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The Stations of the Cross in the Franciscan Missions of California

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

Master of Arts

in

Art History

by

Elaine Salisbury Wilson

June 2017

Thesis Committee:

Dr. Kristoffer J. Neville, Chairperson

Dr. Aleca Le Blanc

Dr. Jeanette Kohl

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The Thesis of Elaine Salisbury Wilson is approved:

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Committee Chairperson

University of California, Riverside



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Thank you.

Elaine Wilson

DEDICATION

*This is for you, Dad.*

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## Introduction

In 1769, Spanish Franciscans began founding Missions<sup>1</sup> along the coast of Alta California with the intention of converting the native population to Catholicism. Twenty-one Missions were established by the time the Mexican government officially secularized the institutions in 1833. At this point, the abandoned structures fell into disrepair and were looted by new California immigrants for everything from valuable decorations to basic housebuilding materials. Earthquakes and collateral damage from the Mexican-American War (1846-48) caused further destruction to these structures.<sup>2</sup> Although many of them have been rebuilt since, the authenticity of the recreations and literature describing them is controversial.

This leads to an important characteristic of Mission scholarship: that its study is not without unique challenges. The dispersal of original artifacts and decrepit state of the original structures are only two of these challenges. The presence of 21 sites is also something that scholars must contend with. Although the Missions were intended to be homogeneous to some degree, they spanned a geographical distance of over 500 miles and missionized a population comprised of some fifty distinct tribes of indigenous people. Also, the personalities and priorities

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<sup>1</sup> The word “Missions” is deliberately capitalized in this thesis. It refers to the Missions of Alta California.

<sup>2</sup> Some Missions were used as barracks during the war. Randy Leffingwell, *California Missions & Presidios: The History & Beauty of the Spanish Missions* (Stillwater, MN: Voyageur Press, 2005), 52-53.

of the various Mission presidents varied greatly and dissimilar policies were always in effect at the different sites.<sup>3</sup>

Rather than letting this discourage inquiry into this rich subject matter, one should instead pursue it with a critical view of interpretations that simplify rather than complicate our view of the Missions. However, before this author's study is complicated in an attempt to reach historical reality, it must begin on stable ground. One verifiable fact about the California Missions is that all of them possessed sets of the Stations of the Cross paintings.<sup>4</sup> In a historical situation where so many variables existed between the various Mission sites, this is one unique area where they have something very specific in common.

So as to not exhaust one's eyes with endless versions of the Stations, this study will refer to two Franciscan Mission sets: those of the Carmel Mission painted by José María Uriarte in 1802 and those of San Fernando, supposedly painted by Mission neophytes, or new converts, around the same time.<sup>5</sup> These paintings hit each end of the spectrum of Mission paintings, the former demonstrating academic European style and the latter exhibiting non-Western aesthetics combined with a composition copied from Italian prints.

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<sup>3</sup> Each Mission had one official president at a time and the entire system had a President, Father Junípero Serra being the first to hold the latter title.

<sup>4</sup> See the work of Norman Neuerburg on the Stations of the Cross: Neuerburg, *The Indian Via Crucis from Mission San Fernando: An Historical Exposition*.

<sup>5</sup> Neuerburg, *The Indian Via Crucis from Mission San Fernando: An Historical Exposition*, *passim*.

Chapter 1 will move through the history of religious imagery in the Catholic Church to show how its legitimate use was established and subsequently greatly valued, especially for conversion efforts such as those in California. Then, the history of the Stations of the Cross from its conception two thousand years ago and the resulting practices, imagery, and corresponding scripture will be examined. This will demonstrate how it has evolved as a devotion over the years based on the needs of its various audiences.

Chapter 2 will center on the unique situation in California, discussing how the same violence and physical struggles that are inflicted upon the figure of Jesus Christ visually in the Stations were a part of daily life for many of the neophytes living at the Missions. This study accounts for whether or not the native Californians chose to accept Catholicism through a discussion of the mounting evidence which suggests that conversion attempts just as often resulted in a rejection or only partial acceptance of the new religion. This does not eliminate those who were sincerely converted, only clarifies all positions as ones resulting from agency on the part of the “converted.” Subsequently, the imagery was most likely interpreted by subjects located everywhere on the spectrum of Catholic knowledge and faith. Either way, this daily experience of the same pains and struggles of Jesus Christ places this missionized population, as an audience of otherwise conventional Catholic imagery, in a situation of potential special commiseration, understanding, and unique connection with these images upon the walls of their churches.

## The Divide in Mission Scholarship

Before discussing this more, it is important to discuss one problematic issue in Mission scholarship which this study will attempt to avoid, in part through careful historical scholarship and close focus on the works. Both coffee table art books and more serious historical texts on the subject romanticize the Mission experience. This romantic position commends the Franciscan padres for their treatment of the native Californians judging based on their intentions regardless of their actions. For example, Hildegarde Hawthorne's 1942 book *California's Missions: Their Romance and Beauty* describes the 1775 San Diego revolt as follows:

Then, on November 4<sup>th</sup>, in the darkness of night, the heathen Indians whose villages were too close to the mission, and to which the converts returned at night, since there were as yet no buildings ready for them at the mission, these Indians, led by their medicine men, set fire to church and monastery and guard-house, shooting flaming arrows into the dry reed thatch. In a brief time they had killed Fray Jayme, who, trusting in them, walked toward the howling mob with arms spread wide, saying in their dialect, "My children, love God," his customary greeting to the neophytes.<sup>6</sup>

This account is clearly written with a strong bias against the neophytes.

Before even reading this quote, one can gather a bit about where the author is coming from just by the title of the book. "*California's Missions: Their Romance and Beauty*" clearly shows that the author is coming from an overly positive - or literally, *romanticized* - perspective of the Missions. While scholars on the other side of the

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<sup>6</sup> Hildegarde Hawthorne, *California's Missions: Their Romance and Beauty* (New York & London: D. Appleton-Century Company Inc., 1942), 21.



fence, like Deborah Miranda,<sup>7</sup> see the revolts as justifiable rebellions against cruel masters, Hawthorne sees them as unprovoked and nasty. This illustrates the polarity of California Mission scholarship. Rather than allowing for complexities on either side, she frames the natives as completely evil and the padres as completely good. She has “these Indians, led by their medicine men” to explain how the leaders of their heathen religion were the ones responsible for leading the violent attack against Christianity. Padre Jayme is characterized as a trusting and kind man who learned the native language, but is brutally killed nonetheless. Her note that “My Children, love God” was “his customary greeting to the neophytes” clears all possible blame from the Franciscans. This passage is very characteristic of the rest of the book, and fits larger trends in historical scholarship and ethnic views of the time period in which she wrote, the early 1940s.

Norman Neuerburg is another scholar who falls to this side of the spectrum, yet cannot be labelled “romantic” due to his status in the field. Neuerburg holds a Ph.D. in art history and worked as a consultant to several Missions and the Getty. His archival work has unearthed incredibly important information to which this thesis is indebted, yet his publications suffer from an inability to acknowledge any harsh conditions within the Missions. The last paragraph of his book on the San Fernando Via Crucis paintings ends:

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<sup>7</sup> Deborah Miranda has a Ph.D. in English yet has written a book on the California Missions entitled *Bad Indians: A Tribal Memoir*, which will be discussed more later, along with her credibility as a source.

To suggest that [the neophyte artists] were not sincere, that they took the opportunity to ridicule the Spaniards, that they were underground resistance fighters, is to impute to them the worst accusations as pathological liars and untrustworthy. Is that the message that the advocates of the Black Legend wish to attribute to the native peoples as being incapable of sincerity and honesty?<sup>8</sup>

Neuerburg mocks the converts by calling them by calling them “underground resistance fighters” and rejects the position that resisting a colonial power can be positive. He sees it as rather degrading the neophytes. He also completely discounts other versions of Mission history by seeing them as perpetuating a “Black Legend.”<sup>9</sup> While he is correct in arguing that works solely focused on judging the Spanish as one homogenous entity that is pure evil are not beneficial to the field, he fails to recognize his own strong bias leaning the other way. Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt, credited with being the first California Mission historian, wrote volumes on the Missions throughout his lifetime from 1851-1934. He is another whose publications have helped distribute incredible amounts of archival information, yet he has an understandable bias as a clerical historian.

On the other hand, there are those who focus exclusively on the opposite perspective, which can be just as misleading. Very often, postcolonial theories are applied at a distance and can be thought-provoking, yet unhelpful when lacking a

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<sup>8</sup> Norman Neuerburg, *The Indian Via Crucis from Mission San Fernando: An Historical Exposition* (Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library, 1998), 49.

<sup>9</sup> The Black Legend is a version of history that characterizes Spain as a purely evil party in several historical events, including missionization. However, in this context, Neuerburg is referring to anyone who suggests the neophytes may have resisted Spanish control in any way as a proprietor of the Black Legend, which is a gross over exaggeration.

base in historical fact. Exciting buzzwords are applied to artworks to draw attention, yet this rhetoric must be considered carefully. Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn, in "Hybridity and its Discontents," call out this overuse of terminology and remind the historian to place objects and people within their historical context. These buzzwords instead create more of an easily categorized framework for researchers without actually getting any closer to contemporary experience. These examples clearly illustrate the brutal argument within colonial studies and California Mission history in particular.

However, there are many valuable historians and art historians who contribute balanced and insightful material to the field such as Steven W. Hackel, Sherburne F. Cook, Rose Marie Beebe, Robert M. Senkewicz, and Martha Voght, and this thesis stands on the shoulders of their work. Furthermore, the importance of primary sources for any study of the Missions cannot be overstated. The written words of Junípero Serra and several other Franciscan padres; Pablo Tac, a Mission neophyte; and several other witnesses of the Mission environment are the core of this thesis that cannot be overvalued, despite a healthy skepticism for their credibility. These sources remain crucial to discussing the lived experience of any historical group of people.

## Chapter 1: Origins in Europe

### **Religious Imagery in Catholicism**

The visual arts have long been tools of education, conversion and emotional engagement for the Catholic Church. Their use may have reached a high mark in the Middle Ages, necessitated by low rates of literacy among the laymen. Even the individual prayer books of wealthy nobles featured large illustrations. With the Protestant Reformation came charges of the misuse of visual aids as idolatry, yet the Church held its ground. The Spanish Crown's 1769 decision to colonize Alta California and missionize its native inhabitants created an even larger audience for Catholic art. This appreciation of imagery led religious art to be used in a significant way in the conversion process; directly collaborating with the text of the scriptures in order to fulfill goals of educating and forging spiritual connections.

At the 25<sup>th</sup> session of the Council of Trent, held in December of 1563, these accusations of idolatry voiced by the Protestants were addressed and refuted. The Decree on the Invocation, Veneration, and Relics, of Saints, and on Sacred Images states:

*Moreover, that the images of Christ, of the Virgin Mother of God, and of the other saints, are to be had and retained particularly in temples, and that due honour and veneration are to be given them; not that any divinity, or virtue, is believed to be in them, on account of which they are to be worshipped; or that anything is to be asked of them; or, that trust is to be reposed in images, as was of old done by the Gentiles who placed their hope in idols; but because the honour which is shown them is referred to the prototypes which those images represent; in such wise that by the images which we kiss, and before which we uncover the head, and prostrate ourselves, we adore Christ; and we venerate*

the saints, whose similitude they bear: as, by the decrees of Councils, and especially of the second Synod of Nicaea, has been defined against the opponents of images.<sup>10</sup>

Countering Protestant claims of idolatry, it was decided that the Catholic veneration of images was *not* comparable to the behavior of the Gentiles because of the recognition that the honor given to images was truly meant for “the prototypes which those images represent.” Nevertheless, the fact that the Council felt it needed to clear up confusion reflects the problematic potential of sacred images. During the Protestant Reformation of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, John Calvin led his followers in the destruction of religious artworks resulting in a devastating iconoclasm in order to purge Christianity of what they considered idolatry.

The Catholic Church’s decision to defend sacred images demonstrates its conviction that they serve a crucial purpose. This purpose can be gleaned from the same decree on sacred images, in a part that specifically directs its clear explanations and advice about images to the teachers of the faith.<sup>11</sup> Here, images are recognized as being useful for both instruction and emotional connection to the divine.<sup>12</sup> The efficiency of visual teaching is recognized by the allowance that, “if at times, when expedient for the unlettered people; it happen that the facts and

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<sup>10</sup> *The Council of Trent: The Twenty-Fifth Session*, Ed. and trans. J. Waterworth (London: Dolman, 1848), 232-89.

<sup>11</sup> “all bishops, and others who sustain the office and charge of teaching” *The Council of Trent*, Ed. and trans. J. Waterworth, 232-89.

<sup>12</sup> The idea that the purpose of art is to both instruct and delight goes back to Horace’s *Ars Poetica* in regards to poetry, and here is applied to visual art.

narratives of sacred Scripture are portrayed and represented; the people shall be taught.”<sup>13</sup> This technique of religious education applied just as well to conversion efforts in the California Missions. It was a challenge to communicate even basic ideas through the language barriers, so visual illustrations were a great help.<sup>14</sup> The decree also notes that sacred images inspire people to “be excited to adore and love God, and to cultivate piety.” Since being a good Catholic involves a combination of both knowledge and faith, the genuine inspiration of piety was important as well to conversion efforts.

All of these points demonstrate the official purpose of Catholic art, as stated and enforced by the leaders of the faith. While one can assume that religious imagery served its purpose in areas of Catholic Europe, in California we cannot. This conversion environment lacked the cultural unity, language, and history of Catholicism that was present in countries like Spain. Since they were such different places, it is not difficult to imagine how the same kinds of images could perform in different ways.

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<sup>13</sup> *The Council of Trent*, Ed. and trans. J. Waterworth, 232-89.

<sup>14</sup> Some padres went further than creating illustrations and made pictographic versions of religious texts that incorporated the native writing systems. In New Spain, Pedro de Gante, *Testarian Catechism* created a pictorial catechism with the help of Nahua converts (fig. 1).

## The Stations of the Cross

One set of important stories that the Franciscans communicated through their art was the Stations of the Cross. Also called the Way of the Cross, *Via Crucis* or *Via Dolorosa*, this group of images depicts the stages of Jesus' passion from his condemnation to his crucifixion and entombment. But before these were a group of images, they were a pathway that the faithful followed both physically and spiritually. According to a vision of Saint Brigid, the Virgin Mary was the first to follow the path in Jerusalem, a practice that she repeated daily.<sup>15</sup> This path was incredibly popular for Christ's followers since its official marking in 312 when Christianity was legalized.<sup>16</sup> In the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries, St. Jerome described crowds of pilgrims coming to walk the Way of the Cross.<sup>17</sup> The first person to refer to the journey as "Stations" was the English pilgrim William Wey, who visited Jerusalem in the mid 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>18</sup>

The first reproductions of the Stations began in the 5<sup>th</sup> century. This was done so that those who could not travel to the Holy Land would be able to

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<sup>15</sup> Charles George Herbermann, *The Catholic Encyclopedia: An International Work of Reference on the Constitution, Doctrine, Discipline, and History of the Catholic Church*, vol. 15 (New York: Encyclopedia Press, 1913), 569.

<sup>16</sup> Herbermann, *The Catholic Encyclopedia: An International Work of Reference on the Constitution, Doctrine, Discipline, and History of the Catholic Church*, 569.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> Wey is also significant for being the first to record the Stations being followed in the order that they are today, from the House of Pilate to Mount Cavalry, rather than the opposite- which was the practice before his time. *Ibid.*

experience the Stations spiritually. With the rise of Islam and increasing power of the Muslim Turks, traveling to the real Stations became nearly impossible for Christians. In 1587, the pilgrim Giovanni Zuallardo wrote in his description of the Holy Land that the Muslims would not allow anyone "to make any halt, nor to pay veneration to [the stations] with uncovered head, nor to make any other demonstration."<sup>19</sup> Even during the time of William Wey more than a century before this, pilgrims needed to stick to specific pilgrimage routes and remain with a Franciscan guide.<sup>20</sup> This special relationship that the Franciscans had with the Stations officially began in 1342 when they were appointed the guardians of Holy sites.<sup>21</sup>

When they could no longer assist the faithful in experiencing the real Stations, they, along with other groups, began erecting replicas of the Stations throughout Europe. These replicas were spaced outside with specific measured distances between the stations in order to give as real an experience as possible to the worshipper. Usually, these would begin at the entrance to a church and end up a hill at a satellite chapel, if there was one nearby.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Herbermann, *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 570.

<sup>20</sup> Francis Davey, "William Wey: An English Pilgrim's Journey to Jerusalem," in *Pilgrimage: The Sacred Journey* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2006), 85.

<sup>21</sup> Neuerburg, *The Indian Via Crucis from Mission San Fernando: An Historical Exposition*, 5.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.



Yet the migration of the Stations of the Cross was not yet complete. In 1686 the Franciscans were given special permission by Pope Innocent XI to install the Stations inside of their churches, where it was acceptable to have them spaced at non-realistic intervals.<sup>23</sup> This was another large step away from the original pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Although this made them much more practical to set up, it also increased the disconnect with the actual spiritual path on-site in Jerusalem. No longer walking the same path as Jesus in Jerusalem, no longer even walking the same physical distance, the devotion needed something to improve the experience. A few things were added to enhance it.

First, in order to increase the value of visiting a remote version of the Stations, indulgences were offered both as motivation and to increase the legitimacy and value of completing the devotion at one of these satellite locations.<sup>24</sup> Whereas pilgrims would receive indulgences for praying at the Stations in Jerusalem, they also received them at churches in Europe.

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<sup>23</sup> They were spaced at non-realistic intervals rather than perfectly measured out in an attempt to reflect how they were actually experienced by Jesus in Jerusalem. Neuerburg, *The Indian Via Crucis from Mission San Fernando*, 10.

<sup>24</sup> Pope Innocent XI granted the same amount of indulgences for completing the Stations of the Cross at any official site as for doing so in the Holy Land. *Ibid.*

The indulgences shed some light on what was thought to be the spiritual value of completing the Stations. The *Raccolta*,<sup>25</sup> a publication that listed the prayers and acts of piety which earned indulgences, describes the various ways that one could earn indulgences from acts related to the *Via Crucis*. One way, of course, was to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and walk the actual stations there. However, the *Raccolta* allows for other ways as well, all of which earn the exact same indulgences,<sup>26</sup> or spiritual reward, as the real thing. For faithful Christians who are detained by illness, distance, being in prison, or they are truly unable to visit the Stations of the Cross for some other reason, the other practices were much more accessible. However, sincere effort was required. The *Raccolta* specifies certain prayers to be said as one walks the Stations and that the experience must be one of true contrition. The more recent version of the *Raccolta*, called the *Enchiridion of Indulgences*, requires the worshipper to meditate piously on the passion and death of Jesus Christ as they move from station to station.<sup>27</sup> Overall, the indulgence policy demonstrates the incredible value officially given to the remote Stations that were established by the Franciscans.

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<sup>25</sup> *Raccolta* is short for “*Raccolta delle orazioni e pie opere per le quali sono sono concesse dai Sommi Pontefici le SS. Indulgenze.*”

<sup>26</sup> In this case, one would earn a plenary indulgence. Plenary indulgences remove all of the temporal punishment due for a sin. "Enchiridion of Indulgences," No. 63.

<sup>27</sup> "Enchiridion of Indulgences," No. 63.

The second main way that the remote Stations were improved for visitors, and most importantly for this study, was with visual embellishments. The first church to have the Stations inside was Santa Maria dei Miracoli in Rome, but Roman Stations were traditionally just crosses, no pictures, gilded wood, bronze or marble.<sup>28</sup> The same was true for the few churches in Mexico that had the Stations inside of them. However, in parts of Europe, Spain especially, the crosses were usually accompanied by pictures of some kind, which illustrated the 14 acts associated with the Stations. This new practice created a large demand for art from churches that wished to commission visual aids to accompany their newly installed Stations of the Cross. The same was true for the Franciscan Mission churches in California.

### ***Via Crucis* Paintings**

Although the *Via Crucis* series was not heavily depicted before this point, artists had a great number of works featuring Christ's Passion to look to as models for how to illustrate Jesus in these actions. Additionally, the demand was partially satisfied through the dispersal of prints. This method was an economical way to circulate imagery to a wider audience. Prints made by copying paintings often ended up inspiring other paintings in turn. One such example is the widely known set painted by the Italian painter Gian Domenico Tiepolo for the church of San Polo in Venice in

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<sup>28</sup> Neuerburg, *The Indian Via Crucis from Mission San Fernando*, 9.

the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century (fig. 2). The artist later made etchings of the paintings in reverse (fig. 3), which were used by many as inspiration for their versions, such as the set painted for the San Fernando Mission (figs. 4).

When the format of a print did not fit the desired format of a painting, adjustments were made. For example, in Spain, it was common to paint tiles with these scenes for churches, which were a square shape. Yet, they would often copy a print from either a Northern or Italian artist, who most likely would have a vertical, rectangular shape. This necessitated the addition of extra figures to fill in the blank space.<sup>29</sup> Prints would often be the first images that a church had to accompany their newly installed Stations, and would be replaced with paintings when the money and chosen artist were available. This happened at many Mission churches in California. For example, San Fernando was given prints of the Stations from its older sibling San Gabriel when the latter received its paintings.<sup>30</sup>

At their most fundamental level, inspiration for depictions of this subject came from descriptions in the Four Gospels of the New Testament, yet also came to involve extra information growing out of tradition. For example, the Gospels only describe nine stations, yet Franciscan series commonly include fourteen.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Woodcuts in a Majorcan prayer book printed by the Guasp family were used as models for panels in the Convent de la Cairat at Sencelles' courtyard. Neuerburg, *The Indian Via Crucis from Mission San Fernando*, 19.

<sup>30</sup> Neuerburg, *The Indian Via Crucis from Mission San Fernando*, 1.

<sup>31</sup> Fourteen was decided to be the official number in 1741, when it was confirmed by

As will be made clear in Chapter 2, which focuses in on these images within the California Missions, the *Via Crucis* is special for consistently evolving as the audience requires. From a pilgrimage site, to a geographically removed replica, to an interior set of crosses, to a set of paintings, it has evolved based on the needs of the people. Yet, once it got into the Mission churches of California, the paintings evolved in a new way. Rather than changing physically to keep the same function, as the Stations have continually done over the years, they do the opposite. They keep the standard physical and aesthetic qualities of the time as established in Europe, yet engage with a new audience in potentially new and unintentional ways that differ from their official Catholic function.

Going back to Tiepolo's set, a comparison can be made with the set from Carmel to establish the similar format and aesthetic elements of the Stations in both Europe and California. There are definitely differences in artistic choices in these two sets, especially in relation to composition. However, key similarities reflect that European stylistic trends were accepted and practiced in the workshops of Mexico City where most of the paintings that were shipped north to the California Missions were painted. José María Uriarte was one of the most well-known artists working in Mexico City in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century and produced the set for Carmel in 1802 (figs. 5). Many of the original Mission sets have not survived, but this group from Carmel has held up remarkably well. Uriarte paints in a Neoclassical European style and his

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Benedict XIV. Neuerburg, *The Indian Via Crucis from Mission San Fernando*, 9.

later life of becoming the director of the School of Fine Arts of the Institute of Sciences in Guadalajara, Mexico also reflects this academicism.<sup>32</sup> Like Tiepolo, his figures are muscular, posed dramatically, clad in nationalistic uniforms and very emotional. Although his work has not yet been found to match any specific set of prints, European trends and aesthetics are clearly considered and valued by Uriarte. However, this is not to say that Uriarte, or his fellow artists working in Mexico City at the time, lacked artistic agency. Even if Uriarte had clearly looked to a set of European prints in the creation of his Via Crucis paintings, his work would be no less valuable. The prominent Mexican artist Cristóbal de Villalpando also regularly based his works off of engravings he saw of Rubens' work.<sup>33</sup>

Our modern concept of originality cannot be accurately applied to this context. The practice of copying another artist's print during this time period should in no way be thought of as indicating a lack of skill on the part of the copier. Even Spanish masters Velásquez and Zurbarán were known to copy prints. For example, Zurbarán *Death of the Virgin* is based off a print of the same subject by Dürer.<sup>34</sup> Utilizing prints was both practical and didactic.<sup>35</sup> When Junípero Serra

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<sup>32</sup> Gail Sheridan and Mary Pat McCormick, *Art from the Carmel Mission* (Carmel: Carmel Mission, 2011), 48.

<sup>33</sup> Francisco De la Maza, *El Pintor Cristóbal de Villalpando* (Mexico: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1964), *passim*.

<sup>34</sup> Norman Neuerburg, "The Function of Prints in the California Missions," *Southern California Quarterly* 67, no. 3 (1985): 265, 277, doi:10.2307/41171159.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 263.

wanted a painting of Saint John Capistran, he said they “should find a good engraving and have Paez paint it, or some other good artist.”<sup>36</sup> Therefore, the print was thought of as a crucial starting point for a successful and evocative painting.

Even Californian sets that look nothing like their European counterparts at first glance, like from Mission San Fernando, reflect an artist who is informed of European traditions and has seen European prints. Tiepolo’s Third Station (fig. 2) illustrates Jesus in a very similar position as in San Fernando’s Third Station (fig. 4.3).<sup>37</sup> The figure of Jesus in both is pinned under the cross and looks down at the ground desperately while onlookers gaze at the scene. Yet, the composition is not the exact same as the painting, but rather opposite, as if it had been flipped like a reflection. This is because the artist most likely saw the print of the work and copied that.

Minor differences aside, the Stations of the Cross imagery in California fundamentally matched its counterpart in Europe during the Missionization period. The same goals of both instructing and inspiring an emotional connection to the divine were attempted. The same indulgences were granted because these were set up by the Franciscans. Visually, these paintings were based off European prints and adopted Western aesthetics. Even in the stylistically unique version from San

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<sup>36</sup> Junípero Serra, *Writings of Junípero Serra*, ed. Antonino Tibesar, vol. II (Washington, D.C.: Academy of Franciscan History, 1956), 318-19.

<sup>37</sup> Neuerburg, *The Indian Via Crucis from Mission San Fernando*, 20.

Fernando, the consult of prints ensured that the same narrative information and crucial emotion was shown.

However, the paintings' audience did not match its European counterpart. The people living in the California Missions had unique lives and underwent very different experiences from their equivalents in Europe; in reality, they did not have equivalents. The Mission neophytes were a distinctive group of people and form a special audience of an otherwise familiar set of images.



## Chapter 2: The Stations in California

This chapter shifts geographically from Europe to California, as did Father Junípero Serra with his transatlantic journey in 1769. The founder of the first nine California Missions spanning from San Diego to San Francisco is a character of great importance to this study. Serra grew up on the island of Mallorca, Spain and joined the Franciscan order in 1731. Due to his homeland and early career in the order, his experience with conversion did not begin in California. Serra lived and worked for years in the city of Palma, Mallorca, where a majority of the working class were baptized Catholics of Jewish descent, or *conversos*.<sup>38</sup> During the Inquisition in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the city saw numerous *conversos* arrested, tortured and even burned to death.<sup>39</sup> Up through the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when Serra was a resident of Palma, *conversos* were limited to living in a certain section of the city and persecution persisted.<sup>40</sup> A list of all punished *conversos* was published by the Inquisition in Mallorca in 1755, making that population even more visible to others.<sup>41</sup> Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz discuss this history of persecution in regards to both Junípero Serra's

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<sup>38</sup> Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, "What They Brought: The Alta California Franciscans before 1769," in *Alta California: Peoples in Motion, Identities in Formation, 1769-1850* (Berkeley: University of California Press), 25.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

and Spain's relationship with conversion.<sup>42</sup> They consider the time that Serra spent in the service of the Inquisition as a *comisario* (investigator). Although he only inspected books for orthodoxy and either approved or denied their publication, he still held a position for the Inquisition and lived in a city with a bloody history and distrust for converts. The scholars make the connection that "the more the Inquisition took action against so-called Judaizantes [*conversos*], the more it raised doubts about the sincerity of the 'conversion' of the conversos."<sup>43</sup> The Inquisition officially served the Spanish government and church, and sets a complicated precedent for Spanish conversion in California.

This trend of doubting the authenticity of conversions, even conversions by fellow Spanish citizens, leads to the assumption that the American conversions may have been looked on with suspicion as well. And there were, in truth, many differences between the experience of a Catholic European in a Catholic Church and a native Californian convert within a Mission Church. Although they may have gazed upon the same *Via Crucis* imagery upon the walls, their experiences were different in several crucial ways, two of which will be discussed at length here. The first is that the viewing population was not just another Catholic audience with similar faith and knowledge. Mission scholars have uncovered substantial evidence that challenges the notion that the baptized neophytes were all ever fully converted. And second, the non-Spanish population of the Missions, unlike their counterparts

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<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

in Spain, experienced a great deal of the same hardship and punishment that is visibly experienced by the figure of Jesus Christ in the *Via Crucis* imagery. This sets up an exceptional situation of identification with the subject and caused the potential for unique interpretations and experiences of these paintings.

### **Authenticity of Conversions**

Catholicism in Europe had its complications,<sup>44</sup> but to examine and theorize the function and experience of the Stations of the Cross in Italy and Spain during this time period is relatively straightforward in comparison to California. The official religion of both Italy and Spain was Catholicism, and a great majority of their citizens were practicing Catholics. However, the situation was distinctive in the conversion environment of California. Let us consider the intended function of the Stations of the Cross within the California Mission churches. For those who do not doubt the sincerity or success of the conversions, the Stations of the Cross within California churches are considered in a strictly religious light. Many Mission publications, such as *Art From the Carmel Mission* by Gail Sheridan and Mary Pat McCormick, which is for sale in the Mission Carmel gift shop, consider the paintings solely from a Catholic viewing perspective. In that text, the following statement explains the function of the Stations of the Cross imagery:

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<sup>44</sup> These complications include class, race, region, conversion status.

The object of the Stations is to help the faithful make a spiritual pilgrimage to the chief scenes of Jesus' suffering and death in Jerusalem. Making the actual pilgrimage to Jerusalem was the goal of many pious pilgrims dating back to the days of Constantine.<sup>45</sup>

During the medieval era, pilgrimage became a traditional part of a faithful Catholic's life, despite the challenges of travel including: physical distance, cost, and the dangers of the road.<sup>46</sup> Notwithstanding, the task of completing a pilgrimage to Jerusalem for a European was exponentially easier than it would be for a Californian.<sup>47</sup> Because of the value placed on visiting a spiritually significant geographical location was key to Catholics, and specifically to the Franciscans who were the guardians of sacred sites, the experience had to be brought to the new Catholics of California in some way as well. In California, they could not make that pilgrimage for so many reasons, so it had to be spiritual. The experience of walking the Stations of the Cross within a Mission church, combined with the proper prayers, was intended to bring the faithful a similar experience to that of walking the real Stations in Jerusalem. Whereas the presence of the Stations at other churches was to increase visits because of the benefits like indulgences granted, more pilgrims and more donations, the motivations in California would have been

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<sup>45</sup> Sheridan and McCormick, *Art from the Carmel Mission*, 48.

<sup>46</sup> The dangers of the road included robbery, disease, and the lack of easy transportation.

<sup>47</sup> While Jerusalem was the most desired place to make a pilgrimage to, other centers of Christianity were also acceptable. Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome and Santiago de Compostela in the North West of Spain were also common pilgrimage destinations.

different. No one was coming to California to visit these churches, and the Mission system was by no means designed for pilgrims.

While some historians assert that the Missions were successful enough with their conversions to match the Catholicism of Europe, others challenge that claim. The oft-cited Catholic historian Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt argues that while materially, the Missions fell into disrepair after Secularization by the Mexican government in 1833, the immaterial, and far more important, goal of converting the indigenous people to Catholicism was a lasting success.<sup>48</sup> Due to the true impossibility of measuring peoples' interior beliefs, one can only judge historical figures by their recorded actions and written statements. One must go off records of observed indigenous practices surviving and flourishing through and after the Mission period.

Several scholars, including Martha Voght, Sherburne Cook, Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, to name a few, adapt a less binary understanding of the results of conversion efforts in California. Neither full conversion to Catholicism nor absolute rejection of Catholicism is considered to be an accurate characterization. While Voght focuses on the populations targeted for conversion in Alta California, Beebe and Senkewicz go further to compare this situation to the more or less same effects that Catholic conversion efforts have had on other populations around the world who have been the objects of such endeavors. In these scholars' work, the

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<sup>48</sup> Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt, *Santa Barbara Mission* (San Francisco: The James H. Barry Company, 1923), 288.

trend of Christian ideas, words, and beliefs being filtered through indigenous worldviews and accepted in part more often than exclusively, is discussed and favored.<sup>49</sup> The Spanish padres were unable to eradicate native religion and ceremonies because of several difficulties: the language barrier, an inability to isolate neophytes from their unconverted associates, and the necessity of keeping on shamans who were often more knowledgeable than the padres about local medicines.<sup>50</sup> Sherburne Cook discusses the many native dances that were done to commemorate events such as birth, puberty, marriage, death, war, the seasons, etc.<sup>51</sup> Many padres saw these dances as heathen and harmful to the neophytes' transition to Spanish Catholicism. Padre Lasuén was one of these, and worried about the local tribe of unconverted natives' effects on the neophytes at his Mission of San Carlos:

It happens that they put on a heathen and abominable dance or *fiesta*; if the Christian who is present refuses to participate in that vile diversion, they mock him and laugh at him and persecute him until he gives in.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Beebe and Senkewicz, "What They Brought: The Alta California Franciscans before 1769," 26. Martha Voght, "Shamans and Padres: The Religion of the Southern California Mission Indians," *Pacific Historical Review* 36, no. 4 (1967): *passim*.

<sup>50</sup> Voght, "Shamans and Padres: The Religion of the Southern California Mission Indians," 368.

<sup>51</sup> Sherburne Friend Cook, *The Conflict Between the California Indian and White Civilization* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1943), 151.

<sup>52</sup> Lasuén to Olmedo, San Carlos, Jan. 25, 1803.

Here, the native dances, even when performed by a Christian, are perceived to be destructive and harmful. Native ceremonial dances were so common, despite the padres wishes, that in 1782 Governor Fages received orders to ban all dancing by California natives living at the Missions.<sup>53</sup> Hugo Reid, the author of a series of newspaper letters about the local San Gabriel Mission population, wrote this about their religious status at a much later date in 1852:

They have at present, two religions—one of custom and another of faith. Naturally fond of novelty, the Catholic one serves as a great treat—the forms and ceremonies an inexhaustible source of amusement. They don't quarrel with their neighbor's mode of worship, but consider their own the best. The life and death of our Savior is only, in their opinion, a distorted version of their own life. Hell, as taught them, has no terrors. It is for whites, not Indians, or else their fathers would have known it. The Devil, however, has become a great personage in their sight; he is called Zizu, and makes his appearance on all occasions. Nevertheless, he is only a bugbear and connected with the Christian faith; he makes no part of their own. The resurrection they cannot understand, but a future state of spiritual existence is in accordance with their creed.<sup>54</sup>

This viewpoint from Reid allows us to see a progression of the spiritual lives of the native Californians past the end date of Mission enforcement of Catholicism. The Missions had already been officially secularized by the Mexican government for two decades by this time. Overall, Catholic ideas and practices were seen as supplements to native religion. This is a generalization of course, and there are specific cases on both sides, like Pablo Tac, a *Luiseño* native who travelled to Europe

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<sup>53</sup> Cook, *The Conflict Between the California Indian and White Civilization*, 151.

<sup>54</sup> Hugo Reid, *The Indians of Los Angeles County* (Los Angeles: Private printer, 1926), 68-69.

and wrote about his life in the Mission system and genuine Catholic faith. In Tac's work, *Indian Life and Customs at Mission San Luis Rey: A Record of California Mission Life by Pablo Tac, An Indian Neophyte*, his full acceptance of the Spaniards and of their religion is clear:

With these arms, which we still have, they used to go to war. The life of that time was very miserable, because there was always strife. The god who was adored at that time was the sun and fire. Thus we lived among the woods until merciful God freed us of these miseries through Father Antonio Peyri, a Catalan, who arrived in our country in the afternoon with seven Spanish soldiers...O merciful God, why didst Thou leave us for many centuries, years, months and days in utter darkness after Thou camest to the world? Blessed be Thou from this day through future centuries.<sup>55</sup>

This idealization of the padres and praise of the Christian God reflects but one side of a full spectrum of acceptance of both the culture and religion of the Spaniards.

The fact that Pablo Tac was one of only two young neophytes selected to accompany Fr. Antonio Peyri on his travels to Mexico and later to Rome demonstrates this even more. He was clearly a best-case-scenario subject to merit this selection.

Another factor in conversion was how long a subject had been dedicated to their native religion before exposure to the new one. Different age groups were seen as more challenging than others. In 1813 Father Ramón Olbés wrote about the neophytes at Mission Santa Barbara as follows:

Every effort is being made to make them forget the ancient beliefs of paganism and this is done with even greater

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<sup>55</sup> Pablo Tac, Minna Hewes, and Gordon Hewes, *Indian Life and Customs at Mission San Luis Rey: A Record of California Mission Life* (San Luis Rey, CA: Mission San Luis Rey, 1952), 12-13.



energy with regard to those who have become Christians at an advanced age despite the fact that there still exist among them those who induce them to carry on certain pagan practices and who are reputed to have the characteristics of their pagan state.<sup>56</sup>

It is also important to consider the historical phenomenon that many native Californians (and migrating U.S. citizens for that matter) officially declared their religion to be Catholic in order to gain Mexican citizenship soon after independence. Therefore, studies that measure the retention of Catholic beliefs after Secularization are not often very helpful. From these sources, the most reasonable conclusion is that due to the uncertainty of conversion in the Missions, the Stations of the Cross paintings need to be discussed in relation to both their Catholic and secular potential meanings.

### **Images Aiding in the Goals of the Padres**

The Franciscans had special rights to the Stations of the Cross, which led them to value it intensely. With the limited budget that the Missions had, it is crucial to recognize that the decision to acquire a set for each of the Missions demonstrates deliberate priorities. The cost was sometimes reduced by painting them in house, as was supposedly done with the San Fernando ones, but the materials still had to be

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<sup>56</sup> Maynard Geiger and Clement W. Meighan, *As the Padres Saw Them: California Indian Life and Customs as Reported by the Franciscan Missionaries 1813-1815* (Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library, 1976), 48.

shipped to the Mission.<sup>57</sup> Otherwise, the paintings were painted in workshops in Mexico and then shipped to California. Catholics may not find it surprising that the California Missions all had a set of these paintings because they are a traditional part of almost all Catholic Churches today, but one must realize that this did not occur until much later. It was not until 1862 that it was decided that any Catholic church (not only Franciscan ones) could install the Stations.<sup>58</sup> The Franciscans possessed a special right to this set of religious imagery and valued it greatly.

Besides the reasons given for European churches to adopt this devotion, such as indulgences, the Stations of the Cross could have served specific purposes for the padres in not only their conversion efforts but also in managing the everyday life of the Mission. At a basic level, these images were intended to serve the same twofold purpose that was laid out hundreds of years earlier by the Council of Trent: to instruct and to affect emotionally. Yet, through a combination of these specific stories from the scripture and the representations of Jesus that they inspired, the Stations of the Cross went further than that by relating to the specific struggles and conditions of Mission life. This section examines the experiences of those who were open to accepting Catholic lessons.

The Council of Trent entrusted the bishops personally with ensuring that images were not misused, so they were charged with evaluating every image that

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<sup>57</sup> Neuerburg, *The Indian Via Crucis from Mission San Fernando*, 4.

<sup>58</sup> Sheridan and McCormick, *Art from the Carmel Mission*, 48.

entered the church. Likewise, the head padre at each Mission would approve the artwork coming into the Mission and being seen by the Native Californians. The Council of Trent's decisions about the proper utilization of religious imagery were key in legitimizing the Catholic obsession with the visual arts. This was all the justification the Franciscans needed to adorn their churches in California as much as possible with the limited funds and resources they had available.

Put simply, the didactic function of these paintings informs the viewer about the life of Jesus. Specific, identifiable figures are visually present to add details to the story. The artistic conventions involved in representing sacred subject matter allow one to know a figure is Mary because of her clothing, or recognize John the Baptist because he is depicted without a beard. Although neophytes would come to the Mission completely unaware of such conventions, they would soon learn through experience and explanation.

These images could also have served a darker purpose: to justify great suffering. The upkeep of the Missions required an incredible amount of work on the part of the native Californians. At first, the early Missions relied on supplies from Spanish ships but soon had to farm the land and raise cattle. Mission upkeep also required a great deal of work and regular chores involving cooking, weaving, and the making and laying of adobe bricks to build and repair the Mission buildings.<sup>59</sup> Each of these activities was extremely laborious because of a lack of technology,

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<sup>59</sup> Deborah Miranda, *Bad Indians: A Tribal Memoir*, (Berkeley: Heydey, 2013), 7.

manpower, and supervision. Therefore, it was in the best interest of the padres to teach them that suffering in the service of the Church could be righteous.

This propagandistic function that the Stations of the Cross paintings could have of reinforcing physical labor as a religious sacrifice, with Jesus himself as the ultimate archetype, draws the viewer into the artwork to identify as Jesus. In the Carmel paintings, Jesus' composure and gentleness is emphasized despite his circumstances. The 6<sup>th</sup> Station (fig. 5.6) shows a soft smile on Jesus' face gently rendered by the artist, as Jesus reaches for the cloth that Veronica is holding out to Him. His peacefulness reinforces spiritual strength despite physical adversity.

As previously stated, the twofold process of successful conversion in the California Missions involved instruction in Christian scripture and tradition as well as the formation of an emotional connection with the faith. The main avenues for achieving these goals were through sharing the Gospels with the neophytes and presenting them with religious artworks. Scripture may be thought of in the conversion process as mostly educational; however, the stories recorded in the New Testament have great power to touch the hearts of those invested in them, and also increase the power of religious images. The Stations of the Cross were officially decided in 1741 and this decision set the specific verses that were referenced by the ritual of the Stations.<sup>60</sup> Of these, there are several, which only through power of description evoke an emotional response in the listener or reader through engaging

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<sup>60</sup> Neuerburg, *The Indian Via Crucis from Mission San Fernando*, 9.

one's empathy for the suffering Christ. The description of the first station, for example, from Mark 15: 9-15:

"Do you want me to release to you the king of the Jews?" asked Pilate, knowing it was out of self-interest that the chief priests had handed Jesus over to him. But the chief priests stirred up the crowd to have Pilate release Barabbas instead. "What shall I do, then, with the one you call the king of the Jews?" Pilate asked them. "Crucify him!" they shouted. "Why? What crime has he committed?" asked Pilate. But they shouted all the louder, "Crucify him!" Wanting to satisfy the crowd, Pilate released Barabbas to them. He had Jesus flogged, and handed him over to be crucified.<sup>61</sup>

Mark's description of Jesus being condemned to death is extremely well crafted. It sets up a situation where the reader can feel great pity for Jesus who is being unfairly treated by an evil group of people. He mentions that "it was out of self-interest that the chief priests had handed Jesus over to [Pilate]." Stating the evil motives of the priests demonstrates Jesus' innocence. Even the crowd's decision to have Jesus crucified is credited to these priests, who "stirred up the crowd to have Pilate release Barabbas," who is clearly the real criminal. Also, by having Pilate ask what crime Jesus has committed, which is followed by no answer, Mark is able to reemphasize how Jesus is being falsely punished. John, too, emphasizes that Pilate clearly informed the crowd that Jesus was innocent and it was the priests who manipulated them against Jesus. John 19: 4-6 states, "Pilate went outside again and said to the people, 'I am going to bring him out to you now, but understand clearly that I find him not guilty.'"<sup>62</sup> Pilate was trying to appeal logically to a crowd that

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<sup>61</sup> Mark 15: 19-15.

<sup>62</sup> John 19: 4-6.

was illogical. The reader or listener recognizes this logic and wants it to succeed but is harshly disappointed when it does not.

The painting from the Mission San Fernando set of the first station (fig. 4.1) represents this scene similarly. It is labeled clearly at the bottom as "*1 Estacion: Casa de Pilato*," (First Station: Palace of Pilate). An unruly crowd is depicted raising its arms in wild anger. Pilate is shown to the side, calmly upon a throne, trying to deal with the crowd in a civilized manner. The figure of Jesus has a sorrowful expression on his downturned face, and is shown to be peaceful although he is chained to a column. This, too, shows Jesus as an innocent victim and arises an emotional response from the viewer. Beyond the secular function of the images demonstrating a heroic figure honorably tolerating suffering, a second layer of religious meaning was added for those who chose to accept it. Encouraging emotional connections and biblical education led to an intensification of connection with the imagery.

An overall message of the New Testament is that Jesus Christ suffered righteously and therefore suffering can be righteous. Peter 3:14 states, "But even if you suffer for doing what is right, God will reward you for it."<sup>63</sup> Philippians 1:29 states, "For you have been given not only the privilege of trusting in Christ but also the privilege of suffering for Him."<sup>64</sup> These kinds of verses could be used to frame

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<sup>63</sup> Peter 3:14.

<sup>64</sup> Philippians 1:29.

suffering as righteous if you are suffering for God, which supposedly the neophytes were by working to support the Missions and obeying Catholic law. This propagandistic function that the series could have of reinforcing physical labor as a religious sacrifice, that Jesus himself did, draws the viewer into the artwork as Jesus and justifies the pain. Participating in the physical movement involved in the Catholic ritual of the Stations of the Cross would have only served to increase one's connection to Christ.<sup>65</sup>

These examples prove the ability of the texts and images to illuminate each other in the process of educating and inspiring an emotional connection in one's faith. This series could have been used to teach the converts that suffering had the potential of being righteous, and also to illustrate Jesus himself personally commiserating with their suffering. The specific set from Mission San Fernando, which was supposedly painted by converts, suggests an even closer relationship between the neophytes and the Stations of the Cross imagery. These people were either purposefully assigned the subject by their Franciscan masters, or chose to illustrate it themselves. Either way, this special circumstance could be related to the fact that there were never any revolts at Mission San Fernando.<sup>66</sup> The *Via Crucis* images, along with the corresponding scripture, could have significantly aided in

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<sup>65</sup> The Catholic practice involved physically walking the distances while imagining oneself having the same experience as Jesus.

<sup>66</sup> Neuerburg, *The Indian Via Crucis from Mission San Fernando*, 27.

managing suffering in the way that religious imagery is so uniquely powerful: through its didactic and emotional potential.

One example that suggests native individuals within the Mission felt comfortable imagining themselves in the role of important Christian figures occurred at Mission Santa Inés. An indigenous artisan painted the Archangel Raphael as a Chumash leader.<sup>67</sup> By depicting a Chumash person with the powers of Raphael, the figure of Raphael is also given legitimacy by the Chumash artist and audience.<sup>68</sup> That figure is reimagined as a member of their own ethnicity and culture, and therefore accepted, to some degree. This case is an anomaly because it was church policy both to discourage the painting of anything having to do with indigenous heritage and insist upon inflexible iconography and visual narrative for each saint.<sup>69</sup> This policy explains why there are not more cases of the expression of a feeling of connectedness and interchangeableness with the ethnic and cultural identities of important Catholic figures with those of indigenous peoples. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that although neophytes were usually not allowed to express this sentiment of picturing oneself as a religious figure, the feeling existed. While this instance seems to support the acceptance of Catholicism, it also proves a sort of rebellion in its disregard for church policy, which demonstrates that these

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<sup>67</sup> Lisbeth Haas, *Saints and Citizens: Indigenous Histories of Colonial Missions and Mexican California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 1.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*



people were not passively accepting this religious education without their own additions and interpretations.

### **Enduring the Hardships of Christ**

What the more reasonable yet complicated reality of actual conversion results means for this study is that one cannot assume that the neophytes of the California Missions experienced the Stations of the Cross in a ritual spirit that was purely Catholic. Other, more fundamentally human and less learned, experiences must be considered. The human mind, regardless of one's culture, builds associations with the people and objects that are experienced daily and then recognizes them in new contexts to make meaning. This section allows for the purely secular experience of the paintings.

It is important to consider how the padres saw themselves and their purpose in California. Beebe and Senkewicz state that Serra saw himself and his brethren as correcting the wrongs of other Missionary and colonial attempts in other parts of the world.<sup>70</sup> However, as several historians have argued and proven, the Mission environment was not without harsh punishment.

As mentioned in the introduction, scholars disagree about the severity of punishments doled out on the neophytes at the Missions. Francis F. Guest asserts that the punishments were not unreasonable and calls upon a statement made by

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<sup>70</sup> Beebe and Senkewicz, "What They Brought: The Alta California Franciscans before 1769," 17-18.

the President of the California Missions Father José Senán in 1815, "The Missionary father attends to the correction and suitable chastisement and he applies the punishment like a natural father on his sons."<sup>71</sup> Despite this, he does concede that whipping was a common punishment. To argue that neophytes were not whipped to excess, Guest discusses the Catholic consequence that would come from seriously injuring or killing a neophyte during flogging: the guilt of grave or mortal sin.<sup>72</sup> He gets this from the earlier characterization by Senán of neophytes being as children, no matter what their physical age. Guest argues that no Franciscan father would risk their own salvation in order to harshly punish the child-like subject of a neophyte.<sup>73</sup>

This could definitely be true in some circumstances with some padres, but there are crucial problems with this reasoning. Evidence survives from padres who did not look upon their neophytes with a loving and fatherly perspective. Padre Lasuén, President of Mission San Carlos, wrote, "It is evident that a nation which is barbarous, ferocious and ignorant requires more frequent punishment than a nation which is cultured, educated and of gentle and moderate customs."<sup>74</sup> This comparison mirrors many arguments made in colonial justifications all around the

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<sup>71</sup> Francis F. Guest, "The California Missions Were Far From Faultless," *Southern California Quarterly* 76, no. 3 (1994): 263.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 263-64.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 264.

<sup>74</sup> Deborah A. Miranda, *Bad Indians: A Tribal Memoir* (Berkeley: Heyday, 2013), 11.

world and has been used to justify great cruelty. While the label “ignorant” matches the childish characterization that others gave the neophytes, the terms “barbarous” and “ferocious” suggest a belief that beatings would rid them of this evil. And it is important to realize that Padre Lasuén was not just a lowly father, he was the President of Mission San Carlos. His opinions and decisions had authority and directly affected life at his Mission.

At a monastery in Europe at this time, those who lived there took vows voluntarily to live certain ways; Franciscans, specifically, took vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. California Missions are very similar to monasteries in their religious community and self-sustainability, yet different in this. Correct behavior was much more externally enforced. The use of physical force in order to compel correct behavior was seen as extremely justifiable to the Franciscans in the Mission context due to the conviction that they were saving souls and allowing the neophytes to enjoy eternal life. Forcibly returning runaway converts to the Mission was also standard policy with the belief that it was for their spiritual benefit.<sup>75</sup> Father Junípero Serra himself established these policies as legitimate in 1775 when he wrote to another official: “I am sending [these runaways] to you so that a period of exile, and two or three whippings which Your Lordship may order applied to them on different days may serve, for them and for the rest, for a warning, and may

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<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

be of spiritual benefit to all.”<sup>76</sup> Serra freely left the authority to whip at the discretion of the padres, and saw whippings as setting examples for others who looked upon the scene.

Besides Guest’s argument being flawed in its characterization of padres looking upon their subjects as they would their sons, there is also a significant fault in his claims about why they would not have severely harmed the neophytes. The Franciscan order promoted self-flagellation, and the neophytes would have seen them practicing this form of *imitatio Christi* upon themselves. Serra was known to whip himself, beat his chest with a stone and burn himself with candles to achieve a purifying experience.<sup>77</sup> In order to obtain the proper sense of feeling the pain of Jesus Christ, which was understood to be great, the padres would become used to a certain amount of force. “Serious injury” could come to mean something very intense, such as a wound that a neophyte would not come back from. Anything less than that would be acceptable, which is still a lot. If the padres saw fit to severely whip themselves for spiritual purity, then they would not have a problem doing the same to and for the neophytes. For example, William Ellsworth Smythe’s “List of Priests” in his *History of San Diego* includes the brief narrative of Padre Panto who punished his neophyte cook with such severe floggings, the last consisted of 124

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<sup>76</sup> Randall Milliken, *A Time of Little Choice: The Disintegration of Tribal Culture in the San Francisco Bay Area 1769-1810* (USA: Ballena Press, 1995), 5.

<sup>77</sup> Jean-François De La Pérouse and Malcolm Margolin, *Life in a California mission: the Journals of Jean-François de La Pérouse* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1989), 17.

lashes in one 24 hour period, that the cook confessed to poisoning the padre's soup.<sup>78</sup>

Another source on the runaway and punishment policies of the Missions is Jean François de La Pérouse, a French naval officer who visited the Monterey Mission and *presidio* in 1786 and documented what he saw in extensive journals. As for the credibility of this foreign source, one should consider Spain and France were on good terms at this time and La Pérouse was treated well during his time at the Mission. The following passage discusses Mission neophyte management and discipline:

Corporal punishment is inflicted on the Indians of both sexes who neglect the exercises of piety, and many sins, which in Europe are left to Divine justice, are here punished by irons and the stocks. And lastly, to complete the similarity between this and other religious communities, it must be observed that the moment an Indian is baptized, the effect is the same as if he had pronounced a vow for life. If he escapes to reside with his relations in the independent villages, he is summoned three times to return; if he refuses, the missionaries apply to the governor, who sends soldiers to seize him in the midst of his family and conduct him to the mission, where he is condemned to receive a certain number of lashes with the whip. As these people are at war with their neighbors, they can never escape to a distance greater than twenty or thirty leagues. They have so little courage that they never make any resistance to the three or four soldiers who so evidently violate the rights of man in their persons. This custom, against which reason so strongly exclaims, is kept up because theologians have decided that they could not in conscience administer baptism to men so inconstant unless the government in some measure

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<sup>78</sup> William E. Smythe, *History of San Diego, 1542-1907; An Account of the Rise and Progress of the Pioneer Settlement on the Pacific Coast of the United States* (San Diego: History Co., 1907), 77.

serve as their sponsor and answer for their perseverance in the faith.<sup>79</sup>

One could challenge La Pérouse's account by claiming a bias against the Spaniards, yet he makes it clear that he does not think much of the California natives. He criticizes the entire race as having too little courage. It is crucial that La Pérouse makes the comparison here with their counterparts in Europe because this reinforces the different audience experience that is present for the Stations of the Cross paintings in the California Missions. He says that the kind of *corporal punishment* that is *inflicted* on the neophytes would never be experienced by a Catholic in Europe. His religious judgement is clear with his assertion that European Catholics are judged by "Divine Justice," which he clearly thinks is more appropriate. He also explains the difference that when neophytes are baptized, it means something very different than it does to a Catholic European. La Pérouse speaks of the official policy of whipping a baptized neophyte if they leave the Mission to be with family, a consequence that would never be wreaked on a baptized European.

Again and again in these accounts it is made ever more clear that the audience of the Stations of the Cross in the California Missions shared very little with the audience in Europe. La Pérouse acknowledges it clearly and explains it himself by saying that even though it is unreasonable that the converts are being treated this way, theologians have decided that this specific group of people needs

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<sup>79</sup> De La Pérouse and Margolin, *Life in a California mission: the Journals of Jean-François de La Pérouse*, 82-83.

extra attention not only from the padres, but also from the government soldiers that support them.

All of these beatings could be compared to the scourging of Jesus as described in the Bible and imagined by Catholics in paintings of the First Station. John 19: 1 states “Then Pilate had Jesus flogged with a lead-tipped whip.”<sup>80</sup> The same whip used to scourge Jesus Christ, the savior of the Catholic Franciscans, was also used as a tool of conversion. This leads us to understand how the neophytes could see Jesus as a figure they could commiserate with. The native Californians living in the Missions experienced the lead-tipped whip when they were punished or witnessed others being punished, and then saw that weapon being used upon a suffering Jesus in the Stations of the Cross imagery on the walls of their churches. Here, *imitatio Christi* becomes secular and human rather than solely Christian. One does not need to believe that Christ is the savior of man or the son of God, or even understand these ideas, in order to commiserate with a fellow human experiencing the same pain. *Suffering is the common human language.*<sup>81</sup>

The behavior and lifestyles enforced within the Mission communities proved difficult for the converts to adjust to. For example, to ensure chastity, men and women were often separated at night and locked into separate living quarters.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> John 19:1.

<sup>81</sup> Najīb Maḥfūz, *The Journey of Ibn Fattouma* (New York: Anchor Books, 1993), 70.

<sup>82</sup> Miranda, *Bad Indians*, 9.

This sort of foreign and enforced conduct was uncomfortable for many, especially at first. One of Father Junípero Serra's chief complaints against the neophytes was their sexual activity. He often complained in letters and labelled those who did not follow the bindings of their Catholic marriages "adulterers."<sup>83</sup>

The California natives greatly outnumbered the padres, so it was determined that a disciplinary strategy was necessary if the Spaniards were to stay in power. In her work *Bad Indians: A Tribal Memoir*, Debora Miranda explains how closely controlled the lives of the native Californians were. She speaks of the Spanish bells, which served as enforcers of daily routine:

Bells for midday meal. *Atole* again. Bells return us to our labors, bells demand prayers or instruction in prayer, bells determine evening meal, maybe *posole* with meat. Bells give us permission to sleep... Next day, we woke to bells. The voice of the bell is the voice of the padres. We try, but we cannot always obey.<sup>84</sup>

As a descendent of California Mission natives, Deborah Miranda writes parts of her book in first person in order to show the personal connection she feels to her ancestors and also to humanize their history. Her narrative style here, with the repetition of the word "bells" and also repetitive sentence structure gives the reader an impression of how structured the days of the neophytes were. The bells carried the authority of the padres and therefore were to be obeyed. The incredibly

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<sup>83</sup> Steven W. Hackel, *Alta California: Peoples in Motion, Identities in Formation, 1769-1850* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 26.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 9-10.



structured daily life that came with living in a California Mission community greatly deviated from the flexible schedules of the neophytes' native tribes.

The last sentence of the quote leads Miranda into a discussion of the discipline that was distributed when they did not fully obey the padres. Whipping with a cat-o'-nine tails is one of the most gruesome punishments she discusses.<sup>85</sup> This weapon was often used to punish several people between cleanings and could easily spread disease and infection, besides the excruciating pain that it caused in the moment of abuse.<sup>86</sup> Another common weapon used was the cudgel, a short wooden club, which was even employed during church services to provide quick correction to the converts.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Miranda defines a cat-o'-nine tails as "a whip, usually made of cow or horse hide, with nine knotted lines, invented in and used throughout Europe...steel balls or barbs of wires would be added to the ends of the lines to give them more striking force." She also mentions the *corma*, which Mission scholar Steven Hackel defines as a "wooden hobble, placed around the legs of Mission Indians who defied Franciscan authority." This restricted their physical freedom so that they could continue their work. This way, the neophytes could also continue to be productive in their work to some degree, while still learning their disciplinary lesson. The *corma* was especially useful in disciplining women who had been labeled sexually promiscuous because it forced the wearer to keep her legs closed.<sup>85</sup> This form of punishment must have been uncomfortable and humiliating, and definitely contributed to an atmosphere of corporal punishment, yet is not visible in depictions of the Stations and therefore is not worth discussing at length here. Miranda, *Bad Indians*, 13. Steven W. Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769-1850* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 325.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*

A source of this type must be taken with scrutiny of its subjective character, but sources based on oral tradition are useful to consider, especially when they are corroborated with other sources. Engelhardt asserts that nothing like the cat-o'-nine-tails was ever used on neophytes in the Missions.<sup>88</sup> However, multiple sources including Douglas Monroy and Francis F. Guest describe the story of Andrés Quintana (nicknamed "of the cat-o'-nine-tails") of Mission Santa Cruz who was known for punished neophytes with a cat-o'-nine-tails.<sup>89</sup> A reasonable middle ground conclusion from the various sources seems to be that cat-o'-nine-tails were a rare yet existing form of punishment in the Missions, and that if a neophyte had not experienced it themselves, they would have definitely heard about it. While it is difficult to determine which lashings, floggings, and whippings described in the primary documents involved this specific type of whip, it is clear that the general category of whipping was employed regularly. Even a whipping from a more mild whipping instrument - not to diminish the suffering of anyone who experienced this - for example, a birch or rope whipping instrument, would connect with the Stations of the Cross paintings. In the Carmel set, besides the cat-o'-nine-tails, Christ's

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<sup>88</sup> Zephyrin Engelhardt, *San Luis Rey Mission* (San Francisco, CA: The James H. Barry Company, 1921), 70.

<sup>89</sup> *Working People of California*, Ed. Daniel A. Comford, section by Douglas Monroy "Brutal Appetites: The Social Relations of the California Mission," 49. Also Guest's work.

tormentors are also shown hitting him with a birch rod.<sup>90</sup> Whether the population at a certain mission had personal experience with the more heinous form of whipping or the more mild, an identification could easily be made with the images they were viewing.

In discussing possible hardships of Mission life, one must consider the several uprisings and rebellions that occurred at many of the Missions. Major revolts occurred at San Gabriel (1771 and 1785), San Diego (1775), San Luis Obispo (1776), and La Purísima (1824). The Spanish priests blamed Satan for the uprising against the San Diego Mission. Father Francisco Palóu wrote:

The enemy, [Satan] envious and resentful, no doubt because the heathen in that territory were being taken away from him, and because the missionaries, with their fervent zeal and apostolic labors, were steadily lessening his following, and little by little banishing heathenism from the neighborhood of the port of San Diego, found a means to put a stop to these spiritual conquests.<sup>91</sup>

By blaming Satan for the revolt instead of taking the blame away from the heathens, which at first glance it seems to do, this statement absolves the padres of any blame. Rather than provoking the revolt with Mission policies of corporal punishment, they had only provoked Satan with “their fervent zeal and apostolic labors.”

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<sup>90</sup> A birch rod (often shortened to "birch") is a bundle of twigs bound together to form an instrument of punishment.

<sup>91</sup> Richard L. Carrico, *Strangers in a Stolen Land: Indians of San Diego County from Prehistory to the New Deal* (San Diego: Sunbelt Publications, 2008), 32.

As previously mentioned, many of the original sets have not survived. There are several elements present in the Carmel set by Uriarte that are crucial to recognize. In the First Station, one can see lead-tipped whips both in the hands of one of Jesus' tormentors and also laying on the ground in the foreground of the image (fig. 5.1). In the background, one can glimpse the crowd lifting up the cross intended for Jesus' crucifixion, continuing the narrative and pulling the reader through this image into the next one, the Second Station. These sets are deliberately designed to be engaging and unifying, despite their separated physical statuses. The First Station in the San Fernando series depicts a cudgel, another weapon commonly used against neophytes, being used to beat a bound Jesus (fig. 4.1).

Although only the first Station relates to the weapon-inflicted punishments the neophytes endured, all of them carry a heavy theme of suffering. Physical and emotional suffering go hand in hand all the way through the series. After the First Station, physical suffering is most evident in the great labor of carrying a cross, which is something the converts could apply to their own experience. There is little description of Jesus actually carrying the cross in any of the four Gospels, but we know the size of the crosses used in Roman crucifixions; they were massive and heavy. The gospels write that he carried it alone for a while and then was helped by Simon of Cyrene because the task was so great (fig. 5.5).

The paintings of the Stations of the Cross demonstrate Jesus' great pains well. Stations 3, 7, and 9 depict Jesus falling for the first, second, and third time. The 9<sup>th</sup> Station from the San Fernando Set, Jesus Falls for the Third Time, shown in figure

4.9, especially demonstrates this struggle. The strain of carrying the cross, even with help, has caused Jesus to fall down three times. Although these three Stations are examples of ones that were created over the years through tradition and practice rather than taken from accounts in the Gospels, their addition emphasizes Jesus' struggle with the cross. He is shown with a facial expression of pain and weariness yet keeps one hand on the cross so as to not fail at His task. He bears the burden honorably and peacefully.

In both the 10<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> Stations of the Carmel set, Jesus is depicted with a downturned, sorrowful gaze and he is stripped of his garments and crucified (figs 5.10 and 5.12). Throughout this set, Jesus' skin is significantly more pale than the other figures, reinforcing his frailty. This physical suffering culminates in the ultimate torture of being crucified, shown in the 13<sup>th</sup> Station (figs 4.13 & 5.13). Emotional suffering is also evident throughout both series and serves to carry the audience's engagement through the story.

## Conclusion

These issues affect the legacy of the CA Missions, a legacy that has been carefully engineered over the years. This fits into the excessively positive history of the state of California. It is tempting to create a positive history for one's homeland and although one could argue that the land of endless beaches had no use for another tourist attraction, the commercialization of the California Missions would beg to differ. The crown jewel of this spectacle would have to be the Mission Inn Hotel & Spa in downtown Riverside. Many Riverside residents are surprised to hear that the hotel is not in fact a repurposed Mission and that there was never a Franciscan Mission in Riverside, California. The building was initially a small boarding house built by the Miller family in 1874, just four years after the founding of the town. The first wing, built to resemble a Mission, was designed by architect Arthur Benton in the Mission Revival Style. It was completed by Frank Miller in 1903, seventy years after the secularization of the Missions by the Mexican government and half a century after statehood. The current hotel structure is comprised of three other wings; the Cloister, the Spanish, and last, the Rotunda that were completed in 1931, two of which are clearly connected to the Mission theme.

Although the collection and interior decoration of the Mission Inn boasts objects and decorative themes that Frank Miller collected while travelling the world, the hotel's name and major image are focused on its fake identity as a Mission. This identity, or at least the Mission Inn's existence as a collective representation of the state and nation's Mission history, was confirmed in 1977 when it was declared a

National Historic Landmark. The non-profit Mission Inn Foundation was incorporated in 1976 to preserve, interpret, and promote the cultural heritage of the Mission Inn.<sup>92</sup> During my time working for the Foundation within the buildings of the Mission Inn, I had significant experience with the museum, educational outreach to local schools, and docent-led tours of the hotel. And while they have every right to do so as a private business, the hotel is clearly profiting from the romantic perspective of the Missions. The original Master of the Inn, Frank Miller, even used to dress up in the robes of a Franciscan padre in order to play into the illusion that the hotel was originally a mission, a fiction that he happily let his guests believe.<sup>93</sup>

This trend is visible in other avenues as well, including the visitor centers, gift shops and museums of the Missions themselves. The Missions were the very first sites to be considered California Historic landmarks, meaning they have since been numbered and assigned park rangers and designated funds for preservation. The California State Parks Office of Historic Preservation website discusses this status as follows:

To be eligible for designation as a Landmark, a resource must meet at least one of the following criteria:

- The resource must be the first, last, only, or most significant of its type in the state or within a large geographical region (Northern, Central, or Southern California).
- Associate with an individual or group having a profound influence on the history of California.

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<sup>92</sup> "History," About MIF : Mission Inn Foundation, 1, accessed February 22, 2017, <https://missioninnmuseum.org/about/about-mission-inn-foundation/>.

<sup>93</sup> "Frank Miller 4," Hands on History at the Mission Inn Foundation - Home, 1, accessed February 23, 2017, <http://www.hohriverside.com/frank-miller-4.html>.

- A prototype of, or an outstanding example of a period, style, architectural movement or construction, or is one of the more notable works or the best surviving work in a region of a pioneer architect, designer or master builder.<sup>94</sup>

The second criterion seems to best describe why the Missions were granted the status of historical landmarks. The Missions are seen by the Office of Historic Preservation as being associated with a group that has had a profound influence on the history of California. It is significant that the website refers to the Missions as the “Spanish missions.” This is an interesting perspective, because this does not allow for Native Americans to be *the* group or even be part of the group that had a profound influence on the history of California.

Not only have these sites become official priorities of the state, but also of the federal government. In 2004, the California Missions Preservation Act was passed to match funds raised by the California Mission Foundation up to \$10 million for the repair and upkeep of the Missions. However, soon after President Bush signed it into law, lawsuits began to be filed against it. Those supporting the bill from its initial proposal rely on similar rhetoric, turning to the romantic view of the Missions to support their case. In her official statement supporting the bill, U.S. Senator from California, Dianne Feinstein, recognizes the Missions as “hous[ing] valuable Spanish

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<sup>94</sup> California State Parks, State of California, "History of the Landmarks Program," CA State Parks, 1, accessed February 23, 2017, [http://ohp.parks.ca.gov/?page\\_id=21748](http://ohp.parks.ca.gov/?page_id=21748).



colonial artifacts and represent[ing] the pioneering spirit of the Old West.”<sup>95</sup> The Missions embodying the “pioneering spirit of the Old West” feeds into this mythical personality that has been built up for them over the years. They are stretched to have a wider significance by “the California Missions and their artifacts represent the rich culture and architectural history *of our country*.”<sup>96</sup> By stretching it to this point of national importance, federal aid can be justified. She then establishes, in great detail and with specific examples, the state of disrepair that the Missions were in at the time, in 2004.

Many depictions of the Missions emphasize this disrepair in order to add to the image of vulnerability. Examples include Chris Jorgensen’s watercolors (fig. 6) which have been recognized by MissionTour.org, a prominent Mission-enthusiast website, and exhibited across the country including the Bohemian Club as well as galleries in Washington D.C. as early as 1906.<sup>97</sup> The famous artist Henry Chapman

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<sup>95</sup> COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES UNITED STATES SENATE, CALIFORNIA MISSIONS PRESERVATION ACT:..., HEARING... S. HRG. 108-485... COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND..., UNITED STATES SENATE... 108TH CONGRESS, 2ND, 108th Cong., 2d sess., Cong. Rept. 108–485 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2004).

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>97</sup> Simondi, Tom. "Jorgensen Watercolors." MissionTour.org. May 21, 2015. Accessed April 2, 2017. <http://missiontour.org/wp/jorgensen/jorgensen-watercolors.html>.

Ford also visited the Missions, painted wistful representations of them (fig. 7), and exhibited his work to a great audience at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair.<sup>98</sup>

In her 2016 work *California Mission Landscapes*, Elizabeth Kryder-Reid illuminates “the deeply political nature of these landscapes that recast the missions from sites of colonial control to aestheticized, nostalgia-drenched, sacred monasteries.”<sup>99</sup> This involves simple fabrications such as the iconic Mission gardens being presented as historically authentic, but in reality being imagined heritage.<sup>100</sup> Most importantly, Kryder-Reid examines what she calls the “heritage industry,” which deals with American nationalistic attempts to create positive and simplified histories for American lands and people. These sites are not only visited and experienced, but “consumed.” When one considers the kind of statements that the California Mission Foundation is putting out, Kryder-Reid’s argument about the Missions being appropriated and mobilized for specific agendas becomes even more convincing. For example, this occurs in the first sentence of the About Us section on their website: “Nothing defines California and our nation's heritage as significantly

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<sup>98</sup> See Ford’s *Etchings of the Franciscan Missions of California*, published in 1883.

<sup>99</sup> Elizabeth Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landscapes: Race, Memory, and the Politics of Heritage* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016), 4.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*

or emotionally as do the 21 missions that were founded along the coast from San Diego to Sonoma.”<sup>101</sup>

Recent public perception of the California Missions is crucial to any historical study of the subject. Being aware of the public image goes hand in hand with recognizing the kinds of perspectives that are present in the field of Mission scholarship. Tarnishing the legacy of the Missions or the state of California has not been my goal here. Rather, I wish to move towards a more accurate scholarly - and public - perception of the Missions that addresses the tendencies of romanticism and commercialization in order to pursue a more accurate historical experience.

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<sup>101</sup> "About Us," California Missions Foundation, 1, accessed February 25, 2017, <http://californiamissionsfoundation.org/about-us/>.

## Images



Figure 1: Pedro de Gante, Testerian Catechism, 1525-1528, Ink and colors on paper



Figure 2: Gian Domenico Tiepolo, 3<sup>rd</sup> Station, 1749, oil on canvas



Figure 3: Gian Domenico Tiepolo, 3<sup>rd</sup> Station, 1749, etching



Figure 4.1: Unknown artist, 1<sup>st</sup> Station: *Jesus is Condemned to Death*, Via Crucis from Mission San Fernando, 19<sup>th</sup> century, paint on canvas





Figure 4.3: Unknown artist, 3<sup>rd</sup> Station: *Jesus Falls for the First Time*, Via Crucis from Mission San Fernando, 19<sup>th</sup> century, paint on canvas



Figure 4.5: Unknown artist, 5<sup>th</sup> Station: *Simon of Cyrene helps Jesus to Carry His Cross*, Via Crucis from Mission San Fernando, 19<sup>th</sup> century, paint on canvas



Figure 4.9: Unknown artist, 9<sup>th</sup> Station: *Jesus Falls for the Third Time*, Via Crucis from Mission San Fernando, 19<sup>th</sup> century, paint on canvas



Figure 4.13: Unknown artist, 13<sup>th</sup> Station: *Jesus is Taken Down from the Cross*, Via Crucis from Mission San Fernando, 19<sup>th</sup> century, paint on canvas





Figure 5.1: José María Uriarte, 1<sup>st</sup> Station: *Jesus is Condemned to Death*, Via Crucis from Mission Carmel, 1802, paint on canvas



Figure 5.6: José María Uriarte Carmel set, Uriarte, 1802 6<sup>th</sup> Station *Veronica Wipes the Face of Jesus* Via Crucis from Mission Carmel, 1802, paint on canvas





Figure 5.7: José María Uriarte, 7<sup>th</sup> Station: *Jesus Falls for the Second Time*, Via Crucis from Mission Carmel, 1802, paint on canvas



Figure 5.10: José María Uriarte, 10<sup>th</sup> Station: *Jesus is Stripped of His Garments*, Via Crucis from Mission Carmel, 1802, paint on canvas



Figure 5.12: José María Uriarte, 12<sup>th</sup> Station: *Jesus is Raised Upon the Cross and Dies*, Via Crucis from Mission Carmel, 1802, paint on canvas



Figure 5.14: José María Uriarte, 14<sup>th</sup> Station: *Jesus is Laid in the Sepulchre*, Via Crucis from Mission Carmel, 1802, paint on canvas



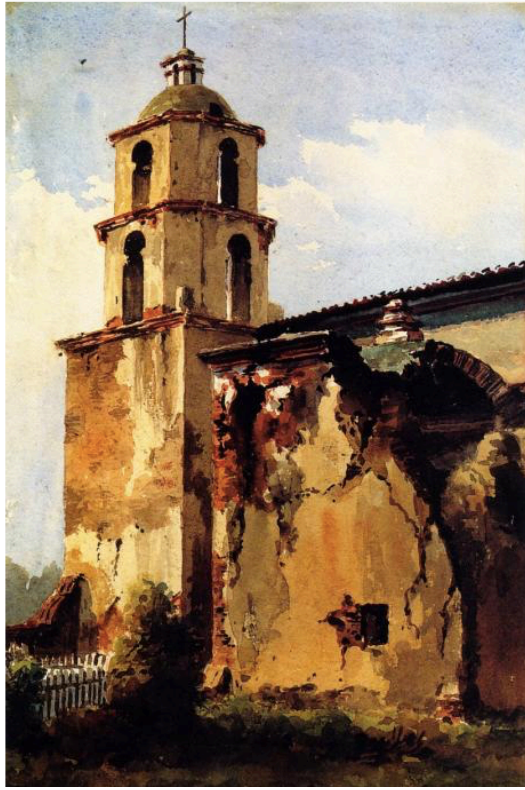


Figure 6: Chris Jorgensen, *Mission San Luis Rey*, 1903-4, watercolor



Figure 7: Henry Chapman Ford, *Rear of San Juan Capistrano Mission, from the Cemetery*, c. 1880, watercolor

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