplating the painting is encouraged to practice the Christian religion by imparting through the image that they too can receive salvation by petitioning the help of the Virgin or saint of their choice. Giving thanks to the Blessed Virgin who was believed to have saved a ship was not an uncommon practice. After a ship had weathered its storm and arrived safely at its destination prayers were said to express gratitude to the Virgin or saint that had saved the sailors (Pérez-Mallaína, Pablo E. 238). Often the donor kneels beside his or her patron saint, but in the example of Mission Dolores' painting of the Unidentified Virgin the patrons are standing (Hall 331).

The Virgin de la Caridad del Cobre de Cuba

In 1604 three boys, Juan de Joyos, Juan Moreno, both Indian, and Rodrigo, a Creole, were sailing on the Bay of Nipe on the way to obtain salt when the weather became stormy (Díaz 99). The boys prayed to the Virgin Mary for protection and the storm abated. In

the distance they saw what they thought was a bird but as they approached they found a white statue of the Virgin floating in the water with the inscription "I am the Virgin of Charity." She held the Child Jesus in her left arm and carried a gold cross in her right hand (Bettelheim 72). When the boys took the statue out of the water they noticed that it was dry and declared it a miracle. Upon reaching the mines in Barajagua they recounted their story to the administrator who ordered an altar built for the Virgin. The statue began disappearing at night and reappearing wet in the morning. By performing this miracle and many others the Virgin indicated that she wanted a shrine erected in her honor next to the copper mines in El Cobre so she could be an icon of support to the slaves in the copper mines, hence her name, La Virgen de la Caridad del Cobre (Díaz 99-100). Her devotees have been attributing miraculous powers to her since the seventeenth century (Díaz 20) (Figure 4, previous page). The image of Our Lady of Charity may have been brought to Cuba by the Spanish from Toledo, Spain where she is venerated.

Figure 5. Map from *The Virgin, the King, and the Royal Slaves of El Cobre* Maria Elena Diaz Copyright ©2000 by the Board of Trustees of the Leland Stanford Jr. University with the permission of Stanford University Press, www.sup.org.

The Virgin de la Caridad del Cobre was declared the Patron Saint of Cuba on May 10, 1916 (Bettelheim 72). On January 24, 1998 Pope John Paul II reenacted the coronation of the statue as Patroness and Queen of Cuba when the statue was brought to Santiago de Cuba after having been crowned by proxy in the 1930s (Díaz 2) (Figure 5).

Figure 6. *Virgin de la Caridad del Cobre de Cuba* 2016 Nivia. Photo by the author.

Juan Moreno was ten years old and the captain of the boat when the statue was found. He gave a notarized deposition of the Virgin's apparition as an adult on April 1, 1687 (Díaz Appendix 4, 341). The three boys who discovered the statue came to be known as Los Tres Juanes and constitute what Cuba considers the representative ethnicities of the country (Díaz 1). With ethnic diversity comes amalgamated religions. Many of the African slaves in Cuba were from the Congo, Nigeria, Guinea, Mandinga, and Mina. When they arrived in Cuba they brought their religions with them (Haas 52) (Figure 6).

With Catholicism forced upon them, the slaves like so many cultures under colonial oppression, found a way to continue their own faith by merging their Yoruba religion with Christianity taught by the Church (Sainsbury, Waterson 472). The Portuguese began converting African

religions to Catholicism in the 15th century during the reign of Alvaro II, King of Congo, when the Portuguese king and his missionaries requested that Congo relinquish its idols and fetishes. Alvaro was so influenced by the missionaries that he adopted Catholicism for his country in 1491 (Hart 2017). Traditional religion and worship survived despite restrictions placed on belief systems and freedom of expression.

Santeria

Santeria, also known as Regla de Ochá, is an Afro-Cuban religion which developed in southwestern Nigeria and spread to the Caribbean as a syncretization of Catholicism and African religion and is still practiced today. Deities known as orichas (sometimes spelled orisha) are associated with specific colors, sounds, natural elements, and behaviors. The African slaves found correlations between the attributes of each of the deities and Catholic saints and incorporated them to allow the continuance of cultural worship while appearing to pay tribute to the saints (Jenkins 146). The Virgin de la Caridad del Cobre de Cuba is one case in point whose image has been paired with the oricha Oshún since the mid-to late nineteenth century (Díaz 21). Oshún is the goddess of femininity and both she and the Virgin de la Caridad del Cobre de Cuba are believed to protect mothers during childbirth (The Rough Guide to Cuba 89). She is also known as the Goddess of Love (Poupeye 38). Oshún has copper skin, is also associated with sweetness and fortune, and her colors are yellow and white (Bettelheim 93, 136). Both the Virgin de la Cardidad del Cobre de Cuba and Oshún share the feast day of September 8.

The Cuban Connection

Important figures involved in bringing Christianity to Mexico and Alta California were born in Spain and later served the Spanish government in Cuba. Renowned iconoclast Hernán Cortés represented the Spanish presence in Cuba in the sixteenth century before leaving to bring Christianity to Mexico (Smith 163). Macharaviaja, Spain was home to Bernardo and José de Gálvez before this uncle and nephew served the King of Spain in Cuba, Mexico, and Alta California. Archbishop Peralta, also from Spain, began serving King Charles III (Charles of Bourbon) in 1772 in Mexico, and is known for sending money to Havana to buy slaves. Peralta briefly served as the Viceroy of New Spain for three months in 1787.

The Bourbon Reforms of the early eighteenth century were continued by Charles III (1759-1788) and Charles IV (1788-1808) in Spanish America in part to restructure colonial administration and increase

revenues. King Charles III entrusted José de Gálvez with the general inspection of the Viceroyalty of New Spain from 1765-1771. Among his duties were the expulsion of the Jesuits and the establishment of California settlements (Bobb 19). Gálvez is responsible for organizing the northwest advancement of the Spanish from Mexico City (Bobb 157). His role was to oversee new taxes and improve taxes on mercury, playing cards, salt, stamped paper, the lottery, and ice cream (Katzew 111). The Russian presence on the west coast of Alta California increasingly concerned Charles III who feared that the Russians would stake claim to the territory before Spain. He ordered the Marqués de Croix to investigate the situation along the coast. Croix reported his findings to Gálvez who began the settlement and Spanish occupation of Alta California in 1769 organizing two colonizing expeditions that year. He sent the ships *San Carlos* and *San Antonio* and two land parties to San Diego where the first presidio and mission were founded in July 1769 (Bobb 157, 158).

Antonio María Bucareli was appointed as the Governor and Captain General of Cuba in 1766. His service earned him a promotion as the forty-sixth Viceroy of New Spain in 1771. He arrived in Veracruz, Mexico on August 23, 1771 to begin his duties as Viceroy (Bobb 3, 19). Before José de Gálvez returned to Spain in February 1772 he stayed on in Mexico for several months to orient Bucareli (Bobb 159).

The connection of all of the parties mentioned above to Spain, where the Virgin de la Caridad was a popular veneration, makes it highly likely that they were familiar with her and reconnected with her image in Cuba as the Virgin de la Caridad del Cobre, later reinterpreting her image in Mexico as a hybrid incarnation of the Unidentified Virgin.

The Sun and the Moon

The meaning of the anthropomorphic sun behind the Unidentified Virgin and the crescent moon at her feet have long been a curiosity to viewers of the painting. To deconstruct their meaning in this example it is important to understand their significance, symbolism, and therefore importance as it relates to the Church and the conversion of the indigenous people.

In California Bay Area indigenous people regarded the sun "as one of the most powerful beings in the universe" and greeted the sun each morning by shouting encouragement for it to rise (Newell 41). The sun symbolizes resurrection and immortality since it is born in the morning, rises, and dies only to be reborn the following morning (Chevalier, Gheerbrant 246). Religious paintings and their symbolism were moralistic paradigms for the art of prayer and salvation. The

duality of the Christ-sun was present in the minds of the friars during the early days of colonial Mexico as a hybridized identity. The metaphor of Christ as the sun came from the Bible and Roman liturgy where Christ is compared to the sun (Burkhart 252). Franciscan friars who evangelized in Mexico in the sixteenth century brought the image of Christ as the sun with them to teach the indigenous people that Christ and the sun were one and that Christ is the light and savior of the world and a moral model to emulate (Burkhart 237). Bernardino de Sahagún was a Spanish priest who traveled extensively and evangelized in Mexico in the sixteenth century. When he went to the Convento de San Francisco in Mexico City he took the students he had trained as his aides and copyists with him (Donaldson 47). Sahagún wrote *Psalmodia Christiana*, a book of songs and chants for church festivals, and translated the words into the local Nahuatl language. In his writings he directly identifies Christ with the sun presenting him as a deity like the sun and playing the same role in respect to holy and spiritual events. Written in the margin of the text for the Purification of Mary is the responsory "From you arose the sun of righteousness (Burkhart 244)." The Christ-sun is not a common theme in colonial literature but illustrates translation using idolatry as European symbolism to translate it into Nahuatl (Burkhart 235). Sahagún also wrote *Historia General de las Cosas de Nueva España*, later to be called the *Florentine Codex*, along with Nahua collaborators and illustrators who translated the words into the Nahuatl language. The sun with a human face was originally created by an artist of Book 7 of the Codex (Figure 7). The artist transformed the image from the fierce warrior face on the Sun Stone to a "planet king of the new Christian age in Mesoamerica" using artistic expression to communicate layers of meaning (Magaloni Kerpel 2014: 32). In his book *Mexican Manuscript Painting of the Early Colonial Period: The Metropolitan Schools* Donald Robertson quotes a line from Mexican Archaeology which states that "the [Nahuatl] priests were employed in sacrifice, divination, teaching, astronomy, and the preparation of manuscripts" demonstrating, in the example of the Florentine Codex, that at least some of the painters were members of the indigenous priesthood (Donaldson 27). Under the tutelage of the friars indigenous artists began transforming representative symbols like the sun from the fierce depiction in the Sun Stone to a less exotic European representation of the sun with a friendlier human face which was more recognizable.

Figure 7. *Florentine Codex*, Book 7 Florence, Laurentian Library, Ms. Med. Palat. 219, c. 227v. By permission of the MiBACT. Any further reproduction by any means is forbidden.

The Sun Stone with its depiction of a human face (also known as the Aztec Calendar 1250-1521) was discovered on December 17, 1790 in

Mexico City's Plaza Mayor (Magaloni 2016: 60) (Figure 8). The Stone, along with other objects, was removed from Aztec temples by Hernán Cortés and his conquistadors during their campaign to destroy idols and eradicate traditional beliefs and lifestyles. The fact that it was not completely destroyed but lay buried for over two centuries is a miracle. The face in the center of the Stone is framed by the sign Nahui Ollin, the Fourth Movement, the name of the Fifth Sun, the time that the Aztecs believed they were living in when Cortés arrived. The face is interpreted as both Tonatiuh, the Sun god or Tlaltecuthli, the Earth goddess (Magaloni 2016: 63). After its discovery, the Sun Stone was installed on the exterior western wall of the Metropolitan Cathedral in Mexico City incorporating it into the Catholic Church; an irony since Cortés did his best to eliminate the Aztec religion and introduce Christianity. The Sun Stone was later moved to the National Museum of Anthropology in Mexico City in the late eighteenth – early nineteenth century where it still resides at the time of this writing (Magaloni 2016: 64).

Figure 8. *Sun Stone*. Courtesy of Dr. Patrick J. Treacy.

The monstrance is another representation of the sun. Its transparent center holding the Sacrament of the Eucharist metaphorically represents Christ as the sun (Stratton-Pruitt 120). Duality is present in this composition since the Eucharist is the body of Christ characterized by the face in the sun.

The sun represents the Old Testament, and the moon, the New Testament. The sun and moon are also found in renditions of medieval crucifixions where the sun represents male and the moon female. Later the moon appears with a crescent within the circle. The sun is shown on Christ's right side and the moon on his left (Hall 85-86). In the painting of the unidentified Virgin the sun appears on Christ's right side as he is held in the Virgin's arms. The sun appears to be rising as Christ the "son" in Mary's arms is rising as he develops from infancy, to an adult, and ultimately to heaven.

Symbols of the Immaculate Virgin include the sun behind her back while she stands on the moon and is crowned with twelve stars (Gomar 381) (Figure 9). Like the sun the moon signifies resurrection and immortality. The Virgin Mary is sometimes depicted standing on an upturned crescent moon which is an artistic representation of her standing in front of, and on the bottom of the moon, and also symbolizes chastity (Hall 213). She is sometimes portrayed on an inverted crescent as the summit of the moon. Bing Quock, Assistant Director, Morrison Planetarium states that a crescent moon is seen at the bottom of the moon when the sun is hidden below the horizon

Figure 9. *Virgin of the Immaculate Conception* c. 1670. Juan Carreño de Miranda (1614-1685). Courtesy of The Hispanic Society of America, New York.

(Figure 10). In reality a crescent moon does not appear on top of the moon (Quock 2017: e-mail communication April 4). Therefore, images of Mary standing on top of an inverted crescent may be rendered as an artistic portrayal of Mary standing on top of the moon.

Figure 10 (left). ***Crescent moon*****. Public Domain image.**

Conclusion

Both the Unidentified Virgin and the Virgin de la Caridad del Cobre de Cuba are linked to boats in stormy seas. While the Virgin de la Caridad del Cobre de Cuba does not sit on a moon her crescent shaped boat is an analogy for one. Both incarnations existed in countries where mixed ethnicity was not unusual. Each one protected the culture in their country whose demographics were a confluence of people. Seventeenth and eighteenth-century Mexico was comprised of a population of indigenous people, Mexicans, Spanish and other Europeans, Africans, Asians, Filipinos, and Hawaiians. The Spanish grouped the amalgamation of mixed ethnicities into the Casta system. "By the end of the eighteenth century approximately one quarter of the total population of Mexico was racially mixed, of whom a high percentage resided in the viceroyalty's capital (Katzew 40)." Further comparison of dualism in the images includes the three men appearing below the boats, and the sunflowers in the image of the Virgin de la Caridad del Cobre de Cuba that represent Christ and the sun, or the Christ-sun (Figure 11).

Figure 11. ***Virgin de la Caridad del Cobre de Cuba*** **n.d. Manuel Baldrich. Photo by the author.**

The information in this article is focused on the correlations between the Virgin de la Caridad del Cobre de Cuba and the Unidentified Virgin in Mission Dolores' painting as they relate in their own time and space. The indisputable parallels which exist in each image can leave no doubt that they are connected. While individual persons involved in the erosion of traditional indigenous beliefs and cultures are discussed the intention is not to delve into their histories, but is meant to illustrate their connection to the geographies of Spain, Cuba, Mexico, and Alta California and the resultant painting of the Unidentified Virgin. The legacy of the image of the Unidentified Virgin is sustained first by the tradition of the Virgin de la Caridad in Spain and later transformed by experience of the Virgin de la Caridad del Cobre de Cuba.

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The Della Robbia Reproduction at Old Mission Santa Barbara

An Example of Continuity in Spanish Colonial Art

Virginia Ann Guess, Ph.D.

A reproduction of a Della Robbia terracotta tableau was installed at Old Mission Santa Barbara in 2006. This article describes the 1522 original by Giovanni della Robbia that remains *in situ* in Florence, Italy; identifies the differences between the original and the reproduction at Old Mission Santa Barbara; follows the trail of this reproduction from its arrival in Santa Barbara in the late 1800s to 1995 when it reached the Mission; and notes the whereabouts of similar reproductions in the United States. The presence of such a reproduction in a California mission offers an example of continuity in religious iconography from the Italian Renaissance to Spanish colonial art.

The Della Robbia Arrives at Old Mission Santa Barbara

On a sunny day in 1995, an unidentified donor deposited ten wooden crates on the doorsteps of Old Mission Santa Barbara. Before any member of the staff could inquire about the unsolicited gift, the donor had vanished. Only Japanese script on the boxes provided clues to the origin of the donation. In order to clear a path for the many visitors to this busy tourist destination, the crates were quickly moved to a basement storeroom where they remained for several years. Then one day, Father Nevin Ford, OFM, who had his art workshop in the basement, decided to take a look.[1]

Fr. Nevin, a Franciscan friar ordained in 1954 and a studio artist who taught art to young seminarians for many years at Saint Anthony's Seminary, was puzzled and somewhat astonished by what was carefully wrapped in the containers. He counted twenty-seven polychrome terracotta tiles that composed a religious tableau. On closer inspection, he recognized the tiles' relationship to the Renaissance workshop of the della Robbia family of Florence, Italy. Unfortunately, the crates were discarded before any pertinent information was recorded.

About the Author
Virginia Ann Guess received a doctorate in Medical Anthropology from the University of California San Francisco in 1981. She spent over thirty years doing independent research in the state of Chiapas, Mexico. In collaboration with her husband, Robert Guess, she co-authored over twenty articles related to the bromeliads of Chiapas, with an emphasis on the indigenous use of these plants in rituals and daily life. In 2004, the Museum of New Mexico Press published her landmark book, *The Spirit of Chiapas: The Expressive Art of the Roof Cross Tradition*. In 2007, she co-curated with Anne Petersen Ph.D., an exhibit of these crosses at Casa de la Guerra for the Santa Barbara Trust for Historic Preservation. In 2009, the exhibit traveled to the Maxwell Museum at the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, where it was on view for a year. She has published several articles in *La Campana* related to her research on California and Mission history. Her interest in the provenance of the Della Robbia reproduction and its relationship to the 1522 original in Florence, Italy, began as a docent at Old Mission Santa Barbara.

Not being an art historian, Fr. Nevin made no effort to determine if the tiles were original or a reproduction. He was more interested in the technical aspects of assembling the pieces. Skilled in many artistic techniques that included creating religious displays in mosaics, casting in bronze, sculpting in marble, and carving images in wood, Fr. Nevin utilized his expertise to organize the terracotta tiles into a meaningful arrangement. Having no pattern to follow or any idea of how they fit together, he placed them as he imagined the scene. It was not until 2006 that he selected an alcove along the portico surrounding the Sacred Garden that was large enough to accommodate the twenty-seven tiles measuring approximately seven feet high and four and one half feet wide when assembled. Here he mortared the tiles onto the wall. In order to fill the remaining space in the recess, Fr. Nevin surrounded the sculpture with modern glazed ceramic tiles he had available in his workshop (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Fr. Nevin Ford, OFM, in front of the Della Robbia reproduction at Old Mission Santa Barbara in 2006. Courtesy of Fr. Jack Clark Robinson, OFM.

The completed scene revealed a central panel with an enthroned Madonna supporting the standing Christ Child on her knee, his right hand raised in a blessing (Figure 2). They sat amidst four large images of saints with the young John the Baptist kneeling at their feet. Two angels hovered above the Madonna's head holding a jeweled crown, above which were images of God the Father and a dove representing the Holy Spirit. A garland in a floral and fruit motif framed the figures. Sculpted heads of saints emerged from six medallions interspersed along this decorative arch. Two smaller images of saints formed the bases of the arch. In reference to the assembled figures, Fr. Nevin entitled his installation "The Madonna and Saints."[2]

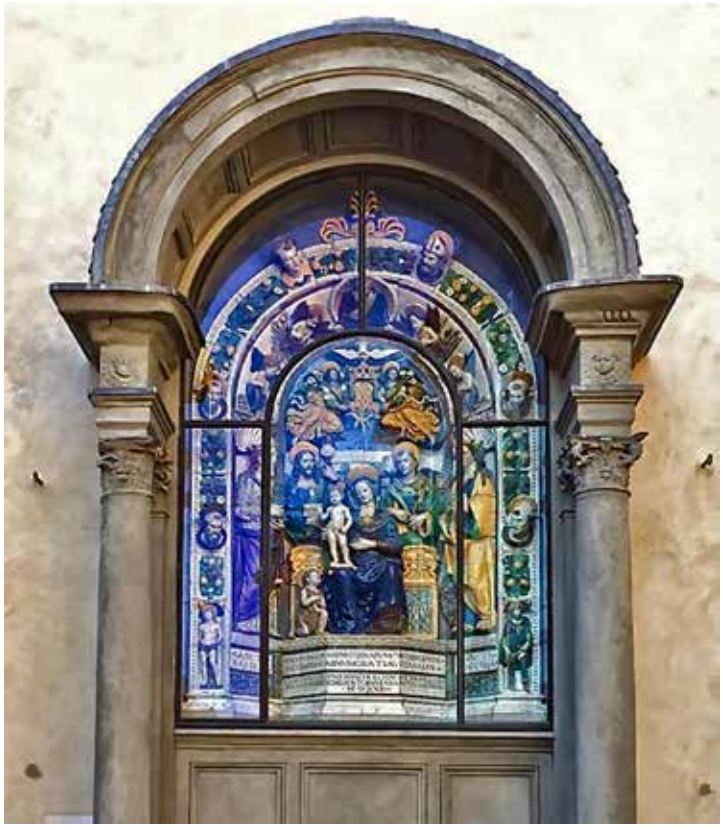
Figure 2. The *Madonna Enthroned with Saints* at Old Mission Santa Barbara in 2006 before a transparent covering was added for protection. Courtesy of Fr. Jack Clark Robinson, OFM.

Two phrases inscribed at the base, the upper in Latin and the lower in Italian, shed light on the origin of the sculpture (Figure 3, next page). Fr. Nevin translated the Latin inscription as: "Hail Virgin, Mother and Advocate of the Whole World. Hail People's Hope, Grace, Life and Salvation."[3] However, the Italian phrase was more informative: "The People of Belieme Household commissioned this devotional tabernacle installed on Saint Catherine Street."[4] A date of 1522 in Roman numerals (MDXXII) completes the inscription.

Figure 3. Inscription at the base of the original Della Robbia in Florence, Italy. From an albumen print (ca. 1880s) in the author's collection.

A recent internet search revealed some twelve hundred "tabernacles" or street shrines that remain today in Florence, Italy.[5] One of the largest, attributed to Giovanni della Robbia and completed in 1522, is located on *Via Nazionale* (formerly *Via Santa Caterina*). Referred to as *Tabernacolo delle Fonticine* (Tabernacle of the Small Fountains), it is installed atop six spigots that spout water into a rectangular basin that explain the origin of its local name (Figure 4, Figure 5). Beyond a doubt, the relief sculpture in Santa Barbara is a reproduction of this tabernacle. Since art historians prefer the more descriptive title of *Madonna Enthroned with Saints* for this Della Robbia, that title will be used in the discussion below to distinguish the reproduction from the original in Florence (Marquand 1920, 155-157; Gentilini, 315).

Figure 4. *Tabernacolo delle Fonticine* in Florence after the completed conservation in December 2016. Courtesy of Mary Gray, Associate Editor, *The Florentine*, Florence.



Although the classical figures inspired by Greco-Roman statues and the inscriptions offer clues to its history they also leave us to wonder. Who were the people of the "Beliemme Household?" What motivated them to commission such a large and costly street shrine? How did they select these images for their tabernacle? Why did they choose Giovanni della Robbia to design and produce the tableau? Answers lie in the religious and social milieu of sixteenth-century Renaissance Florence, the period that influenced Spanish colonial art during the three centuries of Spanish rule in the Americas (1521-1821). In that light, a reproduction of the *Tabernacolo delle Fonticine* in a California mission provides an example of continuity between religious art produced in the Old World and the New World.

Florence in the Sixteenth Century

In Renaissance Florence (1400-1650), aristocratic families, such as the powerful Medici lineage, controlled most of the urban spaces with their grand palaces, private chapels, and

Figure 5. Fountains and basin below the *Tabernacolo delle Fonticine* in Florence. Courtesy of Mary Gray, Associate Editor, *The Florentine*, Florence.

public monuments dominating the cityscape. With the rise of Florence as a mercantile center that required a growing labor force, however, occupational guilds became more numerous. Soon these plebian artisans, many of whom were German and Flemish migrants, settled in neighborhoods where they erected their own markers to define their living space. Common work, religious beliefs, ethnic background, and socio-economic status united these enclaves. Shared activities and rituals sustained relationships among the members of Florence's working class, as well as legitimated their role within the society (Nevola, 353-354). Such bonds offered them a distinct identity through their affiliation as well as a social and economic support system to supplement the family ties left behind in their homelands.

Often these lay social groups took on rather ostentatious names such as "kingdoms" or "realms" in an overt parody of the ruling class, even going to the extreme of electing a "king" of their pseudo realm (Rosenthal 2010, 360-363). Members kept these ritual alignments and public displays out of the purview of the Catholic clergy in order to avoid scrutiny as well as ecclesiastical censor. In turn, local priests tolerated such demonstrations of solidarity as long as the participants did not become too raucous or sacrilegious in their public actions. Those belonging to "kingdoms" preferred to meet in local taverns or shops rather than in churches. These groups differed from religious confraternities in which associates gathered regularly within the confines of a church and dedicated themselves to a particular saint.[6]

In addition to processions and pilgrimages, a "kingdom" often sponsored prominent architectural features in their neighborhoods, such as street tabernacles. These religious displays served as boundary markers to demarcate the designated district, as devotional sites to

honor the religious patrons of their guilds, and as communal gathering places (Rosenthal 2006, 165). Furthermore, these shrines offered workers a viable alternative to the lavish private chapels of the ruling class who spared no expense in hiring the most renowned artists to decorate them with frescoes and paintings.[7]

Florentine tabernacles featuring religious images on buildings became popular adornments of public spaces around the thirteenth century. At first the image of the Madonna was most frequently portrayed. As the cult of saints grew devotees added other heavenly advocates around the Madonna to increase those on whom they could call on for divine intercession. These saintly figures included patrons of the city of Florence, Saint John the Baptist and Saint Lawrence; founders of the mendicant orders, Saint Francis and Saint Dominic; or the patron of a particular guild of workers. Occasionally a tabernacle would be commissioned and installed to recognize an event significant to the enclave as was the case with the *Tabernacolo delle Fonticine*.

Figure 6. Albumen print from the 1880s of *Tabernacolo delle Fonticine* by Giacomo Brogi, number 4695. From the author's collection.

Tabernacolo delle Fonticine

A stroll through the crowded streets and narrow alleyways of Florence today rewards the causal pedestrian with the view of hundreds of these outdoor tabernacles. One of the best known is on *Via Nazionale*, locally referred to as *Tabernacolo delle Fonticine* or *Tabernacolo del Via Nazionale*. In the 1880s, Giacomo Brogi, a renowned Florentine photographer, captured a photographic record of this tabernacle (Figure 6).[8] It offers a visual feast of images depicting a narrative whose meaning can be peeled back once we unravel its past. Through this connection to the original work of art, a reproduction can be interpreted and better appreciated in light of its history.

The Italian inscription at the base of the sculpture documents that in 1522 members of the "Kingdom of Beliemme" commissioned this dramatic tableau.[9] The German and Flemish textile workers who inhabited the urban space of Beliemme migrated to Florence seeking work in the wool factories, amply supplied with water from the Arno River to wash, dye, and full wool. However, these migrants often traveled back to their country of origin to maintain familial bonds. It was one of these incidents that lead to the commission for their tabernacle.

Historical records indicate the commission was to atone for one of its members introducing the plague to the city, and also to seek divine protection for their realm against further pestilence (Burke, 87-90; Rosenthal 2006, 163).[10] Around 1520, when word spread that a German textile worker who had returned to Florence from a visit abroad was afflicted with the disease, the Beliemme neighborhood was sealed off to contain the spread of further contamination. Some forty neighbors in this zone died from the plague. In order to remember them and to offer a public tribute to the Madonna and their patron saints, residents enlisted Giovanni della Robbia (1469-1529) to produce a terracotta sculpture.

The della Robbia family's workshop, located within the boundaries of the afflicted neighborhood, was renowned throughout Florence for their glazed terracotta outdoor shrines. What brought the family to prominence was the development of an opaque glaze with components of tin and lead that added a brilliant and enduring surface to sculptured reliefs. Luca della Robbia (1400-1482), Giovanni's granduncle and a prominent sculptor in marble and bronze, refined this technique in the 1440s. At the pinnacle of his career, he turned to a new media, terracotta, to solve the dilemma of how to make color more permanent on outdoor sculptures.[11]

Applying his talents as a sculptor with expertise in working with gold and enamel, Luca developed an innovative technique of glazing terracotta based on an ancient method used by potters for centuries. His earliest pieces were sculpted figures finished in bright white opaque glazes against a blue background accented with glazes in greens and yellows. He modeled and/or molded the figures in white clay, fired the objects in a kiln to produce a hard ceramic surface, then painted them with his special formula of white or tinted opaque glazes, and ended with a final firing to insure the durability of the colors and surface. Sculptures from this family workshop included figures in the round as well as others in shallow relief and high relief. Furthermore, by devising a method to connect multiple sections, the Della Robbias eventually were able to create large and complex works that could be transported in pieces and later assembled.

When Luca died in 1482, his nephew Andrea della Robbia (1435-1525) continued the workshop where five of his seven sons, one of whom was Giovanni, also apprenticed. Although Andrea extended his uncle Luca's repertoire by introducing additional polychrome glazes to his works and producing larger reliefs, the subject matter remained consistent with Renaissance ideal depictions of the Madonna and Child and the few popular saints of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Most of these saints had been revered since the Middle

Ages, with a later addition of the founders of the major mendicant orders: the Franciscan Saint Francis of Assisi, and the Dominican Saint Dominic Guzman. Renaissance artists identified these holy personages by specific attributes associated with the pious legends that humanized them and allowed the faithful to recognize them.

However, it was Giovanni, grandnephew of Luca della Robbia and son of Andrea della Robbia, who designed and completed the *Tabernacolo delle Fonticine* for his neighbors in the Beliemme district. He installed it on the street then known as *Via Santa Caterina* above a waterworks consisting of six angelic-like heads spewing water from their mouths. In the completed work, Giovanni took advantage of a full palette of glazes to produce a dramatic polychrome relief.

Figure 7 (above). John the Baptist, depicted as a child, in the *Madonna Enthroned with Saints*. Note the Roman numerals (MCCCCCXXII) on the banderole the image holds, the date of the original Della Robbia. Courtesy of Fr. Jack Clark Robinson, OFM.

The subject matter of this glazed terracotta sculpture has no scriptural foundation or reference to any biblical text. However, it suggests continuity with early Byzantine icons of the Madonna and Child.[12] The narrative scene depicts a typical theme in Renaissance art where multiple figures gather around an image of the Madonna as if engaged in a *sacra conversazione* ("sacred conversation"). Such an arrangement of figures fostered a more personal connection with the holy images by "inviting" the viewers into the conversation. We can only speculate who selected the saints represented in the tableau, but most likely preference was given to the choices of the Beliemme residents in collaboration with Giovanni della Robbia.

Figure 8. Central panel of the *Madonna Enthroned with Saints* at Old Mission Santa Barbara. Courtesy of Fr. Jack Clark Robinson, OFM.

The Madonna seated on a throne with a standing Christ Child on her right knee dominates the center of the tableau. Some scholars suggest the Christ Child's gesture of blessing with two raised fingers represents his dual nature, divine and human. A young John the Baptist, dressed in the rough sheepskin tunic patterned after the adult figure of this saint, kneels at the feet of the Madonna. The banderole in his hand records the date of

the tableau on this ribbon-like scroll (Figure 7). Giovanni often portrayed the two young cousins, the Christ Child and John, as did other Renaissance artists, to remind young children to look upon such youthful figures as examples of good behavior (Cambareri, 96).

Surrounding the Madonna are nearly full size images, modeled in high relief, of Saint Barbara holding a tower, and Saint Catherine of Alexandria with a wheel at her side, attributes that readily identify them (Figure 8, previous page). The inscription of their names below each image, "Sancta Barbera" and "Sancta Chateria," suggests the German and Flemish patrons of this tabernacle had a strong devotional attachment to these female saints (Burke, 89). The two standing male figures behind the Madonna are Saint James the Greater recognized by his pilgrim staff and shell, and Saint Lawrence by a gridiron in the background, the mechanism of this martyr's torture and death.[13]

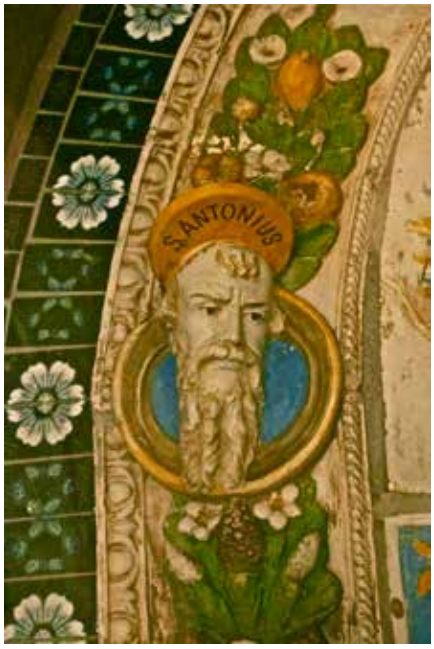


Figure 9. Medallion of St. Anthony Abbot (S. Antonius) on the *Madonna Enthroned with Saints*. Courtesy of Robert Guess.

The garland that surrounds these central figures is interspersed with decorative sprays of flowers and fruits positioned amidst six medallions with modeled heads of saints. The locations of these heads on the original differ from those on the reproduction at Old Mission Santa Barbara.[14] Two full-bodied representations of Saint Sebastian on the Madonna's right and Saint Roch on her left, support the arch. Both saints are considered advocates against the plague and other maladies, and thus appropriate to the primary theme of the tableau.

Above the image of Saint Sebastian, is the head of Saint Anthony Abbot (ca. 251-356) recognized as the patron of a medieval order of monastic monks dedicated to the treatment of diseases. Note that on the reproduction, the head of Saint Stephen is in this position, and above Saint Stephen is the head of Saint Anthony Abbot, identified by his name at the edge of the halo, "S. Antonius" (Figure 9). On the original, two decorative tiles separate the medallion of Saint Anthony with that of Saint Dominic (1170-1221), the founder of the Dominican Order of Preachers. The star on the halo comes from the legend that at his baptism, his godmother envisioned a star on his forehead (Figure 10). Near the top of the arch on the original is the head of Saint Stephen, the patron of the Wool Makers Guild of Florence, purported to be the first Christian martyr. A stone on the head in the original, and not present on the reproduction, indicates the method of his martyrdom (Figure 11, next page).

Figure 10. Medallion of St. Dominic on the *Madonna Enthroned with Saints*. Note the star on the halo. Courtesy of Fr. Jack Clark Robinson, OFM.

Across from the head of Saint Stephen and at the apex of the garland, in the original as well as in the reproduction, is

Figure 11 (left). Medallion of St. Stephen on the *Tabernacolo delle Fonticine*. Note the stone on the head. From Brogi's albumen print in the author's collection.

a bearded figure with a bishop's miter. Art historians debate over whether this head represents Saint Ambrose, the fourth-century Bishop of Milan who appears often in Renaissance art, or that of Saint Zenobius (337-417), the first bishop and patron saint of Florence. The latter identification is more in keeping with the era in which the della Robbia family produced their artworks, since a major shrine to Saint Zenobius existed in Florence in the Church of Santa Maria del Fiore. Below the bishop's head is that of Saint Francis of Assisi (1181-1226), the founder of the Franciscan Order of Friars (Figure 12). An image of a winged figure on the halo, partially obliterated in the reproduction, marks the event when Francis received the stigmata, the miraculous appearance of the five wounds inflicted on Christ at the crucifixion.[15]

Figure 12 (below). Medallion of St. Francis on the *Madonna Enthroned with Saints*. Note the winged figure on the halo. Courtesy of Fr. Jack Clark Robinson, OFM.

Several mendicant orders of monks, including the Franciscans and Dominicans, made a significant contribution to Renaissance art. Patrons filled the churches under the aegis of these orders with commissioned paintings and sculptures, many of which were produced by the della Robbia family. The Servites formed yet another prominent mendicant order especially dedicated to honor the Mother of God. The last head on the arch above the image of Saint Roch is of Saint Philip Beniti (S. Philippe Beniti, 1233-1285), a leading propagator of the Servite Order. The name, inscribed on the brim of the halo in the reproduction, confirms his identity (Figure 13).

Figure 13 (below). Medallion of St. Philip (S. Philippe Beniti) on the *Madonna Enthroned with Saints*. Courtesy of Fr. Jack Clark Robinson, OFM.

Although the *Tabernacolo delle Fonticine* was one of the larger sculptures produced in the della Robbia workshop, no documentation of the fee charged for such a monumental piece exists. However, Burke (89) compared an altarpiece by Giovanni that was similar in size and complexity with an established worth, and determined that the cost of the *Tabernacolo delle Fonticine* could equal the total of almost 352 days of labor for a skilled worker in the sixteenth century.

The Della Robbia Family and Their Relief Sculptures

A transformation of Della Robbia sculptures from liturgical objects into works of art occurred over the centuries. Initially dismissed by their Renaissance contemporaries as not "fine art," and labeled with the less prestigious category of "decorative art," it was almost

three hundred years before art critics elevated the works of the della Robbia family to the position in the art world it holds today.[16] A reassessment of Della Robbia sculptures began in the mid-nineteenth century when connoisseurs including John Ruskin (1819-1900), a respected critic, artist, and proponent of the Arts and Crafts Movement in England, reversed much of their early criticism of the family's works (Drew 2014a, 40-41). Ruskin originally disparaged the addition of color to the reliefs, asserting that sculpture should be in marble, bronze, alabaster, or other natural products without color enhancement.

Ruskin, however, came to appreciate that the addition of color to the Della Robbias reflected the "natural" depictions of fruits, flowers, and the clothing on the figures. As a new convert to these polychrome relief sculptures, he was instrumental in introducing many Della Robbia originals as well as casts into the collection of London's South Kensington Museum in the mid-1850s, renamed the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1899 (Drew 2014b, 171-180). The connection between John Ruskin and the *Madonna Enthroned with Saints* at Old Mission Santa Barbara will be explored below.

Nevertheless, of all Giovanni della Robbia's works, his *Tabernacolo delle Fonticine* has received some of the harshest criticism. For example, Cruttwell (239) described the tabernacle as a "theatrical and meretricious group" and an example of degeneracy in Giovanni's *oeuvre*. She further elaborated that in spite of "its tawdry ostentation and doll-like trumpery, there are signs of real power and energy in some of the figures." Marquand (1912, 105-134) also commented that Giovanni's earlier works have greater merit than those produced in his later years when his reliefs appeared to deteriorate in style. He concluded that although Giovanni favored polychromatic works, his colors were not as refined as those of his father and granduncle Luca often relying on brighter, more gaudy, hues. However, Cambareri (55, 61) expresses an alternative opinion. She suggests that Giovanni expanded the range of color and the levels of relief in his sculptures from those of his predecessors, thus rendering a more dramatic style through his use of color to reinforce the religious appeal of his works.

As an indication of Giovanni's contribution to the art of Florence, the polychrome figures in his tabernacle completed for the members of the Beliemme realm have endured the exigencies of almost five centuries of political upheavals, countless wars, and extremes of weather conditions. According to Marquand (1920, 157), this tabernacle was initially restored around 1885, and remained out of sight until the early 1900s. While many flaws are visible in Brogi's albumen print

taken near the time of this first conservation, the images confirm the durability of the surface maintained for almost four hundred years prior to this first recorded conservation. As a further indication of its importance to the citizens of Florence even today, the Instituto Lorenzo de' Medici sponsored a recent conservation of the tabernacle that was completed in 2016.[17]

Della Robbia Reproductions

During the Renaissance, Florentine artists employed several methods of replication and reproduction to yield multiple copies that were less costly than their originals (Emison, 431-453). For example, Luca della Robbia, and other family members, utilized molds to replicate their work or reused individual molds in other sculptures.[18] Although a plaster cast replica is about as close to the original as one can come, even when originating from the same mold, it is not an exact duplicate of the original.[19] A reproduction, on the other hand, is a copy modeled to be as close as possible to the original. That is the case of the reproduction of the Della Robbia at Old Mission Santa Barbara in which the postures, facial expressions, color of attire deviate from the *Tabernacolo delle Fonticine*. A comparison of the figure of Saint Barbara in the original with that of the figure in the reproduction serves as an example.

In the reproduction, Saint Barbara faces in the direction of the viewer (Figure 14), where as in the original, the image is in profile (Figure 15). Both are attired in similar drapery, but the design of the inner tunic is different from the original and more exposed in the reproduction. Both figures have crowns and cradle a tower in their hands, but the tower in the reproduction is more prominent than in the original. These are just a few examples to indicate this is a reproduction rather than a replica of the original. However, it should not be viewed as a "fake." A fake is a deceptive copy presented as an original work of art, whereas reproductions are marketed and sold as such. Deception occurs only when the reproduction is presented as an original.

In the United States, the author has identified three reproductions of the *Tabernacolo delle Fonticine*, including the one at Old Mission Santa Barbara. Frank Miller, the developer of a popular tourist hotel and museum at the turn of the

Figure 14. Image of St. Barbara from the *Madonna Enthroned with Saints*. Courtesy of Robert Guess.

Figure 15 (left). Image of St. Barbara from the *Tabernacolo delle Fonticine*. From Brogi's albumen print in the author's collection.

twentieth century, introduced a reproduction to his art collection at the Mission Inn in Riverside, California, around 1925. Although the provenance of this *Madonna Enthroned with Saints* is not known, records at the Inn indicate the sculpture was initially located outdoors in a covered space in the Spanish Patio.[20] It was later moved and reinstalled in the atrium outside the prominent Saint Francis Wedding Chapel where it is mounted on a wall at ground level.

All the figures are represented as those in the *Tabernacolo delle Fonticine*, including the arrangement of the six heads emerging from medallions (Figure 16). The right arm of the standing Christ Child is missing from just below the shoulder. Although no titles or symbols appear on the halos to identify the saints, as they do on those in the Old Mission Santa Barbara reproduction, the facial features of each resemble the images in the original. The colors are subdued and not as vibrant as those in the original or that of the reproduction at Old Mission Santa Barbara. These differences suggest that the two reproductions came from different factories.

Figure 16. *Madonna Enthroned with Saints* at Mission Inn, Riverside, California. Courtesy of Robert Guess.

Old newspaper clippings recorded the arrival and ultimate fate of another reproduction of the *Tabernacolo delle Fonticine*.[21] A Boston Sunday Post article, dated October 29, 1911, announced the anticipated arrival in the Boston Custom House of a "duplicate of original by Giovanni della Robbia in Florence" (Figure 17). The photograph that accompanied the article appears to be of the original and not the commissioned reproduction.[22] Reported to be seven feet high and four and one-half feet wide, the pastor of All Saints Church in Roxbury instructed the sculpture to be a terracotta copy of the masterpiece, in the same number of pieces (twenty-seven) as that of the original. He engaged a prominent Italian sculptor working in Boston, Amadeo P. Nardini, to travel to Italy to produce the copy.[23] The piece was to be part of a major renovation and redecoration of the sanctuary and the church.

Figure 17. *Boston Sunday Post* article dated October 29, 1911. Courtesy of Boston Public Library.


Sculptural Masterpiece Copied for All Saints'

Unfortunately, in the 1960s, All Saints Church stood in the path of a massive highway expansion that coursed through Boston (Plotkin).[24] As a result the building was destroyed in 1969 to prepare for the roadway project. Although community protests against the highway altered the route, they came too late to save the church. Today the former site is a parking lot. No further information has yet to be found to ascertain what happened to the furnishings in the church, including the *Madonna Enthroned with Saints* altarpiece.[25]

In contrast, the reproduction that ultimately arrived at Old Mission Santa Barbara has remained intact. It is not installed above an altar in a sanctuary of a church as the one in Roxbury, or as a decorative feature in the atrium of a renowned wedding chapel as at the Mission

Inn in Riverside. Rather, it is secluded in an alcove facing the Sacred Garden, away from the regular tour path followed by visitors. It can only be viewed on specially arranged docent-guided tours.

History of the Della Robbia in Santa Barbara

The story of how this Della Robbia reproduction came to Santa Barbara, and why it was relocated several times before its arrival at the Mission, is not complete. However, available records suggest the piece is over one hundred years old, most likely originated from a terracotta-producing factory in Tuscany, was prominently displayed in two well-known Montecito estates, and was on public view in Santa Barbara from 1945-1961.

The arrival of this reproduction in Santa Barbara possibly occurred shortly after 1894 when Ralph Radcliffe Whitehead (1854-1929) and Jane Byrd McCall Whitehead (1861-1955) decided to make Montecito their home.[26] Here, Ralph, from a successful wool milling family in England, and Jane from a prominent Philadelphia family, chose a large swath of undeveloped mountaintop land where they built a Mediterranean-style villa surrounded by acres of gardens (Myrick, 305-308). The Whiteheads named their estate *Arcady*, after the ancient Greek district of Arcadia, a place celebrated for its simple lifestyle inhabited by mythical creatures in an imaginary idyllic paradise. Early in their relationship, they had pledged to live an unencumbered life close to nature with hopes of attracting others to join them, a philosophy they embraced during their formative years spent with John Ruskin.

In the 1880s, Ralph and Jane came under the tutelage of Ruskin at Oxford University where he introduced them to the Arts and Crafts Movement, as well as to his changing opinions of Della Robbia terracotta sculptures.[27] By that time Ruskin had converted his disdain for these polychrome reliefs to unequivocal admiration. Furthermore, he had purchased an original 1497 sculpture of the *Adoration of the Child* by Andrea della Robbia that he displayed above the mantel of his study at his country house in the Lake District of England (Cambareri, 106). The Whiteheads were to follow their mentor's tradition by installing in each of their homes a Della Robbia reproduction, usually the *Madonna and Child*, above their mantel. Jane also decorated her art studio at *Arcady* with plaster casts of Luca della Robbia's singing minstrels from his *Cantoria*. Their interest in such art coincided with the flurry of acquisitions of Della Robbia sculptures in the United States at the turn of the twentieth century (Cambareri, 105).

The Whiteheads' dedication to education motivated them to establish a school on the grounds of *Arcady* following the Sloyd method of

teaching that emphasized training in the manual arts. In order to introduce the students to European art, they equipped the schoolrooms with casts and reproductions of Renaissance art. Although the provenance of most of the their acquisitions was not well documented, a letter written in 1895 by Jane Whitehead to her mother told of an anticipated delivery from the Tuscan terracotta factory, Cantagalli (Nasstrom Evans, 65). Since the couple traveled extensively throughout Tuscany in their pursuit of Renaissance reproductions for their home and school, it is probable that they came into direct contact with this factory, established by Ulisse Cantagalli, a talented artist and intuitive businessman with a fascination for Italian Renaissance pottery.

From 1878 to 1901, his factory near Florence copied many works by Luca, Andrea, and Giovanni della Robbia.[28] This famous purveyor of Renaissance reproductions dispatched his talented craftsmen throughout Italy to copy or cast exceptional works of art. He often identified his products with the distinctive trademark of a crowing rooster to indicate they originated from the Cantagalli factory.

Although there is little doubt that the *Madonna Enthroned with Saints* came from *Arcady* whether or not the Whiteheads introduced the sculpture remains speculative (Guess 2016b, 16).[29] If they did so, because of its size, the installation would have been situated most likely outdoors. They might have been attracted to this particular Della Robbia because of the prominent image of Saint Barbara in the sculpture, the namesake of the location they chose for their first home. That image might further explain why the reproduction has remained within the environs of Santa Barbara for over a century.

Unfortunately, the idyllic spot the Whiteheads had chosen in Montecito did not fully satisfy their hopes to establish a colony that would attract like-thinking artists to share in a communal style of living close to nature (Robertson, 120). In 1903, they began to search elsewhere. After lengthy excursions throughout the United States, Ralph Whitehead settled on Woodstock, a rural farming district in the Catskills of New York (Wolf, 24-26).[30] This spot, named *Byrdcliffe* derived from the middle names of Jane and Ralph, became their future home and the self-sufficient arts community they established.[31]

While they built a new home at *Byrdcliffe* and developed the property with residences for other artists, they continued to live part of the year in Montecito. Finally, in 1911, they sold *Arcady* to George Owen Knapp (1855-1945), a founder of the Union Carbide Company (Myrick, 309-323; Taylor, 4-5). If the Whiteheads were the original

Figure 18. *Arcady* owned by George Owen Knapp from 1911 to 1942. Postcard from the collection of John Fritsche, Santa Barbara.

owners of the *Madonna Enthroned with Saints*, it is likely they left this large terracotta sculpture at *Arcady* rather than have it disassembled and reinstalled at another location.

There is no indication that Knapp had either interest or attraction to this particular genre of art, and thus unlikely that he introduced it to *Arcady*.[32] Furthermore, no mention of the Della Robbia occurs in other accounts of the estate during the years Knapp owned it (Figure 18). For example, in preparation for a visit from members of the Garden Club of America, Knapp (1926) prepared a privately published guide as a memento for each guest that included a complete list of plants and photographs of the various gardens.[33] These illustrations reveal very few outdoor ornamental features. However, in an earlier description of the estate gardens, Garnett (17) described a glazed terracotta relief at *Arcady*. If this comment refers to the Della Robbia, it is most likely the sculpture was *in situ* prior to Knapp's purchase of the property in 1911 and would support the speculation that the Whiteheads introduced it to *Arcady*.

Knapp sold *Arcady* in 1942 to Wilhelm Zimdin (1880-1951), an international financier, entrepreneur, and industrialist who immigrated to the United States in 1939. To escape the escalation of events leading up to World War II, Zimdin abandoned his numerous European properties, many of which contained extraordinary art collections. He settled in California where he established a real estate investment company with his partner and personal secretary, Dezso Karczag (1904-2000). Zimdin from Estonia, and Karczag, from Hungary, first met in the 1930s in France, when they forged a lifelong friendship and business relationship. They were destined not only to partner many real estate ventures, but to found a premier international charity.[34]

By the 1940s, Zimdin's holdings included the Montecito Country Club, *Arcady*, and a large parcel of land in the Pueblo Viejo district of downtown Santa Barbara adjacent to the central Post Office. Included in the purchase of *Arcady* were many works of art, one of which was the *Madonna Enthroned with Saints* (Guess 2016a, 24-26).

Figure 19. Courtyard of "El Presidio" with the Bell Tower over the former location of the Wedding Chapel. Courtesy of Robert Guess.

Zimdin and Karczag employed Santa Barbara architects and contractors to develop a commercial complex on the corner of Anacapa and East De la Guerra Streets that included a restaurant with an outdoor dining area, a number of small boutiques arranged around a central patio, and an intimate Wedding Chapel (Figure 19). In reference to its location adjacent to the Royal Presidio de Santa Bárbara, Zimdin entitled the property "El Presidio." Based on his philosophy that works of art need to be accessible to the public, he selected pieces from his newly acquired collection at *Arcady* to decorate the interior and outdoor spaces of "El Presidio."

Of all the structures in the complex, Zimdin took a special interest in the non-denominational chapel that he hoped would serve as a wedding venue for returning World War II veterans and their brides (Karczag, 261). As the centerpiece for the chapel, he arranged for the Della Robbia to be disassembled at *Arcady*, and mounted above a wrought-iron table that served as an altar (Figure 20).[35]

Figure 20. Sketch of the *Madonna Enthroned with Saints* from "El Presidio" booklet entitled *The Little Chapel of El Presidio* (ca. 1945). Courtesy of Mary Louise Days.

Before permanently installing the sculpture, Karczag determined that it required conservation. He engaged Federico Quinterno (1884-1977), an Italian stonemason and sculptor in Santa Barbara, to examine the terracotta tiles and prepare them for the chapel. Quinterno worked specifically on the figure of Saint Barbara: the first and only record on conservation of this *Madonna Enthroned with Saints*.[36]

The unexpected death of Zimdin in 1951 altered the future of "El Presidio."[37] Karczag was left to settle his estate including the sale of his assets in Santa Barbara that resulted in the subdivision of *Arcady* into multiple properties (Figure 21, next page). Furthermore, Karczag disposed of Zimdin's network of international holdings of which a

large percentage of the funds was left in trust to continue the humanitarian work the partners had begun in 1948 that evolved into the distinguished organization known today as Direct Relief International.[38]

Figure 21. Entry to *Arcady* today. Courtesy of Robert Guess.

For the next decade, the "El Presidio" property changed ownership several times. By 1960, the restaurant closed, most of the small shops were converted into business offices, and the Wedding Chapel shuttered. However, the Della Robbia sculpture remained in place, hidden behind a tapestry, when the former chapel was converted into an interior design studio.[39] Not until 1967 was a sale of the *Madonna Enthroned with Saints* finalized to Sir Daniel Donohue (1919-2004) and Countess Bernardine Murphy Donohue (1904-1968), a couple with a close relationship to the Vatican and a particular friendship with Pope John XXIII.[40] Once again, the sculpture would return to an estate in nearby Montecito.

The Donohues purchased the Della Robbia to complement the renovations of their estate, *Sotto Il Monte* ("beneath the mountain"), named in honor of the birthplace of Pope John XXIII (Crabtree, 20). To oversee the remodeling and landscaping of *Sotto Il Monte*, they engaged Lutah Maria Riggs, who in 1967, drew plans for the placement of the Della Robbia in the main loggia that connected the downstairs formal living room and upstairs bedroom wing (Riggs).[41]

On February 23, 1968, the Della Robbia installation was complete, and the couple was planning to settle into their renovated estate. Ten days later, Mrs. Donohue unexpectedly died. Mr. Donohue eventually resided at *Sotto Il Monte* until 1977 when he sold the estate to associates of a Japanese Corporation. The new owners enclosed the loggia with glass, and altered the décor in keeping with their own artistic preferences and cultural aesthetics. They resold *Sotto Il Monte* in 1986.

Although no documentation yet confirms the ultimate disposition of the *Madonna Enthroned with Saints*, it most likely was disassembled, boxed, and put into storage around the time the loggia was enclosed.[42] No further information has yet to surface regarding its whereabouts from 1986 to 1995 when the anonymous donor left it at Old Mission Santa Barbara.[43]

Records thus indicate this Della Robbia was moved and reassembled several times in Santa Barbara. In each location, it served a different function: first, as a decorative feature at *Arcady* possibly chosen by the Whiteheads in keeping with their attraction to Della Robbia terracotta sculpture; then as an altarpiece in a Wedding Chapel where Wilhelm Zimdin aimed to make art readily available to the public; later, as a devotional shrine in the Donohue's private Montecito estate; and, finally, as a religious sculpture at Old Mission Santa Barbara where it remains under the stewardship of the Franciscan friars.

Della Robbia and Spanish Colonial Art

> *In their migrations through history, many works of art, displaced from their original purpose and content, come to rest in museums, often the end of their travels. They can't speak for themselves, or have their DNA analyzed, but the story of their travels and past ownership would have so much of interest and importance to reveal (Henning, 7).*

This caveat speaks to the importance of provenance for the art held in stewardship at California missions, not only that produced during the Spanish Colonial epoch, but other works that have been added to the collections.[44] Although the exact date and manufacturer of the *Madonna Enthroned with Saints* at Old Mission Santa Barbara cannot yet be verified, part of the path it has traveled has been outlined above. However, a further consideration is how this terracotta sculpture with its artistic origins in the Renaissance relates to Spanish colonial works of art.

The Renaissance spans the years immediately after the Middle Ages in Europe when a revival occurred of the artistic achievements of classical Greek and Roman culture. Artists interpreted such artworks in a new light by focusing on the individual and the natural world, but maintaining many of the classical constraints of form and style. Such resurgence in the classics that occurred in the Renaissance is still evident in the art and architecture of California missions. For example an illustration in Vitruvius' book on architecture influenced the neoclassic façade as well as the interior decorations in the church at Old Mission Santa Barbara (Figure 22, next page).[45] Furthermore, Vitruvius' drawings inspired the painting of the reredos that was in the sanctuary from 1820 to 1925, as well as architectural details such as faux-marble arches, the ceiling ornaments, and pilasters in the nave (Baer 1955, 43). Given this foundation in classical architecture, the presence of the Della Robbia reproduction at this Mission becomes less of an anomaly.

Moreover, Renaissance artists depended on the lore surrounding the lives of early Christian saints recorded in *The Golden Legend* by Jacobus de Voragine to bring these figures to life and imprint them on the memories of Christians by depicting attributes in their works that were approved by the Church.[46] Completed around 1260, these narratives provided artists with an abundant supply of images and biblical stories to portray. Voragine's collection of pious legends included the major figures in the *Madonna Enthroned with Saints*: Saints Barbara, Catherine of Alexandria, James the Greater, Lawrence, Sebastian, and Stephen (Ryan and Ripperger).

Figure 22. Neoclassic façade of Old Mission Santa Barbara after Vitruvius. Courtesy of Robert Guess.

Although influenced by Italian Renaissance iconography, Spanish colonial art has a distinct form of expression based on artistic traditions from Spain as well as Northern Europe (Baer 1956, 35). During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when Spain had dominion over the Netherlands, Spanish artists incorporated innovations in Flemish art into their works, such as refinement in applying oil paints on canvas and the ability to produce multiple copies through engravings. Such engravings and prints, inexpensive to reproduce and to transport, served as a primary means of introducing art to the Americas (Baer 1955, 6-8). Thus, in New Spain, art became an amalgam of European artistic traditions, eventually enlivened by indigenous artists who interjected their own sense of vitality. Their aesthetic preference for bright colors, dramatic expression of emotions, and tendency to illustrate regional devotions set Spanish colonial art apart from European art.[47]

Furthermore, religious, political, and social upheavals in the sixteenth century overshadowed the classic ideals of humanism and naturalism depicted in Renaissance art. The Protestant Revolt led by Martin Luther in 1517 impacted artists as well as the content of their work. Religious images were banned in sections of Northern Europe where Protestantism gained momentum resulting in artists losing patrons and commissions. With Europe pulled asunder by the split between Catholics and Protestants, the Pope summoned Church leaders to the Council of Trent (1545-1563), an ecclesiastical conference to plot new directions to overcome

the spiritual failings exposed by Luther. Art was chosen as a vehicle to invigorate and inspire those who remained faithful to the Church, and became a renewed source of work for artists.

One major effect of this Counter Reformation movement was the imposition of strict guidelines on how artists depicted holy images including their distinctive iconography. In response, artists used images of saints from the Renaissance as a standard to assure the Church hierarchy of homogeneity in religious art. In addition, the ranks of saints swelled as countless men and women purported to have led extraordinary lives of good deeds and holiness were elevated to sainthood. These included several Franciscan friars or members of the Third Order of Saint Francis who had been declared saints by the Papacy or were set on the tract for sainthood. Several California missions are named in honor of these Franciscans (Neuerburg, unpaginated source [4-9, 12-15, 22-23, 30-31, 44-45]).[48]

Visual arts thus became vehicles to impassion religious fervor in the faithful of New Spain, but also to instruct new converts in the story of Christianity. This trend led to a shift away from the ideal and constrained classic figures often portrayed in theatrical-like scenes in Renaissance art to more realistic images that graphically displayed suffering and pain. Images accumulated a wardrobe filled with elaborate costumes; human hair and glass eyes made polychrome statues more lifelike; and vivid red hues emphasized martyrs' wounds displayed in religious paintings. In addition, artists employed new techniques of light and shadow to dramatize scenes. These changes in artistic style heralded the beginning of the Baroque Period, the style that was to dominate Spanish colonial art in the Americas.

The *Madonna Enthroned with Saints* illustrates this continuity between European artistic styles and art produced in New Spain. For example, polychrome statues of Saint Francis and Saint Dominic are frequently paired in California mission churches, a trend that started during the Renaissance as seen in the medallions of both saints that decorate the arch in the Della Robbia. The attributes that identify all the saints in this sculpture have remained the same. The shell motif behind the large images of Saint Barbara and Saint Catherine of Alexandria carried over into Baroque art. What has changed are the representations from the ideal classic figures in the Della Robbia to the powerful Baroque images meant to arouse spiritual awareness by their vivid depictions of angst and suffering.[49]

Today, the *Madonna Enthroned with Saints* occupies a secluded niche at Old Mission Santa Barbara, far removed from the *Tabernacolo delle Fonticine* in Florence commissioned in 1522 as a political and social

statement by disenfranchised immigrants to atone for one of their members bringing the plague to that city. Even though the visual language of this terracotta sculpture originated in the Italian Renaissance, its motifs are in concert with the neoclassic architecture of this Mission's church. That an image of Saint Barbara is a prominent feature in the sculpture further legitimates its place in the Mission's art collection. As such, the reproduction serves as an example of how the legends and identifying attributes of the saints codified during the Renaissance left their mark on Spanish colonial art. It is the religious iconography, blended and reinterpreted through the centuries, that unites these artistic traditions.

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Endnotes

1. Fr. Nevin Ford, OFM, now resides in retirement at New Bethany Residential Care Community in Los Banos, California. In conversations with Fr. Nevin on September 2 and 3, 2016, he recounted his experiences in opening the crates, identifying the work, and reassembling it for display at Old Mission Santa Barbara. His efforts to trace the donation were to no avail.

2. When Fr. Nevin assembled the reproduction, he recalled that the images of Saint Barbara and Saint Catherine were on individual tiles, and the large central panel including the Madonna, the young John the Baptist, Saint James and Saint Lawrence were sculpted in a single large tile. Twenty-four additional tiles completed the tableau. That he had no pattern to follow explains why three medallions with saints' heads on the arch are not in the same position as in the original sculpture.

3. The upper Latin inscription reads: "SALVE VIRGO PARENS TERRARUM CUNTA REGENTIS/SALVE SPES HOMINUM GRATIA VITA SALUS." Burke (87) gives an alternative translation of the inscription: "Hail the Virgin, the ruling mother of the earth! Hail the hope, grace, life, salvation of man."

4. The Italian inscription accounts for the commission: "QUESTO DEVOTO TABERNACHOLO ANO FATTO FARE GLUOMINI DEL REAME DI BELIEME POSTO IN VIA SANCTA CHATERINA MDXXII." Rosenthal (2006, 360) translates the passage as: "The men of the kingdom of Beliemme had this pious tabernacle made and placed in Via Santa Caterina, 1522." The diacritical mark above the "m" on the inscription of the 1522 original Della Robbia indicates it is read as "mm." This mark is missing on the reproduction.

5. See "Art and Monuments of Florence: Tabernacles," (http://www.firenze-oltrarno.net/english/arte/tabernacoli.php) (accessed July 6, 2017). "Tabernacle" here refers to a niche or recess that holds a religious image. These were common decorative features along the medieval streets of Florence, a reminder of an ancient Roman custom where small roadside temples dedicated to local deities were erected to protect travelers. Street "tabernacles" differ from sacramental "tabernacles" that house the Eucharistic Host on altars in Catholic churches.

6. According to Burke (87), Rosenthal was one of the first scholars to make a clear distinction between religious confraternities of Florence and the lay social groups of men who organized themselves into "kingdoms." He referred to these as *potenze*, meaning "powers" in the sense of potentates where artisans and laborers of similar occupations lived and dominated a particular zone of Florence. Burke estimated that approximately forty-five *potenze* existed in mid-sixteenth century Florence.

7. Two examples of private commissions are the narrative fresco scenes in the Arena Chapel painted by Giotto di Bondone (1266-1337) for the Scrovegni family in Padua, and Masaccio's (1401-1428) frescoes in the Brancacci Chapel of Santa Maria del Carmine in Florence. These notable artistic achievements are considered precursors of the Italian Renaissance.

8. Giacomo Brogi (1822-1881) established his photography studio in Florence in 1856. He traveled throughout Italy and the Holy Land documenting monuments and historical sites on albumen prints that were highly sought after as souvenirs by wealthy Europeans touring these areas. He applied a system of numbering each of his prints; his print of *Tabernacolo delle Fonticine* in Florence is numbered 4695. Following his death, his son, Carlo Brogi (1850-1925), continued the business and started his own system of numbering.

9. Rosenthal enlightened the author about discrepancies related to this inscription. Some confusion exists in the literature, not only over the spelling, but also the translation of "Belieme." On the *Tabernacolo delle Fonticine*, a diacritical mark above the "m" indicates it is a double "m" to be read as "Beliemme." Some references prefer the spelling as "Biliemme." Marquand (1920, 155) translates "Beliemme" into English as "Bethlehem." In Italian, Bethlehem is "*Betlemme*." Since workers who carved the inscriptions were often barely literate, the difference could be explained as a misspelling. Such errors appear in "Sancta Barbera," "Sancta Chateria," and "Sancta Chaterina" as well.

10. A heavy shadow perpetually hung over Florence fueled by recollections of the bubonic plague of 1348, as well as an atmosphere of suspicion of travelers who might bring disease into the city. The population of Florence was reduced by over fifty percent in 1348, and the pestilence reappeared on several occasions in the centuries to follow.

11. Five artists are recognized for their major contribution in advancing early Renaissance art: Lorenzo Ghiberti (1378-1455), Masaccio (1401-1428), Filippo Brunelleschi (1377-1446), Donatello (1386-1466), and Luca della Robbia (1400-1482). Of these, Ghiberti, Donatello, and della Robbia were sculptors (Crum and Paoletti, 5-16). Luca della Robbia's achievements included returning to clay as one of the oldest materials used in modeling figures, selecting white rather than red clays to mimic marble, developing a formula for a lead and tin oxide glaze that preserved the color and added luster to the figures as well as an enduring surface, using molds to facilitate reproductions of original works, and creating complex large works by devising a method to connect multiple sections of a relief. His innovative approach integrated painting and sculpture. The long-held family secret to the glazing formula made Della Robbia terracotta sculptures distinct.

12. A regal and restrained Madonna and Child seated upon a throne was one of the most powerful and enduring Byzantine icons. Early Renaissance artists readily adapted the formal depiction of these images by adding more tenderness and softness to the figures, and surrounding them with hosts of angels and saints.

13. Homage to Saint James (Santiago) confirms the importance that pilgrimages to sacred shrines had for Florentines, not only in the environs of Florence, but also along *el Camino de Santiago de Compostela*. The presence of Saint Lawrence in the scene honors him as the patron of Florence as well as the Church of San Lorenzo located within the confines of the Beliemme district.

14. Since Fr. Nevin had no pattern to follow when he assembled the reproduction at Old Mission Santa Barbara, he transposed the heads of Saints Anthony Abbot, Stephen, and Dominic on the side to the Madonna's right. The head of Saint Stephen is located above the figure of Saint Sebastian on the reproduction, that of Saint Anthony Abbot in the middle, and Saint Dominic nearer the top of the arch.

15. This depiction follows Giotta di Bondone's fresco cycle of twenty-eight scenes related to the legend of Saint Francis in which the Son of God appears to Francis, wrapped in angel's wings with golden rays extending from his wounds to the hands, feet, and side of Francis. Painted sometime between 1297 and 1300, it was familiar to most Renaissance artists. See "Legend #19, Stigmatization of St. Francis," http://www.wga.hu/tours/giotto/assisi/index111.html (accessed July 6, 2017).

16. An exhibition of Della Robbia original artworks in 2016 at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and in 2017 at the National Gallery of Art, Washington D. C., reaffirms their significance in Renaissance art. This was the "first American exhibition dedicated to the glazed terracotta sculpture of the Della Robbia (Cambareri, 7)."

17. Completion of the conservation was reported in *The Florentine*, December 12, 2016. A transparent shield in a metal frame, restored as part of the conservation, continues to protect the tabernacle. See http://www.theflorentine.net/news/2016/12/fonticine-tabernacle-restored/ (accessed July 6, 2017).

18. Marquand (1920, 167) suggested that Giovanni della Robbia may have used casts of the heads in the medallions from his *Tabernacolo delle Fonticine* on a larger project for a monastery in Certosa, Italy, completed in 1523. Over sixty heads of saints, apostles, and the evangelists decorated the arcade that surrounded this cloister.

19. Emison's essay on replicated images describes the technologies available during the Renaissance in Florence to reproduce artistic works.

20. Karen Raines, Curator of History at the Mission Inn, and Steven Spiller, Executive Director of the Mission Inn, provided information about this Della Robbia reproduction. It is not behind a protective shield, as is the one at Old Mission Santa Barbara.

21. Interest in the artworks of the della Robbia family experienced an upsurge in the early 1900s with several companies in the eastern United States producing casts and reproductions of Della Robbia works. According to Silvernail (3), Boston was the earliest American city to adopt the della Robbia *oeuvre* as decorations for civic buildings at the turn of the twentieth century. He cites at least twenty-one Della Robbia reproductions in the Boston environs. Most were specifically commissioned polychrome terracotta sculptures, large enough to be displayed as prominent architectural features.

22. Henry Scannell at Boston Public Library provided the author with a high-resolution image of the photograph in the article in order to make the comparison. The author reached this conclusion by comparing Brogi's albumen print of the original Della Robbia to the photograph in the Boston Sunday Post, October 29, 1911.

23. The reproduction was placed above a marble altar located in the main sanctuary of the church. This *Madonna Enthroned with Saints* was considered not only a devotional adjunct to the religious services, but also of educational value to art lovers.

24. Plotkin predicted the fate of the church: "On Centre St., Roxbury, All Saints Church will be taken. But the building housing the rectory, an early 19th century, Bulfinch-type structure, may be saved."

25. Byron Rushing of the Roxbury Historical Society provided additional data on the destruction of the church. After an exhaustive search of historical records, Archive Assistant at the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Boston, MaryJo Donzella, uncovered no photographic or written data on the Della Robbia reproduction at All Saints Church. It is of interest that German immigrants settled this section of Roxbury in the Boston area towards the end of the nineteenth century. A question arises if there could be any cultural memory in these Roxbury parishioners that would have inspired them to select this particular sculpture for their parish church, the original of which was commissioned in 1522 by German textile workers in Florence.

26. In the late nineteenth century as train travel extended to California, Santa Barbara became a desirable vacation destination for prominent easterners. Adjacent Montecito with its hilly terrain, ocean views, and open spaces offered an ideal location to establish lavish estates. As a result, it developed into an exclusive enclave that remains such today.

27. The Arts and Crafts Movement, an international campaign that arose in Europe around the 1850s, spread to America between 1880 and 1910. As a reaction to the rapid industrialization and mechanization of this era, it encouraged a return to traditional methods of producing handcrafted items using simple forms and styles of decoration.

28. See "Cantagalli Pottery and the Magic Cockerel" by Tiziana Manzetti, http://www.thatsarte.com/blog/highlights/cantagalli-pottery/ (accessed July 6, 2017).

29. Since no data could be found to link the reproduction definitively to the Whiteheads, it is possible only to speculate that they purchased the Della Robbia from one of several Italian pottery factories that thrived in the mid to late nineteenth century. Because of the size and complexity of this piece, most likely it would have been commissioned rather than readily available at the factory or offered through a catalogue. To verify if the *Madonna Enthroned with Saints* at Old Mission Santa Barbara was produced at the Cantagalli factory, the tiles would have to be removed and examined for the trademark. To date, this has not been done. Fr. Nevin does not recall seeing such a trademark on any of the tiles as he assembled and installed the sculpture.

30. One of Whitehead's first acts at *Byrdcliffe* in 1902 was to erect an outdoor Della Robbia *Madonna and Child* near where he planned to construct the future home for Jane and their two young sons. The shrine today marks his gravesite at *Byrdcliffe*. He died in 1929, and Jane lived at *Byrdcliffe* until her death in 1955.

31. In her doctoral dissertation, Nasstrom (140-182) analyzed Jane Whitehead's contributions to the Arts and Crafts Movement, and to the development of *Arcady* and *Byrdcliffe*. She is one of the few scholars to focus specifically on the life of Jane Whitehead who was often overshadowed by her husband.

32. In communications with Benjamin R. Taylor, great-grandson of Knapp, July 9, 15, and 23, 2015, he commented that neither he nor anyone in his family had any recollection of the Della Robbia sculpture at *Arcady*. Knapp made frequent trips to Europe in the 1920s to attend auctions and purchase monumental statues, art, and furnishings for *Arcady*. None of his documented acquisitions included a Della Robbia.

33. This special edition was presented to the members of the Garden Club of America who visited *Arcady* on April 15, 1926.

34. Karczag and Zimdin had relatives and friends who perished in or barely survived World War II. At the end of the war, they sent countless packages of food and medical supplies to Europe in hopes of easing the deprivation. This fledgling humanitarian effort eventually led to the development of Direct Relief International (Karczag, 156).

35. Note that the three medallions of heads to the Madonna's right were also transposed when the reproduction was installed in the Wedding Chapel. There is no way to determine the position of these medallions when the *Madonna Enthroned with Saints* was at *Arcady*.

36. Federico Quinterno (1884-1977) immigrated from Alba, Italy, to San Francisco in 1914 to work on the Palace of Fine Arts for the Panama-Pacific Exposition. In 1925, he moved to Santa Barbara where he worked as a sculptor as well as alongside other Italian stonemasons. In conversations with Oswald (Ozzie) da Ros on May 13 and November 23, 2015, Mr. da Ros recalled that Quinterno had a studio behind his home on South Canada Street.

37. "William Zimdin, World Financier and El Presidio Builder, Dies Suddenly." *Santa Barbara News-Press*, March 5, 1951, A-6.

38. Dezso Karczag guided Direct Relief International until his death in 2000. This thriving organization based in Goleta, California, continues to provide disaster relief to over sixty countries throughout the world. For a brief history, see *Direct Relief International 60th Anniversary – A History*, narrated by Stanley C. Hatch, 2008, and accessible on YouTube by that title (accessed July 6, 2017).

39. An announcement of the newly opened interior design studio of Gene Schneider, Inc. located in the former "Little Chapel of El Presidio," appeared in *Santa Barbara News-Press*, August 6, 1961, H-3. Photo taken from the entrance to the studio revealed the Della Robbia sculpture covered with what appears to be a cloth or tapestry. In conversations with Schneider's partner, Richard Byars, December 1 and December 21, 2015, Byars recalled that he and Schneider opened their interior design business at El Presidio Properties in the early 1960s using the former chapel as a showroom. At that time the Della Robbia was still in its original location mounted on the wall.

40. In recognition of his associations with Popes Pius XII, John XXIII, and Paul VI, Sir Daniel was awarded several papal honors including being named "Gentleman of His Holiness," the highest award given by the Church to a layman. Pope John XXIII had also conferred on Bernardine Donohue the title of "Papal Countess" in recognition of the couple's philanthropy on behalf of the Catholic Church. See obituaries in the *Los Angeles Times* for details on the lives of Sir Daniel Donohue (December 6, 2014) and Countess Bernardine Murphy Donohue (March 7, 1968).

41. Riggs (1896-1984), a renowned Santa Barbara architect, began her career assisting George Washington Smith. She was a close friend of the Donohues and worked at their estate in Los Angeles, *Villa San Guiseppe*, as well as at *Sotto Il Monte*. In March 1967, the Donohues purchased the Della Robbia from Irene Hayes Suski, the owner of El Presidio Properties at that time. Riggs finalized the plans in October 1967 for its installation at *Sotto Il Monte*.

42. Conversations with Oswald (Ozzie) da Ros on May 13 and November 23, 2015. Mr. da Ros, a talented stonemason and longtime resident of Santa Barbara, worked with Lutah Maria Riggs on the stonework used in landscaping the Donohue estate of *Sotto Il Monte* and their *Villa San Guiseppe* in Los Angeles, and was familiar with some of the changes made after Mr. Donohue sold *Sotto Il Monte.*

43. Since the crates containing the disassembled Della Robbia sculpture that reached Old Mission Santa Barbara were inscribed with Japanese lettering, and the Montecito Country Club was owned and operated by the Japanese Corporation from 1973-2004, it is possible that these crates were moved in 1986 when *Sotto Il Monte* was sold and stored at the Country Club. Major interior renovations of the Club were made in 1995, the same year that the sculpture arrived at the Mission.

44. In the introduction to an exhibit of New Mexican retablos, Robert Henning, Chief Curator at the Santa Barbara Museum of Art from 1981-2003, emphasized the importance for curators to collect historical information from donors at the time of an acquisition.

45. A Spanish translation in 1787 of the architectural book written by Marcus Vitruvius Pollio in the first century B.C. remains in the Santa Bárbara Mission Archive-Library. It is believed that images from his *De Architectura* were used in the design of the façade of the Mission church constructed between 1815 and 1820.

46. Voragine (c. 1230-1298), a thirteenth-century Dominican friar, compiled a compendium of pious tales, some fictional, that became one of the most popular and well-known manuscripts of the Middle Ages. Much of the iconography in religious art originated from Voragine's narratives and eventually was incorporated into the teachings of the Catholic Church. The imagery from these stories that Renaissance artists applied in their *oeuvres* persisted through the centuries.

47. Colonial artists produced many paintings of local devotional images, most related to the Madonna, throughout the Americas. Such images were based on regional legends and portrayed miraculous events often transmitted orally from generation to generation.

48. Added to the ranks of saints were: San Francisco de Asis, Santa Clara de Asis, San Antonio de Padua, San Juan Capistrano, San Fernando Rey de España, San Luis Rey de Francia, San Buenaventura, San Luis Obispo de Tolosa, San Carlos Borromeo, San Diego de Alcalá, and San Francisco Solano. Each mission usually acquired a polychrome statue and/or an oil painting on canvas of its patron, clearly identified by iconography that developed during the Renaissance and soon after. See Neuerburg's descriptive accounts; these are unpaginated.

49. Compare the unmarked body of Saint Sebastian in the *Madonna Enthroned with Saints* to Baroque paintings of this saint with multiple arrows piercing the flesh; or, the rock on the head of Saint Stephen in the *Tabernacolo delle Fonticine* to Baroque paintings of the martyr on the ground being stoned by an angry throng.

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ENVIRONMENTAL CHANGE IN THE TOLAY VALLEY

The Impacts of Spanish, Mexican, and American Colonialism on the Ecosystems of Central California

Peter A. Nelson

> *"...we found the large lake of* Tolay, *so called after the Chief of the Indians, who in former times settled in that vicinity...the aforesaid hills are sufficiently covered with grass, [and] makes it convenient for the raising of a large number of cattle at this locality."*
>
> – Father Jose Altimira (1823), during the third day (June 27, 1823) of an expedition north of San Francisco to establish a site for Mission San Francisco Solano.

About the Author
Peter Nelson (Coast Miwok) is an assistant professor of American Indian Studies at San Diego State University and a tribal citizen of the Federated Indians of Graton Rancheria from Marin and Southern Sonoma Counties, California. Trained in the field of North American archaeology with an emphasis on Indigenous archaeology and community-engaged research with Native American tribes, his research strives to address questions and initiatives of interest to the tribes with which he partners. Recently, he has worked with the Federated Indians of Graton Rancheria on projects at Tolay Lake Regional Park and Point Reyes National Seashore and the Amah Mutsun Tribal Band at Pinnacles National Park and the Santa Cruz coast. These research projects investigate environmental change through time, Indigenous landscape management, climate change impacts to tribal heritage, and the ways in which California Indian peoples negotiated, incorporated, resisted, and refused colonial influences on their lives in the past few centuries.

Much of Central California is a land of rolling hills covered with grasses and dotted with oaks. In the dry summer months, these hills turn golden, and during the wet winter months, these hills become bright green. From a distance, it seems as though this is a very natural, pastoral scene. However, extensive, persistent grasslands along California's central coast are not natural at all. If there is no disturbance to keep a grassland open, shrubs and trees will eventually establish themselves in the area and create dense chaparral or forest (Cuthrell 2013a, 267, Keeley 2002). Fire ignited by lightning strikes is the primary source of natural disturbance, and Central California is one of the regions with the lowest occurrence of natural lightning fire in the entire state (Lightfoot and Parrish 2009, 108). For extensive grasslands to be maintained here, fires must be regularly ignited by people.

In the past, Native American people set fires regularly to maintain grasslands and open landscapes in Central California. However, landscape-scale fires are a rare occurrence in Central California to-

day, because indigenous practices of burning and maintaining the landscape were interrupted and dramatically changed by colonial institutions and policies beginning in the late 18th century (Cuthrell 2013a, b, Greenlee and Langenheim 1990, Mensing and Byrne 1998, Preston 1997). The establishment of Spanish missions and the removal of Native American people from their homes set the precedent for very different land use practices in the post-contact era, culminating in legislation by the early 20th century restricting massive burning, whether fires were deliberately, accidentally or naturally set (Greenlee and Langenheim 1990). Today, grasslands and open prairies throughout Central California are primarily maintained by grazing cattle. But unlike regimes of Native American burns, which create a diverse, patchy mosaic of different vegetation types, grazing cattle, agriculture and logging have contributed to a much more homogenous open space environment full of invasive species of grasses.

In this article, I will briefly review the literature on landscape management and colonial impacts on the Californian environment. Then, I will present eco-archaeological evidence from the Tolay Valley, near Petaluma, California, as a case study investigating the vegetation history of this valley and the types of management that were employed to maintain this area. I will conclude with some remarks about the timing and extent of ecological disturbance and where we are now in terms of the need to reincorporate fire management into the practices that parks and other land managing agencies use to care for the open spaces of Central California.

Landscape Management in California

California is unique in that Native American peoples of this region engaged in hunting and gathering subsistence practices from time immemorial to modern times and also maintained some of the highest population densities in North America north of Mexico (Lightfoot and Parrish 2009, 4-5). High population densities and complex societies have traditionally been thought to result from more intensive subsistence strategies such as agriculture, and thus, the California case puzzled scholars throughout the early twentieth century and defied these traditional theoretical models (Jones and Raab 2004, Price and Bar-Yosef 2011, 166). Some early scholars such as Alfred Kroeber proposed that the California environment was benign and plentiful, providing essentially a land of paradise that could support a large population without the transition from foraging to farming (Jones and Raab 2004, 4, Kroeber 1925, 524).

However, instead of engaging in agriculture, most California Indian peoples found other ways of increasing the productivity and bio-

diversity of the land by practicing a suite of landscape management techniques (Anderson 2005, Bean and Lawton 1976, Lightfoot and Parrish 2009). These techniques included coppicing, pruning, harrowing, sowing, weeding, burning, digging, thinning, and selective harvesting (Anderson 2005). Controlled, low-intensity burning was one of the techniques that had the most dramatic impact on the landscape, and the reasons for burning and benefits of fire were diverse. Burning was used for the following purposes: hunting, crop management, improving growth and yields, fireproofing areas, collecting insects, managing pests, warfare and signaling, economic extortion, clearing areas for travel, felling trees, clearing riparian areas, reducing fuel loads and protecting settlements against massive forest fires, disposing of slash, preparing for replanting, thinning stands, increasing plant growth, improving wildlife and fish habitats, changing hydrologic processes, and improving aesthetic environments (Williams 2002, 2003). Controlled burns in tandem with other landscape management practices were integral to sustaining California Indian societies and the health and habitability of the environments in which California Indians lived.

Despite a vast literature on how California Indians and other Native Americans shaped their environments, especially in regards to anthropogenic burning (Anderson 2005, Bird et al. 2008, Blackburn and Anderson 1993, Keeley 2002, LaLande and Pullen 1999, Lightfoot and Parrish 2009, Pyne 1991, Stewart 2002), a number of authors have argued that Native American people did not have profound impacts on the environment or influence the adaptation of certain plants to fire (Butzer 1992, Denevan 1992, Doolittle 1992, Krech III 1999, Russell 1983, Sale 1990, Vale 1998, 2002, Whitney 1994). Vale (1998, 231) argued that the re-envisioning of the California landscape as largely shaped by indigenous land management is a new myth of a humanized landscape that is replacing the old myth of a pristine, benign landscape. Vale (1998, 232) further critiqued scholars writing about indigenous landscape management in California for their heavy reliance on ethnographic and ethnohistoric sources to support their interpretations. Vale (1998, 2002) demands empirical evidence to be used to evaluate whether the California landscape was in whole or in part, pristine or humanized.

Studies responding to Vale (2002, 1998) and other skeptics are beginning to produce the physical evidence required to evaluate environmental change and indigenous fire management in Central California. A new eco-archaeological approach to the study of fire management in the Santa Cruz region was developed in collaboration with the Amah Mutsun Tribal Band of Ohlone/Coastanoan peoples, the University of California at Berkeley, the University of

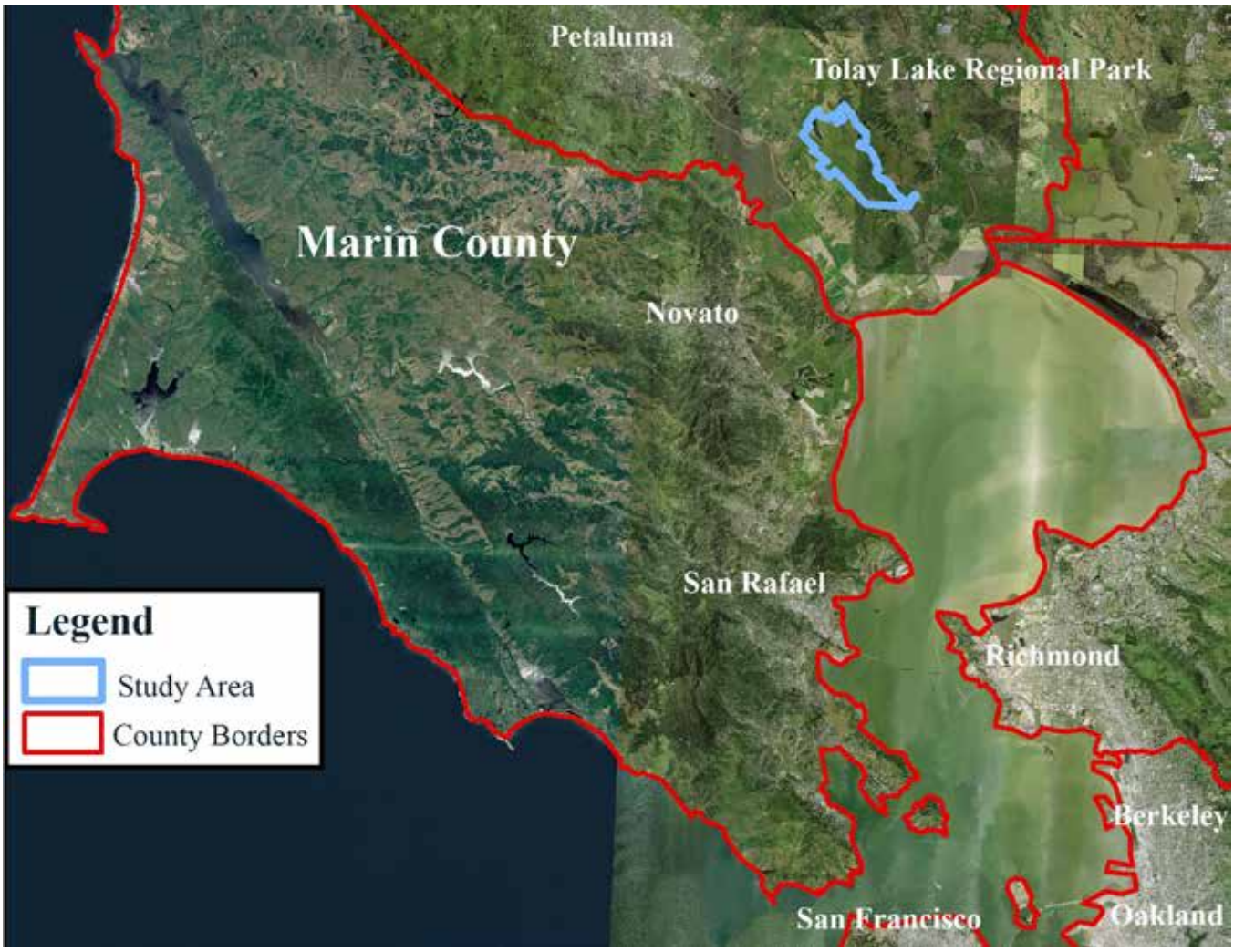

Figure 1. The boundary of Tolay Lake Regional Park where the Tolay Archaeology Project took place.

California at Santa Cruz, and the San Francisco Estuary Institute (Cuthrell 2013b, Lightfoot and Parrish 2009, 120-121, Lopez 2013). This project, specifically investigating evidence from Año Nuevo State Park, Quiroste Valley, and Pinnacles National Park, involves California Indian scholars, archaeologists and ecologists employing the analysis of pollen, charcoal, phytoliths, fire scars on tree rings, archaeological and paleobotanical remains, as well as incorporating Amah Mutsun knowledge and oral tradition into the design and findings of the project (Cowart and Byrne 2013, Cuthrell 2013a, b, Cuthrell, Hylkema, and Collins 2013, Evett and Cuthrell 2013, Fine et al. 2013, Gifford-Gonzalez, Boone, and Reid 2013, Hylkema and Cuthrell 2013, Lightfoot, Cuthrell, et al. 2013, Lightfoot and Lopez 2013, Lightfoot, Nelson, et al. 2013, Lightfoot and Parrish 2009). The findings from this study are that coastal prairie and grassland habitats were maintained through controlled burns for centuries if not millennia by Native American people along the Santa Cruz coast (Cuthrell 2013a, b).

Related to the diligent work taking place on the Santa Cruz coast, the Tolay Archaeology Project was developed in 2012 in collabora-

tion with the Federated Indians of Graton Rancheria, the University of California at Berkeley, the Sonoma Land Trust, and the Sonoma County Regional Parks Department. The Tolay Archaeology Project employs an innovative strategy of eco-archaeological and botanical sampling similar to the strategy used by Cuthrell (2013a, b), Lightfoot, Cuthrell, et al. (2013) and Lightfoot, Nelson, et al. (2013) in order to learn more about the historical ecology of the Tolay Valley (see figure 1 for location of Tolay Lake Regional Park, previous page) and the land management practices that were employed by Indigenous peoples such as the Coast Miwok of this area. The evidence-based results from the Tolay Valley expand the geographic area and time depth of the study of past environments and indigenous land management in Central California further north and further back in time.

The Significance of the Tolay Valley

If you have ever driven through the Petaluma Valley between San Rafael and Santa Rosa or through the Sonoma Valley on a day trip in "wine country," you may have noticed the low-lying southern vestiges of the Sonoma Mountains separating these two valleys. Many people pass by this small ridgeline that stretches down to Sears Point and San Pablo Bay without ever knowing that there is a valley within it, hidden away from sight. This is the valley that we know of today as Tolay (see figure 1 for location of Tolay Lake Regional Park).

The Tolay Valley, like the Sonoma and Petaluma Valleys beside it, was home to multiple villages of Coast Miwok-speaking peoples. Before contact with Europeans, Native American habitation and use of the Tolay Valley was very well established and long-standing for thousands of years, which contributes to the deep sense of ancestral ties that contemporary Coast Miwok and other tribal peoples have to this area. The presence of marine shell at one of the villages in the valley dating to about 7,400 years ago also attests to the importance of this place as a significant, long-term occupation site, because it is one among very few ancestral village sites of this age in the North San Francisco Bay Area (Nelson 2017).

The people living within and around the Tolay Valley referred to themselves as the *Alaguali* (Milliken 2009, 75-76). The *Alaguali* were responsible for caring for and maintaining this area, including one of its defining features, the mile-long, sacred lake in the northern end of the valley referred to as Tolay Lake (see figure 2), a name first recorded by Father Jose Altimira (1823, 1860) in a journal entry from June 27, 1823. The *Alaguali* also allowed or invited many other tribal peoples from near and distant territories to take part in ceremonies and spiritual activities within the valley until the early 1800s when

Figure 2. The seasonally wet lakebed of Tolay Lake (bright green area in the center of the photo) from the low west ridge of the Tolay Valley, looking northeast towards the Sonoma Mountains.

Spanish padres and military men systematically and forcibly moved the *Alaguali* into several of the San Francisco Bay Area missions.

Even after *Alaguali* people were removed from the Tolay Valley, an early American settler, J. B. Lewis, wrote that Native American people returned to the Tolay Valley to hold ceremonies and hunt and gather until Tolay Lake was drained by William Bihler in the 1870s (Moorehead 1910, 109). Since the 1870s, Coast Miwok people have returned to the Tolay Valley and reaffirmed their connection to it, though it is not a place where Coast Miwok people live permanently today. Contemporary Coast Miwok engagement with the Tolay Valley and reaffirmation of the valley's significance for Coast Miwok people is reflected in the partnership between the Federated Indians of Graton Rancheria and the Sonoma County Regional Parks Department to develop and co-manage this area together.

Despite the draining of Tolay Lake and years of disturbance to this area from agricultural and ranching activities, many features of the valley still hold great significance for Coast Miwok people today. The Tolay Valley is centrally located between four sacred mountains, Mount Tamalpais, Mount Burdell, Mount Saint Helena, and Mount Diablo. These mountains are viewable separately or in combination from different points within the valley or on the ridgetops above (see figure 3, next page). These viewsheds, the lake or now-dry lakebed, the individual villages, tool production sites, carvings in rock outcroppings, and the ceremonial activities that were performed in the valley all contribute to the sense of this very sacred place. These elements of the landscape are important for what they are and for what they can teach as mnemonic markers or pieces of a cultural text that are embedded in the landscape (Sarris 2003).

Grasslands and Landscape Management in the Tolay Valley

When Father Jose Altimira (1823, 1860) walked through the Tolay Valley in the summer of 1823 on his way to establish a site for Mission

Figure 3. Two of the sacred mountains looking southwest from the low west ridge of the Tolay Valley. These mountains are *Tamal Pais* or West/Coast Mountain (Mount Tamalpais) and *Olom Pais* or South Mountain (Mount Burdell).

San Francisco Solano, he observed open grasslands that supported large herds of deer and elk that roamed from Olompali to Sonoma. Altimira (1860, 61) also noted that there were blackened hills in the Sonoma Valley from Native American people burning the landscape. Altimira (1823, 1860) did not write down that he saw any *Alaguali* people, the Coast Miwok group residing in the Tolay Valley, on his journey. However, mission baptismal records can give us some indication of the dates of removal of *Alaguali* people from the Tolay Valley. It is important to note, though, that these baptismal records do not account for people who potentially could have hidden from the mission fathers within the Tolay Valley, others who might have sought refuge with other groups and returned or used the area seasonally or intermittently, and still others who might have obtained permission to revisit the Tolay Valley from the mission to which they were relocated.

Acknowledging that there are imprecisions in this information, the baptismal dates of people from the Tolay Valley can be used as a proxy for verifying the approximate dates for when Indigenous people were residing in the Tolay Valley. With this in mind, the names of the first *Alaguali* people to be baptized from the Tolay Valley were entered into the mission records in 1811 and the last baptisms were recorded in 1818 (Milliken 2009, 75). This may mean that by the time Altimira walked through the Tolay Valley, only about five years had passed since the last *Alaguali* people or year-round Indigenous residents and land managers had ceased residing in this area. Five years is still too little time for large-scale vegetation conversion from grassland to another vegetation type. Hence, the open grasslands that Altimira

observed in the Tolay Valley are probably representative of the vegetation that existed before Europeans arrived in Central California when these areas were still actively managed with fire.

Now with the eco-archaeological evidence gathered as part of the Tolay Archaeology Project, the persistence and antiquity of the vegetation type that Altimira observed in the early 1800s can be evaluated. For this project, one site in the Tolay Valley was investigated, which will be referred to as TAP-39. TAP-39 is a pseudonym to protect the identity and location of this site from those who would potentially seek to damage it.

Figure 4. Charred, native grass (*Poaceae*) seeds from soil samples at TAP-39.

Though there is some variation in the proportions of plant and animal taxa across TAP-39, the assemblage of botanical and faunal materials indicate that the majority of resources used by the people living at this site were grassland resources (Nelson 2017). Grasses (*Poaceae*) are more proportionally abundant than any other kind of plant throughout contexts representing hundreds if not thousands of years of history at TAP-39 (Nelson 2017) (see figure 4). Clover (*Trifolium*), the leaves of which were eaten as a green (Kelly 1991, 42, Smith 2014, 25-26), are also highly abundant on site. Grasses (*Poaceae*) and tarweeds (*Madia*) would have been toasted, ground and made into pinole or seed cakes (Kelly 1991, Smith 2014). Acorns from oaks (*Quercus*), peppernuts from bay laurel trees (*Umbellularia*), soaproot (*Chlorogalum*) and varieties of "Indian potatoes" (*Brodiaea*) were also present at TAP-39 and would have been prepared and eaten (Kelly 1991, Smith 2014).

Although the valley was primarily composed of grassland vegetation, the analysis of charred wood from TAP-39 contributes greater resolution to the picture of the pre-contact environment in the Tolay Valley. The vegetation within this valley was also composed of extensive stands of shrubs such as Ceanothus (*Ceanothus*), California coffeeberry (*Frangula*), coyote brush (Baccharis), toyon (*Heteromeles*), and California wax myrtle (*Morella*) (DeAntoni 2015). Ceanothus flowers were used for soap (Goodrich, Lawson, and Lawson 1980, 23), coffeeberry bark was prepared as a tea (Kelly 1991, 137), and toyon was eaten after parching in ashes or being boiled (Kelly 1991, 50, 222). Some of these shrubs such as Ceanothus (*Ceanothus*) and California wax myrtle (*Morella*) are not currently growing in the valley today

(LSA Associates Inc. 2007, 2009). Oak woodlands (*Quercus*), willow (*Salix*), and California bay laurel (*Umbellularia*) were also abundant in gullies, drainages, and riparian zones in pre-contact times as well as today (DeAntoni 2015, LSA Associates Inc. 2007, 2009). Willow is an important weaving material commonly used in the warp of twined baskets (Kelly 1991, 137, Shanks and Woo Shanks 2006, 17).

In addition to a diverse array of plants, rodents (*Rodentia*) and deer (*Odocoileus*) are abundant at TAP-39. Also within the faunal assemblage, only jack-rabbits (*Lepus californicus*) are found at TAP-39 rather than brush rabbits (*Sylvilagus bachmani*). Jack-rabbits (*Lepus californicus*) are adapted to open grasslands and prairies rather than the chaparral environments that provide cover for brush rabbits (*Sylvilagus bachmani*). People living in the Tolay Valley also hunted and ate waterfowl such as ducks (*Anas*) and geese (*Anserinae*) that were passing through the valley on migratory routes. The fishes that were abundant at TAP-39 were Sacramento Splittail (*Pogonichthys macrolepidotus*), sturgeon (*Acipenser transmontanus*), and bat ray (*Myliobatus californicus*), which are all resources that most likely would have been procured from the sloughs at the edge of San Pablo Bay or the nearby Petaluma, Tolay, and Sonoma Creeks.

The persistence of great numbers of grassland/shrubland-adapted plants and animals in the Tolay Valley for over hundreds if not thousands of years in the eco-archaeological data indicate that these lands were routinely managed with controlled burns set by Indigenous peoples such as the *Alaguali* tribe of Coast Miwok people. In order to keep grasslands open and halt the encroachment of larger shrubs and trees, controlled burning or some other intensive land management strategy is necessary (Cuthrell 2013a, b, Lightfoot, Cuthrell, et al. 2013, Lightfoot and Parrish 2009).

The Environmental Impacts of Colonization

The timing associated with the introduction of invasive plant species in Central California is a matter of some debate, but by the mid-1800s, invasive species were well established in the grasslands of the Central Valley of California (Mensing and Byrne 1998, 761). Settlers engaged in cattle ranching and agricultural activities for decades before the mid-1800s and either allowed invasive species to occasionally "escape" or intentionally seeded hardy Eurasian grasses to support their livestock, resulting in the establishment of expansive communities of invasive species across the California landscape (Golovnin 1979, Kotzebue 1830, Lightfoot, Wake, and Schiff 1991, Preston 1997, Wrangell and Kostromitonov 1974). Macrobotanical and pollen analyses of the mud bricks from adobe buildings also indicate that some

of these invasive plants such as filaree (*Erodium cicutarium*) were introduced and well established prior to the establishment of the Spanish missions in Alta California (Hendry 1931, Mensing and Byrne 1998).

Some scholars such as Preston (1997) assert that these pre-mission and early colonial impacts were more severe than what is suggested by Mensing and Byrne (1998). Preston (1997) asserts that the abundant herds of animals observed by early colonists are evidence of environmental impacts that swept across the North American continent at first contact. In this argument, disease was responsible for severely reducing the Native American population and relieving the hunting pressure on animals whose numbers drastically rebounded. However, Preston (1997) did not consider that these large herds were the result of land management practices as argued by Anderson (2005).

The resolution of the data from the Tolay Archaeology Project is not precise enough to assess the timing of invasive species introduction and population declines before or during the historic period in California. However, Liebmann et al. (2016) were able to evaluate those questions in the Southwest using estimates of population based on archaeological and historical sources as well as estimates of fire frequency based on dendrochronology. Liebmann et al. (2016) found that pre-mission populations in the Southwest were stable and did not decrease until Native American people were removed from their homes and confined to the missions. After relocating Native Americans to the missions, major environmental changes occurred in the Southwest (Liebmann et al. 2016).

Even though there were early introductions of invasive species such as filaree (*Erodium cicutarium*) in California, Mensing and Burne (1998, 761) also suggest that the vast conversions of native to non-native grasses occurred later and were facilitated by overgrazing after the establishment of the missions. Overgrazing and other impacts of colonialism as well as the removal of Native American peoples from the landscape led to the replacement of 80-90% of native perennial grasses (Mensing and Byrne 1998, 757; 761). Even if controlled burns were executed by farmers clearing fields, the non-native annual grasses were denser and tended to burn hotter than perennial grasses, contributing to the removal of woody vegetation (Greenlee and Langenheim 1990). The removal of woody vegetation and replacement with non-native grasses as pasture or agricultural fields contributed to the creation of a more homogenous grassland than existed previously (Greenlee and Langenheim 1990, 246). In the Tolay Valley, woody plants such as Ceanothus (*Ceanothus*), California coffeeberry (*Frangula*), coyote brush (*Baccharis*), toyon, (*Heteromeles*), and Califor-

nia wax myrtle (*Morella*) were reduced in number or removed from the landscape altogether by settlers grazing their animals and growing their crops along the hillsides and in the valley bottoms.

As the environment and availability of resources changed throughout the nineteenth century, California Indian people had to also change and adapt their subsistence strategies in order to survive. In the 1830s and 1840s, Coast Miwok and other California Indian laborers working and living near the Petaluma Adobe located to the north of the Tolay Valley at times had access to and used both non-native and native taxa of plants and animals for food (Silliman 2004, 2000). These laborers received non-native foods as well as goods as payment for labor from the ranches where they worked (Silliman 2004, 23). However, there are no accounts of where these laborers from the Petaluma Adobe were going to gather wild resources during this time. A slightly later account between the 1850s and 1870s from J. B. Lewis suggests the possibility that California Indian people laboring at the Petaluma Adobe were provisioning themselves with native plant and animal resources along the Petaluma River and in the Tolay Valley (Moorehead 1910, 109). Lewis suggests that these California Indians were from a tribe living near Petaluma who had suffered from a contagious disease some time before he had arrived, possibly indicating that these people were the California Indian laborers who had worked at the Petaluma Adobe and had lived through the smallpox epidemic of 1838 (Moorehead 1910, 109). These California Indian people would fish for sturgeon in the Petaluma River or San Pablo Bay and observe ceremonies at Tolay Lake (Moorehead 1910, 109). As indicated by the archaeological materials at TAP-39, California Indian people also brought a very small amount of European foods such as barley (*Hordeum vulgare*) and beef (*Bos taurus*) into the Tolay Valley during the Historic Period. The vast majority of the foods present at TAP-39 are native species of plants and animals.

There are many possible interpretations for this situation in which there is an abundance of non-native foods and a paucity of native foods at the ranches and the inverse at sites in the Tolay Valley. One possible interpretation could have been that access to non-native, domesticated foods was limited at the ranches, and so provisioning trips would have been necessary for Coast Miwok and other California Indian laborers to procure enough food to survive. An alternative may be that the time spent away from the centers of colonial power (that is, the mission quadrangles, the rancho adobes, etc.) was when Coast Miwok and other California Indian people could more freely re-engage with and take refuge in indigenous cultural practices, foods, and places (Panich and Schneider 2014, Schneider 2010, 2015).

Conclusion

The encroachment of the Spanish missions in the late 18th and early 19th century in Central California set the stage for vast environmental impacts to the California landscape in a couple of key ways. The missions introduced annual grasses that out compete the native perennial grasses in many areas establishing homogenous stands of non-native grasses. The new non-native species of grasses were adapted to the heavy grazing of domesticated livestock and proliferated throughout California, whereas native species of grasses were not accustomed to heavy grazing and were severely reduced. The missions also removed Native American people from the landscape and thereby suppressed indigenous land management practices that are an integral part of maintaining the biodiversity and health of the California environment.

Eco-archaeological evidence from the Tolay Archaeology Project corroborates Altimira's (1823, 1860) early historic account that Tolay was an open grassland environment with some trees on the hilltops and in the canyons. The evidence for persistent grassland environments in the Tolay Valley extends hundreds if not thousands of years Before Present and suggests that the landscape was actively and routinely maintained by California Indians. These Indigenous land management regimes remained intact until the early nineteenth century when the missionaries began baptizing *Alaguali* people from the Tolay Valley and removing them from their homes to reside and labor in the Spanish missions.

When the eco-archaeological evidence generated during the Tolay Archaeology Project (Nelson 2017) is compared with contemporary biological surveys conducted in the Tolay Valley (LSA Associates Inc. 2009, 2007), the impacts from Spanish, Mexican, and American colonialism on the environment are clear. Non-native grasses now dominate the Tolay Valley, and the once abundant native flora and fauna have been severely reduced in number. Some native species of plants have been removed from the valley altogether. In thinking about how to restore and manage this area in the future, native plants as well as Indigenous land management practices will need to be re-introduced and regularly practiced in order to successfully maintain the health and biodiversity of the area. This reintroduction of Indigenous land management practices, including opportunities for Native peoples such as the Coast Miwok to gather materials traditionally used for food, tools, basketry, and medicine, can help to restore the landscape and promote and sustain the cultural practices taught to future generations.

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CALIFORNIA INDIANS, FRANCISCANS, AND THE MYTH OF EVANGELICAL SUCCESS

Dr. Jonathan Cordero

> *"Every soul converted means that much success, and since the salvation of one soul is regarded as of more importance than the most brilliant worldly achievement, the missionaries in saving many thousand Indians were eminently successful."* – Zephyrin Engelhardt

The Junípero Serra canonization controversy of 2015 reignited a critical examination of Spanish colonization. Much of the criticism levied against the missionaries and the mission system tended to focus as expected upon the high rates of death (often couched in the language of genocide)[1], the use of corporal punishment (often labeled abusive), and the rigid labor system (often referred to as slavery). Seldom, however, did the critiques address the relative success or failure of the missionaries' religious objectives. As Zephyrin Engelhardt (1908) contends, the "success or failure of the missionary efforts must be gauged" by their primary aim—"the conversion of souls to Christ"[2] (284). While the missionaries were certainly much more than evangelists, Engelhardt's assertion nonetheless begs for a more systematic analysis of conversion.

The "conversion of souls to Christ" counts as the highest calling among Catholics and has been used to justify the consequences of the Spanish colonization and to support the romanticization of the mission period in California. Remarkably, in pro-Franciscan scholarship, the claim of evangelical success remains critically unexamined and poorly substantiated. The selective use of quantitative and qualitative data by scholars provides evidentiary support for the notion of evangelical success, but the scholarship nonetheless retains a confirmation bias[3]. As such, the unsystematic analyses inhibits scientific determinateness, which in part has led James Sandos (2004) to suggest that "the question of success is irrelevant" (175). For California Indians, however, the question of

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Dr. Jonathan Cordero is a native of California from Santa Barbara. He received a bachelor's degree from the University of California, Berkeley and doctorate from the University of California, Santa Barbara. He is founder and chairperson of the Association of Ramaytush Ohlone. A relatively new scholar to the field of California Indian Studies, Dr. Cordero's first article in the field, "Native Persistence: Marriage, Social Structure, Political Leadership, and Intertribal Relations at Mission Dolores, 1777-1800" (2015), examined the persistence of California Indian social and political organization during the mission period. The essay presented here is part of a larger research project that critically examines efforts to convert the California Indians. Other research and community projects include the Mission Dolores Mural Project with Ben Wood, the establishment of a national historic trail (the Ohlone-Portola Heritage Trail), and the *Sacred Art in the Age of Contact* exhibition at the Museum of Art, Design and Architecture at the University of California, Santa Barbara and at the Santa Barbara Historical Museum, with curators Maggie Bell and Diva Zumaya.

success matters because the idea of evangelical success in part justifies the disastrous consequences of missionization and contributes to sanitizing the historical account.

This study challenges the contention of evangelical success, which is based primarily on the argument that baptism equals conversion. Since conversion signals that an internal change has occurred, then external indicators must be found that provide evidence of that internal change. In accordance with Franciscan precepts, the missionaries determined eligibility for the Eucharist based on their assessment of the candidate's knowledge of Catholic doctrine and of their observed behavior. The Sacrament of the Eucharist, in the forms of annual communion and viaticum, therefore serves as an indicator of genuine conversion. The following systematic and quantitative analysis of archival records provides a comprehensive analysis of the effectiveness of missionary efforts to convert the California Indians. In other words, the "many thousand Indians" referred to by Engelhardt can now be given a more concrete approximation, with which the success or failure of converting California Indians can be more accurately evaluated.

The Question of Success

"Did the Franciscans succeed in converting California Indians?" (Sandos 2004:180.)[4]. So asks James Sandos in one of the only volumes to specifically address the conversion of the California Indians. In answering his own question, Sandos contends that "the overall evangelizing effort converted some Indians but not others," and so the Franciscans "had only been partially successful" (182). The more neutral position offered by Sandos, contrasts with two other schools of thought. Christophilic Triumphalists, like Zephyrin Engelhardt (1908), argue that the missions were successful in converting native Californians to Catholicism, while Christophilic Nihilists, such as Martha Voght (1967), contend that the Spanish missionaries failed "to convert the Indians to Hispanic Catholicism" (364).

Figure 1. Arthur B. Dodge, *Fr. Junipero Serra's Frustrated Baptism, In Missions and Missionaries, Vol. 2, Upper California; Part 1, General History*, by Zephyrin Engelhardt, San Francisco, Calif.: James H. Barry, 1912.

"Writings about the California missions over the past century has been dominated by two schools of thought: the pro- and anti-Franciscan," argues

James Sandos (2004:xiii). The Christophilic Triumphalists, such as Zephyrin Engelhardt and Francis Guest, employ a Eurocentric bias when interpreting various historical documents and secondary sources. In this tradition, "self-sacrificing priests of the Christian God selflessly devote themselves to bringing spiritual truth and moral uplift to benighted savages" (xiii). In regards to conversion, most authors equate baptism with conversion and on that basis celebrate the success of missionary efforts. Zephyrin Engelhardt (1915), for example, points to over 93,000 baptisms as evidence "of all the spiritual success of the missions" in California (528). Francis Guest, less celebratory and more apologetic in his writings, defended the Spanish missionary efforts in California. Guest argues that from a Spanish perspective the courageous and dedicated missionaries pursued spiritual goals amidst a challenging set of circumstances sufficient enough to warrant admiration and to count as a success (Guest 1985).

Christophilic nihilists, on the other hand, focus upon the negative aspects of missionization and declare Spanish missionary efforts a failure (Sandos 1997:222). In this tradition, "missionaries are monsters who committed genocide against native peoples in the name of religion" (Sandos 2004:xiii). For Christophilic nihilists the focus on death rates, corporal punishment, and labor conditions overshadows any emphasis on conversion. For instance, Daniel Fogel (1988) challenges the notion that genuine conversion was possible for Indians because of their inability to understand the Spanish language (119). Authors in the Costo and Costo (1987) volume address the issue of forced conversion but do not assess the success or failure of the missionaries' evangelistic aims. Christophilic Nihilists inevitably ignore conversion because the assertion of its failure does not incite the moral outrage that forced conversion certainly does.

According to Sandos, a third tradition has emerged characterized by more balanced perspectives, "one that, at least nominally, seeks to move beyond the old pro- and anti-mission dichotomy" (1997:222). Authors in this new school tend to avoid the "baptism equals conversion" fallacy, distinguish baptism from conversion, and provide a purportedly more balanced analysis of conversion. Sandos' own work exemplifies this approach. In *Converting California* Sandos argues that the persistence of native religion limited successful conversion, although perhaps 10% of the Indians associated with the mission choristers adopted Christianity (2004:180-1). Steven Hackel's *Children of Coyote* (2005) fits well within this new tradition. In regards to conversion Hackel posits that obstacles to indoctrination, such as short life expectancy after baptism and the difficulty in learning Spanish, inhibited conversion. "[F]ew adult Indians," writes Hackel

"traveled far down this road [i.e., the road of the genuinely converted]" (2005:180). Although both authors conclude that genuine conversion was accomplished in few natives, neither author goes so far as to pronounce the Franciscan religious program a success or failure.

While some scholars have suggested that the question of success should not be asked at all, for California Indians that question matters. Despite the more balanced scholarship of contemporary authors that details the "overwhelmingly negative impact of Spanish colonization," popular accounts "continue to reflect the romanticized narratives" (Lorimer 54). The broader mission myth continues to be justified by the myth of evangelical success (Pohlmann 1974). European and Christian Americans, whether Protestant or otherwise, tend to identify with the Christianizing efforts of the Franciscans (Kropp 2006:86). For example, the mostly Protestant supporters of the El Camino Real also supported the mission myth and the canonization of Junípero Serra (96, 101). In both popular and scholarly accounts, the myth of evangelical success became and remains a colonizing narrative, one that continues to distort history and one that disserves the interests of California Indians.

Baptism Versus Conversion

Much of the scholarship on Spanish-Indian relations during the Spanish colonial and Mexican periods equates baptism with conversion, so much so in fact that the two have become coterminous (Sandos 2004:xv). Even Junípero Serra understood that baptism did not equal conversion, yet scholars used the term convert when referring to baptized Indians, hence muddying the distinction (Hackel 2013:221; Sandos 2004:xiv). Consequently, the conflation of the two terms has led many scholars to take for granted the notion that thousands of baptisms constitute evidence of evangelistic success.

The conflation of baptism with conversion began as a problem of translation. The Spanish *cristiano nuevo* refers to a recent convert as opposed to a genuinely converted Christian. Since Spanish missionaries referred to the recently baptized as *cristiano nuevos* or as a *neófitos* (i.e., new Christians), "scholars writing subsequently about the Franciscan enterprise in California, regardless of their viewpoint,

have tended to consider baptism as the equivalent of conversion by using the term convert simultaneously with *neophyte*" (Sandos 2004:xv). According to Steven Hackel (2015), Serra did not think that the sacrament of baptism converted Indians to Catholicism, nor did he only baptize Indians who he believed had already converted" (221). Baptism was an initial step in the process of conversion (Beebe and Senkewicz 2015:364).

The Sacrament of Baptism cleansed new believers of original sin and made them members of the Catholic Church. For California Indians, baptism was much less a spiritual transformation indicated by the acceptance of a new set of beliefs and more a necessity for incorporation into the California missions. Preparation for baptism included the rote memorization of the *Doctrina Cristiana*. As Engelhardt (1920) explains for Mission San Diego, "Concerning the subject-matter which the Indians had to learn and repeat again and again until they knew it by heart, the mission regulation demanded that the convert know how to make the Sign of the Cross and to recite the Our Father, Hail Mary, and Apostles' Creed; an Act of Contrition and the Acts of Faith, Hope and Charity; the Confiteor for Confession, the Ten Commandments of god, the Precepts of the Church, the Seven Sacraments, the Six Necessary Points of faith, and the Four last Things" (131).

For California Indians who had limited understanding of institutional religion and little interest in learning Castilian Spanish, the obvious challenge posed by pre-baptismal instruction was offset by practical necessity. As Steven Hackel (2005) asserts, "In most cases, as simple statement by Indians of their faith in Catholicism and its Mysteries was sufficient for baptism (141). Over time, the period of instruction diminished from months to sometimes eight days. Altogether, the depth of understanding required for truly appreciating the significance of a new faith eluded the California Indians upon entry into the missions.

The limits of understanding presented by pre-baptismal instruction placed increasing emphasis on daily religious instruction. Twice daily religious instruction included recitation of the *doctrina*, and mandatory attendance at religious services given once in Spanish and once in native languages where available. Genuine religious conversion resulted only in part from the formal Franciscan religious program. Other methods employed by the Franciscans included cultural immersion, disciple by means of corporal punishment, and the modeling of Christian principles in daily life (McGarry 1950). The goal, as Fray Francisco Paloú (1955) relates, was "to secure the

conversion of the gentiles" in a gradual manner so that "little by little" they would "be brought to understand spiritual good and evil" (252-3). In this manner conversion was to be accomplished.

Figure 3. Justus de Ghent, *The Institution of the Eucharist*, 1473-75, Oil on wood, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino.

Determining the extent of evangelical success or failure depends upon one's definition of conversion. In its ideal conception, conversion is fundamentally a moral and spiritual change based on faith in God that was made possible by adherence to Catholic doctrine and participation in the sacraments (Sandos 2004:xv). In California, the Franciscans appear to have used a conception of conversion that included two primary elements: demonstrated knowledge of Catholic doctrine and evidence of a change in behavior. Knowledge was measured in part by adeptness in recitation and in answers to questions during confession. A moral change in one's behavior or way of life was most likely the result of daily observances made by the missionary and by the recognition and renunciation of one's sins during confession. An expressed belief in Christ, although most difficult to evaluate, was required prior to receiving viaticum and was likely a consideration for receiving annual communion as well.

Conversion, not baptism, was the primary objective of the Franciscans and that goal would take time to accomplish. Instruction over time, the crucial variable here, was severely impeded by low life expectancy after baptism and the problems associated with language and understanding. Absent actual interviews regarding the nature and practice of their Catholic faith, the genuine conversion of the California Indians cannot be truly known; however, as noted by Merrill (1993), the "receipt of communion, though by no means indicating a replacement of indigenous belief and practice by Catholicism, does at least suggest progress in religious instruction and in the process of conversion" (144). In other words, participation in annual communion and viaticum indicated progress in the process of conversion and therefore serves as perhaps the best available indicator of genuine conversion.

The Sacrament of the Eucharist

Of the seven sacraments of the Catholic Church—Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Holy Orders, and Marriage—the Sacrament of the Eucharist is considered the most significant (Pardo 2006:131). As O'Kane (1867) argues, the Eucharist is the "greatest of all sacraments, the greatest and most

astonishing of all God's gifts, inasmuch as it contains not merely grace like the other sacraments, but the author and source of all grace and sanctity, Christ our Lord Himself" (334). The Eucharist is unique because the initial symbolic consecration of bread and wine transforms into a real presence, into "the substance of the body of Christ" (Martos 1981:285). It is this transubstantiation that marks the Eucharist as the "supreme sacrament" (O'Neill, 171). The Eucharist directly links believers to the fundamental basis of faith found in the sacrifice of Christ.

For Catholics participation in the sacraments of the church is necessary for salvation because the precepts are not simply ecclesiastical but divinely ordained. In regards to annual communion, the Catholic Church requires participation by adults at least once a year during the Paschal season preferably at one's home parish. Prior to taking annual communion, parishioners were carefully instructed in preparation for confession because no parishioner should approach the Eucharist without first having purified his or her soul by repenting of sin. As O'Kane (1867) states, "The pastor, then, is perfectly justified in laying it down as a general rule, that confession is a necessary preparation for communion" (342). Those who fail to take annual communion during the Paschal season violate the ecclesiastical precepts of the Catholic Church, the divine precepts, and may well be considered guilty of a grievous sin.

Over the centuries various religious officials have presented sometimes opposing positions regarding the precepts for the Eucharist in the Americas. The fundamental issues involved the Indians' capacity to understand the faith and the missionaries' adherence to ecclesiastical and divine precepts. Robert Ricard (1966) summarizes the debate thusly: "Some religious were of the opinion that they [the Indians] could not be admitted to the communion table, that they were too recently converted, that they were incapable of knowing the value and grandeur of the sacrament, and that it should be denied them lest they fall into frequent sacrileges" (122). On the other hand, others "thought that it was impossible to take a general and fundamental decision, that this was a theological question, and that it was reasonable to give communion to the Indians who asked for it, when they had been confessing frequently for four or five years and were able to distinguish between ordinary and sacramental bread, between an unconsecrated and a consecrated wafer, and when their confessor was satisfied with their conduct and piety" (122).

The Spanish missionaries presupposed that "although the Indians lived in blind idolatry and bondage to the devil, they were nonetheless rational human beings created in the image of God,

capable of appropriating their redemption, and of becoming effective churchmen" (Sylvest 1975:44). By that understanding, the Indians appeared predisposed to communicate, yet the missionaries in New Spain regulated their participation. As suggested above, some prevented Indians from receiving the Eucharist, while others allowed "indiscriminate participation. Franciscan practice, according to Mendieta, was to follow the middle path"—the Franciscans would "prepare to communicate any confirmed Indian who was, in the friar's judgment, properly prepared and desirous of the Eucharist" (53).

In California, the Franciscans followed the practices set forth by their predecessors in New Spain. The requirement that the priests judge the worthiness of natives appears to have persisted throughout the mission period, although the implementation of the precepts did change over time. The basis for the Franciscan position can be found in the *Itinerario para párrocos de Indios* written by Fray Alonso de la Peña Montenegro in about 1668 and reprinted in Antwerp in 1754. Junípero Serra, for example, brought a copy with him to California and left it at Mission San Juan Capistrano after visiting there in 1777 (Font 1992:145) (Figure 4). In that volume Montenegro provides the following instruction: "'Let the pastor not neglect to administer Easter Communion to those he has judged worthy because they


ITINERARIO
PARA
PAROCHOS
DE INDIOS,
EN QUE SE TRATAN LAS MATERIAS
más particulares, tocantes à ellos, para su
buena Administracion:
COMPUESTO
POR EL ILUSTRISSIMO, Y REVERENDISSIMO
SEÑOR DOCTOR DON ALONSO
DE LA PEÑA MONTENEGRO,
OBISPO DEL OBISPADO DE SAN FRANCISCO DEL QUITO,
del Consejo de Su Magestad, Colegial que fué del Colegio mayor
de la Universidad de Santiago, &c.
NUEVA EDICION, PURGADA DE MUCHOS YERROS.
EN AMBERES,
A costa de los HERMANOS DE TOURNES,
Mercaderes de Libros EN LEON DE FRANCIA.
M. D C C. LIV.
CON LICENCIA.
Exemplar d'en Serra, ara a la missió de San Juan Capistrano.
Ejemplar de Serra, ahora en la misión de San Juan Capistrano.
Serra's copy now at Mission San Juan Capistrano.

Figure 4. Alonso de la Peña Montenegro, *Itinerario para párrocos de Indios*, 1668.

have been sufficiently instructed and have adequately amended their lives'" (Rolander 1981:105).

In 1806 Fray José Gasol, Guardian of the College of San Fernando, distributed a circular[5] among the missionaries in California that provided the same instructions regarding annual communion.

In the letter, Gasol encouraged the instruction of the Indians in preparation for "obligation of making their confession" (Guest 1992:225). In the circular Gasol clearly states that Holy Communion "shall be administered to all who may be judged properly disposed for its reception" (225). Since viaticum was the corollary practice at death, it should be considered equally obligatory. The missionaries judge the worthiness of Indians most likely on the basis of confession or penance, and on their first-hand knowledge of the Indian's behavior at the mission.

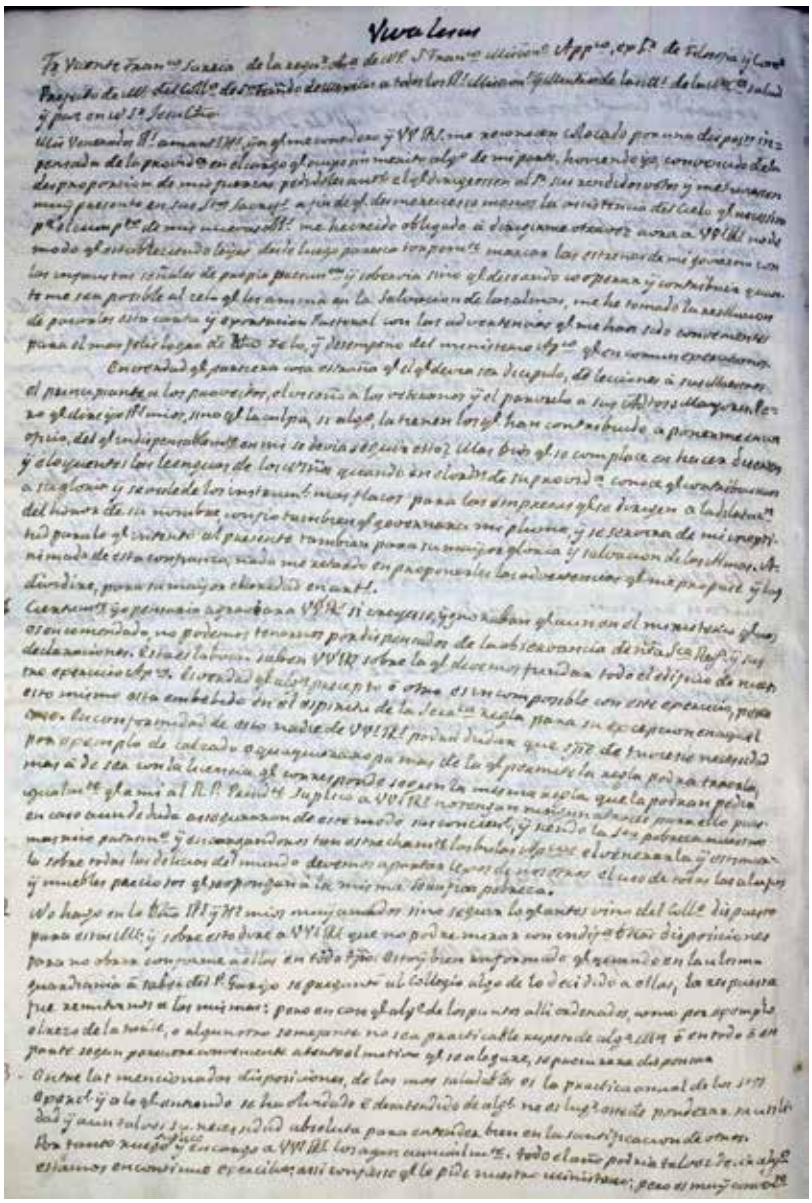


Figure 5. Fray Vicente de Sarriá, Pastoral Letter (page 1), 1813.

Fray Vicente de Sarriá's circular of 1813 (Figure 5) provides the most thorough explication of the Franciscan precepts of confession and communion in California. After admonishing the California missionaries for being somewhat lax in encouraging participation in confession and communion, Sarriá reminded the California missionaries of Montenegro's instruction to evaluate the worthiness of recipients for annual communion. Sarriá placed increased emphasis not only on instruction and the resulting knowledge indicated in part in the actual confession but on the amendment of the Indian's lives: "So, the essential thing to heed here when deciding whether or not they should be admitted to the Sacred Banquet or Holy communion, is not so much the number of those who receive, but their way of life, their customs" (Rolander 1981:106).

Sarriá included a few paragraphs regarding the precepts for viaticum. He "bids all parish priests to teach the Indians diligently about the

necessity and efficacy" of the Sacrament of the Eucharist, "especially when they are sick . . . for they should not depart this life without viaticum" (Rolander 1981:105). Viaticum should be granted for fear of depriving the California Indians of a sacrament necessary for salvation. "Sacraments are for men, not men for the sacraments," concluded Sarriá (108). Like annual communion, Sarriá reminded the Franciscans in California not to withhold viaticum from Indians whom they have, after confession, judged "able to be moved to an act of belief in this so called celestial sacrament" (109).

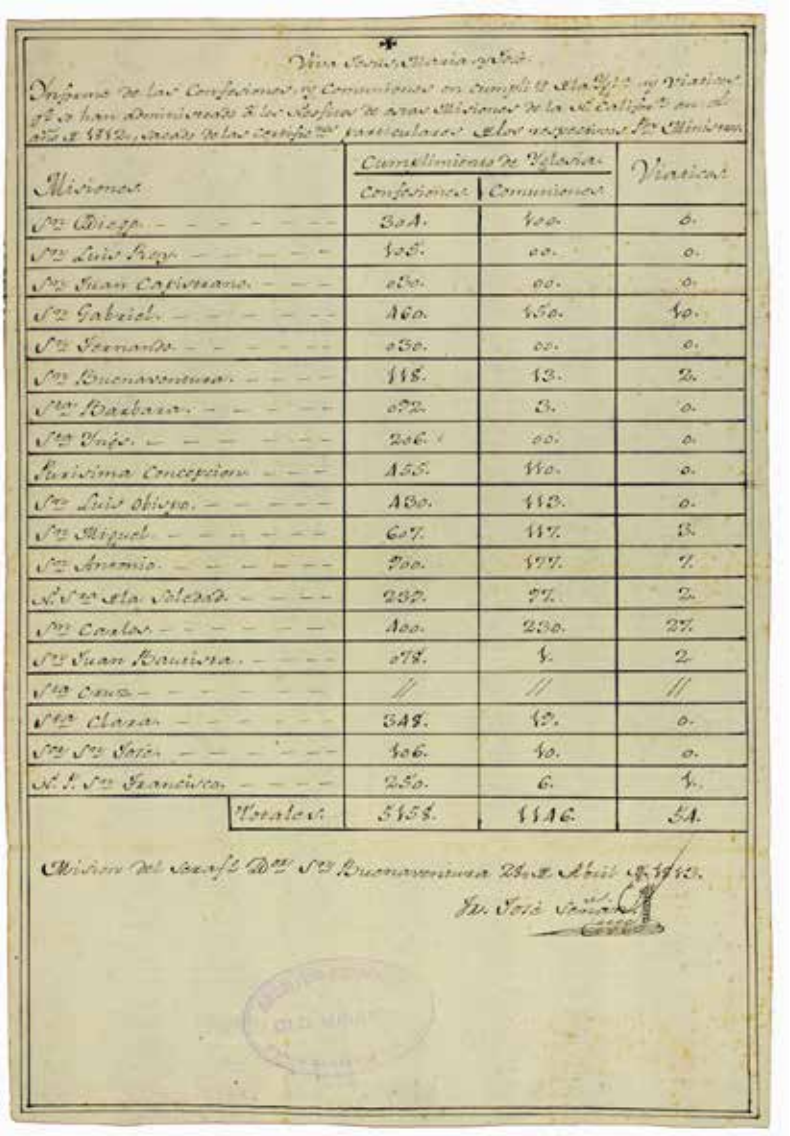
Annual Communion and Viaticum

The methodological problem of identifying external indicators of internal transformation has proved challenging. Sherburne Cook (1976), for example, insists that the question of genuine conversion "is an exceedingly difficult question to answer" because "there are no objective criteria." In fact, he concedes that "in fact [the question] probably cannot be answered at all" (154). In the absence of first-hand accounts of California Indians' actual religious beliefs, it is nearly impossible to prove with certainty that the California Indians were genuinely converted. The reception of the Eucharist among baptized California Indians, however, does provide a solid indicator of genuine conversion.

If annual communion and viaticum serve as indicators of genuine conversion, then the success or failure of the Franciscan's primary objective can be evaluated on that basis. While other factors influence the potential for genuine conversion—like language (translation and instruction), religious practice (both Catholic and native), population dynamics (life expectancy and transience), and geographic isolation (Voght 1967)—annual communion and viaticum serve as perhaps the best available indicators because the missionaries themselves determined eligibility based on the criteria discussed above.

From the founding of the first California mission in 1769 to secularization beginning in 1834, approximately 80,000 Indians were baptized in the California mission system. Approximately half of all baptisms were children[6]. About 62,500 deaths occurred during the same period, which amounts to 78% of the baptized population. Children comprised 28,000 deaths or 45% of the deceased, while adults comprised the remaining 34,500 or 55%. Of the approximately 40,000 baptized children, only about 12,000 became adults, which makes the total adult population 52,000 between 1769 and 1834. Only adults were eligible for annual communion and viaticum. Life expectancy after baptism averaged nine years at all of the California missions, with a low of four years at Mission San Jose and a high of thirteen years at Mission San Luis Obispo.

Data on viaticum is available for the entire period prior to secularization, from 1769 to 1834, with the exception of missions San Luis Rey and Soledad where data is available beginning in 1808. Data on annual communion was not recorded until 1808[7], a year after Fray José Gasol's circular was distributed and is missing for nearly all missions for the years 1824 and 1829.



Misiones	Cumplimientos de Feligreses: Confesiones	Comuniones	Viaticos
S. Diego	304.	400.	6.
S. Luis Rey	405.	00.	0.
S. Juan Capistrano	080.	00.	0.
S. Gabriel	460.	450.	40.
S. Fernando	050.	00.	0.
S. Buenaventura	118.	13.	2.
S. Barbara	072.	3.	0.
S. Inés	206.	00.	0.
Purisima Concepcion	155.	160.	0.
S. Luis obispo	180.	113.	0.
S. Miguel	607.	117.	13.
S. Antonio	700.	171.	7.
S. S. Sta. Cruz	282.	77.	2.
S. Carlos	400.	230.	27.
S. Juan Bautista	278.	4.	2.
S. Cruz	//	//	//
S. Clara	348.	42.	0.
S. S. Jose	406.	40.	0.
N. P. S. Francisco	250.	6.	4.
Totales	5158.	1116.	54.

Mision del Santo Dr. S. Buenaventura 28 de Abril de 1812.
Fr. José Señán

Figure 6. Fray Jose Señan, Annual Report, 1812. Courtesy, Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library.

In order to accurately measure the percentage of adults (nine years and older) who received annual communion in any given year, the adult population was tabulated for each mission from annual reports (Figure 6). The number of communicants was then divided by the number of adults in any given year to arrive at a percentage of Indians who received communion. Twelve percent of California Indians received communion between 1808 and 1832. If we use that percentage and extrapolate to the entire adult population of 52,000 from 1769 to 1834, then 12% of the adult population or 6,240 California Indians were genuinely converted. For the total population of 80,000 that means only about 8% were genuinely converted. In other words, for every 100 baptized Indians, about 75[8] died an untimely death, and 8 were genuinely converted.

There was some variability in practice at the twenty-one missions in the period between 1808 and 1834. At Mission San Juan Bautista only 4% of adults received annual communion in spite of the presence of Fray Felipe de la Cuesta, who was far and above the friar most adept at providing religious instruction in native languages. By comparison, at Mission San Carlos, which historically lacked a friar capable of providing religious instruction in native languages, 46% of adults received annual communion. At Mission San Diego the 12.5% of adults who took annual communion more closely approximated the average of 12% for all missions.

Viaticum, essentially the Eucharist at death, means "provision for the journey" and gave "spiritual strength or comfort to the dying . . . since it prepares them for the passage out of this world into the next, and

enables them to make it with greater confidence" (O'Kane 1867:474). Like annual communion, all Catholics are "bound by divine precept to receive it when in danger of death," although the physical state of the dying sometime prevented its reception (475). Only adults were eligible for viaticum, although it was granted to children on occasion. Doctrinally, viaticum held the same status as annual communion as a significant sacrament.

Most importantly, like annual communion, eligibility to receive viaticum was determined by the missionary. Sarriá relates the following from Montenegro: "'The Holy Synod severely commands all pastors that they should not neglect to administer Viaticum to Indians and Negroes in extreme danger of death, provided that they observe in them the proper dispositions, namely, faith in Christ and sorrow for their sins against God expressed in their own way" (Rolander 1981:107). The requirements for receiving viaticum appear to have differed slightly from annual communion. Whereas annual communion required knowledge of Catholic doctrine and a demonstrable change from one's former ways of life, viaticum required "faith in Christ and sorrow for" one's sins. Additionally, the recipient must be able to "discern the Sacrament from whatever other common food" (108).

Unlike annual communion, viaticum was recorded in death records since the founding of the California missions in 1769. The percentages were calculated by dividing the total number of viaticum recipients (3200) from the total number of deaths (62,500). It should be noted that the adult population constituted on average about 80% of the total population at any given mission at any given time (Cook 1976:436; Jackson and Castillo 1995:42; Hackel 2005:176fn).

Figure 7. Mariano Guerrero, *Serra's Viaticum* (detail), 1785, Oil on Canvas. Mexico.

Not all California Indians were physically able to take viaticum, so it is possible that the percentage of those who were eligible is higher than shown in the vital records. Although the exact percentage cannot be known, Steven Hackel's (2012) essay on the causes of mortality at the California missions does point to the types of death that inhibited the reception of viaticum prior to death. Of the over 72,000 deaths recorded between 1769 and 1850, less than 5.5% (3312) indicate cause of death. Of those approximately 30% resulted from causes, such as sudden death and violence, that would prevent the reception of viaticum. Of that 30% (994 persons), how many were genuine converts? It's likely the same percentage as the general population—somewhere between 5% and 8%—which in this instance amounts to less than seventy persons, a number that does not have a dramatic effect on the overall percentages. Unfortunately, the sample is too small to generalize to the total population, but Hackel's (2012) study does at least offer other reasons for the low percentage of viaticum recipients beyond ineligibility.

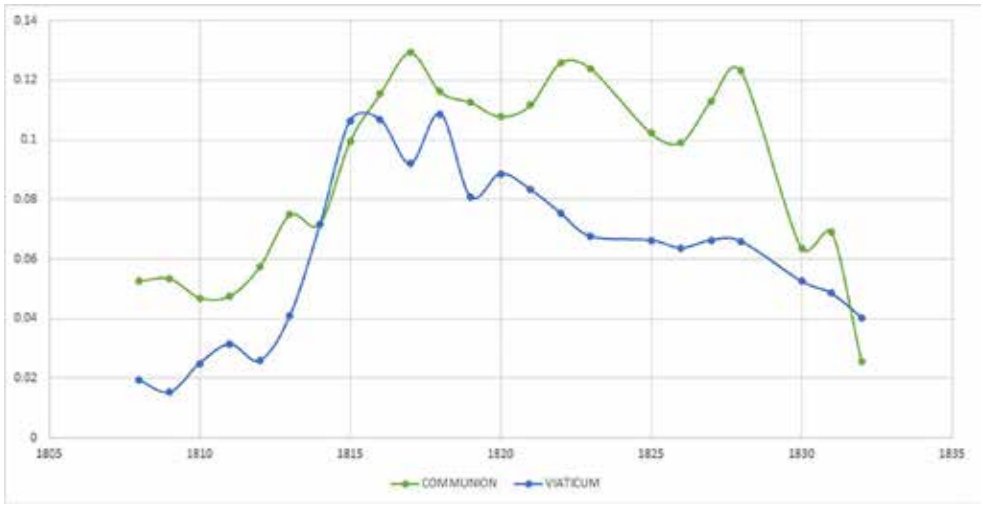


Figure 8. Trends in Annual Communion and Viaticum, 1808 to 1832.

For the years 1769 to 1834 approximately 3200 California Indians received viaticum. The typical recipient of viaticum averaged fourteen years of age at baptism and lived to the age of thirty-eight years. The twenty-four-year life expectancy after baptism far exceeded the average of nine years. For the total deceased population of 62,500 Indians, including adults and children, about 5% received viaticum. By comparison the percentage of all deceased *genté de razon* who received viaticum averaged nearly 50%. In sum, for every 100 baptized Indians, about 75 died an untimely death, and 5 were genuinely converted.

Approximately 5% (viaticum) to 8% (annual communion) of the total baptized population were genuinely converted by these indicators; however, the percentages should be reduced for two reasons. First, the percentage of communicated Indians between 1808 and 1832 was higher than during the entire period from 1769 to 1834 (Figure 8). About 2800 (88%) of the 3200 California Indians who received viaticum did so between 1808 and 1832. The increased emphasis on annual communion and viaticum most likely resulted in the inflation of those who had genuinely converted. Prior to 1808 the percentage

for annual communion was well under 6% (less than 5000) and was less than 3% (less than 2500) for viaticum. Second, most scholarly literature on conversion concludes that Indians in the Americas retained their traditional life ways in spite of adopting the outward display of Catholicism (Taylor 1996:47-73). "'Real' conversion," as Pardo puts it, "may have never taken place" (Pardo 2006:9).

The Myth of Evangelical Success

In the scholarly writings about California Indian-Franciscan relations during the mission period there is no incontrovertible evidence that proves genuine conversion. As one of my colleagues put it, "You cannot know the heart of a person"; however, if evangelical failure cannot be proven with certainty, then neither can evangelical success. Nonetheless, Franciscan precepts and corresponding practice support the idea that the Indians who participated in annual communion and viaticum were judged by the missionaries to be advanced in their faith. As William Merrill (1993) stated earlier, "receipt of communion, though by no means indicating a replacement of indigenous belief and practice by Catholicism, does at least suggest progress in religious instruction and in the process of conversion" (144). Communion and viaticum, therefore, provide evidence for assessing the extent of genuine conversion.

Using these indicators, the Franciscan missionaries were not successful in their primary objective—saving the souls of the California Indians—precisely because the native Californians were not genuinely converted; therefore, the eminent success touted by Zephryn Engelhardt and other pro-Franciscan scholars is a myth. Other than the thousands of baptisms, there is no systematic evidence to support the conclusion that the Franciscan's successfully converted the California Indians. If baptism is used as the primary indicator, then the untimely death of the California Indians was the primary means of achieving their salvation. Certainly, salvation attained in this manner does not fit the ideal established by the Franciscans and by pro-Franciscan scholars.

As mentioned above, the myth of evangelistic success based on the baptism-equals-conversion model supports the romantic version of Spanish–Indian relations at the California missions. The emphasis on evangelical success tends to justify the negative consequences of missionization and thereby sanitizes the historical account. For example, in Michelle Lorimer's (2013) study, she argues that mission sites "continue to promote inaccurate, sanitized, and romanticized presentations of Spanish missions that paint the Spanish as benevolent forces in the lives of Native Californians" (5-6). In regards

to pro-Franciscan scholarship, Pohlmann (1974) argues similarly: "perhaps most important of all, at least in terms of shaping the mission myth, was the common though by no means universal belief that the Franciscans successfully transformed a race of miserable, lowly 'Digger' Indians into happy Christian workers" (428).

Junpero Serra's canonization suffices as a recent example. In support of his canonization, Pope Francis labeled Serra "the evangelizer of the West," and in doing so he pointed to Serra's purportedly outstanding evangelical accomplishments (Holdren 2015). The problem is that Serra had no evangelical accomplishments of significance when compared with other missionaries—he did not baptize more Indians than any other missionary; he did not confirm more Indians than any other missionary; he did not found more missions than any other missionary; and he was not Father President longer than any other missionary. Serra's noted accomplishment and the source of his renown was only that he was the founder of the California mission system that baptized thousands of California Indians. Since people are usually rewarded for founding successful enterprises, it becomes apparent that Pope Francis employed the myth of evangelical success in order to elevate Serra to sainthood.

A more accurate account of California Indian and Franciscan relations requires a critical examination of the primary objective of the Franciscans. Interestingly, scholars from both sides of the debate agree. Zephyrin Engelhardt (1908) argued that "success or failure of the missionary efforts must be gauged" by their primary aim—"the conversion of souls to Christ" (284). Martha Voght (1967) points out that "the myth of the missions has been so widely proclaimed it is important to point out that they were not usually successful. Before the history of California's Spanish period can be written with any definitiveness, this problem of the missions must be settled and the legend dispelled" (373). To that end, this study has used a systematic analysis of the available evidence to argue that the Franciscans were not successful in converting the California Indians.

Endnotes

1. The high rates of death kept the Franciscans more or less perpetually in a contact situation, one which prevented the capacity of the missionaries to instruct California Indians as Catholics from birth. As Robert H. Jackson declares, "the "death rates were chronically high [in Alta California], and generally higher than death rates in Sonora and Baja California mission communities in non-epidemic years" (142). The high death rates for infants and the constant influx on new populations maintained transience among potential converts. In other words, the second generation of potential converts born and trained within the missions never manifested in a significant manner.

2. See also Charles W. Polzer. *Rules and Precepts of the Jesuit Missions of northwestern New Spain*, Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1976, p. 39.

3. Pro-Indian scholars suffer a similar condition.

4. Martha Voght (1967:363) and Sherburne Cook (1976:154) ask the same question regarding the claim of success in converting the California Indians.

5. Gasol's letter required that a list of the participants for confession, annual communion, and viaticum be forwarded the prelate of the College of San Fernando. The numerical information was collected from 1808 to 1834 and was included in the year-end reports of the Father President of the California missions. The data for annual communion and in part for viaticum derive from the year-end reports.

6. A child was defined as a person under the age of nine, that is, as a person not having yet attained the age of reason.

7. Mission San Luis Rey was founded in 1791 and Mission Soledad was founded in 1798. In the period of time between their respective founding dates and 1808, a total of 1120 deaths were recorded at both missions. Since less than 2% of Indians received viaticum at both missions in the period after 1808, it is highly unlikely that there was a substantial number who received viaticum prior to 1808; therefore, the missing data does not dramatically affect the general patterns found among all missions. The missing death records decrease the total number of adult deaths from about 62,500 to about 61, 400, which, again, does not significantly alter the general findings.

8. I use 75 instead of 78 (the total percentage of deaths) to account for the baptized Indians who died from natural causes.

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THE DISTRIBUTION OF MISSION PROPERTY TO THE INDIANS OF SAN LUIS OBISPO FOLLOWING SECULARIZATION

Robert S. Vessely PE. in collaboration with Dean Miller, Roger Verity and Hilliard Wood

INTRODUCTION

In a court case in 1867, one of the pioneers of San Luis Obispo, José Mariano Bonilla, testified that in 1842 when he was Alcalde of San Luis Obispo, he had distributed former Mission San Luis Obispo lands to the Indians as ordered by the Mexican Governor of Alta California, Juan Bautista Alvarado.

> "Question: What quantity of land did you distribute to the Indians...?"
>
> "Answer: About two miles immediately contiguous to the garden of the Mission and about another mile at different points where they had previously their houses and garden. I gave them in conformity to the size of their families the maximum of concession being two hundred varas and the minimum one hundred varas" (Deposition of Jose Mariano Bonilla).

He went on to say that he had kept records of all the "lands given to the Indians" in a Book of Records, but that "in 1846 Col. Fremont passed through San Luis Obispo, from which time all public records of the Alcalde disappeared ... " (Deposition of Jose Mariano Bonilla). As discouraging as it is to learn that these records once existed but are now lost, there appear to be other ways to open a window on the distribution of land and goods to the Indians of Mission San Luis Obispo after secularization.

Some of the earliest land records on file with the County of San Luis Obispo, early correspondence between the Mexican citizens, and land commission cases have references to Indians of the Mission who received property. Occasionally the reference is indirect, for example, "a parcel ... next to the house of the Indian Estanisla" or "the line between the huerta and the (land of) the Indian Pedro

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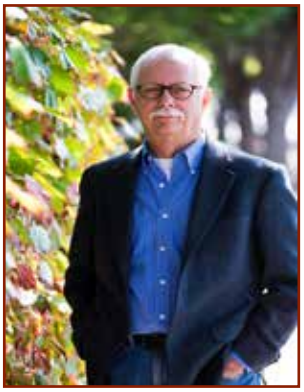

Maria." In some cases, the record was made for the sale of land that had previously belonged to an Indian, "the Indian Donato ... has proposed to cede and transfer his title to Juan B. Garcia..." In other cases, the records are quite direct, "... in the distribution of land that I made to the Indians of San Luis Obispo in the year 1842 ... there was given to Cecilio a parcel of 400 varas on La Loma ..."

In these records, the Native Americans are sometimes referred to as an "Indian" or "neophyte" and commonly they are distinguished only by having a single name, Angel or Filipe, for example.

The time between the secularization of Mission San Luis Obispo in 1835 and California statehood in 1850, must have been interesting, some might even say unsettling. The Indians had lost their native ways of life for the most part and now the Mission, which had been the focus of their social, economic, and religious life, had been dissolved. There were Mexican citizens, soldiers, and even some Americanos vying for the former Mission property. The question of this paper is who were the Indians who were given property or goods from the Mission and why were they singled out. One might suspect that those who received property had some connection—familial or economic—with whoever was given the power to distribute the property, but little or no research has been found on the subject.

The research leading up to this paper could be considered as "thorough" although not "exhaustive" since there is little doubt that references to Indians who were given property after secularization remain to be found in records, public and private. Nonetheless, the names and circumstances used herein give a sense of who received Mission property and why.

Secularization

After Mexico cut itself free of Spain in 1821, the Missions were looked upon much differently than when they were under Spanish rule. The Missions were no longer needed to thwart the Russian's incursion into Alta California and there was increasing infighting between the missionaries, soldiers, Indians, and the Mexican government. In 1834, Alta California Governor José Figueroa declared to the Territorial Deputation that "the missions were intrenchments [sic] of monastic despotism and that a complete reformation of them was imperatively demanded" (Hittell 183).

The Order to Distribute Mission Property to the Indians

There is a certain irony to the fact that it took an order from Mexican Governor Alvarado to distribute Mission property to the Indians.

When the Spanish originally took possession of the land, all of California —Baja and Alta— belonged to the Spanish King and subsequently to the Mexican government, but many, including the priests regarded the mission lands as "the property of ... the Indians" (Bancroft 246).

The idea of distributing the Mission lands to the Indians was not a new one in 1833. Viceroy Bucareli y Urusu issued regulations from Mexico City in 1773 in which "the comandante was authorized to distribute common lands in private to the Indians who might give themselves entirely to agriculture and stock raising..." (Livingston 195). Only one grant is known to have been issued under this provision: a grant to a soldier of the presidio of Monterey who had married a neophyte girl from the Mission of San Carlos (Hittell 746).

Finally, in August of 1834, the Mexican legislature approved the "Reglamento Provisional" (Engelhardt 126) and Governor Figueroa issued the "Decree of Secularization" which provided details for how the secularization was to take place. Among the regulations was included:

> Article 5. "To each head of a family, and all who are more than twenty years old, although without families, will be given from the lands of the mission, ... a lot of ground not to contain more than 400 yards in length and as many in breadth, nor less that 100..."(Angel 42).

It is interesting that this article does not distinguish between neophytes and others but the idea that it was intended to pertain to the Indians was made clear by other proclamations. According to Bonilla, his order from Governor Alvarado in 1842 was to "...distribute parcels of land to the Indians according to their respective merits and the number of their families and their service..." (Deposition of Jose Mariano Bonilla).

PROPERTY DISTRIBUTION IN SAN LUIS OBISPO

As noted above, the original Alcalde's Book of Records are missing, but early property records on file with the Clerk/Recorder of San Luis Obispo County offer an occasional nugget. Despite the fact that California was not made a State until 1848, there are several recordings in the County files from 1846. Some property owners needed to establish their claim to a piece of property and the recording helped to fill in a chain of title. There are also letters and orders in various collections around the state such as the Bancroft Library and the State Archives that contain the names of Indians who were given Mission property.

In an attempt to better understand the individuals who received property, other resources were used including:

- The Mission Census of 1797 and 1798 (via Ancestry.com);
- The Huntington Library Early California Population Project which contain baptism, marriage, and burial records for the neophytes at Mission San Luis Obispo;
- The California State Census of 1852 (via Ancestry.com); and
- The US Federal Census for the years 1850, 1860, and 1870.

First of all, a general reference.

From Miscellaneous Recordings, 1851-1855, Ortega to Salgado, 1846:

> "next to *the land of the Indians*, the road to Monterey and... the hill in front of the place for drawing water..." (emphasis added). (County of San Luis Obispo, Miscellaneous Recordings 12).

This recording describes a piece of property that was being transferred from Sr. Ortega to Sr. Salgado, the location of which is not clear, but the "land of the Indians" is most likely the same as that shown on various *diseños* (maps) which were filed along with petitions for land grants from the Mexican Government. See Figure 1.

Following are all the names found to date of Indians associated with a piece of San Luis Obispo Mission property or equipment.

1. Angel.

From Miscellaneous Recordings, 1851-1855, Angel San Luisino to Joaquin Valenzuela, 1846:

> "In San Luis Obispo on the 24th day of the month of February of the year 1846 before me, Jose de Jesus Pico, justice of the peace of this Pueblo ... appeared Don Joaquin Valenzuela, resident of the district of Santa Barbara & neophyte, *Angel* San Luisino who I recognize & who states that he is unable to cultivate his vineyard & land ... a part of the land of the principal building of this place their lands comprising 300 varas in length & 180 in width ... he has received ... the amount of 30 pesos with which he is satisfied ..." (emphasis added). (County of San Luis Obispo, Miscellaneous Recordings 63).

The name may have actually been Angel San Luisiño or Angel of San Luis or could be a variation of his native name.

From Deeds Book A, 1842-1876, Marquez to DelaBella, 1856:

Figure 1, (next page). *Diseño* for Expediente No. 406. Filed by José Mariano Bonilla in 1843. (Adjudication of Private Land Claims). Note that parcel 'g' closest to the top of the page is labeled "*Tierra de los indios*" or "Land of the Indians" in the *Esplicacion* or Map Legend.


Map, Espediente, Nº 406
406
Esplicacion
Escala de 100 v.

> "... and is bounded as follows. On the South by a small piece of ground and tenement belonging to the estate of the late Gabrael [sic] Salizar and tenement belonging to *Angel* an Indian" (County of San Luis Obispo, Deed Book A, 123).

The Mission records show that Angel Maria and Lucia Rubio had a son named Angel in 1816. Angel Maria became godfather to at least 25 children baptized at the Mission between 1799 and 1823. He died in 1825 but between 1788 and 1832 either he or his son Angel served as witness to 93 weddings with as many as 16 on the same day (Huntington Library).

2. Cecilio

From Letter from José Mariano Bonilla to José de Jesús Pico. 13 April 1846:

> "... in the distribution that I carried out to the Indians of the furnishings of this settlement, the forge I gave to the late Filipe and *Cecilio* and as the first died, I believe it must belong entirely to the second..." (emphasis added). (J. M. Bonilla, Letter).

From Deed Book A, 1842-1876, Bonilla to Cecilio.18 April 1846:

> "... in the distribution of land that I made to the Indians of San Luis Obispo in the year 1842 ... there was given to *Cecilio* a parcel of 400 varas on La Loma ..." (County of San Luis Obispo, Deed Book A, 103).

From Deed Book A, 1842-1876, Cecilio to Gomez. 18 April 1846:

> "... before me, José de Jesus Pico ... Presbitero Don Miguel Gomez and the Indian *Cecilio San Sarrieno* and the latter said that finding insufficient to cultivate ... cedes it to the former..." (County of San Luis Obispo, Deed Book A, 103).

This is likely to be the same person as described above but the "San Sarrieno" part of the name is a mystery. Note that the two land records have the same date.

Cecilio was born about 1779 in the village of Sechpil (or Saxpil, Sespil) and baptized at the Mission in 1791 at the age of 12. He was married twice, first to Sofia and then to Gregoria in 1803. Between 1803 and 1841, he was godfather to at least ten children baptized at the Mission (Huntington Library).

3. Cornelio, Pascual, Marcelo and Gabriel Maria

From Spanish and Mexican Land Grants, Vol. 7, Unclassified Expediente #164. (The date of December 1843 is shown on the Governor's note):

> "*Cornelio, Pascual, Marcelo* and *Gabriel Maria*, native Indians of the extinct Mission of San Miguel ... to settle at the Pueblo

> of San Luis Obispo, where last year there was given to us one suarte of land ...
>
> We, the first mentioned are brothers who served at the Mission always as corporals as our father did ... (our) old mother who in recompense of seventy years service at the Mission since its foundation..." (emphasis added). (California Secretary of State, Land Grants, Vol. 7, 572)

There are several people by these names shown in the Huntington Early California Population Project database, the California State Census of 1852, and the Federal census of 1860 but none is clearly associated with this land record. Evidently, from their own statement, they were originally attached to the Mission San Miguel and served there as soldiers. They moved to San Luis Obispo and in about 1842, they were given a parcel of land.

4. Donato

From Miscellaneous Recordings, 1851-1855, José Mariano Bonilla to Donato. 1847:

> "The Indian *Donato* has stated that the division of lands made to those of his class native to this City ... nothing whatsoever was given to this *Donato* and he is now requesting the land previously given to the deceased Odon ..."
>
> "... appeared before me ... the Indian *Donato* and he said that not being able to cultivate the land that he has for lack of resources he has proposed to cede and transfer his title to Juan B. Garcia ... For this transfer he receives 30 pesos" (emphasis added). (County of San Luis Obispo, Miscellaneous Recordings 43).

From Miscellaneous Recordings, 1851-1855, Juan Garcia to Murcurial Garcia. 1847:

> "... I give to my brother Mercurial the land that I got from the Indian *Donato* ..." (County of San Luis Obispo, Miscellaneous Recordings 43).

From Miscellaneous Recordings, 1851-1855, Murcurial Garcia to Breck.1848:

> "The land of *Donato* called El Palomar..." (County of San Luis Obispo, Miscellaneous Recordings 44).

From Miscellaneous Recordings, 1851-1855, Breck to Osgood. 1852:

> "... owned formerly by *Donato*, an Indian, under grant date January 26, 1847 who transferred it to Bautista Garcia ..." (County of San Luis Obispo, Miscellaneous Recordings 58).

Donato was born at the village of Choimoc (or Choinoc) but did not come into the Mission system until he was 34 years old. On that

same day, 7 March 1835 his wife, Donata was baptized and they were married by the Church. Donato is shown as godfather only once in the records in 1846 (Huntington Library).

5. Estanisla

From Deed Book A, 1842-1876, Bonilla to Carpio. 1842:

> "...a parcel located in this Pueblo in order to build a house and store ... next to the house of the Indian *Estanisla*" (emphasis added). (County of San Luis Obispo, Deed Book A, 109).

The original deed reads "indigina Estanisla" which would be a female, but the names in the Mission records all seem to be male.

There are a number of variations of the name in the records but Stanislao (#01409) was born at Mission San Luis Obispo in 1797. Estanislao (with the same Mission record baptism number) was married twice at the Mission and is shown as godfather at a baptism in 1835 (Huntington Library).

Note. Stanislao's father is listed as Odon, possibly the same person in #8.

6. Filipe

From the Letter from José Mariano Bonilla to José de Jesús Pico. 13 April 1846:

> "... in the distribution that I carried out to the Indians of the furnishings of this settlement, the forge I gave to the late *Filipe* and Cecilio and as the first died, I believe it must belong entirely to the second..." (emphasis added). (J. M. Bonilla, Letter).

Spelling is probably *Felipe* according to the Mission records.

There are several people named Felipe in the records but the individual associated with this land is probably Felipe Neri. He was baptized (#01460) in 1798 at the age of eight and died in 1848. The names Felipe and Cecilio appear together as witnesses to 12 weddings all on the same day, 23 August 1808. Their names also appear together as witnesses to a wedding in 1841 where Felipe's occupation is shown as "herrero" or blacksmith. This agrees well with the statement by Bonilla that he gave the Mission forge to these two (Huntington Library).

7. Lucia

From Miscellaneous Recordings, 1851-1855, Lucia to Mariano G. Lascano. 1851:

> "a house of two stories between the land of Carpio and Quintana" (County of San Luis Obispo, Miscellaneous Recordings 45).

From Miscellaneous Recordings, 1851-1855, Lucia to José Maria Quintana. 1851:

> "next to the house of Esteban Quintana... a portion of the house" (County of San Luis Obispo, Miscellaneous Recordings 127).

Lucia Ciluijinat was born 24 May 1800 and became maestra of the monjerio, essentially the housemother for the unmarried Indian girls in the 1820s. She is shown to have been married four times and in the 1860 Federal census she is shown to be living in the adobe at, what is now the intersection of Chorro and Palm Streets. Her death was recorded in 1861 (Bertrando).

8. Odon

From the Proclamation by José Mariano Bonilla, 1842:

> "Whereas the native neophyte *Odon* of this same Pueblo has proven his integrity and the services he has performed to the Community ... I grant to the said *Odon*, his house situated near the arroyo fronting the orchard consisting of a single room known as El Palomar, a copper kettle that belonged to the soap works and two canoes and a lot of land 75 varas square in the "big orchard"..." (emphasis added). (I. and J. Bonilla 13).

From Miscellaneous Recordings, 1851-1855, José Mariano Bonilla to Donato. 1847:

> "The Indian Donato has stated that the division of lands made to those of his class native to this City ... nothing whatsoever was given to this Donato and he is now requesting the land previously given to the deceased *Odon*..." (County of San Luis Obispo, Miscellaneous Recordings 43).

The name Odon is not unique, but the person shown in these references appears to have been born in about 1795 in the village of Sathaoyo (or Sataoyo) which was on the Salinas River north of what is now Santa Margarita and baptized at the Mission in 1803. He married Ramona in 1835 and is shown as witness to another wedding in 1841. He is listed as godfather to José de la Trinidad Donato in 1843 (Huntington Library).

9. Pedro Maria

From the Deposition of José Mariano Bonilla, 15 January 1867:

(Huerta de Romualdo) "is bounded on the northwest by the arroyo called "El Chorro" on the northeast by the lands of an Indian called *Pedro Maria*, on the south and southwest by the small hills, on the north westwardly there is a row of sycamore trees on an arroyo at the foot of the hill".

"The line between the Huerta (of Romualdo) and the (land of) the *Indian Pedro Maria* was the only one that was fenced..." (emphasis added). (Deposition of Jose Mariano Bonilla).

Neither the name Pedro nor Pedro Maria was uncommon in the Mission period. The Mission census of 1798 shows four people with the name Pedro and the Mission records have three people baptized with the name Pedro Maria (Huntington Library). Likewise, the California census of 1852 and the Federal census of 1860 show several people by those names in San Luis Obispo. Of the three people with the name Pedro Maria shown in the Mission records, only one lived past 1832. This Pedro Maria was baptized in 1808, was married in 1838, but no death was recorded (Huntington Library). There is not enough information to tie any of these people with the property adjacent to the Huerta de Romualdo.

10. Romualdo

From Land Case 50, Expediente 012-F. John Wilson, Huerta de Romualdo:

"The undersigned certifies: That in the distribution of suertes of land in the Establishment of San Luis Obispo, by order of the Governor, in the year 1842 to the Indians of said Establishment to the Indian Romualdo there was given the suarte which he occupied, named Huerta de Romualdo in the Arroyo del Chorro ... I give this at the request of the petitioner in San Luis Obispo on 20 June 1846." J. Mariano Bonilla. (California State Archives, Listed in the Index to the Records of Spanish Archives as Vol. 6, pg. 240, file 12. Accessed via Ancestry.com).

From the Deposition of José Mariano Bonilla, 15 January 1867:

"The special order contained a recommendation of the particular good conduct of the Indian "Romualdo" and that I should put him in possession of this "Huerta" declaring him to be the proprietor thereof."

(The land of Romualdo) "is bounded on the north West by the arroyo called "El Chorro". On the north east by the lands of an Indian called Pedro Maria. On the south and south west by the Cerritos. On the north westerly there is a row of sycamore trees, on [sic] an arroyo at the foot of the hill."

> "He was a very old Indian, much favored by the Mission and the Government for his long services. ... I knew the Indian since 1841... I think he died about the year 1845." (Deposition of Jose Mariano Bonilla).

There are records of four people by the name of Romualdo who were baptized at San Luis Obispo but only one is about the right age. He (#00711) was baptized 6 April 1786 and he died 22 May 1847. He was married in 1836 to Marsiana (listing a previous wife as Quirina) and again in 1840 to Marta (Huntington Library). Bonilla describes Romualdo as "a very old Indian" in 1842 when Romualdo would have been about 56 years old and notes his "long services" to the Mission and Government. It is not clear what those services included.

11, Salgado

From Miscellaneous Recordings, 1851-1855, William Breck to Henry Osgood:

> "... the said land situated on the side hill in front of the dam and is bounded on one side by the small creek in the other by the land of *Salgada* and by the other by the prickly pears in the same Canada..." (emphasis added). (County of San Luis Obispo, Miscellaneous Recordings 58).

This name stood out in the County records because it was a single name as is typical for Indians in the records rather than a given name and surname as is typical for others. From the Mission records (Huntington Library), it appears that Salgado was actually Francisco Salgado from the Santa Barbara Presidio. There is no "Native Name" or "Ethnicity" listed, so it is likely that Francisco Salgado was not an Indian.

12. Siriaco

From Proclamation by José Mariano Bonilla. 29 April 1846:

> "... during the distribution that was made by myself to the natives of the same place of available useful implements ... to the neofite Siriaco, I gave the machinery and press of the oil mill ..." (J. M. Bonilla, Proclamation).

The Mission census of 1797 shows a person by the name of Ciriado who was born in about 1771. The Mission records show the baptism of a person by the name of Ciriaco in 1782 when he was 11 years old. This would make his birth year about 1771, which coincides with the census record. Ciriaco's origin is shown as the village of Saxpil although his parents are shown to be from the village of Espil (Huntington Library). It is possible that these both refer to the same village.

A PATTERN?

- What do these 14 individuals have in common that might explain why they were given Mission property after secularization? The one thing that jumps out is the record of service rendered to the Church by the neophytes.

- Angel Maria and his son Angel served as godfather or witness at numerous Mission services.

- Cecilio was godfather to at least ten children baptized at the Mission.

- Cornelio, Pascual, Marcelo, and Gabriel Maria served as soldiers at Mission San Miguel.

- Donato and Estanisla were godfathers to at least one child each.

- Felipe and his friend Cecilio served as witnesses to at least 12 weddings and Felipe is shown to be a blacksmith.

- Lucia was the housemother of the monjerio.

- Odon was witness to at least one wedding and he served as godfather to at least one Mission child. In addition, Odon is singled out by José Mariano Bonilla in 1842:

  > "Whereas the native neophyte Odon ... has proven his integrity by the services, he has performed to the community..." (I. and J. Bonilla 13).

- Romualdo had apparently provided services to both the Mission and the Mexican Government although the nature of those serves is not known.

- Only Pedro Maria and Siriaco have no record of service in the Mission records.

Clearly, most of these individuals were involved in the operation of the Mission, both religious operations such as baptisms and marriages, but also industrial operations such as blacksmithing and milling.

Governor Figueroa's "Decree of Secularization" actually prohibited the Indians from selling their land. It was the Governor's intent that each recipient of land "was to subsist on the goods and crops he could produce and on the cash income from their sale" (Kocher 57). Nonetheless, we have records of three Indians selling their land.

- In 1846 *Cecilio* sold his suerte to Father Miguel Gomez in exchange for two cows, a pair of oxen, and a mare all with a value of 29 pesos (County of San Luis Obispo, Deeds Book A 103).

- Also in 1846, *Angel* sold his parcel to Joaquin Valenzuela for 30 pesos (County of San Luis Obispo, Miscellaneous Recordings 63).

- In 1847, *Donato* transferred title to his parcel to Juan B. Garcia for 30 pesos (County of San Luis Obispo, Miscellaneous Recordings 63).

In each of these cases, the record notes that the reason for selling was that the Indian found that he was "incapable of cultivating his vineyard and land", that the property was "insufficient to cultivate", or that he was not "able to cultivate the land that he has for lack of resources". There is enough similarity between these reasons and in the price paid for the property that one might suspect that there was a coordinated effort to remove the Indians from their property. Sadly, at the time of California statehood in 1850, records show only two Indians, Angel and Lucia still owned their property.

CONCLUSION

The story of these few individuals demonstrates that within the ever-complicated subject of the treatment of Indians within the California Mission system, at San Luis Obispo at least, Mission Indians who fully accepted the Spanish civil and religious conquest were favored by the Mexican officials after secularization. They had become "Subjects of the King" as was intended in the original colonization of New Spain ... but not entirely. By prohibiting the Indians from selling their land, Governor Figueroa held back, albeit unsuccessfully one of the basic tenets of property ownership, that is, the right to dispose of it as one sees fit.

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THE UNFINISHED STORY OF MARÍA SYLVERIA PACHECO
A Californio Woman in a Changing Society

Damian Bacich

When Harry E. Burgess arrived at the Pacheco family property in Concord, California in 1916, the modern world was in full swing. Europe was in the throes of the world's first mechanized war, American troops were in Mexico hunting for Pancho Villa, and incumbent Woodrow Wilson was about to win reelection as president of the United States. But Burgess was a writer, and he had come to this corner of California in hopes of finding traces of an earlier, less agitated time.

Burgess was preparing a piece for the *Overland Monthly*. The magazine, a literary journal whose original founding editor was Gold Rush writer Bret Harte, bore a grizzly bear as its emblem and focused on exalting the uniqueness of California.[1] Burgess, a great critic of the Anglo-American conquest of the West, especially of the treatment of native peoples (Morton, Watkins, and Miller: 259),[2] was a passionate supporter of Helen Hunt Jackson, whose 1884 novel, *Ramona*, denounced the harsh treatment of California Indians at the hands of white settlers. Hunt's story had helped create a romanticized image of California's mission period, leading to a revival of interest in the region's Spanish roots. Burgess was inspired: he was on a journey, "taking interest in everything Californian," and his goal was to get a glimpse of Spanish California's "romantic period, before the gold conquest."

The writer was in luck, for as he approached the entrance to the homestead, he happened upon "an aged woman, robed in black...the old Se[ñ]ora, a gentle, fascinating creature -- the almost sole survivor of her time." Her demeanor was polite, and she welcomed the American interloper to join her. In a mix of Spanish and English, she carried on a conversation full of reminisces of her earlier life, before "the Americanos." The woman, Doña Sylveria Pacheco, captured Burgess's imagination, and stirred up the images of a bygone epoch in

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Damian Bacich is Professor of Spanish Language and Literature at San José State University. He holds a Ph.D. in Hispanic Languages and Literatures from UCLA and specializes in early modern Spain and colonial Latin America (including the Spanish Borderlands). In addition to the California Missions Foundation *Boletín*, his work has appeared in journals such as *California History, Pacific Coast Philology*, and *Comitatus*. He is also a translator, and his translations have been published by the University of Toronto Press, McGill-Queens University Press and Notre Dame University Press. He recently completed a new translation of *Autos Tocantes al alsamiento de los yndios de la provinçia de la Nueba Mexico (Documents Concerning the Revolt of the Indians of the Province New Mexico in 1680)* with Juan Sempere-Martínez, under the auspices of the Cíbola Project (Research Center for Romance Studies, University of California, Berkeley). He is an Associate of the UCLA Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, and a member of the board of the Sourisseau Academy for State and Local History at San José State University. He is also the founder of the California Frontier Project (www.californiafrontier.net.) aimed at sharing resources for a better understanding of the cultural legacy of early California.

California that he had been seeking. Their conversation became part of a profile that appeared the same year in the *Overland*.

The title that the editors of the *Overland Monthly* gave to Burgess' profile of Doña Sylveria was "The Passing of the Pachecos," in reference to her family's prominent position in Spanish and Mexican California, and to the conviction that she and other Californios were "the last of a vanishing race," one that was not able to withstand what Burgess calls "the force of greater movements ushered in by the conquering, commercial race."

Burgess could hardly be blamed for his patronizing, if sympathetic approach, as he was simply working within the dominant paradigm inspired of late 19th and early 20th century ethnohistory. This paradigm, employed primarily toward Native Americans, was exemplified by historians like Hubert Howe Bancroft, who tried to depict them as a vanishing breed, victims of "the withering hand of civilization" (qtd. in Thomas: 46), much the same way as Burgess and his editors saw the California's Hispanic colonists and their descendants.

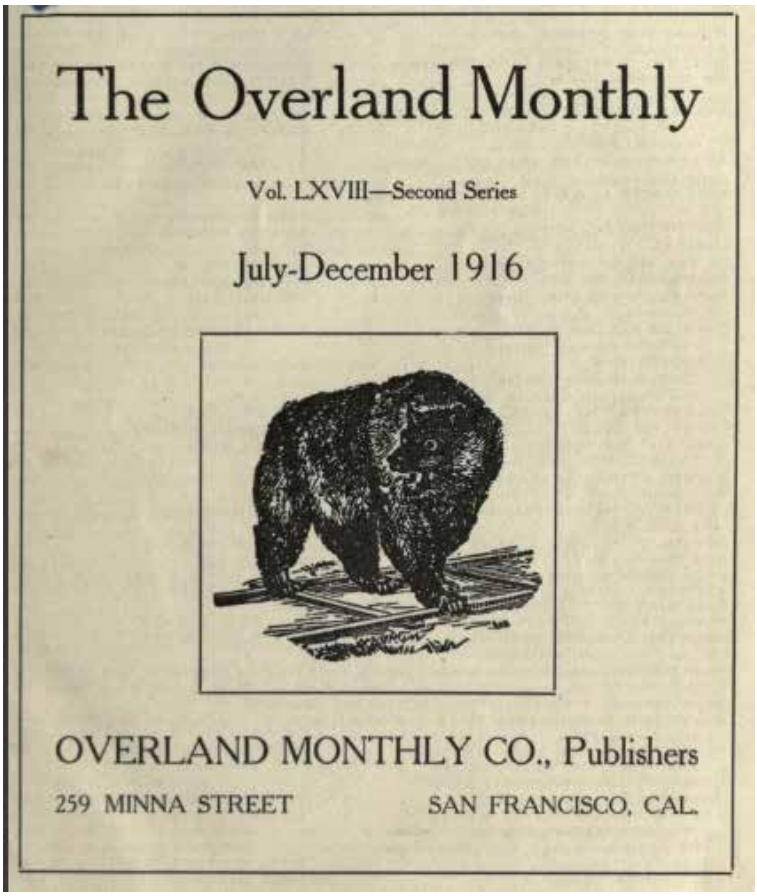

Figure 1. The July-December 1916 edition of the *Overland Monthly*.

In meeting Doña Sylveria, Burgess was captivated by her recollections of her life lived on the Spanish and later Mexican frontier, of her days growing up on a Franciscan mission, and as a Hispanic woman in the early years of American California. In order to further contextualize that life for his readers, Burgess cast Sylveria Pacheco as a relic of the idyllic rancho era, what Burgess calls "the grandeur of California's pastoral days", when "peace and plenty abounded" and "proud se[ñ]ors and bronzefaced muchachos loitered on the cool verandas or in the arbors' shade." Burgess' characterization also drew on a tradition of East Coast writers going back to the 1830s who saw Hispanic California as a place devoid of "traditions, institutions and aspirations" whose inhabitants lived "without any apparent object in life" (Pitt:17).

Against such a backdrop, a reader could be forgiven for believing that Sylveria is nothing more than a fictional character, a literary device serving as a symbol of a simpler and more chivalrous time. And yet,

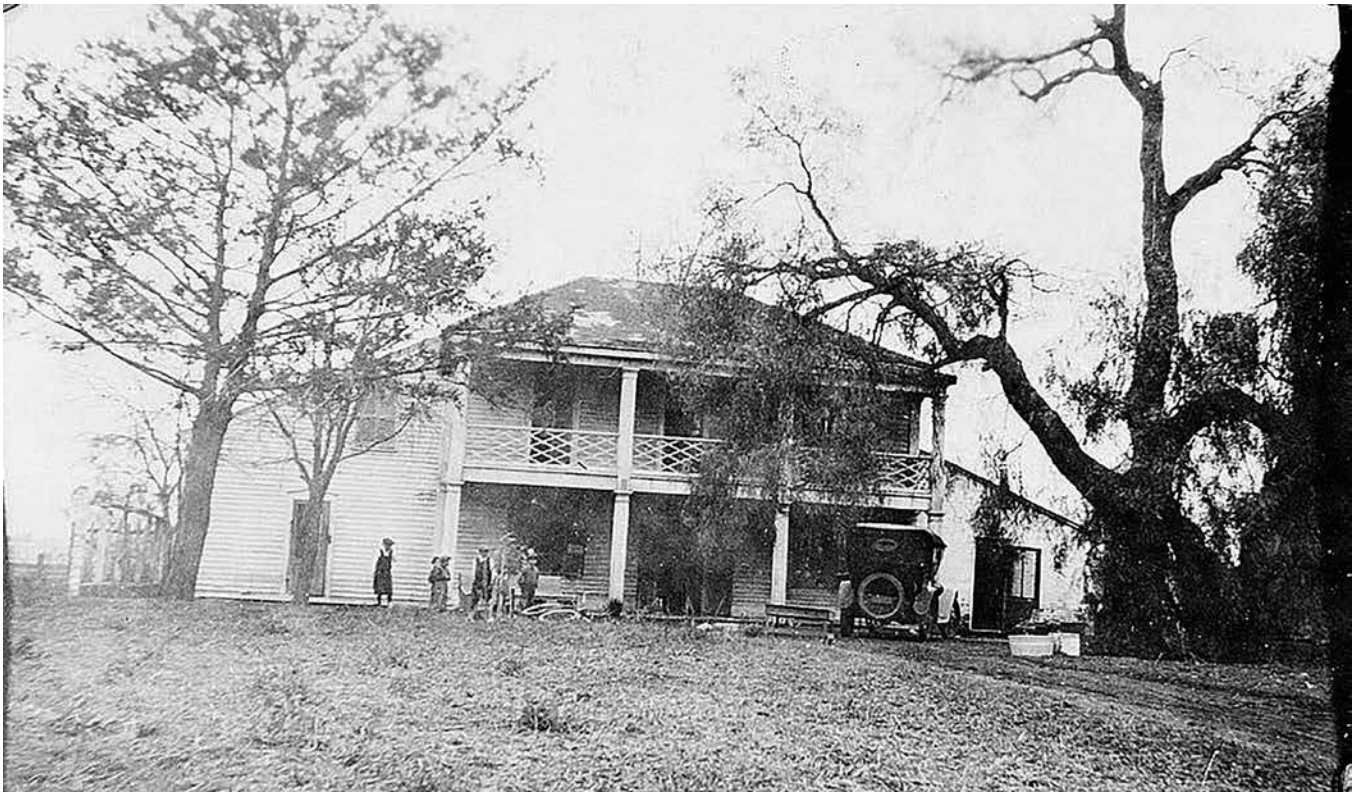

Figure 2. The Salvio Pacheco Adobe circa 1918. Sylveria Pacheco's quarters would have been on the left (south) side of the building. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

far from being a literary device, it seems that Harry Burgess met a real, flesh and blood woman, one whose life had little to do with "peace and plenty," but who instead experienced fully the dramatic nature of life in nineteenth century California. When understood with her historical context, Burgess' profile of Doña Sylveria Pacheco takes on a three dimensional quality that helps the reader to appreciate the uniqueness of a life lived on a changing frontier.

Born June 20, 1811 at the Pueblo of San José de Guadalupe, María Sylveria (sometimes spelled "Silveria")[3] Pacheco y Sánchez was the ninth of 11 children born to settlers Miguel Pacheco y del Valle and Juana María Sánchez de Pacheco.

Before coming to the Santa Clara Valley, Miguel Pacheco had been a *cabo* or corporal at the San Francisco Presidio (Mason: 101). In 1790 he was listed in the census records as being 36 years of age and, according Spanish ethnic categories of the time, he was indicated as *español*, or Spanish.[4] Records indicate was married to Juana María Sánchez, aged 14, also *española*. Juana María was born in Alta California, in August of 1776, just a few months after the founding of the San Francisco Presidio, and was the second child baptized at Mission Dolores (Bancroft 1990: 311).

Miguel was the son of Juan Salvio Pacheco and María Carmen del Valle of Fronteras, Sonora, New Spain (now Mexico). Juan and his

wife were recruited in 1775 to come to Alta California with their five children as part of the second overland expedition led by Juan Bautista de Anza (Mason: 34). Juana was the daughter of Josef Antonio Sánchez of Sinaloa, a soldier who accompanied the Anza expedition, and his wife, María de los Dolores Morales.

The day after her birth, Miguel and Juana brought Sylveria to be baptized at Mission Santa Clara, where she spent most of her life.[5] The mission had been founded some 16 years earlier, on January 12, 1777, by Fr. Tomás de la Peña, a Spanish Franciscan from the College of San Fernando in Mexico City. Just a few days later, Father President Junípero Serra, came to visit, and helped to name it Santa Clara de Asís, after St. Francis' close friend and confidant, St. Clare of Assisi. Over the next several years, unfavorable conditions would cause the padres to move the site of the mission church several times, ultimately settling on a suitable place.

Sylveria's parents brought her to be baptized by Fr. Magín Catalá, one of the Franciscan missionaries stationed there. During the first two decades of her life at Santa Clara, the mission was under the care of Fr. Catalá and his missionary co-worker, Fr. José Viader.

Like many of the missionaries in Alta California, Catalá and Viader were both Spaniards, and had received their missionary formation at the Colegio Apostólico de San Fernando in Mexico, the same college where Junípero Serra had been trained before setting off on his missionary activities.

Born at Montblanch, Catalonia, January 29 or 30, 1761, Catalá became a Franciscan at 16 years old in 1777, and sailed from Spain in 1786. Desirous of becoming a missionary, he was allowed to come to California in 1793 (Engelhardt: 12–17), but was assigned to accompany the frigate *Aranzazú* as chaplain to the expedition to Nootka Sound along the west coast of what is today British Columbia. Under obedience, he stayed with the frigate for a year, but then asked not to be renewed due to a desire to be a missionary among the natives (20). By August of 1794 the friar had arrived in Santa Clara.

A hugely popular figure during his 36-year tenure at the Mission, it was Fr. Catalá who oversaw the building of the fifth and final Mission church between 1822 and 1825, and was instrumental in the construction of the Alameda, the long, shaded causeway between the Pueblo of San José and the Santa Clara mission.

Catalá's main occupation was the spiritual care of the mission population. Relentlessly ascetic — he was said to sleep on the floor, with an adobe brick for a pillow (Engelhardt: 131) — the priest

developed a reputation for sanctity and mysticism that would continue to grow after his death, with stories of miracles, visions and prophecies.

Catala's colleague, Fr. José Viader, was born at Gallimes, Catalonia, on August 27, 1765, and was received into the Franciscan Order in 1788. He joined the missionary College of San Fernando de Mexico in 1795, and was sent to Alta California the following year.

In contrast to the ascetic and ailing Catalá, Viader had a reputation as a strong and robust man full of energy. It was he who oversaw the day-to-day functioning of the mission for over three decades. His voluminous correspondence to his superiors and his own writings about a variety of subjects paint the picture of a man with a lively and sharp mind, interested in all aspects of missionary activity.

During their time in Santa Clara, these two men exercised an enormous degree of influence over everyone associated with Mission Santa Clara. Together, they worked side-by-side for a thirty-year period of growth and prosperity.

Figure 3. The crucifix in the Santa Clara mission church where Fr. Magín Catalá used to pray. Photo by Damian Bacich.

For the first three decades of its existence, missionaries at Santa Clara had focused on recruiting the local native populations throughout the Santa Clara Valley and southward. The year of Sylveria's birth marked the first time native groups the from the great Central Valley entered the sphere of influence of Mission Santa Clara (Skowronek, Thompson, and Johnson: 198). With the incorporation of most of the tribal communities of the southern San Francisco Bay region into the mission economy, and following the expeditions of Gabriel Moraga, the son of Joaquín, and others in to the interior of California, more and more frequent contacts were made with peoples of the Central Valley and Sierra foothills. According to the padres, representatives of these tribes would come or send messages requesting affiliation with the mission. Catalá was reputed to travel as far as the San Joaquin River to make contact with native communities (Engelhardt: 64).

Despite the spiritual gains recorded by the padres at Santa Clara, 1811 also marked the year that regular supply ships from Mexico ceased to arrive regularly. This situation particularly affected the military presidios, which were not capable of supporting themselves as the missions were. Territorial governors began to demand

increased productivity from the missions in order to keep the presidios provisioned. In 1820, after almost a decade of struggling to fulfill both the demands of the mission and of the local presidios, Viader and Catalá penned a long letter of complaint to the governor, requesting relief from the burden of provisioning the military, the only missionaries in Alta California to do so (Geiger: 264).

The 1820s marked a time of transition in Alta California in general, and Santa Clara in particular. Mexico had achieved its independence from Spain in 1821, but the change of regime did not truly make itself felt until 1826, with the arrival from Mexico of Governor José María Echeandía.

Echeandía, "the chief apostle" in the territory of the new republican ideas (Pitt 1966:3), brought with him a will to change the old familiar Spanish world and usher in the new order. In June of 1826, Echeandía published the *Acta Constitutiva y Constitución Federal*, an edict promulgated in Mexico two years earlier, mandating that all male inhabitants were to swear allegiance to the new government. Many of the Spanish Franciscans, including Catalá and Viader, protested, preferring to wait until such time as the Spanish monarchy should recognize an independent Mexico.

The new governor found himself in a tense situation with the padres, but unrest throughout the region, including a large-scale indigenous revolt in 1829 led by Estanislao, an ex-alcalde of Mission San José, soon forced local authorities to focus their efforts on quelling the uprising. Estanislao was aided in his efforts by Cipriano, a neophyte who had abandoned Mission Santa Clara. Together, they defeated a force of 96 soldiers, militiamen and neophytes from Mission Santa Clara in May of that year, occupying much of the governor's attention.

If the decade of the 1820s was a turbulent one, the year 1829 in particular was one of drama in Sylveria's personal life. On April 10, Miguel Pacheco, who was 74 years old and had retired from the army some years earlier, received a fatal blow to the head from an ox. Fr. Viader, in an entry in the funeral book of mission, wrote that he barely had time to confess Miguel "with difficulty" after administering the holy oils (José Viader 1829). As an old and experienced veteran or *inválido*, Miguel Antonio Pacheco had likely been a key figure in the area surrounding Mission Santa Clara, and an important support for the padres and the local *gente de razón*, and his loss would be felt.

Sylveria's father was buried at the Mission cemetery the day after his death, leaving behind his wife Juana María and their nine surviving children.[6] Five were already married: Petra (34 - married to Josef

Bernal), Encarnación (30 — married to Josef Antonio Soto), Paulina (26 — married to Domingo Peralta), Rosa (23 - married to José Maria Cibrián), Francisca (22 — married to Juan Sepúlveda), while four still remained at home: Francisco Xavier (24), Thomasa (20), Sylveria (17), and Trinidad (8) (Northrop: 242). Change had come to Sylveria and her family, and more was on the way.

With independence, more and more foreign ships, long discouraged from entering California harbors, began to bring merchants, sailors and other travelers to visit the once isolated region. Alta California, with its temperate climate and frontier mentality piqued the curiosity of foreign travelers, who would often write down their memories of their visits, enticing others to follow suit. Harvard student Richard Henry Dana, a typical Yankee visitor to Alta California, chronicled his recollections of Santa Clara in his classic seafaring memoir, T*wo Years Before the Mast*. Some of these men—and they were almost all men — like Scotsman James Alexander Forbes, found the territory and its inhabitants attractive enough to make it their home. Forbes, who had lived in Argentina and spoke Spanish, arrived in 1829 and settled in Santa Clara, where he married native daughter María Ana Galindo.

The year following Forbes' arrival, a Prussian nobleman named Karl von Gerolt appeared in Santa Clara. Karl was the elder brother of Baron Friedrich von Gerolt, the secretary to the Prussian Consul General in Mexico City, and was possibly a commercial agent for [Dutch-German merchant Henry] Virmond (Golla 2011: 297). In Alta California, Gerolt was collecting information about Indian languages, and came to know Fr. Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta at Mission San Juan Bautista, who had compiled extensive vocabularies and grammars of indigenous languages in northern Alta California.[7] Karl's brother Friedrich was a friend of explorer and geographer Alexander von Humboldt, so it is possible that Karl was working on behalf of his brother. In a letter addressed to the Prussian Consul General Kopp in Mexico, dated November 20, 1830, Gerolt provided a list of works on native languages that he had compiled, including copies of three of Arroyo's five vocabularies.[8] Gerolt noted that he also planned to forward material he had personally gathered with great difficulty (Golla: 298). Karl, it seems, also had his own direct dealings with Indians in Alta California. Some time later, in a letter to Russian commercial agent Kiril Khlebnikov, Karl requested that "as to the beads that were brought, do not send me the blue ones, the Indians don't want them" (Gibson, et al.: 291).It is not clear why Gerolt was in Santa Clara, but perhaps he had come to spend time with Fr. Catalá, who was conversant in local indigenous languages, and was known to preach sermons in them (Engelhardt: 63).

Less than two days after Gerolt penned his letter to the Prussian Consul in Mexico City, Fr. Catalá died (Engelhardt: 32). Catalá's impact on the life of the Santa Clara mission and the surrounding area had been so great, that at his burial a crush of people rushed to take relics: clothes, his cross, leaving his habit in shreds (34). For decades afterwards both Indians and *gente de razón* would invoke the "soul of Fr. Magin" and burn candles on his grave (37).[9]

After Catalá's death, whatever Gerolt's initial plans were, the aristocrat chose to remain in the relative isolation of Santa Clara. While there, at some point Karl made the acquaintance of Sylveria. Perhaps her life at the mission had exposed her to Indian languages and this had drawn them together. Whatever the case may be, mission records indicate that on Feb. 1, 1832, Karl married Sylveria Pacheco in the Santa Clara mission church. The officiant was Fr. Viader.

In order to receive permission to stay in Mexican California, men such as Forbes and Gerolt were required to adopt Mexican citizenship, and if they weren't already Roman Catholics, accept baptism. Like Forbes, most of these early arrivals integrated into local society and adapted to Mexican Californio ways. Did Karl plan to settle in Alta California with his new bride, as did so many foreign men? Or had he planned to take Sylveria with him back to Germany to live the life of a Prussian aristocrat? We will likely never know. Karl died less than two months after their wedding, on March 19. According to the burial record, which does not list Carl's cause of death, Fr. Viader was able to administer the last sacraments to him and hear his confession, so presumably Karl did not die suddenly, as was the case with Sylveria's father, Miguel.

Carl's death would be among the statistics noted in Fr. Viader's last report from Santa Clara, dated December of 1832. The following year, Fr. José Vader left mission Santa Clara, having served there for 37 years. Viader's departure would mark the end of an era for Sylveria. Within three years, Sylveria, only 20 years old, had not only lost a father, but a husband, together with two of the most influential figures in her childhood, Frs. Catalá and Viader. Unfortunately, her losses would not end yet.

When Karl passed away, the young widow was pregnant. Their child, who would be born in October of 1832, was christened Carlos Antonio Francisco Gerolt, after his father. Like his father, little Carlos would not survive for long, though. On May 5 of 1833, he too, passed away, at only 7 months old.

Carlos' funeral and burial was performed by Fr. José García Diego y Moreno, who had recently come as a replacement for Fr. Viader.

García Diego would serve at Santa Clara until 1835, and would later be named Bishop of both Californias. He had come as part of a cohort of Franciscans sent from the College of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Zacatecas, Mexico. Their arrival signaled the beginning of a new era in the religious life of Alta California.

The new group of padres preceded the government's long-awaited secularization decree, intended to devolve mission properties to their native residents, and reduce the power of the missionaries to the oversight of the church buildings. After native populations were sufficiently acculturated to Hispanic ways, missions were to expected to be converted into parishes, with missionary clergy replaced by diocesan or "secular" priests. In Alta California, though long planned by civil authorities, secularization had thus far been deemed impractical. But by 1833, the project was to begin in earnest.

The man chosen to carry it out was the new governor sent from Mexico, José Figueroa. Figueroa, who had served as a military officer in Sonora, arrived by ship from Tepic in January of 1833 together with García Diego's cohort. Residing at Monterey, Figueroa set about appointing civil administrators for each of the missions, whose task was to inventory and apportion mission property. Since missions were built on indigenous land, each Indian family was to receive its own plot to farm. According to the plan, after all native people had received their allotment, parcels that were deemed as excess could be distributed to *gente de razón*, for use as ranches or large-scale farms.

Figure 4. Harry E. Burgess, author of "The Passing of the Pachecos." From *Illustrated History of Nebraska, Vol. 2* (1906).

In 1834, Figueroa made a visit to Sylveria's mother, Juana, now 58 years old. While there, he urged her to apply for her own land grant. Juana agreed, but since could neither read nor write, the petition was drawn up by James Alexander Forbes (Land Case 46 ND, Rancho Arroyo de las Nueces y Bolbones, n.d., 327). Some months later, Figueroa approved a grant of some 17,734 acres east of the San Francisco Bay, in what is today Contra Costa County, "...in recognition for the bravery shown by her husband in the march with Anza" (Emanuels: vi). The parcel, known as *Rancho Arroyo de las Nueces y Bolbones*,[10] was soon renamed Rancho San Miguel by Juana, in honor of her late husband.

Despite Figueroa's initial efforts, political instability delayed full implementation of the secularization plan at Mission Santa Clara, but also contributed to a general state of decline. Within a span of three years — from 1833 to 1836 — the territory would be ruled by six different governors.

Figueroa himself died in 1835, to be succeeded by five more governors by the end of 1836. By 1837, however Gov. Juan Bautista Alvarado was implementing the secularization decree and local mission properties were being redistributed. And while secularization resulted in a seeming windfall for Sylveria's immediate family, it brought about a radical transformation in the life of Mission Santa Clara.

Without a stable source of income to maintain the mission compounds, the physical condition of the mission buildings began to suffer. By the winter of 1838, the level of decay at Santa Clara was so great that the original adobe bell tower collapsed from erosion due to heavy rains. In a few short years, the number of people living at the mission -- both Hispanics and Indians -- fell from 1,200 in 1836 to only 300 in 1839. Many of those who left were indigenous people led by Yozcolo, an ex-*alcalde* of the mission. Yozcolo's raids provoked the ire of local settlers, and after battles with the army and native auxiliaries, Yozcolo was killed, and his head displayed for several months throughout 1839 in front of the church as a warning to other potential thieves and rebels (Skowronek, et al.: 300).

Despite the turmoil, throughout much of the decade Sylveria made her home in a small number of rooms in the mission compound. She continued to be instrumental in the sacramental life of the parish, as mission records show her serving as both godmother and marriage witness multiple times.

In 1840 Sylveria requested to be granted a building that she had been living in. According to the documents, the dwelling consisted of "three rooms and one kitchen. The first room is 5 *varas* long and 4 wide, the second room is 5 2/3 *varas* long" ("Land and House Grant for Silveria Pacheco" 1840).[11] In her petition, she declared that she had been working for the mission for the previous six years and had received no salary, and that furthermore, she had made improvements to the building.

Governor Juan Bautista Alvarado granted her request on June 2 of that year, in virtue of the "services that she has provided at Santa Clara." The grant was conferred "in the name of the Indians of Santa Clara," and included "the house referred to, with all its belongings." Six years later, judge Dolores Pacheco granted a significant extension to her property of 100 *varas* long and 40 wide in order to even the street, which was not aligned.[12]

Fr. John Nobili, the Jesuit priest who took charge of Mission Santa Clara in 1851, later identified the property as the "Old Residence of the Indian Girls, surrounded by high adobe walls."[13] Nobili was

under the impression that Sylveria's property was given to her by Fr. José María Suárez del Real, the last Franciscan missionary at Santa Clara. Suárez del Real was known to have transferred property to local residents during the waning years of Mexican rule, and Nobili's sources had informed him that the building "was given to Doña Silveria Pacheco, as a recompense, it is said, for services rendered to the Church" (Nobili Undated).[14]

One of the people to whom Suárez del Real did transfer mission property was a certain Mary Bennett, who had immigrated to California from the southern U.S., likely Georgia or North Carolina. In 1845 she arrived in Santa Clara, looking for a place to live, and soon, it seems, struck up a friendship with Sylveria. Recently separated from her husband, and a mother of several children, Mary was independent, ambitious and forceful, qualities that perhaps Sylveria identified with. Fr. Suárez del Real had given Mary permission to live in an old adobe building on the mission grounds, and soon Mary decided that she wished to make the area her permanent home. Mary turned to Sylveria, who communicated the request to Real, who spoke no English. Years later, as a witness during the proceedings of the land grant confirmation, Sylveria described the scene:

> "'I went to the priest — the curate of the mission, and told him that Mrs. Bennett wanted a piece of land there, and she told me that she would give her a piece of land anywhere she wanted it. Mrs. Bennett looked around there for a piece of land, and finally selected the piece which was afterwards given to her" (Langum: 59–60).

Mary Bennett was one of the few Americans living at Santa Clara during the mid-1840s. All that would soon change. In the summer of 1846 war was declared between the U.S. and Mexico. With the outbreak of hostilities, the Californios had a new and more implacable enemy, and the war soon came home to Santa Clara. In late 1846, a wave of immigrants arrived in Santa Clara, likely spurred on by U.S. Army Captain John C. Frémont and his troops, who had passed through the area the previous year.

All in all, approximately 175 adults and children arrived in Santa Clara in fall of 1846. Despite the hostilities Sylveria put her residence to use, taking on boarders from among the swelling foreign population. H. H. Bancroft mentions "Doña Silveria Pacheco rented her house to American settlers in 1846 for $12 per month" (Bancroft et al.: 378). Some of these boarders proceeded to cut down several of the willow trees along the Alameda between the Mission and the San Jose pueblo in order to barricade themselves against a possible stealth attack by Californios (Garcia: 27).

Sylveria's choice to try and earn money from her real estate was likely motivated by pressing need. She had become a mother again, giving birth to José de Jesús María, in April of 1845, though this time she was not married. The second half of the 1840s saw Sylveria give birth to three sons. In addition to José de Jesús María, she also had José Osana (Sep. 11, 1847), and Valeriano (also spelled "Baleriano") (April 14, 1850). In each case, the father was not listed or referred to as "unknown."[15]

The birth of Sylveria's children out of wedlock was to become the object of rumors and gossip, at least among some of the local inhabitants. James Alonzo Forbes, son of James Alexander Forbes, claimed to know the children of Sylveria Pacheco. The Forbes, with their family of 12 children, occupied several rooms in the old mission compound, lent to them by Fr. Jose María Suárez del Real, the mission priest at the time.

Real had served in Carmel and Monterey before being assigned to Santa Clara in 1844. A complex character, he was popular with Californios for his warm and generous demeanor and mistrusted by the area's American residents.[16] Suárez del Real was a member of the cohort of Mexican Franciscans that had arrived in Alta California in early 1833 as replacements for some of the Spanish friars in the northern missions.

In a letter written to Zepheryn Engelhardt in 1908, the younger Forbes claimed that Sylveria was Real's mistress, and that he had fathered some, if not all, of her children. Forbes, who had little, if anything good to say about about the Mexican Franciscans in Alta California, did not identify any of Sylveria's children by name, but he did claim to know some of them, including a daughter.[17]

Despite the rumors, Sylveria continued to have a prominent role in the mission community. According to mission records, during her years in Santa Clara, Sylveria was godmother for at least 63 baptisms, both indigenous and *gente de razón*, including one child born to a Protestant couple, in addition to serving as a witness to numerous marriages.

In 1853, Sylveria's mother, Juana, died. She was 77 years old, and had lived for 24 years as a widow.

Juana María left behind a last will and testament, with her Rancho San Miguel in Contra Costa County to be divided amongst her surviving children and some minor grandchildren.[18] Each was to receive 500 acres of valley land, one ninth of the remaining hill land, and 50 head

of cattle each, with whatever was left over to be divided among them (Emanuels:15).

The news of their inheritance was probably not of much comfort to the Pacheco siblings, however. Juana had never lived at Rancho San Miguel, and by the time of her death, much of it was occupied by Anglo-American squatters farming parcels, a situation that was all-too common in northern California. "By 1853 every rancho within a day's march of the San Francisco Bay had its contingent of uninhibited rampaging guests" (Pitt: 97) claiming rights to the rich pasture land that seemed to underutilized.

Since Californio landholders were not prepared for the onslaught of illegal farming on their land, nor studied in the finer points of American real estate jurisprudence, they were obliged to have their cases reviewed by the Board of Land Commissioners, a three-man commission established as a result of the Land Law of 1851. The commission was charged with weighing the evidence that the disputing parties were able to provide and then reaching a decision about land ownership.

The burden of proof of title was on the Californios. In the case of Juana's heirs, they were able to provide evidence of Gov. Figueroa's grant, with the help of witnesses such as James Alexander Forbes, who had drafted Juana's petition. Ironically, the land commission confirmed the claims of Juana's heirs to their mother's property fairly early, but disputes over the precise location of the boundaries caused the process to drag on for another decade (Land Case 46 ND, Rancho Arroyo de las Nueces y Bolbones).

The patent to Juana's land was ultimately confirmed by the courts, but not before the need for finances caused the Pacheco heirs to give up or sell parcels piecemeal. In the dizzying early years of statehood, with the imposition of an unfamiliar commercial economy, cash-poor and land-rich Californios found that property could be a source of needed liquidity (McDonnell: 179). The year of her mother's death, Sylveria sold 200 acres of land to John F. S. Smith, the sheriff of Contra Costa County. Four years later, she found herself forced to sell another 703 acres in order to cover costs associated with settling her mother's estate (Emanuels: 16). Compounding the problem was the fact that one of the attorneys representing Sylveria and the other heirs in the 1860s was Horace Carpenter, a shady character who had managed to claim a large amount of rancho acreage in the area, until he was blocked by the court from laying claim to parts of Rancho San Miguel (16). By 1870 they could only lay claim to a few hundred acres in total.

In the last years of Juana María's life, Santa Clara had begun to change. What had once been a mission was now the center of a college for boys, founded and run by the Jesuit order. The college was surrounded by "a small hamlet of some 200 people living in a cluster of adobes and simple frame houses," (Garcia: 61) which, the year before, had been incorporated as the Town of Santa Clara by the State Legislature. Although Hispanic residents still made up a significant percentage of the local population, they found themselves in nascent American society, which had no intention of carrying on the old traditions. As an example, in 1854 the Town Trustees of Santa Clara declared a number of what they referred to as "customs and acts" to be nuisances, including bear and bull fighting, a popular sport of the Californios (Garcia: 62).

It is not clear how long after her mother's death that Sylveria remained in Santa Clara, but she eventually left behind the place where she had spent the first four decades of her life. U.S. Census records show that by 1860 she was living in Contra Costa County and had remarried, this time to a Charles H. Coles, 42, whose occupation was listed as "farmer." In her deposition during the land case of Mary Bennett in 1863, Sylveria declared that she resided on Rancho San Miguel in Contra Costa County. According to the Census, other members of the household were Sylveria's son Baleriano, listed as 8 years old, Jesús M. Herrola 15; Caroline (or Carolina) Coles 5; and Charles McClora, 25.[19]

We don't know much about her husband, Coles. The 1860 census lists his age as 42 years old, which would mean that he was 7 years younger than Sylveria (though the same census lists her age as 45). During her deposition in the Mary Bennett case, Sylveria described her husband's occupation as "field laborer," though when pressed for more details she replied, "He works his own farm and sometimes works for others" (BANC MSS Land Case Files 361 ND: 327). Records indicate that in 1861 Coles and a group of farmers petitioned the Contra Costa County Board of Supervisors to build a road through what is today Walnut Creek (Emanuels: viii).

In 1860 also marked the year in which Sylveria renounced her claim to property at Mission Santa Clara. Records show that she and Coles deeded her building to the Jesuits, who had founded Santa Clara College on the site of the mission, and who were looking to gain control over as many properties on the old mission grounds as possible. Though it is not clear if any money changed hands, the records on file at the Santa Clara Mission archives show that Coles signed the document and Sylveria — who had never learned to write — left her mark, as she had done twenty years earlier on her land grand petition.

By 1870, Sylveria was in Oakland, living with her son José María, then 25 years old and working as a teamster. Together with them lived José María's wife Alicia (18), and a Carolina Pacheco (15), likely the Caroline Coles listed in the 1860 census, whose occupation was listed as "at school."

Land continued to be a needed source of cash for Sylveria. In May of 1874, she sold two large parcels of cemetery land she owned. The land fell within the boundaries of the Alhambra Cemetery, which had been founded in what is today the City of Martinez. In the record of sale, which amounted to a grand total of fifty dollars — a very small amount, even in 1874 — Charles H. Coles was listed as deceased. The sale was witnessed by Francisco Galindo (married to Sylveria's cousin, Dolores) and Thomas A. Brown, a county judge, who just a few weeks later, was to preside over the civil wedding of Sylveria's son Baleriano to Eloise Sibrian.

At the next U.S. Census, in 1880, Sylveria appears as 67 years old and living in Concord. This time she was named as "head of household," and Baleriano (29), whose occupation is listed as "laborer" was with her. Baleriano's wife Eloise, does not appear with them in the census records, and Baleriano's marital status is recorded as "single".

After 1880, Sylveria seems to disappear from public record. When Burgess met her over 35 years later, she was still living in Concord, on what Burgess calls "the old Pacheco homestead," owned by her cousin, Salvio. Salvio's father, Ygnacio Pacheco, was the brother of Sylveria's father, Miguel. Salvio was granted *Rancho Monte del Diablo* (Devil's Thicket) at the foot of Mt. Diablo in 1834, close to Juana's Rancho San Miguel. In the late 1860s, Don Salvio and his son, Fernando — who had managed to retain some of their original property — established the town of *Todos Santos* (All Saints), among other things, to accommodate Anglo-American settlers and merchants who had been displaced by a major earthquake in 1868. The new residents never accepted the town's Spanish name and took to calling it "Concord." The remaining Pacheco property eventually formed the central town square of Concord, when the city was incorporated in 1909.

If Burgess visited Don Salvio's home in 1916, or in late 1915, Sylveria would have had plenty of time to reminisce on her life and experiences. She was now after all, 105 years old (though Burgess' article states her age as 90), and had lived a full life.

Although not as detailed and extensive as the testimonials recorded in the late 19th century by H.H. Bancroft's collaborators, when viewed

with what we know about Sylveria's life, these snippets of conversation provide precious insight into the reflections of a Hispanic Californio woman and a widow who had lived through three regimes.

The Sylveria we meet in Burgess' account, although elderly,[20] is strong and independent: "Grandma lives her own life, and does just as she chooses," one of her grandchildren tells the writer. In Burgess' view, Sylveria is "intensely dramatic." Her recollections of "bygone days" are those of "heroism, sacrifice and joy," including fond memories of "los Indios," whom she describes as "industrious, friendly and eager to learn."

The conversation soon turns to her property at Mission Santa Clara, which she deeded back to the Jesuits in 1860, together with Charles. Although she lost so many hundreds of acres of real estate under the U.S. regime, it is the loss of her property in Santa Clara that pains her most. "'Here is the church,' she explains, drawing a line with a walking stick, 'and on that side is my property. They took it from me, and they have it, but it is mine!'"

Referencing the outbreak of the U.S. — Mexico War and soldiers in occupied Santa Clara, Sylvia speaks of her emotions at seeing foreign troops: "Yes, Fremont and his men came; and when we heard the roar of the cannon we were greatly frightened..." And although she criticizes the era ushered in by the "Americanos" as one of "dollars and cents, discord, disease and strife," she soon remembers the upheavals of the 1830s and 40s: "It is well they came, however, for our officials were ever warring with one another, or harassing the people. Our own people did not always treat us right." In this judgment she is not far from the stance of another *Californiana*, Angustias de la Guerra, who, in the words of Rose Marie Beebe and Robert Senkewicz, "despised the conquest, but in her very next breath felt compelled to say that California was in very bad shape before the invasion" (Beebe and Senkewicz: xxxiv).

Burgess is surprised by the fact that Sylveria does not dwell on what he calls the "blissful, uneventful days" of "the old aristocracy." She instead seems content to live out her days in her quarters on her cousin's property, which he says take up the "entire southern exposure of the old adobe." He describes them as plain, humble and tidy: "An antique of the Madonna, and a golden crucifix are the chief adornments — the gift of a padre of Zacatecas," likely Suárez del Real.

And yet, despite his admiration for her apparent stoicism, our author finishes his profile with a curiously sinister implication, telling us

that there is a "sombre shadow" that hangs over Sylveria's life. It is "the anti-climax of her heroic career — her later marriage to an American," presumably Coles. "In one fell sentence, rife with sarcasm and contempt," Sylveria reveals what Burgess calls "the dire secret" and her opinion of her late husband. "'He was bad! Stole all I had and threw it away; then I sent him on a journey.'" In case the reader is confused, Burgess coyly supplies a hint at what Sylveria means by "a journey": "The gesture accompanying the Se[ñ]ora's word picture of the summary disposal of her Gringo consort had done credit to a Medici."

What are we to make of the Sylveria Pacheco depicted by Harry E. Burgess? The reference to "a Medici" calls to mind Catherine de Medici, the sixteenth century queen popularly known for ordering the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre of Huguenots in France. This is in dramatic and puzzling contrast to the quaint and "hospitable Senora" whom the author earlier described as "the embodiment of intelligence, kindness, cheer."

As fascinating as Burgess' profile of Sylveria Pacheco is, the scant historical information about her leaves us with a number of unanswered questions. The actual fate of her late husband, Charles Coles, and his final resting place, is one of those, as is that of Sylveria herself.

Although it seems she lived out her days on her cousin Salvio's property in Concord, no obituary for her has been found to date. Microfilm records of local newspapers for the years 1916-1919 have yet to reveal anything, nor do there seem to be records of her in the registries of local Catholic parishes or cemeteries in Contra Costa County.[21] Unless more information comes to light, it could be supposed that when she died, Sylveria may have been buried on her family's property, rather than in a cemetery plot. Another possibility is the Live Oak Cemetery, a small area of land that

Figure 5. The Live Oak Cemetery in Concord, California, a possible final resting place of Sylveria Pacheco. Photo by Damian Bacich.

Salvio Pacheco designated as a cemetery to serve local residents at the time the city of Todos Santos was founded. Members of the Pacheco and Soto families are known to be interred at Live Oak, but the cemetery has fallen into disrepair, with many headstones are damaged or missing, making verification difficult.

One of the most captivating questions surrounds the issue of Sylveria's sons born between 1845 and 1850. While census data municipal records have revealed their whereabouts during the latter half of the 19th century, there is more work that needs to be done to uncover their story and that of their descendants, most of whom likely remained in Contra Costa County well into the 20th century.

Of course, the other remaining mystery is who their father is. As mentioned above, the most commonly held opinion ascribes it to José María Suárez del Real, the last Franciscan missionary to serve at Mission Santa Clara. As previously mentioned, the main basis for designating Real as the father of Sylveria's children is the statement of James Alonzo Forbes quoted above. Forbes' accusation is taken from a letter he wrote to Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M, the author of the multivolume history of the California missions, *The Missions and Missionaries of California*, written between 1908 and 1915. The letter, which is conserved at the Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library (Forbes), is part of the documentation that Engelhardt was collecting as part of the effort to beatify Fr. Magín Catalá, and later appeared in his biography of Catalá, *The Holy Man of Santa Clara* (1909).

Whether out of fear of scandal or mistrust of his source, Engelhardt chose not to include Forbes' allegations in any of his numerous writings about Franciscans in Alta California. They did, however, appear in Maynard Geiger's 1969 work, *Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California: 1769-1848*, which became a standard reference work for historians of the mission era in Alta California. In it, the Franciscan historian combines Forbes' accusations with those of Doroteo Ambris, a priest who arrived in Alta California from Mexico in 1841, as part of an effort to build up a diocesan clergy in the territory. Ambris, who later became a close friend of Forbes,[22] leveled a number of allegations of unethical activity against the Mexican Franciscans in Alta California as part of an ecclesiastical dispute between the Franciscans and Bishop Thaddeus Amat surrounding jurisdiction over Mission Santa Barbara. According to Ambris, Real had been a scandalous example of immorality in both the Monterey Peninsula (his first assignment) and Santa Clara.[23]

The authoritative nature of Geiger's book has led to Ambris' and Forbes' statements to be repeated uncritically numerous times over

Figure 6. The Salvio Pacheco Adobe as it appears today. Photo by Damian Bacich.

the years. Yet while the dates of Real's service in Santa Clara seem to align neatly with the narrative (1844-1851), Real is by no means the only possible candidate for fathering Sylveria's children.

A telling episode in this regard comes from the 1877 testimonial of Juan Pablo Bernal, dictated to Thomas Savage, a member of the team assembled by Hubert Howe Bancroft to transcribe the memories of prominent Californios for his massive *History of California*. In one passage of his testimony, Bernal, who was roughly Sylveria's age and the heir to a large rancho (Rancho Santa Teresa) in the Santa Clara Valley, recounted the story of how he and several other *rancheros* pursued a group of Indian cattle rustlers in 1848. When the Californios eventually closed with the Natives, a brutal hand-to-hand combat ensued (Hagemann:185). As a result of the fighting, one of the Californios, Cornelio Hernández, received an arrow wound through the throat, though he managed to dictate a final will and testament. In addition to requesting that a Mass be said for his soul, and bequeathing his saddle and spurs to his brother, he mentioned

"Silveria Pacheco and Carmen Berryessa, his sweethearts, 'that they commend my soul to God and don't forget me.'" According to Bernal, "on hearing this, everyone shook with laughter in spite of the graveness of the situation" (Hagemann:187).[24]

In her younger days, Sylveria Pacheco clearly had her admirers, and at an advanced age, her warmth, her wit and her fiery emotion were still capable of intriguing her visitors such as Burgess, eager to experience "the old glory of the romantic period." Viewed in isolation, his portrait of her might merely be a continuation of the narrative of early Anglo-American visitors to Alta California, who created what Leonard Pitt called "an imaginary construct of two-dimensional characters moving about against a pleasant background" (Pitt:17).

Yet when taken together with the few words of transcribed deposition and the facts surrounding her life, what emerges is a complex image of determination and survival on a changing frontier. The nobility that Harry E. Burgess saw in Sylveria's demeanor was therefore not the result of a privileged upbringing among "the old aristocracy," but the consequence of years of hardship, joy and willingness to adapt to continually changing circumstances.

María Sylveria Pacheco del Coles never learned to write her memoirs like prominent Californio figures such as Mariano Vallejo, nor did she have scribes taking detailed dictation of her recollections, like the Californios interviewed by Hubert Howe Bancroft's researchers. This rough sketch is just the beginning of an effort to tell her story and the stories of those like her in a more complete way. Hopefully, as more details will emerge about her life, the effort can be successful.

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Endnotes

1. Despite the lack of respect it received from literary critics, the *Overland* counted among its contributors writers such as Jack London, Joaquin Miller and Josiah Royce. See May 1950.

2. Burgess' father had been an Indian agent in Nebraska, and young Harry had spent much of his youth among the Native peoples of the Great Plains. Dismayed at their treatment under the reservation system, he later published a book of his reflections titled *God Before the White Man Came; The Indian Paradise Invaded by Emissaries of Foreign Gods - The Red Man's Burden — The Combat of Primitive Man with a Deluge of Religious Frenzy, Falsity and Greed.*

3. Like many Hispanic women of the time, Sylveria was given the first name "María", but went by her middle name.

4. Spanish concepts of race and ethnicity were quite fluid, especially on the frontier. See Mason: 45-64.

5. Both Northrop: 243 and Bancroft: 716, indicate that her parents settled at the Pueblo of San José (according to Northrop in 1793, Bancroft, 1797). In a deposition taken during a land grant case in the 1860s, Sylveria declared that, although she was born in the Pueblo of San José, she had always resided at Mission Santa Clara (BANC MSS Land Case Files 361 ND: 327).

6. Two of the Pacheco children, María del Carmen and José Luciano, had died some years earlier (Northrop: 63).

7. For an overview of Arroyo de la Cuesta's work, see Fountain 2013.

8. These are preserved in the Humboldt Archives in Berlin. Gerolt's copy includes three words not found in Arroyo (Golla: 20).

9. The process for his canonization would be opened by Bishop Joseph Sadoc Alemany in 1882, though never concluded.

10. "Arroyo de las Nueces" (Walnut Creek) referred to the main creek that flows through the area, and the walnut trees that grew there. "Bolbones" was a reference to the local native people.

11. A *vara* is roughly 33 inches.

12. According to maps preserved in the Santa Clara University Archives and Special Collections, Sylveria's property likely was on the north side of the mission church, near what is today Franklin Street.

13. At most, if not all of the Alta California missions, it was normal to have a separate structure to house unmarried Indian girls. According to Skowronek (221), there was a building near the mission church that was pressed into service as a home for neophyte boys, but as yet no reference to quarters for young women has been found.

14. Nobili and his Jesuit confreres were under the impression that the last Franciscan missionary at Santa Clara, José María Suárez del Real, had squandered most of the mission resources by granting real estate to his cronies.

15. A review of mission baptismal records reveals that Sylveria's situation was perhaps not so unusual. Between 1788 and 1845 at least 60 children born in Santa Clara to "unknown father" (*padre no conocido*) ("Early California Population Project Database." 2006).

16. For more about Real, see Bacich (2017).

17. Forbes' characterization of Real and his possible children carries a number of inaccuracies that make it suspect, including the fact that there are no records of Sylveria ever giving birth to a daughter. Many of the accusations he makes against Real refer to events before Forbes was born.

18. These were: Sylveria, Francisca, Trinidad, Encarnación, Rosa, and Francisco, as well as grandchildren Daniel Bowen and the three children of her daughter Paulina, who had passed away. (Land Case 46 ND, Rancho Arroyo de las Nueces y Bolbones:100).

19. Among the people living with Sylveria and Charles, it would seem that Caroline Coles may have been Coles' daughter from a previous relationship, while Herrola and McClora may have been farm hands.

20. If the encounter took place in 1916, Sylveria would actually have been 105 years old. Sylveria seems to have had a humorous attitude about her age. During her testimony in the Mary Bennett case in 1863, when asked to state her name and age, she jokingly replied, "My name is Silveria Pacheco and I am over 21 years of age." She would have been 51 at the time (BANC MSS Land Case Files 361 ND: 321).

21. There is record of a Sylveria Pacheco interred at St. Mary's Cemetery in Oakland, California, however according to staff members at the cemetery, the deceased is an infant who died at 5 days old in 1873. It is, however, likely that she is related to "our" Sylveria Pacheco.

22. James Alonzo Forbes lived for many years at Jolon, near Mission San Antonio, where Ambris served from 1846 to 1883.

23. For more background on the dispute, see Neri.

24. This quote is from the article author's translation. He renders the word *novias* as "sweethearts."

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Appendix

The Passing of the Pachecos
Reprinted from The Overland Monthly (*July-December 1916*)
pp. 251-254

By Harry E. Burgess

Todos Santos

NESTLED among the Contra Costa hills, California, is the little valley of the San Ramon. It is early spring — a composite day, half rain, half shine — light and shadows interchanging. Aboard an old-time coach-and-tour, a joyous group of passengers are rolling on toward Concord. Following a wondrous burst of sun gleam from the vortex of the troubled skies, how assiduously, it rains! Surely the sun's valiant forces shall yet be vanquished. Meanwhile onward we dash, catching from the exposed front and rear of the rolling ark rarest glimpses of green vale, mountain side and running stream.

For miles in our wake extend the avenues of oak and native walnut. Diablo's twin peaks are lost in vaporous banks of gray. Behold, the swirling clouds are mobilized to storm the distant peaks that would obstruct their courses. Again, the opaque heavens part, and light in wavering columns deluges the earth. The almond groves are radiant in white and amethyst, and gorgeously festooned in jeweled raindrops. Robin and blue jay are hiding in the copse.

The stage carrying the mails to Martinez stops at the quaint old town of the Dons. When the proud Pachecos were in their ascendency, it was with mingled apprehension and disdain that the new town growing at the "Devil Mountain's" base was viewed by the inhabitants.

Concord! — our signal to disembark — for truly we had voyaged amidst the waters. Emerging from a veritable chrysalis of robes and rubber folds, we enter the neat hostelry bearing the name of the town, where, at once surrounded by genial friends, as if by touch of magic wand, we are cosily established in our temporary home.

The Old Senora.[1]

Strolling to the border of the town, and passing through the big ranch gate, we wend our way across the fields to the old Pacheco homestead. Entering the courtyard, and following the walk toward the veranda, we see, crouching among the shrubs and flowers, the form of an aged woman, robed in black. It is the old Senora, a gentle, fascinating creature — the almost sole survivor of her time, and the inspiration of this sketch.

"Good morning, Senora," we venture.

"Buenos dias a ustedes, Senores" comes the pleasant salutation, in reassuring tones.

The old Senora, aged 90 years, sits on the ground beside a mammoth Pelargonium, about which she is hacking the soil with a small implement. Undaunted, she wages her petty warfare against the weeds within reach, only casting keen, furtive glances toward her aggressors.

"Your gracious pardon, Senores! It is all that the old may do — just potter around, pass the time, and wait. But you are welcome, buenos Senores! You do me honor."

The silence befitting the scene is broken by a cheery voice bidding us welcome, and we turn to greet the present occupant of the old mansion, and the guardian of the old Senora. Here upon the verdant plain, within the cloister of these rude walls, lives this Dona of the old regime, contented in her peaceful isolation. There is

a royalty distinct from empires; and it is to God's unrecorded legion that the Dona Sylveria Pacheco belongs. A colossal grapevine fills the spacious courtyard, forming a canopy of cooling shade in the midsummer days. There is a low whitewashed fence, and a pepper tree of surpassing symmetry and grandeur standing guard above a granite corner post which bears the initials of Don Salvio Pacheco — the pioneer standard bearer of the Pacheco name and fame unto this region of the coast.

"Grandma lives her own life, and does just as she chooses," we are informed, "and she must be out of doors and working about in her own way." And inquiring about her health, we are told that the Senora is seldom sick. The adage, "Whom the gods love," etc., seems to have been reversed in the Senora's case, for here we have age in evident harmony with divinity, persisting in projecting her life into an alien era, maintaining her serenity and mental vigor, and withal, smiling, and even defying "the gods."

The old Senora, discovering herself as being the object of special interest, quietly puts aside her task, and takes a seat upon the stationary bench alongside the old adobe wall. In a few rapidly uttered sentences in her own Castilian, she is inquiring about her visitors — at which we beg to have some amends made to the dear lady for the bold venture in trespassing upon her peaceful domain.

"No, no! No es nada!" the Senora answers with despairing gestures, indicating that her life's affairs are insignificant compared with the honor bestowed upon her by the arrival of strangers within her gates. "It is well you have come. Gracias!"

The simple words of honest intent, the unwavering tone, the serene composure, with the Senora's keen, dark eyes, peering as through the corridors of Time, all seem marvelous. She seems the embodiment of intelligence, kindness, cheer. Upon being informed that her visitors are simply traveling about, taking interest in everything Californian, and are pleased beyond measure to see her for her own sake, and to find her looking well and happy, the sibyl makes reply: "Yes, yes. It is well. You are good. You will prosper. But I am only old; and the old soon pass on to other realms."

The entire southern exposure of the old adobe forms the Senora's quarters. Here she is sole occupant of her affairs, without attendants, save the kindly oversight of relatives — particularly "Carlos." At her frequent and fond mention of this name, one fancies a frolicking lad out chasing his butterflies and birds. It is evidently the sole bit of romance in the old Senora's life. With what surprise are we greeted by a handsome, stalwart gentleman of full six feet, introduced as Mr. Pacheco! — the Senora's hero and pet, and by whom she is idolized. Displaying a number of fine specimens of needlework, the product of her own aged hands — not a fault discernible in the stitching — the Senora glances toward her adorable Carlos, and murmurs softly: "These are for my boy!"

Among her many and notable characteristics, the Senora Sylveria Pacheco is intensely dramatic. She rises to the occasion as in vivid recollection she momentarily relives the past. Discoursing freely in reminiscence of her girlhood and the old Mission life at Santa Clara, a veil is lifted from the scenes of bygone days, each detail becoming animate, significant in the impressive portrayal. Days of heroism, sacrifice and joy! She dwells with fondly emphasis upon "los Indios" (the Indians of the old Missions.) They were industrious, friendly and eager to learn; they performed on musical instruments, and sang from books at the service. The books and violins are preserved at the church in Santa Clara, the Senora adds.

Arising, she seizes a formidable looking staff and draws a line upon the floor. "Here is the church," she explains, "and on that side is my property. They took it from me, and they have it, but it is mine!" Thus with tottering form, determined manner, the complaisant Senora is metamorphosed to a veritable Meg Memeles, staff in hand, mapping out her possessions upon the old adobe floor. Resuming her seat, and with her wrinkled face caressingly inclined upon the staff, the Senora continues:

"We would ride to Monterey in the careta, drawn by oxen. The careta had wooden wheels, and for oiling them we carried a beef's horn of soft soap. Scattered over the bottom of the vehicle, young and old alike, we would

sometimes ride all day. We also rode horseback in journeying to town to buy goods. Ah, those were different days! All is changed now."

The old Senora sees the humor of it all. What a mode of rapid transit and pleasure touring in the sweet pastoral days! — the stupid oxen trudging their weary way, munching at the roadside herbage, the women gossiping, with babies, the lumbersome car, without seats or springs, and all in the heat and dust; halting for repast by the cooling stream, beneath the wondrous shade of oaks; fording rivers, mounting and descending the hills. Surely, Don Quixote had seen in their approach a royal embassy en route to a coronation.

Referring to the advent of the Americans, the Senora remarked: "Yes, Fremont and his men came; and when we heard the roar of the cannon we were greatly frightened. We wanted to run and hide. It is well they came, however, for our officials were ever warring with one another, or harassing the people. Our own people did not always treat us right. They would ride into the houses, or head their horses in the doorway, would demand whatever they might want, and treat us with contempt. Oh, it was well enough they came — los Americanos. I was young then. It was long ago, but I remember it all!"

Inquiring whether they were subject to the common ills in those days of the simple life, she replies: "No, Senor! The sickness came as the settlements thickened about us. We were stronger then; and we used medicinal herbs which we gathered and preserved against such ailments and accidents. Among them were the Yerba Santa and Yerba Buena, which, you know, no doubt; and the Yerba de Golpe. Some of them were very wonderful in their effect."

Questioned about the secret of her own remarkable preservation, the Senora attributed it to her outdoor life, plain diet, regular habits — and the plunge bath. She never uses liquors, but fruits of all kinds she partakes of freely; and above all does not grieve. In a word, our heroine is optimistic, brave, serene!

Inspired by the pervading atmosphere of sympathy and candor we asked: "Do you never get tired of the world, Senora?"

There was a wistful, trusting glance toward her inquisitor, a smile upon the dear, aged face, a moment's silence when, with a resoluteness, awe inspiring, she gestures heavenward, closes her eyes, and with staff and body swaying rhythmically, and nodding her head in solemn assent, her lips move to the syllables: "Si, si! My place is there."

One is forcibly impressed with the plainness, tidiness and comfortableness of the Senora's surroundings — fresh air abounding, and spotless linen giving grace to all. A banquet might be served upon the floor. A halo of peace rests over the humble abode. An antique of the Madonna, and a golden crucifix are the chief adornments — the gift of a padre of Zacatecas.

Leaving the old adobe through a broad hall and deep doorway, passing along a wide veranda, down the garden walk, one enters a tiny grove of willows where is disclosed an artesian fountain flowing into a reservoir which the bath house partially conceals. Trailing vines fall to the water's edge, and gleaming fishes dart athwart the limpid pool. Here the Senora takes her morning plunge in ecstasy of abandon, immune from aught of profane intrusion.

But little remains of the old glory of the romantic period, before the gold conquest; but whilst hospitality survives, and the Pacheco name is perpetuated, along with numerous others of the first nobility, it were but a leap of happy fancy to reinstate the glorious past, and clothe the prosaic present with a semblance of the grandeur of California's pastoral days.

In the olden time the Pacheco herds numbered by thousands. Peace and plenty abounded. During the long afternoons the proud senors and bronzefaced muchachos loitered on the cool verandas or in the arbors' shade, jesting, talking love in sequestered nooks, thrumming the quaint guitar, or telling tales of war or of La Fiesta.

To this revelry, or dolce far niente phase of the old aristocracy regime, the Senora scarcely alludes. Her nature is of the sterner fibre. She is not striving for effect; she has no patronizing tone; no apologies to offer. She knows full well that those blissful, uneventful days were destined to oblivion; that the primitive institutions could not withstand the force of greater movements ushered in by the conquering, commercial race. She even characterizes the new era as a dispensation "of dollars and cents, discord, disease and strife" — and comments with the wisdom of irony: "It is well!"

"The women gambled in those days," the Senora avers. Then observing the crucifix being regarded with special interest, thus she hurls forth a bit of its tragic history: "It was stolen from me once, but I recovered it — gracias, Madre de Dios!"

There is one sombre shadow on the old Senora's life, the anti-climax of her heroic career — her later marriage to an American. In one fell sentence, rife with sarcasm and contempt, she explodes the dire secret: "He was bad! Stole all I had and threw it away; then I sent him on a journey." The gesture accompanying the Senora's word picture of the summary disposal of her Gringo consort had done credit to a Medici.

After exchanging felicitations, and receiving pressing invitations to call again, we take leave of the hospitable Senora and her friends.

Endnote

1. Throughout this appendix we have left the spelling of Spanish words as it is in the original. – D. Bacich

NOTHING BUT A THING
A Visual Glossary of California Mission Era Traditional Technologies and Material Cultures

Rubén G. Mendoza and Kate M. Mayer

> We fail to see that things are connected to and dependent on other things. We do not recognize that they are not inert. And we forget they have temporalities different from ours, until those temporalities intrude in on us, causing us to take action.
>
> Ian Hodder, 2012: 6

About the Authors
Dr. Rubén G. Mendoza is an archaeologist, writer, photographer, and founding faculty member and Chair of the School of Social, Behavioral & Global Studies at the CSU Monterey Bay. He has conducted archaeological and ethnohistorical investigations in California, Colorado, the US Southwest, and Mesoamerica. His 150 articles, chapters, reviews, and books include a forthcoming Rizzoli New York contribution with Melba Levick titled ***The California Missions*** (2018). His Archives & Archaeology consulting credits include his role as content expert for the successful National Park Service (San Antonio Missions National Historical Park) UNESCO World Heritage List designation. In 2015, he served as an invited guest and expert witness for the Serra Symposium convened at the Augustinianum in Rome, and on May 2nd was invited to partake of a Pontifical Mass and tribute to the Blessed Junípero Serra with Pope Francis and the seminarians of the Pontifical North American College in Vatican City.

Introduction

Material culture presents opportunities for the interpretation of those dynamics and relationships obtaining between the social, political, economic, and symbolic contexts within which cultural traditions were embedded and or produced (Mendoza and Torres, 1994; Kahn, 2003; Baird and Ionescu, 2014). Nevertheless, the art and artifacts or material cultures of early Spanish California are often perceived as static or inert constructs or reflections of a colonial tradition or condition, and thereby perceived as bereft of that dimension of sociocultural change identified with indigeneity or hybridity (Hodder 2012: 4). This essay constitutes a progress report on a current multimedia project that seeks to address the extent to which individuals and communities appropriated, adapted, or substituted introduced Hispanic, Mexican, and Native Californian artifacts and technologies to suit community needs based on environmental constraints and social networks in the Californias. As such, we present a visual overview of a complex mosaic of traditional technologies, both indigenous and introduced, whose variable adoption by the early peoples of California set the stage for an oscillating frontier of innovation, resilience, and accommodation. Drawing on the ongoing development of a visual glossary of California

mission art and artifacts presently under construction by the authors for addressing just such change, and cultural continuities and discontinuities, this essay presents a cursory review of the impressive breadth of material cultural types and technologies adopted, co-opted, or wholly transfigured in the context of colonial California (Mendoza and Torres, 1994; Mendoza 2014a, 2014b; Mendoza and Lucido 2014).

Before proceeding, it should be noted that California mission studies scholar, and co-author, Dr. Rubén G. Mendoza, produced all photographic images upon which this project has been defined. His longstanding interests in material cultures, and those of the indigenous and Hispanic traditional technologies of California and the Southwest are represented in a host of previous publications (Mendoza and Torres, 1994). The project was launched in the summer of 2016 when co-author Kate M. Mayer, a student of Archaeology and Ancient History matriculated at that time at the University of St. Andrews in Scotland, first contacted Professor Mendoza about the prospects of engaging an archaeology internship in either Mesoamerican or California mission studies. After several preliminary queries, and an initial meeting, the idea of producing a visual glossary for identifying the art and artifacts of the California and Southwest missions and presidios was advanced. Given her proficiency with Adobe Photoshop photo editing, Kate Mayer coordinated her efforts with Professor Mendoza such that some 23 distinct categories were ultimately decided upon to launch the project, and Mendoza drew upon his extensive photographic collections of both indigenous and Hispanic or Spanish colonial and Mexican material culture, architecture, and art. Admittedly, the collections span the gamut of both authentic material cultures, and selected facsimiles, documented by Mendoza from throughout the Californias, and from across the US Southwest and Mexico.[1]

Refining the Visual Glossary

The accompanying plates and figures constitute a cross-section of those images culled from the larger corpus of objects already prepared for the visual glossary so as to provide the viewer with some semblance of the wealth of art and artifacts. Those plates represented here constitute those pages represented

About the Authors, cont.
Kate M. Mayer is a student of archaeology and ancient history who has completed studies at the University of St. Andrews in Scotland. She is presently matriculated at Monterey Peninsula College in anticipation of entering the CSU Monterey Bay Archaeology Program under the direction of Professor Rubén G. Mendoza. Her efforts on the *Visual Glossary*, and by extension, this specific contribution, were centered on the editing of hundreds of images from the personal collections of Professor Mendoza. She aspires to continue work with the archaeology of the California missions.

Figure 1. The Academia de San Carlos, Mexico City. Photo © 2017 Rubén G. Mendoza.

in our California Mission Directors and Curators Conference paper convened at Mission Santa Inés on Friday, February 17, 2017. As such, our aim here is to represent a generic cross section of selected industrial and craft items presently being considered for inclusion in the proposed visual glossary. At present, we have isolated some 600 individual specimens for identification and use in the developing visual glossary on California missions' art and architecture. We are in turn coordinating with a software engineer, Michael Orts, on developing an online search engine for identifying California missions' art and architecture. Otherwise, our objective is to see through the publication of a full-color flip book for use in the field of mission studies.

At present, we seek your input in identifying specific items as per their Spanish colonial, Mexican, and or other Native California terms. If you have information specific to the naming of any one or more items represented in this preliminary selection, please contact Ruben G. Mendoza at info@ArchivesArchaeology.com.

Abastecimientos - Aqueducts, Canals, Fountains, and Dams

When preliminary planning was undertaken to launch the visual glossary project, we first proposed organizing all visuals within three to four primary categories. This plan soon expanded to 19, and ultimately 23, primary categories, including waterworks such as those pictured here. The proposed categories were initially based on what we perceived to constitute major themes identified

with the architectural and material cultures specific to the Spanish or Fernandino and Hispanicized Indian communities of early California. Given the significance of water in the founding of the mission and presidio settlements of the region, we first undertook to review water transport and containment features ranging from *zanjas* or canals to dams or *presas* and mills or *molinos* (Long 1991: P12). Insofar as those waterworks depicted here, we sought to represent both major and minor features and elements, spanning primary industrial, as well as stylistic and esthetic dimensions, including major hydraulic and agricultural versus domestic themes. As such, masonry fountains and aqueduct or *zanja* features, catchment basins, and terracotta pipes were among those items most often represented within those collections identified with the California Missions.

Agricultura - Farming and Stock Raising

Clearly, agriculture and stock-raising constitute central themes in early California, and thereby reflect the primary subsistence activities that served to sustain the California missions and presidios of the day. Because those technologies and material cultures most closely identified with agriculture are similarly featured across the spectrum of other themes and categories of material cultures, we often found it necessary to subdivide these categories of technology and tradition into subsets spanning other areas of application. For example, those technologies and crafts borne of the art of the *herrero* or blacksmith necessarily surfaced in all areas of daily life and

culture, including the building trades, and in the form of cookware and military regalia. Beyond those metal objects, such as *clavos* or nails and other *herramienta* or tools, we selected items from the realm of leathercraft and weights and measures, such as the *bota* or leather bag, and the *fanega* or wooden box used for the measure of grain. In this instance, however, we selected reproductions of period units of measure from California mission contexts for our representation of the same. In our efforts to represent stock-raising, we selected the imprinted hide from Mission San Antonio de Padua so as to exemplify the diversity of cattle brands produced by the *herrero* or blacksmith, and used throughout the *Californias* in the Mission Era.

Arquitectura - Building Materials and Elements

One of those aspects of material culture and traditional technologies of greatest interest to Professor Mendoza is that of architecture. As such, those elements and features included in the visual glossary to date span the gamut from bricks and nails to architectural embellishments. In this instance, the inclusion of *varas* or adzed ceiling timbers is complemented by the depiction of adobes or bricks and slabs and the iconic Andalusian *teja* roof tiles of the early 19th century California missions. Where the All-Seeing Eye of God is concerned, the *Photoshop* editing process required considerably more attention to detail by Kate Mayer. All told, completed *Photoshop* image edits now span some 600 images or objects, and counting.

Campanas - Mission Bells and Technologies

Another consideration affecting image selections from photographs spanning US Southwest and early California traditional technologies concerned our singular objective to capture distinctive and diverse aspects of Spanish colonial and California missions' material culture and technology. One dominant technology of the time was that of bells and bell manufacture. While clearly each bell tells its own story, our preliminary selections were largely predicated on distinctions in form and fabrication. The study of bells as such raised questions about the many and sundried sources and materials that made up the collections under review. The *campanas* or bells depicted, therefore, span choir or altar bells and *matracas* or noise makers through to small, intermediate, and large bronze bells used in church *campanarios* or bell walls and towers.

Cartografía - Diseños, Planos, Maps and Surveys

Cartography, or map-making, constitutes one of those categories of visual representation and documentation that emerged at the end of the current phase of the project. Ironically, despite the fact that CSU Monterey Bay professors Rubén Mendoza and Jennifer Lucido have spent considerable time developing an online archive of early California map plans or *diseños*, cartography and map making was nevertheless an afterthought at this juncture. We are presently coordinating our efforts with the Spanish Ministry in Madrid and

the Archive of the Indies in Sevilla for the inclusion of unpublished Spanish Colonial maps of the Californias, and Alta California in particular. The collection presently spans the earliest California maps of the mid-16th century through to the Mexican and early American periods, and is being supplemented with land and water rights-related documents and images. The collection is now housed with the Tanimura & Antle Family Memorial Library at the California State University, Monterey Bay, and may be accessed via the *Hornbeck Collection of Early California Land-Use* available at digitalcommons.csumb.edu/hornbeck/. To that end, Professor Mendoza has been collaborating with the Law Firm of Patrick J. Maloney, Esq. so as to see through the acquisitions, and has already undertaken site visits to the Archive of the Indies in Sevilla for the purposes of identifying early California and Mission era maps of the region.

Cerámica - Earthenware, Majolica, Galera, and Asian

An early project initiative undertaken by Professor Mendoza in his capacity as Director of the CSU Monterey Bay Institute for Archaeology was that of generating a field guide to Spanish colonial earthenware recovered from California mission contexts. This effort resulted in the development of an interactive visual glossary of Spanish colonial artifacts recovered from Mission San Antonio de Padua and other early California missions by Dr. Robert Hoover, and titled *Mission Ceramics: A Virtual Type Collection* (Mendoza

2003). A multimedia demonstration of the CD-ROM prototype was first presented before the Sacramento meetings of the Society for California Archaeology convened in 2003. Since that time Mendoza and his students have sought to develop a visual glossary devoted to representing those artifacts and specimens most frequently

recovered in Mission archaeological contexts. The current project is but the latest iteration of that effort, particularly insofar as ceramics and other early earthenwares are concerned.

Cestería - California Indian Basketry and Design

In an effort to represent that aspect of California Indian heritage identified with the Mission era, we were challenged to depict items of basketry and other fiber manufacture that might best approximate Contact-era and Hispanicized Indian or Mission-related technologies. Clearly, those items selected for representation necessarily constitute items of relatively recent vintage or design. Nevertheless, our intent here was to highlight the diversity, quality, and beauty of those fiber technologies and traditions that long anticipated the arrival of the Spanish in early California.

Cocina - Cookware, Cutlery, Ovens, and Storage

Perhaps one of the most important themes identified with the lives of those who inhabited the Hispanicized Indian mission communities of early California is that centered on food and its processing and preparation. Like agriculture, this theme is broad-based, and often overlaps and intersects with technologies and traditions from across the spectrum of those material cultures and traditional technologies under consideration. As such, this category is conclusively one of the most diverse and multicultural in so far as traditional sources, materials, and processing technologies represented. It is here that

we have identified the most coherent continuities, accommodations, and introductions, as well as the hybrid melding of both Native Californian, Mexican, and Andalusian or European traditions. From *hornos* or ovens to *metates* or *maize* grinding slabs, the Mexicanization of the California traditions are clearly evident in the archaeological and ethnohistorical record (Mendoza and Torres, 1994; Mendoza 2014b).

Escritura - Manuscripts, Writing Materials, and Print

Writing was perhaps one of the most critical aspects of the Fernandino or Franciscan mission enterprise, particularly as the Friars were required to provide annual reports or *informes*, production inventories, and correspondence with area authorities and the Fernandino "Mother House" identified with the Colegio Apostólico de Propaganda Fide de San Fernando in Mexico City. Given Mendoza's long term association with Old Mission San Juan Bautista (1995-2012), he was afforded the opportunity to more fully interrogate the life and times of one Fray Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta (1780-1840), a trained linguist devoted to recording the languages of the indigenous populations of California, including those of the Costanoan, Mutsun, and Yokut. The inkwell depicted in the lower left corner of the attached plate was recovered during the course of salvage excavations at San Juan Bautista in 2012, and constitutes a type likely used by the venerable friar in preparing his voluminous writings on the native traditions of California. Moreover, the first

portable (laptop) writing device in California was not in fact a Mac or PC, but rather a device known as the *bargueño de mesa*, pictured in the upper left, and acquired by Professor Mendoza for the exhibitions area of the Old Mission Museum of San Juan Bautista.

Estatuaria - Liturgical, Devotional, and Folk Art

In order to best represent the place of material culture and technology at all levels of analysis, the plastic arts, such as that represented by sculpture and statuary, provides a rich vantage point for interpreting the spiritual landscapes of the early California tradition. Whether the product of folk art craftsmanship and personal devotion, or those traditions identified with the most exemplary works of the era crafted from wood, stone, paper, or textile, the inherent diversity of this category speaks volumes to the artistic sensibilities of the time. Given its institutional context, ecclesiastical or liturgical statuary was generally the most technologically and artistically refined of that time. Evidence for said refinement, often mediated by way of the Master artisans and craftsmen of the Academia de San Carlos in Mexico City, encompassed the use of *encarnacion*, in which human flesh and veins were rendered in life-like color and proportion; or *estofado*, in which sculpted wood statuary was finished with gesso, gilding, punched or excised patterns, and paint.

Herramientas - Carpentry, Mining Tools, and Metal Work

One of the most fundamental categories of material culture and technology that typified the period in question is that centered on a particularly diverse suite of tools and their production. Because the available *herreros* or blacksmiths of the era were few and far between, those tools needed for masonry, woodcraft, cooking, stock-raising, agriculture, and a host of other trades, were often in short supply. As such, we have attempted to exemplify the most generic types, or approximations, available for each of the aforementioned trades and or activities. Ultimately, the resilience of Native Californian, Mexican Indian, and those Hispanic peoples identified with the Missions was such that production, innovation, accommodation, and recycling and reuse were common themes. As such, we have sought to represent both indigenous and introduced traditional technologies, ranging from the production of rawhide straps in lieu of forged nails for the fabrication of architectural elements through to the standard suite of metal tools used in the building trades. In this instance, we have included the *encendedor* or strike-a-light, which draws upon both iron and stone such that both European and Indigenous craftsmanship was often conjoined in the production of this vital tool type.

Illuminación - Lamps, Candlesticks, and Chandeliers

In this category we were hard pressed to identify technologies that did not, in some way, indulge the use of candles. Crafted in the missions and presidios from rendered animal fat, candles were comprised of fiber wicks dipped repeatedly into copper or iron vats of molten tallow. Such candles were essential for provisioning illumination, and as such were produced for use in daily life, and as prayers for use within the many churches and shrines of the Catholic faith. In our efforts to represent the variety of lighting devices, we here feature liturgical candlesticks, chandeliers, wall sconces, metal lamps, and that collection of circa 1812 candles recovered archaeologically by Mendoza during the course of architectural investigations at Old Mission San Juan Bautista.

Industrias - Mills, Stills, Forges, and Candle Making

A key element of this project initiative has been to highlight those industries introduced into early California by the Franciscan friars and Mexican Indians, Spanish and mestizo colonists, and soldiers. This dimension of the project in particular was initially inspired by the author's ongoing encounter with those competing, and often derogatory narratives that arose in anticipation of the Canonization of San Junípero Serra. During the course of preparing an editorial review of a proposed book sent Professor Mendoza by an East Coast publisher, it was made patently clear that the author (an ardent Serra detractor), was determined to minimize the Hispanic

Catholic contribution to California, and North American history more generally. In an effort to minimize and demonize Fray Serra, the author of the work in question ignored, minimized, or denied the existence of those contributions identified with the Hispanic Catholic tradition, including the introduction of an array of firsts, including the printing press, libraries, universities, viticulture, urban planning, cartography, and a host of other contributions, and instead attributed each of these introductions to early English colonists. As such, among those industries represented here are those identified with metallurgy, viticulture, waterworks, food processing, textiles, stock-raising, and a suite of related traditional technologies and material cultures.[2]

Litúrgia - Tabernacles, Fonts, and Chalices

Perhaps one of the most diverse categories of material culture identified with the California missions is that of the liturgy. Spanning as it does all material types and symbolic forms, liturgical objects run the gamut from gold-plated silver chalices to hand-carved and gilded wooden icons, statues, and furnishings. The hybridity embodied in such objects spans the whole of the Americas and Europe, and is exemplified in such objects as the sunburst monstrance. Accordingly, it should be noted that the sunburst monstrance is in effect the byproduct of a syncretism or hybrid melding of beliefs and practices such that it constitutes the fusion of Hispanic Catholic

with Indigenous beliefs related to the Sun, and as such, the sunburst elements of the monstrance first made their appearance in the Americas in the 16th century. In our efforts to appropriately represent this critically important category, mainly that of the liturgy, we sought representative forms typifying the tradition, whether woodcraft, metallurgy, glass, or wax. One of the most elaborate and syncretistic categories of material culture identified was that of the tabernacle enclosures that grace the altars of all Spanish colonial and Portuguese churches in the Americas. The earliest such tabernacles of Alta California were those imported from the Philippines, such as that identified at Mission San Francisco de Asís, or that of Mission Santa Barbara produced with both abalone shell inlay and mirrors by the Chumash peoples of the Santa Barbara Channel. Where the best of hybrid indigenous craftsmanship is concerned, the tabernacle enclosures, hand carved saints or *bultos*, and the liturgical paintings of such sites as Missions Santa Inés and San Gabriel are among the most distinctive in the *Californias*.

Militar - Cannons, Saddles, Shields, and Swords

The military traditions of the Viceroyalty of New Spain constitute the focus of this portion of the project prototype, and remain a central element underpinning Mendoza's ongoing studies of the Spanish Royal Presidio of Monterey, or the *Real Presidio de San Carlos de Monterey*. In this instance, images pertaining to Spanish

military material cultures of the period spanning 1769 through 1821 were identified from across sites ranging from California through Florida, and into northern Mexico. In fact, the cannons pictured in the attached plate are specific to the collections of the Castillo de San Marcos in San Agustín, Florida. Both the *silla de montar* or saddle and *cuera* or leather jacket in this instance constitute reproductions generated by California artisans John Grafton and Martha McGettigan-Vallejo. The signal cannon depicted is from the personal collections of Professor Mendoza, and was acquired from an area historian convinced of its identification with early *Californio* Don José Larios, and hence the inscribed initials.

Mobiliario - Liturgical and Domestic Furnishings

While each mission community produced the majority of those industrial and domestic furnishings with which it was identified, the majority of the most elaborate ecclesiastical furnishings were produced in the *talleres* or workshops of some of Mexico City's most illustrious artists and craftsman. Others were commissioned by way of those artisans and craftsmen identified with the Academia de San Carlos in Mexico City. Gilded wood and gesso *himnarios* or missal stands often incorporated sunburst elements, along with foliage, and Neoclassically-inspired elements crafted from wood and gilded in gold leaf. The gold leaf proper was in turn produced by way of the rendering or other hammering of gold *reales* or coinage suitable

for producing the golden foil required of the process. Sadly, much of the finest work that once graced the missions has since been lost to the passage of time and the elements, and the depredations of unscrupulous administrators or zealous collectors. Whereas Spanish colonial-style benches abound in today's missions, the reality is that many of these constitute reproductions based on those that survived into the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In fact, the mission churches per se were not originally designed to accommodate benches of the types seen in the late 19th or early 20th centuries, as the indigenous congregants of the Mission era normally kneeled or sat on woven mats or blankets lain over the tiled *ladrillo* floors of the mission churches. Moreover, as coiled steel springs and lush bedding were non-extant, or in short supply, rawhide straps were the most common material used to frame beds, and such practice remains the rule rather than the exception of many areas of Latin America, as Professor Mendoza can readily attest.

Moneda - ¼, ½, 1, 2, 4, and 8 Real Coins

Moneda or coinage and numismatics were not initially a featured aspect of those forms of material culture deemed key to representing the California missions era. Despite this preliminary oversight, reflections on the recovery of a single silver one real coin recovered by Mendoza at the Spanish Royal Presidio of Monterey in 2007 prompted a reconsideration of this category of Spanish colonial material culture. In fact, the coin in question bore the likeness of

Carlos III, and was dated to 1779. Its use to demarcate the date for the reconstruction of the southern perimeter defensive wall at San Carlos proved invaluable to the interpretation of the architectural history of said site (Mendoza 2013). However, for the purposes of this project we initially had little to no access to coinage reflecting all denominations of the types spanning the period from 1769 through the 1840s. As such, Mendoza took to acquiring coinage through coin brokers and online auctions for the purposes of identifying the pertinent coinage of the era.[3] Once obtained, the coinage was photographed on both the obverse and reverse sides in order to best represent the prevailing monarch and corollary insignia of the period and the personality represented. In order to contextualize regional variation and precursors to the collection, coins collected so as to illustrate the project date to the late 17th century. Others, represent regional variations such as those of the Caribbean, or España proper. Ultimately, both Carlos III and IV dominate the collection and the era under study, and are as such represented in the whole of the collection, along with the corresponding insignia or heraldic shields signifying the Spanish kingdoms of Castilla and Leon, or the Castle and the Lion.

Música - Hymnals, Bells, Fiddles, and Drums

Where music is concerned, hymnals and song-boards dominate the present collection, and that despite the fact that the majority of those musical instruments or materials that survived to the present

consist of both stringed and percussion types. Because *campanas* or bells were central to mission life, we deemed them worthy of separate consideration as icons of the mission experience. Nevertheless, we included altar bells and clappers as key to that music, or those forms of instrumentation, identified specifically with the liturgy and daily mass. In this instance, the diagram of a human hand replete with a system of musical notation from Mission San Antonio de Padua was construed unique, and therefore key to representation in this category.

Piedra de Muela - Ground Stone, Mortars, Manos, and Pestles

Ground stone tools, produced by way of the abrading or grinding of basaltic or granitic stone or rock, were in turn construed a distinct category in this instance. Despite the fact that ground stone spans the cultural divide between Mexican and California Indian traditions, it was deemed distinctive enough as a technological tradition to subsume it under a singular category. In this instance, ground stone spans a variety of materials ranging from granite and basalt to serpentine or soapstone. As per our consideration, many of those items included in the collection derive from utilitarian, as opposed to decorative or ritual usage. Whereas the Chumash Indians of the Santa Barbara Channel once made use of steatite and soapstone for a host of objects, Mexican Indian ground stone in the form of *metates* and *manos*, or ground stone slabs and abraders, signaled the introduction of *maize* or corn agriculture and food processing in the

Californias and beyond. One of those examples of serpentine used for some of the most distinctive objects in the collections is that identified with the geometrically-inscribed steatite smoking tube recovered by Arch Hays of San Juan Bautista.

Pinturas - Liturgical, Personal, and Devotional Paintings

The tradition of liturgical or ecclesiastical paintings has deep roots in Spain and Mexico. The *talleres* or workshops of Mexico City produced some of the most sophisticated such works, and were supervised by some of the finest and most prolific artisans of New Spain, including such notables as Miguel Mateo Maldonado y Cabrera (1695–1768) and Josè de Paez (1720–1790). Like other aspects of the liturgically-inspired visual arts, paintings spanned mundane or secular through deeply religious themes. In this selection, we see a singular frame from the *Via Crucis* or Way of the Cross from Mission San Gabriel Arcángel through to an *Apostolado* or apostles painting of Saint James baptizing the Christ. The rollout painting in the accompanying plate typifies the type of paintings ported overland by the Fernandino missionaries, and used in outdoor liturgical or other sedentary or stationary contexts. Unfamiliarity with the form and structure of such paintings can result in irreparable losses, such as that that accrued when a former pastor at San Juan Bautista found just such a rollout painting in the attic, and determined to have it mounted into a frame, thereby destroying its original hardware frame and the accompanying dowels. Finally, in this selection, the painting on the

far right of the accompanying plate is that of Carlos IV, the successor to Carlos III, whose role in the founding and administration of the majority of the early California missions and presidios is legendary.

Textiles - Liturgical, Religious, Lay, and Military

Textiles, or textiles and clothing, were clearly a particularly important commodity and mundane reality in the colonies of the Viceroyalty

of New Spain. Nevertheless, few examples remain, beyond those particularly elaborate vestments preserved for the mass. While the Franciscan habit depicted in the accompanying plate constitutes a reproduction for exhibition only, we have altered the color to better reflect the grey sackcloth character of the original attire worn by the Fernandinos of Alta California. Significantly, many of those liturgical vestments identified with the missions of Alta California were produced in Asia and the Philippines, and transported to Alta California via New Spain or Mexico. The rollout painting included at the far right in the accompanying plate was recently recovered from an old couch in San Francisco, and was soon thereafter acquired by the Los Angeles County Museum of Art where it can be seen today. The painting, which is masterfully executed, depicts an armed *soldado de cuera* or "Leather Jacket" soldier in the company of his wife and child.

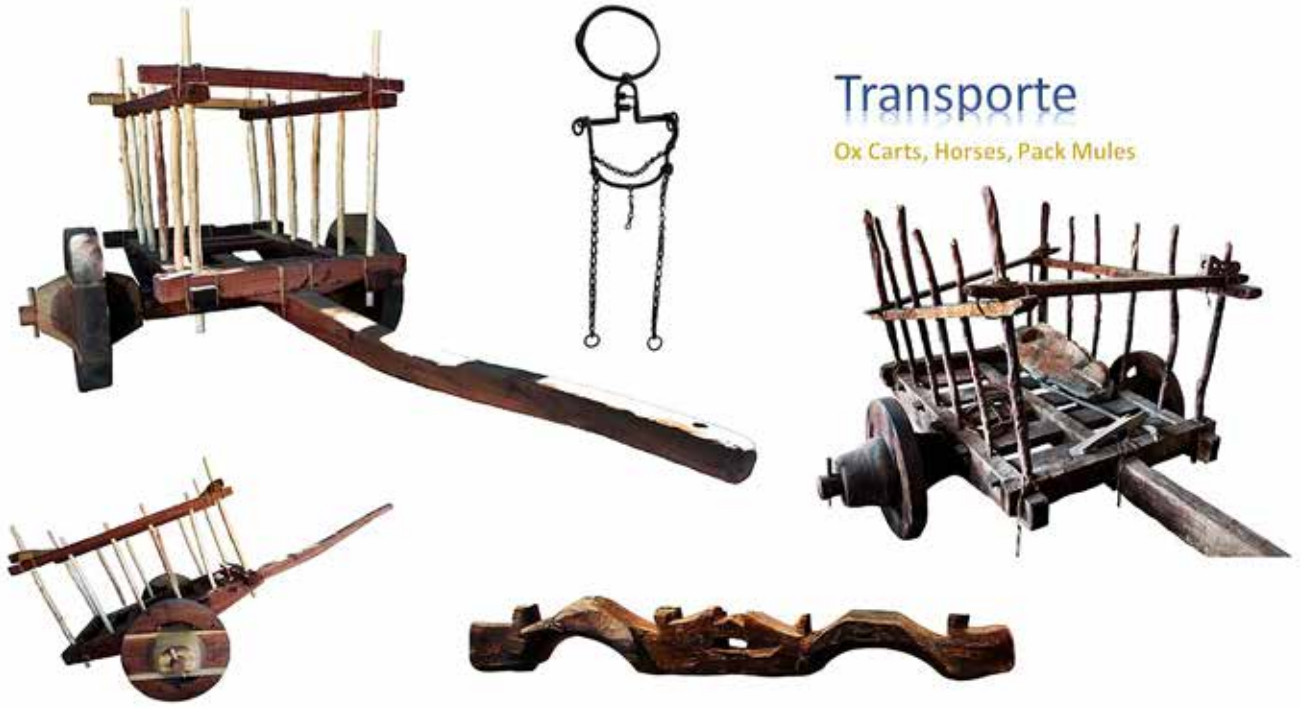
Tradicion Indigena - California Indian Material Cultures

Although the missions are fundamentally deemed Spanish institutions at heart, the reality is that on the frontiers and margins of the Spanish Viceroyalty of New Spain they constituted Hispanicized Indian communities in virtually every definable sense. As such, we have endeavored to represent those types and dimensions of material culture that both anticipated, and co-existed with, the evolution of the Spanish missions of Alta California. In this collection, we have included an admixture of ground stone, *tule* craft and shelters, flicker feather headdress elements like those depicted in period paintings from Mission San Francisco de Asís or Dolores, and projectile points

and feather work. It is here that we were challenged to exemplify the totality or range of early California indigenous traditional technologies and material cultures. Given the range and extent, and complexity of the multitude of distinctive tribal traditions, our efforts to best represent this category of traditional technologies and material cultures will surely require a considerable expansion of those categories advanced to date in order to more fully define the tradition as a whole.

Transporte - Ox Carts, Horses, and Pack Mules

Finally, although we acknowledge that a variety of differing forms and methods of transport were available to the peoples of early California, including that identified with ship building, elaborate colonial carraiges, and *carreta* or ox-cart construction and use, we have here centered our attention on the *carreta*, particularly as it remains one of the most iconic forms of conveyance identified with period transport. In reality, the *carreta* was a utility or industrial vehicle intended to port agricultural foodstuffs and construction related materials and supplies. Whereas the ox-cart to the right is that identified with Mission Santa Barbara, the ox-cart to the left was constructed on the basis of plans provided by Professor Mendoza to area artisans under the supervision of friend and blacksmith John Grafton of San Juan Bautista. In the final analysis, there is much more than meets the eye when it comes to the forms and types of transport vehicles available through the course of the Spanish and



early Mexican eras in California. Ultimately, for the Franciscans, mules or donkeys remained the favored mode of transport, and that predicated on the fact that that was the way of the Christ.

Acknowledgments

We would like to thank the many institutions and mission curators, and their respective custodians, directors, parishioners, and staff who remain devoted stewards of the Hispanic and Indian Catholic heritage of the California and Southwest missions featured in this publication. To that end, we gratefully acknowledge Kristina Foss, Mission Santa Barbara, for her unflagging leadership, support, and promotion of the California Mission Directors & Curators Conference. Moreover, Mendoza would like to acknowledge the academic and scholarly feedback provided by CSU Monterey Bay Adjunct Professor Jennifer A. Lucido. In addition, he acknowledges the many efforts of Ms. Rachel FitzJohn, SBGS Administrative Support Coordinator, and CSU Monterey Bay administrators Dr. Eduardo M. Ochoa, President, Dr. Bonnie Irwin, Provost, Dr. Ilene Feinman, College of Arts, Humanities, and Social Sciences Dean, and the staff of the Tanimura and Antle Family Memorial Library for their many efforts to assure that CSU Monterey Bay continues to promote an active and engaged learning environment. Finally, the co-authors would like to acknowledge their respective families for their ongoing support and patience. To that end, Mendoza acknowledges the loving support of his wife Linda, and his very understanding daughters Natalie Marie and Maya Nicole Mendoza. Otherwise, all photography included in this essay was produced and is copyrighted by Dr. Rubén G. Mendoza, PhD.

Endnotes

1. On a recent photographic reconnaissance of Ancestral Pueblo and Spanish colonial sites and artifacts in the US Southwest in July-August 2017, Mendoza happened upon a copy of Margaret Moore Builder's 2016 publication Southwest Art Defined: An Illustrated Guide (Rio Nuevo Publishers, 2016). The publication in question presents a thoroughgoing overview of Southwest art and materials, and provides a wonderful model for what can be done to advance the definition and identification of the art and artifacts of corollary early California traditions presently under review.

2. During the course of those protocols both anticipating and following the Canonization of San Junípero Serra, Professor Mendoza was called upon by the Vatican to review said contributions before the assembled members of The Serra Symposium convened at the Augustinianum, Vatican City, Rome, Italy, on April 28, 2015. Mendoza's presentation was conducted in concert with presentations by Monsignor Francis Weber and Drs. Rose Marie Beebe and Robert Senkewicz. This was followed by an invitation by the California State Legislature and the California Catholic Commission to review the contributions of the Fernandinos in California as per the question of the proposed removal of the Serra statue from Statuary Hall in Washington, DC. The text of that document prepared for the California Legislature presentation ultimately served as the template for the launch of the current project undertaking.

3. After hundreds of dollars in purchases, Mrs. Mendoza was overheard to say, "you just bought your retirement, cause that's all you're going to get!" Given Professor Mendoza's shoestring budget, it was determined that only silver and copper coins would be represented, particularly as the gold coins cost a pretty penny (i.e., thousands of pretty pennies). Nevertheless, a representative sampling or collection of coins was acquired, and subsequently photographed for the purposes of this project.

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FLORA, FAUNA, AND FOOD

Changing Dietary Patterns at the Spanish Royal Presidio of Monterey, 1770-1848

Emily M. Smith, Jennifer A. Lucido, and Scott E. Lydon

Introduction

Founded on June 3, 1770, *El Real Presidio de San Carlos de Monte Rey*, or the Royal Presidio of Monterey, was the northernmost military garrison on the frontier until the establishment of San Francisco in 1776. In addition to its military role, the Presidio functioned as a trading center, or custom house, that both received and distributed goods from Viceroyalty of New Spain (present-day Mexico; Perissinotto 1998: 16). As Spanish California's first capital (est. 1777), the Presidio of Monterey set the stage for the political economy that defined the development of the province.

Archaeological investigations of the site provide an invaluable source of data for interpreting the daily lifestyles of the settlers at Monterey. During the fall of 2006 and summers of 2007 and 2008, Dr. Rubén G. Mendoza (2012: 4-5) and his crew of California State University, Monterey Bay (CSUMB) archaeology students undertook a three-phase investigation of the Royal Presidio Chapel (RPC) of 1794 commissioned by the RPC Conservation Program of the Diocese of Monterey (Lucido 2013: 60, 2015: 152). Phase 1 (2006-2007) consisted of subsurface archaeological testing. Phase 2 (2007) entailed extensive trenching activities around the perimeter of the RPC (see Figure 1).

Phase 3 (2008) resulted in the discovery of the Serra Chapel of 1772. This interdisciplinary study examines the recovered faunal (animal) and floral (plant) remains from the Phase 2 trenching operation. More specifically, this study explores the dietary patterns and evolving political economy at the Presidio.

Previous Zooarchaeological Studies of the Monterey Presidio

The animal bone specimens were first researched in a 2013 zooarchaeological (faunal) study by Jennifer A. Lucido (co-author).

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(About the Authors continued on p. 167)

Lucido examined faunal remains to assess butchery practices and dietary patterns for the soldiers, settlers, and laborers residing at the Presidio from circa 1770 to 1848 (2013: 60, 2015: 157). The fauna consisted of cattle (*Bos taurus*), pig (*Sus scrofa*), sheep (*Ovis aries*), goat (*Capra a. hircus*), and chicken (*Gallus gallus*; Lucido 2013: 58, 2015: 157). Most cattle-related faunal remains were recovered from six trenches during Phase 2 of the archaeological investigation at the Presidio: Trenches 3a, 4a-b, 6, 8a/c, 9, and 26 (Lucido 2013: 60, 2015: 157). Of these trenches, 3a, 4a-b, 6, and 9 recovered kitchen middens from 1770 through 1810 (Lucido 2013: 60, 2015: 157).

From approximately 1000 skeletal elements recovered, Lucido identified 82 specimens with distinctive cuts (Lucido 2012: 84-89, 2013: 66; 2015: 158). Rib bone elements constituted the majority, or 52% (Lucido 2013: 66). The second largest body of skeletal elements included appendicular or long bones (femoral, humeral, and metapodials) at 21% (Lucido 2013: 66, 2015: 158). The third largest selection, or 14%, consisted of indeterminate fragmented ribs and/or thoracic vertebrae (Lucido 2013: 66, 2015: 158). The remaining elements in the sample comprised of the humerus, femur, and metatarsal elements (Lucido 2013: 66, 2015: 158). Lucido acknowledged that the proportions represented in the overall sample were skewed because fragmented ribs or thoracic vertebrae could not always be distinguished (2013: 66, 2015: 158).

The cutmarks were organized into seven types identified in other faunal studies: 1) chop marks at 33% of the overall sample, and 2) fine cuts at 30% of the overall sample (Lucido 2013: 66, 2015: 158). The remaining types consisted of 3) dismemberment marks, 4) scrape marks, 5) clean cuts, 6) clean cuts with other markings, and 7) combinations of those types noted (Lucido 2013: 66, 2015: 158). Lucido compared these with the faunal remains from the Presidio

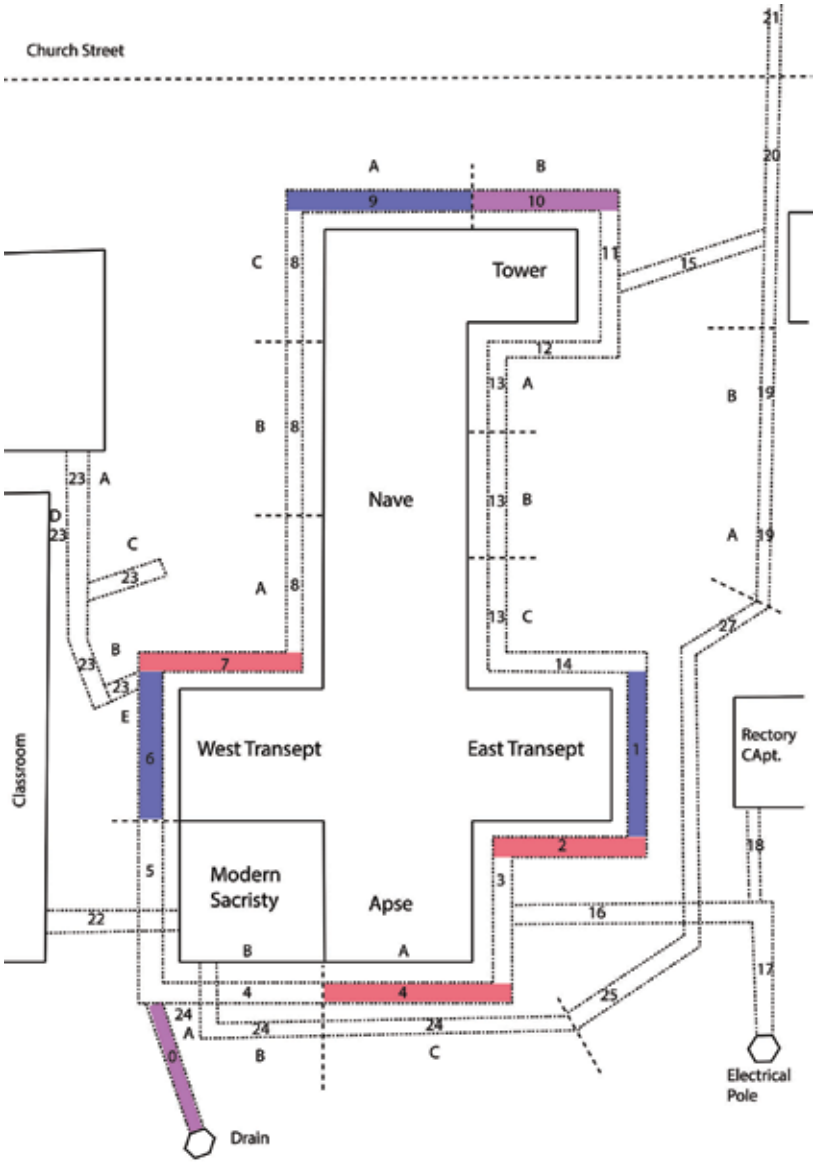


Figure 1. This figure has been recreated from the Royal Presidio of Monterey field notebook of Dr. Rubén Mendoza as documented on June 28, 2007. The diagram depicts the numbered trenches as dashed lines circumscribing the perimeter of the Royal Presidio Chapel of Monterey. It should be noted that only 14 trenches of the 31 trenches skirt the perimeter while the remaining 17 trenches (not depicted) were situated beyond the immediate vicinity of the Chapel. Trenches highlighted in blue are samples for the faunal study and trenches highlighted in red are samples for the pollen assay. Trenches highlighted in purple are samples for both faunal and pollen. Highlighting added by authors (Mendoza 2007; illustration redrawn by Jennifer A. Lucido, 2014).

and determined that some bones displayed specific clustering of cutmark types related to meat consumption and butchery practices (Lucido 2013: 67, 2015: 158). For example, rib bone elements consisted primarily of chop and fine cutmarks thereby indicating a dietary preference for torso-related meat cuts (Lucido 2013: 67, 2015: 159).

Figure 2. View of east trenches around the Royal Presidio Chapel. Photo courtesy Rubén G. Mendoza, 2007.

Methods

The zooarchaeological part of the study was completed in the CSUMB Archaeology Laboratory by Emily M. Smith (co-author). Smith analyzed faunal remains from Unit 0 and Trenches 1, 6, 9, and 10. The pollen assay and census count component of the study was undertaken by Scott E. Lydon (co-author) in the Biogeography Lab at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). Lydon tested the soil samples from Unit 0 and Trenches 2, 4a, 7, and 10. Both studies were based on the specimens recovered from the Phase 2 trenching operation of the Monterey Presidio, with the objective to understand diet on the basis of species identification and consumption patterns.

Zooarchaeological Analysis

Analysis of the Presidio faunal specimen collection was organized as follows: (1) location of excavated unit, (2) identification of bone type or element, (3) separation of species to (vertebrate or invertebrates), (4) separation of vertebrate animals by taxonomy or size, (5) identification of species, (6) analysis of data patterns, and (7) interpretation of the trends. Methods also consisted of weighing of fragmentary bones and organization based on size and location of element on vertebrate body.

Figure 3. View of west transect at the juncture of Trench 6 and 7. Photo courtesy Rubén G. Mendoza, 2007.

The majority of the samples from Unit 0 and Trenches 1, 6, 9, and 10 were fragmentary pieces. Therefore,

the primary focus of the faunal analysis was on readily identifiable bone arranged by type and animal, and then incorporated into the number of identified specimens (Domingues-Rodrigo 2012; Marshall 1993). The unidentifiable bones were weighed and separated by size, then examined for possible identification of mammal type (Marshall 1993). The vertebrate fish and bird bones were calculated separately because of their low bone densities (Huelsbeck 1991). The majority of the marine shells are fragmentary and therefore weighing of complete or fragmentary shell produced data for the marine animal remains. Each trench's collections were weighed separately to determine frequency variation of certain species throughout the site.

Comparative analysis of faunal anatomy was utilized to identify animal bones in the Presidio collection. Modern cattle specimen in the CSUMB Archaeology Laboratory were compared against historical remains for identification of bone elements and siding. Photographs from comparative anatomy books were used to identify the species of animal remains (see Adams and Crabtree 2011; Hillson 1992). The identification process was limited due to a lack of access to multiple species modern-comparative collections, as well as the high levels of fragmentation of the historical remains.

Pollen Assay Chemical Processing & Census

Standard palynological processing protocols were followed during the pollen assay (see Faegri and Iversen 1989). Of the eighteen soil samples from Phase 2 archaeological investigations sent to the UCLA Biogeography Lab, a total of 9 were included in the assay. These nine samples were selected because each one emanates from a location surrounding the Chapel's perimeter. Three samples were assessed from Unit 0; one from Trench 2; one from Trench 4a; three from Trench 7; and one from Trench 10. Each soil sample was subjected to a series of acid-base washes (e.g. hydrochloric acid; potassium hydroxide; hydrofluoric acid; etc.) to fully digest the soil—leaving, primarily, only the pollen in each sample intact (Faegri and Iversen 1989). After the chemical washes were complete, the remaining samples were transferred to archive vials and silicone oil applied to preserve and suspend the pollen. Subsequently, microscope slides for each sample were made (see Figure 4). Slides were visually inspected using both 200x and 400x magnification—adhering to standard microscopy procedures (Faegri and Iversen 1989).

The specific purpose of the assay was to identify pollen grains that were cultivated before, during, and after settlement of the Presidio. A list of potentially-present agricultural grains was provided by Dr. Mendoza (April 2017, personal communication with authors)

that assisted in the identification of pollen and the subsequent census counting. According to historical records, *Triticum* (wheat), *Theobroma cacao* (cocoa), *Phaseolus vulgaris* (bean), and *Capsicum annuum* (sweet and chili pepper) were harvested in Alta California during the mission era (April 2017, personal communication with authors). These species, among other known agricultural species and vegetation presently situated near the site (e.g. *Pinus, Quercus*), were the pollen types identified during the microscopic census.

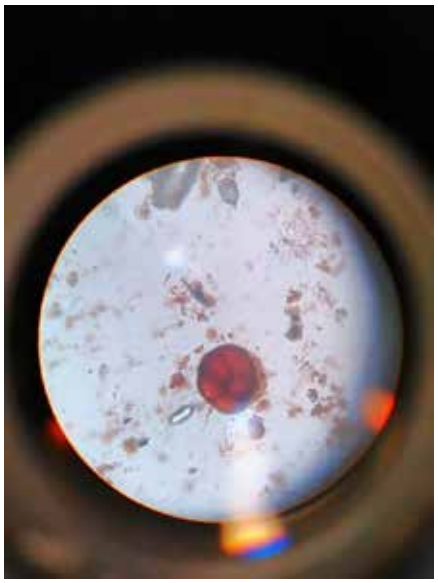
Figure 4. Prepping of microscope slides for each sample. Photo by Scott E. Lydon, 2017.

Additionally, all the microscopic samples displayed numerous amounts of charcoal that were tallied during this process. Census counting ceased after a total of ~300 charcoal fragments and pollen grains (combined) were identified for each sample. Thus, in total ~2,700 pollen grains and/or charcoal fragments were visually identified. After the census was complete, the software C2 was used to generate the assay's pollen diagram. Figure 14 (see Findings: Pollen Assay) demonstrates the sum total of each agricultural species present and the abundance of charcoal within a given soil sample.

Findings

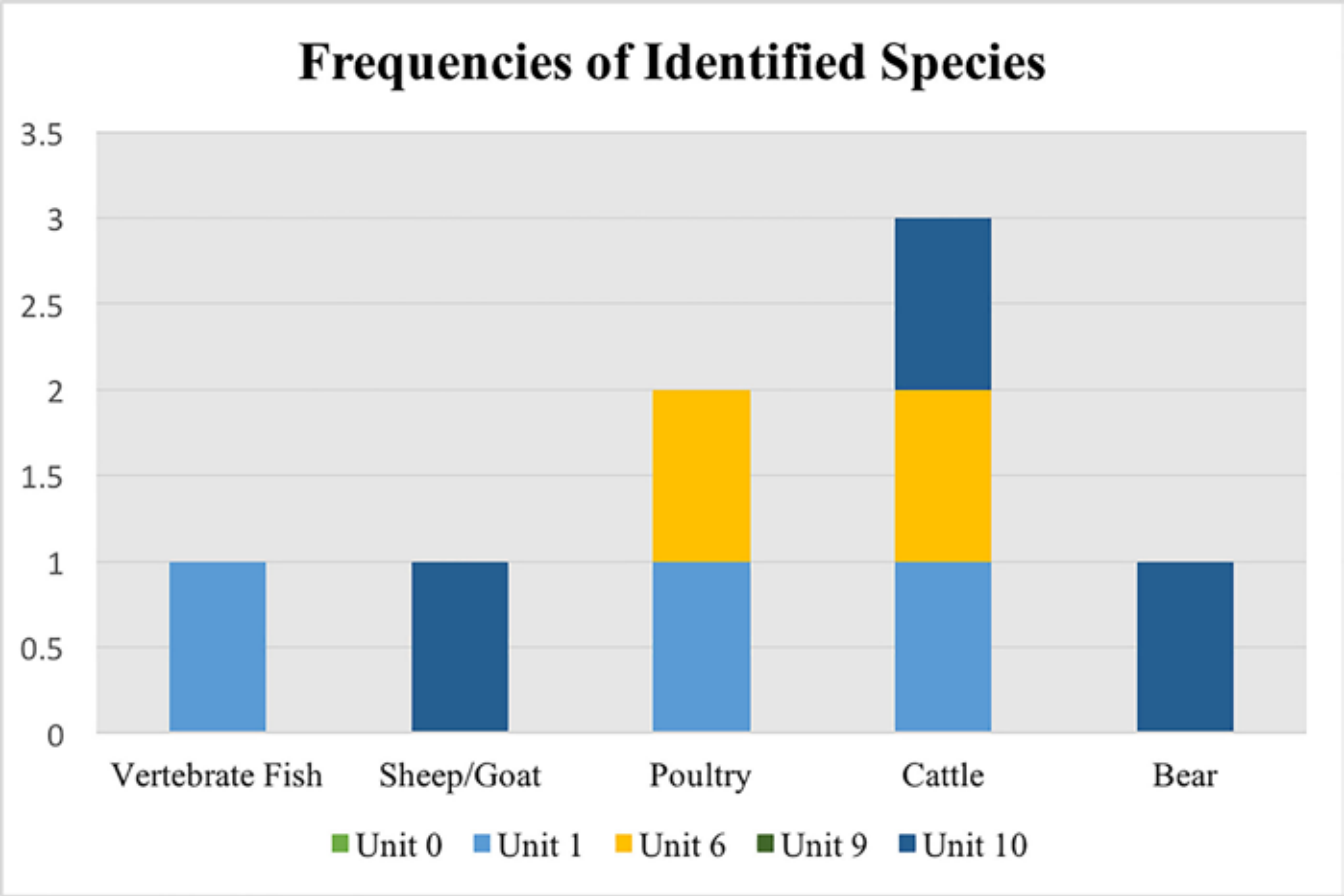
Results include (a) the Number of Identified Specimens (NISP) of terrestrial and marine specimens recovered from Unit 0 and Trenches 1, 6, 9, and 10; (b) the species identification of the vertebrate (vertebral column or back) and invertebrate (no vertebral column or back) samples; and (c) a pollen assay based on soil samples extracted from Unit 0 and Trenches 2, 4a, 7, and 10.

Figure 5. Microscopic image of pollen grain. Photo by Scott E. Lydon, 2017.



Number of Identified Specimens

The NISP totals the amount of each species that existed at the site (Marshall 1993). This method utilizes recurring elements associated with an individual specimen (Marshall 1993). For example, counting three right radius/ulnas equates to a total of three cattle known to be on this site, though these numbers only represent the number each species identified. The NISP does not give a completely accurate representation of the ratio of species because of the small sample size. Including all of the trenches would allow for additional data and a larger sample, resulting in a more accurate NISP. High



Figures 6. Number of individual specimen (NISP) for this study include 1 vertebrate fish, 1 sheep/goat, 2 poultry, 3 cattle, and 1 bear. Excavated units for the NISP included duplicate elements or elements identified with specific taxon. These elements were only found in three of the five excavated units. Graph by Emily M. Smith, 2017.

fragmentation of the remains also accounts for the low level of identifiability for the NISP. The NISP includes one vertebrate fish, one sheep/goat, two poultry, three cattle, and one bear recovered from Unit 0 and Trenches 1, 6, 9, and 10. These numbers are based on the vertebra bone of fish, one sheep/goat ischium, two right poultry femurs, three distal epiphyses and shafts of cattle radius/ulnas, and one bear phalanx. The shell assemblage is not part of the NISP because all the shells were incomplete (Hammond 2014). As such, the shells were recorded by weight to obtain an accurate estimate.

Vertebrate Sample

Ranching and large-scale agriculture were among the first major Spanish colonial industries introduced into Alta California (Lucido 2013: 61; Walton 2001: 36). Ranching supplied meat, leather, hide, tallow, and other products for use at the missions and the presidios (Lucido 2013: 61). According to the archaeological record at the Presidio, the remains of cattle and pig are most abundant (Lucido 2015: 107-108). Since this study has a small sample size with a majority of the bone categorized as fragmentary, the NISP (see Figure 6), had low numbers.

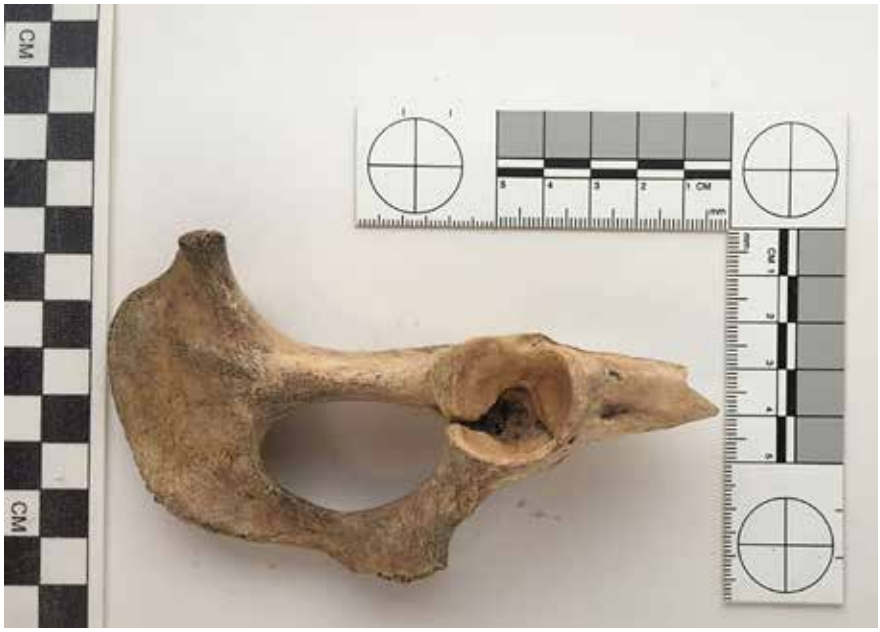


Figure 7 (above, left). Distal epiphysis and shaft of right radius/ulna of a cow with three carpal bones. Spiral fracture on shaft of radius/ulna. Photo by Emily M. Smith, 2017.

Figure 8 (above, right). Fragmentary Sheep/Goat pelvis, ischium portion. Photo by Emily M. Smith, 2017.

Figure 9 (right). Fragment of Sheep/Goat distal femur epiphysis. Photo by Emily M. Smith, 2017.

Cattle (see Figure 7) was the dominate species by weight, frequency, and the highest number in the NISP—thus, served as a main source of food at the Monterey Presidio. This is, in part, attributed to their adaptability to New World environments. By contrast, sheep were less adaptive and represent a lower percentage of faunal remains (Lucido 2013: 61). While sheep/goat demonstrate a low frequency in the NISP, they are still considered a food source. This inference results from both the distal femur fragment (see Figure 8) and the fragmentary ischium (see Figure 9) being bones related to butchery practices (Buitenhuys 2014).

Poultry and fish were also part of the vertebrate species included in the diet of the Presidio inhabitants (Lucido 2015: 107-108). The poultry and fish vertebra (see Figure 10) were separated in the fragmentary section of this study because they have a lower bone density and do not hold as much weight as the mammal remains (Huelsbeck 1991). The two poultry femurs in the NISP give an indication that birds were part of the food supply. Moreover, one of the femurs (see Figure 11) in the sample had a shiny texture on the cuticle of the bone, which could be an indicator of pot polish.

Figure 10 (above, right). Two unidentified fish vertebra. The vertebrate fish found in excavated units 0, 1, 6, 9, and 10 had unidentifiable specific species at this time. Photo by Emily M. Smith, 2017.

The bear in the NISP cannot be confirmed as food because of the low frequency of bone—one phalanx. Phalanges are bones of the finger (hand) or toe (foot) that mammals and other vertebrates have which are not elements typically associated with consumption (Buitenhuys 2014; Hillson 1992; MedicineNet 2017). Despite this, it is worth noting that, Pedro Fages the *gobernante* or provincial administrator (1770-1774) of Alta California and Presidio of Monterey Comandante, led a bear hunting expedition to help supplement the diet in 1772 (Nuttall 1972: 252, 262; Serra 1955a: 259).

Invertebrate Sample

Invertebrate species were also part of the diet during the initial years of settlement. These include, primarily *Haliotis rufescens* (Red Abalone; see Figure 12), as well as *Haliotis cracherodii* (Black Abalone; see Figure 13), mussels, and clams. Based on shell weight measurements, abalone dominated with the most weight and highest frequency of the taxa because it was present in each of the trenches. Red abalone tend to be larger than the size of a human hand, with a red-pink outer shell and a dark mother of pearl inside, which allows for substantial amounts of meat in each harvested shell (NOAA 2016). In contrast, black abalone are a smaller species averaging a size slightly larger than a palm of a hand (NOAA 2016). The color of the outer shell is black and the inside is a lighter mother of pearl (NOAA 2016). Both species are found in the intertidal zone

Figure 11 (right). Right poultry femur with a polished texture. Photo by Emily M. Smith, 2017.

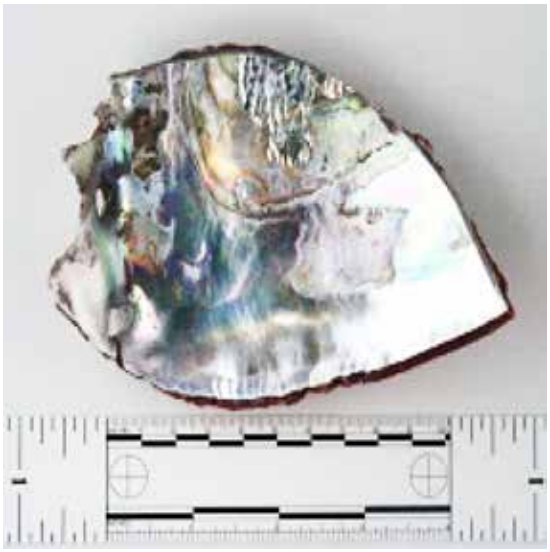


Figure 12 (above, left). One mature red abalone (*Haliotis rufescens*) shell fragment with chop mark. Photo by Emily M. Smith, 2017.

Figure 13 (above, right). Four black abalone (*Haliotis cracherodii*) shell fragments. Photo by Emily M. Smith, 2017.

of the coastlines along California (NOAA 2016). Black abalone is smaller, and thereby harder to find in situ compared to red abalone.

In 2009, black abalone was added to the list as an endangered species (NOAA 2016). The archaeological record suggests that while humans were consuming black abalone, overexploitation occurred after the Spanish control of California. Snail, mussel, and clam are not considered part of the primary diet because of their low frequency in the assemblage (Hammond 2014). Even so, butchery marks and shucking displays on the mussel and clam shells point to consumption of these shellfish. The snail may have been deposited as an unintentional byproduct of abalone harvesting techniques (Hammond 2014).

Pollen Assay

The most abundant vegetation-pollen types censused by Lydon (2017) were the families Cupressaceae (i.e. junipers, *Juniperus*) and Sequoioideae (e.g. coast redwood, *Sequoia* Endl.). The families Apiaceae (flowering plants) and Poaceae (grasses) also had relatively high pollen counts. The genus *Pinus* was relatively well-represented as well. Such findings indicate that the vegetation mosaic at the time of Presidio settlement—during agricultural cultivation—was dominated by 1) coniferous forests, 2) annual, perennial, and seasonal herbs, and 3) woody shrubs.

During the Mission Era, the vegetation cover adjacent to the site included redwood and pine forests that likely were used for the Presidio's built structures. Assay results also demonstrate that *Triticum* (wheat), *Theobroma cacao* (cocoa), *Phaseolus vulgaris* (bean), and *Capsicum annuum* (sweet and chili pepper) served as staple crops at the Presidio (see Figure 14).

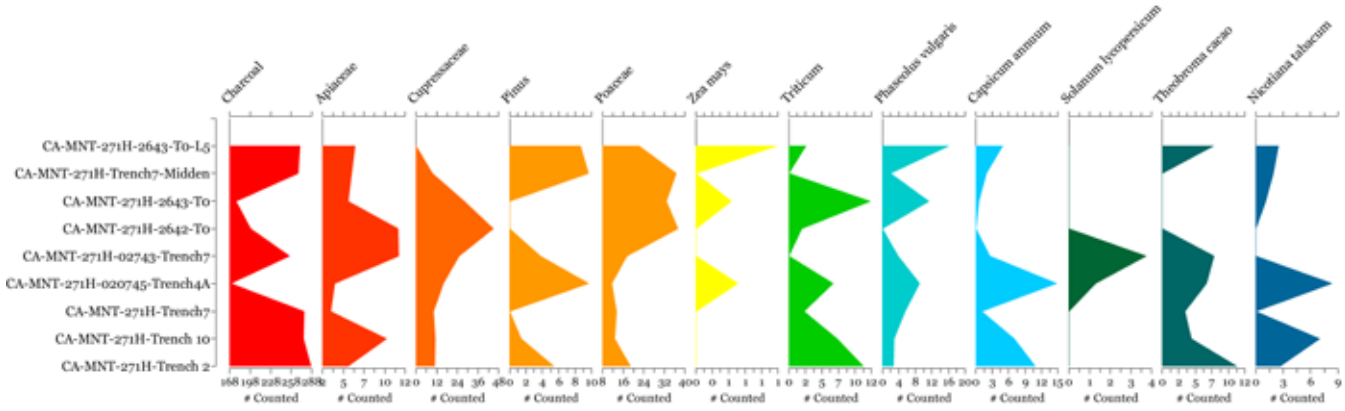


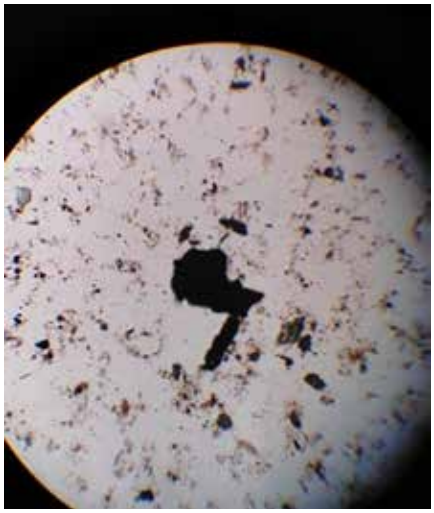
Figure 14. Pollen Diagram according to Sample Units from CA-MNT-271H (Royal Presidio of Monterey) generated using C2. Graph by Scott E. Lydon, 2017

Additional crops cultivated at the site include: *Nicotiana tabacum* (tobacco); *Solanum lycopersicum* (tomato); and *Zea mays* (corn). Of the agricultural pollen identified, the most abundant were wheat and bean, with particularly high frequencies in Unit 0, Level 5. Trenches 4 and 7 also display relatively high numbers of pepper, tomato, and tobacco pollen—suggesting that these crops were possibly cultivated near the south-east exterior of the Chapel. Wheat, cocoa, and tobacco were also abundant in Trenches 2 and 10 respectively.

Microscopic-charcoal counts show that widespread fire impacted the Presidio. It is unclear, however, whether this charcoal record results from fires that occurred in 1789, 1792, or 1818—or from daily-cooking practices (see Howard 1978). According to Mendoza (April 2017, personal communication with authors), Unit 0, Level 5 has a relative age corresponding to the Privateer Bouchard's raid on Monterey in 1818.

Given the devastating effects of Bouchard's attack and the aberrantly high charcoal numbers censused, it is reasonable to postulate that the 1818 raid is responsible for the majority of this pollen assay's charcoal record. This hypothesis may serve as the basis for future research pertaining to the fire history of the Presidio (e.g. by outsider attacks, cooking practices, accidents), and can be tested by radiocarbon dating methods then compared against documentary accounts of fires at the location.`

Figure 15. Microscopic image of charcoal. Photo by Scott E. Lydon, 2017.



Discussion

Identifying the faunal species and pollen samples from the collections of the Presidio illuminates the diet of the settlers and can be used to draw conclusions about the political economy of the Presidio and Mission San Carlos Borromeo more broadly. Given that the colonists in Monterey were the first to settle that far north in Alta California, they had not yet established *ranchos* for breeding and sustaining livestock to support the both Presidio and Mission of

San Carlos. Therefore, these sites relied on previously established Spanish colonial settlements in southern California for access to domesticated animals.

The scarcity of cattle in 1771-1773 necessitated the urgency for breeding over consumption (Archibald 1978: 78). On August 18, 1772, Father Junípero Serra, the Father President and founder of the Mission and Presidio of San Carlos Borromeo de Monterey, noted in a letter to Father Francisco Palou that "the milk from the cows and the vegetables from the [Mission San Carlos] garden have been very big factors in keeping these foundations going; but these two sources of food are becoming scarce" (1955a: 265). As of May 21, 1773, Mission San Carlos was allotted "nine full grown cows and a bull for breeding, two heifers, and six little calves, which makes a total of eighteen head... [and] a few pigs..." (Serra 1995a: 351). In Fages' 1773 report, he notes that the Presidio managed three pig styes "facing the open country" and a fourth, larger pig stye at a distance of 40 *varas* (Geiger 1967: 331). Also at this distance are two corrals 50 *varas* in circumference for cows and mules (Geiger 1967: 331). Other secondary sources indicate only 47 cattle, 28 pigs, 12 mules, and 9 horses in 1773 at Mission San Carlos (Engelhardt 1934: 245). Consequently, the early economic status of the Presidio did not permit the waste of cattle meat or other livestock. This is supported by spiral fractures in the shafts of many of the cattle bones, which indicate the consumption of bone marrow (Christenson 1996).

As previously noted, the two poultry (chicken) femurs in the NISP also represent part of the diet at the Presidio. However, during the founding years, consumption of chickens was allegedly limited to a select number of individuals according to a grievance filed by Corporal Miguel Periqués. Periqués was a Catalonian Volunteer from Spain assigned to Monterey from 1770 to 1774 (Sanchez 1990: 32–57). In a circa 1773 letter written by Serra and sent to Captain Agustin Callis of *Compañía Franca de Voluntarios de Cataluña* (Free Company of Volunteers of Catalonia; Sanchez 1990: 3-12), Periqués lamented the following complaint against Fages:

> [A]t that time there were plenty of chickens, belonging to the King. But Don Pedro always maintained that the chickens were his; and so he ate them all himself, one by one. Never was it known that a chicken was killed for the sick; the only exception was the killing of two roosters: one for the Sergeant of the leather-jacket soldiers, and the other for Pablo [Serra 1955a: 403].

The apparent hoarding of chickens by Fages forced the soldiers to rely on locally available sources of meat. In the same grievance, Periqués recounted that:

> Believe it or not, we were in such dire straits that we ate vipers, rats, snakes, sea skates, coyotes, crows—any animal whatever except only black beetles. And of what grew in the fields, we ate everything raw which we knew positively would not harm us, worse than so many horses, until most of the men became poisoned. And I was one of the number. [Serra 1955a: 405]

Given the circumstances, the Presidio soldiers and settlers necessarily depended on marine sources from the Monterey and Carmel Bays to help supplement their diet. Fages rendered one of the earliest written descriptions of bounties of the Monterey Bay during two Spanish expeditions to the Monterey Bay in 1769 and 1770 (Fages 1937: 83). Fages observed that:

> In the sea [Monterey Bay] there are seen from time to time a few whales and seals, and there are many sardines of all sizes, especially in the months of June, July and August, when they are pursued by those great beasts. There are not lacking other fish of the species already mentioned [Fages 1937: 83].

Serra also documented the abundance of sardines. During the summers of 1774 and 1775, Serra made repeated references to the fishing of sardines at Carmel. On August 24, 1774, Serra wrote Antonio Maria de Bucareli y Ursua, the Viceroy of New Spain, the following account:

> The said reaping began July 18 and had to be continued until August 12, because as soon as it began, great schools of sardines appeared near the beach, close to the mission. So the arrangement was that, until noon-time, we harvested wheat, and in the afternoon caught sardines. This lasted fully twenty days without a break. Besides all the fish that was eaten by so many people—and they came, day after day, even from far-off places—besides, also, what we and our people ate fresh, we still have, from what was given us, twenty barrels well filled, salted and cleaned. At first there was more, because after cleaning, from three barrels you only get two.
>
> Some individuals caught as much as ten barrels. Seeing that our supply of barrels and salt was running short, the idea struck us to open the sardines, remove the spines, and put them to dry in the sun, as the gentiles do in the Santa Barbara Channel. And, of what was dried in this way, we give to anyone who asks for them. After two weeks of fish eating, on the Sunday following, leaving the sardines in peace, they went hunting for the nests of seabirds that live in the rocks and feed on fish. They caught a lot of young birds which were, generally speaking, as big as a good-sized chicken. And so they passed Sunday camping on the Carmel beach, divided into countless groups, each with its fire, roasting and eating what they had caught. Two of the Fathers and I went to watch

> them, and, as a relaxation, it was as good as seeing a theatre show [Serra 1955b: 145].

The sardine fishing was so extensive that Serra sent Bucareli's secretary, Melchor de Peramas, a barrel full attributed to Mission San Carlos neophyte Juan Evangelista on September 11, 1774 (Archibald 1978: 47; Serra 1955b: 181).

The prevalence of sardines was also reported by Pedro Font in 1776 at the Carmel Beach by Mission San Carlos (Voss 2008: 41-42). Font was a Franciscan friar who accompanied Captain Juan Bautista de Anza on the expedition to the San Francisco peninsula to establish a mission and the Royal Presidio of San Francisco (Voss 2008: 42-43). Shortly after the arrival of the Anza expedition on March 10, 1776 at the Presidio of Monterey, Font visited Mission San Carlos and observed that:

> They [Mission San Carlos neophytes] devote themselves to fishing, for at this place many good fish are caught. Besides the sardines, which are very plentiful and at times are caught without any trouble because many are stranded, there are obtained also many good salmon which enter the river to spawn. Since they are fond of fresh water they ascend the streams so far that I am assured that even at the mission of San Antonio some of the fish which ascend the Monterey River have been caught. Of this fish we ate almost every day while we were here. Besides, as many as possible were gathered to dry, being carried by the commander as a delicacy. In short, although the rest of the missions are very good, this one seemed to me the best of all [Font 1930: 420].

The following month on April 10 1776, Font commented in his diary that:

> Today there was a great shoal of small sardines on the beach, and they said that they were so abundant that they made the ground black on the edge of the water. The commander went there in the afternoon with the fathers to walk and to see this wonder [Font 1930: 420].

Clearly there were alternative food sources available to the soldiers and settlers during the early years identified not only in the historical record but also reflected in archaeological evidence.

Despite the numerous historical descriptions of sardine and other fish exploitation, specific mention of abalone exploitation in Monterey or Carmel is not documented in Serra's letters or reports (1955a, 1955b, 1955c, and 1995d). Nevertheless, we contend that the presence of abalone in the archaeological record is the result of interactions

with the Rumsen Ohlone (Costanoan) and Esselen of the Monterey Peninsula given their long history of settlement and subsistence strategies related to a maritime environment.

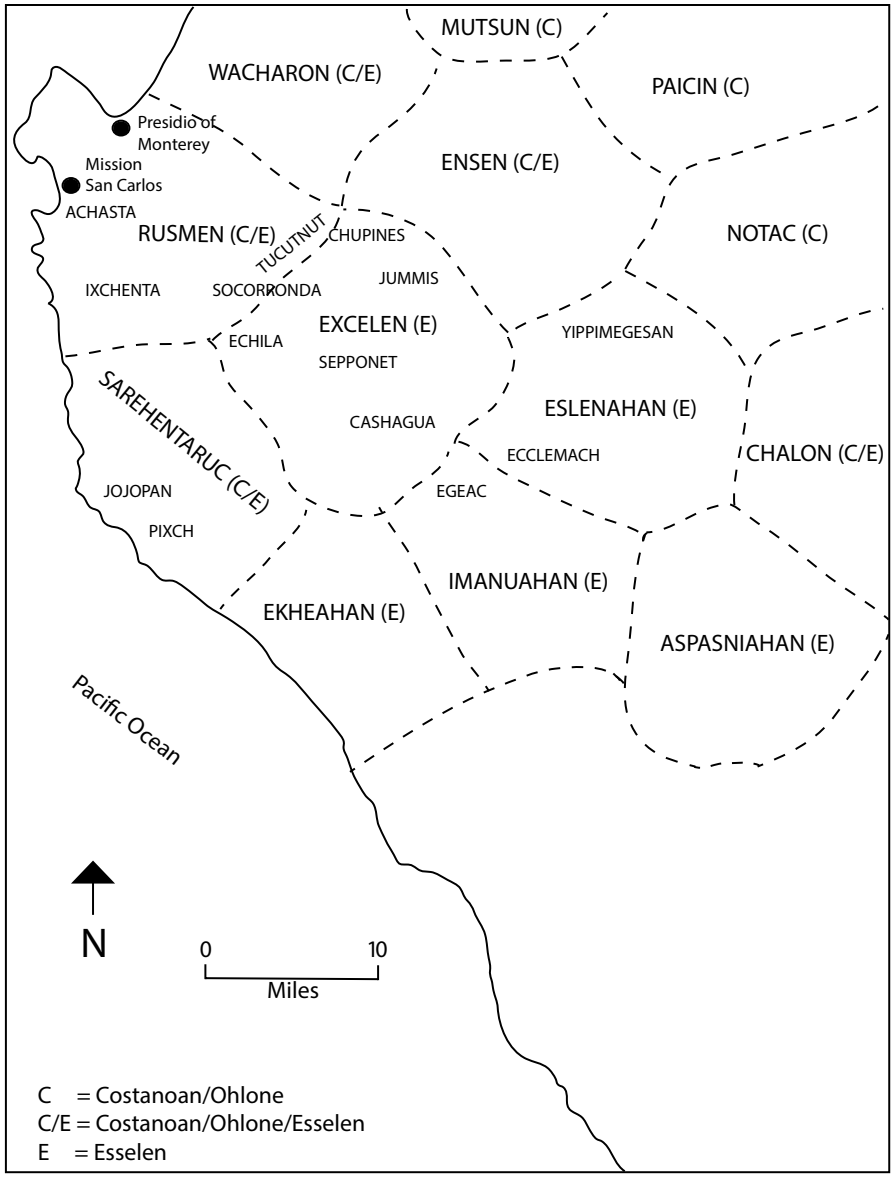


Figure 16. Map of Esselen and Costanoan/Ohlone Districts. Adapted from Schwaderer (2010: Figure 2). Map redrawn by Jennifer A. Lucido, 2015.

The Esselen established residential bases situated by the coast within a mile of the intertidal zone (Breschini and Haversat 2004: 109; Lucido 2015: 50-51). These locations yielded access to marine resources such as mussels, abalone, and other fish as well access to marine mammals such as sea otters, harbor seals, California and Stellar sea lions, fur seals, etcetera (Breschini and Haversat 2004: 109-110, 119; Jones 1992: 105). In addition to the coastal occupational sites, there are interior foraging sites in the forests and mountains that represent a "Sur Pattern" identified with the Esselen (Breschini and Haversat 2004: 110, 2008: 15-16; Jones 1992: 105; Lucido 2015: 51). These sites are also characterized by terrestrial resources including deer and other small mammals, birds, and reptiles, etcetera (Breschini and Haversat 2004: 117). These sites served primarily as places of vegetation gathering and seed and nut processing (Breschini and Haversat 2004: 110). Monterey archaeologists Breschini and Haversat (2008: 16) hypothesized that during the Middle Archaic Period (2000 B.C. to A.D. 1000), Esselen foraging sites would reflect a greater emphasis of terrestrial resources with the southward movement of Penutian speakers (Rumsen Ohlone) into the Monterey Bay.

In contrast, Rumsen Ohlone sites are characterized as having substantial shell midden and a greater spectrum of archaeological deposits that span various fishing technologies (e.g., whalebone pries and abalone and mussel fishhooks), high quantities of carbon

and fire altered rock, charcoal fragments, and marine mammal remains (Breschini and Haversat 1986: 8; Jones 1992: 105-107; Lucido 2015: 52). These sites are identified with the "Monterey Pattern" and demonstrate a "specialized peri-coastal food procurement and processing site" strategy (Breschini and Haversat 1986: 1; Jones 1992: 105-107). Monterey Pattern residential bases were typically situated inland (e.g., Carmel Valley) whereas the Esselen Sur Pattern residential sites were primarily situated by the coast (Jones 1992: 106; Lucido 2015: 52). Therefore, the Rumsen transported marine resources from the coast to interior village-communities and nearby sites for processing and consumption (Breschini and Haversat 1986: 8, 11). In contrast, the Esselen gathered, processed, and consumed resources near the origin of the food source, whether marine or terrestrial (Breschini and Haversat 1986: 8, 11).

Figure 17. In the tule swamp--upper lake Pomo by Edward S. Curtis, California, ca. 1924. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

At the time of the founding of the Presidio, the Rumsen and Esselen engaged in limited religious interaction with the missionaries and presidial company (Lucido 2015: 56). On July 2, 1770, Serra wrote to the Visitador General, Don Joseph de Gálvez the following report:

> I received a message today from the heathen who live at a distance from here, brought to me by two good Indians whom I sent out. The heathen say that at present they are fishing, and that within four days they shall come to leave their little boys with me for instruction. They also sent me some fresh deer meat [Temple II and Serra 1932: 279].

In spite of the lack of neophyte conversions, Serra acknowledges the invaluable reliance on the Rumsen and Esselen for Spanish survival in his August 18, 1772 letter to Palou, stating that "Those who are the main supporters of our people are the gentiles. Thanks to them, we live because God so wills it..." (1955a: 265).

Therefore, unless the Spanish settlers had prior knowledge about abalone foraging, it is suspected that such was obtained for the soldiers by native peoples. Either a form of trade or process of learning to forage between the Spanish settlers and the Native Americans could account for both the red and black abalone in the assemblage.

Zooarchaeological research at the Royal Presidio of San Diego undertaken by Paul Chace and Mark Roeder of the Presidio Gateway Search Project identified similar preliminary findings (Buitenhuys 2014: 55). Data from their study suggests that the Kumeyaay "may have contributed substantially to the [San Diego] presidio's menu through fish exploitation" (Buitenhuys 2014: 55). In addition, shellfish has been recovered at the Presidio of San Diego, of which Chace argues is "a marked signature of indigenous [Kumeyaay] involvement in local maritime resource exploitation" (Buitenhuys 2014: 55).

Findings from the palynology further support the variable impact of interaction and trade networks at Monterey. The pollen assay suggests that long distance seed conveyance occurred with the heartland of New Spain. For example, wheat, beans, and chocolate were delivered to Monterey from San Blas (Mexico) via the packet boat *San Antonio* on June 20, 1771 (Serra 1955a: 227, 235). According to the pollen assay's findings, wheat, cocoa, and tobacco were possibly cultivated near the north and west portions of the Presidio. It is paramount to note that one must be cautious when assigning proximal locations of crops via pollen data because grains often disperse widely over long distances (e.g. hundreds of miles) by wind, waterways, animals, and particularly in this instance—human activity (MacDonald 2003: 208-209, 228-239). Primary sources confirm, however, that early attempts of planting and harvesting near Mission San Carlos failed to yield successful crops (Serra 1955a: 241). On June 21, 1771, Serra detailed to Father Francisco Palou the unsuccessful plantings:

> What we did here—we of the mission—in the way of raising crops came to nothing. We made a little garden nearby, and enclosed it; the Indians did the digging. The whole of it became one seeding bed, as Father Fray Juan had all kinds of seeds. Everything came out fine, but nothing grew to maturity. We were all greatly puzzled. Later we found out that the ground, while showing no signs of it, at times is washed over by the salt water of the bay, and so is fit for nothing but nettles and reeds.
>
> As regards [to] the presidio—Don Pedro had two gardens; one produced plenty of cabbages and other vegetables; the other still more, even a little wheat and barley. But now that we are going to Carmel we hope things well [sic] be different [Serra 1955a: 241].

Clearly the miscalculation of agriculturally viable land was not without consequence. Nearly one year later on August 8, 1772, Serra reports that "With regard to crops nothing worthy of the name

has as yet been achieved. I will tell you why later. We may be able to accomplish something in this regard a little later" (Serra 1955a: 257). The earliest documentation of successful harvesting at Mission San Carlos was in 1772, of which yielded only eight bushels of wheat (Engelhardt 1934: 244). As such, there would have been substantial dependency on imported food from the Naval Department of San Blas.

San Blas functioned as the sole source of external supplies for the missions and presidios of Alta California until 1810 (Archibald 1978: 27; Perissinotto 1998: 18). Each year a list or *memoria* of necessary goods and supplies was sent out to New Spain to be received the following year (Perissinotto 1998: 19). In August of 1772, supply ships arrived in San Diego but were unable to continue north to Monterey (Beebe and Senkewicz 2015: 235). Such prompted supplementing provisions for Monterey and Missions San Antonio and San Luis Obispo through other means, including fishing for sardines and abalones, but also that of Fages' 1772 bear hunting expedition in the Valley of the Bears (Engelhardt 1934: 35). Serra writes that "The Officer, seeing that the provisions for the presidio were running low, decided to go with a sufficient number of soldiers to Bear Valley and get meat and salt it for his men" (Serra 1955a: 259). Unfavorable wind conditions obstructed the passage of the ships in 1774, thus further exacerbating the scarce provisions (Engelhardt 1934: 41; Geiger 1955: 144). Palou writes:

> The worst kind of a famine that was ever endured in the regions about Monterey visited us. For eight months milk was the manna for all from the comandante and the Fathers down to the least individual; and I shared it with the rest... At this Mission of San Carlos for thirty-seven days we were without a tortilla or as much as a crumb of bread. The meals consisted of a gruel made of garvanzos [sic] or beans ground to flour with which milk was mixed. In the morning a little coffee took the place of chocolate [Engelhardt 1934: 41-42].

It was during this famine that the Rumsen and Esselen were permitted to partake in *paseos* or approved leave in order to hunt, fish, and gather seeds for their own subsistence (Engelhardt 1934: 42; Lightfoot 2005: 61). It was not until May 9, 1774 that the frigate *Santiago la Nueva Galicia* docked in the port of Monterey, delivering much awaited food (Geiger 1955: 144-145).

Despite the early struggles, by 1781 the cattle population of Monterey was stable. In fact, problems with overgrazing and drought at the Presidio impacted native grasses and seeds such that wild game was reduced in Monterey (Lucido 2013: 62; Walton 2001: 36- 37). As a result, some herds were relocated to the Pueblo de Los Angeles (Lucido 2013: 62).

Problems with Presidio livestock continued during the 1780s and 1790s (Bancroft 1886: 683; Culleton 1950: 143; Walton 2001: 36). Native Californians stole livestock and destroyed Presidio ranches in the Salinas Valley (Culleton 1950: 143; 108 Walton 2001: 36). Serra charged the Presidio of Monterey with the responsibility for the actions of Native Californians given the impact of the Presidio's livestock on native lifeways (Walton 2001: 36). Governor Felipe de Neve retaliated against the actions of these Native Californians and ordered:

> that an example be made and reasonable punishment applied [by] seizing the culprits, carrying them to the presidio and shaming them by eight or ten days in the stocks and twenty or twenty-five lashes ... Repeated punishments, however, have not succeeded with the Christian Indians of the last-named mission [Mission San Carlos] who, it was recently found, had killed as many as ten fillies, mares, and colts of the Monterey herd. It is significant that they do no harm of any kind to the cattle or horses of the mission [Beilharz 1971: 159-169; Walton 2001: 36].

In addition to attacks by Native Californians, grizzly bears and wolves preyed on the livestock population in Monterey (Bancroft 1886: 683; Walton 2001: 37). Bears were not only a threat to livestock but also to Presidio agricultural production (Bancroft l886: 683). Despite these setbacks, the Presidio continued to control cattle, and by 1800, the Presidio managed 1,275 cattle and over 7,000 horses (Hackel 2005: 71; Lucido 2013: 62).

Future Research and Conclusions

Previous studies have looked at the collections of the Monterey Presidio before, but there was limited species identification. This study set out to expand upon the species identification in the kitchen middens of the Presidio. While the documented abundance of cattle bone chronicles the onset of animal husbandry on the Monterey Bay, Spanish colonists struggled with unsustainable and scarce food resources imported from San Blas during the first years of settlement. Therefore, Presidio soldiers and settlers supplemented their diet by consuming marine resources provided by the Rumsen and Esselen. Future studies might relate more to the other presidios and missions in Alta California for a comparison of subsistence patterns during the initial colonization of California. This study serves as a baseline of faunal species identification for future researchers interested in zooarchaeological research at the Monterey Presidio. Future studies should incorporate all the trenches for a more comprehensive sampling of the Spanish settlers' diet. As recommended for future study of the Presidio of San Diego, additional analysis of the fish

and shellfish recovered at the Presidio of Monterey may further identify consumption patterns, seasonality, geographic distribution, and indigenous labor necessary for harvesting marine resources (Buitenhuys 2014: 140).

As the settlement developed, the Presidio depended on importing non-native species for food production from other colonial sites in New Spain. This comprised of not only cattle but also plant species, such as tomato, wheat, bean, and cocoa as indicated by the pollen assay. Together, the process of introducing agriculture and animal husbandry drastically changed the landscape of California (Steward 1937). A more complete picture of Mission-era agriculture can be demonstrated by analyzing the remaining nine soil samples. Pollen preservation for this assay was relatively low. A second pollen study can remedy this by gathering sediment samples from moist soil near the Presidio where anaerobic conditions likely preserved pollen. Furthermore, rarely is charcoal included in the pollen sum (MacDonald et al. 2001; Whitlock and Larsen 2002); however, doing so unveiled a Presidio of Monterey charcoal record that leaves questions regarding the site's fire history for future research. All things considered, it is reasonable to conclude that the preliminary findings presented by the pollen assay elucidate agricultural and dietary patterns of the Presidio during the Mission era. Ultimately, this suite of findings more fully documents a dietary transition central to the evolution of the broader political economy of early California.

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WHEN THE WORLD RODE IN

Martha Ann Francisca Vallejo McGettigan

The encounter between the Euro-American settlers and the indigenous peoples of the Americas was more complex and nuanced than history books would have us believe...it is a much more multifaceted story...

—Macri, Letter NSDAR , 2014

Introduction

When Spain sent her citizens to settle Upper California, there was an immediate change brought to the land. The men, women, children, soldados, vaqueros, and priests who traveled to their far frontier to start new lives, they brought their culture and that brought an immediate consequence.

Spain had sent those who had the will and courage to undertake a voyage as long and difficult as any Atlantic crossing to secure the Spanish claim. These Spanish citizens journeyed 1800 miles on horseback to begin new lives. A new ideology, language, social organization, and economy were introduced and with that, California changed forever.

The migration of a racially diverse and integrated group of Spanish subjects, becomes the genesis of the Californio society. Their traditions, technologies and contributions are the foundations to what is now the state of California.

This paper explores the immediate tumultuous encounter between the Euro-American settlers and the indigenous peoples in the colonization of California. It is a combination of presentations

About the Author
Martha Ann Francisca Vallejo McGettigan is an independent California historian. She lectures on Native American and Californios with emphasis on the Suysun Tribe, the Vallejo Family, and the women of early California. She has presented papers for the *California Indian Conference*, *The California Mission Studies Association*, *Daughters of the American Revolution*, *Anza Society*, *San Francisco Presidio Historical Society*, and *California State Parks*. Some of her lectures are set to Francisca Vallejo's music and presented with vocal artists. Martha wrote, produced, and directed a musical pageant telling the history of Sonoma for the city of Sonoma. She worked with *California 2000* on history documentaries for the State of California School System as art director, researcher, and costume and prop director. Martha adapted primary source documents from Francisca Vallejo, for a DVD on General Vallejo's home, *Lacryma Montis*, receiving a nomination for a Telly Award for scriptwriter. She produced a CD of a *Las Posadas* using historic and original California Mission music. Martha was a master Teacher and Presenter for the

Continued on next page.

to California Mission Studies Association, California Missions Foundation, Los Californianos, San Francisco Heritage Program of the Presidio Trust, Benicia Historical Society, and the National Society Daughters of the American Revolution Religious Heritage Tea. These papers examined the colonists, the women, the religion, the items of the new society in California, the effect this had, and with illustrations, gave a more complete picture of the colonization story.

The Beginning

The impetus of this series of papers and presentations began in 2012 when I was invited by the San Francisco Heritage Program of the Presidio Trust, to join in the transformation of the San Francisco Presidio Officer's Club into a new museum which would portray the history of the Presidio throughout all the eras of time from the Indigenous peoples, the colonist, and the U.S. occupation. The goal was to make a place that would encourage people to connect more deeply with the shared heritage of all those who were a part of the magnificent location.

I worked and was involved for two and a half years for the founding families research, text research, consulting, and artifact reproduction for the Spanish and Mexican eras of the presidio. One of the first things I encountered was the absence of knowledge of the people who came north to colonize California by those who were hired to represent and display them. I realized there was a large gap of information and recognition of the colonial families. The understanding of the culture that had been in place for hundreds of years in Nueva España was absent and the perception was inaccurate. To understand the colonists, what one must understand is where they came from.

A noticeable trend of negative information on the colonial era also became evident, singular, and dominate. If the total story of the colonization

Figure 1. Saddle by John Grafton, photo by author.

About the Author, continued.
NEH "Fourteenth Colony Workshop," and a participant, researcher, and artifact restorer for the San Francisco Presidio Heritage Gallery. Martha is a recipient of a Visiting Scholar Fellowship at the Autry Institute for the Study of the American West. She received The History Award Medal from the National Society Daughters of the American Revolution for her work in California history. Martha has been published in *The Californians, The Sonoma Index Tribune, California Mission Studies Association, California Missions Foundations, The Hispanic Outlook in Higher Education*, and the *Centennial Memoirs of the Daughters of California Pioneers*. Martha is descended from four Spanish soldiers who served in California from 1779-1783, Maria Feliciana Arballo Gutierrez Lopez, who came to California with Anza and is the great great granddaughter of General M.G. Vallejo and Doña Francisca Carrillo Vallejo. Martha is one of the first women accepted as a regular member of *The Society of the California Pioneers,* and from a Spanish descent, a member of the *Daughters of the American Revolution*, also, being a Director of the Spanish task Force for that society. Martha is a classical clarinetist, lives in Pope Valley, and is active in the valley horse club.

in California isn't represented, a true image cannot be seen. I began my World Rode In series to give a more accurate and especially a visual account in order to give a deeper understanding of the positive effects of this tumultuous era.

The Migration

A majority of the people who were recruited for colonization were from an area in Nueve España that had gone through devastating events. The Villa de Sinaloa had lost its role as a capital of the province in 1740; in 1767 royal officials expelled the Jesuit Order from the Americas and its school, granaries, pharmacy, and infirmary in town were abandoned; in 1770, the Sinaloa River flooded and brought down much of the town leaving only the bell tower of the church; in Sinaloa and other regions across Sonora the mines gave out; and independent bands of Apache and Seri stepped up raiding.[1]

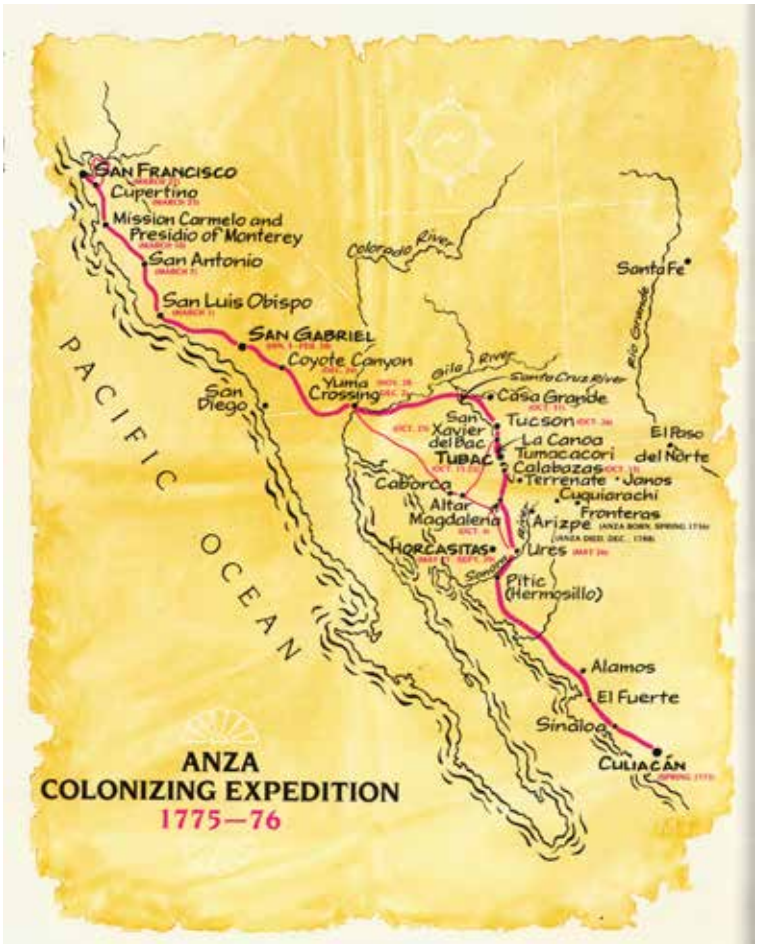


Figure 2. Map of Anza Expedition. Courtesy NPS/ Michael Taylor.

All these events left the people of these areas destitute and impoverished. When the recruiters came for the 2nd Expedition of 1775/76, offering a new life, promised livestock, supplies, clothing, pay in advance, rations, and a new start – there were immediate sign ups, despite the dangers, unknowns and the immensity of the event.

These recruits were poor and many extol that fact. Some even proclaiming that they were chosen because they were "expendable." [2] This is far from the truth for that would go against the reason to send these families to colonize and secure strategic Spanish claims. These were the people who were to be the entire population and future of the Spanish Empire beginning in 1769. The population centers depended on this investment and it was clear that they had come to stay. They were picked for their character qualities, as well as their willingness to undertake this dangerous journey.[3] Some recruited soldados and colonists had to be able blacksmiths, carpenters and/ or other needed experts. This was reflected in the lists of equipment and supplies and payrolls. [4]

The people's trust in Juan Bautista de Anza as the organizer and leader had to be great and when he left them on April 14, 1776, his care for them, as well, was reflected in his diary:

> This day has been the saddest one experienced by this presidio (Monterey) since its founding. When I mounted my horse in the plaza, the people whom I have led from their fatherland, to which I am returning, remembering the bad or good treatment which they have experienced at my hands while they been under my orders, most of them especially the feminine sex, came to me sobbing with tears, which they declared they were shedding more because of my departure than their exile, filling me with compassion. They showered me with embraces, best wishes, and praises which I do no merit. But in remembrance of them, and of the gratitude which I feel to all and the affection which I have had for them since I recruited them, and in eulogy of their faithfulness, for up to now I have not seen a single sign of desertion in anyone of those whom I brought to remain in this exile, May I be permitted to record this praise of a people who, as time goes on, will be very useful to the monarchy in whose service they have voluntarily left their relatives and their fatherland, which is the most a person can sacrifice. (Guerrero, 203, Valdez, interview)

Who Came

The 2nd Anza Expedition of 1775/76, when it left the Presidio of Tubac, October 22, 1775 consisted of approximately 240 persons. There were 39 women and 119 children – 95 under the age of 12. The equipment for the people was packed on 140 mules, 25 extra mules, 500 horses, 30 mares with a few colts, and burros for a total of 695 total mounts. Livestock for the Expedition use on the way and for the end of the journey for the settlement was approximately 355 head of cattle.

Figure 3. Presidio Trust Cover picture of opening of San Francisco Heritage Galley, Fall 2014. Note prominent display of saddle and soldado de cuera. Courtesy Presidio Trust.

One can only imagine the journey conditions which confronted the travelers for the care, safety and everyday exuberance of their children and what they would encounter on the way. The written visual of this event, was that it was a mile long traveling city.

During some of the meetings in development of the museum, I overheard remarks about who came – 'a priest and some soldiers' and a 'group of people'. This was remarkable for many reasons. It revealed the lack of knowledge of the size of the Expedition, it showed the lack of

understanding of the impact of what an Expedition of this size would be, and it revealed a lack of knowledge of the actual undertaking-riding, camping, and days and months on the trail.

When I rode with a "group" of 15 people, Figures 4,5, and 6 give an idea of the amount of space taken. These were from a ride for four hours in Snell Valley, California with members of Pope Valley Ropers and Riders.

Figure 4 below, left). Author riding with Pope Valley Ropers & Riders for a 15 mile excursion. Photo by PVRR.

Figures 5 (below, middle). Author riding with colonial clothing. Photo by PVRR.

Figures 6 (below, right). Author riding with group of 15 other riders. Photo PVRR.

A "mile long city" traveling would look more like this.

Figure 7 (left). A depiction of the Expedition traveling. Courtesy NPS/ William Singleton.

Just the pack animals and livestock would have covered acres.

Figure 8a (below). Horseherd, Courtesy NPS/Wade Cox.

Illustrations give a greater accurate visual of what the Expedition looked like and then also, the sound - envision the creaking of cured, worked leather saddles, the jangling metal bits, spurs and forged buckles, the thudding of cattle, horses and pack mules carrying ceramic pottery, brass pots, clothing, cloth tents, people – men, women, children soldados, vaqueros and priests. The vision of all this and the impact would have been tumultuous.

Figure 8b (top). Pack Mule, Courtesy NPS/Wade Cox.

Figure 9 (above). Cattle crossing river, a smaller number than on the Expedition trail. Western Horseman, January 2014.

Provisions

The task of expanding and establishing a resettlement of families took years to plan, starting with the First Expedition of Anza with just soldados and guides. The 2nd Expedition with the colonists took an additional fourteen months to organize the supplies and recruit the people. Great thought went into the preparations and what the colonists would need.

Don José de Echeveste was in charge of the detailed list of necessary items and costs. The recruits were given adequate clothing, arms, mounts, rations and baggage for the use and transportation for all.

ECHEVESTE – LIST OF SUPPLIES

ARMS
20 saddle-tree guns
20 cases of Fundas Ordinarias of good timber
20 swords
20 lances
22 leather jackets of about 7 ases 13 each a vara ¼ in length
30 shoulder-belts with the name of San Carlos de Monterey
20 cartridge boxes with 14 bullets

HORSES AND TRAPPING FOR A MAN
60 horses, 2 for each recruit
20 saddles

20 pair of spurs
20 fine mule-bits
20 pairs of pads

HORSES FOR A WOMAN AND FAMILY
60 mares
30 saddles
30 fine mule-bits

BAGGAGE AND BEASTS OF BURDEN
20 mules
20 instruments and things in connection with them
30 chamois-skin gripsacks for the soldiers and their families
4 divisions composed of 132 mules
100 complete harnesses for 4 divisions of 132 mules
20 mule drivers
200 head of cattle, bulls and cows
6 Indian cowboys

NECESSARY ITEMS
1 flag with the royal coat of arms
11 tents for cavalry of bramant linen, with wooden frames from those that the factory of the royal estate possesses, and that shall be fit for use, 10 for the 30 families and 1 for the Father Chaplain
4 Biscayan hatchets well strengthened with iron
4 spades well strengthened with iron
4 shovels well strengthened with iron
1 small crow-bar
10 ball cartridges
40 leather powder-flasks for blasting
8 iron pans
10 copper campaign kettles
12 large chocolate pots
1 case of iron pieces well adapted and arranged; 2/3 for horses and 1/3 for mules; with a duplicate key
1 tool chest (with the instruments) for shoeing horses
2 blank books for military registers
Sleeping mats

CATTLE AND PROVISIONS TO RATION
100 head of cattle, one for each day
30 loads of flour for tortillas
60 fanegas of pinole
60 fanegas of kidney beans
6 cases of ordinary chocolate

2 tercios of white sugar with 6 arrobas
soap
3 barrels of aguardiente
1 case beans with 7 arrobas
25 pounds of pork sausage
6 cases of biscuit
6 cases of fine chocolate with 7 arrobas
1 barrel of wine
6 arrobas of cheese
4 pounds of pepper
½ pound of saffron
4 ounces of cloves
4 ounces of cinnamon
1 jug of olive oil
1 jug of vinegar

The February 16-18, 2007, Proceedings of the 24th Annual Conference of the California Mission Studies Association, Mission San Francisco de Asís, published my paper, A Comment on the Sense and Sensibility of the Colonial Women on the Second Anza Expedition of 1775-76, (pp 196-204). This was my first formulation of the common sense needed to research the clothing of the Expedition with special focus on the women, as well as working with Dr. Greg Smestad and the National Park Services', resulting in "A Guide to the Juan Bautista de Anza National Historic Trail."

The clothing for the women and children issued would have been functional, sturdy and bought in mass. Knowledge of travel by horse, camping for many months, and understanding the effect those have on material is needed. Purchasing large amounts of items for use by a large group needs to be understood and this can be compared to what was given to the colonist. Individualizing items and/or making a statement about status would not have happened.

CLOTHING FOR ONE WOMAN
3 chemises
3 white petticoats of Puebla cotton
2 skirts, one of serge and the other of baize
and one underskirt
2 varas of linen for two jackets
2 pairs Brussels stockings
2 pairs of hose
2 pairs of shoes
2 rebozos
1 hat
6 varas of ribbon

CLOTHING FOR NINETY BOYS
5 pieces of cloth
12 pieces of Puebla cloth for linings and white trousers
270 varas of linen for shirts of about 3 varas
50 hats
8 dozen shoes of various sizes

AND EQUAL NUMBER OF GIRLS
70 varas of lines for shirts
4 pieces of Puebla cloth 6 for petticoats and linings
90 cloths for women's shawls of all sizes
2 pieces of thick flannel for little petticoats
4 pieces of cloth of about 34 varas for undershirts
12 pieces of ribbon
16 pieces of fine rope
8 dozen shoes of various sizes
120 blankets, single bed
120 shepherds blankets

Unfortunately, improbable theories and evaluations have been made about the supplies, specifically the clothing, stating that Anza used the clothing to manipulated and create a "social equalizer"[5] . In just the four hours of riding (see Figures 4, 5, and 6) my clothes were dirty, smelled of horse, and parts were rubbed by the saddle. Extending this to months of travel reinforces the theory that the clothes were picked for the good of the colonist and practicability rather than any underscored control by Anza.

Concurrent with the research for San Francisco, I was asked for ideas of artifacts of the Expedition families to represent them. It was decided that I would retrofit a soldado de cuera (Spanish soldier uniform).

The majority of the men on the Expedition were soldados and Echeveste's list for their clothing reflects that. The Regulations of 1772 dictated specifically what the uniforms were and then the non military men's items would be the same just without the prescriptive additions.

CLOTHING FOR ONE MAN
3 good linen shirts
3 pairs of underdrawers of Pueblo cotton, four varas in each one
2 cloth jackets with their linings and trimming
2 pair of breeches
2 pairs of stockings
2 pairs of buckskin boots

3 pairs of buttoned shoes
1 cloth cape lined with baize
1 hat
2 blankets
1 ribbon for hat and hair

Other replica artifacts for the museum would be done by the blacksmith and leather worker, John Grafton from San Juan Bautista. He would make a saddle and additional items for the soldado. As seen in Figure 3, these two items became prominent in the Heritage Gallery of the museum.

John Grafton

John Grafton is a Californio artisan of the highest caliber. He gives a true perspective of the California colonial time through his knowledge of his craft, which is the hands-on style to explore the past. To quote him, ". . . making things with my own hands I am able to become aware of details that I would tend not to discover just by looking at something . . . this gives me a greater awareness of the aesthetics, environments, and spirit of the culture from which the things come."

Grafton was born in Boise, Idaho to cattle-ranching parents who ran cattle in Oregon in the Jordan Valley area. He moved up to the central interior area of British Columbia, Canada, where his parents continued to raise cattle and where there was always the task of repairing gear. This began his knowledge of horses and the tack of the early American West.

Figure 10. John Grafton

Grafton worked for various cattle companies in B.C. until he joined the Peace Corps, and was sent down to Ecuador, South America, where he worked in large animal production for nearly four years and learned from village craftsmen. John traveled and stayed in villages in central Mexico where again, local craftsmen shared their knowledge.

Upon returning to North America Grafton followed a career in law enforcement in Sacramento, CA,

where he became a docent at CA State Parks Historic Site of Sutter's Fort. Staff and docents there encouraged him to do Californio interpretation because of his background in cattle ranching and experience in Latin American culture.

Grafton retired from law enforcement, and went on to travel, and stay for periods of time, in Mexico, primarily with the rancheros of lower Baja California. This is where John found the "first and last of the original Californios" who were tremendous resource for learning about the construction and use of Californio horse tack.

John Grafton is a docent at the San Juan Bautista State Historic Park, where he has a special interest in the history of California horse culture, blacksmithing and the replication of historic California colonial tools. John lives in an historic house built in 1834.

John travels to Baja to work with the people there and to authenticate how the work would have been done by the colonists. In figures 16, 17, and 18 are the saddle-making tools of John's friend Felipe Murrillo Amador of Ranch San Ramon, Baja California Sur. The tools are all rancho made, some ancestral and handed down over the generations, others of his own hand. John states, "He (Felipe) has graciously taught me much about all things Californio, especially traditional Californio leatherworking."

Figure 11, 12, and 13 (above). Handmade tools for leather work by John Grafton.

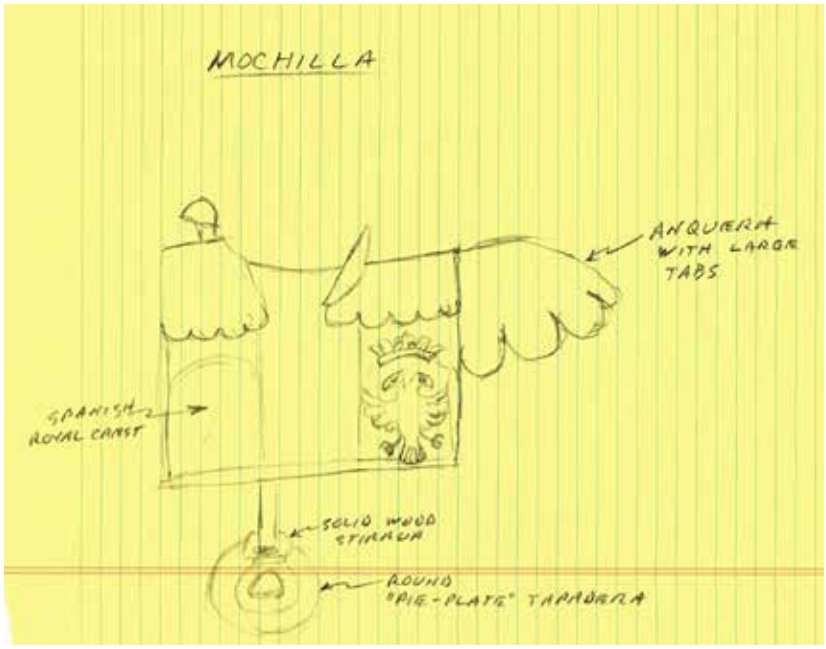


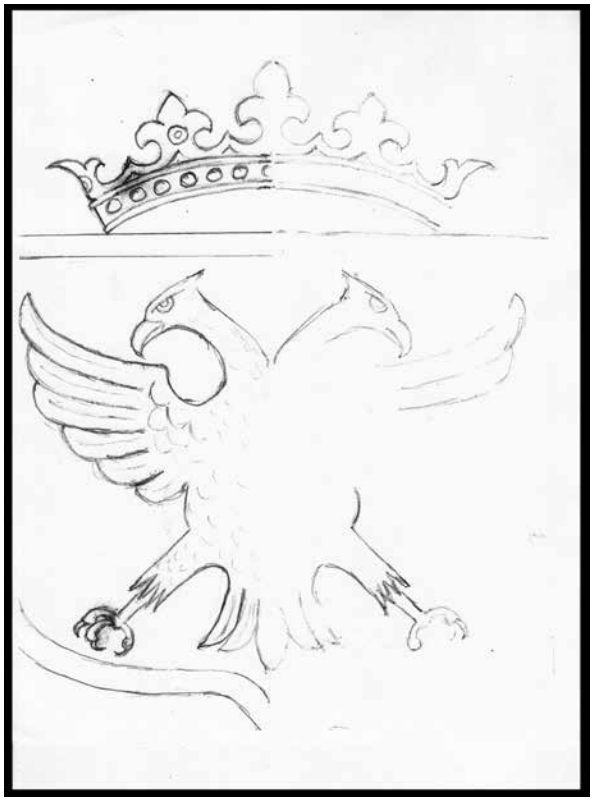
Figure 14 (left). Beginning sketch of saddle by John Grafton. Photo by author.

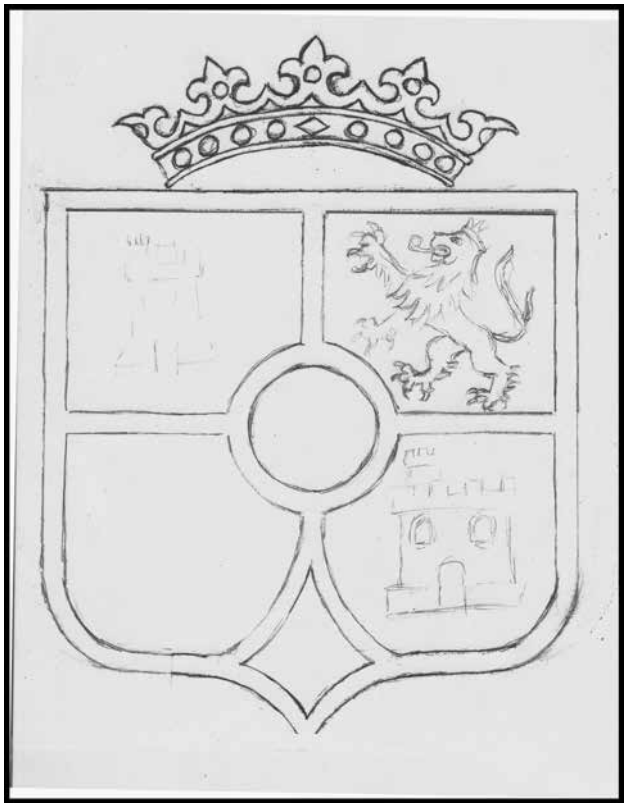
Figure 15 (top left, next page). Sketch of double headed eagle details by John Grafton. Photo by author.

Figure 16 (top right, next page). Sketch of coat of arms details by John Grafton. Photo by author.

Figure 17 (bottom, left). Double headed eagle details applied to leather by John Grafton. . Photo by author

Figure 18 (bottom, right). Coat of arms details applied to leather by John Grafton. Photo by author.





The saddle became a notable item in the museum. John began with drawings. Then, using the handmade tools, John worked on the final version for display.

Then using the tools he made, John worked on the final version for display.

John also, made the spear head on the lance, corrected the cartridge box, re-did the botas, and made the spurs for the soldado.

In the making of the breeches for the soldado and retrofit of the coat, buttons were needed. For Presidio buttons in California 1720-1797, the most characteristic attribute of this period was the drilled wedge shank or eye by which the buttons were secured to their uniforms. Each button had an integrally cast, rounded to rectangular slab or wedge of metal fixed in an upright position to the button's reverse face. An eye was formed in the upright shank. The buttons when inserted through the uniform were then "gang fastened" together by a length of tape or cord tied off at the top and bottom loop of the button chain, allowing all of the buttons to be removed quickly

Figure 19 (above). Finished saddle made by John Grafton for San Francisco Presidio Officer's Club, Heritage Gallery. Photo by author.

Figure 20 (below, left). Soldado de cuera model with handmade lance, cartridge, box, and spurs. Photo by author.

Figure 21 (below, right). John with lance he made by hand. Photo by author.

and easily when the uniform was to be cleaned or replaced. In this manner, one set of buttons might be used through several changes of clothing.

From a brass plate, John made the brass buttons and I attached them correctly to the soldado uniform coat and pants in the Heritage Gallery.

Figure 22 (above). Inside soldado coat with cord "gang fastening" handmade buttons. Photo by author.

John provided in his unique craftsman's capacity, the creation of the colonists lifestyle and how they maintained it in Upper Alta California. What the colonist actually brought with them was the beginning of agriculture, butchering, hide processing, irrigation, land tenure, leather working, metallurgy, rancho/cowboy gear, sea ports, stock raising, tools, urban planning, viticulture industries (wine & brandy), western architecture, and written language.

Some Notes of Colonial Practices
By John Grafton

Butchering:

- Meat fresh (no "hanging") or salted/dried
- Cut/chopped, knife/machete/axe, saws not used, not disjointed (chopped through bone).
- Dried meat usually salted and not smoked. Thin cut strips hung up to dry overnight when flies are not active

Hide Processing:

- Rawhide and 2 basic types of leather
- "baqueta" and "baquetilla"; leather tanned usually with tree bark
- Baqueta is heavy leather used for saddles
- Baquetilla is light leather (usually from goat) used for strings, shoe uppers, etc.
- "gamusa" is soft leather (buckskin) tanned with brains, not smoked. Used for cueras, strings,

- linings on spur straps, etc. Usually made from deer hide, less commonly sheep hide, never cow or goat
- Sheep or goat hides sometimes tanned with wool/hair on using tree bark like baqueta
- Rawhide ("cuero crudo") is untanned hide usually with hair taken off. Hair taken off with knife if it is to be braided. Otherwise taken off with lime
- Rawhide used for multiple purposes, i.e. lashings, reins, reatas, ramales, packboxes ("alforjas") which usually have hair left on

Leather working:

- Usually very ornate with tooling (embossing) on almost all objects made with baqueta Combination of floral and geometric motifs
- Floral Spanish, geometric Moorish influence
- Also silk thread embroidery
- Leather typically joined with string like "buckstitching", but a little different (holes for strings punched through leather at an angle rather than straight through)
- When leather sewn with thread looping type stitch used with one needle, rather than the two needle "saddle stitch" technique use by Americans
- Ornate rawhide braiding with intricate knots very characteristic

Rancho/Vaquero Gear:

- "center-fire" (cinch placed at center of saddle) typical of Californios
- Rawhide reata principal stock working tool
- Whips not much used, mostly just when on foot in corral
- Closed rein with attached ramal
- "bosal" or "jaquima" (same thing) used to start young horses
- Nothing in mouth until later stages of training with mature horse
- Hobbles and long picket rope used
- Large roweled spurs almost always worn

Stock Raising:

- All horses, mules, and cattle branded with hot iron
- Registered with "alcalde" (municipal/county authority)
- Animal branded again upon sale. Same iron used, or special sale iron
- Cattle also earmarked
- Mules used for packing, and riding where conditions are very rugged – more difficult to breed and raise and are more expensive
- Horses used especially where conditions are less rugged - are faster and smoother riding than mules and can work cattle better
- Horses are gelded but cattle are often not castrated (bulls are slaughtered as they reach maturity and there is no more demand for a steer than a bull)
- Oxen are castrated and have a conformation superior for a draft animal
- Open range/natural grazing systems used; little or no hay/grain fed to animals
- When milking, calves are kept penned in corral and cows go out to graze freely -they return to the calves in the morning and are milked then
- The calves suck first and then are pulled off
- The remaining milk then being used for human consumption
- Fresh cheese typically made
- Baby calves not slaughtered as with American style dairying
- Chickens, hogs, goats raised to lesser extent
- Livestock working dogs not much used, except with the Basquos
- Guard dogs used for sheep & goats

Metalurgy:

- Forged iron silver
- Charcoal fired forges with site draft rather than upward draft

typical of American forges

- Files, chisels, and punches used - do sophisticated work with few tools
- Work often ornamented by chiseling and punching
- Bits and spurs often ornamented with inlaid (not overlaid) silver

Tools:

- Tend to do much with few tools
- Machete principal tool, multi-purpose
- Axes, "axedones" (grub hoe) used
- Saws and shovels not very common

Conclusion

As this Expedition progressed, the sight and immensity of it, the noise, and the people in strange clothing must have stirred the hearts and curiosity of those already here. It also, began the bonding of those traveling to start a new life, a sharing the treachery, the unknown and the thrills. These people would become what is now known as "Californios" and their contributions are the foundations to what is now the great state of California.

The museum, in a separate area, featured a traditional Ohlone basket for display. This creation was made from native plants and grass by the artist and scholar, Linda Yamane. This basket display was certainly an honor for the culture of those prior to colonization.

John Grafton's work for the next era in time, is of the same value and quality and needs to be recognized as such.

The craftsmanship, dedication to tradition, revelation and honor to both artists and cultures should be acknowledged. Though the comparison of natural and earth products to man-made and forged items is not comparable, it exposes the extensive breadth of the two cultures. Understanding that this extreme happened right when the Expedition unpacked, gives a fuller, clearer idea, and realization to the immediate tumultuous change and transformation this caused. It was a new era.

Looking at the people from all eras in their own time and in their own ways of life enables a more honest look at the story of California.

The contributions of the colonists cannot be overlooked or left out of history for they have endured to this day.

Keynote opening greeting for San Francisco Founding Day, 2016:

Inspired by General Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo
and
La Vida es Sueño by Pedro Calderón de la Barca, 1635
and
The Women of the Juan Bautista de Anza 2nd Expedition 1775-1776

Dreams

The Present is a Dream of the Past

El Presente es un Sueño del Pasado

We're here today because of the dreams of our forefathers –

and our foremothers!

¡Estamos aquí por los sueños de nuestros antepasados!

La vida es un sueño

Life is but a dream

Y los sueños, sueños son

And dreams themselves are dreams

It takes a belief of new dreaming

Hay que tener fe en nuevos sueños

What did it take

To make those dreams come true?

¿Que se necesitaba

Para realizer esos sueños?

What did it take

For a woman

To leave everything she knew and start a new life?

¿Que se necesitaba

Como podría una mujer dejar todo lo que conocía

Y empezar una vida nueva?

What did it take

For a husband to convince his wife

and for the wife to trust –

that he knew the way

that she and her children would be safe?

¿Que se necesitaba

Como podría un esposo convencer a su esposa,
y la esposa confiar en que el sabia el camino
y que ella y sus hijos estarán fuera de peligro?

What did it take

Desperation of the then current positions in life?
Desperation turned to hope?

¿Que se necesitaba

La desesperación de la vida?
La desesperación convertida en la esperanza?

What did it take – then

To not despair in the cold and the snow
In the heat and the desert?

¿Que se necesitaba – En aquellos tiempo

Para no desesperar en el frio y la nieve
En el calor en el desierto?

To travel – camp and pack – day after day – month after month-
finding food and water for 8 months and over 250 days on horseback
and in a strange land.

Viajar y campear – día tras día – mes tras mes –
encontrando comida y agua por 8 meses, tras doscientos
cinquenta días a caballo en una tierra extranjera.

What did it take

To keep the faith –

In God
In Anza
In the dreams?

¿Que se necesitaba

Como se mantenía la fe
En Dios
En Anza
En los sueños?

What did it take

It took –

Strength – tenacity – sensibility – tears – laughter – music

Que se necesitaba

Se necesitaban

La fuerza – la tenacidad – la sensibilidad – la lagrimas – la risa – la musica

It took

The characteristics and values that formed the core –

The heart and the strength of the women

of the 2nd Juan Bautista de Anza Expedition

And the Californios

And now California's people of today.

Se necesitaban

Las características y los valores que forman

el corazón y fuerza de las muyeres

de la Segunda Expedicion de Juan bautista de Anza

y Los Californianos

y ahora la gente de California hoy en dia.

by
Martha Vallejo McGettigan
and
David Martinez
Spanish Translation by Clare Barrios-Knox

Endnotes

1. Pubols, pp. 19-20.

2. *Voss, p.45'*

3. Brinckerhoff, *Royal Regulations of 1772, 5. P.41* He (the captain) will give the closest attention to the recruits that he accepts, having always in mind that the sickly of weak person contributes more to weakness than to the strength of the troop. p.41; Nunis, *Instructions for the Recruitment of Soldiers and Settlers for the California Expedition of 1781, 10*. The Head of Father of each family must be a Man of the Soil, *Labrador de exercicio*, Healthy, robust, and without known vice or defect that would make him prejudicial to the Pueblos. p. 120.

4. Schuetz-Miller, pp. 11-12. Nunis, 11. Amoung the said families must be included a Mason, a Carpenter who knows how to make Yokes, ploughs, Rodadas and Carretas, and a Blacksmith, who will do if he knows how to make ploughshares, pick-axes, axes ad Crowbars.P,120.

5. Voss, p.265.

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35th Annual California Missions Conference

February 16–18, 2018

CALIFORNIA MISSIONS FOUNDATION

Missions Santa Clara & San José

The CMF Board selects Missions Santa Clara and San Jóse to co-host the *2018 California Missions Conference presented by the California Missions Foundation.*

The three-day Conference, February 16-18, returns to Mission Santa Clara for the first time since 1987 and to Mission San José for the first time since 1985 -- the second year a California Missions Conference was held.

On Opening Night, esteemed historians Rose Marie Beebe and Robert Senkewicz will give the Keynote Address in the church at Mission Santa Clara.

The conference begins Friday morning when CMF again hosts the Annual California Missions Directors and Curators Conference as well as its Presidio Institute. The opening day will also feature separate networking gatherings, as well as a presentation by State Parks. A series of speakers will rotate between the various sessions. There will also be an in-depth tour of the Mission Santa Clara complex, weather permitting.

Saturday, the Conference switches to nearby Mission San José and features a full day of paper presentations, a tour of the Mission and museum. That Saturday evening, the Annual CMF Conference Awards Banquet will be held at the Adobe behind the Mission Santa Clara Church.

Sunday, the Conference wraps up with an optional tour of the Castro Adobe, the beloved historic site of Edna Kimbro.

For more information, please visit
www.californiamissionsfoundation.org

California Missions Conferences

Santa Clara & San José	Upcoming Conference, February 16 - 18, 2018	2018
Santa Inés		2017
San Juan Bautista		2016
San Buenaventura		2015
San Antonio de Padua		2014
Santa Bárbara		2013
San Rafael Arcángel		2012
San Miguel Arcángel		2011
San Luis Rey de Francia		2010
San Xavier del Bac (Tucson, Arizona)		2009
San Carlos Borromeo de Carmel		2008
San Francisco de Asís		2007
San Diego de Alcalá		2006
San Fernando Rey de España		2005
San Luis Obispo de Tolosa		2004
Santa Cruz		2003
La Paz (Baja California Sur)		2002
Royal Presidio Chapel, Monterey		2001
San Gabriel Arcángel		2000
Santa Inés Virgen y Mártir		1999
San Juan Capistrano		1998
Nuestra Señora de Loreto Conchó (Baja California Sur)		1997
San Francisco de Asís		1996
San Francisco Solano		1995
San Diego de Alcalá		1994
San Antonio de Padua and San Miguel Arcángel		1993
San Luis Rey de Francia		1992
La Purísima Concepción		1991
Santa Bárbara Virgen y Mártir		1990
San Juan Bautista		1989
San Fernando Rey de España		1988
Santa Clara de Asís		1987
San Buenaventura		1986
San José		1985
San Juan Capistrano		1984

CMF AWARD RECIPIENTS

California Mission Studies and Preservation

Since 2006, an award has been given in honor of preservationist and dedicated scholar Edna Kimbro recognizing outstanding contributions in the broad area of Mission Studies and preservation of the California Mission and related historic sites. Recipients represent the broad spectrum of interests, professions, and points of view of the members of the California Missions Foundation.

Norman Neuerburg and Edna Kimbro

Neuerburg Award Recipients

2017 Marie Christine Duggan
2016 Ruben G. Mendoza
2015 Russell Skowronek
2014 Glenn Farris
2013 Michael Imwalle
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2011 Jack Williams
2010 Knox Mellon
2009 Alan K. Brown
2008 Bernard "Bunny" Fontana
2007 Randall Milliken
2006 Rose Marie Beebe and Robert Senkewicz
2005 Doyce B. Nunis, Jr. and Msgr. Francis J. Weber
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2011 Helen Nelson
2010 Craig Russell
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2007 Kristina Foss
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2017 Edith Piness
2016 Jarrell C. Jackman
2016 Philip Hudner
2015 Michael R. Hardwick
2014 John Warren
2013 Jeremy Hass
2013 Mary Louise Days
2012 Stephen T. Hearst and Hearst Family
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