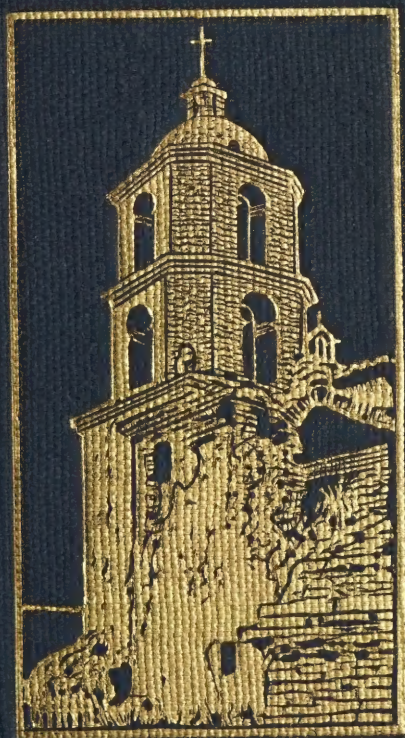


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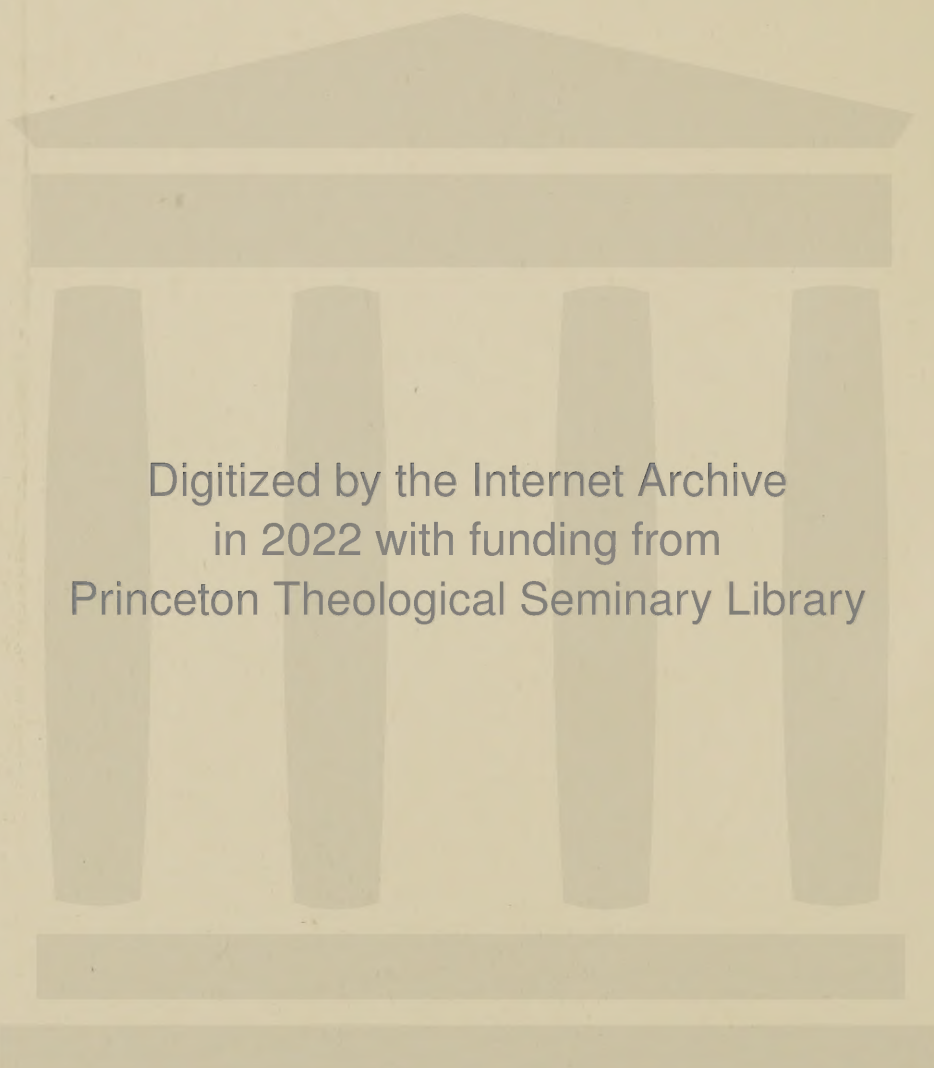
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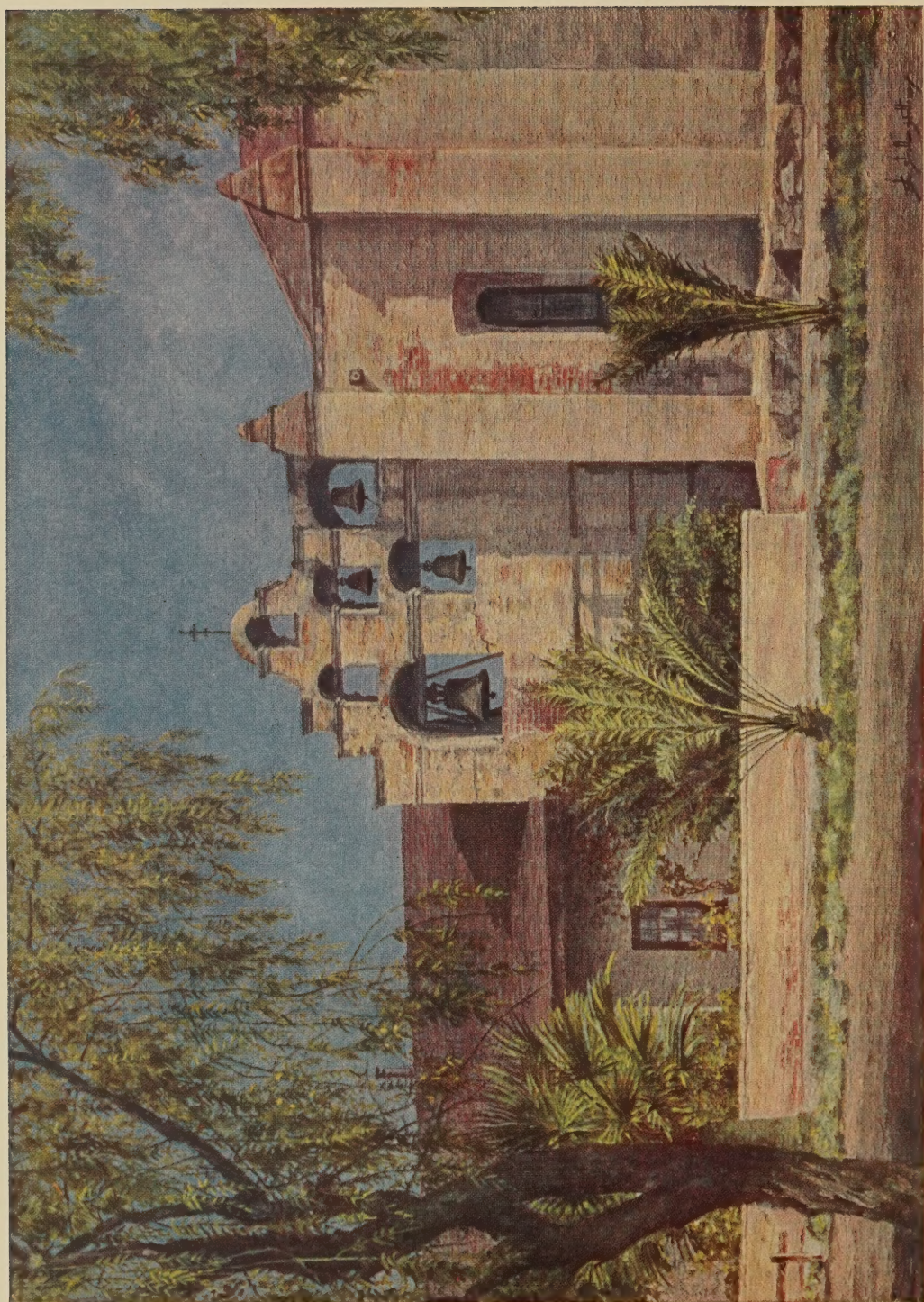
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THE OLD MISSION CHURCHES AND HISTORIC HOUSES OF CALIFORNIA

THEIR
HISTORY, ARCHITECTURE
ART AND LORE

BY
REXFORD NEWCOMB, M.A., M. ARCH., A.I.A.

PROFESSOR OF THE HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

WITH A FRONTISPIECE IN COLOR
AND 217 ILLUSTRATIONS AND
MEASURED DRAWINGS
24 LINE DRAWINGS



PHILADELPHIA & LONDON
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1925

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FOREWORD

THIS book, the result of six years' field work in California and continuous research throughout a period of thirteen years, is intended for both the architect and the general reader. While a great deal has been written of the Colonial Architecture of our Atlantic Seaboard, little or no serious work has heretofore been spent upon the architectural expression of that interesting politico-social movement which resulted from Spanish occupation of the southwestern United States. The present work, it is hoped, will in a measure help to fill this great gap in the literature of American architecture.

Rarely are Americans given an opportunity of examining very old architectural monuments without leaving the confines of their own land. This opportunity, however, the Hispanic Southwest, that broad area (now within the United States) which was originally explored and claimed by the priests and soldiers of Old Spain, does provide, for the remains of the buildings erected by these pioneers are still to be seen in Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, and California. In the succeeding pages, the writer proposes a pilgrimage to the Hispanic shrines of California, the ruins of which recall for us, as nothing else can, that interesting political and religious movement of the late eighteenth century that brought our Pacific Coast for the first time into contact with European civilization.

And what could be more alluring than a study of this touch of the old world within our own land; than a quest after an understanding of that civilization which brought influences of most of the world's previous art epochs to our shores? There is a charm—and a very alluring charm—about all things Spanish, and these old missions and homesteads, standing as concrete expressions of Spanish civilization within the confines of our country, must in the very nature of things be exceedingly interesting to those who seek the historic or the romantic.

For the writer this study has been a pleasant one and one filled with fortunate and happy associations. Many a joyous day has been spent climbing over the old structures, tape in hand and note-pad handy, sketching or photographing in the patios and cloisters or poring over dim and musty records, either at the missions or in the archival repositories. While the writer lays no claim to having unearthed anything very new in a purely historical sense, he feels some measure of pride regarding the architectural finds. Restorations of several hitherto misunderstood buildings he presents, laying before the reader his evidence, documentary or internal. He hopes that what is herewith set forth will inspire a real and sincere appreciation of the true character and spirit of early Californian architecture.

For valuable information and assistance in various stages of the work the writer feels under deep obligation to Rev. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., of Santa Bárbara; Rev. St. John O'Sullivan of San Juan Capistrano; Rev. George Doyle, formerly of Pala; Father Buckler of Santa Inés; Rev. Raymond M. Mestres of Monterey; Rev. Joseph O'Reilly of San Juan Bautista; Mr. Arthur Benton, Architect of Los Ángeles; Dr. Owen C. Coy of the California Historical Survey Commission; Mr. Prentice V. W. Duell of Cambridge, Massachusetts; to the curators of the Bancroft Collection of the University of California and of the Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain; to the staffs of the libraries of Los Ángeles, Long Beach, Pasadena, San Francisco, Sacramento (California State), and the University of Illinois; to Mr. L. S. Slevin of Carmel-by-the-Sea, Messrs. Putnam and Valentine, and Mr. Paul Edgar Murphy of Los Ángeles for photographs; to Dr. Rockwell D. Hunt of the University of Southern California for historical helps, suggestions, and inspiration; to Winsor Soule, Architect of Santa Bárbara; to Dr. Frank E. Melvin of the University of Kansas, fellow-traveller in Spain, for enthusiasm and inspiration at a time when

the irksome details of mechanical preparation seemed heavy; and, finally, to that loyal band of former students of the author in California who have performed endless little duties in the way of mechanical services.

Thanks are also due the Architectural Book Publishing Company, New York, for permission to reproduce several photographs from the author's "Franciscan Mission Architecture" and to Studio Limited of London for permission to reproduce a plate from the "Old Houses in Holland."

REXFORD NEWCOMB

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
JUNE 1, 1925

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THE OLD MISSION CHURCHES AND HISTORIC HOUSES OF CALIFORNIA

INTRODUCTION

THE Spanish architecture of the Southwest merits our interest and study. It is among the few existing reminders in all the United States of that budding civilization which bade fair to become the dominant one in these regions, but which was blighted in its very ascendancy. Through its influence the United States, otherwise so predominantly Anglo-Saxon in its origins, ideals, and institutions, gains in a measure the color of that proud romantic race from the south of Europe, a people whose national make-up was cosmopolitan in the extreme.

The other American colonists were from the north and west of Europe and brought with them strict standards of morality and the love for freedom in religion and government that life through centuries in those regions had engendered. The yearnings of their hearts were typified by the edifices that they reared in New England and along the Atlantic Seaboard. The Spanish, on the other hand, brought us all that warmth of color, that love for gold, adventure, and pleasure, that is common to their race.

There is always romance in any quest, and the Spanish came out on a quest; the soldier on a quest for gold and an extension of the dominion; the priest on a quest for souls and likewise an extension of the Dominion—the Dominion of a Higher Lord and Monarch. So they came, the soldier and the priest; one carrying sword, the other the Cross, for with the Spanish the sword and the Cross have always gone hand in hand. There is romance in the conquests of the sword, specially if those conquests lead to foreign lands, and there is something glorious in the conquests of the Cross. The soldier came with an adventurous spirit and with an expectation of victory both in arms and gold; the priest came with something of the same spirit, but he sought only a victory for God. It should be said, however, that the results of the quest of the soldier have long ago been forgotten and that all of the dominion that he added to the crown has long since passed from Spanish hands, while the quest of the priest will never be forgotten, although the pagan children whom he

taught are scattered or gone and the mission-houses that he raised are fast crumbling away.

Through the glamour that time has cast over these early quests they seem very glorious to us now, for, even though the Indians of the California Coast were not difficult to subdue, there were great privations to be endured in the conquest of the Southwest, and many a good padre gave up his life that the Indian might know the Christ.

But the quest for dominion is not ours and the search for souls is not ours. We are concerned with material things, with the edifices that these priests raised as monuments to their God and as homes for themselves and the charges in their care. And in them we shall find the spirit of those who reared them in simplicity and strength. It will be our pleasant task, first of all, briefly to learn of the land where they were built, with something of its geography, climate, and resources, for nowhere is the influence of environment better illustrated than in the architecture of Spanish California. We shall recall the historical backgrounds and seek out an understanding of the life in these colonies of New Spain, the life of the soldier and settler as well as that of the ecclesiastic. Moreover we shall trace the style of architecture back to its precedents in Old Spain and learn how this distinct and separate colonial variant is related to the larger family of the Spanish Renaissance. Most pleasant of all will be our little journeys to the old buildings themselves, where we may be able to discover the constructive principles employed by these pioneer architect-monks and colonists and evaluate the architectural merit of their work. And, finally, we shall talk of the value of it all for us of today. Could there be a pleasanter quest on any sea, in any foreign land?

PART I
ENVIRONMENTAL BACKGROUNDS

CHAPTER I

THE SETTING—THE LAND OF CALIFORNIA

TOO often in our minds is architecture divorced from its environment and thought of as separate and apart from that environment. This is a serious mistake and one that any sane critic or intelligent layman must view with real concern. As a matter of fact architecture is a perfect index to its backgrounds, material or spiritual, and expresses, as can no other art, the life and thought of a race or an age. It is inseparably linked with its material backgrounds, the possibilities and limitations of which control its range of expression. A consideration of the relationship of the material backgrounds of any architecture to that architecture itself will bear out the truth of this statement. Consequently he who would fully understand the spirit or message of any style or period of architecture should have some understanding not only of the history, genius, social and religious customs of the builders, but also of the geographic, geologic, and climatic conditions of the land of its inception. To this end it will be necessary, therefore, to preface any study of the artistic qualities of these interesting old structures of California by some attention to the material and human elements to which these qualities refer.

Alta (Upper)¹ California of the Spanish days extended from San Diego Bay, on the south, to Sonoma, beyond San Francisco Bay, on the north. Indeed this extent included the farthest-flung outposts of Spanish civilization upon our west coast, although the Spanish generally claimed the territory northward to the Straits of Juan De Fuca, and, during the Russian occupation of Fort Ross, constantly protested that the subjects of the Czar were occupying the lands of a friendly power.

This coast had been discovered in 1542 by Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo, a Portugese in Spanish service, and the first European to obtain a latitude north of Cedros Island (Lower California). Here in 1579 sailed also Francis Drake, almost the first represen-

¹ Upper California, so called to distinguish it from Baja (Lower) California, the peninsula.

tative of England in the South Seas and indeed the first navigator, aside from the Spanish, to sail these waters. He touched at a point upon the present coast of California known as Drake's Bay, taking possession of the country in the name of Queen Elizabeth. The presence of this English vessel in the Pacific, waters that to the Spanish mind clearly bordered Spanish possessions, followed by another, that of Thomas Cavendish, and the capture by Cavendish of the *Santa Ana*, a galleon bearing the riches of the Orient from the Philippines to Mexico, made very apparent to the Spanish the necessity of occupying the California Coast. Therefore, Viceroy Valesco contracted with Sebastián Vizcáino to make a new exploration and to occupy for Spain the *Ilas California*.²

About this time Valesco was succeeded by Gaspár de Zúñiga, Count of Monterey, who duly ratified the contract, and the expedition set out from Acapulco in 1597. This expedition failed of its purpose in Baja California and did not reach Alta California at all. However, again in 1599, the King ordered a second expedition, the purpose of which was to find a safe harbor for the Manila galleons. This expedition, though more successful than the first, scarcely served to advance Spanish geographic knowledge beyond the point reached by Cabrillo some sixty years before. Since its observations were recorded, however, it made more familiar the notions regarding the coast northward to Cape Mendocino. The fleet, having reached San Diego Bay, November 10, 1602, left that port on November 20, touched Santa Catalina Island, passed the Santa Bárbara Channel, and, on December 16, anchored in Monterey Bay. Early in 1603, Vizcáino went farther northward, entering Drake's Bay, passing Cape Mendocino, and reaching a position in the vicinity of Cape Blanco in Oregon.

The discovery of Monterey Bay was of course the noteworthy accomplishment of the expedition, since the bay was represented to be a good harbor and a satisfactory haven for the Manila galleons. Its charted location made it an objective up to the time of the discovery of San Francisco Bay in 1769. This expedition served to keep the interest in Spanish expansion along the

² At the time the *Californias*, Baja and Alta, were thought to be islands.



west coast uppermost in the minds of the officials and missionaries for the next hundred years.

So much for the early attempts to approach Alta California. The permanent occupation of the peninsula of California took place in 1697, that of Alta California in 1769. The final occupation of the country resulted from the same fears and desires that prompted the early explorations, namely: the mistrust of England's intentions, the fear of Russian occupation, and the desire of owning a land of good harbors, such as Alta California was represented to be, for the protection of the Manila trade.

California was not readily accessible from Mexico by land, although it was more so by sea, and for that reason did not, even during the flourishing period, occupy a great place in the Spanish colonial system. This remoteness from Mexico always proved a drawback to the country, as much time was wasted in getting word back and forth between Mexico City and Monterey, the capital of the province. This very inaccessibility also explains the scarcity of good artisans in the country, for it is well known that, whenever work of importance was to be executed, it was necessary to bring artisans from Mexico for the purpose.

California, climatically, is a land of strange contrasts. She may be said to have at least four distinct types of climate, namely: the *Alpine* of the Sierran counties, the *marine* of the coast counties; the *humid* of the northern counties and the *arid* of the desert counties. South of the Tehachapi Mountains the climate is semi-tropical and compares favorably with that of southern Spain. There are a great many local conditions affecting the climate, especially the temperature and precipitation, so that it is impossible to generalize widely regarding it. The marine area, which includes the mission territory, derives its low and even temperature from the ocean, the waters of which stand at from fifty-two to fifty-four degrees Fahrenheit the year round.

California is a land of clear atmosphere and bright sunshine, the cloudless days averaging two hundred out of the three hundred and sixty-five. The rainy season, corresponding with winter in other states, is short, the actual rainfall being confined to a few days. The annual precipitation varies from eighty inches in the north to fifteen inches in the vicinity of Los Angeles, or less

than six inches in the southeastern counties, where cultivated vegetation depends entirely upon irrigation. The fact that the rainfall is confined to a few weeks in the winter makes the rivers, especially in the south, scarcely more than great washes for carrying away any surplus rain-water. Thus they resemble the arroyos (rocky valleys) of old Spain.

Compared with that of Mexico, the climate of California is less equable, yet perhaps more healthful, and corresponds to that of Spain herself; the climate of San Francisco, with its chill winds and fogs, being similar to that of Burgos; the climate of San Diego resembling that of Seville and Barcelona. In a country with a climate resembling that of their homeland, it is not strange that the padres should have built in the general style of their native land. The effect of the sunshine is observed in the wide overhanging eaves and arcaded porticos of the old mission edifices, while the effect of the heavy rainfall is read in the well-constructed roofs.

The location of a mission depended upon three considerations: an Indian population to minister unto, proximity to the sea, and an abundance of good land and water. With these preconditions, the mission chain, as developed between the years of 1769 and 1776, extended from San Diego to San Francisco Bay, and, for some years, this area included the sum total of Spanish colonizing activities in Alta California. However, by 1823, this area, dotted with the mission churches, was extended to San Francisco Solano (Sonoma), thus including twenty-one missions, together with several *asistencias*, the Presidio Chapel at Monterey, and the Plaza Church at Los Ángeles.

It is said that it was the intention of the padres to have the missions located a day's journey (*jornada*) apart along the coast trail called "El Camino Real," and seemingly the road was divided at about that interval. It must not be thought that El Camino Real (the Royal Road, less literally the King's Highway) was a great well-kept highway, or even that it was laid out by survey. It was simply a route selected by the padres as the most direct and practical road between their mission establishments, and never had, even during the most flourishing period, any great amount of labor expended upon it.

The Indians whom the padres ministered unto in both Baja and Alta California were of an inferior stock and are not to be compared with the Indian stocks of New Mexico or Arizona. They are described as resembling the Esquimaux and as living in great families or "rancherías." In physique they are described as being below the average height of human beings, squat and ungainly, with large bodies but poorly developed limbs. The northern Indians were superior to the southern; the mountaineers, to the plainsmen or coast-dwellers.

Among the Alta Californians basketry was advanced in technical excellence, but pottery was practically undeveloped, while wood-carving was likewise almost unknown. Their homes consisted of grass, tule, or brush, or, in the most advanced communities, of bark covered with turf. The Santa Bárbara Indians seem to have used a wooden canoe, but otherwise navigation was practically unknown.

None of the California Indians tilled the soil. The hunting and snaring of deer and small game were practiced, and some fishing was carried on, but the diet of the Indian was almost entirely vegetable, consisting of numerous varieties of acorns, pine-nuts, grasses, roots, herbs, and berries.³

The Californians were not warlike and consequently were easily brought under the influence of the missionaries. There is little record of physical resistance, their subjugation being accomplished more by persuasion than by force. Very few lives were actually lost through Indian attacks, the greater number of deaths among the padres being due to disease and exposure. The attack of Mission San Diego de Alcalá in 1775, accompanied by the murder of Padre Jayme and two artisans, was perhaps the most serious of any that took place in Alta California.

This, briefly, was the land and these the people whom the Franciscans came to Christianize. Scarcely could there have been a pleasanter field of endeavor, but surely the human material with which the padres were to work was anything but promising. It is interesting to speculate upon the outcome of these endeavors had the Franciscans been able to complete the work that they had set out to do. It was a noble undertaking, but, alas, one too soon

³ *Handbook of American Indian*; Part I, 191.

blighted by the hot greed of the politician, and may almost be said to have been doomed to failure from the beginning, through certain short-sighted features inherent in the Spanish colonial system.



Spanish Ship

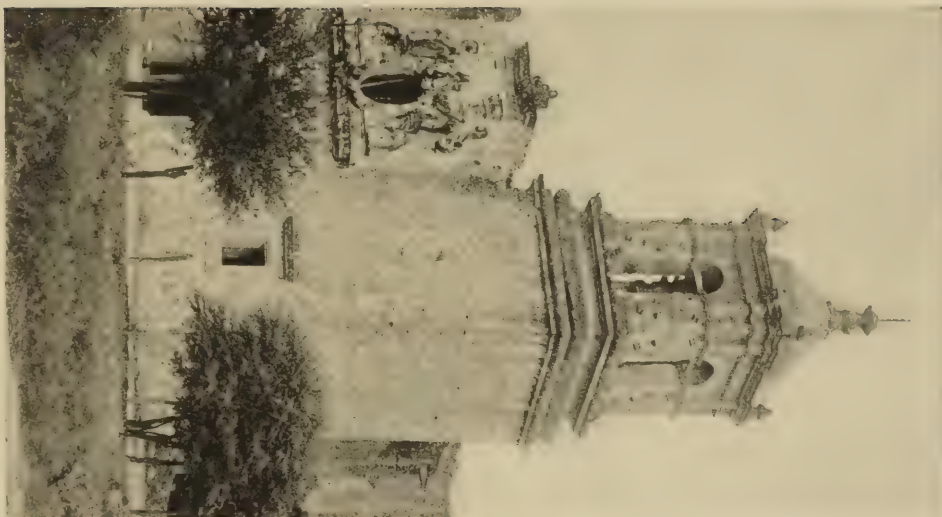
CHAPTER II

THE PADRES—FOUNDERS OF THE MISSION SYSTEM AND THE BUILDERS OF THE MISSIONS

THE missionary endeavors in America under Spanish guidance date from the papal bull of Alexander VI., dated May 3, 1493, which granted to Ferdinand and Isabella exclusive rights to the newly discovered lands west of the "line of demarcation" which ran about three hundred miles west of the Azores Islands. The Portuguese were to have sole possession of the newly discovered lands east of that line. In 1494, however, the imaginary line was shifted about eight hundred miles westward, a provision which enabled the Portuguese, in 1500, to claim the new land of Brazil, which they discovered at that time.

In making this division the Pope's injunction had been "that worthy, God-fearing, learned, skilled, and experienced men" should be sent "in order to instruct the inhabitants in the Catholic faith." We have every reason to believe that the Catholic monarchs, especially Isabella, felt most seriously the Pope's injunction. Yet the first priests who went out with the settling expeditions to America were only secular priests. They were described as "greedy, lustful, and insolent" and we may be sure that they were not so worthy as the members of the various missionary orders who succeeded them, especially when we recall that Cortés himself protested against the sending of seculars. However, before the time of Cortés, in 1510, a band of Dominicans, under their vicar, Pedro de Córdova, had arrived in Hispaniola, and presently we find them through one of their number, Antonio de Montesino, protesting to the King regarding the treatment of the Indians.

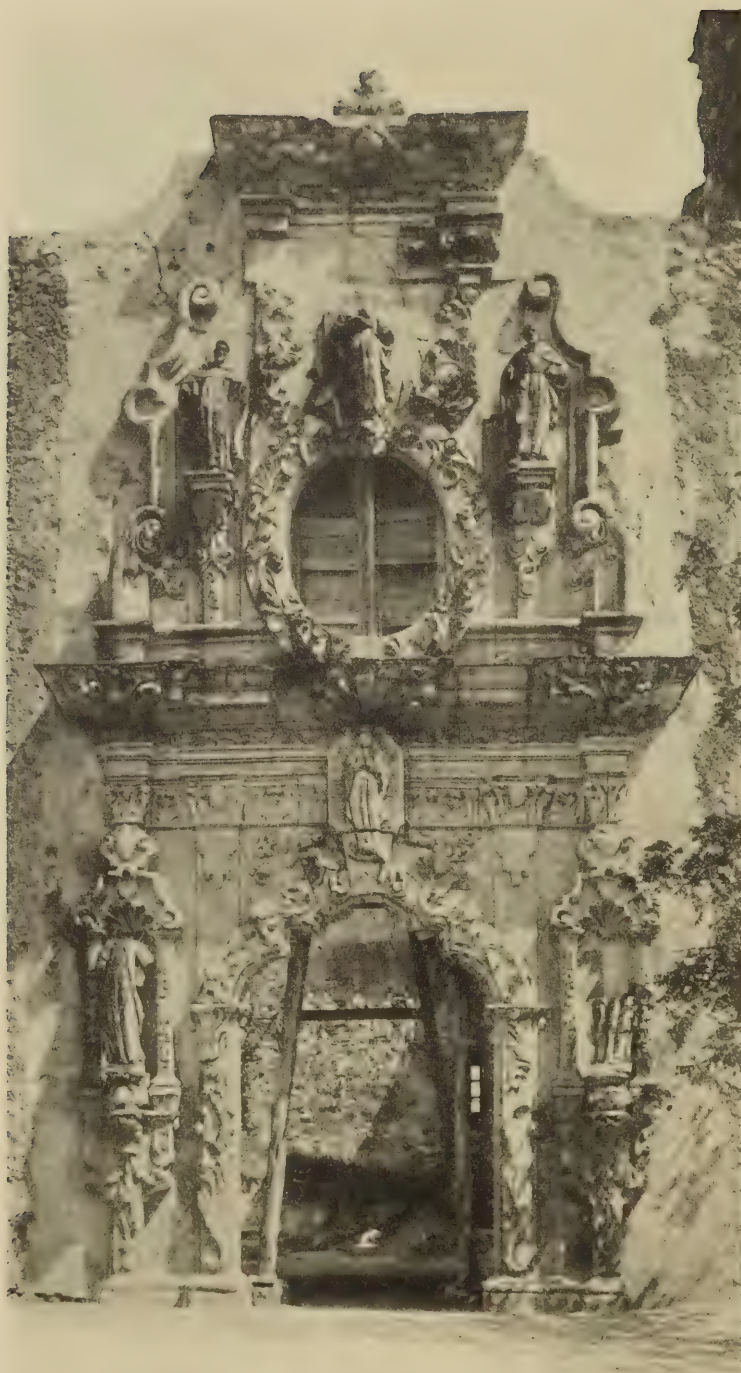
This protest was the beginning of several centuries of similar endeavors upon the part of missionaries in the new world. Indeed, Pedro de Córdova himself went to New Spain in 1512 in behalf of the Indian, who, he maintained, should be segregated and treated as an individual element of the colonial population. He succeeded in obtaining from the King a license to labor with the Indians free from lay intervention, but, before he could carry



MISSION SAN JOSÉ DE AGÚAYO, SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS.
TOWER



MISSION SAN FRANCISCO DE ESPADA, SAN ANTONIO,
TEXAS



MISSION SAN JOSÉ DE AGUAYO, SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS. DOORWAY

out his plan, he died (1521), leaving Montesino and Las Casas, a Spaniard newly arrived in the Indies, to carry forward the proposed scheme. Las Casas took charge of the project, but, instead of organizing an exclusive Indian colony, as had been proposed by Córdova, he established the usual mixed colony of Indians and Spaniards. Needless to say, the project was not a success and had failed by 1523.

The Córdovan idea of Indian segregation was not dead, however, and, in view of the failure of the *encomienda*,¹ gradually gained ground. In 1531 Licentiate Quiroga, a justice of the Audiencia (Court) in Mexico, advocated to the Council of the Indies² that the Indian youth, trained in the monasteries, should be established in pueblos (villages), in charge of priests who might undertake their further training. By 1535 Las Casas had written a treatise upon the subject of Indian segregation and treatment, and, in 1537, set out for Guatemala to put his theories into practice. His triumph in Guatemala, in a very short time, proved the wisdom of his system, and, in the New Laws of 1543, the *encomienda* as an institution was abolished and provision for mission establishments outlined. This was the beginning of the mission system of New Spain.

By 1535 there were over one hundred friars in New Spain, members principally of the Dominican and Franciscan orders.

¹ The *encomienda* system was the first scheme of social organization that the Spaniards tried in the new world. The desire of the Spanish sovereign was to convert the Indian, to civilize him and to exploit him. In order to do this the lands in the new world, together with the Indians thereon, were distributed among Spanish settlers who held both lands and people in trust, or, as the Spaniard would say, in *encomienda*. The *encomiendero* (trustee) was held responsible, through conditions of his grant, to provide protection and effect the conversion and civilization of his charges. In turn he was allowed to exploit the labor of his wards, provided profits were shared with the King. To effect conversion and civilization, schools early became necessary and as a result friars were imported and monasteries were established. Around these monasteries, pueblos (towns) grew up. As time went on, however, the *encomienderos*, who were usually secular land-holders, failed to protect, convert, and civilize the Indian, but continued to exploit him, and as a result became virtual slave-holders. The *encomienda* system thus degenerated and became the disgrace of Spanish colonial administration. It was against these abuses that Córdova and Las Casas worked.

² Council of the Indies (*Consejo de Indias*): "To facilitate the execution of the law and to enforce the adopted government, there was instituted the Council of the Indies. This council superintended all colonial affairs; and though it could not act without the sanction of the King, who met with it on stated occasions, it had a specific duty in the management of affairs, and great power in government. . . . The Council of the Indies was instituted by Ferdinand in the year 1511, but was perfected by Charles in the year 1524. Its jurisdiction extended to every department, religious, civil, military, and commercial." Blackmar: *Spanish Institutions of the Southwest*; 51-52.

Frequent mention of members of these orders, and indeed documents written by them, show their part in the exploration as well as in the Christianization of the country. Previous to 1590 these orders almost completely dominated the field in Mexico, the Franciscans taking by far the larger part in the spiritual conquest. In 1590 the Jesuits³ entered the missionary field and undertook the Christianizing of the northern and western Mexican Indians. By 1594 six Jesuits joined the initial two fathers sent to the field and, although it was some years before a college was established at the capital, by 1600 the Jesuits had founded eight substantial churches, the edifices of which were, if we can rely upon the statement of Father Ribas, of "modest architectural pretensions."⁴ In spite of Indian revolts in 1616 that cost the lives of eight Jesuits and two hundred Spaniards, the missionaries toiled on, and, by 1644, members of the order had established some thirty-five missions in Sinaloa and Sonora. The period of greatest Jesuit activity and influence was to take place, however, after the arrival in the mission field of Fathers Kino and Salvatierra.

Father Eusebio Francisco Kino arrived in Mexico in 1681, where his labors were divided between the duties of missionary and royal cosmographer. He was enabled to go as cosmographer in 1683 to Baja California, where he stayed two years. During his stay in the peninsula he became very much attached to the country and proposed sometime to return and Christianize the Indians. His first field of endeavor as a missionary, however, lay among the Indians of northern Mexico and southern Arizona, where, from 1687 until 1697, he labored diligently for Christ and the Cross. During these years he kept always in mind the proposed Christianizing of Baja California, and became so enthusiastic upon the subject that he proposed to devote his life to it.

Father Kino was not able, however, to carry out in person his proposed scheme for California, but he succeeded in converting the ardent Visitador-general, Father Juan María Salvatierra, to his plan, and in the superior officer he found a worthy advocate

³ Bancroft: *North Mexican States and Texas*; I, 119.

⁴ Bancroft: *Op. cit.*; I, 121.

of his project. It was fortunate for California that so ardent an enthusiast was found, for, before the actual work of Christianization could proceed, Kino and Salvatierra had to meet many discouragements placed in the way of realization of the scheme.

In the first place the Society of Jesus looked upon the scheme as impractical; the Viceroy was opposed and the King indifferent. These discouragements, however, made Salvatierra only more determined to succeed, and at last he found in the person of Father Juan Ugarte, professor of philosophy in the Jesuit College of Mexico City, an enthusiast who consented to act as the financial agent of the enterprise in the capital.

Father Ugarte was a man of great ability along economic lines, and his efforts were immediately bent toward the establishment of a fund for the financing of the missions in California. Many wealthy Mexicans came forward at this time with contributions, and this made possible, without further doubt, the projected foundations. This was the beginning of the Pious Fund of the Californias.

Before the actual work could begin, however, a royal *cédula* (order) which forbade expeditions to California had to be overcome. But since the projected occupation was not to draw upon the royal treasury, a license was finally granted by Moctezuma, the Viceroy, empowering Kino and Salvatierra to undertake the Christianization of the Californias. They were permitted to enlist and pay soldiers; make and unmake officials; in fact, to administer completely the affairs of the peninsula.

The first foundation was the mother mission, named in honor of Our Lady of Loreto, and established October 25, 1697, a foundation made under some difficulties, due to Indian hostilities and the temporary loss of one of the vessels carrying the supplies. But discouragements in the way of loss of ships and supplies, Indian revolts, and epidemics were many times to make doubtful the wisdom of settlements in the peninsula, before actual accomplishment was attained. However, as time went on additions were made to the Pious Fund, and wise investment so increased it that, by 1735, we may say that the mission system was upon a firm financial basis.⁵ Royal interest in the occupation

⁵ *Ibid.*; I, 457.

and royal funds for defence added to the general prosperity of the project.

But this state of prosperity was not to continue for many years. Dissatisfaction with the Jesuit administration of affairs, a thing bound to result from the almost unlimited power granted to them, and perhaps an abuse of that power by the successors of Ugarte and Salvatierra, was apparent from the time that the missions began to succeed. Moreover, clouds were arising for the Jesuits throughout the Spanish domains, and the storm broke with the expulsion of the order from all Spanish lands, Mexico and California included, in 1767. So the labors of the Jesuits in the peninsula came to an end just as the mission system had been well established and the material difficulties conquered. The system of Indian treatment devised by them was adopted by the Franciscans who succeeded them, not only in the peninsula, but also in Alta California, the occupation of which was begun two years later.

Of the early activities of the Franciscans, something has already been said. The first order to labor in the Mexican missionary field, they had before 1590, the date at which the Jesuits entered the field, nine or ten missions in the provinces of Durango and Chihuahua. As early as 1581 the members of this order had been far north into New Mexico and had accompanied expeditions into the region around the present city of El Paso, Texas. Although the Franciscans were earlier in the field than the Jesuits, their quieter habits suffer somewhat by comparison with the militant and aggressive enthusiasm of the Jesuit representatives. Unfortunately the Franciscan annals between the years 1600 and 1640 are extremely meagre. We can be sure, however, that the order was not so inactive as this lack of specific records would seem to indicate. This contention is supported by the fact that, in 1622, the authorities of the Franciscan College of Zacatecas found that 14,000 converts had already been made by the Franciscan friars in the various establishments.⁶

Before 1665 the Franciscans confined their efforts to eastern Durango and Chihuahua, but about 1670 they began a general expansion of their territory northwestward, and there was conse-

⁶ *Ibid.*: I, 334.

quently some friction between them and the Jesuits (1677) regarding boundaries of missionary effort. In Chihuahua the missions were always more or less open to the ravages of the wild Apaches, Tobosos, and other savage tribes, but the Franciscan zeal was of such quality as not to be deterred by such calamities, and by 1700 they had established ten or twelve new missions in the field to the north and east.

Early in the eighteenth century we find them establishing settlements in Texas, where the Spanish desired to withstand French encroachment from the eastward. It was at this time that the missions in and around San Antonio were established. In June, 1767, the date of the Jesuit expulsion order in Mexico, the missions of Baja California were tendered by the Viceroy, Marquis de Croix, to the Franciscan College of San Fernando. The College accepted, and immediately twelve Franciscans set out for the peninsula. After some delay the padres arrived at the mother mission of Loreto, where Gaspár de Portolá, the new governor of California, had preceded them.

At first the Franciscans were put in charge of the church buildings and spiritual interests only, the civil authorities taking charge of the other mission properties, but, since it was impossible to attract the natives without gifts of food and clothing, the population declined and it was soon found that the temporal and spiritual authority would have to be reunited if the missions were to succeed. Upon the arrival of Don José de Gálvez, the Visitador-general, in July of 1768, all mission property was turned over to the Franciscans.

It was not with matters in the peninsula, however, that Gálvez was primarily concerned. He deemed the occupation of Alta California very important, especially at this time, and decided to begin at once the subjugation of that country, a project that included the establishment of a chain of missions along the coast. In this program he had a very ardent supporter in Padre Junípero Serra, president of the missions in the peninsula.

In view of the proposed occupation of this new northern field by the Franciscans, the Dominicans, who had for some time wished to extend their labors into Baja California, had a claim upon the attention of the King and the Council of the Indies.



FR. JUNÍPERO SERRA

Although the authorities in Mexico were not so favorably disposed to the idea of taking the peninsular missions out of the hands of the Franciscans, a royal *cédula*⁷ under date of April 8, 1770, ordered a division of labors.

This order gave the Dominicans charge of all establishments as far north as a point just south of San Diego. They were to be free to extend their establishments eastward and northeastward beyond the head of the Gulf of California, but the Franciscans were to have all the coast territory northward and northwestward without limit.⁸ Thus the Franciscans pass from the somewhat barren peninsula northward into our own more fertile California, and here begins the story of their work and the building of that chain of buildings so dear to Californians of our own day.

But before turning to the story of the establishment of the California missions, let us see what manner of men were these Franciscan padres. Perhaps there is no character in mission annals more interesting than Padre Junípero Serra, the first president of the missions of Alta California. In many ways his life of self-sacrifice⁹ resembles that of the great founder of his order, Saint Francis of Assisi.

Born in the year of 1713, in the little town of Petra, Island of Majorca, he, early in youth, took an interest in the services and usages of the church. He seems early to have decided to become a Franciscan, the avowal of which purpose must have delighted his simple peasant parents, for we find them taking him to the convent at Palma in order that he might have a better chance to pursue his studies. Once at school, he distinguished himself in his classes, and, at the age of seventeen, was elected teacher of philosophy at the principal convent of Palma.

The famous Lullian University of Palma soon took notice of the brilliant young teacher, and, while still a young man, he had conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Sacred Theology and was appointed John Scotus Professor of Philosophy in the university. This chair he held until he left the pleasant

⁷ *Ibid.*; I, 704.

⁸ *Ibid.*; I, 705.

⁹ Paláu: *Vida de Junípero Serra*, George Wharton James Translation; 2.

academic halls and cloisters for a missionary's life in the new world.

At the time the Franciscans were at the height of their power in New Spain, and, although poorly supported by the crown, the love for proselytizing had so taken hold of the religious orders of Spain that the undertaking of hazardous and perilous journeys to foreign countries to help make new Catholics seemed a sacred duty to the good Franciscan. Thus we may see how Padre Junípero, amid the happiest of surroundings and contributing much to the furtherance of religion in the classroom, should yearn for service in the foreign field.

Arriving at Vera Cruz in 1749, Fray Junípero set out for Mexico City. Although carriage was provided, he, like Saint Francis of old, preferred to walk. The journey over awful roads, swampy valleys, and mountain heights, brought on an infection of the ankle and limb which became chronic as time went on. Pain, however, he seemed to welcome in order that what he called the "beast in him" might be kept in abeyance. He is described as having been beautifully sweet in character, retiring, indifferent to worldly honor, an indefatigable worker, and a speaker of great earnestness and emotional power. In truth he was an eighteenth-century Francis, and, in contrast to the society in which he lived, seemed always more medieval than modern.

For nine years he was a missionary among the Pame Indians in the mountainous regions of Sierra Gorda,¹⁰ putting those establishments upon a firm economic and spiritual foundation. His success in what before this time had been a failure won for him a high place in the minds of the Franciscan authorities in Mexico City. He was made president of the Sierra Gorda missions, and, after making a fine record there, wished to go among the Apaches of Texas. When the Jesuits were expelled from Mexico, their nearly seven hundred members had to be replaced by religious from other orders, and Padre Junípero was sent to Baja California as president of these missions.

It was just at this time that José de Gálvez, the newly appointed Visitador-general, came to the peninsula to make ready for the occupation of Alta California, and he chose the able and

¹⁰ Palóu: *Op. cit.*; 23-41.

experienced Junípero to head the spiritual forces. Thus in his fifty-third year, suffering untold agonies from his limbs and feet, fatigued by many weary miles of travel up and down the peninsula, Padre Junípero was at last to set out for the field of his most important labors. The same devotion to his work, the same indifference to pain, the same unconquerable spirit, that had always characterized him, urged him on through all the many hard years that were to come. The rest of his life was bound up with the establishment of the missions of Alta California, but that story has been reserved for a subsequent chapter. He died in the midst of plans for a further extension of the work that he had so well begun, passing away at Mission San Carlos, August 28, 1784, at an age of seventy-one years. His is the first name in California's calendar of saints.



Spanish Padre

CHAPTER III

THE RISE OF THE MISSION SYSTEM

WITH the Spanish the priest and the soldier had always gone hand in hand, therefore, when the Viceroy deemed it unwise to allow the coast of Alta California to lie longer unoccupied, and thus unprotected, the Visitador-general saw no reason to deviate from the usual procedure. The soldier would make California secure to the Spanish crown, the padre would make California secure in Spain's religion. Armed with royal orders to occupy Alta California by the establishment of fortifications at San Diego and Monterey, Gálvez took up the work of outfitting the expedition for Alta California. In Padre Serra he found not only an ardent enthusiast of the colonization scheme, but also a masterful executive, just the kind of a man to take up a great religious mission, and in Gaspár de Portolá he found an able comandante to direct the expeditions.

With Serra and Portolá, Gálvez planned the expeditions, two by land and two by sea, and arranged the details of occupation. In addition to the fortifications (presidios) provided for at San Diego and Monterey, three missions were to be established: one at San Diego, one at Monterey, and a third, to be called San Buenaventura, midway between these two. Padre Serra, overjoyed at the bright prospect, hurried about making preparations for the trip while Gálvez requisitioned the ships *San Carlos* and *San Antonio* for the sea parties, and ordered the construction of a third ship, the *San José*.

Serra visited the missions up and down the peninsula, collecting church-bells, baptismal fonts, pictures of the Virgin, images, sacred utensils, and vestments. These church requisites, together with beef, grain, agricultural implements, seed, and other necessities, were gathered at La Paz, where, between December and February, the *San Carlos* was put into repair and loaded. On the ninth of February, 1769, the ship, under Captain Don Vicente Vila, and crew, with Lieutenant Don Pedro Fages, later governor of California (1782-91), and twenty-five Catlan volunteers, Costansó, the engineer, Don Pedro Prat, surgeon of the royal army, and Padre Parron in spiritual charge, set sail for San

Diego. On February fifteenth, the *San Antonio*, similarly outfitted with provisions and under the command of Juan Pérez, with Padres Juan Vizcáino and Francisco Gómez, carpenters, blacksmiths, and crew, set sail.

The land expeditions now remained to be outfitted. Of the first Captain Rivera y Moncada, long comandante of the Presidio of Loreto, was in charge, and it was his business, as he proceeded northward, to collect cattle and horses and other supplies that could be spared by the missions of Baja California. Padre Juan Crespi accompanied this expedition. Portolá had charge of the second land division, and with him Padre Serra, suffering seriously from his injured leg and in a run-down condition, due to his heavy labors during the outfitting, started for his new Land of Promise.

It was a sad spectacle that greeted Padre Serra when, in July, he arrived at San Diego. To be sure all four of the expeditions had arrived, but the sea parties had suffered so terrifically from scurvy that the crew of the *San Carlos* was almost entirely wiped out. Doctor Prat and Captain Rivera were busy with the sick and dying. A camp had been built, but the fearful plague had so completely reduced the parties in numbers, and the morale of the survivors was so completely broken, that the Padre had a difficult task to convince them that there was anything hopeful in the fact that they had arrived at San Diego. To him, however, San Diego, with her lovely, land-locked bay, the "Harbor of the Sun," appeared very beautiful, and he at once began preparations for the founding of the first mission of Alta California, that of San Diego de Alcalá, the event taking place on July 16, the day of the Triumph of the Holy Cross.¹

But darker days were yet to come. The Indians, who appeared at first as only simple, curious, and misguided children, began to exhibit their thieving propensities, with the result that the Spaniards lost practically everything that was movable, even to clothing and the sails from the *San Carlos*. Fortunately the Indians fought shy of the food of the newcomers, believing that it had poisoned the Spaniards, many of whom were still deathly

¹ Celebrated in memory of the victory of the Christians over the Moors, July 16, 1212. Palóu: *Op. cit.*; 79.

sick. Their thieving habits, from the first extremely annoying, came to a climax when, in August, they attacked the camp with bow and arrow, javelin and sword, and took everything they could lay hands on, even to the covers upon the sick.

The camp was in no condition to stand such an attack. Portolá, with Padres Gómez and Crespi, most of the soldiers and all of the officers, had gone north in search of Monterey. Eight soldiers, together with Padre Junípero, two other friars, and Doctor Prat, were left to care for and guard the recovering plague victims. In spite of small numbers, however, the guard was able finally, by virtue of their superior arms, to put the Indians to flight, but only after a hard fight. One Spaniard was killed, and three others were wounded, but the day had been saved.

Meanwhile death made further inroads upon the miserable sick, and before long only half the number left at San Diego remained alive. Moreover, Portolá presently returned from the north dejected and discouraged by what he thought to be failure, for he had, as far as he knew, missed the Bay of Monterey. He had pressed on until Point Reyes could be seen, but this could not be gained because of an intervening bay (San Francisco Bay), which up to this time had never been viewed by Europeans. He had turned back, baffled and discouraged. Half his men, useless with scurvy, had to be carried on litters, strapped to the backs of the mules. He nerved himself, however, to endure his disappointment, because he believed that at San Diego he would find the garrison recovered in health, and reinforced by the supplies and help that Padre Junípero had summoned from Mexico. Imagine his distress when, upon his return with his half-dead men, he found the sadder plight of the force at San Diego.

When the full force of the situation dawned upon him, he was not slow to act. He was, after all, a soldier, trained to action. The responsibility for the expedition was his. He saw that, if he were to save the miserable few that remained, he should retrace steps to Mexico. Therefore he issued orders that all should board the *San Carlos* and set sail by the feast of Saint Joseph (March 19). It were better to admit defeat, and make the best of it, than to starve to death in a strange land, he reasoned.



MISSION SAN DIEGO DE ALCALÁ, FACHADA



MISSION SAN DIEGO DE ALCALÁ. THE RUINED CHURCH

But he had failed to take into account the gentle Padre or to consult him concerning his desire in the matter, and in the old priest he found a staunch objector to the plan. Portolá now laid the whole situation before Serra, emphasizing the great dangers that attended a further delay, and pointing out the risk from a military standpoint. But Padre Junípero would not yield. At last Portolá, impatient with the delay, determined to carry out his plan, when the Father Serra made a plea for a novena—a nine days' devotion—to Saint Joseph. If the supply-ship did not come, then Portolá and his party should return to Mexico. So gentle, yet so determined, was his plea, that the Comandante decided to humor him, and granted his request.

They prayed out the nine days, but no ship appeared, and, early upon the morning of the last day, the camp was busy with the preparations for the march, which was to begin the following morning.² But Padre Junípero was nowhere to be found. A search was instituted and at length they found him, upon that eminence now known as Presidio Hill. There he was upon bended knee, facing the great waters, looking out over the low crescent that encircles the "Harbor of the Sun." With crucifix aloft, he prayed to high Heaven "for a ship, a ship to save the starving men of San Diego de Alcalá." The lone, gaunt figure in sombre monk's cloth, silhouetted against the sky, was indeed a figure to move even the roughest of men. They pitied him, but they reasoned against that pity. They felt that no ship would come; something had happened; no ship could come. He was like a babe reaching for a star, some said, as they shook their heads and hurried the preparations for the journey homeward. There was nothing to do but let him pray on until sunset, then they would gently carry him aboard and commend him to the care of Captain Vila.

So the day wore on; the camp was broken; the final preparations for the departure were made; the lowering sun serving only more clearly to embroider in light the praying figure upon

² Captain Vila, who disagreed with Portolá's plan to abandon the country, decided to await at San Diego the relief-ship *San Antonio*, which he was sure would arrive, and accompany that vessel in quest of the Bay of Monterey. Padres Serra and Crespi would board the *San Carlos* and await with Vila. This decision consequently necessitated the return of Portolá by land.

the hill. At last the sun swept behind Point Loma, bathing the bay in purple shadow, when suddenly there was a cry of "A sail, look, a sail!" All hands rushed to the shore to see the trim silhouette of a ship pass the entrance of the harbor. A miracle had come to pass, and out of the southern sea had come a ship, at the last moment of the last hour. Surely Padre Junípero's prayer *had* been answered and California had been saved!

But darkness intervened before the ship could make the harbor, and the camp quieted for the night with the expectation of seeing the *San Antonio* safe inside by early morning. The dawn brought, however, no realization of any such dream. The transport was not in the harbor, but the fact that a sail had been seen by all on the previous evening was sufficient proof that aid was near. It was not until four days later, however, that the *San Antonio* sailed into the bay with her cargo of provisions and a new crew for the *San Carlos*. Nine months had elapsed since she had left the colony of San Diego to seek supplies in Mexico, and those nine months were the darkest days in the history of the whole colonizing project.

The *San Antonio* had sailed past San Diego, for Captain Pérez had received orders in Mexico to go directly to Monterey to support the Portolá settlement, which the Visitador-general was confident would be established by this time. The fact that he had lost his anchor, and had learned from the natives along the Santa Bárbara Channel, where he put in for fresh water, that the Portolá party had returned south, caused Captain Pérez to abandon his plan to reach Monterey Bay and to return to San Diego. Thus he came in time to prevent the abandonment of San Diego and California. The dispatches to Governor Portolá from the Visitador-general and the Viceroy put new life into that official, and, with plenty of provisions and new hope, the question of abandonment was never reopened.

Preparations were now perfected for a second trip northward in search of Monterey, which Portolá had really found upon his first trip, but failed to recognize because it did not coincide with his idea of the far-famed bay, the natural attractiveness and practical advantages of which had been greatly magnified by former explorers. Serra was of the opinion, how-

ever, that Portolá had arrived at Monterey upon the previous trip, and indeed it turned out that Portolá had erected a wooden cross upon the shore of the very bay that he was seeking.

Padre Junípero and Doctor Prat went north with Captain Pérez on board the *San Antonio*, while Lieutenant Fages and Portolá, with Padre Crespi and the soldiers, went by land. The sea expedition was accomplished very slowly, so tardily, in fact, that the Portolá party had already been in waiting eight days when the *San Antonio* put into the Bay of Monterey. Portolá, Crespi, Fages, and the soldiers were lined up on the beach to greet the Padre-presidente,³ and a royal welcome it was, a spectacle far different from that which greeted the Padre upon his arrival at San Diego.

The first duty was to erect a shelter of boughs for worship. This accomplished, the Padre-presidente, on June 3, 1770, consecrated the ground with holy water, after which came the chanting of the mass, a salute from the cannon, and the formal proclamation of the possession of the land, in the name of Carlos III. of Spain, by Don Gaspár. The selection of locations for the presidio and Mission San Carlos was next in order. This, together with the survey of the site, was left to Miguel Costansó, the engineer, and within a short time a number of huts, one of which was consecrated as the church, and a stockade of logs, surrounding the whole group, were completed.

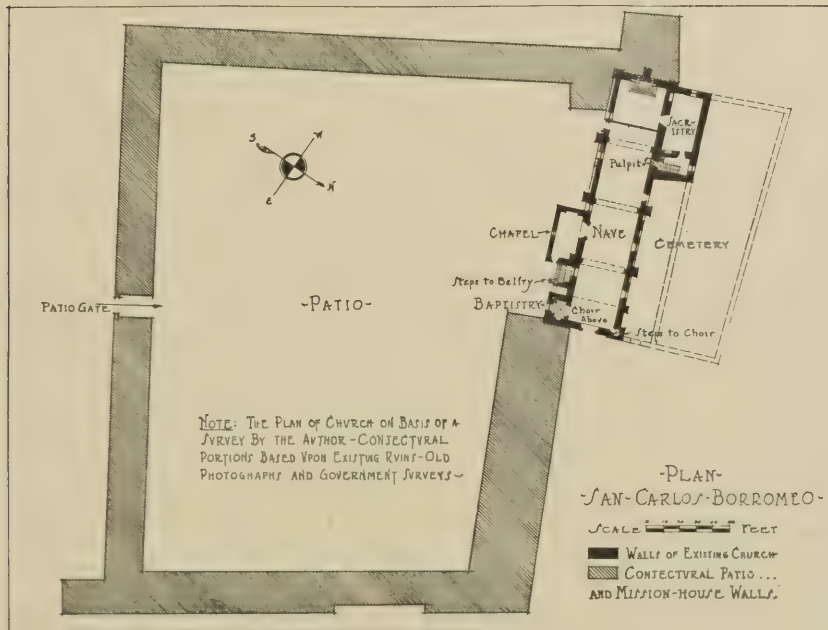
As soon as the presidio structures and the mission were put in order and occupied, Padre Junípero began his explorations of the surrounding country in order that he might begin the Christianization of the Indians. He soon discovered, however, that, if his work were to be effective, his mission-house would have to be removed from the immediate influence of the soldiers, who, tiring of the incessant guard-mount, the polishing of unused weapons, and the intense stillness of the place, spent their time in lustful pursuit of the native women, and in gambling and quarrelling with the native men. Finally Padre Junípero selected as a site for his mission a situation on the shores of the beautiful Carmel Bay, south of Monterey, which had been

³ Padre-presidente, official title of Padre Serra, President of the Missions of Alta California.



Courtesy of Architectural Book Pub. Co.

MISSION SAN CARLOS DE BORROMEO. THE CHURCH





MISSION SAN GABRIEL ARCÁNGEL, SOUTH FACHADA

named by Vizcáino for that ancient Carmel of the Holy Land. This beautiful spot, now the home of the famous artist colony, was soon the site of busy building operations, the aged priest himself directing the felling of trees and the planning of the structures.

In May, 1771, the *San Antonio*, returning from Mexico, brought ten Franciscans to assist the Padre-presidente with the establishment of the chain of missions that he now proposed along the coast, between San Diego and Monterey. They carried many gifts to the churches yet unlocated and unconsecrated, gifts in the way of bells, sacred vessels, vestments and images, tools and utensils.

The Presidente, overjoyed at the bright prospect, immediately began plans for the establishment of the missions for which he had supplies and priests. After arranging for two priests to go to San Diego to relieve the padres there, he appointed two ministers to Mission San Gabriel, which had been ordered established at royal expense, two to San Buenaventura, and started out with two padres and an escolta (escort) to locate and consecrate a third mission to be called San Antonio de Padua.

This mission was located some twenty-five leagues southeast of San Carlos (Carmel) in a beautiful little oak-studded glen (Cañada de los Robles) of the Santa Lucía Mountains, one of the most beautiful situations in all California. Here, on the 14th of July, 1771, Padre Serra made the foundation, placing Padres Miguel Pieras and Buenaventura Sitjar in charge. A cross of wood was erected and a hut of boughs provided in which Padre Junípero celebrated mass. The Indians seemed very gentle and made friends with the Spaniards, even helping with the erection of the buildings.

The work of founding, now well begun, continued with occasional interruptions and discouragements. Padres Pedro Benito Cambón and Angel Fernández de la Somera, having received instructions at Monterey in May, sailed south in July, and on August 6, 1771, went north from San Diego with an escolta of ten soldiers to establish the Mission of San Gabriel Arcángel, the formal founding of which took place September 8. Padre Serra did not visit San Gabriel until the autumn of the next year, when he went south to hasten the supplies from Mexico which

lay aboard the transports in San Diego Bay. On his way south he established Mission San Luis Obispo, accomplishing the founding upon September 1, 1772, and placing Padres José Cavaller and Domingo Juncosa in charge.

Arriving at San Gabriel, Father Junípero was delighted with the start that had been made. He did not tarry long, however, but pressed on to San Diego in order to speed up the supplies so sorely needed by the northern establishments. Accomplishing his errand, the old Padre now turned his attention to missionary affairs at San Diego. But news had come of the return to Spain of the Visitador-general and the Viceroy, both of whom had always been keen supporters of the Padre-presidente and his work. This news, the difficulties which Padre Junípero had already encountered in the haughty and insolent Comandante Fages, and the rumored intention of the abandonment of the San Blas naval station, all served to urge the Padre-presidente to go on to Mexico to consult the officials, religious and civil, regarding the future of his work in Alta California.

As the *San Carlos* was just ready to return to Mexico, Padre Junípero decided to go south as she sailed, which she did on October 20, arriving at San Blas a fortnight later. The old priest's journey to Mexico was a long and arduous task and twice upon the way he fell sick and had last sacraments administered. He arrived at Mexico City, however, in February of the next year, where he was received by the new Viceroy, Antonio María Bucaréli, a man of energy, good sense, and ability. The simple, refined, well-informed, and enthusiastic Junípero evidently impressed the Viceroy, for he asked Father Serra to prepare a list of the suggestions for the conduct of the California settlements. This the Padre-presidente did, formulating some thirty-two recommendations, which he presented to the Viceroy with a request for immediate action. The recommendations were so pertinent, thorough-going, and complete, that the Viceroy saw that they could not be acted upon at once and referred the matter to a "Council of War and State," which body consumed some six months in debate but acted most favorably upon the many sections of the report.

Among other things, the Padre had asked for an increase in

the military force, the establishment of land routes into California, the establishment of regular transport service, the retention of the naval base at San Blas, the sending of artisans to teach the Indians, settlers with women and children, a physician to succeed Doctor Prat, who had died insane, and the removal of Lieutenant Fages as comandante. Several of the suggestions were speedily acted upon, with the result that Captain Rivera y Moncada was made comandante at once, Captain Anza was sent to open an overland route from Sonora to Mission San Gabriel, and the naval station of San Blas was reinforced.

Upon his return to Alta California, Padre Serra landed at San Diego (March 13, 1774) and proceeded up the coast on foot. Arriving at Monterey, he once more took up the work of administration, which had been carried on, in his absence, by Padre Palóu. After his return, Padre Serra's first important work was the foundation of Mission San Juan Capistrano, which he accomplished in November, 1776. On October 30, 1775, Padre Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, accompanied by Lieutenant José Francisco de Ortega and a few soldiers, had attempted a foundation here. The establishment had only been celebrated, however, when news of an Indian uprising at San Diego, accompanied by the destruction of the buildings and the murder of Padre Luis Jayme, bade Lieutenant Ortega and the soldiers return to San Diego.

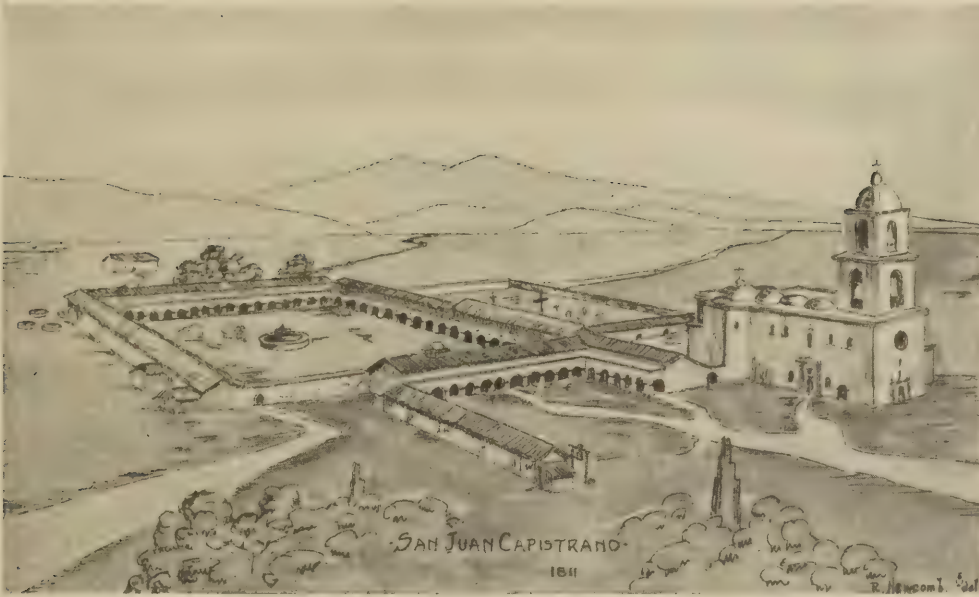
While the foundation of San Juan Capistrano was taking place in the south, the presidio and mission of San Francisco de Asís were being established in the north. Captain Anza, who had opened the route from northern Mexico across southern Arizona and into California, had arrived in January, 1776, with the first party of colonists, whom the Viceroy, in accordance with Padre Junípero's suggestion, had ordered recruited in Sonora and Sinaloa. In the spring the Captain selected a site for the future presidio upon the peninsula between the Pacific and the Bay of Saint Francis, and here on July 26, a few days after the Declaration of Independence was given to the world in the Thirteen Colonies, the colony of Saint Francis, out on the western rim of the continent, was pitching its camp upon the swampy site of the future metropolis of the Pacific. On September 17 the presidio was begun, the founding of the mission following

on October 9, with Padres Francisco Palóu and Pedro Benito Cambón installed as resident ministers.

The establishment of the presidio and mission of San Francisco, although it seemed a triumph for the forces that were slowly but surely winning an empire from the wilderness, disclosed serious difficulties ahead for the padres. Rivera developed a considerable antagonism to the foundation of San Francisco and absolutely refused to permit the restoration of the ruined San Diego Mission. Moreover, at San Diego he had entered the church, temporarily established in a warehouse, to apprehend one of the repentant Indian culprits who had returned to the mission. As a result of this violation of a sacred shrine he was promptly excommunicated by Padre Fuster. This open break awoke the padres to a realization of the antagonism they would encounter in the new Comandante. It was the same old story; it seemed impossible to get a military commander for the province who knew how to treat the Indian or how to go about the upbuilding of the colony.

The excommunication evidently bore heavily upon the mind of the Comandante for he sought absolution at the hands of the Padre-presidente. Absolution was not forthcoming, however, without some amends on his part, and this fact only served to throw him into a disagreeable frame of mind and place him at variance with everything and everybody. He so completely disgusted Captain Anza that when that official returned to Mexico he took occasion to send a full report to the Viceroy regarding the unfortunate situation in California.

But Padre Junípero had already informed the Viceroy, who ordered the Comandante to proceed with the rebuilding of San Diego Mission and the establishment of San Juan Capistrano. Captain Rivera, awakened from his fit of madness by the orders of the Viceroy, now hurried about the business of his command with all haste. But in Mexico his career had been measured out for him, and in February, 1777, Felipe de Neve, who as Lieutenant-governor of Baja California had been promoted to governorship of the two Californias, arrived, announcing the removal of the capital from Loreto, in the peninsula, to Monterey, and the delegating of Rivera to Loreto as Lieutenant-governor. The removal of the capital to Monterey was the first official recogni-



MISSION SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO, BIRD'S-EYE VIEW



MISSION SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO, RUINED PATIO



TOWER FROM SOUTHEAST



TOWER AND FACHADA



BELL
MISSION SAN BUENAVENTURA

tion given by Carlos III. that he considered Alta California more than a mere outpost of his realm.

The new Governor came to Monterey with some preconceived notions regarding priests and mission administration, having been involved, at the time of his promotion, in a very serious difficulty with the Dominicans of the peninsula. As he came north, he inspected all the missions along the way, and was impressed with conditions which contrasted markedly with those in Baja California. That he was impressed with Padre Junípero's wisdom is attested by the fact that he endorsed the Padre-presidente's proposed plan for the missions on the Santa Bárbara Channel and wrote to Mexico advocating the establishment, not only of the missions, but also of a presidio upon the Channel.

He immediately interested himself in the defences of the province and spent considerable time and expense in rebuilding the presidio of Monterey. To his credit falls the establishment of the first pueblo of the province, San José de Guadalupe, the beginning of the modern garden-city of San José. The pueblo was located about midway between presidios Monterey and San Francisco, and just east of Mission Santa Clara de Asís, which Padre Serra had established in January, just prior to the arrival of the new Governor. The site was one of the most fertile in all California and was accessible by water from the embarcadero (landing) at the southern extremity of San Francisco Bay.

Difficulties were soon to arise, however, for the Governor, disappointed with the prominence of the Church in the province and disgusted at the second place to which the military and state affairs had been relegated, promulgated a reglamento (1781), which, in addition to proposing improvement in the military defences and provincial government, also provided for the taking of mission temporal affairs from the hands of the padres. Moreover, he questioned the Padre-presidente's authority to perform the rites of confirmation.⁴ Notwithstanding the difficulties and

⁴ On July 16, 1774, Pope Clement XIV. granted a concession that provided authority for the Reverend Father Prefect of Missions and one of the friars in each of the four colleges to confirm the converts for a period of ten years. The concession was presented to the Royal Council of Madrid, ratified, and passed on to the Viceroy and Royal Audiencia of Mexico. It was then handed to the Reverend Father Prefect, who named Padre Junípero as representative of the Missions of the College of San Fernando. Padre Serra received his authority (document) "the latter part of June, 1778."

hard feelings that grew out of these incidents, the work of foundation went on. The pueblo of Los Ángeles was established September 4, 1781, and on March 31, 1782, Mission San Buenaventura, so long proposed, was established at royal expense, Padre Pedro Benito Cambón being installed as resident pastor.

San Buenaventura was the last mission established during the Padre Serra's term of office. He had established nine missions, in which over four thousand neophytes were quietly attempting to become law-abiding and self-supporting citizens. The temporalities flourished in every establishment; new structures were arising; thousands of cattle grazed on the mission pastures, and grain, garden-produce, and fruit were raised in abundance. He had witnessed the establishment of four presidios that would protect his cherished cordon of missions and had seen his recommendations to the Viceroy take effect in the establishment of the pueblos of San José and Los Ángeles. The success of the whole project was secure; the backbone of an empire had been laid out; the old Padre's work was complete.



San Diego Bay—1782

CHAPTER IV

THE CULMINATION AND DECLINE OF THE MISSION SYSTEM

IF THE rise of the mission system coincides in time with the career of the saintly Serra, the culmination may indeed be said to coincide with the administration of his successor, Padre Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, who, in 1785,¹ after a brief rule by Serra's beloved pupil Palóu, took up the reins of administration and guided the destinies of the mission system until his death in 1803. That the new presidente was a man well qualified to carry on the work so well begun by Padre Serra cannot be questioned. Indeed he has been considered by modern historians, especially Bancroft, as the superior of Padre Junípero himself. He entered upon his work with enthusiasm and immediately set about the business of the foundation of Mission Santa Bárbara, which the venerable Serra had so much desired to see accomplished before his death. The new mission was situated some nine leagues north of San Buenaventura and half a league northwest of the Presidio of Santa Bárbara. Here on December 4, 1786, Padre Lasuén, assisted by Padres Antonio Paterna and Cristóbal Orámas, blessed the site and formally dedicated the mission.

In the meantime, Governor Neve had been promoted to the position of Inspector-general of the Provincias Internas² and the haughty Fages returned as governor. He was no more kindly disposed toward the new Padre-presidente than he had been toward the former, and placed various obstacles in the way of the new establishments. These discouragements had long delayed the founding of Mission Santa Bárbara and served, likewise, to delay the establishment of the proposed Mission La

¹ Padre Lasuén was a native of Victoria, province of Alava, Spain. We know little of his life before he entered the California mission field. He arrived in Baja California in 1768, where he served at Missions San Francisco de Borja, Loreto, and Velicatá, but came to Alta California in 1773, serving at San Gabriel, San Juan Capistrano, and San Diego before his election to the mission presidency. After his election to this position his official residence was San Carlos, but he spent much of his time in the field and in residence at the various missions. Padre Lasuén died at San Carlos June 26, 1803, and was buried "in a stone sepulchre at the foot of the altar upon the Gospel side of the Mission Church." His name is perpetuated in the name of Point Fermin, south of Los Angeles.

² Provincias Internas: a portion of Mexico embracing the northern provinces of Neuva Vizcaya, Coahuila, Texas, New Mexico, Sinaloa, Sonora, and the Californias.

Purísima Concepción, which, although its site had long been selected, was not founded until December 8, 1787.

A period of nearly four years now intervened before the establishment of further missions, and it was not until August 28, 1791, that Mission Santa Cruz was established, to be followed in October of the same year by Mission Nuestra Señora de la Soledad, both foundations coming, be it noticed, after the resignation of Governor Fages, which took place in 1790.

Fages was succeeded by José Antonio Romeu, who, although he was nominally governor for two years, was actually so ill most of the time that he can be said to have acted as governor scarcely more than six months. He died August 9, 1792, and was succeeded by José Joaquín de Arrillaga, who served, *ad interim*, from 1792 until 1794, pending the appointment of a permanent governor.

In 1794 the new governor, Diego de Borica, accompanied by his wife and daughter, arrived. He contrasted markedly with any of the former officials. Of the best of the old Spanish blood, naturally sagacious, stern, yet carrying a strain of that chivalry so much admired by us in the Spanish gentleman of that day, he came well prepared by disposition and experience to take over the reins of government in this the farthest-flung province of the Spanish domain. It was during his tenure that many of the most significant reforms were effected. Schools were opened, agriculture encouraged, trade established. At last had come to the province, as governor, a man who held some of the ideals that actuated the padres. When his stand and his policies became defined, the padres were very much encouraged, and, by 1797, another wave of foundation activity was at hand.

Padre Lasuén had in 1796 received suggestions from the various priests, up and down the coast, as to the best situations for new establishments, and in that year had sent these to the Governor, who, in turn, recommended them to the Viceroy. They were immediately approved at Mexico City and orders issued for the establishment of five new missions. Although the orders were received in the late spring of 1797, by June 11 the Padre-presidente had founded Mission San José and appointed as the first pastors, Padres Isidoro Barcenilla and Agustín Merino. On



MISSION SANTA BÁRBARA. FACHADA FROM THE FOUNTAIN



MISSION SAN JUAN BAUTISTA. FRONT CORRIDOR



MISSION SAN JUAN BAUTISTA. PATIO

the 24th of the month, Padre Lasuén arrived at the site of the proposed Mission San Juan Bautista, some ten leagues northeast of Monterey, where Corporal Ballesteros had already started the buildings. After consecration, Padre José Manuel de Martiarena and Padre Adriano Martínez were placed in charge.

The next month saw the foundation of a third mission, that of San Miguel Arcángel, the celebration of the founding taking place on the 25th, with Padres Lasuén and Sitjar conducting the ceremonies, which were witnessed by a great congregation of friendly Indians. With the location of Mission San Miguel, Padre Lasuén considered the northern chain about complete. His attentions were now turned toward the south and, on the following September 8, Mission San Fernando Rey de España, midway between San Gabriel and San Buenaventura, was established, this making the fourth mission to be founded by the busy Padre-presidente in as many months.

A period of nine months now elapsed before the foundation of the fifth authorized mission was made. After a considerable discussion of sites and much correspondence, Borica agreed to a site midway between Missions San Juan Capistrano and San Diego, and back four miles from the sea upon the San Luis Rey River. Here, on June 13, 1798, Padre Lasuén, assisted by Padres Antonio Peyri and Juan Norberto Santiago, celebrated the foundation and established Mission San Luis Rey, which was to become very prosperous in the early part of the next century. With this accomplished, the work of foundation in the south was considered complete, and Padre Lasuén turned his attention to other details of mission administration. The missions now entered their most prosperous era, materially and spiritually.

In 1800 Governor Borica resigned and José Joaquín de Arrillaga became governor, holding that title from 1800 to 1814, the longest tenure of any of the Spanish governors. The new Governor was a man of fair ability and good intentions and possessed, be it said to his credit, the desire and power to get on with the padres, a feat which he accomplished in better fashion than any of his predecessors. It was often charged that he was dominated by the priests. If this be true, he may have been justified, for there is no question but that the missions, now so



MISSION SANTA INÉS. THE CHURCH



MISSION SANTA INÉS. CLOISTER

prosperous, were the backbone of the whole province, while the pueblos, now nearly twenty years old, had made little progress.

It was during the early part of Governor Arrillaga's term that American vessels began to trade along the California Coast. Of course any commerce with foreigners was, at this time, absolutely forbidden, but, once begun, it increased secretly, with profit alike to the New England merchants and the padres.

In 1803 Padre Lasuén died and Estévan Tápis became the new presidente. The only mission established during his term of office was that of Santa Inés, the nineteenth, which he founded on September 17, 1804, assisted by Padres Cipres, Calzada, and Gutiérrez. With this establishment there was no further demand for new foundations west of the coast range, although from an early period there was a recognized demand for missions over the mountains. The establishment of missions upon the Colorado River was a movement to fulfil the needs of the interior, but with the destruction of these by the Indians, in 1781, the project was discouraged, with the exception that, from time to time, parts of the San Joaquín Valley were explored with a view of locating further establishments.

In the meantime the missions prospered and grew into wealthy estates, absolutely and solely administered by the padres, who became, in a sense, not only the preachers of the country, but also its great farm managers, its great merchants, and, so far as the Indian population was concerned, its rulers. The stock multiplied upon the farms; great quantities of grain were produced; the mission orchards and vineyards grew into bearing and thrived abundantly. Nearly all of the missions erected new and handsomer buildings of brick or stone, provided irrigation ditches and aqueducts, which supplied with water the fountains for stock and domestic purposes, the baths, milk-houses, and laundries. The padres furnished great quantities of supplies to the presidios, and thus the government became the debtor of the missionaries whom it protected. With the establishment of Mission Santa Inés, the padres claimed an unbroken chain of estates which, beginning at the Bay of San Diego and including the coast lands, extended to San Francisco Bay. The day of the padres had come; this was the golden age of the missions.

With the great prosperity of the missions and the corresponding backwardness of every other activity or institution in the province, there began to be manifest in the early years of the nineteenth century, both among the settlers in Alta California, and among the officials in Mexico and Spain, considerable dissatisfaction regarding the status of affairs. To be sure there had always been the two parties, the church party and the anti-church party, but now many began to assert that the priests had gone too far and were exceeding their rights. It was said that they had come into the country to Christianize the Indian, but, in doing so, had virtually enslaved him, compelling him to give his labor for the spiritual teaching and a scanty board and keep.

The mission system was, in some quarters, looked upon as a priestly feudal system, the priests playing the part of the lord, the Indian becoming the serf. Moreover, the refusal of the padres to brook any interference in the discipline of the Indians, which, sometimes, and under certain priests, was no doubt severe, was a proof to many that the padres were usurping the power of the civil authorities. But by far the greatest dissatisfaction came about through a realization of the fact that the province was destitute, while the missions, through the protection of the authorities in Mexico, had become the wealth-holding institutions.

But in spite of adverse criticism affairs went well for the missionaries until 1813. On September 13 of that year, the Spanish *Córtes* passed a law which provided that all lands which had been in the hands of the priests for ten years or more should be taken from their control and turned over to the Indians, who were, after all, the rightful owners. Ferdinand VII was at the time the prisoner of Napoleon in France, but, when he returned to Spain in 1814, he repudiated this law, together with the other acts of the *Córtes*. Thus for a time the padres were to be safe. However, with the revolution of 1819, this law again was placed in effect and was still in effect, although not in actual operation, at least so far as California was concerned, when Mexico gained her independence September 27, 1821.

Shortly after the independence of Mexico came the order to "liberate" the mission Indians, to suspend the payment of the annual stipend of the padres, to form the mission establishments

into pueblos with secular curates, and to grant lands to all Indians who were able to maintain themselves. All these provisions, of course, only go to prove a total ignorance on the part of the legislators in Mexico of actual conditions in California. Although the Indians had been under the care of the padres for many years, they were, as yet, not able to maintain themselves, and the priests pleaded for more time in which to accomplish their task. The enemies of the padres pointed out that, under the system in vogue, the Indians could never become self-supporting or self-respecting citizens, and argued that a continuance of the system would serve only to make the eventual change more difficult. Whatever the relative merits of the arguments, the reglamento of November 21, 1828, provided that the mission lands should not be colonized until some disposition could be made of the Indians, who were clearly not able to shift for themselves when taken from under the guiding hands of the padres.

This status obtained until August 17, 1833, when the Mexican Congress passed the law designed to take the mission lands from the hands of the padres, give them as grants to settlers, and establish local civil governments. On November 4 followed a law authorizing the transportation of emigrants from Mexico to colonize the mission lands, and on April 16, 1834, came the famous law secularizing all the missions of Mexico, regardless of the length of time that they had been in the hands of the padres.

The result of the secularization is well known to those conversant with western history. How in a very short period this splendid system of prosperous establishments was utterly ruined clearly illustrates what is likely to happen when, of a sudden, those unused to ruling take over the direction of a nation and its institutions. The methods devised for accomplishing the result, a result perhaps worthy enough in itself, were ill-advised and stupid, and the commissioners charged with administration frequently corrupt and incompetent.

Instead of seeking the aid or advice of the padres, who knew the Indians, their abilities and limitations, the commissioners completely ignored them. With great pomp and long harangues, they announced to the Indians that they might go free, wherever they pleased. Thus were these children, who had always been

dependent upon the judgment and planning of others, turned out to shift for themselves. To most of them this new freedom from restraint meant idleness and debauchery. Many, of course, ran away to the hills and returned to wild habits; others wandered about like homeless waifs, unable to elevate themselves above the class of common laborers. The plan to form them into pueblos was a failure, and those who obtained lands soon managed to sell them and squander the proceeds in gambling or drunkenness. Untrained to foresee or plan for the future, the Indian easily became the prey of the white settler, who, in spite of the efforts of the Governor, was awaiting to take advantage of the liberated neophyte.

Ten of the missions were secularized in 1834 and six more during the next year. In the absence of the seculars who were to have been appointed to succeed the padres, but who never came, many of the old priests stayed manfully by their neophytes, doing the best that they could under the circumstances. Some, disgusted at the whole turn of affairs, left the country, while others retired to the houses assigned to them and figured in society only when called upon for services.

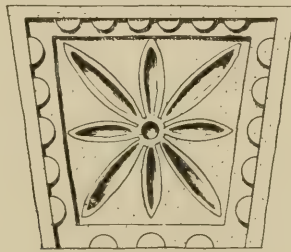
With the system broken, the padres gone or indifferent, and the Indians scattered or refusing to work, the establishments ran down. The few Indians who remained planted no crops, and soon the government found itself pinched for the supplies that heretofore had come largely from the mission farms. The commissioners claimed that the Indians would not work and asked that the major-domos compel them to work, with the result that, from time to time, there came reports of Indians having been beaten to death by these overseers. If mission discipline was bad, certainly this was worse. In the midst of it all, Governor Figueroa died and was succeeded by three governors in the space of a year.

Finally, at the end of a period of intrigue and conflict, Governor Alvarado came into power in 1836. His term of office (1836-1842) was one of intense unrest, strife, and revolution, a political condition not conducive to the straightening out of the tangled mission difficulties. Alvarado, however, made an attempt to learn the real condition of affairs and appointed William E. P.

Hartnell, an Englishman who had been in the country some fifteen years, to visit the missions and make a report. Hartnell showed that scarcely one-eighth of the Indians remained and that the properties had depreciated tremendously. As a result of this report, the Governor attempted reforms in administration, but with little effect. Matters had gone too far: the missions were practically ruined. Thus the mission wealth vanished, as had the Indians.

When, in 1845, Pío Pico, the last ruler under the Mexican régime, became governor, he conceived the idea of renting or selling the mission lands in order to defray the expenses of administration. The decree was passed, and, as a result, farms and houses were sold, to the highest bidders to be sure, but at prices so low as to make them seem almost free grants. Only the churches in actual use were reserved. Thus the great properties passed into private hands and have continued in private hands from that day to this, with the exception of the churches and some small lands that were returned to the Church by the United States courts after the American occupation.

But with the passing of the missions the country was opened to colonization, and secularization was, after all, a great benefit to California as a whole. That the missions must eventually have been secularized, no one doubted; the method of secularization has, however, remained one of the great blots upon the history of California.



A Keystone from San Juan Capistrano

CHAPTER V

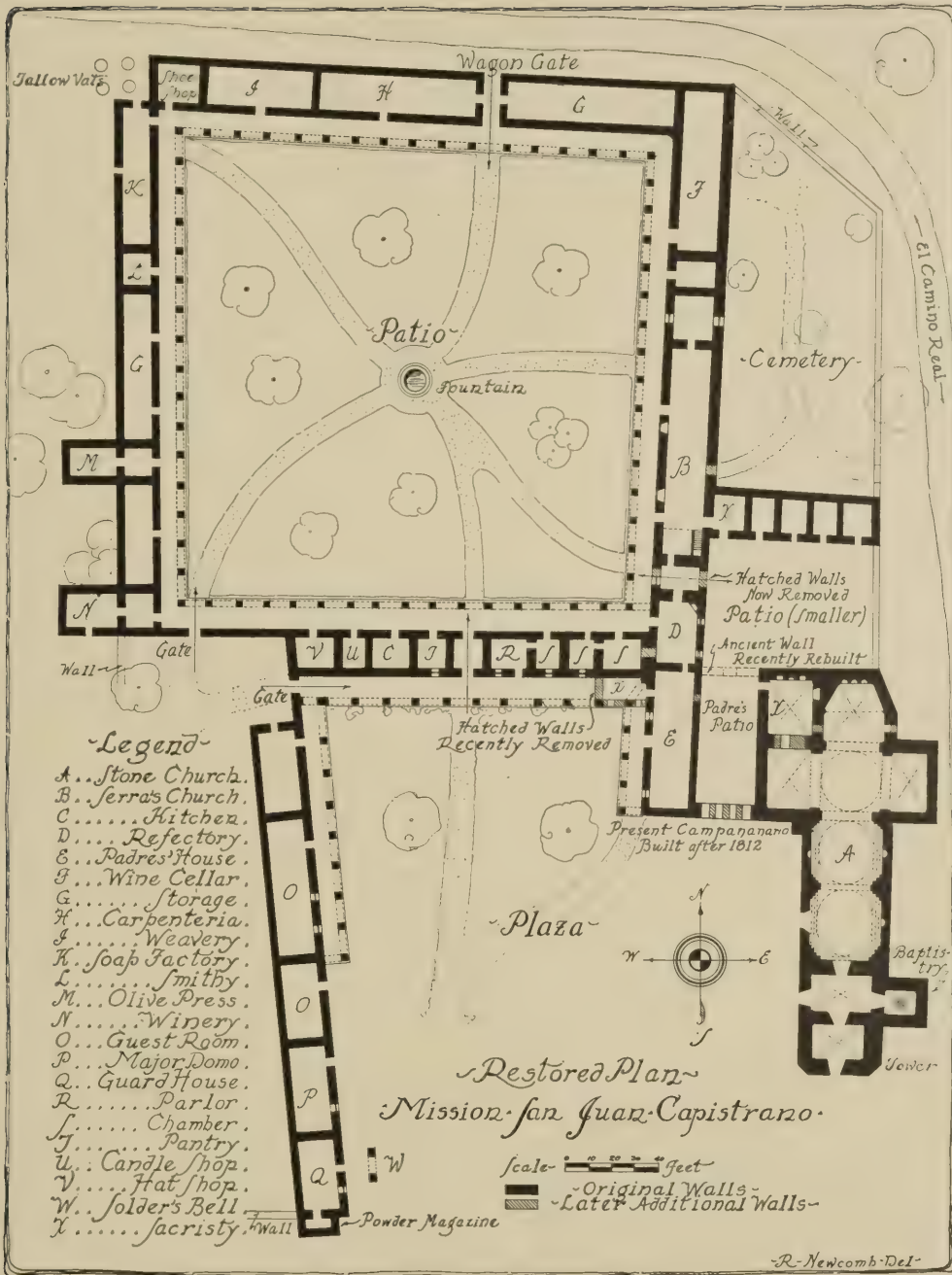
LIFE AT THE MISSIONS—ECCLESIASTICAL

THE life of the Hispanic period in Alta California centred around the three colonizing institutions, namely: the mission, the presidio, and the pueblo, and hence may be classed as ecclesiastical, military, and civil. In the early days and for a considerable portion of the Hispanic period, the mission-house was the centre of social as well as of the ecclesiastical life. However, the mission as an institution was never considered by the Spanish authorities anything more than a temporary Christianizing agency, to be discontinued as soon as the Indian should learn the essentials of citizenship. When that time should arrive, it was proposed that the mission settlements should be converted into Indian pueblos; the mission churches should become parish churches and secular priests should take charge of the religious duties, as was customary in other parts of the Spanish domain.

The system of mission organization and administration used by the Franciscans was based upon the experience of the Jesuits in Baja California and was almost uniform throughout the mission chain. The padres were charged with the sole care and control of the Indians and were responsible for their training in the various occupations and crafts and in the Spanish language, Christian doctrine, and singing.

The mission program, with the great number of Indians to be cared for, called for broad acres upon which to establish the mission grain-fields, orchards, and pastures, and an extensive group of buildings, embracing shops, store-houses, priests' quarters, and church. Then, too, a cemetery was needed, a water supply was necessary, and, above all, protection for the neophytes and property against the inroads of wild and uncivilized Indian bands was essential. With only two priests normally in residence at one time, one caring for the spiritual needs, the other for the temporalities, administration became, as will be seen, a formidable problem.

The mission buildings were situated as nearly as possible in the centre of the mission lands. These buildings were designed





MISSION SAN FERNANDO REY DE ESPAÑA. ANCIENT PALMS AND OLIVE TREES

in a simple, straightforward, and craftsmanlike manner to accommodate the workaday life that the padres had prescribed for the Indians, afford the necessary protection, and teach the Indians the commonly accepted notions of sanitation and orderliness in their relation to the human dwelling. The padres lived in the mission, usually in a special house or apartment, together with the necessary servants and workmen, while the great body of the neophytes lived in the Indian village near by.

Shops for the industries, such as weaving, carpentry, blacksmithing, soap and candle making, hat, shoe, and rug making were provided, as well as various store-houses for hides, tallow, wool, and grain. Add to these apartments quarters for the majordomo (overseer) and soldiers, a small guard-house, a few guest-rooms, a hospital or infirmary, the church with its baptistry and sacristy, and some notion is gained of the various structures that the padres so simply, yet so logically, developed to meet the needs of their educative program. In order to afford protection, these various structures were usually distributed around the four sides of a quadrangle called the patio, communication between the various apartments being made by means of a cloistered walk surrounding the patio, as in the old monasteries of Europe.

The daily routine began with the Angelus at sunrise, which called the Indians to assemble in the chapel, where they were required to attend morning prayers and mass. Following mass, breakfast was served, after which each went to his work. At noon dinner was eaten and all hands rested until 2 P.M., when work was resumed and continued until the call of the Angelus an hour before sunset. After prayers and rosary, the evening meal was eaten and the Indians were free to dance or indulge in any other harmless amusement.

The unmarried girls were placed in a convent (*monjério*) under a trusted Indian matron (*la madre abadesa*), who was responsible for their welfare, and their education in the crafts. This "convent" was protected with barred windows, like those upon the houses of Spain and Mexico, and the doors were locked at night. The young woman was not allowed to leave the convent until she had been won by a young man and was sufficiently skilled in the various household activities to become a good wife.

Thus the padres hoped to elevate the scale of living in the next generation. The unmarried men were kept in another house and also locked in at night. The various Indian overseers assigned work for the bachelors each morning, as did the madre for the young women.

The unmarried Indians and servants received their food at meal-time from the community kitchen, while the married Indians were given rations each Saturday for the ensuing week. These rations, which consisted of maize, wheat, beans, fresh or dried meat, were taken to the houses, where the families ate in private.

The diet at the missions consisted of mutton, beef, vegetables, and tortillas, made from corn-meal. A gruel of corn-meal (atole) or of wheat-meal (pinole) made in the community pozolera (vat) was used almost universally. Sometimes it was varied, upon Sundays or feast-days, by the addition of chopped mutton, beef, or beans. On hot days a refresco, made of lemon, sugar, and water, was sent to the field by the padres. The padres, of course, indulged in a finer fare than that prepared for the neophytes, but the fare of the padres, like that of the Indians, was painfully uniform and most of the delicacies, not produced in the country, the priests paid for from their slender stipends, out of which they also clothed themselves and bought ornaments for the church.

The dress of the neophytes consisted, for the men, of a pair of linen pantaloons and a woolen serge (jerge) smock; for the women, a skirt, smock, and underclothing. The alcaldes (Indian overseers) and head workmen wore clothing like that of the Spaniards. Much of the cloth used for the making of clothing was woven at the missions, the padre himself attending to the cutting of the materials, the young women, versed in sewing, forming them into garments. Each Indian was issued one blanket a year, but in case it became worn, another was given him.

Upon the mission farms were grown wheat, corn, hemp, tobacco, flax, and cane. The orchards produced olives, figs, pomegranates, peaches, pears, apples, apricots, plums, cherries, oranges, and lemons, and there were great vineyards. The variety of olive raised by the padres is today usually called the "Mission

Olive," and, according to E. D. R. Bianciardi,¹ has not been identified with any of the varieties commonly grown in Europe at the present time. The California olive seems to have arrived by way of South America, into which country it is said to have been introduced in 1560 by Antonio Ribera. The California trees were grown from seeds sent in from Mexico, whither the tree had been carried from South America. San Diego was the first place at which the olive was planted. The trees thrive wonderfully in that climate, and San Diego became known throughout California for her fine olives and oil. Remnants of the famous old orchards are still to be seen in the vicinity of the ruined mission.

Just when the grape, orange, lemon, and other fruits were introduced has been a subject of much discussion and speculation, and there are many traditions concerning them. It is more than likely that seeds or cuttings were sent in with the early parties to California, as mission reports before the death of Serra in 1784 mention nearly all varieties as flourishing in the mission orchards. The grape especially was flourishing at an early period and wine was produced in the southern establishments before 1785.

Another fruit, not widely distributed in Alta California, yet nevertheless introduced by the padres, was the date-palm. Fine specimens of this tree have for years been familiar landmarks in the vicinity of some of the southern missions, those at San Fernando and San Diego being especially famous.

The feathery, red-berried "pepper tree" (*Schinus molle*) was also first planted by the padres, although, according to tradition, the seeds were actually brought into the country from Lima, Peru, by a sailor who gave them to the padre-in-charge at Mission San Luis Rey. The seeds were planted at this mission, and, eventually, a row of pepper trees was set out in front of the building, while one tree was left in the patio. The trees in front of the building have long since died out, but the lone tree of the patio, although much damaged by the frost of 1913, still remains the sole representative of the original generation of California "pepper trees."

¹ Bianciardi: *Century*; XXVI (1883); 555.

In addition to the fields and orchards, the missions had gardens for flowers and vegetables. Among the vegetables were beans, beets, peas, lentils, onions, carrots, Spanish peppers (*pimientos*), corn, potatoes,² squashes, cucumbers, and melons. The flower garden contained Castilian roses, pinks, sweet-peas, hollyhocks, nasturtiums, brought from Mexico, and white lilies.

That the agricultural methods of the padres were not crude, and perhaps even wasteful, no one would attempt to prove. In spite of backward methods, however, the favoring climate and fertile soil assured, if moisture could be had, a bountiful crop. But the great orchards and fields in such a climate as that of California could not thrive perennially without some sort of artificial irrigation, and early the padres began, especially in the south, to develop irrigation flumes and to build dams across the cañons to trap and store the winter rains. Thus at San Luis Obispo, as early as 1776, an irrigation system was in process of construction. At San Diego some work was done in 1795 upon an irrigation system, but the grey granite dam, still to be seen, across a gorge at the western end of the Cajon Cañon, was not begun until after 1800. The completeness of these works serves to prove that the padres were not entirely ignorant of the science of irrigation, taught to their forefathers so many centuries before by the followers of Mahomet.

In spite of the great development of grain and fruit raising, stock-raising may be said to have been the principal industry. The original stock, sent in from Mexico with the early expeditions, developed into great herds. The sheep and cattle were raised upon ranchos some distance from the mission proper, the herds being under the direction of trusted *vaqueros* (herders). Every Saturday morning, the cattle selected to provide the meat supply for the ensuing week were driven into the *calaveras* or slaughter-pen. Often fifty to one hundred beeves were slaughtered and of course this entailed a great deal of labor. Indians were accordingly trained as butchers, many of whom, becoming expert, were in demand on the private ranchos. The tallow was preserved for candle-making, the fat for soap-making, while the

² The first seed potatoes were given to the padres of Mission San Carlos by the French traveller, Lapérouse, in 1786. He had obtained these potatoes during his visit to Chile.



MISSION SANTA BÁRBARA. FRONT CORRIDOR



MISSION SANTA BÁRBARA, OLD STONE LAUNDRY BASIN



Courtesy of Architectural Book Pub. Co., New York

MISSION SAN FERNANDO REY DE ESPAÑA. CORRIDOR

hides were carefully tanned for home use or for export upon the trading-vessels that visited the coast.

The Indians taught the padres the method of "jerking" or drying beef. This permitted the storage, and use at a future time, of the surplus meat. Often the bleached skulls, with their long curved horns, were collected and built into the top of the adobe garden and corral walls, thus presenting an almost impassable barricade to the thief who would scale the wall. The hides were used in the making of clothing, the construction of hammocks, beds, curtains for doors and windows, especially in the wet winter months, and, in the absence of iron and bolts, for holding together the structural timbers.

If each mission was at once a great grain and fruit farm and a great cattle ranch, it was likewise a great manufactory, and the Indians who were not employed in preparing the ground and raising grain, with irrigating, pruning orchards, and picking fruit, were kept busy utilizing the products of orchard, field, and cattle range for the good of the whole community. The weaving of cloth and blankets³ from wool, cotton, and flax occupied many of the workers, and the looms of San Juan Capistrano, San Gabriel, San Francisco, and Santa Bárbara became famous. The Indians learned to dye their fabrics and the splints of wood or reed used in basket-making, and to color lime whitewash, thus making a distemper paint which they used to form conventional decorations upon the interior walls of the churches.

Many of the women were occupied with the preparation of wheat and corn-meal. In the early days, the conversion of the grain into meal was accomplished after the aboriginal fashion in stone metates (mortars). When the Lapérouse expedition visited California in 1786, M. de Langle presented to the padres of Mission San Carlos an iron hand-mill for grinding the grain. The padres, however, were looking forward to the time when stone mills, like those of Mexico and Spain, could be operated by horse-power or water-wheel. Early in the nineteenth century, water-power flour-mills began to be built, those at Santa Cruz, San Luis Obispo, San José, Santa Bárbara, and San Gabriel being well developed.

³ No blankets were imported for the missions after 1797.

The men were taught to quarry stone, burn lime, make sun-dried and burned bricks, and burned roofing-tiles. They were also taught the rudiments of lumbering, the felling of trees and the hewing out of the timbers. In addition to the timbers needed for the buildings, the lumber used for the making of furniture, carts, wine-vats, and for other purposes, was prepared by them. The Indians often developed into good carpenters and wood-carvers, making the confessionals, altars, pulpits, and other church furniture, as well as tables, benches, chairs, cupboards, and chests used in other parts of the missions.

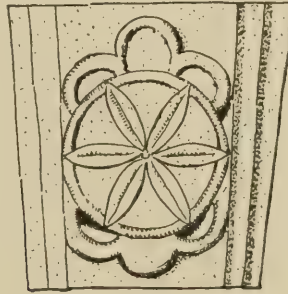
Some of the men became blacksmiths, the neophytes of San Fernando Rey becoming famous for their work in iron. The museum of mission relics in Exposition Park, Los Angeles, contains many examples of wrought iron, farm implements, locks, keys, hinges, spurs, scissors, cattle-brands, and bells. Some delicate and beautiful wrought iron still remains upon the "monastery" building at San Fernando, where a number of the fine old iron grilles are still to be seen. In addition to the mechanical skill apparent in these relics, considerable artistic excellence is displayed.

The leather-work of the men, braided, carved, or polished, was excellent and, in skill and beauty of execution, rivalled that of their teachers who were sent from Mexico. The Indian displayed singular ability, not only in tanning the leather, but also in fashioning it into saddles, bridles, stirrups, belts, and gloves, and applying appropriate designs to these articles.

Most of the training was given to the Indians by the priests themselves or by members of the escolta versed in some particular trade or craft. However, the government made an effort to send artisans into the country, and by 1792 these began to make their appearance. These craftsmen were distributed among the missions or travelled from one mission to another, teaching the Indians as they went. This training produced many good native artisans, with the result that, by 1800, the padres were practically independent so far as training in the ordinary industries was concerned. Should the padres need expert stone-carvers or master masons, however, these had to be brought from Mexico.

Although the Indian seemed capable of learning the various

handcrafts and trades, he was unable to master book-learning. With few books and few facilities for teaching, the padres could turn their attention to but a few of the most intelligent of the boys. These were taught to read and write and do simple arithmetical problems. Among many of the Indians there was manifest a natural musical ability, and this the padres developed both vocally and instrumentally, with the result that many of the churches became famous for their singing. On the whole, however, the education was almost entirely of a religious nature, and perhaps rightly so. The padres held that, even if the Indians were capable of amassing an education, in the sense that we understand the term, they would only become dissatisfied with and refuse to do honest manual labor. Hard work the padres considered the road to right living. If they could be made honest, God-fearing, self-respecting, and self-supporting citizens, this was as much as could be expected from the bulk of these simple children.



A Keystone from San Juan Capistrano

CHAPTER VI

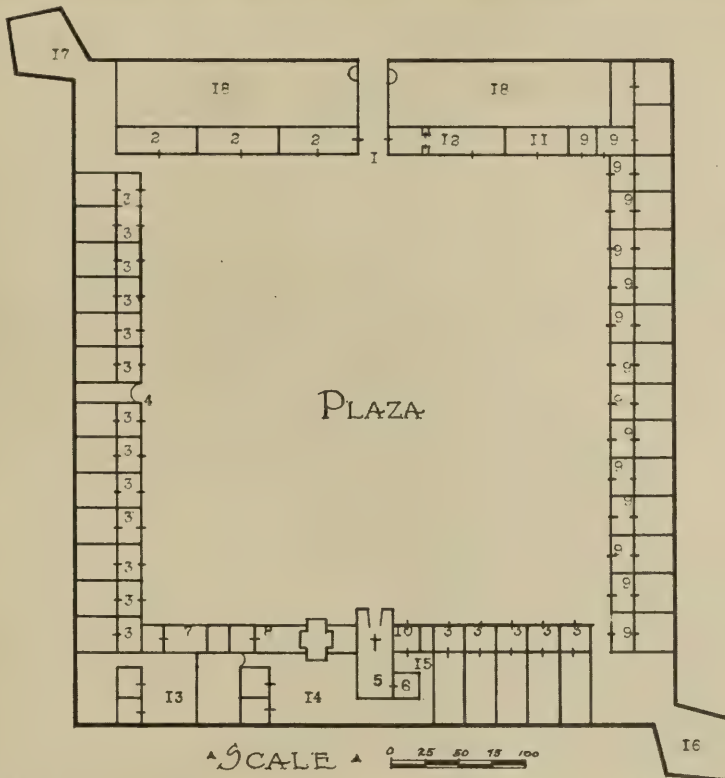
LIFE IN THE PROVINCE—SECULAR

IF THE mission was to be of only temporary existence, an accessory to permanent government, plans were necessary for permanent colonial development. This was to be accomplished by two further institutions, the presidio or fort and the pueblo or town.

The presidio as a Spanish institution bears some relation to the antecedent Roman institution, the *presidium*. The sole purpose of the presidio was, of course, to hold the country in the name of the Spanish monarch and to protect it. The presidios were to furnish guards for the various missions, and to this end every mission had its guard-house and accommodations for the soldiers.

That the number of soldiers in Alta California at any one time was insufficient to guard so long a coast-line and at the same time protect the country against Indian attacks, goes without saying. In 1780, after ten years of occupation, the total military force in the three presidios numbered only eighty men. The business of this small force was to protect the missions, eight in number, containing sixteen friars and three thousand converted Indians, scattered along a trail over five hundred miles in length, one pueblo of twenty settlers, a population of five hundred mixed Spanish and half-breeds, and guard the coast-line from foreign invasion; a task manifestly impossible. In 1781 Governor Neve increased the presidial force to two hundred men, and as time went on the number was further increased, but either indifference in Mexico or lack of appreciation of the situation in Spain operated to keep down the number of soldiers available for Californian service, and, at the same time, failed to provide either decent housing or adequate ordnance to make effective the number of men that had been sent. Moreover, the pay was irregular, if forthcoming at all, and the soldiers were required to act as farmers, vaqueros, and artisans as well, with no increase in the pay, which was miserably low.

That the housing and defensive structures were anything but satisfactory may be gained from a report made by engineer



PLAN OF SANTA BÁRBARA PRESIDIO 1788.

- | | | |
|-----------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1-Main Entrance | 7-Alferez' Suite | 13-Alferez' Corrales, Kitchen |
| 2-Storehouses | 8-Commandant's Suite | 14-Commandant's " |
| 3-Family Houses | 9-Family Houses | 15-Chaplain's Corral |
| 4-False Gate | 10-Chaplain's Suite | 16-Western Bastion |
| 5-Church | 11-Sergeant's House | 17-Eastern " |
| 6-Sacristy | 12-Guard Room and Quarters | 18-Corrales |

This is the plan of the Presidio sent by Commandant Goycochea to Governor Fages in 1788.

Córdoba upon the status of the San Diego Presidio defences in 1796, in which he says that he found "no other merit than that the enemy would perhaps be ignorant of their weakness."

An idea of the presidial arrangement may be obtained from the accompanying plan of Santa Bárbara Presidio (p. 65) made in 1788 by Commandant Goycochea in a report to Governor Fages. That Santa Bárbara Presidio was far ahead of the other California posts in point of material welfare is to be gained from the account of Vancouver, the English traveller who visited the place in November, 1793. He says that the place presented an "appearance far more civilized" than any other of the Spanish establishments exhibited. The buildings appeared regular and well constructed, the walls clean and white, and the roofs of the houses were covered with a bright red tile. "The presidio," quoting further, "excels all others in neatness, cleanliness, and other smaller though essential comforts; it is placed upon an elevated part of the plain and is raised some feet from the ground by a basement story, which adds much to its pleasantness."

The regular term of enlistment for California soldiers was ten years, but a term of at least eighteen years of service was required for retirement. Many of the soldiers, as time went on, withdrew from the service and were granted land, thus establishing estates that in subsequent days took on great values. Many of the best Spanish-Californian families of a later period found their beginnings in these very soldiers of old Spain.

The story of the pueblos is different. The early moral tone of society in the pueblos was of very doubtful quality. This was due largely to the colonial policy of Spain, a policy which considered the direct and immediate advantage that would accrue to the crown and homeland rather than the welfare of the colonists. Title to colonial possessions was vested in the crown, which was above the interference of the Córtes, the representative element in Spanish government. The early colonists were given only temporary titles to the land, could not mortgage nor transfer occupancy without the King's consent, and were treated more as tenants than as free citizens of a great monarch. Foreigners could not enter the colonies without passport, and residence therein was restricted to the aborigines and Spanish

subjects. Such conditions would scarcely encourage citizens of the best class to come to California, and, as a result, much of the riffraff of Mexico and the peninsula became the pioneer material of Alta California.

When Governor Filipe de Neve became the chief executive in 1776, the absence of settlers struck him very forcibly and he recommended to the Viceroy that colonists be sent in to till the soil and begin the formation of the pueblos, which were a part of the colonization scheme. The sites recommended were those that became eventually Los Angeles and San José.

The pueblo of San José de Guadalupe was established in November, 1777, on the eastern bank of the Guadalupe River, about three-quarters of a league southeast of Mission Santa Clara. The population was made up of sixty-six colonists, nine retired soldiers of the Monterey and San Francisco presidios, together with their families, and a few others. The Governor, however, seems to have been displeased with the showing that the ex-soldiers made at San José, for, in 1781, when he proposed the establishment of pueblo Los Angeles, he asked De Croix to send as colonists agricultural people from Mexico. The most liberal inducements were made, including advancements of cash, provisions, stock, and implements, in addition to land, but, after a year's search, Captain Rivera, the official entrusted with forming the emigration party, sent to Los Angeles a motley crowd of low types containing two Spaniards, one mestizo,¹ two negroes, eight mulatto and nine Indian adults, and children of every conceivable mixture of these bloods. Within two months after the arrival, one of the Spaniards and the two negroes were expelled because they were of "no use to the pueblo or themselves."

The pueblo of Branciforte, on the site of the modern Santa Cruz, was of scarcely better beginnings, and Bancroft² remarks that the moral tone of the town still suffers from its early population. The policy of dumping convicts wholesale upon California appears to have been instituted in 1798 and to have continued until as late as 1834. This was a course not calculated to raise the moral tone of California and a procedure very much

¹ A mestizo is a Spanish-Indian half-breed.

² Bancroft: *California Pastoral*; 253.

resented by the better class of citizens who by this time began to make their way into the country. This, then, was the material with which early California was peopled, and theirs the influence that the padres had constantly to combat.

The giving of a few private land-grants between 1781 and 1822, the date when California passed from Spanish sovereignty, encouraged a few families of the better class to enter the country, but by far the greater influx took place after 1822, or between 1822 and 1848. With the coming of numbers of women into California about 1834, the civil life of the province, so poorly begun, took on a much higher tone. These latter days comprise the charming, romantic period of Californian history, the period of great days at San Diego and Monterey, the period of the fandango and cascarone balls, the guitar and the serenade, the time to which every mind turns when the old days of California are recalled.

It was an age of hospitality. John Bidwell and Guadalupe Vallejo in their writings have given good pictures of the life of the period. "The people," says Bidwell, "had a custom of never charging for anything; that is to say, for entertainment, food, use of horses, etc." It was the custom for one travelling through the country to carry his own blankets, even if he were invited to visit a friend, and one always carried a knife to cut his own meat.

The fare on the ranchos, as in the pueblos, consisted largely of meat, beef and mutton being abundant, although beans and other legumes were plentiful. Few other vegetables were raised or eaten, and the intense meat diet has been used to account for the robust, ruddy type of men and women developed in the open air of the coast during these days. Fruits were relished, but the supply came principally from the mission gardens and orchards, few fruits being raised upon the ranchos. There were no hotels in the country before 1846, the ranch-houses, haciendas,³ and missions serving that purpose.

The method of locomotion was by means of the saddle. It used to be said that a Californian would not do anything that he

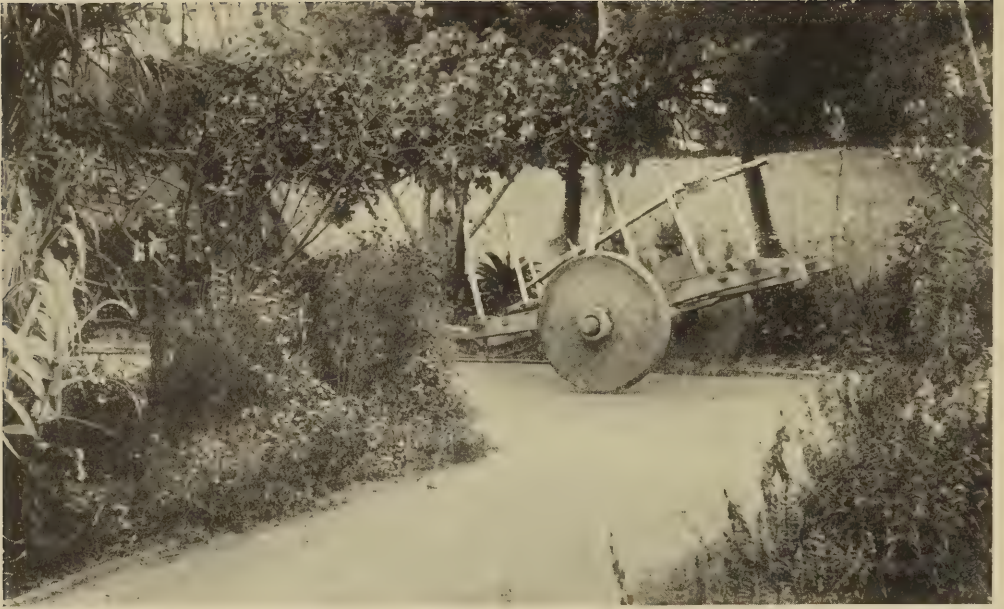
³ Rancho was applied to a stock-raising farm, while a hacienda was an agricultural plantation.

could not accomplish from the saddle. There were few carriages in the country and very few horses were broken to harness, men and women alike riding horseback. Naturally there were many expert riders, and the first accomplishment of every Spanish-Californian lad was to become an adept at riding. Fine horse-flesh was appreciated and great pride taken in the saddle, trappings, and habit. Horse-racing and varieties of trick riding were often features of a Sunday afternoon's sport, and the best rider in the community was likely to be a very popular person.

The only vehicle in the country was the clumsy ox-drawn *carreta*. Without skilled wheelwrights in the province, the simplest type of wheel was employed. These wheels were made from slabs sawn from the trunk of a tree, which, bored at the centre, were adjusted to an axle to which was attached a pole. Upon this structure was built a platform around which a railing was erected. The only lubricant used upon these squeaking *carretas* was soft soap, and, since there was no receptacle upon the axle for retaining the lubricant, we may guess that the dry, dusty trails of California made necessary a frequent replenishing.

As at the missions, sheep and cattle raising was the principal industry of most of the civilians, and one for which the Californians were well suited both in habits and disposition. It was an industry that could be carried on with little exertion and entailed nothing of the drudgery that attended agricultural callings. The cattle, branded with the mark of the owner, ranged over the land, which was not fenced, and were rounded up once a year, when the increase was branded and the herd counted. This annual "round-up," called the "rodeo," was always a festive occasion. After the branding and stock-taking were over, there followed the barbecue and riding sports with which the day ended, wives, sisters, and sweethearts coming to make the event joyous and gay.

The cattle were raised, of course, principally for the hides, there being little market for the meat. The hides and tallow were sold to traders, principally from New England, who, coming around Cape Horn, visited the coast, bringing shoes, calicoes, blankets, cheap jewelry, rum, implements, and other supplies. Dana, in his "Two Years Before the Mast," sets forth the story



OLD SPANISH CARRETA "OLD TOWN," SAN DIEGO



ROOF OF OLD SPANISH TILES, MISSION SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO

of a visit to the California Coast of one of these Yankee trading-vessels.

Whenever a vessel put into a port, there was great rejoicing on land and the rancheros and vaqueros from the back country, as well as the coast people, would flock into the pueblos, bringing hides and tallow to exchange for the things that the Yankee had to sell. Sometimes the cattle were rounded up by the vaqueros, driven to the beach near the ship, and there slaughtered and skinned, the hides being salted, and the tallow tried out in kettles, brought down for the purpose, and cast in holes scooped out in the sand.

Dancing has always been a passion with the Spanish, and, in an out-of-the-way place like California, with few amusements, the dance had a large part in the frivolities of the people. The carnival ball was always a gala occasion. For an event of this kind the guests came for miles on horseback, starting the day previous if need be. Often the guests carried "cascarones" (egg-shells filled with finely cut gold and silver paper), vials of colored liquids, or powdered pigments. It was a part of the game to ride near another and break a cascarone upon his head or stain his face with the liquid or powder without getting the same thing in return. This carnival spirit, with indoor variations, continued after the arrival at the house of the host and hostess, was calculated to put the party into a hilarious frame of mind. Often the older members of the party carried vials of perfume to be showered upon the ladies and vials of scented ammonia to be sprinkled as freely upon the gentlemen. As soon as the guests arrived the dancing began. This was interrupted by an elaborate banquet, which, served about sundown, was followed by the main ball, a very courtly and dignified affair, which often lasted all night. The annual carnival ball in any community was always a great social event.

The Californians were always fond of out-of-door sports, a love for which such a climate and life in the open naturally engenders. The main sports were horse-racing, cock-fighting, bull-and-bear fights, and of course the bull-fights, after the fashion of the sport of Spain. The bull-and-bear fight was a con-

test between the animals, which were tied together in such a way that they soon fell to fighting.

Life in the province was a happy and care-free existence. Some one has said that the most serious business of the population consisted in passing the time pleasantly and joyously. In an atmosphere such as this, it will be seen that intercourse between the mission neophytes and the civil population would mean only trouble for the padres. Although the Spanish Californians had many admirable qualities, they had also numerous faults, and the Indian neophyte, in characteristic savage fashion, seemed invariably to appropriate the faults. That morals were lax, that there was much that was crude and revolting, even during the best Hispano-Californian days, can scarcely be denied. Yet, on the whole, it may be said with truth that, after the coming of women into the province, the general tone, morally and otherwise, was scarcely lower than that which generally obtains in pioneer communities.



A Spanish-Californian Señorita

PART II
THE OLD MISSIONS

CHAPTER VII

MATERIALS AND CONSTRUCTION

ALTHOUGH California as an American state has within her boundaries vast resources in the way of building materials, the California of Spanish days had a comparatively meagre supply of good building material. Especially was this true of stone of durable quality, and in the south, of wood also. In the case of stone the supply for some of the missions had to be brought from a distance. Usually, however, the stones used were those nearest the site of the proposed structure, and consisted of granite boulders, taken from the washes, volcanic stones from the near-by foot-hills, chalkstone, limestone, and sandstone. As a general thing, the stones employed would not be considered worthy of use today in the better class of structures, but protected with stucco, as they usually were, these stones have served their purpose well.

Clay is available at almost any point along the coast and was used for making brick, roofing-tiles, drains, and ollas (jugs). Most of the bricks were of a red color, rather soft but durable. They were used for all purposes to which we would put brick today; for walls, arches, piers, and chimneys, and, since no wooden floors were used, for pavements of the cloisters, courts, and rooms as well. There were various forms, but the ordinary brick was flat, being about $1\frac{1}{2}$ " to 2" thick, and about 10" x 10" square, thus resembling the Spanish and Mexican variety.

Adobe, a material widely distributed in California and the Southwest, was largely employed during the mission period. It is a material that, used with judgment, will endure for many years. It was fashioned into sun-dried bricks, which were made sometimes with straw as a bond, but more often depended upon the natural grog of fine particles of disintegrated rock. Bricks of this sun-dried variety, laid up with mud as an adhesive, have been employed from early antiquity down to our own day, their use in Spain dating from the conquest of the Moors. The idea was carried into Mexico and California, and adobe, being easily obtainable, became a popular material throughout the province. Of course the padres knew perfectly well that walls made of

adobe must be protected from the elements, hence such walls were covered with stucco. Roofs were given a wide projection in order to ward off the intense sunshine and protect the adobe walls from the weather.

Lime was made either by burning limestone, which, although not of the best quality, was obtainable, or by burning sea-shells, of which there was a never-failing supply. Since all wall surfaces, inside and out, were kept whitewashed, lime was necessary at all times, and it is to be guessed that the burning of sea-shells furnished the greater part of this.

Wood as a building material was plentiful in the north, but scarce in the south. In the region around San Francisco Bay, the redwood (*Sequoia sempervirens*) was especially plentiful, the forests of this tree in the vicinity of Mt. Tamalpais furnishing the timbers for Missions San Francisco and Santa Clara and for the old Presidio. In Mill Valley today can be seen the stumps of enormous trees, cut at this time, with a second growth towering toward the sky.

Near Monterey¹ was to be found the Monterey cypress (*Cupresses macrocarpa*), a tree which does not occur outside of California. This species, popular during mission days, was so thoroughly drawn upon that the present survivors occupy a territory only two miles long and some two hundred feet wide, extending from Cypress Point to the shores of Carmel Bay, with a small grove on Point Lobos. The wood is heavy, strong, hard, and durable.

Monterey pine (*Pinus radiata*), which occurs in the Monterey Bay section and on the islands near by, notably Santa Rosa and Santa Cruz, was, no doubt, a source of supply for Mission San Carlos. We are told by Bancroft that Captain Wilcox made a trip in the *Traveller* to Santa Cruz Islands for timbers for this church during the year 1817.²

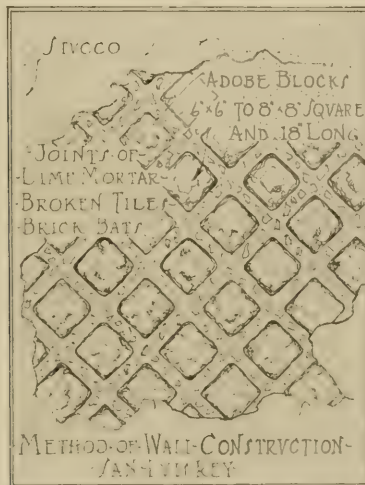
The nut or piñon pines (*Pinus quadrifolia* and *Pinus monophylla*) are very abundant in the mountains of Southern and Central California and were sometimes used for structural purposes. The edible nut of the tree was much used as a food by the

¹ Timber for use at the Presidio of San Diego was cut at Monterey in 1793. It was sent south upon the *Princesa*.

² Bancroft: *History of California*; II, 360.



ADOBE ARCH, MISSION SAN MIGUEL ARCÁNGEL





ANCIENT CHIMNEY OF TILES



DETAILS IN CHURCH, CUT-STONE



CORNER OF PATIO
MISSION SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO

Indians and was gathered by them as an article of diet in the lean years of the early mission period. Today, the piñon, a very rich, oily nut, is sold in the markets.

Oaks of several varieties (*Quercus agrifolia*, *Quercus lobota*, and others) are found in the foot-hills and valleys and were doubtless the source of material for furniture-making. The padres, it should be said, usually preferred the soft and straight-grained pines and cypresses, if they could be obtained. This is borne out by the fact that piñon pine was used at San Antonio de Padua although the mission was situated in "la Canada de los Robles" (oak-studded glen).

Sycamore (*Platanus racemosa*) was to be found throughout the southern portion of the mission chain and was used at San Juan Capistrano and San Luis Rey. Today gnarled and wide-spreading sycamores, among the most picturesque of California trees, are to be seen along the water-courses of Orange and San Diego Counties.

Tule (*Scippus lacustris*), and "cat-tail" (*Typha latifolia*) stems were largely used for thatch roofs in the early buildings. These reeds had been utilized by the Indians, and, due to their wide distribution, the padres found them an easy material to apply. Moreover, the natives were versed in the handling of them and could proceed without instruction. In the later buildings the dried reeds were used as laths and for the making of mats.

Something has been said of the materials at hand; it remains now to see how these materials were used. The first temporary quarters, hastily built, were little better than brush huts with grass-thatched roofs. These were built in the fashion of the Indians and never endured long. The earliest of the buildings that can really be considered habitations were constructed of wooden posts of pine or cypress, set close together and plastered inside and out with clay. After the clay had dried the walls were treated to a heavy coat of whitewash. Usually this type of structure, which might be called the "stockade" form, was roofed with poles over which twigs and grass were spread and upon these a layer of mud. The mud roofs were never successful in keeping out the heavy winter rains, so the Indian method of making a thatch of tule was next adopted. Thatch roofs were

very inflammable and several disastrous fires were experienced before the padres of San Luis Obispo, in 1790, began to make burned-clay roofing tiles like those used in Spain.

These tiles were almost semicircular in cross-section, about 22" long, and tapered from a diameter of 12" at the large end to a diameter of 8" at the small end. The padres followed the primitive custom of kneading or working the clay in pits under the hoofs of animals, then giving it time to ferment properly. The tiles were fashioned by making a pat of clay the correct thickness upon a flat board and then turning it over a half-round tapering "mould" of wood which was well sanded to prevent the clay from adhering. After the cake had been pressed around the "mould" it was trimmed along the edges, dried in the sun, and finally baked or fired in small kilns. Naturally the quality of the mission tiles varied with the clays of the different localities and with the processes of manufacture. Some specimens are very soft and irregular, while others appear as fine examples of craftsmanship.

Where wood was scarce, the making of sun-dried adobe bricks was early taken up. The second structure at most of the missions was of adobe. The adobe walls, due to the low bearing-power of the material, had to be very thick. Many examples are five and six feet in thickness and few are less than three feet. As soon, however, as a mission was strong and prosperous, the pride of the padre usually extended to an ambition to build a church in more lasting material, hence stone or burned bricks were employed.

There were some ingenious systems of construction evolved in order to make adobe of practical value, and no system is more ingenious than that used at San Luis Rey. The walls here are of adobe blocks 8" square and 24" long, which were laid in a diagonal pattern with heavy "concrete" joints between them. The "concrete" was composed of lime-and-sand mortar combined with stones and pieces of brick and tile. It is needless to say that the bond between a wall of this sort and the stucco plaster placed over it would be much stronger than if the plaster were applied to a plain adobe surface.

In many places the walls of adobe were faced with brick masonry and thus adequately protected. Frequently lintels of

stone or wood and arches of burned brick were used to span openings in the adobe walls. There are examples also of relieving arches of brick built into adobe walls above openings. It was generally necessary to span the opening itself with wood, stone, or brick, although at San Miguel an adobe arch in an adobe wall stood exposed to the elements for years with little apparent deterioration. Very frequently brick window or door frames were built into adobe walls in the same manner that stone openings are built into brick walls today. A good example of this type of work is to be found in the church at San Fernando.

The padres displayed a marked originality in the use of their simple, flat bricks and tiles, as the charming chimney of San Juan Capistrano and the latticed parapet at San Luis Rey will testify. The old chimney over the cocina (kitchen) at San Juan Capistrano is especially interesting for its craftsmanlike handling of common materials for the production of a picturesque and artistic result.

The introduction of stone completes the evolution. Thus we see that, in a few short years, the buildings passed through all the stages of pioneer development and use was made of all the materials from mud to brick and stone. The ambition to rear, even in the wilderness, a worthy temple to the living God was of course the motive behind this work, and, had the mission era lasted longer, it is safe to say that a vastly finer architecture would have resulted by virtue of the fact that these more stable and susceptible materials would have found a much wider use. The notable stone churches were those at Santa Bárbara, San Buena-ventura, San Juan Capistrano, San Carlos Borromeo, Presidio Chapel at Monterey, and San Gabriel. All of these are standing today with the exception of San Juan Capistrano, which was ruined by an earthquake.

The structural systems used in the mission period may be said to be of three kinds, namely: the post and lintel, the arch and pier, and the truss. Thus the padres used all of the constructive systems that, at their time, had been developed.

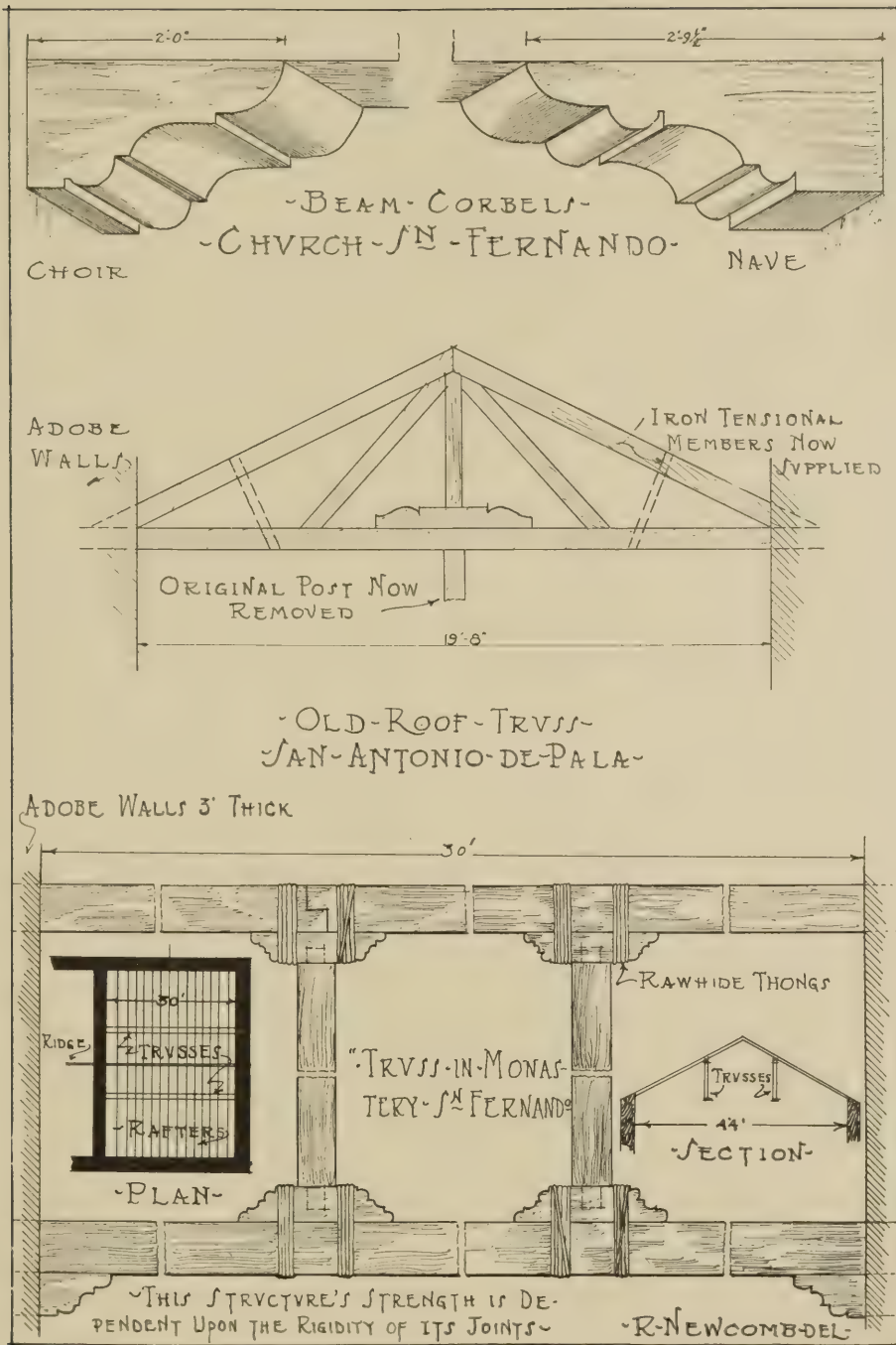
Truthfully speaking, there are to be found in the missions no real trusses, in the modern sense. Attempts are found here and there, but a full accomplishment was never attained, due either

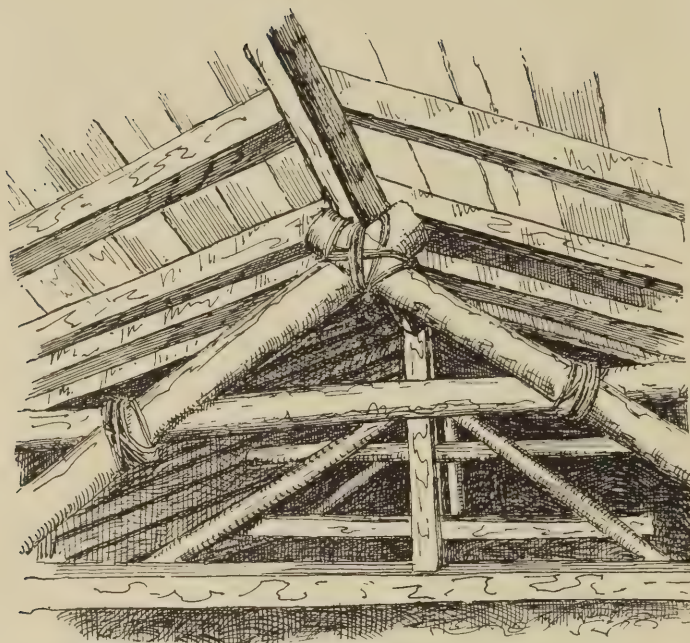
to the ignorance of the padres regarding the principles of truss construction or the scarcity of iron for tensional members. The churches were usually spanned with heavy beams, which often carried also the roofing timbers above. In order to reinforce these beams, heavy corbels were introduced at their ends. Thus it will be seen that the width of the church was always conditioned by the length of the timbers obtainable, and, as a consequence, long narrow naves resulted.

When "trusses" were introduced, they were usually poorly constructed, as was the case at Pala Chapel, where, the tensional members having been omitted, it was necessary to introduce a post at the centre to prevent failure when the full weight of the heavy tile roof became effective. The tensional members have been supplied in recent years and the posts removed, greatly improving the interior of the church. A very crude but nevertheless interesting type of roof is that of San Francisco de Asís, where rough timbers bound with rawhide thongs are fashioned into trusses. There is a simple but interesting "trussed beam" in the old "monastery" building at San Fernando which recalls the system of roof construction used in Japan, where the "trusses" are made of rectangular rather than of triangular panels and where the strength of the "truss" depends largely upon the rigidity of the joints. In the absence of iron this structure is held together with rawhide thongs.

There was one example of a roof carried upon stone arches, but this has long since disappeared. It was in the church of San Carlos Borromeo (Carmel). In this example the roof, which was of timbers and tile, was originally supported by three arches of stone which spanned the nave. The walls, which were reinforced upon the exterior by buttresses opposite the arches, were thickened at the top to reduce the span and to make a "more graceful" transition to the arches. This type of roof construction is unique in mission architecture and probably elsewhere.

A typical example of vault construction was the original roof of the church of San Gabriel. Here the nave was covered by a simple stone vault relieved by stone arches that sprang from the pilasters along the interior walls of the church and were abutted by the heavy buttresses of the exterior. This vault, if we

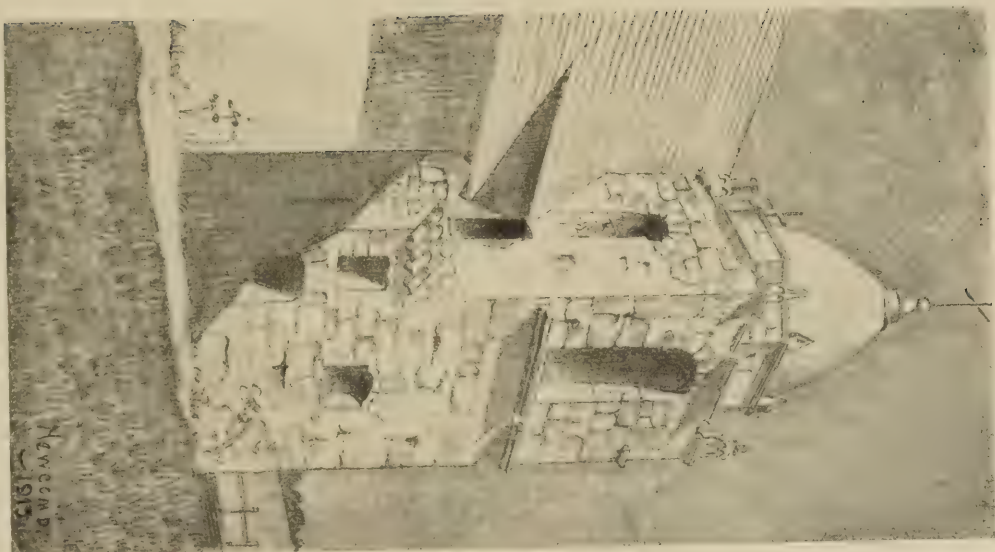




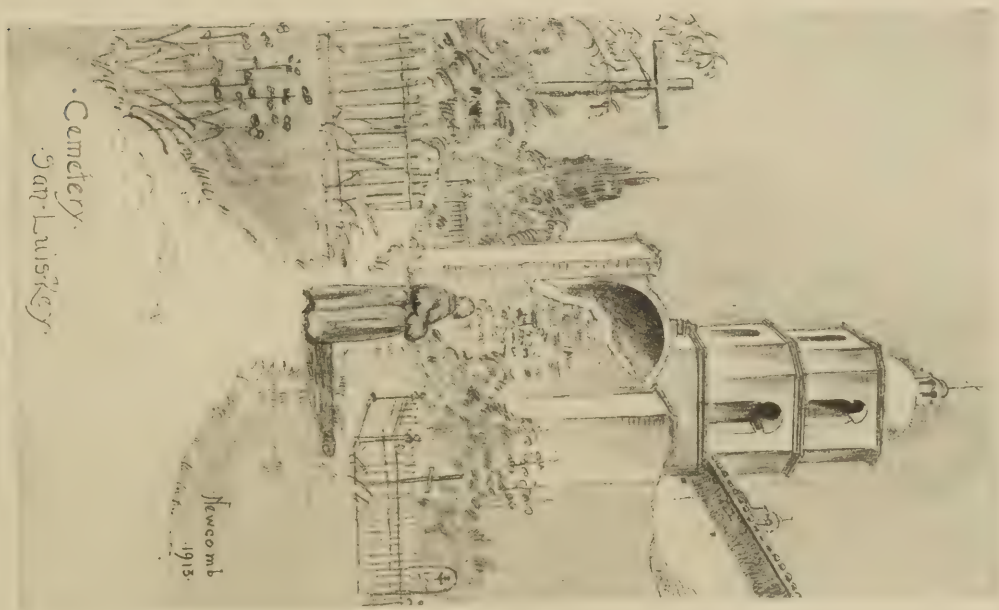
RUDE TRUSS, MISSION SAN FRANCISCO DE ASÍS, (DOLORES)



Interior of San Carlos Mission.



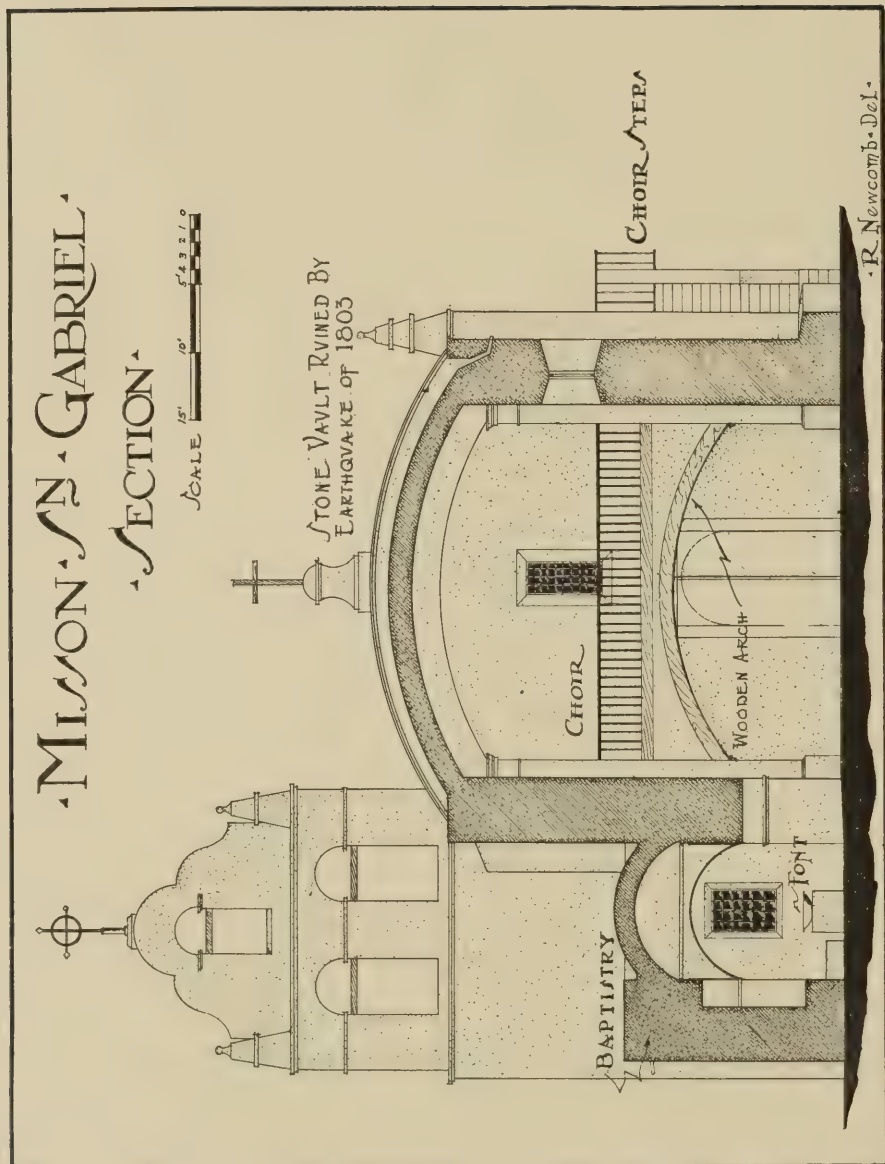
MISSION SAN CARLOS DE BORROMEO, CARMEL. THE TOWER



MISSION SAN LUIS REY. THE CEMETERY

Cemetery.
San Luis Rey

Jewcomb
1913



can judge from the segmental pediment at the west end of the church, was very low and hence was easily ruined by the "quake" of 1803, a disturbance which damaged many of the mission churches, and which here opened up such serious cracks in the vault that it had to be removed and a roof of timbers and tiles substituted. A better vault, so far as structural design is concerned, is that still standing over the sacristy of San Gabriel. It is of smaller span and of greater height and thus has withstood tremors more successfully.

There are several types of masonry domes (*bovedas*) in California, the chief examples being those of the stone church of San Juan Capistrano, where there were originally seven. Others still stand over the mortuary chapel at San Luis Rey and on the terraced towers of San Luis Rey, Santa Bárbara, San Buenaventura, and San Carlos. Domes in California varied in section from the low *bovedas* of San Juan Capistrano to the elongated egg-shaped dome of San Carlos, the plans varying from a circle to an octagon. A very interesting type of *boveda* is that called, because of its hemispherical shape, "*media naranja*" (half orange). A good example of this type is to be found upon the baptistry of Mission San Gabriel. It is distinctly oriental in form and is a new-world version of the pendentive domes of the Persian, Byzantine, and Moorish architects. Simple listels mark the intersection of surfaces between pendentives and walls and pendentives and dome.

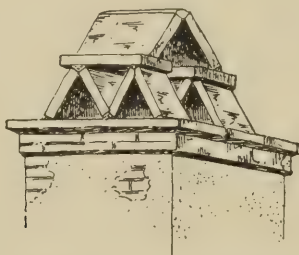
The architects of the mission structures were, as a rule, the *padres* themselves. In many cases the designer is known; thus we are indebted to Padre Antonio Peyri for the design of San Luis Rey, to Padre José Antonio de Murguía for the design of Santa Clara, to Padres Cruzado and Zalvidea for work at San Gabriel, and to Padre Ripoll for much of the work at Santa Bárbara. Of course, upon occasion, help was obtained from craftsmen among the soldiery and artisans sent into the province, but, since many of these men remained for short periods, the general conception of the work, the direction of the Indians, and, indeed, many of the details fell upon the shoulders of the *padres-in-charge*.

In view of the fact that these buildings were, in most cases,

erected by laymen, it seems wonderful that such charming results should have been obtained. Almost every padre in responsible charge of a mission was fired with an ambition to erect a fine edifice to the glory of God and as a monument to his zeal, and there was considerable rivalry, usually friendly to be sure, between the various missions, rivalry not only in the saving of souls, but also in the building of temporalities. We may guess with what enthusiasm a padre from this or that mission sought, in some particular respect, to outdistance his fellows, and with what pride he reported his victory at the annual meeting.

While the training of the padre was that of the priest rather than that of the architect, a great veneration for old sacred monuments was naturally instilled into priests trained in Spain and Mexico. And, coming into a new land, the memories of their boyhood and the desire to rear a fitting temple to God operated to make them dissatisfied with anything less than the best that could, under the circumstances, be had.

That there was little conscious striving after style can be said with perfect truth. The padres wrought in the fashion of their native land as nearly as that was possible in a pioneer country, with poor materials and poorer labor. That the resulting expression is simple, sane, and craftsmanlike can scarcely be gainsaid. It partakes of the naïve qualities of the most primitive architecture, and, by virtue of its frank, bold masses, its picturesque composition, and its simple, rhythmic forms, compels the admiration of layman, as well as architect, the world over.



Refectory Chimney, San Juan Capistrano

CHAPTER VIII

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MISSION ARCHITECTURE

IN TRACING the evolution of a style of architecture it is always necessary to examine its beginnings thoroughly. Ancestry counts for a great deal in art, as elsewhere, and the mission style of California, especially, had a long line of ancestry to influence it. It must not be thought from this statement, however, that every feature of mission architecture can be traced directly to European antecedents, for that is not true. The influence of the country, its geography, topography, and climate, have had perhaps as large a part in the development as had ancestry. But its ancestry is extremely important; therefore it will be necessary to inquire into the nature of its antecedents.

In order to make this inquiry we shall have first to consider the architecture of Spain; to trace briefly its development; to follow the style into Mexico and to discover the character of the transplanted style at the time that the California missions were erected. This study will serve, among other things, to show that, in the field of architecture, one may start with a specific set of elements and in the course of a few years come out with an entirely different set of characteristics.

From the earliest times, the Iberian Peninsula was subject to invasion by the oncoming peoples from the East. The original Iberians were conquered by the Romans, the Romans by the Visi-Goths, the Visi-Goths by the Moors, and the Moors, in turn, by the combined forces that they had driven northward in their advance. Thus we see that Spain has been overrun by peoples of various origins, institutions, and standards, each contributing to that cosmopolitan civilization which we have for centuries called Spanish.

Ancient Iberic art is represented in the "cyclopean" walls that appear in various parts of Spain, as at Gerona and Tarragona. These attempts were on a parallel with those masonry constructions of the pre-Hellenic peoples of Greece and the early peoples of Italy. The race really never developed a nationality or a culture.

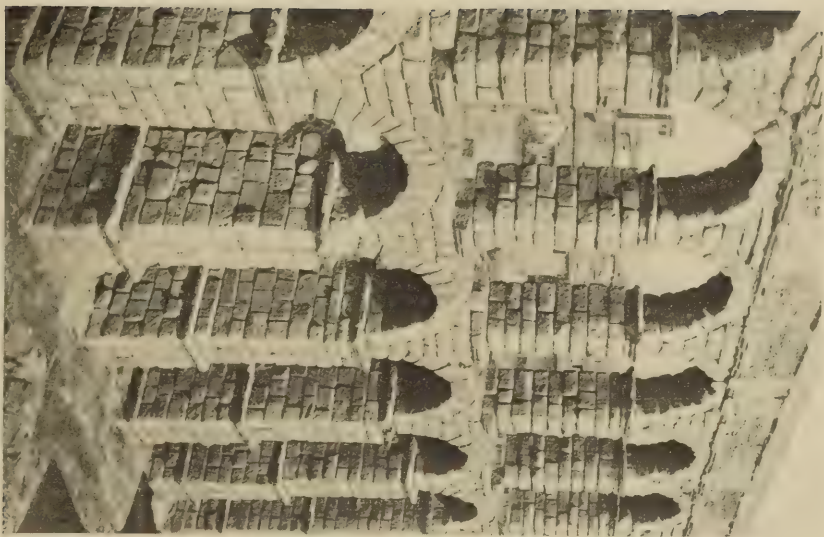
The remains of Roman monuments of Spain are among the

finest found in any province. Hispania is said to have become in a short time one of the "most Roman of the Roman colonies," and Spanish soldiers and emperors of Hispanic origin travelled the known world defending the Empire. The aqueduct at Segovia and the bridges at Mérida, Alcántara, Salamanca, and other places are examples of Roman structural prowess. Roman influence cannot be overestimated, for Roman culture served as the whole basis of subsequent Spanish civilization. The arch-and-pier system of construction, the use of conglomerate walls, of round arches and classic details, are striking evidences of Roman domination and serve to give Spanish architecture its whole *Romantic* basis.

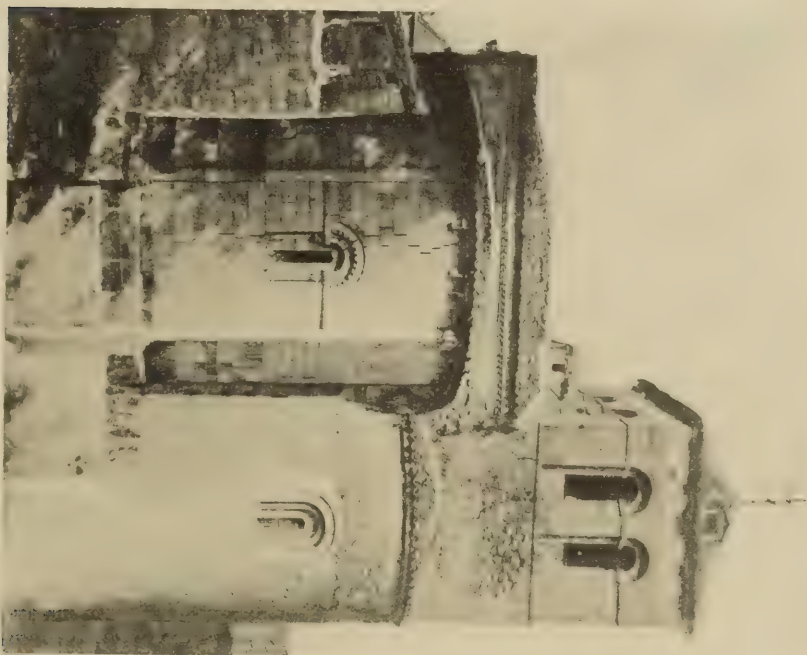
The Visi-Goths were primarily a race of warriors and held the arts of civilization in contempt. They adopted Roman culture in a measure, however, and appropriated Roman luxuries, but failed to create anew to fit their needs or wishes. Thus we see that the Visi-Goths contributed little, if anything, to the progress of architecture in the peninsula.

The influence of the Moors upon the culture of the Iberian Peninsula was also very great. Coming into the country in 711 and holding ground in Spain for nearly eight hundred years, their influence upon the architecture and arts of the country was of undoubted magnitude. The influence of their work, which is to be seen at its best in their strongholds in the south of Spain, reached, at places, far into the north, a fact due, no doubt, to the superior education and ability of the Moorish workmen, who were frequently employed by the Christians. The influence of the Moors is to be traced in practically every style of Spain subsequent to their appearance in the peninsula, and it is to their influence that the Spanish owe that tinge of the oriental so characteristic of their art.

The Moors were in no sense constructors; they were decorators. Consequently they appropriated the constructive principles of the peoples whom they subjugated. They had little taste for engineering as applied to architecture and therefore did not value the construction except in so far as it made possible the erection of fields for decoration. Hence they built only lightly constructed walls, just stable enough to serve their purpose as



ANCIENT ROMAN AQUEDUCT, SEGOVIA, SPAIN
 "ROMANTIC, ROUND, RHYTHMIC ARCHES"



CHURCH OF SAN NICHOLAS, SEGOVIA, SPAIN

grounds for that decoration. They lavished their ornamentation upon the interior of the building and left the exterior walls bare and blank except around the openings. Their walls were, like Roman walls, a "conglomerate," not veneered with marble, as had been the Roman walls, but covered with stucco or plaster. Their arches and domes were derived from the Byzantine and Sassanian architectures of the east and their decorative motifs came largely from Persia, Syria, and Byzantium. Thus the Moors came into Spain bringing a cosmopolitan architectural decorative system, and, finding the Roman remains and the crude structures of the Visi-Goths, grafted their art upon what they found. The result was the Moorish or Saracenic art of Spain.

After the victory of Alfonso VI. at Toledo in 1085 assured the territory north of the Tagus River of peace from Moorish domination, the Castilian cities grew very rapidly, and Alfonso, having married in turn four French women, imported French architect-monks with them to build churches in these thriving cities. Thus the Romanesque was introduced from France. The style did not differ greatly from the French Romanesque, as it might have done had it been executed by Castilian workmen, and appears to have been, so to speak, the transplanted handiwork of French architects executed by French workmen to please French queens. The style lasted through the twelfth century, but gave way to the Gothic, which flourished under Ferdinand and Isabella, and, in Spain, is called the "Gothic of the Catholic Kings."

Although the Gothic of Spain is not distinctly Spanish, it is in the Gothic that we first sense the awakening of a real national expression. It was introduced from the north, as had been the short-lived Romanesque, but its importation was not due, in the beginning, to royal patronage, as had been true of the Romanesque, but to the fact that the style was early championed by the Cistercian Order, the architect-monks of which organization introduced it from Burgundy. Thus in the north of Spain we see the two great medieval styles—the Romanesque and the Gothic—flourishing contemporaneously with the Moorish of the south.

In spirit the Spanish Gothic followed the French Gothic, which was at its highest point of development and popularity at

the time. The great cathedrals of Toledo and Burgos, begun between 1220 and 1230 and continued during the period, were strikingly French in plan. As the Gothic in Spain grew older, however, it grew more decorative and ornate, lost much of its French flavor and took on a certain cosmopolitanism, due to various exotic influences that were making themselves felt in Spain of that day. Thus Burgos Cathedral as it stands today, with its cimborio and tracery towers, exhibits German, French, and English characteristics.

Spanish Gothic gained a new impetus after the victories of Ferdinand and Isabella over the Moors. The spirit of exultation, brought about by the successful campaigns and the accession of wealth, fostered a rapid development of architecture. But it will not be necessary to trace the intricate changes in the Gothic. The later Gothic monuments, modified as they were by Moorish decorative influences, became much more florid than the Gothic of any other country during the flamboyant period. The decoration was less constructive in character and more fanciful and arbitrary than elsewhere, "but," says Hamlin,¹ "this very rejection of all constructive pretence gives it a peculiar charm and goes far to excuse its extravagance." The arcades of the patios "were formed with arches of fantastic curves, resting on twisted columns," while the walls "were covered with minute carving of exquisite workmanship, but wholly irrational design." San Gregorio and San Pablo at Valladolid are typical examples of this period.

The ornate Gothic-Moresque met for a time the requirements of the luxurious and triumphant period which followed the complete overthrow of the Moors and the discovery of the new world. But, due to the employment of the Dutch and Flemish artists, the Renaissance style was introduced during the prosperous period of exploration and discovery. The importation of precious metals from the new world gave the arts of jewelry and silversmithing a new impulse and they dominated all the other arts. The buildings took on an over-ornate appearance, due to the minute, detailed, and sumptuous decoration, and hence the work of the period is usually referred to as the Plateresque

¹ Hamlin: *History of Architecture* (New Edition Revised); 262.

(from platero = silversmith). The classic elements of Italy, arriving by way of the low countries, were soon mixed with the Gothic-Moresque details, giving us a style characterized by: surface decoration covering broad areas, elaborate openings, decorative pilasters, broken pediments and entablatures.

The early Plateresque lasted from 1500 to 1556, but was followed by a reaction led by Herrera and Berruguete, who proposed to return to classic purity. How well Herrera succeeded may be judged from his Escorial. This reaction lasted until 1680, when it was followed by that most outlandish of all Renaissance styles, the Churrigueresque, named for Churriguera, the champion of the vogue. This style admittedly disregarded all architectural canons and plunged into a debauch of "unrefined fancy and debased taste." It prevailed until the coming of the Italian designers of the latter half of the eighteenth century marked a second tendency toward classical purity and correctness.

This, then, is the ancestry of the style of architecture that was introduced into America with the coming of the Spaniards into Mexico. It will be seen that Spain possessed a style less pure than those found in other countries. Her architecture, like her people, was cosmopolitan. When the Spaniards came into Mexico, they began to build in the fashion of their native land. Prescott² relates that, within four years after the destruction of the pagan city of Mexico by Cortés, a new Spanish city had arisen upon its ruins.

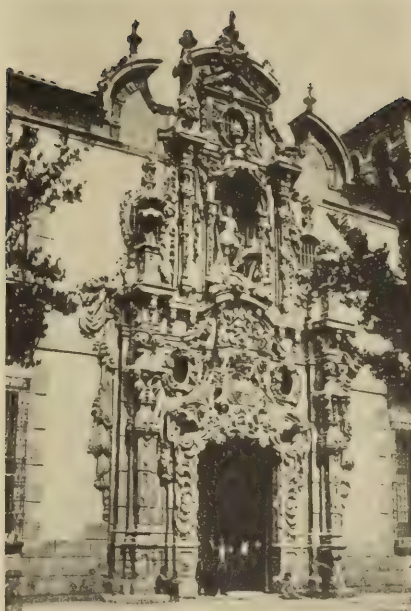
Of course a great change took place in the architectural style. The new buildings were erected upon a plan better accommodated to European habits and taste. They were built of stone rather than of adobe, as we might expect in a pioneer country, and combined with elegance a solid strength that made them defences as well as residences. Prescott³ further relates that a missionary exclaimed twenty years after the conquest that "Europe could not boast a single city so fair and opulent as Mexico!" Thus we see that, at first, little of the Aztec architecture was appropriated, but that Spanish forms directly succeeded the native, and thus the Spanish-Colonial of Mexico, so far as general form and ensemble are concerned, always remained truly Spanish.

² Prescott: *Conquest of Mexico*; III, 239, 240.

³ Prescott: *Op. cit.*; III, 242.



COURTYARD, ESCORIAL, NEAR
MADRID, SPAIN



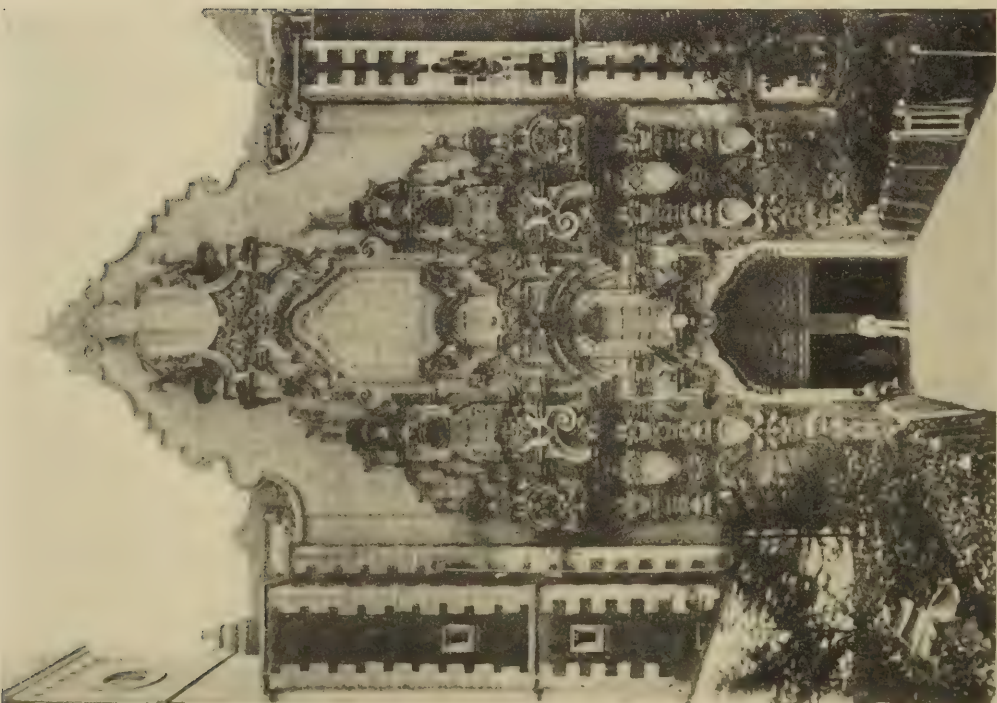
DOORWAY, PROVINCIAL HOSPITAL,
MADRID, SPAIN



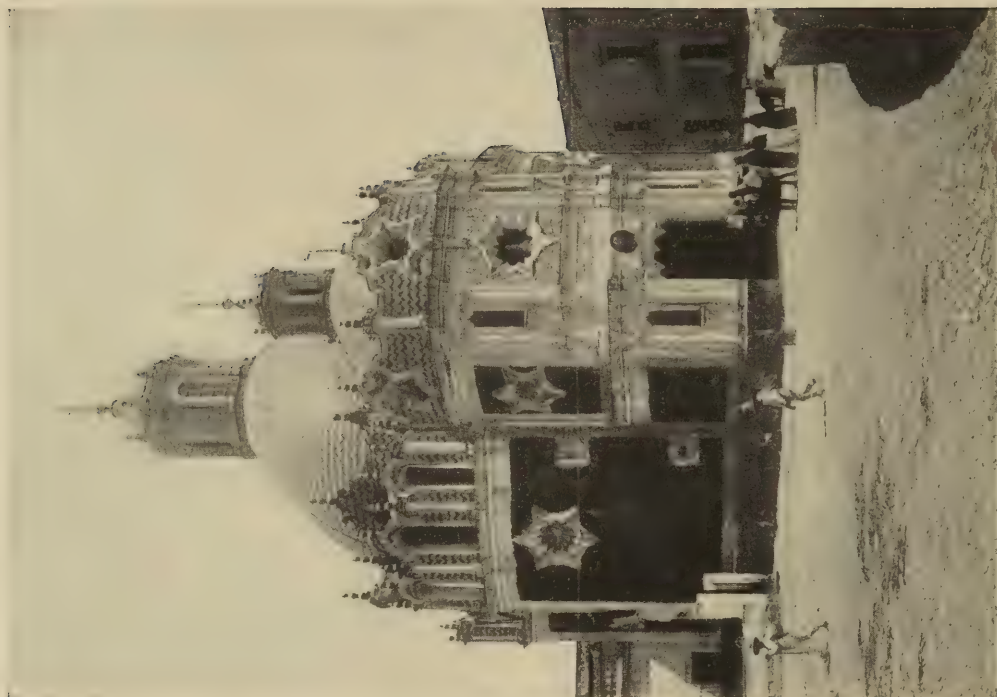
CHURCH OF SAN CAJETAN, SARAGOSSA,
SPAIN



FLYING BUTTRESS AND DOME, CATHEDRAL OF
MEXICO CITY



BALVANERA CHAPEL, CHURCH OF SAN FRANCISCO, MEXICO CITY. FACHADA



HOLY WALL, GUADALUPE, MEXICO



THE CATHEDRAL. CITY OF MEXICO



MISSION SAN JOSÉ DE AGUAYO, SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS



MISSION SAN XAVIER DEL BAC, NEAR TUCSON, ARIZONA. FACHADA

As time progressed, however, there was a reaction against the strictly Spanish and a tendency in favor of a Spanish-Mexican vernacular, and, consequently, a great deal of what might be described as "barbaric splendor" found its way into the architecture of New Spain. This change was due, of course, to the gradual training of native artisans and was most noticeable in the decorative phases of the buildings. Colonial architecture is usually simpler in form and detail than the architecture of the homeland, and, indeed, this might have been expected in Mexico. This, however, was not true. The Spanish-Colonial of Mexico was one of the most elaborate of styles, the buildings often transcending in richness of form and detail the monuments of old Spain.

The Spanish-Colonial had one merit not often observed in the work of the homeland. This was the frank expression of the functional or structural parts. *The Spanish-Colonial in Mexico was frankly organic in character.* A second characteristic, derived of course from the Moors and universally noted in Spain, was the habit of lavishing ornament at a few prominent points, around openings, upon towers, domes, and fachadas, leaving the remainder of the walls blank and bare. This use of ornament had, to be sure, everything to commend it and served, as is the true function of ornament, to direct the attention to and enhance the salient features of the building. This method of elaboration finds its suggestion in the forms of nature and consequently can be defended as being logical and natural. Aside from its placing, the character of Mexican ornament was, of course, open to criticism, hence, critics, who are prone to look at ornament more intently than at the general form, are likely to criticize the style most adversely. To be sure, the ornament was often illogical, generally florid, and even vulgar, but much of this can be explained by the fact that native artists, notably stone-carvers and sculptors, were permitted not only to execute, but also to design, a great deal of the ornament that decorated the churches.

One of the most important features of Mexican architecture is the dome. Mexico is a land of domes. Nearly every village has its domed church, and, indeed, the dome often appears as a feature of secular as well as of religious architecture.

Unlike Renaissance domes in other countries, the Mexican are almost universally one-shelled domes, either hemispherical or "pointed" section. Quite frequently they are covered with glazed tiles of yellow, blue, black, and gold, and crowned by the inevitable Renaissance lantern.

The Spanish-Colonial of Mexico paralleled faithfully the changes and transformations that were taking place in the mother country, except that it lagged behind in point of time. The great wealth of the mines, one tenth of the productions of which went to the Church, made that institution immensely wealthy and consequently a great patron of the arts. Thus may be explained the great amount of pretentious and elaborate work done at the time in Mexico.

Now while great sums of money and infinite pains were expended upon Mexican churches, little or no attention was given to the church architecture north of Mexico so far as the royal officials were concerned. Any study which the churches received was bestowed upon them by the padres-in-charge. The Texan and Arizonan churches, however, being in lands more accessible to Mexico, caught by reflection some of the splendor of the Mexican edifices, and in such structures as San José de Aguayo, near San Antonio, Texas (p. 15), and San Xavier del Bac, near Tucson, Arizona, provincial as they were, we find the same attempt at magnificence, the same decorative fachadas, terraced towers, and bare walls. These churches have also, due to the use of domes, the same oriental atmosphere that characterizes their Mexican prototypes, although the use of glazed tiles did not extend into these more northern provinces.

These two edifices are, on the whole, much more elaborate, both in outline and decoration, than either the Californian or New Mexican mission churches. Therein, perhaps, lies the chief charm of these Franciscan edifices of California; simplicity and straightforwardness. The intrinsic quality of good proportion, a trait generally characteristic of the work of Mexico at its best, is there, while much of the foam and froth of degraded decoration is absent. Since it was difficult to get artists and artisans to come into the country, the padres and the Indians, with humble materials and unskilled hands, were compelled to build simply.



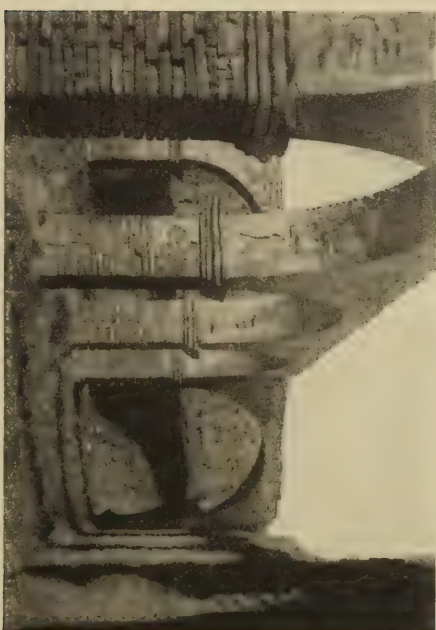
BUTTRESS, MISSION SAN BUENAVENTURA



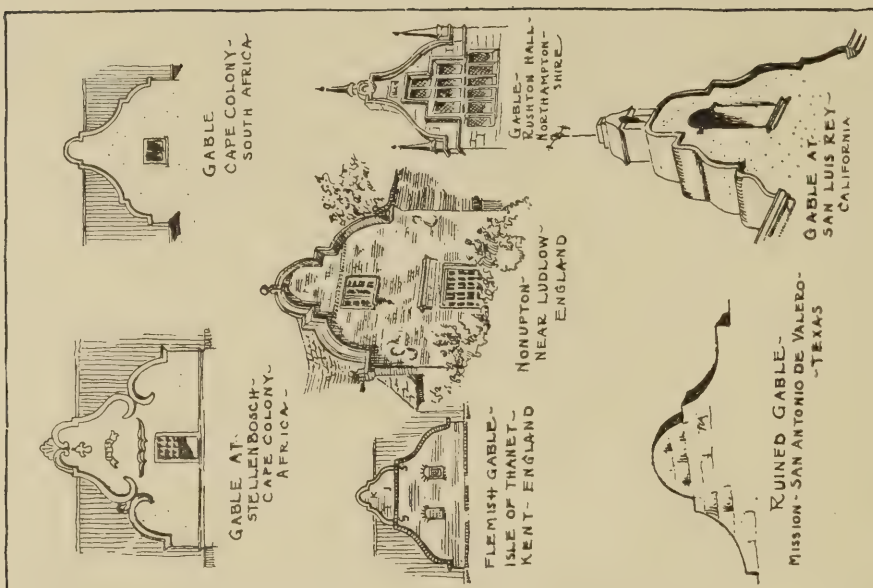
BUTTRESS, MISSION SANTA B  RBARA



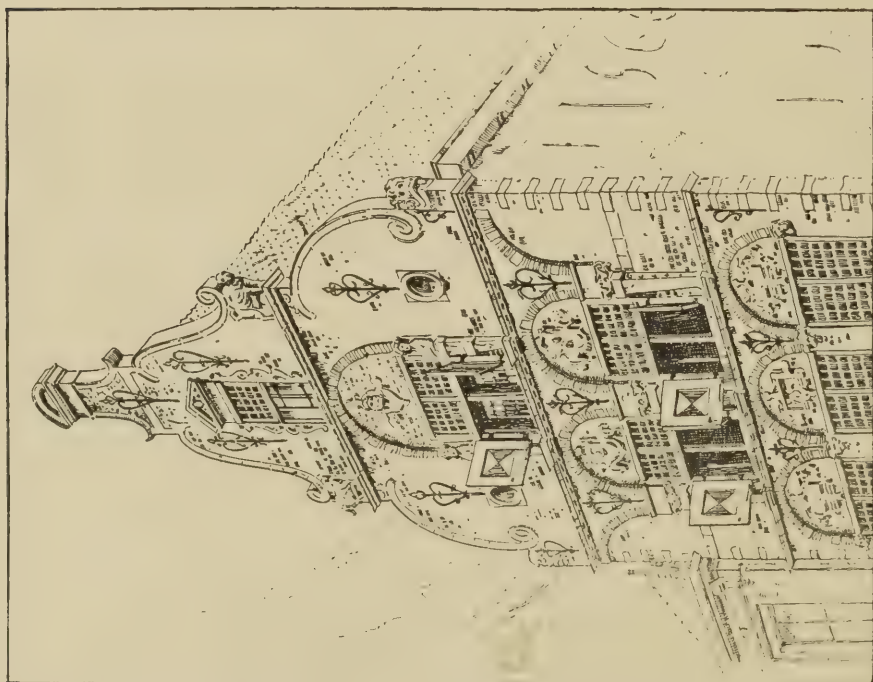
BUTTRESS, MISSION SANTA IN  S



BUTTRESS, MISSION SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO



CURVED GABLES, VARIOUS COUNTRIES



Courtesy of Studio Limited

Thus we are spared much of the degradation of the Mexican Churrigueresque. Meeting frankly their problem as they saw it, the padres evolved an architecture which, for the country in which it was developed, has not been excelled.

The Californian style is not a decorative style in any sense, but a style that makes its appeal through picturesque composition, good proportion, and structural frankness. Of course the style is Spanish—a provincial variety of the Spanish-Colonial of Mexico—but many of the elements that go to make up that architecture were here altered to meet the demands of a pioneering life in a distant land. Thus, while at places we see the influence of the Roman works of Spain, of the Gothic, of the Moorish, of the Renaissance or the Classical Revival, the work is always unmistakably Californian in spirit.

The distinguishing features of the California Mission Style may be tabulated as follows:

1. Solid and Massive Walls, Buttresses, etc.:
All mission structures show these features.
2. Arcaded Corridors, Arches carried upon Piers, as at:
San Juan Capistrano, San Luis Rey, San Fernando Rey,
Santa Bárbara, San Antonio, San Miguel, Santa Inés,
San Juan Bautista.
3. Curved Pedimented Gables, as at:
San Luis Rey, San Gabriel, San Antonio, San Diego.
4. Terraced Bell-towers with Lantern, as at:
San Luis Rey, San Buenaventura, Santa Bárbara, San
Juan Capistrano (stone church).
5. Pierced Campanarios (wall or tower), as at:
(a) Wall—San Gabriel, San Juan Capistrano, Santa Inés.
(b) Tower—Pala Chapel.
6. Patio with Fountain or Garden:
At practically all of the missions a patio was built or
eventually projected. The best examples are San Luis
Rey, San Juan Capistrano, Santa Bárbara, San Juan
Bautista.
7. Broad Undecorated Wall Faces:
All buildings.

8. Wide Projecting Eaves:

All buildings.

9. Low-pitched Red-tile Roofs:

All buildings.

Solid and massive walls were used in practically all of the buildings. They were due, most probably, to two causes, the first of which was the influence of the materials. The construction of thin walls was absolutely impossible in adobe or the poor stone available to the padres. The second was the time-honored Franciscan habit of building heavy, embattled, and austere edifices, a habit which they did not modify in California.

Many of the mission churches have buttresses, which served two purposes, namely: the stiffening of high and long walls and the abutment of the lateral thrusts of arches, vaults, or domes. Most of the vaults and domes have long since disappeared, thus leaving the remaining buttress with little to do, a circumstance which has led to the adverse criticism of such churches as that of San Gabriel. The buttresses are sometimes uniform in plan throughout their height, as at San Gabriel or Santa Bárbara. Often, however, they are of the "offset" variety, as at Santa Inés, San Buenaventura, or San Carlos.

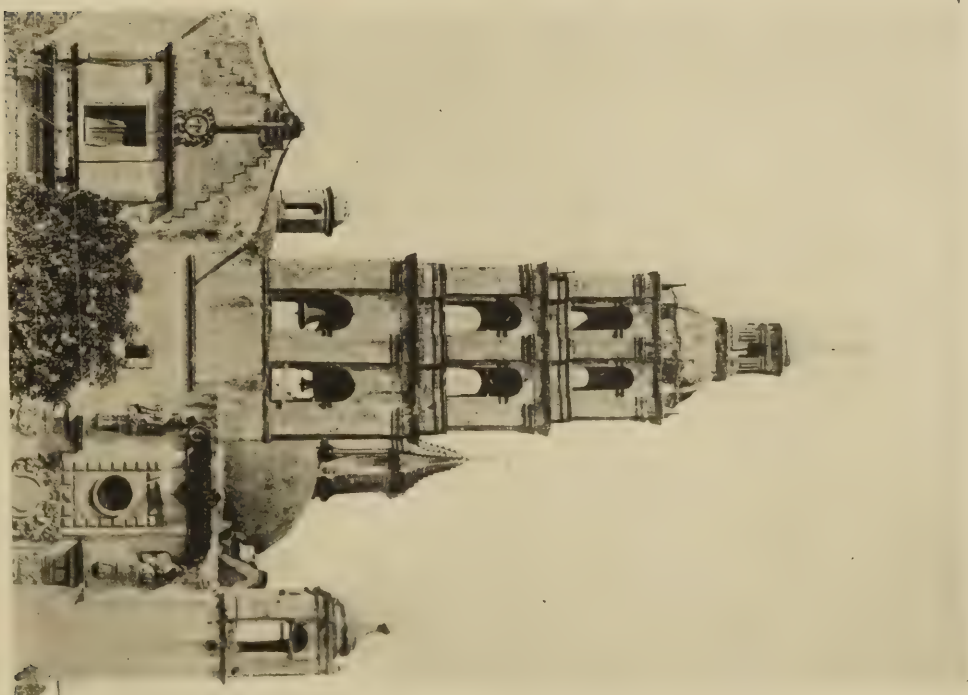
The arcaded cloisters found in the old buildings are directly traceable to Spain. At this time, however, it was customary in Europe to support the arches of an arcade upon columns of varying proportions. The use of these heavy square piers was the result of a simplicity enforced by the scarcity of fine stone for making columns, and the scarcity of good craftsmen to execute them. Arches and piers of the simple Californian type, however, are frequently seen in the simpler patios of Mexico.

The curved and pedimented gables are a distinctive and unique feature of the style. Details of similar idea, but of inferior design, because of the weakness and indirectness of the curve, are to be found in the Texan, Arizonan, and Mexican churches. The Californian detail has perhaps no exact precedent in Spain, although gable-ends with stepped and curved transitions are to be found in German, Dutch, and Flemish cities.

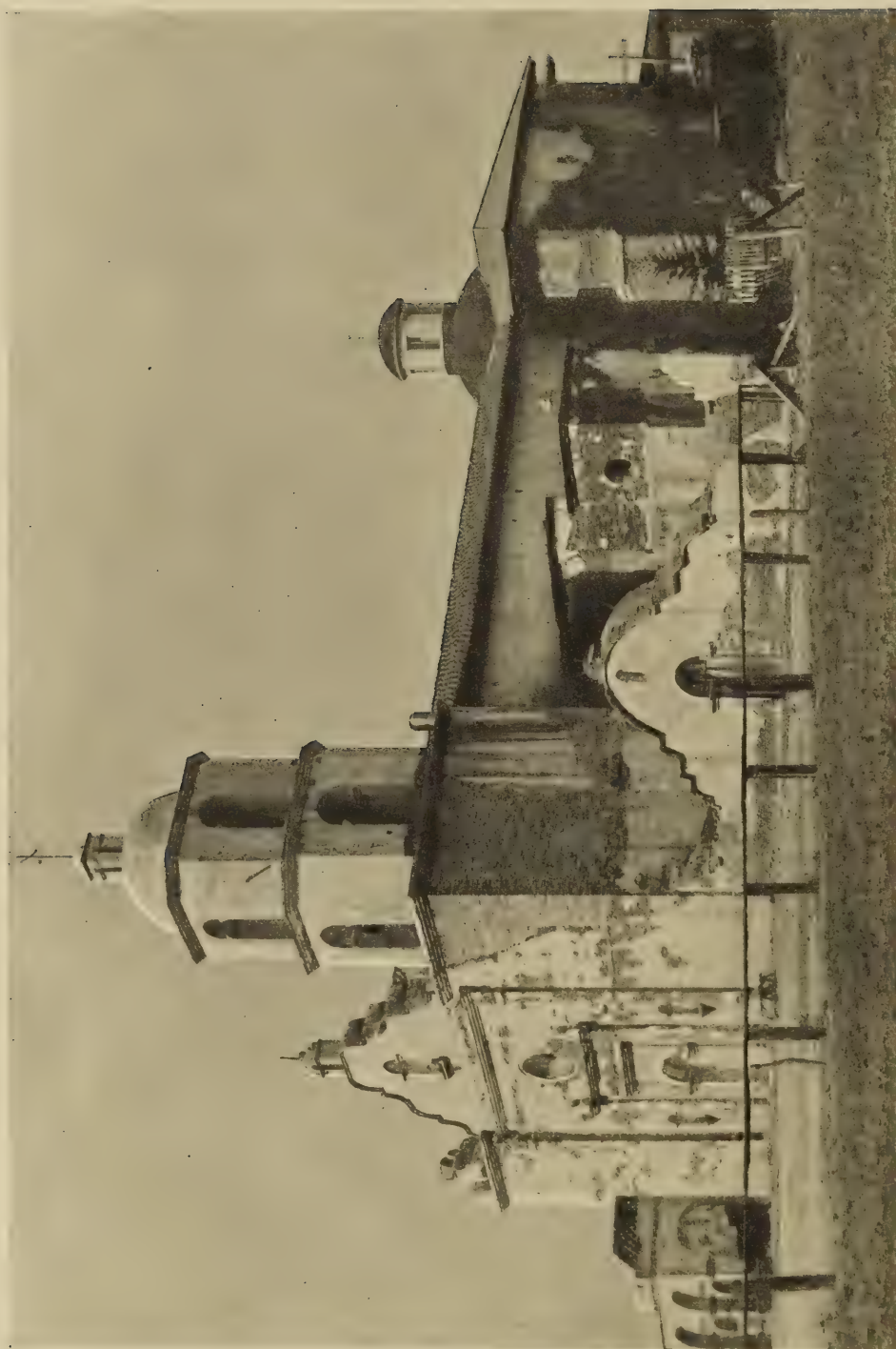
It must not be concluded that there is any very striking resemblance between the Dutch curved gables and those of Cali-



CHURCH OF SAN FRANCISCO, GUANAJUATO, MEXICO



CHURCH OF SANTO DOMINGO, QUERETARO, MEXICO



Courtesy of Architectural Book Publishing Co.

MISSION SAN LUIS REY DE FRANCIA, BEFORE RESTORATION



• Façade of •
• Mission San Francisco de Espada •
• San Antonio Texas •





MISSION SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO, SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS



SANTUARIO DE GUADALUPE, GUADALAJARA, MEXICO

fornia. It is reasonable to think, however, that the idea of this detail might have been brought into Spain through the influx of Flemish and Dutch architects, or as a result of early Renaissance Dutch-Spanish intercourse, and thus transplanted, through Spain, to Mexico and California. The idea supplied, it became the function of the Spanish-Colonial designers to appropriate it to their uses. This they did with the result that out of it was developed a feature entirely different from any of its precedents.

The terraced bell-tower is a feature found upon many of the churches of Mexico and the Hispanic United States, but the tower used in California is peculiar to California and resembles in no sense the towers of Texas, although it bears some resemblance to those of San Xavier del Bac (Arizona). Good examples of the California variety are to be found at Missions San Luis Rey, San Buenaventura, and Santa Bárbara. These towers are similar in form but vary in detail. In each of these examples the feeling is more or less classic. Of an entirely different variety, however, is the tower of San Carlos, which, by virtue of its egg-shaped dome, has a peculiar oriental flavor.

Another feature of California which claims attention, because of its naïve simplicity and its design possibilities, is the pierced belfry, the examples of which vary more than any other detail of the style. The design is entirely original as far as the missions of California are concerned, but the idea, like that of the terraced bell-tower, is to be found at Missions San Francisco de Espada and San Juan Capistrano near San Antonio, Texas, and in such good Mexican examples as the Santuario de Guadalupe, Guadalupe. The pierced belfry of San Gabriel is perhaps the best known, while the free-standing campanario (belfry) of San Antonio de Pala is the only example of a pierced belfry used as a separate tower.

Having been introduced into Spain by the Moors, the patio is an old Spanish feature and one admirably adapted to the mission layout. It is found in the private dwellings of most of the Mediterranean countries and dates back to the earliest times in warm climates. It serves to bring to the western hemisphere something of that charm of the old world always associated with the cloistered garden of the European monastic institution.

Some of the patios were entirely enclosed, as at San Luis Rey and Capistrano; others never reached that complete stage. At nearly every mission, however, one was projected. It was an attribute that served a very utilitarian and, at the same time, an admirable artistic purpose in unifying the plan.

The broad, undecorated wall faces are a feature of practically all of the missions. That idea has its precedent in the Moorish practice of lavishing the decoration upon the interior and at salient points upon the exterior, but leaving most of the outer surfaces blank. In California the scarcity of workmen operated further to curtail the use of decoration, so that in most of the buildings the decoration is restricted to the fachadas of the churches. This scarcity of workmen, one is persuaded to believe, operated in favor of sound design, and led to a saner architecture than would otherwise have been the case.

The wide-spreading eaves and low-sloping tile roofs are features of California architecture that seem to have come from the domestic structures and convents of old Spain. The churches in Texas, Mexico, and Arizona do not have the sloping roofs figuring in the perspective, and the wide-spreading eaves of California are, in these lands, replaced by a somewhat classic cornice. These, however, are only two of the many differences between the Californian and other varieties of the Spanish-Colonial in America. The low projecting roofs are directly traceable to the effect of the climate, being chargeable to the heavy rainfall and brilliant sunshine of California.

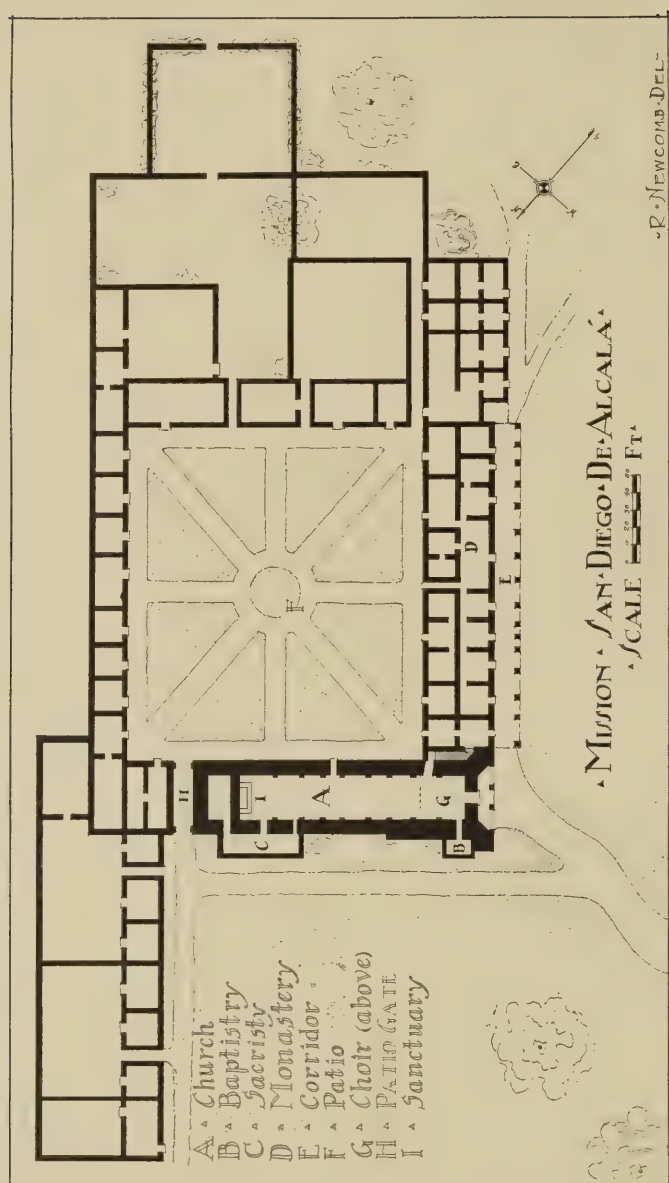
Perhaps the most versatile of all mission features are the doors and the windows. These vary from a plain unjambed opening with semicircular or elliptical head to the ornate doorways of San Luis Rey, Capistrano, San Fernando, and San Carlos. The doorway of the old monastery at San Fernando is at once a well-proportioned and appropriate form of opening, while the doorways in the sanctuary at Capistrano are more involved but no less tasteful. The first is of stuccoed brick, the latter of cut stone. Perhaps the most ornate of all mission doorways are those in the transepts of the Presidio Chapel at Monterey. On the whole the window openings are of less interest than the doorways. They were many times barred with iron or wooden grilles. An attempt



MISSION SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO, CAMPANARIO AND PRESENT CHAPEL



MISSION SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO, SOUTHEAST CORNER OF PATIO



was made in the mission churches to carry out the idea of a decorative window over the entrance, a feature that would correspond to the wheel or rose windows of Continental churches.

Many stone and brick details are to be found throughout the mission chain, ranging in variety from the moulded-brick corbels, niches, and pilasters of San Luis Rey and the cut-stone pilasters of Capistrano to the quaint fountains of San Fernando and Santa Bárbara. All of these display a mingling of Spanish and Indian motifs and a crude, though lovable, variety of craftsmanship.

Upon the interiors of the old buildings are to be found many crude wall paintings. These were done for the most part by the Indian neophytes or by chance artists who visited the coast. Most of the attempts are done in bold, crude reds, blues, browns, and yellows, and do not deserve to be called art. Columns, pilasters, and balustrades were often painted upon the walls with an attempt to give the church the appearance of being larger than it really was.

With this architectural heritage and these general characteristics in mind, let us now begin our pilgrimage to the old missions themselves, where we may examine in detail these venerable churches, worthy monuments to a laudable religious zeal and the architectural expression of one of the most interesting social-service movements in the span of American history.



Old Window
San Juan Capistrano

CHAPTER IX

THE MISSION OF SAN DIEGO DE ALCALÁ

CALIFORNIA was born at San Diego, and here, in July, 1769, was begun the first of that long series of Spanish settlements that, connected by the famous old highway, El Camino Real, was to extend eventually to San Francisco Bay and beyond. "First" Mission, as it is still called at San Diego, was established upon an eminence back of "Old Town,"¹ now known as Presidio Hill but called "Cosoy" by the natives. The mission was named in honor of Saint James of Alcalá, an Andalusian Franciscan who lived from 1400 to 1463 and was canonized in 1558. Saint James was revered for his pious and devoted life, and for the miracles wrought by him, rather than for any high position that he held.

Mission San Diego was maintained at "Cosoy" until August, 1774, when it was transferred, some two leagues up the San Diego River, to a spot now generally called "Mission Valley." At the time of Padre Serra's first report in 1773, considerable work had been done toward the erection of a church at the Presidio Hill site. This work had been suspended due to non-arrival of the supply-ship of 1773 and no further labor was expended upon structures at this place. The church thus appears to have been only begun when the buildings were turned over to the military authorities upon the removal of the mission to the new site up the valley.

This first site was a magnificent location, affording, as it did, a clear view of the harbor, Point Loma, and the open sea, but it had not a sure water-supply and was open to frequent Indian attacks. For these reasons it was abandoned in favor of the more adaptable spot up the river, two leagues to the northeast. The presidio, however, was maintained at Cosoy for many years after the mission was removed. In July, 1913, upon the one hundred and forty-fourth anniversary of the foundation of the mission, a group of San Diego citizens excavated the ancient site and recovered enough fragments of the original building materials—bricks and tiles—to form, when incorporated with the cement in

¹ "Old Town" was the original Spanish San Diego. The modern city is to the east and south of "Old Town."

which they were set, a great cross of masonry to commemorate the site of the first mission.

By the end of 1774, the mission could boast the following structures: a wooden church 6 x 19 varas ² (17 x 53 feet); padres' house; granary, house for shepherds and muleteers, blacksmith shop, fourteen Indian houses, and corrals for horses and cattle. The church was decorated with one set of the *Stations of the Cross* and had an ample altar.

The story of the first Indian attack upon the settlement has been related elsewhere. In November, 1775, San Diego suffered a second attack, when the neophytes and wild Indians, about eight hundred in number, stormed the establishment in the night, setting fire to the buildings and attacking the inhabitants. The attack was made about one o'clock in the morning of the fifth, and, as a result, a corporal and three soldiers of the guard were wounded and Padre Luis Jayme, José Urselino, the carpenter, and José Manuel Arroyo, the blacksmith, were killed. Father Vicente Fuster awoke, and, seeing the buildings on fire, escaped to the soldiers' barracks, where he found refuge, but Padre Jayme fearlessly went among the Indians with the hope of quelling their angry passions. He had time only to utter the words, "Amar á Dios, hijos!" (Love God, my children) when he was seized and hastily dragged to the river, where, stripped to the waist, he was beaten with clubs and shot through with arrows, dying almost immediately. While this was going on the soldiers got their muskets into action, and, although they succeeded in killing many of the Indians, the battle lasted until dawn, when the natives retreated, carrying their dead with them.

While the attack lasted, neither was the fire seen nor the gunshot heard at the presidio. This indicates that the guards were asleep, and, as a consequence, no aid was sent to the languishing mission, and, indeed, the presidial officers appear not to have known of the attack until morning, when a tame Indian was dispatched thither to carry the news.

The buildings were reduced to ashes, the books and records were destroyed, and the censer and chalice were melted down in the heat of the flames; the padres therefore took up residence at

² The vara—2.78 English feet.

the presidio until such time as a new beginning could be made at the mission site.

As soon as the news reached Captain Rivera, comandante at Presidio Monterey, he started southward, reaching San Diego on January 11, 1776. Padre Junípero desired to go with him, but, as the Captain wished to make the journey in all haste, the padre could not accompany him. The Captain, with thirty soldiers, reached San Diego in company with Lieutenant-colonel Juan Baustista Anza, who was conducting a party of colonists from Sonora to San Francisco Bay. Padre Pedro Font, chaplain of the Anza expedition, accompanied them to San Diego, and his carefully kept diary gives full pictures, not only of the Indians, presidio, and mission, but also of the characters of the various persons concerned, especially that of the despicable Rivera, who excused the negligence of the sleeping guards but vented himself upon Lieutenant Ortega, who, although in charge at San Diego, was absent at the time, having accompanied Padre Lasuén northward to establish San Juan Capistrano. The story of Rivera's difficulties with the padres and of his excommunication has been told in Chapter III. His ugly frame of mind led him to hinder rebuilding of the mission structures by the refusal of a guard and and by dilatory action upon matters in connection with rebuilding that required his attention.

Time wore on with little accomplished and at last, in the following June, Padre Serra, having reports regarding the inactivity at San Diego, decided to go south. Arriving at San Diego upon the *San Antonio*, the resourceful Padre-presidente immediately undertook the restoration of the ruined mission, and to this end enlisted the aid of Captain Choquet of the *San Antonio*, who promised the help of himself and crew so long as they should remain in port. The Captain, a pilot, the mate, and twenty sailors, together with fifty Indians, soon reported at the mission and began the preparation of foundations and the making of adobes. Rivera presently handicapped the work, however, by withdrawing the guard of five soldiers he had reluctantly granted. At the same time the *San Antonio* set sail for San Blas and thus the work was again arrested.

In September, however, twenty-five additional soldiers were

sent up from Mexico to strengthen the presidio and Viceroy Bucareli instructed Rivera to give the padres an adequate guard and set free the Indian prisoners who had been held since the revolt at the mission.

Padres Lasuén, Fuster, and Serra soon made the buildings at the mission habitable, and Padres Lasuén and Figuer took charge, ready to proceed with a further retrieving of their temporal and spiritual fortunes. Padre Serra and Fathers Magártegui and Amúrrio were then free to proceed with the refounding of Mission San Juan Capistrano, the accomplishment of which had been interrupted by the revolt.

The first annual report of Mission San Diego, compiled by Padre Fuster in March, 1777, permits one to form some notion of the state of the structures and their furnishings at that time. The chapel was as yet unfinished because of the lack of supplies. The padres' house consisted of two small apartments of adobe, tule-roofed, with an additional room for a refectory, all very meagrely furnished and containing among other things a "Life of San Diego" and two volumes of the writings of the Venerable Luis of Granada. In addition there was a granary in which was kept a scanty amount of supplies, most of which had been donated by Mission San Gabriel. This structure, like the rest, was of adobe, tule-thatched. Other structures were: the kitchen, dormitory for the young men and boys, and a harness room, the first of which contained a large iron kettle for making pozole (a kind of mush made from corn) and three copper kettles, some plates of pewter and Guadalajara ware, and other utensils.

During the year 1777 most of the old buildings were repaired and a new church of adobe with a roof of thatch was erected. The church was 5 varas wide by 20 varas long (14 x 56 feet). In addition to these improvements a corridor was constructed along the front of the padres' house and store-room, and a shelter for the lambs was provided. During the year there were received from Mission San Carlos several used chasubles, a missal, a set of silver cruets, and several religious books. Padre Junípero himself sent a new silver ciborium, and from Mexico came new silver oil-stocks, a Roman ritual, and a number of welcome additions to the library. To these fixtures must be added a great



SERRA CROSS, "OLD TOWN," SAN DIEGO



DOORWAY, MISSION SAN DIEGO DE ALCALÁ



BELL, MISSION SAN DIEGO DE ALCALÁ



RESTORED CORNER, SAN DIEGO DE ALCALÁ

number of miscellaneous articles and supplies sent by the sister missions. However, the crops this and the next year were so scanty that the padres, disheartened, applied for permission to return to their college in Mexico, but decided, after receiving encouraging letters from the Father-guardian in Mexico and the Padre-presidente in California, to remain in the "vineyard of the Lord."

The work of building a more satisfactory church edifice occupied the year of 1780. This structure, $5\frac{1}{2} \times 30$ varas (15 x 84 feet) inside and $5\frac{1}{2}$ varas high, had adobe walls three feet thick. An addition, 11 x 15 feet, served as a sacristy. The beams of the roof were of pine and the rafters of poplar covered with alder and tules. The church had four windows, all of which were protected outside by means of grilles of cedar and provided inside with shutters, and two doors, one at the end and one on the side toward the patio. The cemetery lay on the northwest side of the building, while along the patio side extended a shelter carried upon posts of oak. The church is said to have been very neat and ample for that day.

Just how much was done the following year (1781) is not quite plain, due to the absence of reports, but Padre Lasuén, in his report of May 10, 1783, listed the following buildings: church, granary, storehouse, house for sick women, shed for oven and firewood, two small padres' apartments, larder, guest-rooms, *hato* or shepherd's lodge, harness room, kitchen, and refectory. These buildings, together with the soldiers' quarters, filled three sides of a square of 55 varas (153 feet), the fourth side of which was closed by a wall of adobes three varas high with a ravelin a little higher. Outside were a fountain for tanning hides, two adobe corrals for sheep, and one for cows.

The decade of 1783 to 1793 was apparently one of increasing material wealth at San Diego for, in 1793, it was necessary to erect a granary 24 x 96 feet to contain the crops. In order to guard against fire, tile roofs were adopted in place of the more inflammable roofs of tule-thatch. In 1794 extensive repairs were made and one side of an enclosure to surround the mission grounds was completed, while the vineyard, already growing nicely, was enclosed with 500 yards of adobe wall.

In 1795 work was begun in order to make available for use upon the mission farms the water of a spring that the padres had discovered. The location of the spring is now lost to us, and how far it was developed would be hard to discover. The great effort of the padres to supply irrigation to the farms came in the nineteenth century, the opening year of which brought drought and a consequent want of grain at the mission. From then on until 1817 the fathers were busily engaged in making available at the mission the water of the river impounded by a dam some three miles above the mission-house.

The dam was constructed of stone, was some two hundred and twenty-four feet long and thirteen feet thick, and was provided with the necessary flood-gates. From the dam an aqueduct of tiles, resting upon a foundation of stone boulders, laid in cement and carrying a stream of water two feet wide and one foot deep, was conducted down the precipitous gorge of the river to the mission lands. The remains of the old dam, built at this time, are still to be seen at a point some ten miles up the valley from "Old Town," where it stands as a monument to the engineering ability of these early advocates of irrigation in a land where "water is the god of the harvest."

The last year of the eighteenth century was a busy building year at San Diego. During the year a guard-room for the escolta and one for the corporal of the guard, together with a store-room for the iron implements and utensils, and a structure (37 x 67 feet) the uses of which we do not know, were erected. By this time also the mission was beginning to reap some benefits from viticulture, the report of Padre-presidente Lasuén for 1801 recording that Mission San Diego, together with San Juan Capistrano, San Gabriel, San Buenaventura, Santa Bárbara, and San Luis Obispo, raised grapes and pressed some wine. Mission San Diego, it should be pointed out, pressed her first wine about 1797 or 1798. The raising of olives and the pressing of oil came soon after, the Padre-presidente mentioning the making of "some very good olive-oil" at San Diego by 1803.³

The earthquake of 1803, which wrought such havoc at San Gabriel and other places, damaged only slightly the church at

³ Engelhardt: *Mission San Diego*; 154.

San Diego, yet in 1808 Padre Sánchez, in writing to Governor Arrillaga, mentions the beginning of a new church edifice. This was the structure of which only the fachada and a few remnants of the lateral walls remain. This church, five years in the building, was dedicated November 12, 1813, the day of the titular saint.

The story of the dedication of the new edifice is simply told in the words of the padres taken from the Baptismal Register of the mission.⁴ "On November 12, 1813, the day of the glorious San Diego, this, his holy church was blessed with all appropriate formalities and solemnities. The Rev. Fr. José Barona officiated at said function, he being the missionary of the Mission of San Juan Capistrano. He blessed the edifice and celebrated the High Mass on said day. The first sermon for the solemnity was preached by the Rev. Fr. Gerónimo Boscana, missionary of Mission San Luis Rey de Francia; and the second sermon, on the occasion of the translation of the bodies of the Rev. Missionaries⁵ who had served . . . and died here, was preached by the Rev. Fr. Tomás Ahumada, Dominican Father and missionary of Mission San Miguel, Lower California. Don Francisco María Ruiz, lieutenant of cavalry and commander of the Presidio of San Diego, served as sponsor at the dedication, the resident missionaries of said mission being Fathers José Sánchez and Fernando Martín."

Thus it will be seen that San Diego—the Mother Mission—was late in obtaining a satisfactory architectural expression, and to Padre Sánchez⁶ we must attribute the design of this church. He was the superior and guiding spirit of the mission during the

⁴ *Ibid*; 160-1.

⁵ The bodies of the padres here referred to were those of Fr. Luis Jayme, killed during the Indian attack of November, 1775; Fr. Juan Figuer, who died at the Mission December 18, 1784; and Fr. Juan Mariner, who died here January 29, 1800. The remains of these missionaries had once before been moved. This was in 1804, when they were deposited beneath the pavement of the church of that day.

⁶ Fr. José Bernardo Sánchez was born September 7, 1778, at Robledillo, Spain, and became a Franciscan October 9, 1794. Leaving Spain in February, 1803, he reached his college in Mexico in August, and came to California in 1804. He served at San Diego (1804-20), at Purísima (1820-21), and at San Gabriel from 1821 until his death, on January 16, 1833. "From 1827 to 1831 he held the high position of president, performing its difficult duties with great credit. . . . He was an able manager of temporal affairs, and took great pride in the prosperity of his mission, being greatly disappointed and perhaps soured by the disastrous results of secularization, against which he had struggled in vain."—Sugraves: *The Old San Gabriel Mission*; 68.

period of the church building and may therefore be regarded as the architect of the structure.

San Diego has never made much claim to architectural distinction. The plan, while complete and well worked out, was not distinctive. The buildings, as usual, were disposed about a patio, the church here, as in many other places, forming one side of that patio. The monastery wing extended at right angles to the church along another side of the quadrangle, while the less important rooms, like workshops and storehouses, were disposed along the two remaining sides, with corrals and pens, orchards and gardens, flanking these. The church, together with the buildings at its rear, have been carefully excavated and there is little doubt as to the ground-plan.

The fachada of the church, with its pleasant and graceful curved pediment, was of course the most interesting architectural feature of the whole group (p. 27). It has been the inspiration of at least one modern church, that of the Immaculate Conception in Old Town. The upper portion of the tower has completely disappeared and some doubt exists as to its original form. Some believe that it was a pierced belfry similar in idea to the writer's restoration of the San Gabriel campanario, while others hold that it was of the terraced type similar to San Luis Rey or Santa Bárbara. The writer, after a recent careful examination, sees no reason to adopt the pierced in preference to the terraced type. The old painting now hanging in Saint Joseph's rectory, San Diego, and purporting to represent the mission as it looked about 1840, certainly indicates the terraced type of tower.

Originally there seems to have been a shelter over the front entrance of the church. This feature, while unique as far as its treatment here is concerned, finds an echo in the narthex at San Luis Obispo or the vestibule at San Antonio de Padua. The pockets into which fitted the ends of the beams of this shelter can still be seen in the ancient adobe walls.

A single bell, and that not the original, although made up of the metal of some of the original bells, is still in place atop the ruins of the old tower. Its legend runs thus:

"MATER DOLOROSA: ORIGINALLY CAST IN NEW SPAIN 1796;
RECAST IN SAN DIEGO, CAL., 1894: STANDARD IRON WORKS."



MISSION SAN DIEGO DE ALCALÁ, FROM AN OLD PAINTING



CHURCH OF IMMACULATE CONCEPTION, "OLD TOWN", SAN DIEGO

Two other bells now hang in the belfry of Immaculate Conception Church at Old Town. The smaller has no inscription but the larger carries the legend :

" SN. JVAN NEPOMUCENO AVE MARÍA PURÍSIMA 1802."

The history of the bells is obscure but we learn something of them from the following newspapers. The *San Diego Sun* for October 15, 1891, informs us that the bells of San Diego, of which there were originally six, were cast at San Blas (Mexico) in 1791 and 1802. They were mentioned in an article setting forth the intention of sending the bells to Baltimore for recasting. The *San Diego Union* of October 22, 1891, had this to say regarding the bells :

" The restoration of the San Diego Mission, the first of the chain of stations established by Padre Junípero in Alta California, when this region was a province of Spain, it has become widely known, is a cherished ambition of Rev. Fr. Ubach. His first move is to have the ancient bells recast, and only a day or two ago was this desired permission received from Bishop Mora of Los Angeles. Two have been in the uncompleted brick church at Old Town. One, which is badly cracked, hangs with a sound companion on the uprights at the west end of the Old Town Chapel. This will be brought in and the one now used at the Indian School substituted. Two more are at St. Joseph's in this city and the sixth one has been sent up from the United States military barracks by Col. Brayton, who knew by legend that the military had no right to it, and had first made use of the bells years ago when they were without a bugle. These bells are believed to be largely of silver, and they will be shipped in a few days to a firm in Baltimore to be melted down and recast into two bells only. Speaking of the accepted belief that they had come from Spain, Fr. Ubach informed the *Union* yesterday that he discovered very recently, in looking through the mission records, quite to his surprise, that they had been cast instead at San Blas, State of Jalisco, Mexico."

The intentions of the enthusiastic father regarding the bells and the mission structures were never carried out, and there the mission stands to this day, an utter ruin. All human life is gone,

only a few old trees of the once thriving olive orchards live on, and here and there a lonely palm stands silhouetted against the sky. But in spite of all the ruin, as long as a vestige remains or memory can recount her ancient glory, the Mission of San Diego must remain very beautiful and interesting to those who love her historic and romantic story. She was the Mother Mission; all reverence to her!



Old Spanish Light House
Point Loma, San Diego

CHAPTER X

MISSION SAN LUIS REY DE FRANCIA

OF THE missions of Alta California two were dedicated to sainted kings. One was Mission San Fernando, Rey de España, the other Mission San Luis, Rey de Francia, the largest of the California establishments, and, with one exception, that of San Juan Capistrano, easily the finest of the missions. California had likewise another Mission San Luis, named in honor of San Luis, Obispo de Tolosa (Saint Louis, Bishop of Toulouse), hence it is always necessary to say San Luis *Rey* or San Luis *Obispo* as the case may be.

San Luis Rey was Louis IX. of France (1214-1270), a man who stands in history as the ideal medieval king. His contemporary, Sire John de Joinville, speaks of him as "every inch a king." He was a head taller than any of his knights, "physically strong in spite of his ascetic practices, fearless in battle, heroic in adversity, of imperious temperament, unyielding when sure of the justness of his cause, energetic and firm." He is said to have fasted much, to have loved sermons, regularly attending two masses a day and all the offices. He did many good works, visiting the sick, giving to the poor, and building hospitals. He was canonized in 1297 on account of his crusades to Egypt and the Holy Land.

Mission San Luis Rey is situated four miles east of the town of Oceanside, which is on the coast-line of the Santa Fé Railway, some thirty-five miles north of San Diego and in San Diego County. The mission proper stands upon a slight eminence overlooking the San Luis Rey River valley, while twenty-five miles to the northeast lies its asistencia (chapel), San Antonio de Pala. The foundation was first projected in October, 1797, when Padre-presidente Lasuén promoted the exploration of the district between Missions San Diego de Alcalá and San Juan Capistrano and found that the territory contained a large number of docile and industrious Indians. The only apparent drawback to the situation was its poor agricultural advantages. In spite of this disadvantage, however, the governor, in February, 1798, issued orders for the comandante of Presidio San Diego to furnish an

escolta to the padres and to require of the soldiers personal labor in the construction of the mission buildings. Thus on June 13th of the same year Padre Lasuén, in the presence of the guard, some neophytes from the sister Mission of San Juan Capistrano, and great numbers of Indians, and assisted by Padres Santiago and Peyri, dedicated the establishment to Saint Louis the King.

The mission, due to the friendliness of the natives, flourished from the first, and within a week the energetic Peyri had baptized seventy-seven children and had made a start upon the mission buildings. By the end of the year the neophytes numbered two hundred fourteen souls, while two years later the mission records show a population of some 337, at which time the number of horses, mules, and cattle was 617, the number of sheep, 1600, and the grain gathered, 2126 bushels. The great prosperity of the establishment was largely due, no doubt, to the popularity and energy of Padre Antonio Peyri, who, from the time of foundation until 1832, a period of nearly thirty-four years, was padre-in-charge.

Padre Peyri was born January 10, 1765, at Porrere, Catalonia, Spain, and received the habit of Saint Francis in the convent at Reus in October, 1787. He sailed from Cádiz in May, 1795, and, passing through Mexico, arrived in California in July, 1796. He served at San Luis Obispo for two years and became, in 1798, as we have seen, one of the founders of San Luis Rey, at which establishment he was destined to spend the remainder of his missionary days. In 1826 he petitioned to be relieved of administrative labors upon the ground that he was an old man and no longer qualified for the heavy duties required of him. He was eventually relieved, and, having been granted some \$3000 in back stipends due him, sailed from San Diego, in 1832, for Mexico and Spain. The story goes that he was so much beloved by the neophytes that he was compelled to leave the mission secretly in order to avoid the cries and grief of the Indians, and that, when it was discovered that he had departed, some five hundred neophytes hastened to San Diego to prevent his departure. We are told that they arrived in time to see his ship weigh anchor and to receive his blessing as the ship sailed out of the harbor.

Padre Peyri was a model missionary in every respect. Like

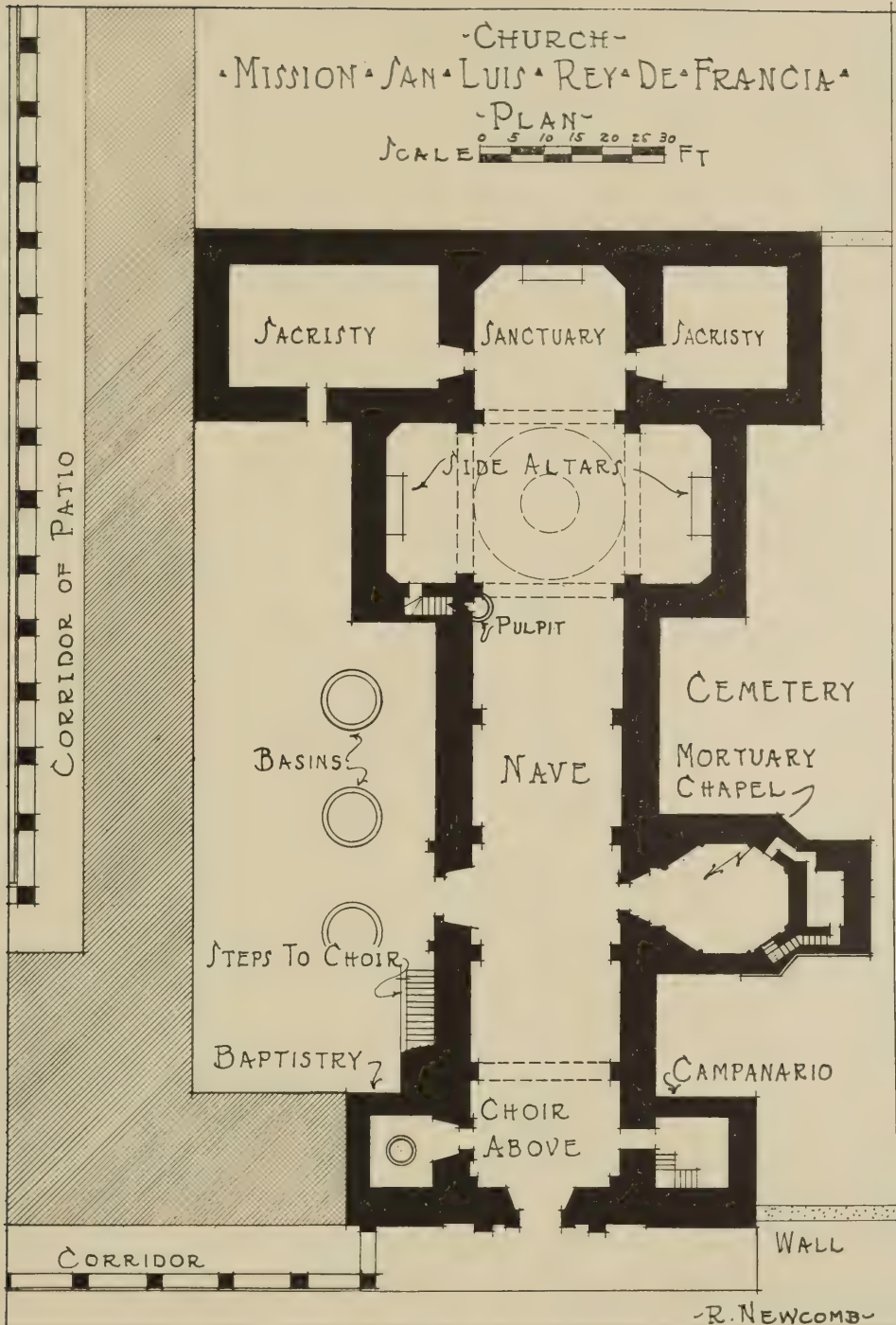
most Catalonians, he was frugal, sharp-witted, and industrious; had a great deal of national pride and a strong revolutionary spirit. These characteristics asserted themselves when the Spanish government was overthrown in the colonies and the Mexican established. A thorough Spaniard always, he resented the action of the Mexicans and at first refused allegiance to the new government. He had likewise the characteristic energy of the Catalonians and their love of enterprise.

The chronology of San Luis Rey serves to show with what efficiency and speed the directive energy of Padre Peyri functioned. The mission was established in June, 1798, and by the end of that year a guard-house and temporary chapel, together with houses for the padres and corporal of the guard, all of adobe and roofed with thatch, had been built. The next year saw the completion of a convento for the girls, a house for the boys, a weaving-room, a wool-storage room, and two other buildings.

In 1801 tile was adopted as a roofing material. These tiles were made in the kilns of the mission and were similar to those that had been in use in California since about 1790. During the year a large granary was completed, and the next year, 1802, saw the beginning of the first church, which is said to have been 138 feet long and 19 feet wide. Four apartments, 5 x 11 varas, were also completed. By the end of 1804 the padres reported the completion of four additional granaries (6 x 20 varas), and, about this time, the patio was enclosed and two large brick tanning-vats and a large soap caldron were completed.

The year 1806 saw the erection of a large monjería (nunnery) for the girls with a patio of its own, 72 x 45 feet, which communicated with the larger "patio de la mision." During the year also a great corral, some 350 feet square, with housing accommodations for the herdsmen, was completed. The year 1808 was given over to further additions and enlargements of the existing structures around the patio, making the wings of the same height as the main buildings. Two more corrals and two spring-houses were erected.

The growing development of grain-raising in the Pala Valley made necessary the construction of a granary there in 1810, while





MISSION SAN LUIS REY DE FRANCIA. THE RUINED CLOISTERS BEFORE THE RESTORATION

the flourishing vineyard at the mission also required the building of an enclosure.

With many of the utilitarian structures completed, Padre Peyri now saw his way clear to turn his hand to the construction of a new and adequate church, and, in 1811, made plans and laid the foundations for the present edifice. The work progressed rapidly and by the end of 1812 the walls were up to the cornice line. During the next year a new wing was added to the main row of buildings, while an arcaded corridor was built along the fachada of the mission-house. The patio arcades were also begun during the year, and, by December, these were about half completed and most of the materials for the finishing of the church had been collected and were ready for use.

In 1814 the church (p. 106) was continued and the next year it was completed and dedicated. In 1818 the Pala Chapel, built in 1816, was lengthened and an apartment for the boys and men and one for the girls and women were added. After this few reports of building activities are heard until 1829, when the dome at the crossing was reported as finished and the church as completely decorated. The dome is described as supporting an octagonal lantern decorated by eight columns and lighted by one hundred and forty-four panes of glass. The vestment cases in the sacristy were also reported as completed this year. As late as 1832 additions to the sacristies and church figure in the reports, but beyond that time little or no work of importance was accomplished.

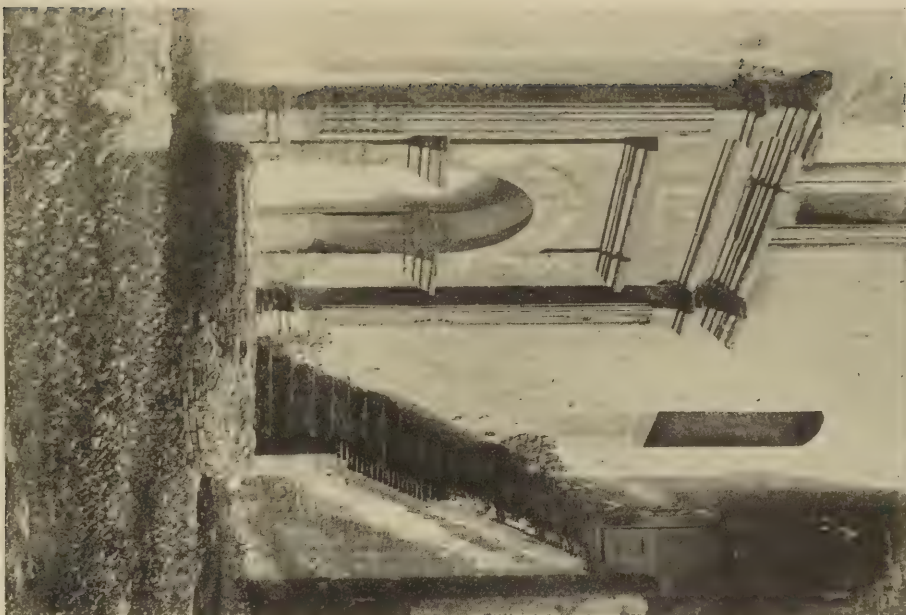
The plan of San Luis is not unlike that of other mission structures. It more nearly resembles, however, the plan of San Juan Capistrano, the next mission northward, than that of any other. We find here a large patio completely surrounded by buildings with arcaded cloisters, a church partially isolated from the centre of the workaday life, with a cemetery at the right, all of which resembles the disposition of these same features at Capistrano. At the centre of the patio originally stood a fountain, remains of the brick base of which can still be seen. Near this fountain stands the remains of what is conceded to be the original pepper tree of California. (See Chapter V.)

The church of Mission San Luis Rey was one of two cruci-

form plans in Alta California.¹ The other was the great stone church of San Juan Capistrano, completed in 1806. The plan consists of a nave, 163 feet long by 27 feet 6 inches wide, with transept arms at right and left (24'7" by 15'6" and 24'7" by 15'2" respectively), making room for two side altars. The lateral walls of the nave, some six feet in thickness, are relieved upon the interior by pilasters which divide them into five bays. Doors at either side of the sanctuary lead into the sacristies. A door in the central bay of the nave, upon the right-hand side of the church, leads into the mortuary chapel, its companion on the left into the patio. From this patio, by means of an outside stairway, one reaches the choir. The doors under the choir-loft lead, at the right, up the tower-stair, or, at left, into the baptistry. The nave is lighted by windows placed high in the lateral walls and the lantern at the crossing.

Although the church is among the best of the Californian structures, both in size and design, it must be considered as incomplete. The left tower, which, according to any normal development, called for a treatment similar to that of its neighbor at the right, lacks its belfry. It seems almost certain that Padre Peyri proposed originally to complete this tower to correspond with the other, and, indeed, Duflot de Mofras, attaché of the French embassy at Madrid, who made a tour of the missions in 1841, shows in his book (*"Exploration du Territoire de l'Orégon, des Californies, et de la Mer Vermeille,"* Paris, 1844) a drawing of the mission with both towers complete. It has been argued that, since the tower is not provided with a stairway, it was never intended for a bell-tower. But it must be remembered that at Santa Bárbara we have but one stairway for the two towers and that, in order to get to the opposite tower, it is necessary to cross the church by means of the steps behind the pediment. On the other hand, at San Luis Rey a stairway from the court west of the church gives access to the choir through the upper story of the left tower. From this upper story ascent may easily have been made to the projected campanario. That there

¹ The present church of Monterey was changed to a cruciform plan after the mission period, while the present apparent cruciform plan of Mission San Juan Bautista resulted from a blinding of the arcades between the nave and the side aisles.

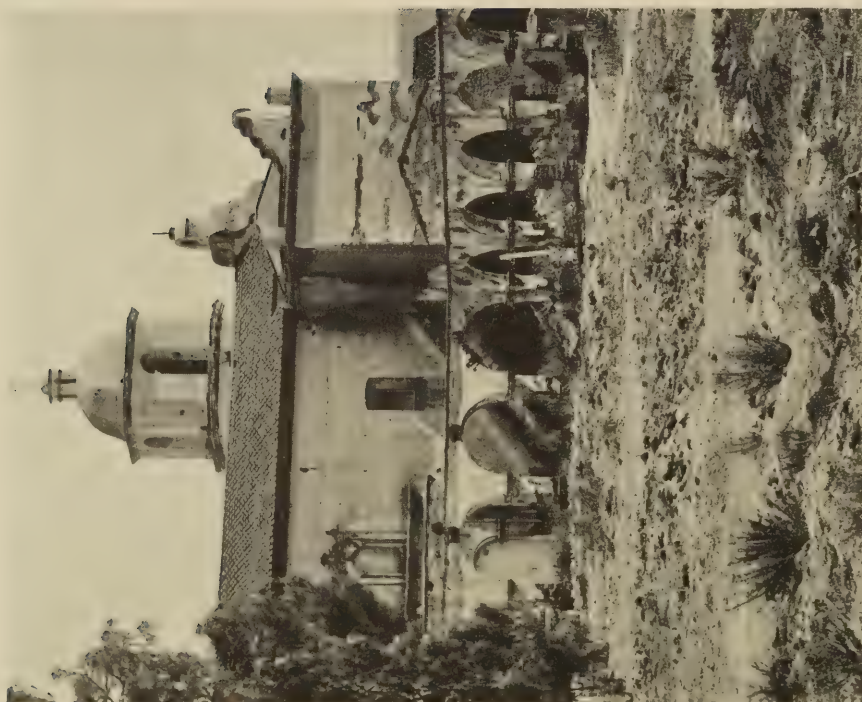


SIDE PORTAL AND STAIRWAY

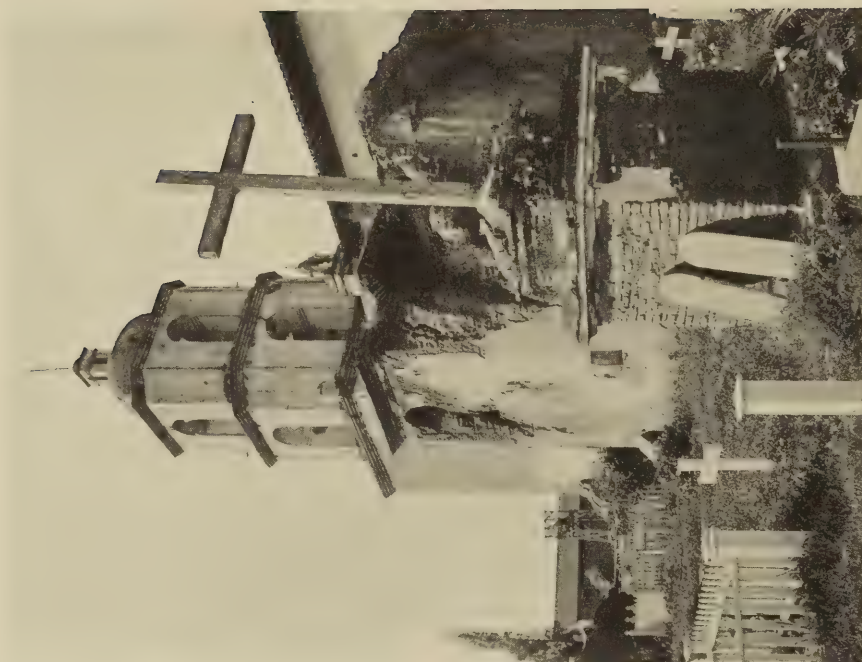
MISSION SAN LUIS REY DE FRANCIA



CUPOLA AND ROOF



RUINED PATIO, BEFORE RESTORATION



CEMETERY AND MORTUARY CHAPEL

are many mistakes in the Mofras drawing and that it certainly was not drawn upon the ground is evident, but, that there was an intention at the time which looked toward ultimate completion of the second tower, can scarcely be gainsaid.

A feature of the church, now much changed, is the lantern at the crossing (p. 106). The original lantern, described in the mission reports for 1829, at which time it was built, was much smaller than the present one, which was erected in the nineties. In contrast to the present form, the roof of the transept originally intersected that of the nave, and, at the intersection, stood a simple octagonal lantern, crowned by a low pyramidal roof. The lantern was carried upon a low dome over the crossing, which did not figure in the external expression. The form was unique in mission architecture, and, since it was the only lantern in the whole mission chain, it marked San Luis Rey as among the most advanced of the structures.

The fachada of the church (p. 106), the towers, and cemetery wall, portions to which, perhaps, the chief interest of the exterior attaches itself, are admirable examples of brickwork, and, indeed, the writer believes that at no mission has better use been made of brick. The fachada, which consists of a rectangle flanked by towers and crowned by a curved, pedimented gable, which in turn carries an interesting arch and cross, is relieved by the main portal, enclosed by simple pilasters and mouldings, flanked by niches, and surmounted by a circular window which lights the choir. Aside from these "elements" the fachada is a simple stuccoed wall, but each and every one of these "elements" is interesting enough in design and skilful enough in execution to merit our study. The fachada, we may be sure, was designed in advance by a practised hand, as all the features—mouldings, niches, corbels, and bands—are of brick, moulded for the particular situations in which they were placed.

These and other features in and about the mission point to the conclusion that one man was responsible for it all. After the statement of Duhaut-Cilly, a French visitor at San Luis Rey in 1827, who says of the mission, "The buildings were drawn on a large and ample plan, wholly the idea of the Padre; he directed the execution of it, in which he was assisted by a very skilful man

who had contributed also to the building of those at Santa Bárbara," we must conclude that the general composition was the work of Padre Peyri, while the delightful details may have been executed by the "very skilful man" who helped him.

Although San Luis has been seriously criticized, because of the lack of the second tower, when seen from the correct aspect there is no better example of interesting and picturesque composition anywhere in the mission chain than that presented by the fachada, campanario, and cemetery wall. The campanario is one of the most graceful of the "terraced" type, being handsomer than those of either Santa Bárbara or San Buenaventura, the towers most nearly resembling it. It has inspired much modern work, and, since its appeal is due almost entirely to its excellent proportions, is indeed a feature worthy of much study.

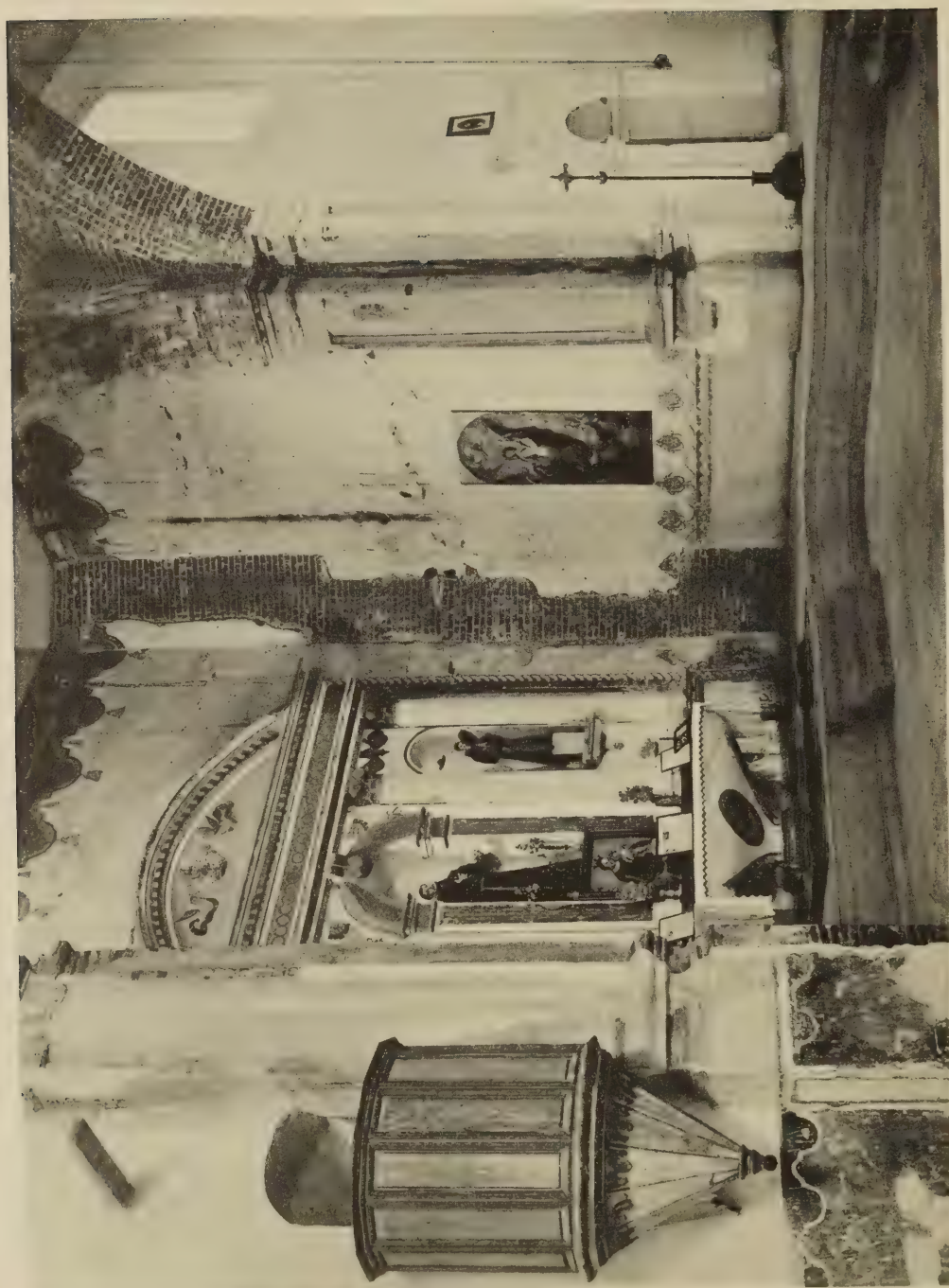
The interior of San Luis Rey is scarcely as interesting and original as the exterior. The ancient square floor tiles have been replaced by a modern concrete floor; a modern ceiling hides the open timbers of the roof, while a modern brick dome crowns the crossing. In our photograph (p. 137) will be noted the wooden "arch" supporting the choir, the shell-headed door at the left, the distemper decorations upon the walls, and the ancient wooden pulpit. This old pulpit, sometimes ridiculously said to have an oriental origin and to have been brought from Constantinople, was constructed in the mission carpentería (carpenter shop) and resembles one which still exists in Mission San Gabriel. It is approached by a flight of steps cut into the wall behind it and is reached from the left arm of the transept. The pulpit has lost its ancient canapé (canopy), although the wooden beam that supported that canopy is still in place.

The interior pilasters of the church are similar in detail to those of the fachada, while the doorways into the sacristies and baptistry are identical in design with those of the main and side portals (p. 133). The altars, like the other details, are executed in burned brick and plaster. One of the most naïve bits to be found in the mission is the baptistry, the font of which, in its simplicity, resembles those found in out-of-the-way country churches of Norman England.

Without doubt one of the most interesting bits of mission



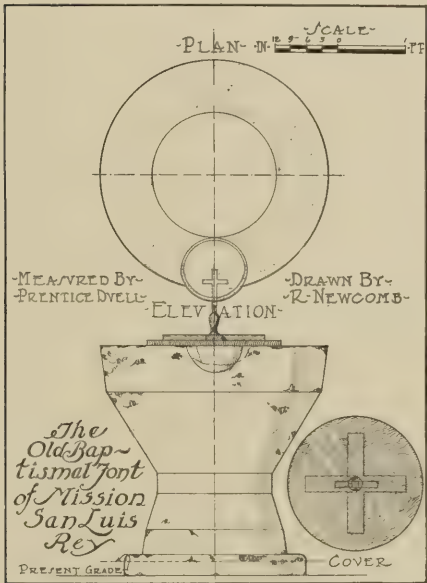
MISSION SAN LUIS REY DE FRANCIA, INTERIOR OF CHURCH

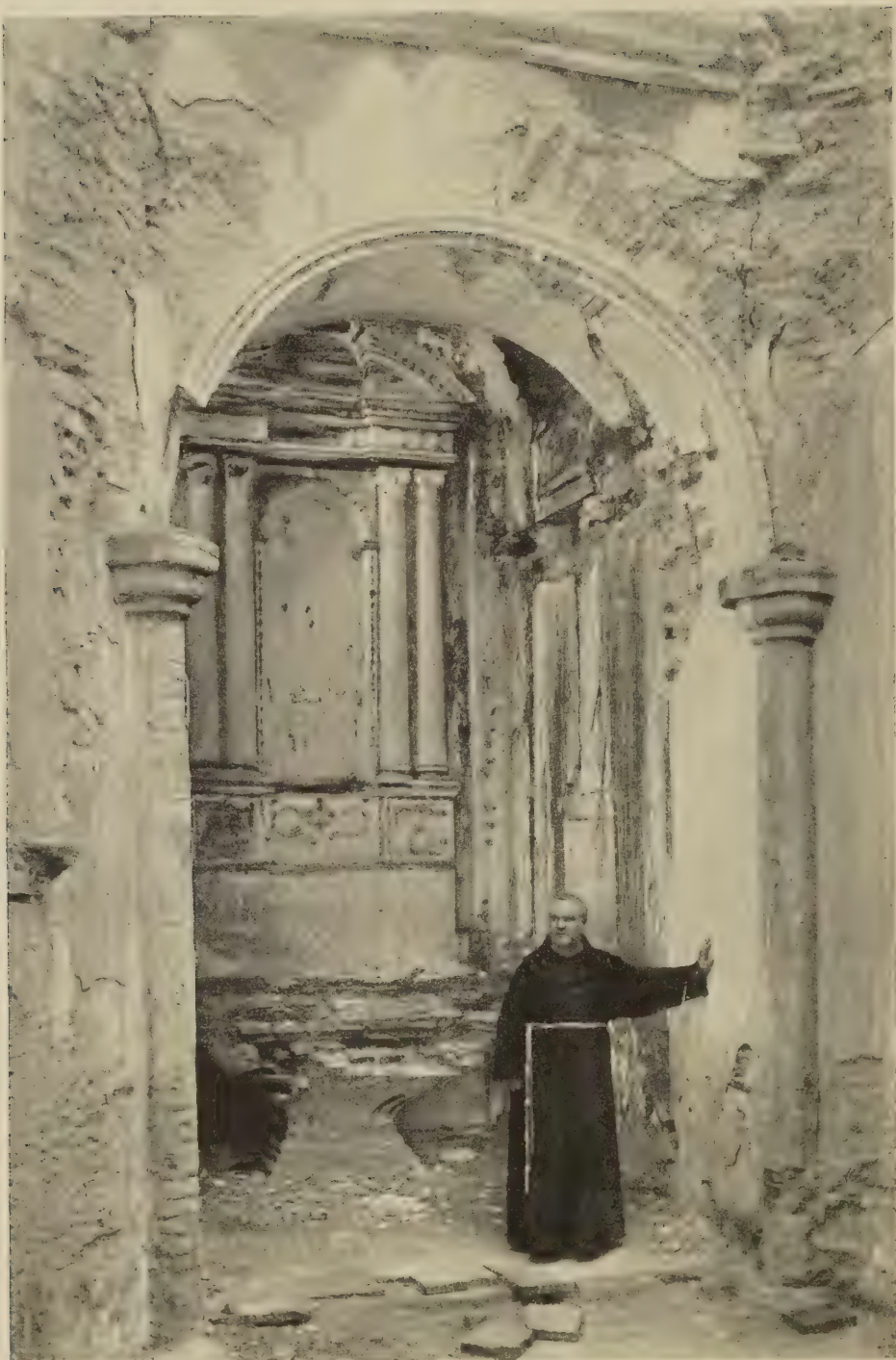


MISSION SAN LUIS REY DE FRANCIA, SIDE ALTAR AND PULPIT



MISSION SAN LUIS REY, FONT





MISSION SAN LUIS REY DE FRANCIA. MORTUARY CHAPEL

architecture extant is the mortuary chapel of San Luis Rey. The chapel consists of an octagonal apartment with a rectangular sanctuary opening from it. Both are roofed with low domes of brick. The chapel proper is lighted by segment-headed windows high in the walls, while the sanctuary is lighted by circular windows similar to that of the fachada. The altar, with its curved and "broken" pediment and its classic columns, all executed in brick and plaster, is as elaborate a piece of work as one finds among the missions of California, the detail being excelled only by the intricate work at San Xavier del Bac, Arizona (p. 98), and San José de Aguayo, Texas (p. 14). Winding stairways in the walls lead to an outlook over the altar, where, in the old days, watchers stood guard to see that the relics of the dead were not disturbed. At its height, in full color and gilt, with candles burning and incense-perfumed, this little chapel must have presented a beautiful and awesome picture.

The church of San Luis Rey has often been called the most perfect of the Californian buildings. Of those existing at the present time it is certainly the most harmonious in all of its details, but, incomplete as it certainly is, it can scarcely hope to be rated above the old stone church of San Juan Capistrano, which, in the writer's opinion, was the finest church in the California chain. That it was a very comfortable and beautiful place in its prime we may readily believe upon reading the description of Duhaut-Cilly, who says:

"At the right-hand side of the exterior façade rises the church, with its bell-tower encircled by a double range of piers in moulded terraces. The façade of this edifice is plain and without peristyle, but the interior is richly but tastefully decorated. A beautiful and attractive little cupola crowns the little chapel and Fray Antonio delighted in showing the good taste which he had displayed in decorating it."

The gardens, the traveller especially praises.

"The great gardens and orchards, with numberless fruit-trees and well cultivated, supply abundant vegetables and fruits of all sorts. A view of the wide and convenient stairway that leads to the orchard at the southeast put me in mind of the conservatory of citrus fruits at Versailles, not because the material was as precious or the architecture as grand, but because there was some similarity in the disposition, number, and proportion of the steps. At the foot of the stairway are to be seen two beautiful lavatories in stucco. One of them is a basin in which the Indians bathe every morning; the other is used for washing linens every Saturday. A part of the waste water runs off into the garden, in

which numerous conduits furnish continual moisture and freshness. The second orchard, being on higher ground, is irrigated by artificial means. A vertical wheel with scoops, moved at intervals by two men, elevates the water in time of need. These orchards grow most excellent olives and provide the finest grape wine in California. I took a sample of this wine with me and still have it. It has a taste like that of the Paxaret and a color like that of the Porto purgato.”²

After the overthrow of the Spanish régime mission prosperity waned, and, two years after Padre Peyri left his beloved mission, San Luis Rey was secularized and turned over to Captain Pablo de la Portilla, as *comisionado*, and Pío Pico (later governor), as administrator. In 1843 Governor Micheltorena restored the mission to the padres, with Father Zalvidea, who had been a model administrator of temporalities at Mission San Gabriel from 1806 to 1826, in charge. Padre Zalvidea was, however, now advanced in years and no longer fit for service under such adverse circumstances. The mission temporalities had suffered tremendously under secularization, and, under restored missionary rule, they failed to recover.

The mission is now in the hands of the Church and has been since 1865, when President Lincoln signed the title-deed returning the properties to the Catholic Church. In 1892 two Mexican priests, the Rev. J. G. Alva, Commissary-general of the Franciscans in Mexico, and Rev. D. Rangel, a member of the former Missionary College of Our Lady of Guadalupe at Zacatecas, Mexico, asked permission to restore the old buildings and to establish here a novitiate for the training of young men for the Mexican priesthood. Bishop Mora granted permission for the restoration and got authority from Rome for the establishment of the novitiate. The mission was thus rededicated to the work of the Church, May 12, 1893.

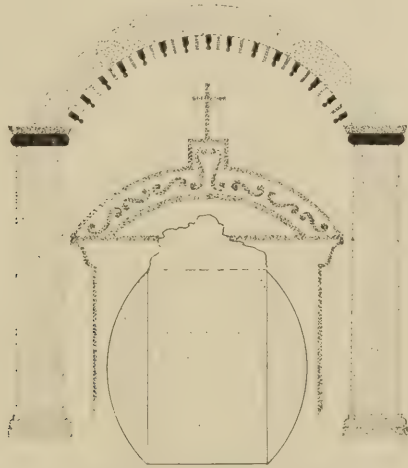
The Franciscan fathers who came to conduct the school were all from Zacatecas, and, since they were unaccustomed to the English language and American ways, Rev. Fr. Joseph J. O’Keefe, O.F.M., was summoned from Santa Bárbara to acquaint the fathers with the language and manners of the country and to supervise the restoration of the mission structures. He remained here for nineteen years, making considerable progress in the restoration program. Father O’Keefe was succeeded by

² Duhaut-Cilly: *Viaggio Intorno al Globo*; I, 45.

Father Peter Wallischeck, former rector of Saint Anthony's College, Santa Bárbara, who came in August, 1912.

Father Wallischeck, during the first year of his administration, formulated plans for the establishment of a "day-school" for the children of the neighborhood. His plan was looked upon, at first, as one of doubtful success, but by July, 1913, he had induced the Sisters of the Precious Blood of Maria Stein, Ohio, to investigate the matter, with the result that they took charge of the day-school and in addition instituted a high school, both of which are in flourishing condition today. In the meantime restoration work under Father Wallischeck proceeded, and the present superior, Rev. Fr. Dominic Gallardo, O.F.M., is continuing the work as funds are available.

The present school quarters cover about one-fourth of the area of the ancient patio, none of the arches of which have been disturbed. All of the work of restoration is being done after the primitive fashion by the lay-brothers and novices. The church has been repaired and redecorated, the cemetery walls rebuilt, and the gardens and orchards rehabilitated, so that the establishment presents at the present time the appearance of a prosperous monastery, more Spanish than American.



Ancient Indian Fresco Decorations around Niche
in Wall of Nave
San Antonio de Pala

CHAPTER XI

THE ASISTENCIA OF SAN ANTONIO DE PALA

OF THE mother mission of San Luis Rey we have read in the preceding chapter. Let us now make a side trip to the little asistencia of San Antonio de Pala. San Antonio is the most interesting of all the chapels in the mission chain and one known very well because of its unique and beautiful campanario. The establishment was made by Father Peyri in 1816 in order that the padres of San Luis Rey might serve a large number of Indians who dwelt in the section. The chapel is situated in a beautiful little mountain-hemmed valley skirted by the San Luis Rey River, some twenty-five miles northeast of the mission. The valley, by some thought to resemble a shovel (*pala*), really takes its name from the Indian term meaning water and hence the chapel, dedicated to Saint Anthony of Padua, became San Antonio de Pala. The situation is one of the most secluded of any of the Spanish church sites in California, and, being in the back country and off the railroad, is wild and rugged. During mission days the chapel was reached by a narrow trail that wound, paralleling the stream, up the river valley, but today this primitive road, a branch of El Camino Real, is replaced by a fine stone road, a part of the San Diego County highway system.

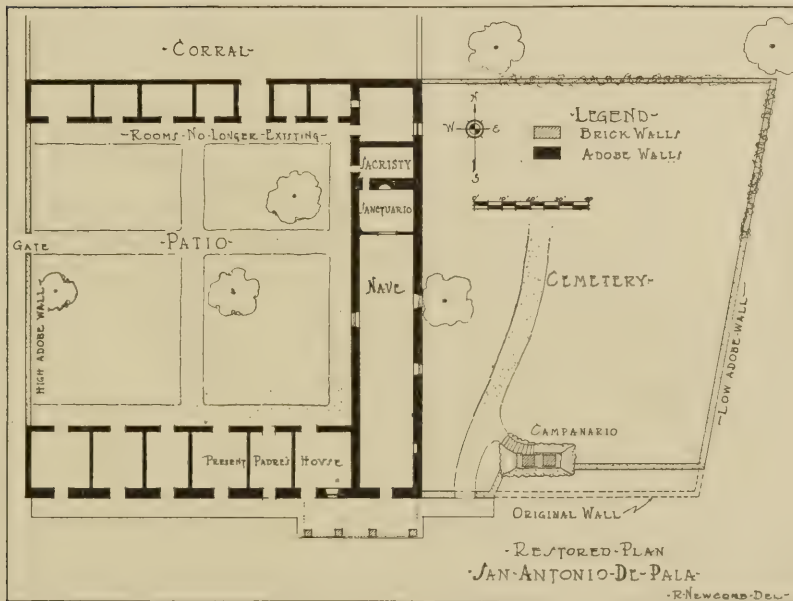
Within two years after the foundation at Pala, the population, made up for the most part of Pauma Indians, had reached a thousand souls. It is said that the community was one of the happiest and most satisfactory of all the mission establishments. The Indians, intelligent, hard-working, and pastoral in disposition, were good craftsmen and much attached to their native valley. The chapel has, in recent years, been made the centre for the Palatingua Indians, who were moved thither from Warner's Hot Springs by the United States Government. Thus the Indians have been returned to their native home, after having been driven away by homesteaders at the time of the American occupation of the country.

During the time that the lands were held by the whites, the Indians remained faithful to San Antonio and came miles to worship the saints and keep intact the decorations and relics.



SAN ANTONIO DE PALA

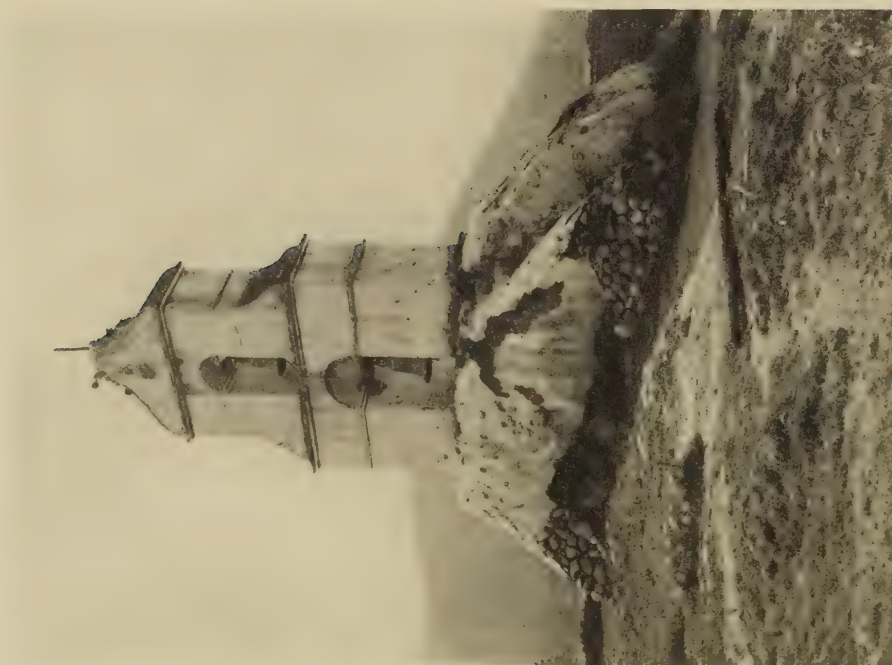
Sanctuary before obliteration of ancient distemper decorations





VIEW FROM THE ORCHARD, BEFORE RESTORATION

SAN ANTONIO DE PALA



CAMPANARIO

For years no priest was in residence, but whenever services were held by a visiting priest, a large congregation of Indians, gathered in from the highways and byways, were in attendance to greet him.

The establishment of Pala, coming, as it did, late in the mission period, accounts for the incomplete working out of the plan. It is evident that the intention was, eventually, to have the well-known patio arrangement, as three sides of the patio were, in the beginning, enclosed by buildings. The cemetery stands at one side of the church, as at the missions, the only variation from the typical layout being the placing of the campanario, which here stands detached from the church.

The church, like those of most of the missions, was not orientated. The main entrance was at the south, the high altar at the north. The sacristy was at the rear, while wings extended westward from either end of the church for the formation of the future patio. The south wing is still standing, and, now restored, serves as the priest's house; the north wing has completely disappeared. The square thus defined was enclosed upon its western side by an adobe wall and at the rear of the square was originally a corral for the domestic stock of the establishment.

The buildings were constructed of adobe, made upon the ground, plastered inside and out and whitewashed. The roof is of red tiles, made and burned, most likely, in the kilns of San Luis Rey, as were, no doubt, the floor tiles, which are of the square, red variety, so common among the missions. The footings for the walls were of granite boulders from the washes of the river. The roofing timbers were of sycamore, obtained anywhere along the banks of the San Luis Rey. The piers of the porch in front of the chapel were of adobe, plastered, as were also the cemetery gateway and walls.

The belfry, which forms the most interesting single feature of the ensemble, stands upon a base of granite boulders set in cement and consists of two arches of burned brick, one above the other, four feet thick and plastered with a heavy stucco. A cross, now of wood, but originally of wrought iron, surmounts the tower, which, due to its height and its situation, makes the emblem of salvation visible from almost any part of the little valley.

The campanario still contains the two original bells, swung by rawhide thongs from sycamore beams that are in turn imbedded in the masonry. The lower bell is very interesting and came from the shop of the famous bell-founder, Cervantes. The legend upon one side of the bell runs thus:

"STUS DS STUS FTIS STUS IMMORTLIS MICERERE NOBIS

An. De. 1816. J. R."

That is:

"Holy Father, Holy, Most Mighty One, Pity Us.
Year of Our Lord, 1816. Jesus Redemptor."

On the other side occurs this legend:

"N.P.S. SAN FRANCISCO DE ASIS. SAN LUIS REY. STA CLARA
EULALIA NTRA LUZ CERVANTES NOS FECIT."

Which is to say:

"Our Patron Saint. Saint Francis of Assisi. Saint Louis the King. Saint Clara
Eulalia Our Light. Cervantes made us."

The upper bell, simpler and smaller, carries this inscription:

"SANCTA MARIA ORA PRO NOBIS"

Which means:

"Holy Mary, Pray for Us."

The base of the campanario, which now forms a portion of the cemetery enclosure, originally stood within the enclosure. It is, however, more effective as it now stands, especially from the outside. From the cemetery side a flight of eleven masonry steps leads up to the top of the podium and the bells are rung from this level by means of ropes attached to the clappers. All mission bells were rung in this way, instead of being swung by a wheel, as are our present-day bells. The belfry is a unit in itself and as interesting a bit of architecture as the mission chain contains.

The chapel's main interest lies in its interior, and even here its interest has been largely diminished by the obliteration of the ancient Indian wall frescos by an unsympathetic priest who covered them with whitewash. Our photograph of the interior (p. 145), taken many years ago, will serve to give some idea of the decorations in the sanctuary, where we find a niche flanked by two false niches painted upon the wall. All the decorations, in red, browns, yellows, black, and white, were executed by the

Indians. It will be noted in the photograph that the altar rail, as well as the walls, was decorated in distemper. This rail of flat "balusters" was probably fashioned in the carpentería of Mission San Luis Rey. The interesting door at the left, leading to the sacristy, was also doubtless built at San Luis Rey.

Pala, like the larger establishments, has had its vicissitudes. Upon secularization the chapel, like the mother mission, passed into the hands of a notoriously unscrupulous and unprincipled comisionado. The cattle and sheep were sold off, the Indians scattered, and the buildings allowed to fall into disrepair. Within twenty-five or thirty years the ruined old chapel and its incomparable campanario were practically all that was left of this once busy hive of industry, peace, and happiness. In the early nineties, when investigation as to the condition of Pala was made by the Southern California Historical Society, the properties were found to be in the possession of a Mr. Viele. But how came Mr. Viele into possession of these properties? Professor Frank J. Pooley, past president of the Historical Society, published the following statement of the facts in 1893:

"Years ago, when times were different and the mission was making some pretence to be a living church, in the course of their duties a party of government surveyors came here. As a result of their surveys one of them told Mr. Viele in confidence that the entire mission holdings, olive orchards and lands, were all on government property. Mr. Viele at once took steps to claim all, and he did so. The secret leaked out, and others came in and attempted to settle on parts of the property under various claims of title, and soon the Catholic Church and the claimants were engaged in a long lawsuit, which proved the death struggle to the Church interests. Mr. Viele emerged victorious, sole owner of the church, the orchard, the bells, and even the graveyard. Afterward, by deed of gift, he gave the Church authorities the tumble-down ruin of the church, the dark adobe robing-room, the bells, and the graveyard, but because Mr. Viele still withheld the valuable lands from the Church, no services are held there and the quarrel has gone on year by year. Mr. Viele clings to what he terms his legal rights, and the church is locked up and the Indian left largely to his own devices."

Professor Pooley paints a desolate picture of the church at the time he visited it. He says:

"The church is a veritable curiosity, narrow, long, low, and dark, with adobe walls and heavy beams roughly set in the sides to furnish support for the roof. . . . The earthen walls are covered with rude paintings of Indian design and of strange coloring that have preserved their tone very well indeed. Great square bricks, badly worn, pave the floor, and set in deep niches along the walls at intervals are various utensils of battered copper and brass that would



SAN ANTONIO DE PALA. THE RESTORED CHURCH



SAN ANTONIO DE PALA. TOWER AND CEMETERY GATE

arouse the cupidity of the collector of bric-à-brac. The door is strongly barred and has iron plates set with large rivets. The strange light that comes through the narrow windows and broken roof sheds an unnatural glow on the paintings upon the walls and puts into strange relief the ruined altar far distant in the church. Three wooden images yet remain upon the altar, but they are sadly broken and their vestments are gone.

The chapel remained in very much the same condition described by Professor Pooley until the fall of 1901, when the Landmarks Club of Southern California, headed by Charles F. Lummis, made an investigation of the state of the premises and set in motion a movement to restore the structure. Mr. Lummis, with architects Hunt and Benton, constituted a committee appointed to report upon the condition of the edifice and the feasibility of its repair. This committee found the structural parts of the chapel in good condition and reported that, although the roof and tower had been damaged by a recent earthquake, the walls were generally in such a condition that restoration would not be extremely difficult.

Many of the natives were interested in the restoration plan, and at a meeting held at the village store, many pledged money and others labor toward the proposed work. In the next two years the most pressing repairs were made. The chapel and the adjoining apartments were reroofed. This meant not only the removal and replacement of the fine old tile roof, but it meant also the strengthening of the trusses which carry the roof. In doing this the ugly posts that had marred the interior were removed and the trusses were strengthened by the supplying of tensional members, which the original builders, either for lack of the understanding of truss-building or for the want of iron, did not supply. The walls of the church were repaired and the adobe piers carrying the corridor roof completely restored. The cemetery gate and fence as well as the campanario were given slight but needed repairs, and a deed to the property was obtained from Mr. Viele and in turn transferred to the rightful owners, the Catholic Church of California. Thus Pala was once more in condition for the services that had so long been neglected.

It was very unfortunate that the priest sent to minister unto the Indians had no sympathy with the old Indian decorations of the interior, for, in the obliteration of these frescos by means of

whitewash, he destroyed a fine series of interesting human documents which can never be replaced. With the restoration of the chapel and the return of the Indians to Pala Valley the old church opened a new period of usefulness and is today the parish church of the happy little Indian community.

But one more event in the architectural history of the chapel remains to be told and this concerns the charming old campanario. In January of 1916 a terrific storm swept the coast country of Southern California, and, as torrents of rain fell in the hills, many of the streams left their banks. Pala Valley, situated as it is, was particularly open to attack by such a storm. Pouring floods from the San Luis Rey swept the little valley, and the campanario, standing directly in the path of the current, came in for a terrific battle. On the afternoon of January 27, the waters having undermined the footings, the belfry fell forward, breaking into several pieces. By this event it was discovered for the first time that the base, which every one had assumed to be of solid stone masonry, was of adobe faced with the granite boulders imbedded in cement. That it had stood for an even century and performed faithfully under all ordinary circumstances argued well for the constructive ability of the fathers; that it should fail in the face of a flood does not in the least detract from their fame as builders.

Father Doyle, the resident priest, immediately sent out an appeal for help in the rebuilding of the tower. A fund of \$600 was raised, while the Indians contributed labor. By April the tower was practically restored, and on Sunday, June 4th, the campanario was rededicated to the service of God. The old materials were practically all used and the structure is as near an exact duplicate of the old as it was possible to make it, with but one exception. In the restored tower the base has been made of solid concrete faced with granite boulders instead of the adobe that was originally used. Thus it is doubtful whether Padre Peyri himself would suspect, were he to return, that anything had happened to his belfry.

CHAPTER XII

MISSION SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO

AS THE train from Los Angeles plunges through the broad expanse of the Rancho San Joaquín, past acre upon acre planted to beans, the passenger to San Juan Capistrano finds himself being gradually surrounded by foot-hills. Presently he is hurled through a great gap in the hills and finds himself shut in completely. But on and beyond, upon a slight eminence, stands the ruins of what was perhaps the most glorious attempt at church-building during the Spanish period of California. While he marvels at the expanse of white wall and red tile roof, the station is announced in that urgent voice that indicates that passengers had best make hurried steps in order to get off the train. The passenger grasps his camera and sketch-pad and by the time he gains the aisle, the decreasing velocity of the train rushes him headlong toward the vestibule.

Once off the train, he turns about, seeking a way out of the station, which is arcaded after the fashion of the mission cloisters. Soon he finds himself outside the crowd of Mexicans and half-breeds and on the way up the neglected street leading to the centre of municipal activity, a section that can scarcely be dignified by the name of business section. On one hand a sign upon a wooden building of recent date announces the service of the "Mission Restaurant." On another one observes a long row of whitewashed adobe buildings which serve as business places, and labelled "store," "meat-market," and until recently, "saloon." Mexicans—men and boys—lounge lazily in the sunshine or as lazily come and go, while ranchers in boots and sombreros ride galloping here and there. These are almost the only traces of modernism, however, for the place is still largely inhabited by Spanish-speaking people, so that here the atmosphere, which is so distinctly American about most of the mission-houses, savors still of the old Spanish régime.

The padres could scarcely have chosen a more beautiful spot. Hemmed in in nearly every direction by the low-lying foot-hills and guarded to the eastward by the Santa Ana Mountains, with "old Saddleback" silhouetted against the deep-blue summer sky

or lightly mantled with a shimmering crown in winter, the mission is particularly well protected. Some hundred yards below the mission the waves of the Pacific battle eternally with the rocky cliffs and waft cooling breezes up through the little valley in the heated days of summer. Thus the climate and situation could scarcely be equalled in Southern California. The soil, too, is wonderfully fertile, and, in modern times, the old mission lands have been divided into pleasant and productive orchards and ranchos.

In this beautiful, mountain-hemmed valley the Mission of San Juan Capistrano was founded November 1, 1776—the year of American Independence—by Padre Junípero Serra, assisted by Padres Pablo Mugártegui and Gregório Amúrrio. San Juan Capistrano was the seventh link in the mission chain, and an attempt at foundation had been made in October of the year before, when Padre Fermín de Lasuén of San Diego had erected a cross and celebrated mass in a hut of boughs. However, a week after ground was broken, news came of an Indian uprising at San Diego and the bells were hurriedly buried, while Father Lasuén and his handful of guards returned to San Diego to await a more favorable opportunity. Father Serra found the cross erected by Padre Lasuén; the bells were unearthed and the Padre-presidente celebrated the mass on the feast-day of All Saints in the presence of the accompanying padres and the escolta of eleven soldiers.

Mission San Juan Capistrano was named in honor of an Italian Franciscan, theologian, and inquisitor who lived between the years of 1386 and 1456. He was born in the little town of Capistrano in the Abruzzi, after which he is called. The early part of his career was secular. He married and became a successful magistrate. He took part, however, in the continual struggles of the small Italian states and finally was forced to compromise himself. During the resulting captivity he was ruined financially and lost his young wife. Sorrowing and in despair, he entered the Franciscan order and gave himself up to the most rigorous asceticism. As a legate and inquisitor he persecuted heretics in many cities and countries, especially the followers of John Huss in Germany, Hungary, and Bohemia. His last crusade was against the Turks (1455). Although a vigorous and

militant inquisitor, he found time to write much and to promote various reforms in the order of minor Franciscans. He was canonized in 1690.

From the beginning the mission was prosperous and by 1786 there were 544 in the settlement. In 1800 there were 17,000 sheep on the mission pastures and crops amounting to 6300 bushels were gathered. In 1794 two large granaries with tile roofs were built. These were probably the buildings at the northeast corner of the patio, now in ruins. Serious setbacks were encountered, but reverses in one way and another were met with a fresh zeal and a renewed spirit. In March, 1801, through the carelessness of one of the servants, a storehouse was set on fire and 2400 bushels of grain and six tons of tallow were lost, to say nothing of the loss of the buildings themselves. But the adobes made good fire-walls and a fire was usually confined to the building in which it originated.

The materials used in the construction of the mission were adobe, sandstone, limestone, wood, iron, brick, tile, mortar, rawhide, and tule and cat-tail stems. The walls of the shops and houses are of adobe, from two to seven feet in thickness. Sandstone was used for lintels in the buildings and as skew-backs and keystones in the brick cloister arcades. The great church, its sacristy and baptistry, were entirely of sandstone, which was quarried at a point about six miles northeast of the mission. This stone is of two sorts: a fine-grained yellow variety, laid at random, used for walls and domes, and a blue-grey variety used for the door and window jambs and the interior cut-stone details.

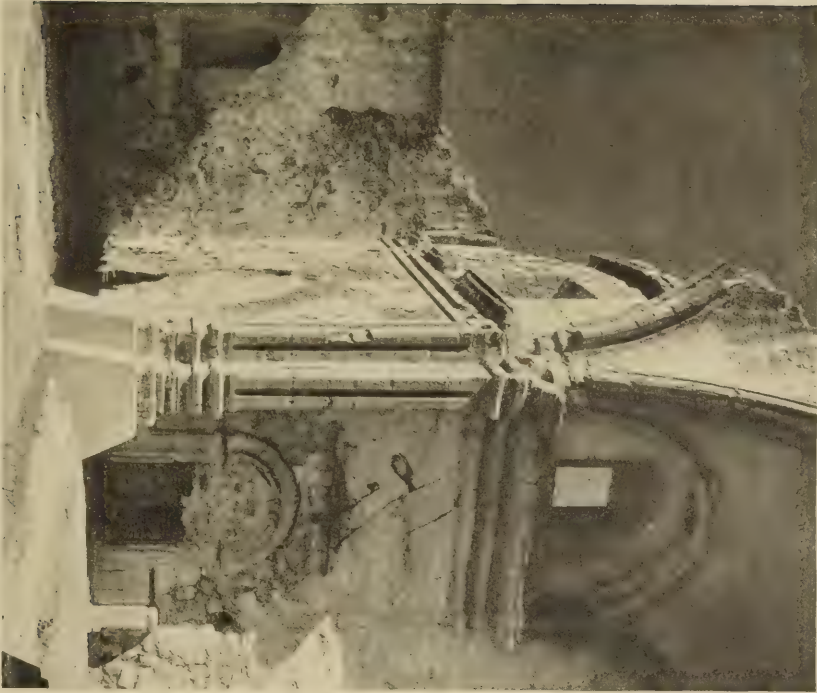
The tiles and bricks for the construction of walls, arches, and pavements, as well as the roofing-tiles (p. 70), were made just north of the mission, where remnants of the kilns may be seen to this day. The limestone for making the lime was quarried near the present town of El Toro, away ten miles to the north. It was, no doubt, burned near the tile-kilns just north of the mission. The wood used was sycamore and was cut and brought down from Trabuco Cañon or from the slopes of "Saddleback" Mountain, twenty miles to the northeast.

The plan of San Juan Capistrano was that of the typical mission establishment. Here, as elsewhere, the practical require-

ments demanded, for the sake of supervision, accessibility, and safety, an arrangement around a patio. This patio, supplied with water, was large enough to contain all the neophytes and movable property in case of trouble with hostile Indians. That the layout was admirably adapted to the needs of such a community the reader will agree when he studies the plan. The patio has no two sides of the same length, as will be noted upon the plan (p. 53). This was due, probably, to the fact that the padre-in-charge paced off the distance between piers and placed sixteen arches upon a side regardless of their spans. At the southeast corner of the patio (p. 78), one of the arch spans is strikingly short. There were originally four openings into the court: one at the north, a wagon entrance; one at the southwest corner, the gate, which has long since disappeared; one at the south, the zaguan (vestibule); and one on the east connecting the patio with the smaller court and padres' garden. When the mission was at its height, the patio presented, doubtless, an appearance ever of varicolored activity.

If the patio was the centre of the private life of the mission, the centre of community life was localized upon the plaza. Here were the priests' quarters, the major-domo's house, guest-rooms, and soldiers' quarters. A little court between the great church and the padres' house served as a place for meditation and rest, and upon this opened the door of the sacristy of the stone church. At the rear of the church was the adobe-walled cemetery.

Probably one of the first of the existing buildings to be erected was that portion along the east side of the patio known as Serra's church. This, an adobe building 120 feet long and 17 feet wide, was the first permanent chapel of the mission. The sanctuary was at the north end, the choir-gallery, reached by a stairway of brick still intact, at the south. This building was used from the time of its completion, about 1777, until September 7, 1806, when the great stone church was dedicated. It was then abandoned, but after the destruction of the stone church by an earthquake in December, 1812, it was again put into use and served as the church for the mission and community until about 1890, when the small community was forced to abandon it in favor of a portion of the mission in better repair. At this time

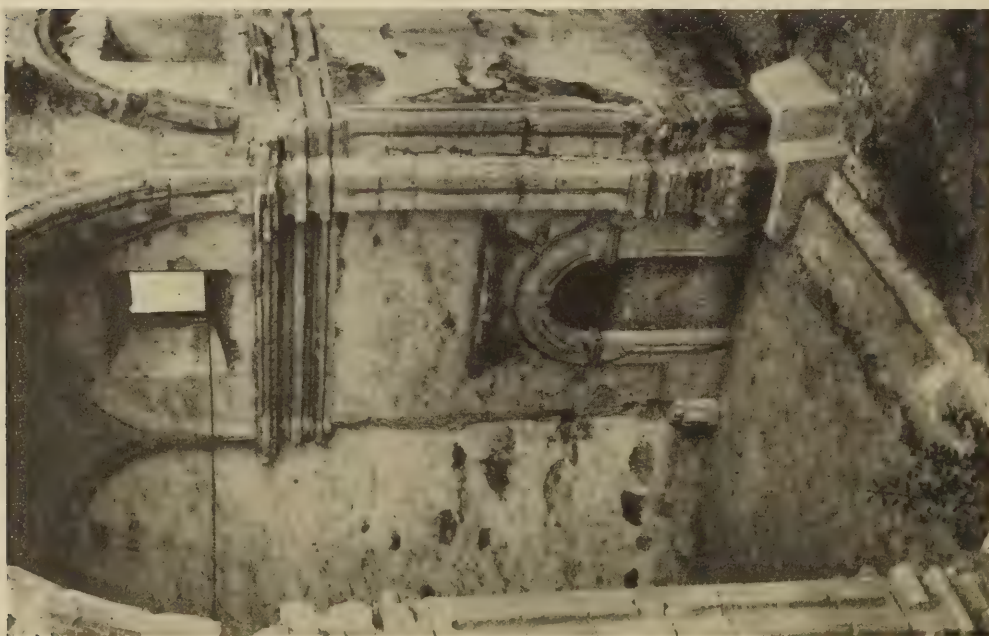


THE RUINED SANCTUARY

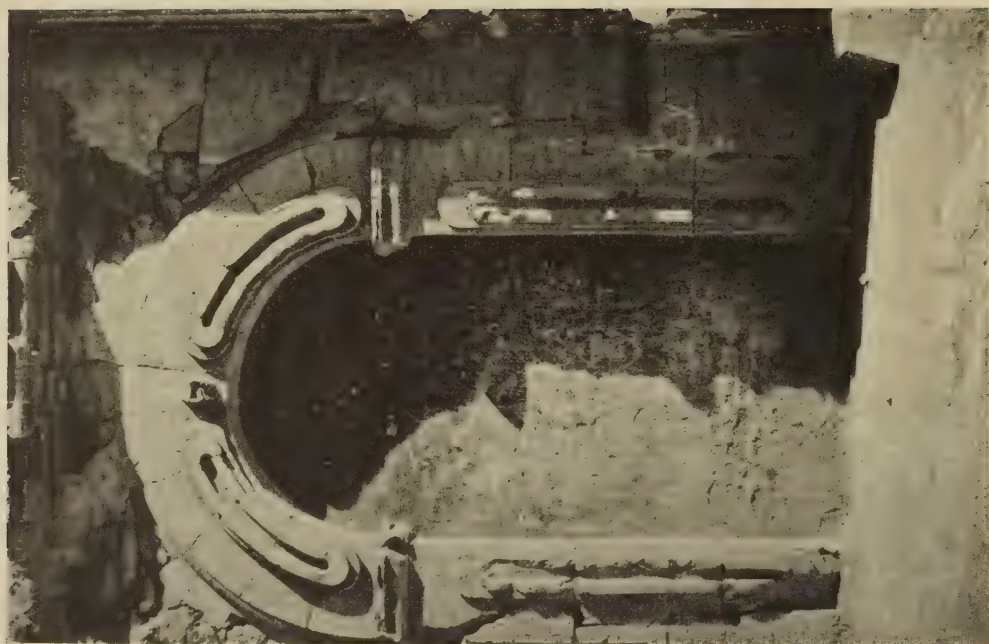


MISSION SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO

BROKEN ARCHES



SANCTUARY



DOOR OF SANCTUARY

MISSION SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO

the former padres' house (p. 111) was occupied as the place of worship.

In February, 1797, work was begun on the great church. Just who was responsible for the conception and plans, it would be difficult to say. From the list of padres of San Juan Capistrano we know that the priests in charge during the period of building of the great stone church were: Padres Vicente Fuster, Juan Norberto de Santiago, and José Faura.

Padre Fuster, who was at the time an old man, had been at the mission from 1779 until 1787 and again from 1789 until his death in 1800. The church was begun, it will be seen, only three years before his death. It is to be supposed that a man of ripe years and experience undoubtedly would have been consulted regarding the plans for the edifice, and it is almost to be concluded that the great size and general magnificence of the building is due to his ambition to see a great church erected at the mission to which he had given so much of his life. When, in 1789, Padre Fuster returned from Mission Purísima Concepción, which he founded and administered for two years, Padre Juan Norberto de Santiago, a priest who had arrived in Mexico from Spain in 1785, was assigned to Capistrano with him. Although Padre Santiago had been at San Francisco during the years 1786-1787, his only regular ministry in California, since he left the province in 1811, was at San Juan Capistrano.

When Fuster died in 1800 his place was filled by Padre José Faura, a native of Barcelona, who had spent two years at San Luis Rey (1798-1800). Padre Faura remained at San Juan Capistrano from 1800 until October, 1809, but it is to be supposed that Padre Santiago, an older man, was naturally the superior. Padre Fuster must have matured plans for the building of the great church which were subsequently carried out by Padre Santiago, who lived to see the church dedicated in 1806, but who left the mission before the destructive earthquake of December, 1812. The padres in charge at the time of the church's destruction were Barona and Suñer.

Now, although the padres mentioned doubtless inspired and directed the work of church-building in a general way, the actual supervision of the practical details was delegated to a "master

mason," who, according to Bancroft,¹ was "obtained from Culiacán" in Mexico by Arrillaga, Governor of California (1800-1814), who reported the fact to the Viceroy January 11, 1799. The work, begun in February, 1797, was carried on continuously for nine years, the church being completed and dedicated on September 7, 1806. The blessing of the edifice, attended by the important civil and ecclesiastical authorities of the province, was one of the noteworthy events in early Californian history.

The church was in use for only six years, for on December 8, 1812, while the first mass was in progress, an earthquake occurred which wrecked the tower and one of the domes over the nave. Bancroft and other writers, following him, say that the tower fell down upon the kneeling worshippers. Father O'Sullivan, the resident pastor, who has given a great deal of time and study to the church and its history, believes that the tower fell southward into the plaza, scattering stones all over the square. The ruins of this tower served for years as a quarry for the inhabitants, who carted away the stones for use in building. Several of the worshippers, together with the officiating padre, escaped through the sanctuary and sacristy, emerging unharmed, but, in spite of this fact, some thirty-nine or forty bodies were taken from the ruins in the next two days.

The church was never rebuilt. In the sixties an attempt was made by some well-meaning but half-determined enthusiasts to rebuild the structure in adobe. To this end, gunpowder was used to blow down the remaining shattered domes up to the sanctuary, which withstood, apparently, even the gunpowder, leaving the church the utter ruin that we find it today. The Landmarks Club has done much to preserve what little remains, but almost every winter with its deluge of rain brings further destruction to some part of the old building. Yet, in spite of all the violence that the buildings have suffered, the group at San Juan Capistrano stands at once the most glorious and most pathetic heritage of the early romantic period of Californian history. The primal glory has departed, but the afterglow still lingers, and in and around these grey ruins, as well as in the little sunlit valley in which they stand, hovers an indefinable charm that time can never dim.

¹ *History of California*; I, 658; citing state papers, MS.; II, 26.



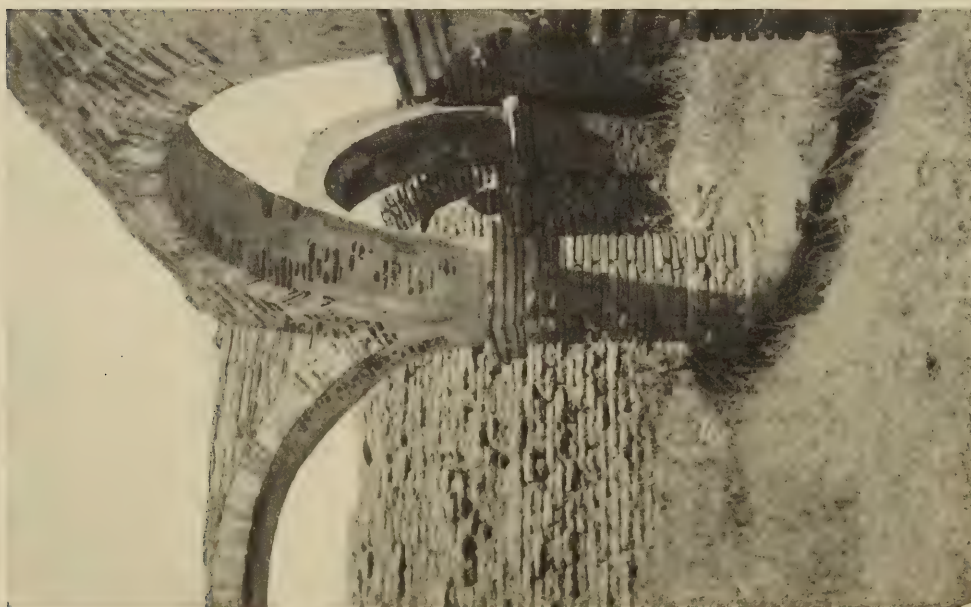
MISSION SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO. THE RUINED NAVE



MISSION SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO. THE PLAZA



DETAIL OF NICHE IN CHURCH



DIAGONAL ARCH IN PATIO

The plan of the church was that of a Latin cross, and except in the plan, which was no doubt insisted upon by the padres, the writer has found no use of any Christian symbol. There is a popular tradition at San Juan that accounts for this by pointing out that the "master mason," who was imported from Mexico, was of Aztec faith, and thus he carved into the various parts of the church pagan symbols, rather than Christian. That there is a resemblance between much of the carved ornament and certain pagan sun-symbols cannot be denied. The total length of the church was 180 feet; the nave was 30 feet wide and the transept arms projected 19'5" and 21'10" on the east and west respectively. The campanario, some 120 feet in height, stood at the south end, the sanctuary at the north, while the baptistry was on the east. Thus San Juan Capistrano was not orientated.

The walls of the church varied from four to six feet in thickness, the thicker walls being accounted for by the fact that the various recesses and niches were to be cut into them. The whole church was covered with seven low domes of stone, one of which, that over the sanctuary, still stands in place. The sacristy was crowned with a low vault which is still intact. Tradition has it that upon the boveda over the crossing there was originally a cupola made of the large, square tiles. This cupola was conceived and executed, no doubt, in somewhat the same vein as the ventilating chimney over the kitchen (p. 78) and must have made a pretty termination for the dome.

The greatest interest attaches to the interior details of the church, for at Capistrano one gets an insight into the ultimate intention of the padres such as he gets at no other mission. The nave in front of the transept had two bays, the wall treatment of which consisted of large triple-ringed arches, carried upon squat pilasters, and framing circular-headed niches. Transverse arches carried upon piers between the bays crossed the nave and in turn supported the low domes forming the roof. The springers of these arches are still in place so that it is perfectly possible to reconstruct the interior of the church. The dome over the sanctuary is a groined boveda carried upon shallow wall-arches. There are five of these arches, two either side and one on the rear wall

over the altar. These, with the great arch at the front of the sanctuary, give rise to the six parts into which the boveda is divided. The rear arch encloses the nine niches that originally made a back for the splendid high altar.

The windows in the church of San Juan Capistrano, as generally elsewhere, stood high in the walls, those of the nave being at the same altitude as those of the sanctuary, which are still in place. In the sanctuary are still to be seen two very interesting doors, one on either side. These doors, amongst the most ornate in the mission chain, have inspired much modern work.

The sacristy has suffered little with the passing of the years. This is due to the fact, perhaps, that for many years it was used as a grain storehouse by the American owners of the mission properties. To this end the great arch that originally opened into the western arm of the transept, and the doorway leading into the sanctuary, were walled up, with the result that the apartment, which has no window and only one other door, is very dark. The sacristy had the usual shrine, saints, and vestment cases, all of which have disappeared.

The great tower of the church (p. 37) was, most likely, of the two-terrace type like those of San Luis Rey or Santa Bárbara. The remaining foundations give us sure information as to shape and dimensions, making it easy to restore the tower, which, as tradition has it, was high enough to be seen from a point ten miles to the northward and whose bells could be heard even further. The four bells that originally hung in the campanario now hang in the pierced wall (p. 111) between the great church and the present chapel. The two large bells date from 1796; the two small ones from 1804, thus, since the mission was established in 1776, it is obvious that these were not the original bells that Padre Lasuén buried, when he attempted the establishment in 1775. The original bells were either lost at a later time or recast to make others. There is a tradition at San Juan that they were never found after Lasuén buried them, but this cannot be substantiated. Bancroft and others carry the story of the unearthing of the bells by Padre Serra.

The legends upon the bells run thus:

Upon the largest:

"VIVA JESUS SN VICENTE ADVON DE LOS RRS PS MIROS
F VICTE FUSTER I F JN SNTIAGO, 1796."

This translated indicates that the bell was cast during the administration of the two former padres whose names appear.¹

It reads:

"Praised be Jesus, Saint Vincent. For the Reverend Fathers, Ministers
Brother Vicente Fuster and Brother Juan Santiago, 1796."

Upon the next largest:

"AVE MARIA PURISIMA ME FESIT RUELAS
I ME YAMO S. JUAN, 1796."

Which translated reads:

"Hail Mary the most pure. Ruelas² made me and
I am called Saint John, 1796."

Upon the next:

"AVE MARIA PURISIMA, SN. ANTONIO, 1804."

Which translated is:

"Hail Mary most pure, Saint Anthony, 1804."

Upon the smallest:

"AVE MARIA PURISIMA, SAN RAFAEL, 1804."

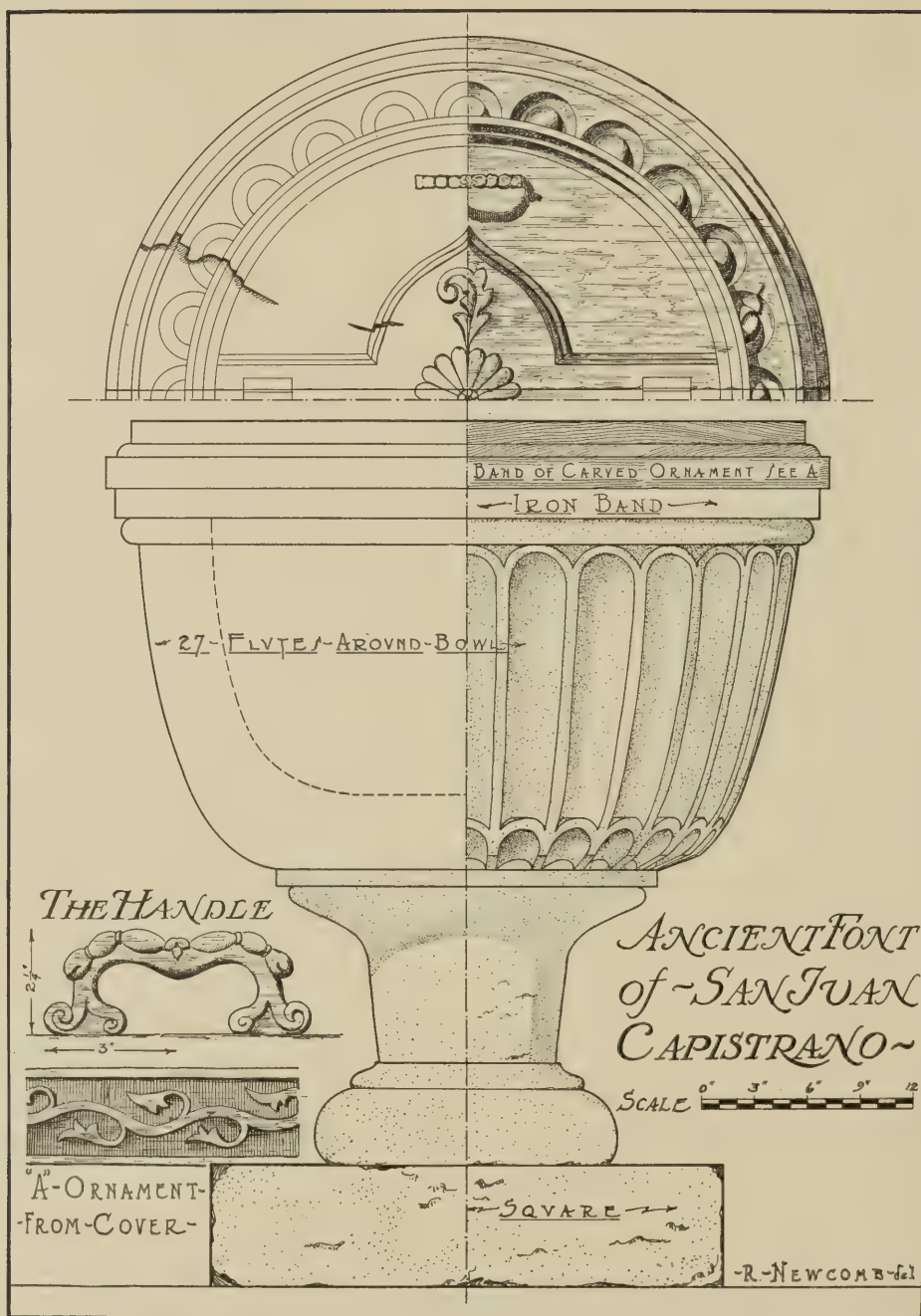
Which in English reads:

"Hail Mary most pure, Saint Raphael, 1804."

Aside from the great church there is much of interest and charm at San Juan Capistrano. In the present chapel are to be seen many objects used in the great church, objects spared by the earthquake, due to the fact that the sanctuary and transept were not ruined. Among them will be found the old silver candlesticks, altar-card cases, book-stand, processional cross and torches. The old vestment case, as well as many of the vestments, still intact, are preserved in the sacristy. The old stone baptismal font, taken from the great church after the earthquake, is also to be seen. For many years this font was housed in a little sacristy, near the chapel, formed by closing in the angle bay of the front corridor. The font has a circular wooden cover, hinged at the middle and

¹ This may also indicate that they were the donors.

² That is the bell-founder.



encircled by a frame with an interesting carved conventional border, while at the centre there is a carved rosette similar in design to that upon the tile at the crown of the sanctuary vault of the great church. The candlesticks, imported of course from Spain and Mexico, are simple in design, yet beautiful in outline and proportion.

The church contains several statues of carved wood, brought likewise from Spain. Among them are a Saint Dominic, a Virgin, a San Juan Capistrano, a Saint Anthony (formerly a San Juan Capistrano), and a Madonna and Child. Among the old Spanish paintings still to be seen in the church are the first eleven of the Stations of the Cross, a Crucifixion, signed by "Francisco Cervantes, 1800," and a painting of San Juan Capistrano.

The visitor to San Juan who sees only the mission misses much that the place holds for him. Situated in one of the handsomest landscapes in all California and adjacent to as interesting a bit of rocky coast as can be found along the whole stretch of the Pacific seaboard of the United States, the place has been a resort for beauty-lovers for years.

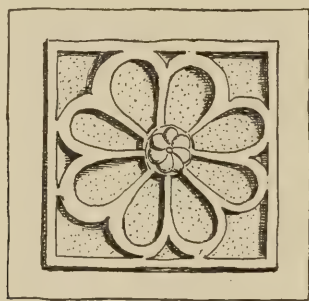
And indeed not only San Juan Point, but the whole coast from San Juan to Abalone Point, has become a sketching-ground for artists. The writer has covered most of the rocky headland on foot; has been drenched in the spray and foam upon the rocks of Laguna and found the scenes here inspiring beyond words.

At the mission, artists are fond of painting the front corridor and various portions of the patio. Either subject makes a fine picture when seen in full sunshine, the white walls relieved by the beautifully rhythmic shadows of the arches and the red tile roofs sparkling against a dark-blue sky. The general dilapidated condition, the overgrown vegetation, and the dreamy desolation only heighten the charm for the seeker after the romantic, and of all the missions of Alta California, San Juan is the most romantic and popular in the legends.

One delightful tale related by Father O'Sullivan concerns the bells of the mission and runs thus:

"There lived with her parents near the mission an Indian maid named Matilda, who was very gentle and devout, and who loved to care for the sanctuary and to keep fresh flowers upon the

altar. She took sick, however, and died just at the break of day. Immediately, in order to announce her departure, the four bells all began to ring of their own accord, or rather by the hands of the angels, to ring together—not merely the solemn tolling of the larger ones for an adult nor the joyful jingling of the two smaller ones for a child, but a mingling of the two ways, to proclaim both the years of her age and the innocence of her life. Some say it was not the sound of the mission bells at all that was heard ringing down the valley at dawn, but the bells in heaven, which rang out a welcome to her pure soul upon its entrance into the company of the angels.”



Ornament in Dome over Altar
San Juan Capistrano

CHAPTER XIII

MISSION SAN GABRIEL ARCÁNGEL

NOT far from the busy marts and congested city streets of the modern Los Ángeles lies nestled among the orange-groves of the San Gabriel Valley the charming little village named for the Archangel, with its venerable church of grey stone dating from early Spanish-Californian days. The San Gabriel of our day is almost as quaint and Spanish in tone as the San Gabriel of old, and the old mission, which has been the centre of the religious life of the pueblo for a hundred and fifty years, still functions as the village church and the worshipping-place of the Spanish-Indian population. That this comparatively small community should retain so much of its ancient flavor in such close proximity to communities so modern in tendency as Los Ángeles or Pasadena seems almost remarkable, but here, nevertheless, one may still enjoy the melodious chants of the mission, the old popular Spanish and Indian airs, and witness the Indian and Spanish sports and amusements. Here still are to be seen many reminders of the culture of a bygone day. Here still prayers are made and beads are told in rhythmic Castilian, and here still, at sunrise, noontide, and evening, toll those same chimes made famous by Bret Harte and Charles Warren Stoddard, the bells of San Gabriel the Archangel.

When the establishment of Mission San Gabriel, the fourth link in the mission chain, was ordered, Padre Serra, in order to promote missionary work, asked for ten missionaries for Alta California. These padres, arriving at San Diego in March, 1771, reached Monterey, where they were to receive instructions from the Padre-presidente, on May 21. Father Serra immediately appointed the padres to their respective charges, those designated for the southern missions returning at once to San Diego. Among these were Padres Pedro Benito Cambón and José Angel Fernández de la Somera, who had been selected as the first ministers of Mission San Gabriel, yet to be founded.

Upon August 6, 1771, these padres, accompanied by an escolta of ten soldiers and a band of pack-drivers, set out from San Diego for the proposed site of Mission San Gabriel. At

length they arrived, after a march of some forty leagues, at the Rio San Miguel de los Temblores (River of Saint Michael of the Earthquakes), now known as the San Gabriel River. Here a band of Indians surrounded the party and made some demonstration which the priests took to be a hostile move. It was easily quieted, however, for, upon the unfurling of a banner bearing a painting of the Virgin, the Indians signified their intention of doing no harm. After submitting to baptism they followed the padres to the site of the new mission.

The foundation was made September 8, 1771, when the padres celebrated the first mass and gave orders for the erection of a temporary chapel, a house for themselves, and a shelter for the guard. The first buildings, like those of most of the other missions, were of the wooden stockade type. Into the construction work the Indians entered heartily and were very useful in the cutting and transporting of the timbers.

This first situation seems to have proved unsuitable although it was in a wide plain abounding in wood and covered with shrubbery and flowers, among them the "wild Castilian rose." After a period of experimenting the establishment was moved, in 1776, to its present site in a beautiful little valley blessed with fertile soil, abundant water, and accessible timber, and here the permanent buildings were erected. The group consisted of a church, priests' quarters, shops for the trades and industries, storehouses for grain, tallow, hides, olive-oil, and the other products of the mission lands, a convent for the young women, and quarters for the guard and servants. All of the early buildings erected upon the permanent site were of adobe, the first church structure¹ being of this material and measuring 108 by 21 feet. This adobe church was replaced later by the present stone church, which, begun in 1794, was completed in 1806. Unfortunately most of the ancient adobe structures have long since disappeared and the outlines of the patio, around which they were built, would be hard to trace. The stone church, however, though badly damaged by the earthquakes of 1803 and 1812 and further marred by modern restoration, still stands as a vivid reminder of the zeal of the padres.

¹ There were two earlier chapels erected.

Now, although San Gabriel in the first quarter of the nineteenth century attained great wealth, the early years of the mission were not prosperous. The scanty crops in the early years (1771–1772), the lack of much-needed supplies, and the Indian uprisings at San Diego and upon the Colorado River were discouragements that the padres had to face. After the removal to the new site, however, better days seemed ahead and under the guidance of Padre José María de Zalvidea, who was in charge from 1806 to 1826, San Gabriel became one of the wealthiest missions in the chain and was famous for her fine products, not the least among which were the fine wines and brandy made at the mission distillery. The orchards, with their 2333 trees, contained oranges, figs, pomegranates, peaches, apples, limes, pears, and citrons, while the four vineyards contained some 163,579 vines.

By 1804 San Gabriel had in operation a loom-mill, in which were woven sarapes (shawls), blankets, and a coarse woollen fabric known as jerge (serge). Instruction was provided by a white weaver who was imported from Mexico, but, as soon as he had trained an Indian maestro (master craftsman), he withdrew. As early as 1810 or 1812 San Gabriel had a water-power mill (p. 196) for grinding grain, and, by 1819, water-power was used also for sawing lumber.

In 1834, pursuant to the law enacted the previous year, San Gabriel, like most of the California missions, was confiscated by the Mexican Government and Colonel Gutiérrez was appointed *comisionado* (commissioner) to carry the decree of secularization into effect. He did not stay in charge long, and there seems to have been a number of commissioners at the mission in rapid succession. Juan Bandini, the last of them, found only 72 cattle and 700 sheep upon the estate where, in 1833, there had been 16,500 cattle and 8500 sheep. In 1841 the cook and cow-herd were discharged for lack of funds to pay them, and, by the time that the properties were returned to the padres by Governor Micheltorena's order of 1843, the population of 1320 in 1833 had dwindled to a bare 250. In 1845 the Government decided to rent out the lands and they were leased, consequently, to the *comisionados*. One June 8th of the next year Governor Pío Pico sold the properties—lands and buildings—to Reid and Work-

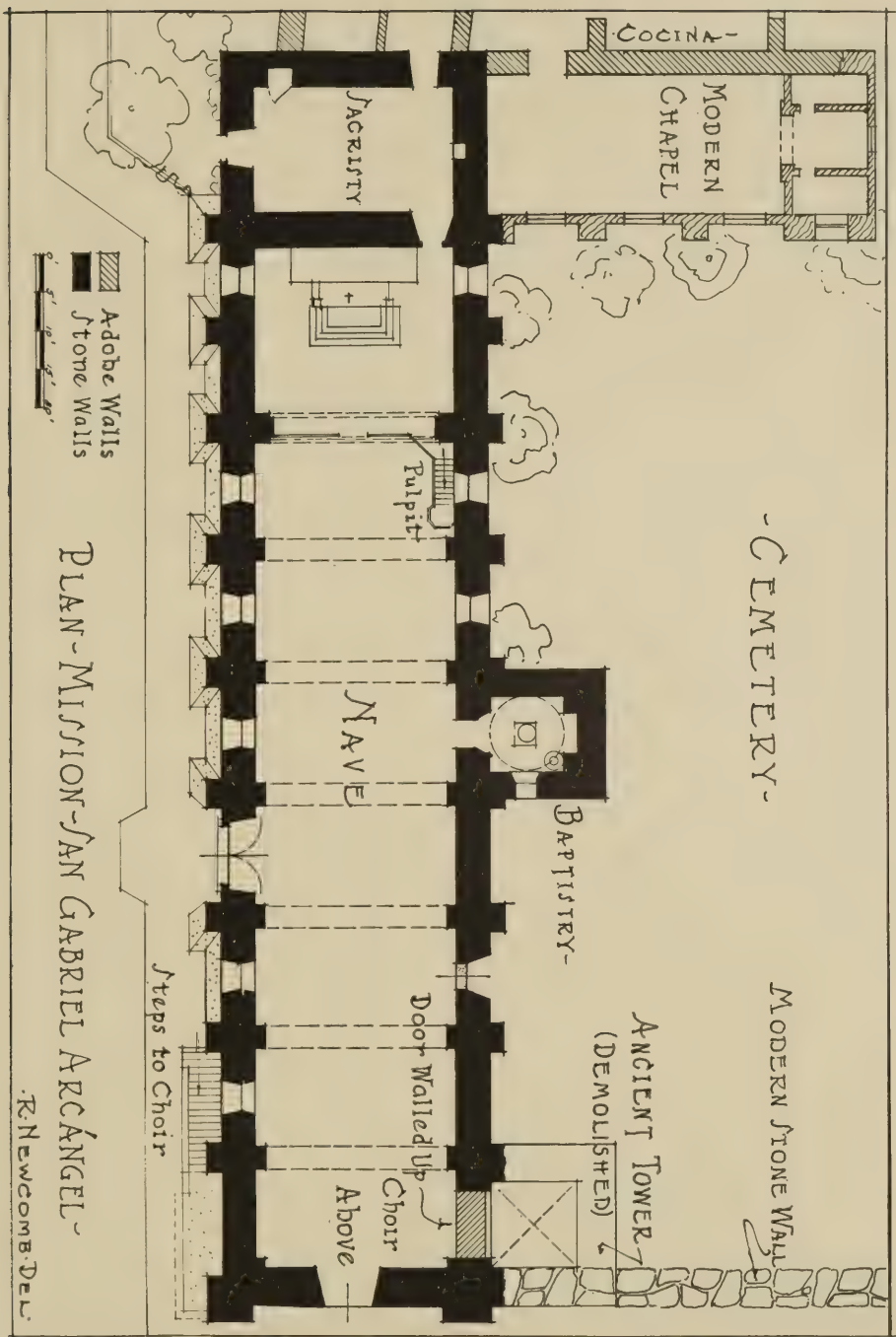
man in payment for services that they had rendered the Government, but the United States officials, in August of the same year, took charge of and held the properties until the land-court finally declared the sale invalid.

Since 1850 the mission has been a parish church, and, since 1908, in charge of the Missionary Sons of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, who safeguard the sacred relics, venerable church, and cemetery with the utmost care and devotion. Many of the relics have been collected into a museum where the visitor may study them easily and completely.

Having reviewed briefly the history of San Gabriel, let us turn now to the old stone church, for it is in this edifice that artistic interest centres. The church proper consists of a long, narrow nave 27 by 140 feet, 30 feet high, entered by an eastern main portal and a side door upon the south. The baptistry stands at the north of the nave, extending into the ancient cemetery, and the sacristy at the west directly behind the sanctuary. The main walls of the structure approximate 4'6" in thickness and are further stiffened by a range of heavy buttresses along either side of the exterior and a range of pilasters along the interior. The walls themselves are of quarried stone up to the windows, above which they are of burned brick, this change of material being hidden, of course, by applied stucco.²

Originally the church was roofed with a vault of stone resembling in form that existing over the sacristy, with the exception that the vault over the church was segmental in section and was constructed with transverse arches (*fajones*) carried upon pilasters (p. 86). Few people are aware that this church ever had a vaulted roof, although Bancroft, following the biennial report for 1803-1804, makes this statement: "The mission church had been completed with an arched roof, but, after cracks appeared and had been once repaired, they were opened wider than before by an earthquake so that the arches had to be torn down and a new roof of timbers substituted in 1804." With a knowledge of the existence of the ancient vault, the heavy buttresses, features that with their pyramidal caps give the exterior a robust and even military air, are perfectly explained. The

² This change of materials probably came about after the earthquake of 1803.





MISSION SAN GABRIEL ARCÁNGEL, INTERIOR OF CHURCH

second roof of heavy cross-beams, reinforced at the walls by corbels of cedar, has in recent years been replaced by an inharmonious "carpenter-Gothic" type of roof that mars seriously the quiet effect of the simple Franciscan interior and detracts materially from the solid simplicity of the exterior.

Aside from this mention of the original stone roof there is, so far as the writer can find, no further documentary reference to its existence and none whatever to its form. All knowledge of that form must therefore be obtained from internal evidence. A most valuable help in this respect is the segmental pediment which still stands at the west end of the church. Its existence at the present time and in this form, a form required by no roof that has covered the church since the removal of the segmental vault, leads the writer to conclude that this wall was not damaged by the earthquake of 1803 and consequently was not replaced, as were portions of the lateral and eastern walls. Since the rise of the pediment is only 5'6" in a span of 35 feet, it will be seen at once that the lateral thrust must have been tremendous and that, for this reason, the vault was almost certainly doomed to failure. And indeed, if we may believe the report of 1803-1804, it would seem that the initial difficulty with the roof was experienced before the earthquake of 1803 made apparent the infeasibility of this form.

The pitch of the second roof of timber and tiles, mentioned in the report of 1803-1804, and long since replaced by the steeper roof of wood, is indicated by the low triangular pediment at the east end of the church. This pediment has no relation to the present roof, which is hipped at both ends and hence has no need for pediments at all.

If there is some basis in the existing edifice for the restoration of the vault, there is far less information that would serve one in a restoration of the tower that originally stood at the northeast corner of the church. Only an indication of the arched opening that formerly led from the nave into the tower, together with a portion of its heavy rear wall, fashioned after the earthquake into a buttress, still remain to mark the existence of the tower, which was ruined by the earthquake of 1812. But these remains, and a brief reference in the mission records, which certainly estab-

lish the tower's existence, serve us very poorly when we inquire as to its form. The tower is spoken of as heavy and thus we may assume that it corresponded, in spirit, with the nave itself, but any restoration must be entirely conjectural.

There are some things still apparent in the fabric, however, that may serve us in a restoration, and certainly a knowledge of procedures at other missions may be called in to help solve the problem at San Gabriel. That the lower portion of the tower was used in connection with the church service is indicated by the arch that opened from the church into it (p. 173). The lower portion of the tower may thus have served as a mortuary chapel or a baptistry. At any rate the large arch precludes any possibility of a stone stairway ever having gone up from the ground level to the bells above, as was the case at Santa Bárbara, San Luis Rey, or San Buenaventura. On the other hand, access to the upper portion of the tower must have been gained through the choir, which is reached by means of the stone stairway at the south side of the church.

If the tower had been of solid masonry with a spiral stairway, such as that at Santa Bárbara or San Luis Rey, there is little doubt but that it would still be standing. The writer is convinced, therefore, that the San Gabriel tower consisted of two chambers, one above and one below, the lower one serving as a mortuary chapel, or perhaps a baptistry, accessible through the great arch, the upper housing a wooden stairway, or perhaps only a ladder, leading to the bells.

It seems inconceivable that the square portion of the tower could have been higher than the walls of the nave, therefore a restoration has been made upon this basis. Just what form the upper portion of the tower took, however, would be difficult to prove, and the restoration here becomes more highly conjectural than before. That the upper portion was massive, but easily wrecked by an earthquake, is inferred. If all the bells that finally found a place in the present campanario could be accounted for and their dates noted, it would be easy to find how many antedated the wreck of 1812 and had a place in the tower. Only two of the present bells, however, seem to antedate the



MISSION SAN GABRIEL ARCÁNGEL, CAMPANARIO



MISSION SAN GABRIEL ARCÁNGEL. RESTORED EAST FACHADA
Sketch by W. I. Hamby

disaster, and, of these, only one is surely dated. It bears the inscription:

AVE MARIA
S. JUAN NEPOMVCENO.
RVELAS ME FECIT
A. D. '95.

Another bell from the same foundry and similar in appearance is inscribed:

AVE MARIA SANTISSIMA
S. FRAN.
DE PAVLA RVELAS
ME FECIT
N. CO.

The other bells bear dates of 1828 and 1830, thus eliminating them from consideration. Two of the arches of the campanario do not now contain bells, thus it is entirely possible that there may have been four bells at San Gabriel previous to 1812. But bells were scarce before 1800, and it is more than probable that there were not more than three. A tower for three bells that would harmonize in style and spirit with the massive proportions of the church has therefore been devised.

The "pierced-wall type" has been chosen for several reasons. In the first place a tower of this type is less stable than the terraced form. Moreover, the present campanario is of the "pierced" type, and it is entirely possible that, in idea, if not in exact form, it followed the earlier belfry. The terraced type of bell-tower was, moreover, not so common before the building of San Gabriel as it afterward became. Another argument for the pierced form might be found in the belfry of Mission Santa Inés (p. 46), the fachada of the church of which greatly resembles that of San Gabriel. Padres Calzada and Uría, the directors and great shaping minds of Mission Santa Inés, knowing well the plans of San Gabriel, where they had served, doubtless followed the general scheme of San Gabriel when building the church at Santa Inés. Thus Santa Inés may be considered a surviving copy, in idea at least, of the older church. A comparison of the structures will convince one of their resemblances.

To whom we are indebted for the design of the church is not made plain by any documentary evidence. A great portion of the original church, no doubt, can be attributed to the zeal and labor of Padre Antonio Cruzado, called in mission annals the "Great Pioneer," who was *in charge* at San Gabriel for over a quarter of a century (1772-1804), and thus during the period of church construction. Considerable work may also have been done by Padre Miguel Sánchez, who was also stationed here from 1788 until 1803.

A man to whom we must attribute much of the later work, and perhaps the charming existing campanario, was Padre José María de Zalvidea, the most famous pastor of San Gabriel and a great builder of temporalities. He was minister in charge from 1808 until 1826, during the most prosperous years of the mission, and so beloved was he, that many of the common people of the parish still regard him as a saint. He gave a great deal of attention to viticulture and thus San Gabriel became famous for her grapes and wines. During Padre Zalvidea's managership of the mission temporalities, the lands extended from the sea to the mountains in an east and west direction and for miles northward and southward, including many ranchos. The report of 1826 shows that the mission had a population of 1565 and herds and flocks to the number of 15,300 cattle, 725 horses, 91 mules, 215 hogs, 10,000 sheep, and 38 goats. A man who could successfully look after such an estate and, at the same time, care for the spiritual wants of his flock surely possessed great managerial ability.

Visitors to San Gabriel have often been impressed by the Moorish atmosphere of the merlon-capped walls and wondered what could have been the Spanish prototype of the building. Now it is doubtful whether the priests consciously copied any one edifice or whether they had drawings or prints of Spanish buildings that would make such a process possible, even had it been desirable. Most of them were trained as priests, yet, like all cultured men, appreciating beauty, especially as it expresses itself in the "House of God," they desired to make these temples in a new land as lasting and beautiful as was possible. Without architects and with few books or drawings to furnish ideas, each

priest had to turn to his memory, to his early impressions gained in Spain or Mexico, for his inspiration, and this is what Padre Cruzado, the architect of San Gabriel's church, found himself doing. Now if Padre Cruzado obtained his inspiration from a church that he had known in Spain, what edifice must he have known that would, undoubtedly, have left a vivid impression upon his mind?

Padre Cruzado was born at Alcarazegos, in the bishopric of Córdoba, Spain, in 1725, and came to Mexico in 1748, where he served the missions of Sierra Gorda for twenty-two years. Thus he came with a wealth of missionary experience to San Gabriel, where he was to labor diligently for a period of nearly thirty-three years. The building of this edifice was, then, the crowning achievement of his life. Padre Cruzado's early impressions of Spain were doubtless gained at Córdoba, where, as a student and a novice, he was trained, and it is the opinion of the writer that the Cathedral of Córdoba, formerly the Mosque, must have left some impression upon him, since there is more than a chance resemblance between the church at San Gabriel and parts of the cathedral. To this simple structure in the new world the old Padre, evidently, tried to give some of the character of the great cathedral that he had known so well as a youth. That he succeeded, in a measure, in imparting to San Gabriel something of the solemn, military massiveness of the older building will become apparent when one compares photographs of the mission with those of the cathedral.

The heavy buttresses along the southern fachada of San Gabriel (p. 32), crowned with their merlon-like caps, resemble in general feeling those of Córdoba and give to the church that fortress-like atmosphere that has always been remarked in the older building. It would be foolish, perhaps, to think that Padre Cruzado consciously tried to copy Córdoba, but forced to build, and build simply, yet desiring some measure of majesty and beauty, he, unconsciously, wrought in terms of what was to him the most glorious and beautiful of the churches that he had known in his youth. Is it any miracle, then, that there should have been written into this country church, in a frontier province of Spain, something of the spirit of an edifice of the homeland?

Even in its present condition, with its original vault replaced by a wooden roof, San Gabriel has many features that should interest the architect and art-lover. In the church is to be seen the old pulpit hanging from the wall and approached by a wooden stairway from the sanctuary. This is of varicolored woods and decorated upon its sides with inlaid five-pointed stars. The balustrade of the steps, by which the pulpit is approached, is composed of hand-turned balusters, which, in order to make them go further, were sawed in two and set with the turned sides out.

The main altar, the only one of ancient days remaining in place, has an ornate retablo in the Churrigueresque style, which fact indicates that it antedates the church and was apparently brought from Mexico. The retablo is divided into three bays carrying two tiers of saints, the lower, central saint—the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception—being canopied by a pediment carried upon columns and bearing the legend “Ave Maria.” Upon the church walls are to be seen a number of interesting Spanish paintings, many of them somewhat spoiled by inexperienced retouchers, and therefore much less brilliant than originally. Among them there is a painting of the Holy Trinity by Lucas Mena.

The choir at the east end of the nave, carried upon the ancient heavy corbelled beams, still remains in place and is very interesting. Apparently it is supported by a great marble arch spanning the nave and carried upon heavy square piers at the walls. This “arch,” in reality of wood, is made up of three heavy beams joined together to form a segmental arch (p. 86) and painted to represent marble. The choir is still reached by the ancient exterior stone stairway, a detail that has been sketched and painted perhaps more than any fragment of mission architecture.

The baptistry of San Gabriel is very interesting. It is a small room, some ten feet square inside, and stands on the north side of the church. Its massive stone walls, almost four feet thick, carry a stone dome called “media naranja” (half an orange) (p. 86). At the centre of the room stands a solid stone base, which in turn carries the original hammered-copper baptismal font fashioned by the Indians of the mission. The pouring vessel in the form



CATHEDRAL (FORMERLY MOSQUE) CÓRDOVA, SPAIN



SOUTH DOOR OF CHURCH
MISSION SAN GABRIEL ARCÁNGEL



MISSION SAN GABRIEL ARCÁNGEL. EAST FACHADA



MISSION SAN GABRIEL ARCÁNGEL
SOUTH FACHADA WITH CHOIR STAIRS

of a shell, the holy-oil stock, the censer, the holy-water pot and sprinkler, and the altar-bread case, all of silver, date from the mission's early days and appear in the inventory of 1773.

The old sacristy, with its simple tunnel vault, its honest construction and beautiful proportions, does the soul good in an age when there is so much sham in architecture. The old cajoneras (chest of drawers), a piece of furniture in the true mission style (not the deadly thing that passes under that name in the shops), and its collection of ornate copes, chasubles, and canopies, made of silk and embroidered velvet and imported from Spain, are well worth a trip. A delightful old door of native wood, bound together with heavy bolts, still in place, opens into a closet off the sacristy. In the sacristy also are to be seen an ancient copper tankard and bowl, two processional crosses, and various candlesticks, all dating from the early days of the mission and appearing in the original inventory.

Here also are still to be seen two ancient life-sized statues, one of San Buenaventura, the other of Saint Joseph, together with two small silver statues. Above the doorway that leads into the rose-garden under the great campanario hangs an interesting but horrible "Inferno."

The campanario (p. 177), in which have hung the bells of San Gabriel since the earthquake of 1812, is doubtless the best-known bit of mission architecture. It is variously pictured both at home and abroad and is the detail that passes before the eye when California, the mission churches, or San Gabriel are mentioned. It is as unique and beautiful a feature as the whole mission chain affords, and, because of its simple yet beautiful outline, its naïve and picturesque balance, will command the attention of seekers after the beautiful as long as it stands. Atop the campanario is a very beautiful wrought-iron cross.

When the Missionary Sons of the Immaculate Heart of Mary gained control of the premises, they set about at once to preserve and safeguard every fragment and vestige of the old structure. In the mission-house they have opened a museum where they have collected the old books from the mission library, a number of ancient Spanish paintings, statues, and church utensils, and many architectural fragments.

A complete catalog of these collections would be tiring and perhaps even uninteresting. There are several items, however, that merit mention. The ancient books, brought from Spain by the padres, and perhaps the most tangible links that bound them to the homeland, are especially interesting. The oldest book at San Gabriel is the "Summa Alex. Ales," 1489, while there are a number dating from the sixteenth century, among them a "Philosophy of Gabriel Biel," the works of "el Tostado, Obispo de Ávila," 1527, three volumes of the "Summa Theologica" of Saint Thomas Aquinas, 1534-1535, and the work of San Fulgencio de Ruspe, the last published by Christof Plantin, the famous Belgian publisher.

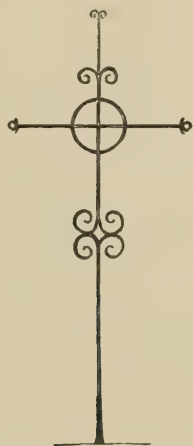
Another treasure of the museum is a series of sacred music-books, printed at Salamanca and imported for use in the mission churches. The notes are square and the various parts are illuminated in different colors so that singers might more easily follow the parts. The greatest interest attaches to the various records of the mission, complete copies of which are preserved here. The old "Libro de Confirmaciones" (Confirmation Record), bearing date of November 7, 1778, and having its title-page in the handwriting of Padre Serra himself, is a most interesting document.

Aside from the paintings mentioned as adorning the church and sacristy, there are a number in the museum. Most of the subjects are sacred and many of the figures represented are easily recognizable. There is a "Queen Esther," a "Salome," a "Bathsheba Leaving the Bath," a "Saint Paul in the Island of Malta," a "Dream of Saint Joseph," together with copies of Murillo's "Saint Francis," "Immaculate Conception," and "Our Lady of the Most Holy Rosary." These works are all of Spanish origin. Of Mexican origin and painted upon wood are four panels representing various apparitions of Our Lady of Guadalupe. There are also several copies of the Italian masters painted upon copper.

The cemetery beside the church, which has been used continuously since 1776 and is today the burial-place of the San Gabriel folk, has taken on a revived interest and new beauty under the present administration. Many important early Californians lie

buried here, while nine of San Gabriel's padres lie at rest in the sanctuary of the church.

Near the cemetery may be seen the garden, portions of the orchard, and the ovens where the Indian servants cooked food for the mission community, made soap, rendered tallow, or burned brick for the mission buildings. The furnaces and great brick caldrons are still in place. One battery of these basins is 55 feet long by 18 feet wide, with four great circular vats, 9 feet in diameter, let into the hearth. Three fire-boxes, 3 feet wide, open into the spaces between and under the basins. Another hearth, 32 by 11 feet, has two basins and a large rectangular baking-oven, 5 by 13 feet. These ancient cooking-vats and ovens, ruined as they are, give one some idea of the advanced development that community life had taken at an establishment such as San Gabriel, and attest admirably the managerial ability of the humble and pious padres.



Wrought Iron Cross
Campanario.
San Gabriel Arcángel

CHAPTER XIV

THE CHURCH OF OUR LADY OF THE ANGELS, LOS ÁNGELES

IN CHAPTER VI brief reference has been made to the activities of Governor Felipe de Neve, who believed that only free settlers could make a profitable colony of California. When he was appointed Governor in 1776, Neve made the trip northward by land, visiting all of the missions then in existence. Making notes on the needs of the country, he was able to send a full report of his observations to the Viceroy upon the first boat that went south after his arrival at Monterey.

The Governor was a wise official and a practical, business-like supervisor, and he immediately saw the folly of importing military provisions from San Blas (Baja California) when Alta California was such a fertile and favored land. He explained to the Viceroy the immediate necessity of importing settlers to take up land and develop the country agriculturally. For reasons of defence he recommended that the settlers be established in pueblos with allotments of land adjoining. In his tour of the coast he noted two sites that struck him most favorably as locations for future pueblos. These sites were occupied eventually by the pueblos of Los Ángeles and San José; the first to become, in our day, the Pacific Coast's largest city, the other the centre of one of the finest fruit-growing sections in the world. While the Governor's recommendations were *en route*, he proceeded to establish the Pueblo of San José, naming it not only in honor of the Saint, but also in allusion to José de Gálvez, Viceroy and the original promoter of California colonization.

When the recommendations reached the Viceroy he transmitted them to Carlos III., who ordered establishment of the pueblos and commended the Governor for his energy and foresight. Of course these formalities all consumed time, and four years elapsed before the order to establish Los Ángeles actually reached California. In accordance with these plans, however, a band of settlers, recruited in Northern Mexico by Captain Rivera, was brought thither by Lieutenant José Zúñiga, and thus the pueblo was duly established, September 4, 1781.

Arriving in the country, the colonists were temporarily housed

near Mission San Gabriel, some eight miles to the eastward. Upon foundation day the expedition set out from the mission, the Governor himself leading the way. He was followed by a detachment of soldiers bearing aloft the Spanish banner and these, in turn, by the forty-four colonists of the future metropolis. Reaching the plaza of the pueblo, which had already been surveyed and staked out, a procession was formed with the Governor and soldiers ahead, the padres of San Gabriel, accompanied by their dusky Indian acolytes next, and after these the settlers. The procession solemnly encircled the plaza, the padres blessed the site, and the Governor delivered a formal address, after which the ceremonies concluded with prayer and benediction by the padres. Thus was founded the Pueblo de Nuestra Señora, Reina de Los Ángeles (Our Lady, Queen of the Angels).

Whether or not religious worship was considered necessary we are not told. At any rate, for the first few years of the settlement, any one who desired to attend services was compelled to journey to Mission San Gabriel. In 1784, however, a small chapel was erected near the corner of Buena Vista Street and Bellevue Avenue. This was evidently served by a priest from the mission, for, in 1810, there is record of a complaint on the part of the citizens that the padres of San Gabriel did not give the sick the attention they should have. In 1811 permission was granted for the erection of a new church, but the actual work of construction seems to have been postponed until August, 1814, when Padre Luis Gil y Taboada of San Gabriel officiated at the laying of the corner-stone. This beginning was to prove all too early, however, for in 1815, when the Los Ángeles River left its old channel and threatened the site, the Governor ordered that the location be changed to higher ground. Nothing had been completed but the foundation, so this was no great hardship. The new site was near the plaza, on pueblo land, and near the other public buildings of that day. Thus in 1818, thirty-four years after the establishment of the pueblo, the place was to have its first permanent church.

The citizens contributed five hundred cattle to defray the cost, but Governor Solá took over the cattle to feed the starving army, agreeing at the same time to include the cost of the construction



CHURCH OF OUR LADY OF THE ANGELS, LOS ÁNGELES
Before the Restoration



in the territorial budget for the succeeding year. The government proved to be bankrupt by that time, however, and entirely dependent upon loans of supplies from the missions. Thus no work was done on the church until an appeal was heard by the padres, who, in response to a prayer from Padre-presidente Payéras, donated to the building fund seven barrels of brandy, worth \$575. Again in 1821, the funds having run out, José Antonio Ramírez, the builder-architect, reported the condition, with the result that a second appeal was made to the padres. More brandy and wine, which was readily converted into cash, a glassful at a time, was donated, and the Governor headed a list of citizens with cash subscriptions. Thus on December 8, 1822, the church was finally dedicated.

There is an interesting note in connection with the preparation of the materials for the church. The first American to settle in the vicinity was Joseph Chapman, a Yankee who had come to the country with Bouchard, a privateer who terrified the coast with raids upon pueblo and rancho in 1818. Chapman was at once arrested, due to the law prohibiting any except Spanish citizens in the colonies, but proving useful, he was soon freed and accepted into citizenship, marrying Guadalupe Ortega, a young woman of Santa Bárbara. Padre Zalvidea, the clever manager of temporalities at Mission San Gabriel, recognizing his talents, made a friend and comrade of Chapman, and for the Padre, he built the first successful water-power mill in California. With the help of Indian laborers Chapman prepared the timbers for the construction of the church of Los Angeles, and, since these same materials were utilized in the renovation of 1861, it is to be presumed that they are still in use.

The story of how the church secured its first bell is also an interesting bit of lore. It seems that a young American, Henry Fitch by name, arrived in California in 1826, and, falling in love with Doña Josefa Carrillo of San Diego, became engaged to her the next year. Her parents were not at first in favor of the union, but, after a wait of two years, finally gave a reluctant consent. After all preparations were completed an uncle of the bride, who was to act as a witness, refused to serve, and, moreover, put up such strong objections to the union that the priest would

not perform the ceremony. As a result of this turn of affairs, the couple decided to leave the country, and, going to South America, they were married and returned a year later accompanied by a young son. When Don Henry returned he was charged with violation of the laws of the Church and territory and the question of the legality of his marriage was raised. The case created a great deal of excitement, but the court finally ruled that the marriage was valid but that the scandal, which the province had been compelled to bear, justified "penance and reparation." So the defendant was commanded "to give . . . a bell of at least fifty pounds' weight for the church at Los Angeles, which . . . has a borrowed one." Thus the Church of Our Lady came into possession of a bell of its own.

Architecturally the church is not imposing. The fachada is pierced by a simple arched portal, flanked by thin pilasters which carry a band that divides the fachada horizontally. Above this band, two rectangular windows light the choir, and, in the gable, a circular window opens into what is now the attic. Before the restorations and "improvements" of 1861, this window doubtless helped to light the nave. The campanario consists of a low, square, buttressed tower, surmounted by a pierced belfry of the simplest type. The lower part, perforated on the front and one side by circular windows, at one time carried a belfry very different from the present one. The present form of belfry, "restored" some years ago, replaces the one shown in our photograph and is more in keeping with the original, which fell into decay and did not survive the renovation of 1861.

The interior has suffered greatly from renovation and appears very much like the average modern Catholic church in many of our small towns. It is especially marred by the indiscriminate use of electric lights and the crude colors of the decorations, which are about as unarchitectural as one can imagine.

The church, situated, as it is, facing the Plaza, which, up to a very recent time, showed far more signs of the old Spanish life than it does today, is largely attended by people of Spanish or Mexican blood. At the present time the structure is in charge of the Missionary Sons of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, which organization has charge of Mission of San Gabriel. This order

took over the edifice some ten years ago, replacing the secular priests who had been here for so many years. The members devote their entire time to the interests of the Mexican population and conduct a parochial school for poor children of Spanish-speaking parentage. On the north side of the church the fathers have constructed a patio in the fashion of the old mission cloisters, and, in the rooms about this patio, they live and conduct the work of the school.



Keystone
San Gabriel

CHAPTER XV

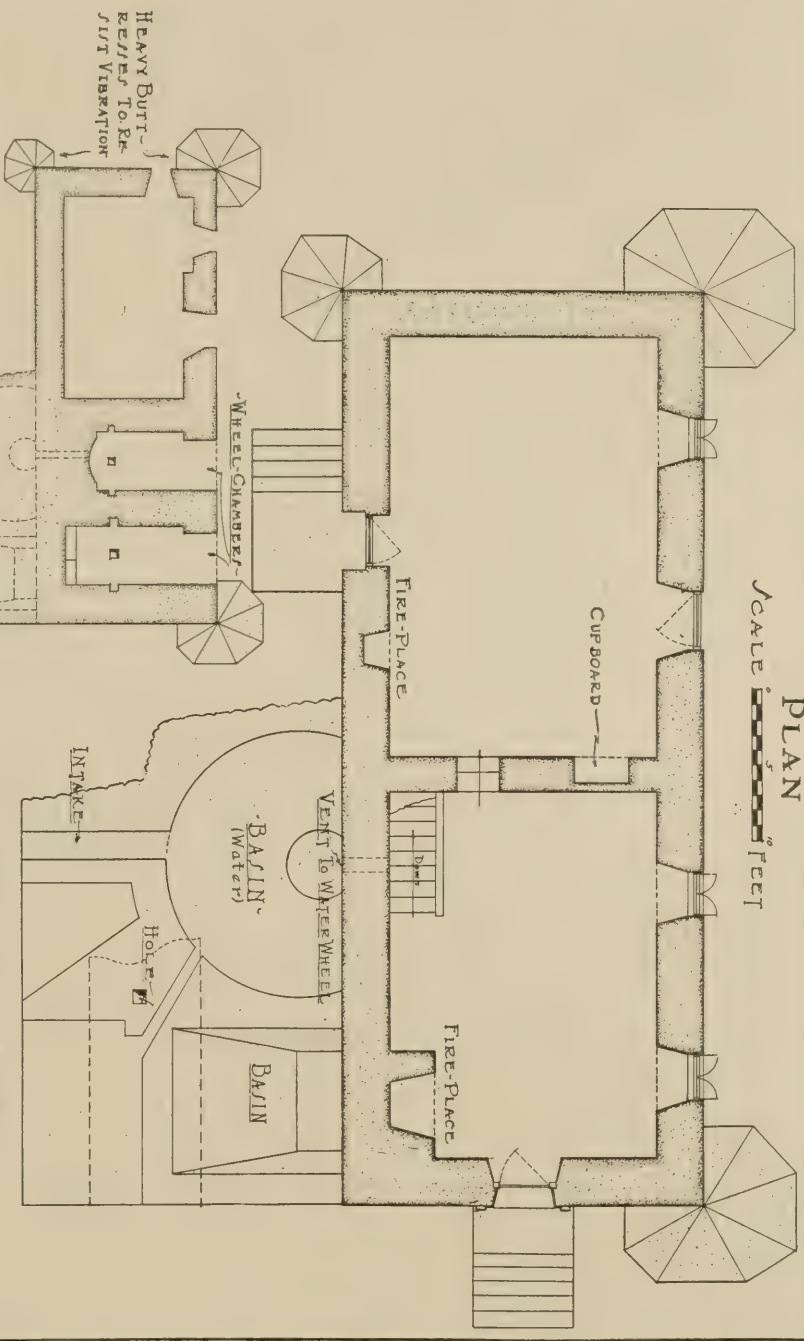
THE OLD MILL OF MISSION SAN GABRIEL

IF THE Franciscan missionaries were the torch-bearers of religion they were also, in a real sense, the founders of the material wealth of the country. In other chapters has been recounted the story of the beginnings of the mission industries and it has been shown how the cordon of mission-houses, extending from San Diego to San Francisco, was in reality a chain of great communal industrial establishments. San Gabriel, like other missions, made her contribution to industry, and, under the efficient direction of Padre Zalvidea, made great progress not only with grain, stock, and fruit raising, but also in the development of water-power for manufacturing processes. The same water that irrigated the fields, vineyards, and orchards was harnessed by this hard-headed and practical padre and made to turn the grist and saw mills that he erected.

An interesting and beautiful relic of these days of mission industry still stands in an orange-grove near the golf-course of the Hotel Raymond in Pasadena. This is El Molino Viejo (*The Old Mill*). El Molino Viejo is the older of two water-power grist-mills built during the prosperous days of Padre Zalvidea and was erected about 1810. The mill stands upon the slope of a hill, the water entering the basins upon the upper side. The resulting great pressure against the building and the vibration occasioned by the heavy water-wheels and mill-stones account for the quaint and massive buttresses at the lower corners of the structure. The earthquake of 1812, which ruined the belfry of the mission-church, cracked the circular basin at the mill, and the dampness that resulted therefrom made necessary the immediate removal of the flour to the mission, two miles distant. The impossibility of keeping the mill-stones and grain-bins dry led finally to the abandonment of this picturesque old structure and the erection of a mill at another site.

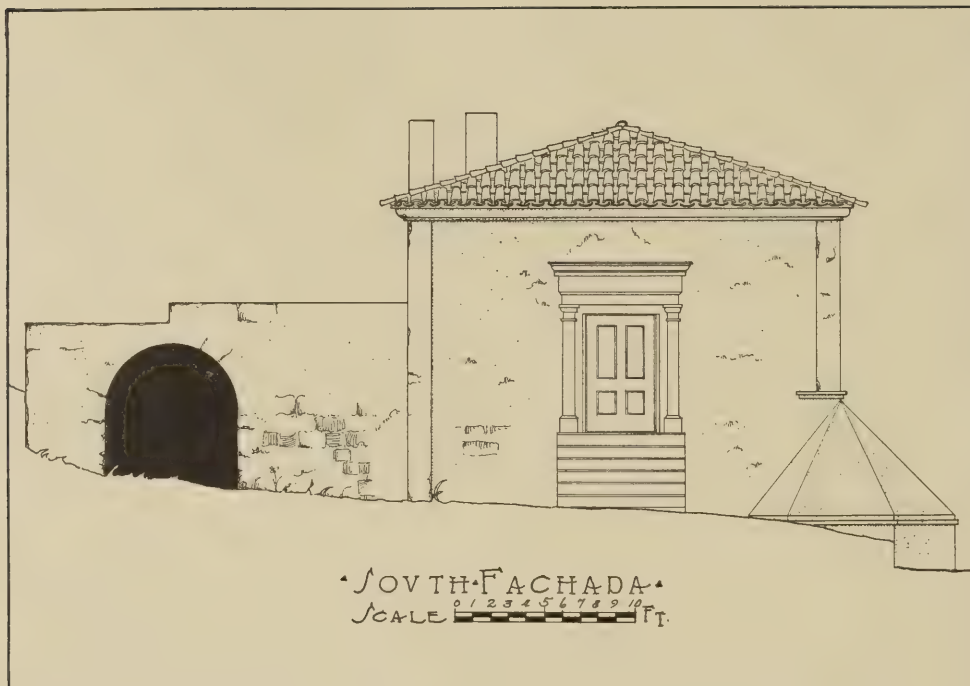
The second mill, while not so interesting architecturally, was, we are told, far more satisfactory from a practical standpoint. In building this mill Padre Zalvidea took advantage of the knowledge and abilities of Joseph Chapman, the Yankee who, as

PLAN
Scale 1" = 5' Feet



BASMENT PLAN
Scale 1" = 5' Feet

EL MOLINO VIEJO
DE
MISION SAN GABRIEL



OLD MILL OF MISSION SAN GABRIEL, NEAR PASADENA

we have seen, prepared the timbers for the construction of the Church of Our Lady of the Angels. The mill-stones of the first mill had a direct shaft connection with the water-wheel, which arrangement added to the difficulty of keeping the grist dry. Chapman introduced bevel-gearing to get around this difficulty, thereby producing the first successful water-power grist-mill in California.

El Molino Viejo was operated by water conducted thither from Los Robles and Mill Creek Canyons by means of ditches that fed into the northern circular, funnel-shaped basin at the west side of the building. From the bottom of this basin a narrow flume conducted the power-giving stream to its contact with the wheel. As will be noted upon the plan, there are two wheel-chambers and two basins, the south set of which, it is said, was never put to use. From the wheel-chamber the water exhausted to a dam below, where it was again used in the operation of a saw-mill, after which it irrigated the orchards and fields.

None of the machinery of the mill is in place; the wheel and the gates have disappeared; nothing remains but the heavy masonry mill-house and the basins. At one time the ancient mill-stones, two and a half feet in diameter and eight inches thick, served as hitching-blocks before San Marino, the residence of Dr. J. De Barth Shorb, but the writer has not seen them for some years.

The mill structure is sixty-one by twenty-four feet, massively built with stone walls varying from two and a half to four and a half feet in thickness. It seems, in its heaviness, almost fortress-like, and indeed, the padres may have considered it necessary to safeguard themselves against attack, for the region was the centre of a large Indian population. The attempt to guard against vibration, and to withstand the pressure of the water against the west wall, together with the current habit of building very heavy walls, would, in the writer's opinion, explain its massiveness.

In 1859 the old mill, so long idle, became the property of Colonel E. J. C. Kewen, at one time attorney-general of California and famous for his connection with the Walker filibustering expedition. By the addition of porches at the south end and east side, he converted the place into a comfortable residence, and

here he lived for twenty years. After his death it became a tool-house of the ranch, but when the golf-course near by was laid out, it was appropriately fitted up as a locker-room. The lockers and other appointments are still in place. The pseudo-Colonial wooden trim around the doorway at the south end was built doubtless while Colonel Kewen occupied the house. The jigsaw porches have, fortunately, been removed.

The simple proportions of this staunch old structure are admirable and the building reflects in every detail the good taste of the padres, whose architectural creed seems always to have been simplicity, strength, and beauty. In semi-dilapidated condition, overgrown and lichen-covered, its yellow stone walls and its variegated red-tile roof, offer studies in color rarely encountered in America. It is to be hoped that this beautiful relic of the days of the padres will be permanently preserved.



Old Belfry of Mission House
San Fernando Rey de España

CHAPTER XVI

MISSION SAN FERNANDO REY DE ESPAÑA

IN THE heart of the fertile San Fernando Valley, some twenty-two miles northwest of the business centre of Los Angeles, yet within the corporate limits of that city, stand the remnants of the old Mission of San Fernando Rey de España, that is to say of Saint Ferdinand, King of Spain. Saint Ferdinand was Ferdinand III. (1200-1252), King of Castile and Leon, the two kingdoms which formed, after the expulsion of the Moors, the foundations of modern Spain. Ferdinand was victor over the Moors at Ubeda in 1234, at Córdoba in 1236, and at Seville in 1248, and was planning an African invasion when he died in 1252. Like his cousin, Saint Louis of France, he was not only a man of brilliant military talents, but also a religious zealot of the extremest order, fighting heretics with the fiercest punishments known to his age. He was canonized by Pope Clement X. in 1671, and is counted one of the greatest of Spanish kings as well as one of the greatest of Spanish saints.

The foundation of the mission was late in point of time, being the seventeenth link in the chain. It was founded September 8, 1797, by Padre-presidente Lasuén and Fathers Dumetz and Uría upon the lands of Rancho Encino. This rancho, one of the first land-grants in California, was held by Francisco Reyes, who had been here since 1784. In this connection it would appear that the power of the padres was very great if they could claim, for missionary purposes, the lands of a settler. But it appears that the lands were thus appropriated with apparently little protest upon the part of Reyes.

The establishment of a mission at this point helped to complete the chain of missions in Southern California. The padres had for some time contemplated the filling of the gaps between Missions San Gabriel and San Buenaventura and between San Diego and San Juan Capistrano. San Fernando provided missionary guidance for the Indians between the first two establishments, while San Luis Rey, founded the next year, provided the same advantages for the Indians between the latter two. Thus we have the two missions, established almost simultaneously,

dedicated to the two sainted kings and cousins, Saint Ferdinand and Saint Louis.

Architecturally, San Fernando is scarcely as interesting as the other churches of the south. The wealth of the establishment, due to the fertility of the mission lands, was great, but for one reason or another, probably because the mission never had at its head a great builder like Ripoll, Cruzado, Zalvidea, or Peyri, no great church was ever erected. It has been pointed out (Chapter VII) that there were three types of structure, each dependent for its character upon the materials available. These were, chronologically, the wooden stockade type, the adobe type, and the masonry type. San Fernando never went beyond the adobe type. The original church of the mission was begun before the close of the century and was completed and dedicated in December, 1806.

This church served the needs of the community until 1812, when it was seriously damaged by earthquake. The tremor of December 8, which wrought such havoc throughout the mission chain, did no damage at San Fernando, but the severe shock of December 21, which wrecked the church at Santa Bárbara, made necessary the introduction of thirty new beams to support the walls. The present church, which has stood for so many years a pitiable ruin and which, through the efforts of the Landmarks Club, has only recently received attention, dates, no doubt, from 1818. What relation its form bears to that of the original structure would be difficult to determine.

The church, as will be noted upon the plan, is a long, narrow structure some 166 feet in length by 25 feet in width, a dimension determined by the length of the roofing beams available. The walls, which are 4'10" thick, are of adobe with the exception of the pilasters, which divide the interior walls into panels, the two great buttresses, which steady the walls, and the frames around the openings, all of which are of burned bricks. This use of brick masonry with the adobe made possible a refinement entirely impossible in adobe alone and at the same time gave the openings a more stable form and a surer definition.

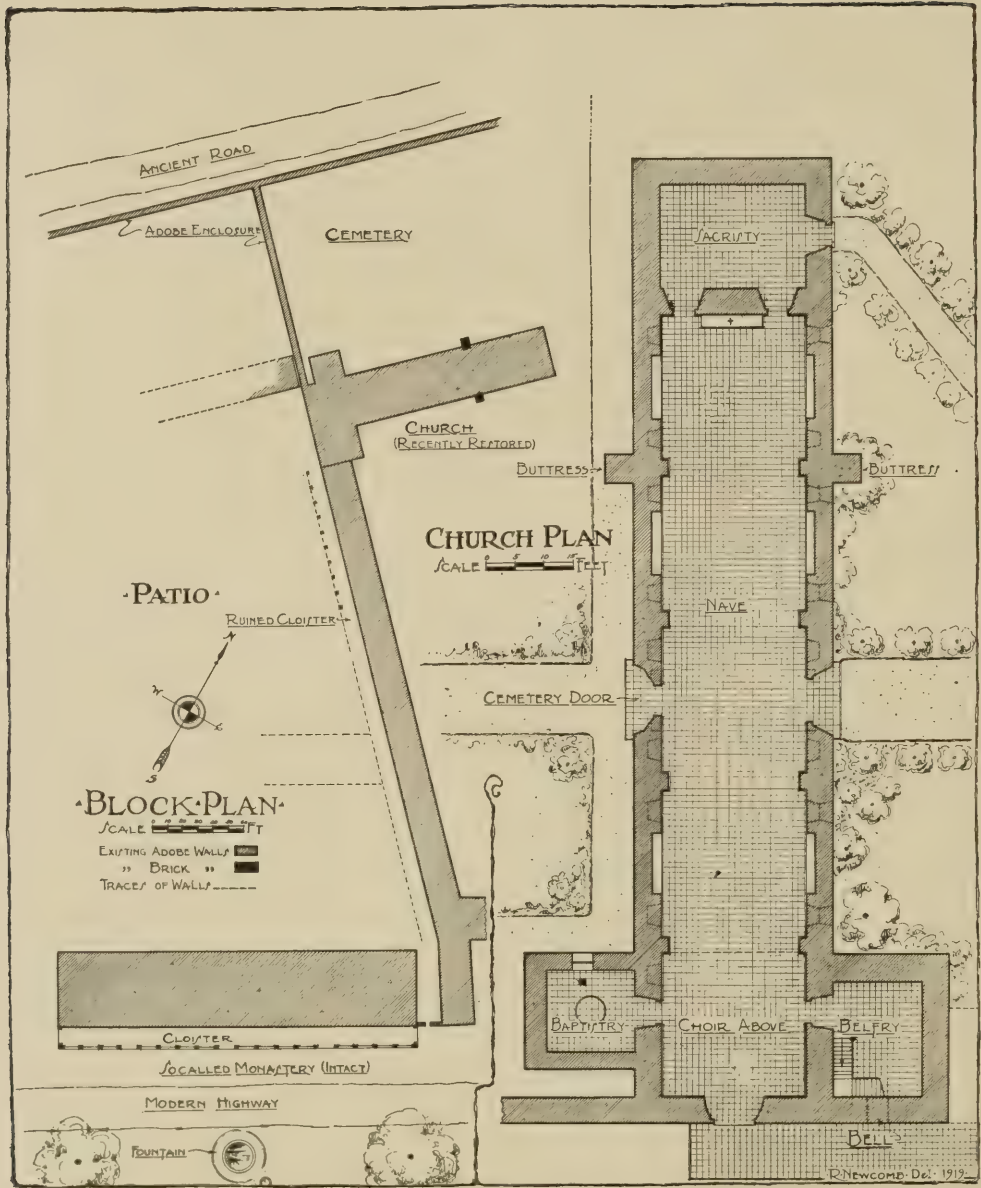
The arrangement of the church was similar to that of other Californian establishments. As one entered the main portal, the



MISSION SAN FERNANDO REY DE ESPAÑA, CHURCH



MISSION SAN FERNANDO REY DE ESPAÑA, RUINED INTERIOR AS IT APPEARED SOME YEARS AGO



PLAN OF MISSION SAN FERNANDO REY DE ESPAÑA

belfry was upon the right, the baptistry upon the left. Heavy beams supported the choir, which stood above the entrance. The high altar was at the opposite end, with the sacristy beyond. A door in the left lateral wall led into the cemetery; the one opposite into the mission gardens. The walls were plastered inside and out with lime mortar, the interior being decorated with fresco paintings, traces of which were discernible the first time that the writer visited the ruin. The heavy ceiling beams, carried upon great corbels, were treated with whitewash and color, and thus the interior, with its frescoed walls, its Stations of the Cross, and its Spanish altar-hangings, made a glorious, if barbaric, spectacle.

The church is, however, not the most interesting or picturesque of the remnants of San Fernando. A considerable interest centres in the old mission-house so often miscalled "the Monastery." This huge adobe structure, 235 feet long by 65 feet wide, with its arcaded corridor, tiled roof, and bell-arch, was in the old days the centre of mission activities. It contained the kitchen, the guest-room, the convent, quarters for the padres, refectory, library, and offices of the great landed estate, which had, in 1819, an Indian population exceeding a thousand souls, and possessed herds and flocks to the number of 12,800 cattle, 500 horses and mules, and 6000 sheep.

Perhaps the main interest in this building is inspired by its rhythmic arches of brick and its well-preserved red-tile roof, which, to be sure, has been repaired several times at the expense of the other structures of the group. The roof of the arcade, changed after its first construction, was, it is certain, at one time nearly flat, being in no sense a continuation of the main roof, as it now appears. The old waterspouts of burned tile, made obsolete by this change, are still to be seen. The little belfry at the west end of the arcade is unique, and is the only example of the use of a bell, except in connection with the church proper, that the writer recalls.

The main portal of the mission-house, with its curious hand-carved door with moulded, serpentine grooves, though not elaborate in detail, is exceedingly interesting. This opening is not of the semicircular type, almost invariably used, but has an ellipti-

cal arch, defined by a simply moulded frame, supported by flanking pilasters, each of which is enhanced by a central flute and a heavily moulded impost. Above the door is a shell-headed niche, which originally contained the statue of a saint.

Among the interesting bits of the old building are several wrought-iron grilles, which are still in place at the windows (p. 60). San Fernando enjoyed the reputation of having one of the best of mission smithies and of turning out some very good wrought iron. Certainly these old grilles attest the ability of the Indian blacksmiths. They are, without doubt, the most ornate grilles to be found among the missions and compare favorably with the delightful wrought-iron cross upon the campanario of San Gabriel (p. 187).

In front of this building was the plaza with its fountain, one of the two mission fountains still in existence. Not far from the fountain, the remains of two reservoirs, fashioned of stone, but lined with brick, are still to be seen. The mission water-supply was derived by damming a "draw" in the hills back of the mission, the water being carried by means of tile conductors to the fountain and reservoirs. Occasionally this source of water failed, hence the precaution for a storage supply.

At the rear of the "Monastery" was the patio, flanked upon its eastern side by a row of low adobe structures used as shops, storage-houses, and quarters for the mission escolta. A corridor flanking the patio side of this line of buildings led from the mission-house to the church. The roof of the corridor was carried upon brick columns and piers, remains of which were visible some years ago. These have now entirely disappeared, while the adobe walls of the houses have so thoroughly disintegrated as to be formless ruins.

San Fernando had at one time flourishing vineyards and orchards. Bancroft states that the wine yield from these vineyards reached two thousand gallons yearly, while the amount of brandy produced at the mission was nearly as great. The padres early planted date-palms and set out an extensive olive orchard, some fine trees of which are still to be seen at the rear of the mission.

For many years the mission-house was used to accommodate



MISSION SAN FERNANDO REY DE ESPAÑA. THE MISSION HOUSE



MISSION SAN FERNANDO REY DE ESPAÑA. GENERAL VIEW



MISSION SAN FERNANDO REY DE ESPAÑA, FOUNTAIN



SAN FERNANDO REY DE ESPAÑA, DOORWAY OF
MISSION HOUSE

ranch-hands working in the neighboring fields and for the storage of hay and grain, but in recent years the buildings with a few acres have been returned to the Church. The efforts of the Landmarks Club have made possible the preservation of the remnants, and, had it not been for this public-spirited organization, the buildings would long ago have returned to the earth whence they came. In 1897 the Club braced and repaired the roof of the mission-house and put a temporary roof of "shakes" upon the church. This latter "restoration" served for a few years to preserve the sacred walls, but, at length, the elements and vandals had their way and the old church was reduced to a miserable heap of fallen beams and crumbling walls.

In 1916 the Landmarks Club determined to restore the church and to this end held, on August 4th, the San Fernando Candle Day. It is doubtful if such an event could have been staged anywhere in America except in California, but upon that day some six thousand Californians, native and otherwise, assembled under the arches of the old mission to celebrate the one hundred and forty-seventh anniversary of the discovery of Los Angeles Valley, of which the San Fernando is a part. The sight of six thousand American citizens, each having left behind him the business of the day in order to celebrate an historic event and each bearing a flickering candle, the receipt for a dollar contributed to the restoration fund, trooping through the whitened arches of the old building was an impressive and long-to-be-remembered picture. Regardless of whether or not such a celebration could be held outside of romantic California, the staging of such a pageant, even here, augurs well for the development of a sentiment for things venerable and beautiful and is certain to make for a finer civic spirit. This plan, the dream of a poet, brought in enough cool dollars to go far toward the restoration of the crumbling church walls and make safe that historic old ruin for many years to come.

CHAPTER XVII

THE MISSION OF SAN BUENAVENTURA

SAN BUENAVENTURA, the third of the proposed establishments according to the original plan, remained to be the ninth of Padre Junípero's chain and the last mission to be established by the Apostle of California. The delay, as we have seen, was due to numberless causes and was perhaps not avoidable. When Governor Neve proposed a further occupation of the Santa Bárbara Channel area, it seemed that at last the time had come for the completion of that trinity of establishments proposed by the Viceroy. It was with genuine zeal, therefore, that Padre Junípero, now advanced in years, set about the preparations for the mission to be dedicated to the Seraphic Doctor.

The mission, located some eighty-three miles northwest of Los Angeles and twenty-five miles southeast of Santa Bárbara, was established March 31, 1782, under most favorable circumstances. It was founded at royal expense and was consecrated by the venerable Padre-presidente himself, in the presence of one of California's greatest Spanish governors, with the Spanish troops under Lieutenant Don José Francisco de Ortega, the founder of one of California's most prominent Spanish families and the discoverer of San Francisco Bay, in attendance. The mission was dedicated, moreover, to one of the great "doctors of the Church," Saint Bonaventure, cardinal-bishop and "ex-minister-general of the Franciscans." Padre Serra and Padre Pedro Benito Cambón, who had been one of the founders of Mission San Gabriel, were the first ministers and remained in residence until a royal ship brought the new missionaries to assume charge.

The first buildings erected were, according to Vancouver, the English traveller, destroyed by fire. When he visited the mission in 1793, he reported the permanent buildings as being under construction and the patio, with the exception of the church, just begun, practically complete. He described the mission as being "in a very superior style to any of the new establishments" and said that "the garden . . . far exceeded anything . . . before met with in these regions" and contained "apples, pears, plums,

figs, oranges, grapes, peaches, pomegranates, plantain, banana, cocoanut, indigo, and kitchen herbs, roots, and plants."

The next year the church, a building of stone, was said to have been half completed. It appears, however, that this edifice, although reported as nearly completed in 1797, was not consecrated until September 9, 1809, when Padre José Señan and Marcos Antonio de Victorio celebrated this rite, assisted by the Rev. José Argüello (a son of the later governor, José Dario Argüello) and padres from Santa Bárbara, Santa Inés, San Fernando, and San Gabriel. On the second day after the consecration the relics of Padre Vicente de Santa María, former pastor of the mission, who had died in 1806, were transferred to the new edifice.

San Buenaventura suffered from the earthquake of 1812, when, on December 21, a tremor damaged the fachada and campanario to such an extent that the tower and a part of the fachada had to be rebuilt. The whole mission site is thought to have settled, and for fear that the structure would slide down the hill, the tremendous buttress upon the fachada opposite the tower was added, and the lateral and rear walls were reinforced. By 1814 most of the damage to the minor buildings had been repaired, and by 1818, not only had the church been restored but a chapel to San Miguel had been added.

San Buenaventura reached her greatest development about 1816, at which time the Indian population numbered 1330, and she maintained herself a thrifty community up to the time of secularization. A notion of her wealth is indicated by the fact that, in 1820, the provincial Government was indebted to the mission to the extent of \$27,385 for supplies, \$6200 in unpaid stipends, and \$1585 for a cargo of hemp. None of these items, it appears, the Government had the slightest intention of paying. In 1816 the cattle upon the mission ranchos numbered 23,400, but, after the trouble attending the secularization, the herd dwindled so tremendously that, by 1843, there were only 2382 cattle remaining. At this time the orchards and vineyards, properties not subject to such immediate depreciation as were the flocks and herds, numbered 1032 fruit-trees and 11,970 vines. This gives some impression of the extent of viticulture at the mission



MISSION SAN BUENAVENTURA. FACHADA



MISSION SAN BUENAVENTURA. INTERIOR AS IT NOW APPEARS

and serves to show why she became noted for the products of her vineyards.

In 1845 the church was declared a parish church by García Diego, the first bishop of the Californias, and it has served in this capacity since that date, to the great detriment, be it said, of the structure itself, the interior of which has been "restored" out of all semblance of its original condition. The worst of the work was accomplished in the early nineties by Father Rúbio. The photograph will serve to show how the interior appears at the present time, when the only piece of original work not modernized to the extent of ruin is the shell-headed doorway at the right. A canopied pulpit, one of the finest bits of mission woodwork, originally hung from the wall in the first bay in front of the chancel-rail upon the right-hand side of the church. It disappeared during the nineties but our sketch will convey some idea of its appearance.

The exterior of the church, although perhaps neither beautiful nor interesting so far as detail is concerned, composes itself into a picturesque mass that, when seen in the brilliant white sunshine of California, against her semi-tropical sky and amid her luxuriant vegetation, compels our admiration.

It has always appeared to the writer that the design of the church must have been changed after it was begun and that a decision to enlarge the structure must have been made after the original fachada was in place. This contention is borne out by internal evidence, the most convincing single piece of which is the disposition of the elements of the fachada itself. It will be noticed that there is a set of mouldings which, running up to a point, seem to recall an earlier gable-line. Moreover, this smaller composition seems to have been complete within itself. A window into the choir was provided and a corbelled niche in the apex of the pediment, while the two pilasters flanking the doorway seem much more intelligible as elements of the smaller composition than as divisions of the fachada as it now stands. It is the opinion of the writer that this portion of the fachada antedates the earthquake of 1812. The grade-line has, of course, been lowered, making a marked difference in the appearance of the building.

The campanario is typical and of the terraced type. It is not so graceful as the tower of San Luis Rey and certainly not so sturdy as the towers of Santa Bárbara. Moreover, it suffers somewhat from the fact that the two upper stages do not "centre" over the lower. On the whole, however, the tower is the most interesting feature of the church, with one exception, and this is the side door, already mentioned. This doorway appears almost as if a bit of Old Spain herself had been transported thither and set into the walls of this old church. It will be noticed that the wooden leaves, with their serpentine decorations, are similar in design to those seen at Mission San Fernando.

Some mention should be made of the bells of San Buenaventura, of which there are four. Those hanging in the north and west arches date from 1781 and bear these legends respectively:

"SAN PEDRO ALCANTARA

1781 "

and

"SAN FRANCISCO

1781 "

Those hanging in the east and south arches are dated 1812 and 1825, respectively, and carry these inscriptions:

"AVE MARIA

Sn JOSEPH 1812 "

and

"AVE MARYA PURISIMA

S. MARIA D^1 (de) SAPOPAN

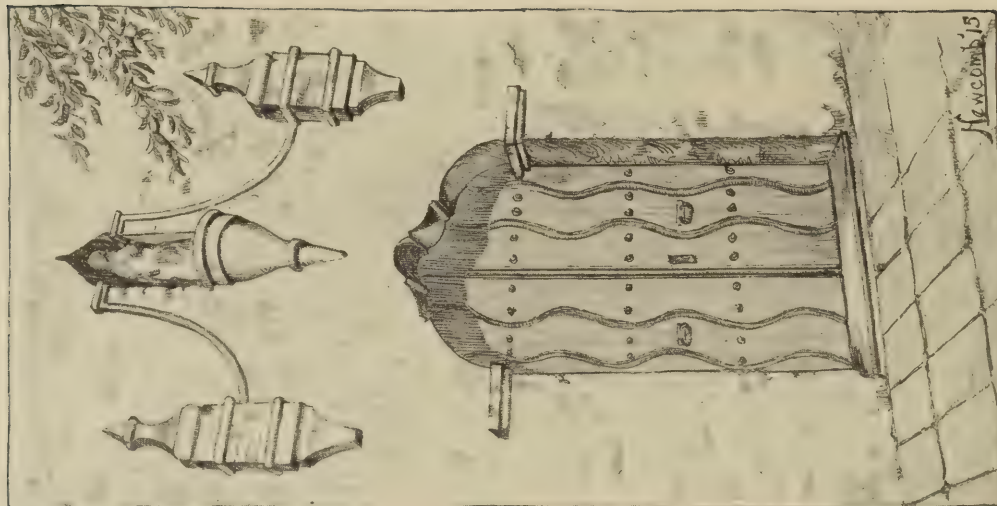
AÑO D^1 (Domini) 1825 "

Besides the church there is little left at San Buenaventura to command the attention. Perhaps it was fortunate, after all, that the building was made a parish church. If it had not been, perhaps nothing would remain. So-called restoration, however, has done much damage to its one-time interesting interior. It is hoped that, as time goes on, the authorities in charge of these staunch old structures will come to learn the meaning of restoration in its full archæological sense and historical significance.

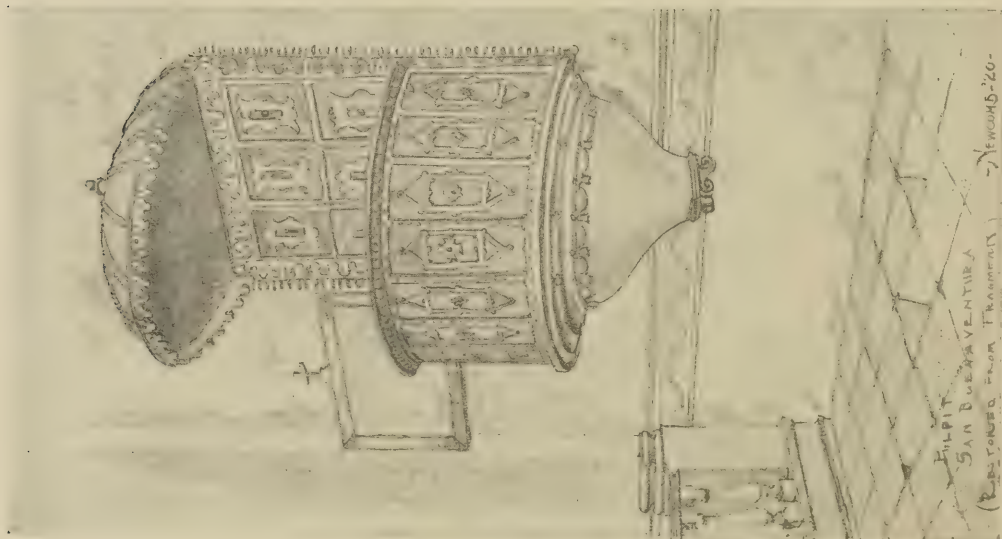
¹ This, a combination of D and E, stands for "de" in one case and "Domini" in the other.



MISSION SAN BUENAVENTURA. SIDE OF CHURCH



DOORWAY AT SIDE OF CHURCH



RESTORATION OF CANOPIED PULPIT

MISSION SAN BUENAVENTURA

PULPIT
SAN BUENAVENTURA
(RESTORED FROM FRAGMENT) - NEWCOMB'S 20.

At the rear of the church and high above the town looms a hill, upon the crest of which stands a cross. This modern cross marks the spot upon which the venerable Junípero is said to have planted the symbol of salvation in order that it might be seen not only along the shore but for many miles out to sea. The view from the hill is a most expansive one, embracing, as it does, miles of coast land and the open sea.



Campanario, San Buenaventura

CHAPTER XVIII

THE MISSION OF SANTA BÁRBARA

SANTA BÁRBARA was the first mission established under the presidency of Padre Lasuén, who, in 1785, took up the labors of the deceased Serra. On December 4 of the next year Lasuén, assisted by Padres Antonio Paterna and Cristobal Orámas, blessed the site and formally dedicated the mission. The first mass was not celebrated, however, until the sixteenth, at which time Governor Fages was in attendance.

The new mission was situated some nine leagues northwest of Mission San Buenaventura and one-half league northwest of the Presidio of Santa Bárbara on a beautiful and commanding site at the foot of the Santa Inés Mountains. The site, certainly one of the finest occupied by any of the missions of California, appears, however, to have been selected not so much for its natural beauty as for its abundance of good building-stone and its plentiful water-supply.

Early in 1787 work upon the mission structures was begun, and during that year a small chapel, together with a priest's house, carpenter-shop, granary, convent, and other small buildings, were built by Padres Paterna and Orámas, assisted by the Indians. In spite of the fact that the site abounded in good stone, the first structures, certainly considered only temporary at best, were constructed of adobe and roofed with thatch. By 1789 a church 17 by 108 feet was completed, and during the next two years other granaries, tool-houses, a guard-house, and a mission-house, containing refectory, kitchen, and store-rooms, all of adobe, were erected. The next year the manufacture of burned-clay tiles made possible fire-proof roofs for the structures.

By 1792 the adobe church, completed only three years before, was deemed too small, and, in order to make room for a larger church, this structure was demolished. During 1793-1794, the priests and neophytes were busy upon a church 25 by 124 feet with a sacristy measuring 14 by 26 feet. This church, like the two preceding structures, was of adobe but had a tile roof and was plastered inside and out. According to Father Engelhardt, the best-informed Santa Bárbara historian of the present day, the

church had three chapels along either side, and, by 1795, a brick portico in front. This edifice stood until the earthquake of December 12, 1812, when it was so thoroughly ruined that it had to be taken down to make room for the present great stone church. During 1792, also, two large enclosures of stone, one for cattle and one for sheep and goats, were completed.

Within the next two years a granary and a spinners, with stone foundations, and four new apartments for the padres were finished; the cemetery was enclosed and a new corral was added. This same year the beams of sycamore and poplar, used about the structures so far erected, were replaced by pine. Stores, offices, further granaries, and corridors across the front and in the patio were built in the next three years, and, in 1798, nineteen Indian houses, 12 by 19 feet, plastered, whitewashed, and provided with doors and movable windows, were added, while the combined garden and vineyard was enclosed by an adobe wall nine feet high.

In 1799, thirty-one more Indian houses were completed, while corridors, covered with tile roofs supported upon brick arcades, were constructed around the three remaining sides of the patio. Preparations were also begun about this time for the construction of the water-system, which was to be the most complete erected at any mission. The water-supply was obtained by the damming of Pedragosa Creek some two miles above the mission. From the dam the water was conducted, by means of a stone aqueduct, to a settling-basin northeast of the mission church. This aqueduct was built in such a way as to follow the contour of the hills and canyons, and so well constructed that, after a hundred years, it remains, where not destroyed by man, in excellent condition. From the settling-basin, or filter, the water was led into the great stone reservoir, 110 feet square and seven feet deep, which was completed in 1806. That this reservoir was a good one is attested by the fact that it is still utilized as a storage-basin by the Santa Bárbara Water Company.

Upon the hill above the reservoir, already mentioned, was subsequently built a second small reservoir, which was also supplied from the dam. Between these two reservoirs was built the water-power grist-mill where Padre Ripoll ground his

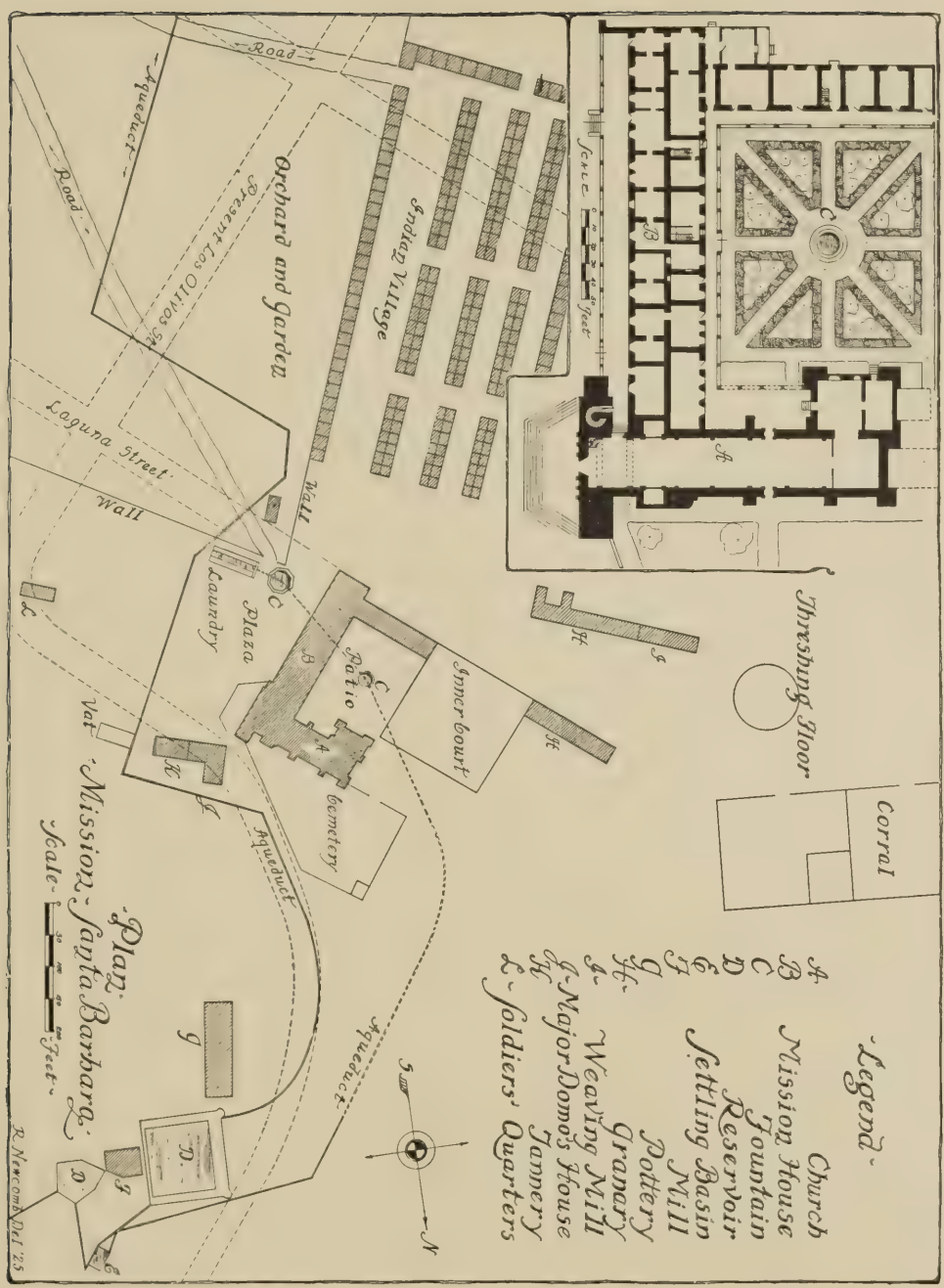
grain. The upper reservoir was provided with wooden sluice-gates by means of which the water to turn the mill-wheel could be controlled.

From the settling-basin, constructed to purify the domestic supply, an aqueduct formerly conducted the water to be used for household purposes to the rear of the mission. From here it was distributed to the fountains. This aqueduct consisted of a water-way four inches in diameter carried atop a heavy stone wall, which, crossing the road that leads to the bridge, was pierced at this point by a pretty arch that remained in place until about 1880, when a farmer, angered because it would not permit the passage of his hay-wagons, had it removed. Parts of the wall, now in ruins, can be seen to this day.

In front of the mission a very ornate fountain (p. 43) was built in 1808. From this fountain, which still stands, the overflow was led to the stone laundry-vat, where it spouted from the mouth of a California bear into the basin, 72'6" long by 6'6" wide and 3'3" deep. To this long basin the Indians brought their family wash. Dipping the garments into the water, the women pulled them up onto the heavy roll-rim of the vat, where they were soaped and beaten with paddles after the manner of laundering in Spanish-speaking countries.

Between the years of 1801 and 1807 there were from thirty to fifty adobe Indian houses added each year until some two hundred and fifty-two of them, enclosed by an adobe wall on all sides except that toward the plaza, were completed. This Indian village occupied the space south of the present monastery building and southwest of the plaza, with its fountain and laundry-basin. During the same year a tannery, a pottery, a major-domo's house, three warehouses, and a stone prison, together with several groups of apartments, were built. The church was provided with glass windows, and the fachadas of both the mission-house and the church were improved.

The earthquake of December, 1812, damaged the church, as has been stated, and the years of 1813 and 1814 were consumed with the preparation of materials for the erection of the present stone edifice. The corner-stone was laid in 1815 and work progressed speedily from that date until the completion in 1820. In



1817 Captain Wilcox, who was visiting the coast upon a trading expedition, made a trip to the Santa Cruz Islands in his boat, the *Traveller*, for the purpose of bringing timbers for the construction of the church roof. The dedication took place September 10, 1820.

We have a picture of the mission as it appeared in 1827 through the writings of Duhaut-Cilly.¹ He writes:

"As we advanced, the buildings of the Mission appeared under a finer aspect. From the roadstead we could have taken it for a castle of medieval times, with its lofty windows, belfry, and watch-tower. Coming nearer, the building appears larger, and without losing any of its beauty, takes on, little by little, a religious aspect; the turret becomes a spire; the brass, instead of announcing a knight's arrival, sounds the Office of the Angelus; the first illusion disappears, and behold the castle is a convent!

"In front of the building, in the middle of a huge plaza, is a playing fountain; the workmanship, imperfect as it was, surprised us more, since we had not expected to find in this country, otherwise so far removed from the comforts of Europe, this sort of luxury, reserved among us for the dwellings of the wealthier classes."

In speaking of the church and the almost insuperable difficulties connected with building in the province, Duhaut-Cilly has this to say:

"The front of the church is ornamented with six half-columns that support a triangular pediment relieved by a few statues of saints. . . . This form of the structure would excite no special wonder had it been constructed by Europeans; but considering that it is the work of ignorant Indians under the direction of a priest; that it is a building erected in a land which, if it does offer all the necessary materials, still offers them only in the unworked natural state to the hand that would utilize them; surely, indeed, one must admire the extreme patience of the father, his ability, and the care he exercised in the direction of the work."

The church, built entirely of sandstone blocks, is 175' long and 40' wide at the nave, and has walls some 6' in thickness strengthened by heavy buttresses. The towers, 19' x 21' and 19' x 24', respectively, on plan, are practically of solid stone masonry up to the belfries. The one at the right is solid, while the one at the left is solid with the exception of a narrow spiral stairway that leads to the belfry. The belfry of the right-hand tower is accessible only by means of a flight of steps that leads over the roof directly behind the pediment.

The fachada of the church (p. 221) is unique in design and is the only structure of the whole mission chain that has so much of

¹ Duhaut-Cilly: *Op. cit.*; I, 270-280.



MISSION SANTA BÁRBARA, FACHADA OF CHURCH



MISSION SANTA BÁRBARA, MONKS' GARDEN



PLATE X FROM SPANISH VITRUVIUS



MISSION SANTA BÁRBARA, INTERIOR OF CHURCH

the classic in its make-up. This use of classic elements in connection with the more or less florid and flowing Spanish-Colonial forms has been the source of a considerable amount of criticism. While the mixture of "styles," so totally unrelated in spirit, is regrettable, it must be remembered that the padres, not trained as architects, were really more interested in spiritual affairs than in the hair-splitting differences of architectural style. Padre Ripoll, who was the designer of the church, knew, probably, very little regarding the handling of artistic matters. His concern was to get as permanent and dignified a house of worship as was possible under the circumstances. That he succeeded to a degree commendable in every respect, when compared with like results in our age, will be granted by any serious student.

In the absence of architects or even of good workmen, the practical and business-like Padre had access to whatever of architectural literature was obtainable in the province and to this end made use of a book still to be seen in the mission library. This book, a Spanish translation of the Latin Vitruvius, contained plates of the orders of architecture, and Plate X of this volume furnished, most certainly, the inspiration and design for the fachada, as a comparison of the two will indicate. The Padre and his dusky laborers did the best they could to give the church a measure of that stately magnificence due the House of God. The spirit and motive were commendable; we should be loath to criticize the results too seriously.

The interior of the church is not so interesting as the exterior. As one approaches the high altar from the main portal, he notes upon the left an entrance that communicates with the corridor of the mission-house and the spiral stairway of the belfry. Just beyond are six chapels, three upon either hand. The first on each side is built into the heavy masonry walls of the nave, while the remaining four, simple altars with paintings above them, stand inside the nave walls. Beyond, side portals give access, on the right, to the mission cemetery, or, on the left, to the "Monks' Garden." Flanking the sanctuary upon the extreme left are the sacristy and choir-room.

The interior is amply lighted by splayed Moorish windows, between which stand the flat pilasters that break the walls into

bays. The roof of heavy beams which covers the nave is ceiled on its under side and embellished with curious carved and painted decorations, that are referred to locally as the "thunder-bird" ornaments. These curious designs, executed by dusky Indian artists, were copied by them from the winged-distaff decorations of the soffit of the Doric entablature figured on Plate XXXIII of the Vitruvius already mentioned. Seeing the ornament with its wings and barbed-lightning tongues, the Indians attributed to it a pagan meaning, and, hailing it as a familiar symbol, enthusiastically accepted it, to the great delight of the Padre who wanted the church decorated.

The beautiful old Stations of the Cross that adorn the walls of the nave came to California from Mexico in 1797, while the paintings, of which there are many at Santa Bárbara, have been acquired at various times. In 1798 six large oils, eleven feet wide and fourteen feet high, were sent from Mexico to adorn the six side-chapels of the church of that day.

In a tomb upon the Epistle side of the main altar rest the remains of Father Francisco García Diego y Moreno, first Bishop of California. It was the expressed desire of the Prelate that his remains be not placed in the crypt, and thus a tomb was prepared especially for him. The front of this tomb consists of a panel flanked by Ionic half-columns bearing a denticulated pediment. The panel is adorned by the arms and seal of the Bishop and an inscription in Latin.

But Santa Bárbara is the resting-place of other famous priests and important civilians. The crypt under the church was a favorite burial-place for the early padres and for the more important laymen of the community. Two slabs in the floor bear inscriptions telling of the burial beneath of important laymen and eleven padres.

When the period of secularization came Santa Bárbara suffered, as did most of the missions. The inventory of 1834 showed a total valuation of \$110,668, but a great part of this wealth slipped away through mishandling of the funds by the Mexican officials appointed to administer the properties. In 1843 Governor Micheltorena ordered the properties returned to the padres, but even at that time the padre-in-charge had the



FRONT CORRIDOR



CORRIDOR, INTERIOR



DOORWAY OF MISSION HOUSE



FOUNTAIN AND LAUNDRY-BASIN

MISSION SANTA BÁRBARA



MISSION SANTA BÁRBARA. FACHADA



MISSION SANTA BÁRBARA. THE TOWER FROM THE CEMETERY

greatest difficulty in supporting the three hundred Indians who remained at the mission, whereas in 1803 the same lands had supported nearly eighteen hundred.

Governor Pico's decree of 1845 reserved the church and monastery for the use of the Bishop, Rev. García Diego, who arrived in 1842. The lands, orchards, and other properties were let out at an annual rental of \$1200 and eventually sold in 1846 to Richard S. Den for \$7500. Finally the United States Land Court in 1865 returned to the Catholic Church of California 283 acres, including the buildings, which of course had not passed out of the padres' hands. In 1853 Santa Bárbara was made a hospice and eventually an Apostolic College for the training of Franciscan missionaries.

Besides the buildings, fountain, and water-system, any review of the interesting features of this old mission-house would be incomplete without some mention of the "Monks' Garden" and the cemetery. In each of these enclosures are to be found many rare plants and semi-tropical trees. Formerly the "Monks' Garden" was especially beautiful, with its fine Italian cypresses planted by Bishop Diego, its central fountain, and its winding paths, bordered with rare botanical specimens. Women, except reigning queens and the wives of American presidents, are never admitted to the garden. An exception was once made, however, in the case of the wife of the Governor-general of Canada.

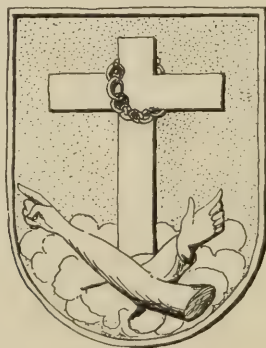
The cemetery, though very small in area, is said to contain the relics of at least 4000 Indians and many Spanish Americans. Some years ago the city of Santa Bárbara forbade the further public use of the cemetery and the gateway was walled up. Modern concrete vaults above ground care for the burial of members of the order at the present time.

In addition to the various pieces of furniture, paintings, and other relics of interest to be seen in the church and about the buildings generally, there are in the museum of the mission numberless objects coming down from old mission days, among them early examples of tiles, bricks, clay pipes for conducting the water about the mission grounds, many excellent pieces of old "mission" furniture, several old candelabra, and various ecclesiastical objects.

Santa Bárbara had one of the best and most complete of the mission libraries. This collection contains, besides books, a wonderful fund of documentary and archival material of great value in the writing of Californian history. This material Father Engelhardt has utilized to the full in the writing of his illuminating and valuable histories of mission days. In this library, among other things, are the architectural work already mentioned, a work upon "Civil Architecture," and a treatise upon agriculture, which, doubtless, the padres used in the operation of their great estates.

Taken altogether, Santa Bárbara, partly on account of her fine setting, her lovely garden and peaceful cemetery, and partly on account of the fine preservation of her buildings, remains one of the most interesting and beautiful relics of the Spanish-Colonial period and easily one of America's foremost historic shrines.

As the proof of this chapter was being read came the sad news of the earthquakes of the latter days of June. The upper stages of the towers of the mission church collapsed and the pediment between them was reduced to débris, while the upper story of the mission house was shattered and broken and the upper floor precipitated into the apartments below. Fortunately, although the great tremor came while early service was in session, no one was injured. The massive walls of the church and fachada remain undisturbed, and the Father Superior announces that this beautiful old relic will be restored to its original splendor.



Franciscan Arms
Santa Bárbara

CHAPTER XIX

THE MISSION OF SANTA INÉS

OF THE three missions of Alta California named in honor of sainted women, that of Santa Bárbara has been discussed. Of the two remaining, Santa Clara de Asís and Santa Inés, the latter forms the subject of this chapter. Santa Inés is the Spanish equivalent for Saint Agnes, virgin and martyr, who, born a Christian in Rome, suffered martyrdom at thirteen years of age during the reign of Emperor Diocletian. The story goes that the Prefect Sempronius wished her to marry his son and upon her refusal condemned her to be outraged before her execution. Her honor was miraculously preserved, however, and, when led out to execution, the fagots for her burning refused to ignite. The officer in charge, angered, whipped out his sword and struck off her head. She is considered the patron saint of young girls who formerly upon Saint Agnes' Eve, especially in the rural districts, resorted to magic to discover whom they were to marry. Keats' poem, the "Eve of Saint Agnes," is based upon this quaint custom. Her relics are supposed to rest in the Church of Saint Agnes at Rome.

Santa Inés lies in a beautiful situation in the back country of Santa Bárbara County some thirty-five miles northwest of Santa Bárbara, from which it is reached by way of the beautiful San Marcos Pass. The most satisfactory way to approach the mission by train is to take the Southern Pacific Coast Line to Gaviota station. From here one goes by stage seventeen miles through the foot-hills and valleys to Solvang, for this ancient mission, after these many years, finds itself today adjacent to the little village of that name. Solvang is a Danish colony which has grown up within the last few years upon the grounds that were once a part of the mission's broad acres. That the soil and climate are unexcelled is attested by the prosperity of the colony, which, in addition to the regular advantages found in a community of this character, supports a Danish College.

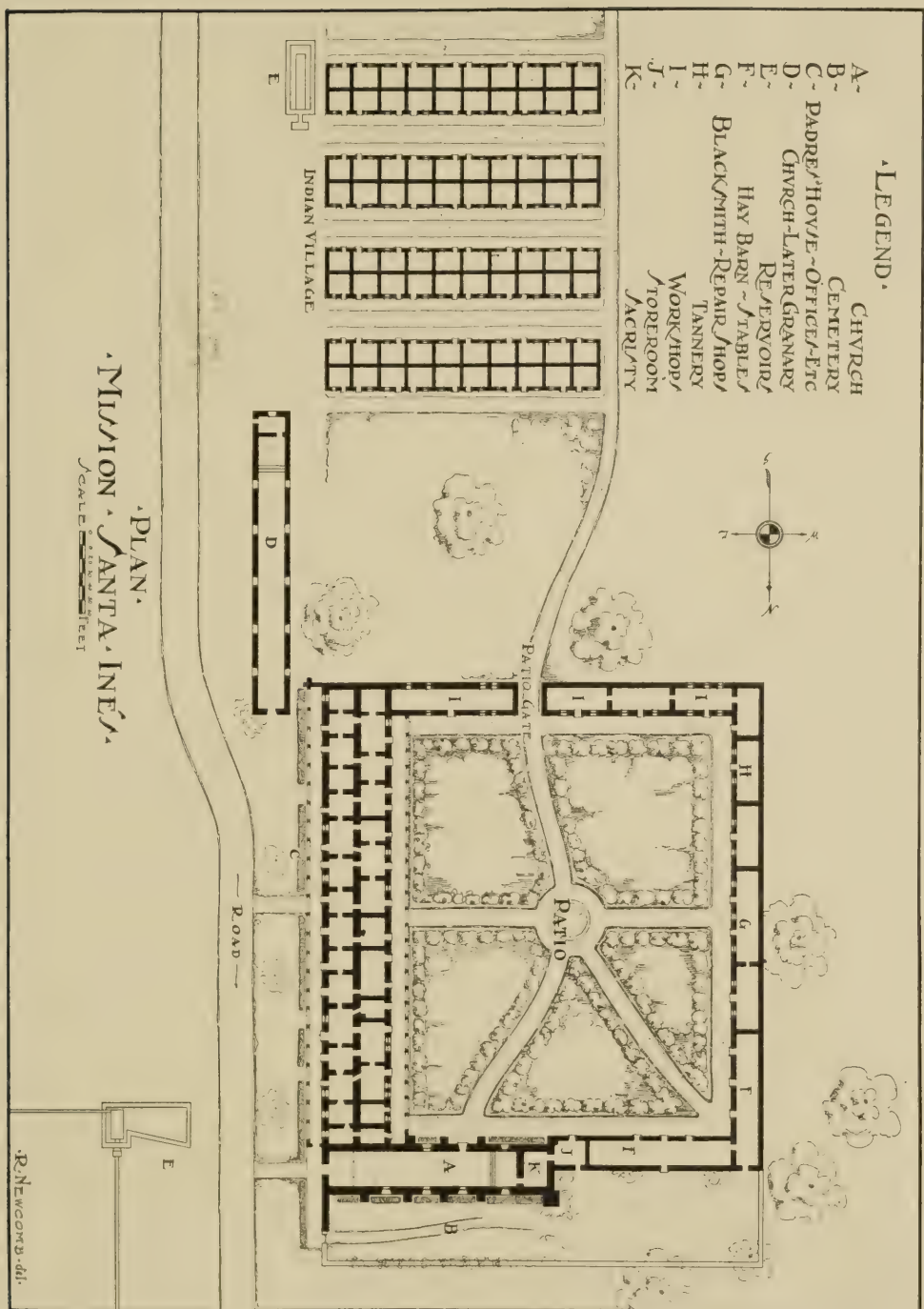
This mission, the nineteenth in the chain, was established when, on September 17, 1804, Padre Estévan Tápis, presidente of the missions, assisted by Padres Calzada, Gutiérrez, and

Cipres, blessed the site and dedicated the establishment in the presence of Comandante Carrillo of the Santa Bárbara Presidio, the guard, and neophytes from Missions Santa Bárbara and Purísima. A number of the latter remained as permanent residents of the establishment.

Padres José Antonio Calzada and José Romualdo Gutiérrez were the first ministers of the mission. Padre Calzada, a native of Cuba, had been at Mission San Gabriel from 1788 until 1792 and at Purísima from 1792 until 1804, during which time he had a two years' leave of absence (1786-1789), which was spent in Mexico. He was at Santa Inés continuously from 1804 until 1814, during which time he had as religious companions Padres Gutiérrez, Gil, Olbés, Tápis, and Uría. As the first minister of any permanence he, doubtless, influenced the development of the institution immensely. That there is considerable resemblance between the plan and general disposition of the church of Santa Inés and that of San Gabriel the writer believes is attributable to Calzada's influence and that of Padre Francisco Javier de Uría, both of whom had served at San Gabriel. Father Uría came to Santa Inés as supernumerary in 1808 and was in charge from 1810 until 1824, and thus during the period in which the present church was erected.

Padre Calzada died at Santa Inés December 23, 1814, just two years after the earthquake of 1812 had thrown down a corner of the first church. This church was of adobe, and, although not elaborate, was of considerable size and roofed with tiles. Pending the rebuilding of this edifice, the padres immediately constructed the long structure (marked D on the plan) later used as a granary. This, completed in 1813, served as a worshipping-place until 1817, when the present church, begun two years before, was completed and dedicated upon July 4.

The padres' house was completed in 1813 and with the church helped to complete the patio in its present form. In 1816 the mission reached its greatest population of 786 neophytes, and, although crops and cattle increased for some years after this, the population steadily declined until secularization. One reason for this, doubtless, was the Indian disturbances of 1824 and after. Of the Indian revolt of 1824 Santa Inés was the centre, and,





MISSION SANTA INÉS, INTERIOR OF CHURCH

although the mistreatment of an Indian at Mission Purísima was cited as the reason for revolt, the actual hostilities began at Santa Inés. On Sunday, February 21, Padre Uría, awakened from his siesta and compelled to defend the mission, is said to have seized a musket and to have killed two Indians and broken the arm of a third before he gained the patio, where the guard was attempting a defence. There was no feeling against the padres, especially Father Uría, who was known and loved for his jolly disposition and his generosity to his Indian wards, but only against the soldiers, with whom the Indians frequently clashed and by whom they were frequently mistreated.

Sergeant Anastasio Carrillo came up from Santa Bárbara with a small escort to reinforce the guard of Santa Inés, but the trouble was settled through the persuasion of the padres rather than by the bullets of the soldiers. Some of the buildings are said to have been burned, but, since no records of restoration appear in the papers, it is difficult to say which ones were affected.

The church (p. 46) is of adobe faced with brick; the mission-house of adobe with corridors of brick across the front and in the patio. All the buildings are roofed with burned tiles. Heavy buttresses, used doubtless as an earthquake protection, stiffen the walls along either side of the church. The fachada, like that of San Gabriel or San Fernando, is singularly plain, consisting of a simple, low-gabled wall, pierced by a circular-headed door, with window above, and flanked by flat pilasters.

At the north of the church originally stood a heavy campanario of brick and adobe. This tower, having fallen into disrepair, collapsed in 1910, but has been replaced by a belfry of reinforced concrete. Although the outlines of the original belfry have been followed in the new, the number of arches has been altered, so that for two in the lower tier of the original there are three in that of the present. The somewhat thin proportions of the hollow concrete shell, moreover, belie the ancient robust strength of the original, a quality retained by the church with its buttressed walls (p. 101) and deep revealed windows.

Upon the interior, the church consists of a long, narrow nave, 25' x 73', with choir over the eastern entrance and sanctuary at the west end. The lateral walls are broken by flat pilasters which

are similar in detail to those of the fachada. The windows are high in the walls, while doors open upon the north into the cemetery and upon the south into the patio. Even to this day the church interior retains much of its ancient splendor, and, although a portion of its walls have been whitewashed, some of the original Indian paintings remain in the sanctuary and in the sacristy. The old tile pavement is still almost wholly intact and many original pieces of furniture, including two fine confessionals with Indian carvings and many altar ornaments, are still in place. The ancient pulpit, which originally hung from the south wall just in front of the patio door, having decayed, fell with Father Basso, the predecessor of the present priest, as he preached to the Indians one morning.

Santa Inés possesses some of the handsomest brass and silver, together with some of the most beautiful vestments to be found among the missions. Among them are many fine copes and chasubles of silk and gold brocade. These are probably in existence today because of the extreme inaccessibility of the mission, which, until the recent highway development, was very seldom visited. In the sacristy is a good old chest of drawers containing many altar relics, including hangings, a number of fine candle-sticks in wood and brass, and old vessels of gold and silver. Upon the walls of the nave still remain the old Stations of the Cross and in the sanctuary and sacristy a number of excellent paintings principally from Mexico.

Santa Inés was secularized in 1836, at which time José M. Ramírez was appointed receiver. In the inventory of August 1, 1836, the properties were valued at \$56,437, the value of the church being estimated at \$4000 and described as a building with walls of adobe, roofed with tile and floored with brick. The church ornaments were valued at \$6251 and the mission library of 66 volumes at \$188.

Between the years of 1837 and 1840 Francisco Cota was comisionado, but so many charges of his mismanagement of the properties were lodged with the provincial administration that he was at length removed. In 1843 the mission and lands were again placed in the hands of the padre, who continued to officiate as parish priest until December, 1845, when the estate was

rented to José M. Covarrubias and Joaquín Carrillo. Six leagues of land and the mission buildings, however, were reserved for the use of the college that had been founded here the year before. In June, 1846, the lands were sold to the above-named lessees for \$7000, and, although these men held possession until 1848, their title was eventually declared invalid. In 1850 the Bishop made claim in the United States courts for Santa Inés, among others. This claim for the church and immediate grounds was finally sustained in 1855.

In 1850 the college was abandoned, and, from that day down to the time of recent restoration, the buildings were given over to owls, bats, and the mercies of the elements. Father Buckler, the present priest, came to the mission some twenty years ago. In that time he has collected and spent in excess of \$23,000 upon the restoration of the properties. Thus, by doing much of the work with his own hands, he has made a habitable place of the mission-house and a decent temple of the church.

A call upon Father Buckler was one of the pleasures of a recent trip of the writer to the Pacific Coast. The sure hospitality of the genial Padre, the pleasant surroundings, and the delightful scenery make a trip to Santa Inés quite worth while, to say nothing of the fine treasures in the way of brass, silver, and vestments that the mission church and the padres' museum contain. What Santa Inés lacks in architectural detail she makes up in historic and beautiful relics.



Patio, Santa Inés

CHAPTER XX

THE MIDDLE MISSIONS

LA PURÍSIMA CONCEPCIÓN, SAN LUIS OBISPO
SAN MIGUEL ARCÁNGEL, SAN ANTONIO DE PADUA
NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LA SOLEDAD

ALMOST midway between San Diego and San Francisco and extending from the Santa Bárbara Channel to the Bay of Monterey stood a group of mission establishments often spoken of as the "middle missions." This group consisted of five missions: La Purísima Concepción, San Luis Obispo de Tolosa, San Miguel Arcángel, San Antonio de Padua, and Nuestra Señora de la Soledad. Of this group only San Luis Obispo, San Antonio, and San Miguel have any claim to architectural importance, and indeed none of these rank in merit with Santa Bárbara, San Juan Capistrano, or San Luis Rey.

MISSION LA PURÍSIMA CONCEPCIÓN

The southernmost of the middle missions was La Purísima Concepción, which stood five miles from the little town of Lompoc and near the western end of the Santa Inés Valley in Santa Bárbara County. The location marks the mission clearly as one of the Santa Bárbara Channel group, in which Padre Serra was particularly interested but did not live to see realized. Although the date of the institution's founding is usually given as December 8, 1787, at which time Padre-presidente Lasuén raised a cross and blessed the site, the actual work upon the buildings was deferred until about the middle of the next March, when a group of soldiers under Sergeant Cota of Presidio Santa Bárbara and a band of workmen arrived to begin the construction of the mission-houses. Early in April the Father-president, accompanied by Padres Vicente Fuster and José Arrota, the first ministers of the mission, arrived.

This wild but fertile district supported an intelligent type of Indian, and the mission's attraction for the Indian was soon apparent. As early as August seventy-five neophytes had been baptized, and within a few years (1804) the mission had reached its maximum population of 1522. Thus it will be seen that, if the

mission did not succeed, it was not because of the absence of a neophyte population nor because of the lack of intelligence or industry on the part of that population.

The first buildings erected were crude and small and soon fell into such a state of decay that it was necessary to replace them with more substantial structures. By 1800, apparently, the collection of material for a new group was under way, and by 1802 the new buildings, constructed of adobe and roofed with tile, were ready for occupancy.

But Purísima was destined to undergo a series of disastrous misfortunes. The great earthquake of 1812 struck here with tremendous vigor, and as a result the structures, completed only a few years before, were rent and torn and made the easy prey of the flood of the river which followed. The 'quake came on the morning of December 21 and consisted of two vibrations. As a result of these vibrations and the torrential rains and floods, the buildings were utterly and irrevocably wrecked. The ruins of these structures of 1802 can still be seen near the Lompoc Colony and they are still known as "Old Purísima."

Padre Payéras was a man of tremendous energy and faith, and, although the earthquake had been most destructive, he soon busied himself with the work of reconstructing the mission fortunes. The disaster made apparent the necessity of an immediate removal of the institution to a better site, and therefore the Padre, after temporary shelters were constructed for his charges, began the erection of a totally new group of buildings at a site some five miles distant and upon the opposite (north) side of the river. Here soon he had constructed ample warehouses for the grain, which had been planted before the earthquake, and enclosures for the live stock.

La Purísima lays little claim to architectural distinction. The ruins indicate that the main mission-house, of which the church was simply one of the larger rooms, was a block some 300 feet long by 50 feet wide with a colonnade, ten feet wide, running along its front side. It is to be presumed that wings originally connected with this block at either end and projected in such a way as to give us the semblance of the usual patio arrangement, but these wings no longer remain and all trace of

their foundations has long since been obliterated by the cultivation of the fields at the rear of the structure. The mission-house was mainly of adobe, roofed with tiles, but it was buttressed here and there with masonry. The great piers of the colonnade across the front were built mainly of stone and brick, but a few of them were of adobe.

The church, a simple apartment some 80 feet long, occupied a room on the colonnade side at the southwest end ¹ and its architectural treatment varied little from that of the other rooms of the structure. The windows, rather low in the walls, are arched, but there is little left in the unroofed apartment to testify to any glory that the ancient church might have had.

La Purísima had an irrigation and water-supply system, the source of which was Salsperde Creek, some three miles away. This stream was dammed and the water conducted by cement-lined pipes to the mission, where it served for domestic as well as irrigation purposes. Remnants of this water-system, designed and constructed by the resourceful and energetic Padre Payéras, may be seen about the mission grounds, while a great round stone reservoir, now much overgrown with vegetation, marks the place from which the mission pear orchard received its life-giving waters. Precipitation in California is erratic, however, and in spite of a water-supply system, the drought of 1816-1817 made herbage so scarce that many of the sheep of the mission perished. The next year a fire destroyed most of the houses in the Indian village.

Throughout all these difficulties and discouragements Padre Payéras proved a mountain of strength and optimism and every new discouragement brought forth fresh enthusiasm and resourcefulness. However, in 1823, the Padre, who for nearly twenty years had so ably served the mission, died and the institution lost thereby its great guiding hand.

The next year the Indian revolt, which has been mentioned as having started at Santa Inés and as having affected the channel missions generally, spread to Purísima, where the Indians, in sympathy with the Santa Inés rebels, seized the buildings. The guards did their best to defend Padres Ordáz and Rodríguez and

¹ The building was not orientated and stands northeast to southwest.



MISSION LA PURÍSIMA CONCEPCIÓN



MISSION SAN ANTONIO DE PADUA

their own families, but were compelled to surrender when ammunition gave out. The rebels permitted Padre Ordáz to go to Santa Inés to warn the guards there not to attack the Indians of La Purísima lest the soldiers' women and children be killed. The Indians, knowing that a fight awaited them when the news of the revolt should get to the military authorities, then set about to fortify the mission. To this end stockades were built, loopholes were cut in the church walls, and several old cannons were mounted.

La Purísima was not molested for a month, but finally the Governor sent down soldiers from Monterey who were to coöperate with a force sent from Presidio Santa Bárbara. Missing each other, however, the troops from the capital attacked the mission alone. With musket and four-pounder they battered away at the walls while a detachment of cavalry went beyond to prevent a retreat from the rear of the mission.

The Indians were not expert with their cannon and of course did little damage. The result was that they soon realized their small chances for victory and tried to flee, but, being prevented by the cavalry, sent Padre Rodríguez, who had remained with the soldiers' families, to intercede with the military. Three Spaniards were wounded, while sixteen Indians were killed and a large number wounded. Subsequently the ringleaders of the first revolt, seven in number, were condemned to death and shot, while four others were sentenced to ten years at hard labor. The padres were much disappointed with the penalties exacted, but the Governor defended the military and thought the penalties quite necessary to prevent future revolts.

This disastrous event did not ruin the mission, as one might expect, and we hear in subsequent reports of the production of large crops and tremendous amounts of tallow, while in one year (1827) the provincial government purchased from the mission supplies to the extent of \$13,000. At the time of secularization, the mission population was on the decline, while the properties were appraised at \$60,000. The mission was sold in 1845 to John Temple for \$1100, the church being reserved to the use of public worship. Thus, like many another, was ruined the institution that Padre Payéras had labored so hard to build up. Only

ruins today remain as reminders of the long, sad story of Mission Purísima Concepción.

MISSION SAN ANTONIO DE PADUA

Mission San Antonio de Padua was the third in Padre Junípero's chain and the story of its founding (July 14, 1771) has been told in Chapter III. Situated in the heart of the Santa Lucía Mountains, San Antonio has a magnificent situation, but, due to its inaccessibility, the mission is not well known. In order to reach San Antonio it is necessary to take the stage from King City south to Jolon, a distance of twenty-five miles. From Jolon one may drive to the mission, which is six miles distant. The road is through a most beautiful country-side, studded here and there with wonderful specimens of California's matchless live oaks. Indeed these trees suggested to the Spaniards a name for the little glen—"La Cañada de Los Robles."

This section is little affected by the summer dry season and is famous for its hot springs, an important one of which is to be found at Paso Robles. Bancroft² carries the story of the beginnings of the Mission of Saint Anthony and relates that the first dwellings were humble wooden structures protected by a palisade. It appears that the Indians were gentle, aiding the fathers (Miguel Pieras and Buenaventura Sitjar) with food in the way of acorns, piñons (pine-nuts), grain, and rabbits, and assisting with the construction of the buildings.

By the end of 1773 a church and dwellings, all of adobe and roofed with tule thatch, had been erected, while the next year an irrigation ditch to bring water from the river to the fields was completed. Mission records are meagre but it is plain that in 1787 the church was well equipped and considered one of the best in California. It was constructed of adobes, and, after the adoption of burned roofing-tiles, a material developed at the neighboring mission of San Luis Obispo, its more primitive roof was replaced by tiles. This church must not be confused, however, with the church the ruins of which remain today.

The mission reached its greatest prosperity in the period between 1800 and 1805, in the latter year of which there were

² Bancroft: *History of California*; I, 176.



MISSION SAN ANTONIO DE PADUA. INTERIOR OF CHURCH

1300 Indians upon the mission farms. This material prosperity led the padres to begin, in 1809 or 1810, the erection of the present building. This structure, with the exception of its fachada and arched corridors, which are of brick, was, like its predecessors, constructed of adobes. Alfred Robinson, who saw the mission well before secularization robbed it of its prosperity, described it as being "in the most perfect order: the Indians cleanly and well-dressed, the apartments tidy, the workshops, granaries, and storehouses comfortable and in good keeping."

At its height the church of San Antonio must have presented, in so charming a setting, a lovely and long-to-be-remembered picture. Like San Luis Obispo, the church proper is preceded by a vaulted narthex some twelve feet wide, which, constructed of brick, makes the real fachada for the nave. The lower story is pierced by the circular-headed arches—the entranceways. Above the entrances stands a unique and beautiful curved gable, which, in some respects, is the most interesting in all California. It is built in two stages, the upper of which is pierced by a central arch, and is flanked by low arch-pierced towers. In the arches thus provided originally hung the bells of San Antonio.

As at San Luis Obispo, the corridor in front of the mission-house projects beyond the fachada of the church, thus providing in front of that edifice a little church-yard, which was originally enclosed by an adobe wall. Apparently, a low rail also originally filled the spaces between the brick piers of the arcaded corridor of the mission-house. The interior of the church, with its white walls, bare except for the Stations of the Cross, its canopied pulpit, confessionals, and simple mission furniture, was a beautiful and dignified worshipping-place.

But glorious and beautiful as she may have been in her prime, San Antonio, today almost an utter ruin, is one of the sweetest, saddest places in all California. A drowsy May day in this beautiful valley is one of life's real experiences. Nature has her own way; silence, complete except for the twittering of the birds, reigns supreme; even the breeze is stilled. Through the oaks a glimpse of the curved fachada, low towers, and broken arches gives the only indication that man has ever been here before. Poor, sad San Antonio! The bells are stilled and gone; the

few remaining remnants of the buildings are fast returning to the mother earth whence they came!

MISSION SAN LUIS OBISPO DE TOLOSA

The Mission of San Luis, Obispo de Tolosa (Saint Louis, Bishop of Toulouse), was founded September 1, 1772, when Padre Junípero, upon his way to San Diego (See Chapter III) to hasten the supplies from Mexico which lay aboard the transports there, paused long enough to select a site and dedicate it to the purposes of the future mission. Upon his way south Padre Serra stopped at Mission San Antonio, and, delighted by the sight of so many Christians, asked Padre José Cavaller to accompany him southward for the establishment of San Luis. He selected a spot three miles back from the sea in the mountain-hemmed valley known as Cañada de los Osos (Valley of the Bears), because of the many grizzlies that frequented the place, where a desirable site, "with good lands for the raising of grain and a beautiful clear stream of water for irrigating" was available.

After the erection of a chapel of boughs and the completion of the formalities connected with the foundation, Padre Junípero continued his journey southward, leaving Cavaller with a guard of five soldiers and two Indians and with provisions in the way of fifty pounds of flour, three pecks of wheat, and a box of red sugar with which to trade with the Indians.

Father Cavaller at once began the construction of a little chapel, a house for the priest, barracks for the escolta, and a stockade for defence. Wild Indians soon began to arrive, bringing the Padre gifts of venison and wild grains and receiving in return sugar and trinkets. With all their friendliness, however, the Indians were not at first particularly interested in taking up residence at the mission. They had better fare than the Padre could provide. Soon, however, the mission began to produce corn and beans and these attracted converts.

The establishment early became the object of attacks by wild Indians, enemies of some of the tribes who came to live at the mission, and, in 1776, the settlement was attacked in force and the roofs burned by the gentiles, who discharged burning arrows

into the thatch. Several similar events took place before the padres, compelled by the force of circumstances, provided their structures with burned-clay tile roofs, the tiles for which they began to manufacture here about 1790. These were the first roofing-tiles made in California, but, once the padres of San Luis adopted them, their use spread rapidly to the other establishments. This simple and almost accidental fact may account for the adoption of tiles where we might otherwise have had a thatched architecture.

While Fathers Lasuén and Tápis, both famous as Padre-presidentes of the missions of California, were at one time or another at San Luis Obispo, the mission's real prosperity is attributed to Father Luis Antonio Martínez, who, in 1798, began what was to be a long term of service at the mission. Many stories are told of this genial Padre, the fare of whose board, especially the wines, was known throughout all California. Bancroft,³ carries a story that Padre Martínez had discovered gold upon the mission lands, and there are stories to the effect that the Padre carried away to Spain with him \$100,000 in gold when he was banished upon the charge of smuggling, in the spring of 1830. That he traded with the Yankee traders who came to the coast is perfectly well known, and that he carried on this trade in open opposition to the provincial laws is pretty well established, but that he took aught of the mission wealth with him when he was forced, through political animosities, to depart, would be exceedingly difficult to establish. This story of the Padre's gold-mining activities must likewise be widely discounted. Whatever of wealth the mission possessed was probably the result of the able Padre's careful supervision of the mission's agricultural and manufacturing activities, of a careful husbanding of the mission's fortunes, and of a skill in trading the mission's products for the manufactured articles the establishment needed.

Padre Martínez is described as "portly of figure and gruff of speech, a jolly hail fellow well met, and hospitable." He seems to have been a keen trader and usually succeeded in turning the transaction to his advantage. His frankness of speech and fearless demeanor, at a time when these qualities in the clergy

³ Bancroft: *California Pastoral*; 200-201.

were not welcome, rather than the charge made against him, probably account for his difficulties.

The architectural history of the mission in its early period parallels that of most of the establishments. In its later period, Padre Martínez, with the sure eye of a good business man, sensing the trend of political affairs and the fact that secularization was not far off, did not burden himself with keeping the structures in repair. Thus we may say the buildings were already in disrepair when the Padre retired in 1830.

In 1836 the inventory showed property to a value of \$70,000, but this was rapidly dissipated, with the result that, by 1844, there were neither lands nor cattle and the Indians were scattered. This was probably the result of Governor Micheltorena's decree of 1843, which converted the establishment into a pueblo and made a parsonage of the mission-house. The other buildings were sold by Pío Pico in 1845 to Scott, Wilson, and McKinley for \$510.

Lasuén, in his Informe of 1793,⁴ mentions the "new church of adobes with a tile roof" and says that at the same time "a portico was added to its front." This was probably the church, which, so badly despoiled by so-called repair, restoration, and, finally, fire, bears little resemblance to its old solid and substantial self.

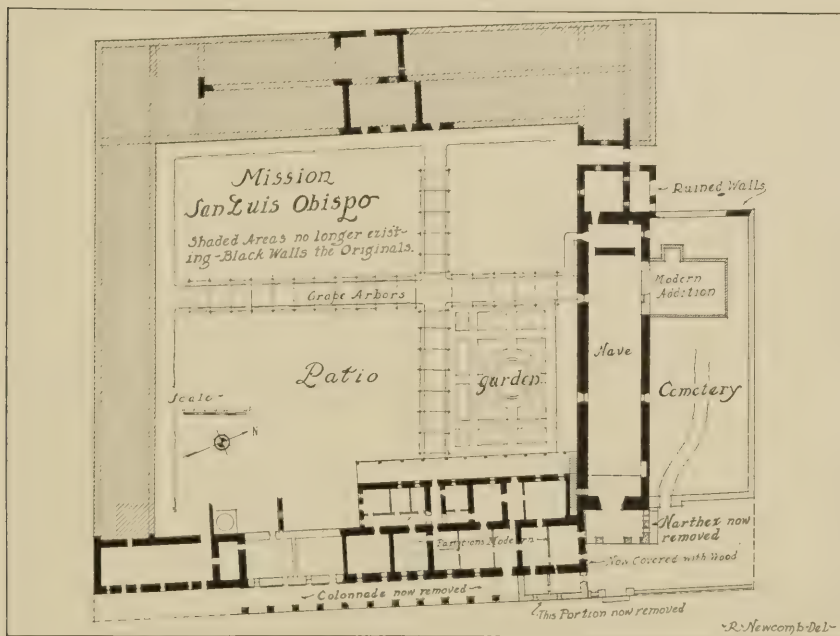
The buildings, true to the Californian tradition, were disposed around a patio; the church, flanked by the cemetery upon the north; the padres' house, relieved by a colonnaded portico, upon the east; the remaining shops and storehouses of the mission occupying the south and west sides. The patio itself was divided into four unequal areas by intersecting grape-arbors which covered the walks, while the northeastern quarter of this area was laid out as a garden. At the present time only the smallest indications of the south and west flanks of the patio remain, although the east (front) flank and the church, so far as the original walls are concerned, are almost complete.

The change in the street grade at San Luis, which resulted in placing the colonnaded portico atop a high retaining-wall, made ridiculous that pretty and serviceable feature, imparted a certain

⁴ MS. in Bancroft Collection, University of California.



MISSION SAN LUIS OBISPO DE TOLOSA. FACHADA





MISSION SAN LUIS OBISPO DE TOLOSA. THE GARDEN



MISSION SAN LUIS OBISPO DE TOLOSA. INTERIOR OF CHURCH

restlessness to an otherwise solid, static, and craftsmanlike structure, and finally forced its destruction. In front of the church the simple and solid gate-posts and wall that originally enclosed the church-yard have completely disappeared and instead a poor imitation of a balustrade, with turned balusters, takes its place.

The church, to be sure, has suffered in various ways. The little triple-arched narthex or vestibule, with belfry above, that originally preceded the nave and formed the fachada therefor, after having been cracked by an earthquake, was completely removed, thereby doing serious architectural violence to the venerable structure. To add insult to injury, the three bells, thus removed from their original hanging-places, were placed in an ugly, modern, wooden tower, and the mission-house was covered with "siding" and painted.

Inside the church the simple open-timber roof has been marred by the boarding up of the under side of the beams and the hanging therefrom of ridiculous lighting fixtures. It should be said, however, that, in the fire of a few years ago, it was this ugly ceiling of matched stuff that saved the original beams from burning and thus prevented them from falling into the nave and wrecking the walls. It is to be hoped that the movement on foot in the town will result in the eventual restoration of this meaningful and character-giving feature of the old church. A genuine civic pride should operate to put the edifice, used as the parish church, back into its original form, true to the spirit and intent of the faithful Franciscan fathers who reared it in simplicity and strength.

The bells of San Luis are three. Two contain inscriptions, the same inscription, however, while the third, recast in San Francisco from two older bells that had been cracked, is without an inscription. The legend given herewith clearly indicates the age and place of founding of the bells. It reads:

"ME FECIT ANO DI 1818. MANVEL VARGAS, LIMA.

MISSION DE SN LUIS OBISPO DE LA NUEBA CALIFORNIA."

MISSION SAN MIGUEL ARCÁNGEL

On July 25, 1797, Padre-presidente Lasuén, assisted by Father Buenaventura Sitjar, for many years in charge of Mission San

Antonio de Padua, selected the site and dedicated the Mission of San Miguel—"Prince of the Heavenly Militia." The situation, some thirty miles southeast of San Antonio and upon the Salinas River, was selected principally because of its never-failing water-supply, which, it was thought, would serve admirably the purposes of agriculture. The springs of the vicinity are still famous, and the old irrigation flumes and dams fashioned by the padres are plainly to be seen in the neighborhood of the mission.

Mission San Miguel began under the most favorable circumstances, for, upon the day of founding, fifteen Indian children were presented for baptism. Within three years there were 362 converts, a flourishing herd, and crops to the extent of 1900 bushels in store. Mission statistics show a gradual progress in conversions and the acquisition of herds until 1814, in which year the mission reached its maximum population of 1096. Agriculture had not been so successful, however, nor indeed was it ever to be. Notwithstanding this fact, the live stock multiplied until the herds in 1820-1822 reached the maximum. San Miguel was admirably adapted to sheep-raising, but for some reason the accompanying arts of wool-raising and weaving were never encouraged.

Padre Juan Martín, a native of Spain, who had arrived in California in 1794, was the priest to whom much of the success of the mission must be attributed. Arriving at San Gabriel in March, 1795, the Padre had remained there until July, 1796, when he came as supernumerary to La Purísima Concepción, where he remained for a year. Transferring to San Miguel in August, 1797, a month after the foundation, he gave the rest of his life to the upbuilding of the spiritual welfare and temporal fortunes of the mission. He died here in August, 1824, and was buried in the church beside Father Cipres, who had previously been buried here. Thus, although Padre Martín was not in reality one of the founders, he was, in a real sense, the builder of the mission's fortunes, lived through her developing period, and saw her most flourishing days.

San Miguel was arranged around the familiar patio, the ruined piers and surrounding buildings of which are still in evidence. The patio measured about 225 feet in either direction

and was flanked upon the side against the mission-house by a corridor which doubtless corresponded in form with the one at the front of the building. The original mud-roofed, wooden church was used until after 1800, and it appears that the present edifice, which replaced the original structure, was slow in building and was not ready for roofing until 1818. The church is a long simple nave, spanned by a heavy-beamed ceiling, and is frankly expressed in a simple, low-gabled, and unadorned fachada. The church, as well as the mission-house, was partially renovated in 1901, at which time the exterior walls were covered with white cement stucco.

The simple bare exterior walls of the church are not of great interest, but the interior, due to its curious and ostentatious wall-paintings, is full of interest. The walls of the nave are decorated by a series of columned bays of the Doric order, painted directly upon the plaster, which carry above them a painted entablature that in turn supports a painted balustraded balcony. The "bays" thus defined form a background for the Stations of the Cross, which, neatly framed, hang upon the walls. The ample sanctuary, with its somewhat elaborately painted reredos and its pulpit with domical canopy, makes an interesting climax, toward which the horizontal bands of "entablature" and "balcony" direct the eye. This decorative work remains essentially as it was in the old days. It was done by a Spaniard, by name Murros, who, assisted only by the Indians, executed it about 1820. The designs, as evidenced by their architectural subject-matter, were doubtless copied from some book of orders in the possession of the Padre.

The old mission-house, with its white irregular arches, its expanse of red-tile roof, and its interesting chimney, makes a pretty picture under a white California sun, but on the whole San Miguel, in spite of the fact that it is a parish church, is desolate and forlorn.

MISSION NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LA SOLEDAD

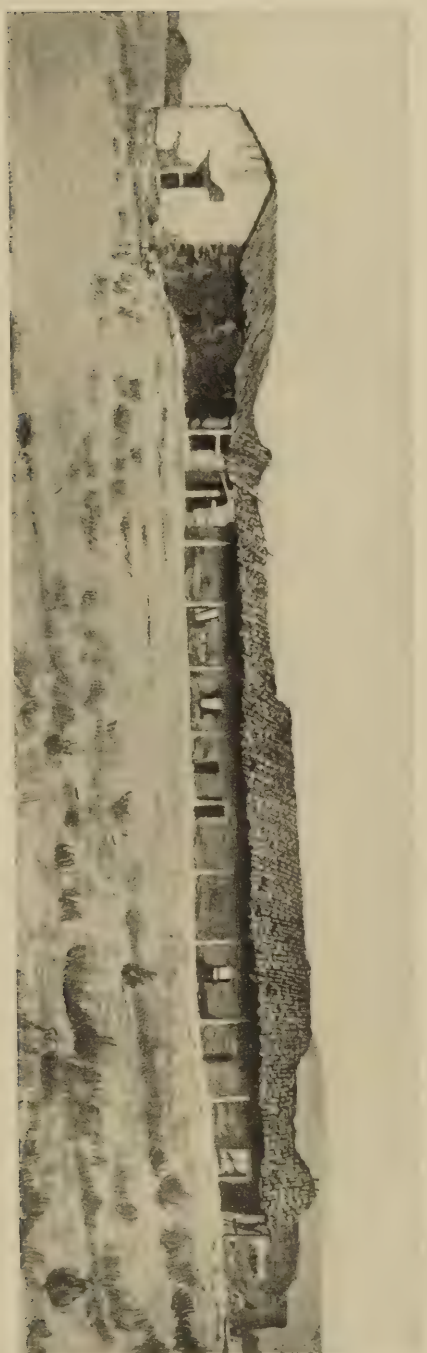
The ruins of the Mission of "Our Lady of Soledad" stand four miles from Soledad, a town upon the Coast Lines of the Southern Pacific Railway in Monterey County. Here, on October 9, 1791, Padre Lasuén located the thirteenth of the Cali-



MISSION SAN MIGUEL ARCÁNGEL. INTERIOR OF CHURCH



MISSION SAN MIGUEL ARCÁNGEL



MISSION NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LA SOLEDAD

fornia missions at a place that Padre Crespi had given the name of Soledad because of its solitude and dreariness. The first ministers were Padres Diego García and Mariano Rubí.

Although the site was located on the brown, bleak plains of the Salinas Valley, the Padre had confidence that the region would supply pasturage for the mission herds and flocks and that the ministers could amplify the water-supply by an irrigation system. The population of the neighborhood was scant and the number of converts for the first year scarcely totalled a dozen. The soil, not fertile, required much watering, but, with incessant and persistent efforts, the missionaries eventually succeeded in increasing their flocks and tillable area.

Within nine years the neophyte population, due, doubtless, to the inducements in the way of shelter and food at the mission, had increased to 500, while the mission owned 1000 cattle, several thousand sheep, and many horses. In 1805 the population was reported as 727, although a few years previously an epidemic had greatly reduced the Indians. The zenith of the mission's prosperity came about 1820, but political chicanery and eventual secularization reduced the mission property so materially that, by 1825, the inventory showed a valuation, aside from that of the church proper, of only \$36,000. Within a short time after secularization the Indians largely deserted the place and the herds dwindled. The property was sold in June, 1846, to Feliciano Soberanes, founder of the present Soberanes family of Soledad, for \$800.

The records of Soledad are very scant and little is known of its architectural history. We do know that a new church was under course of erection in 1808, but, whether or not this was the present ruined structure, it is difficult to say. It is claimed by some that the present ruins are those of a church built by Feliciano Soberanes as late as 1850 to replace the old building that had fallen into decay. If, however, any work was done in 1850 it was probably more in the nature of repairs than of construction.

We have some knowledge of the superior at the mission at the time the church was erected. He was Padre Antonio Mariano Francisco Miguel Gaspár Jayme de Seguras, a native of Palma, Island of Majorca. He became a Franciscan in his native city

in 1774 and came to Mexico in 1794, arriving in California the next year. He was for one year at Mission San Carlos but was in May, 1796, assigned to La Soledad, where he was in charge until 1821. If there were plans or designs made for the church of 1808 doubtless Padre Jayme made them, but, if one may judge from old drawings or the ruins, the gentle Padre was more interested, as he should have been, in sociological and religious problems than in architecture.

Soledad, like La Purísima Concepción, the mission which she most closely resembles, lays little claim to architectural completeness. The long, low group of tile-roofed adobe buildings shown in our photograph gives a notion of the mission's appearance some years ago. The church which stands at the left is now unroofed, the colonnades and corridors have disappeared, and the elements are rapidly dissolving the exposed adobe walls, which, standing in a thriving and modern farming region, look only the more ruined and abandoned. Truly the Mission of Our Lady of Solitude has become desolate!



Mission Arches
San Fernando

CHAPTER XXI

MISSION SAN CARLOS BORROMEIO, THE " CATHEDRAL OF CALIFORNIA "

IN CHAPTER III has been told the story of the rediscovery of the Bay of Monterey and the establishment of the Presidio and Mission of San Carlos Borromeo. Monterey was destined, in time, to become the capital of the province and San Carlos a very important mission. While many of the mission structures are more celebrated in legend and story, few churches can equal San Carlos in real historic and religious interest. San Carlos was the first seat of authority for the mission system and may therefore, in some ways, be considered the first " Cathedral of California " for, although the Padre-presidente was not a bishop in the true ecclesiastical sense, Padre Serra had permission to confirm and otherwise perform duties corresponding to those of a bishop. This fact, together with the further fact that the church is the resting-place of saintly Junípero, serves to command for her an attention given to no other Californian shrine.

Mission San Carlos was named for San Carlos Borromeo (Saint Charles Borromeo), an Italian churchman, born at Arona in 1538. He was the son of Count Gilbert Borromeo, and at a very early age entered religion and finally became Archbishop of Milan. He was loved for a certain sweet piety but was known also for his great religious zeal. He died November 4, 1584, which day is celebrated each year at Carmel, and was canonized in 1610.

Padre Serra reached Monterey on June 1, 1770, and two days later, on Pentecost Sunday, a temporary altar having been erected, he consecrated the ground and celebrated mass under the same oak that had sheltered the services of Vizcáino and his men a hundred and sixty-eight years before. Within a short time the presidio had been staked out and a number of huts erected. One of these was consecrated as a church, and a stockade of logs surrounding the whole group completed, for a time, the building activities.

As soon as the temporary structures for the mission were in readiness and occupied, the Padre-presidente turned his atten-

tion to the exploration of the adjacent country with a view to saving pagan souls. He soon discovered, however, that the soldiers of the near-by presidio were a real obstacle to his plan of Christianization because they fought with the Indian men and debauched the women. Therefore, he decided to remove the mission to a point distant enough to be relieved from these nuisances but near enough to enjoy protection. He selected a beautiful and secluded spot in the little Valley of the Carmelo, five miles south of the presidio, and here he began preparations for the permanent establishment of Mission San Carlos.

All about were abundant pine and cypress forests and near at hand was to be found the soft and easily worked, yet durable, chalk rock of which the church was eventually to be constructed. This beautiful and advantageous situation was soon the place of busy building operations, Padre Junípero planning the structures and directing their construction.

Thus the mission was moved to the Carmel Valley while the presidio and chapel remained at Monterey. The presidio was known as "El Presidio Real" (royal fort) and the chapel was called "La Capilla Real" (royal chapel) because it later became the place of worship of the royal governors, representatives in California of the King of Spain. At the time of secularization the church in Monterey, up to this time an asistencia of the mission, became the parish church, which it has since remained. The new mission in the Carmel Valley, although officially christened Mission San Carlos de Borromeo, has passed under various names, such as San Carlos de Carmel, Carmelo, and Carmel Mission.

The permission to remove the establishment to the Carmel site reached Padre Serra in May, 1771. The *San Antonio*, which brought the letter, carried also ten Franciscans for work in the Californian field, and, after these had been assigned to their duties and the establishment of Mission San Antonio de Padua had been accomplished, Padre Serra was ready to turn his full attention to the upbuilding of Mission San Carlos, which was to be his ecclesiastical seat and his dwelling-place for the rest of his life. Returning to Carmel in August, he found that the lazy soldiers had accomplished very little during his absence. There-

fore, with a zeal that would do credit to a much younger man, the Padre again took up the duties of construction, living the while in a little hut. By December the buildings were ready and the Father-presidente called Padre Crespi from the presidio as his associate. Among the first structures were a temporary church, the padres' dwelling, storehouses, a guard-house, corrals for the stock, and the inevitable palisade or stockade to protect the little settlement.

In 1774, seven or eight adobe structures, an oven, and additional palisades were constructed and from then on adobe was the material of construction for all the buildings except the church, which was eventually to be of stone. These adobe buildings have, long since, almost entirely disappeared, while the stone church, rebuilt, "restored," and in fair repair at the present time, was almost upon the verge of complete disintegration when, in 1884, Father Casanova rescued it and put it in passable shape.

The general scheme of disposition of the buildings at San Carlos was, of course, similar to that of the other California missions. As one approached the church, which faced nearly northeast, the patio stood at the left, the cemeteries, of which there were two, at the right. The patio (p. 31), an irregularly shaped but four-sided area, was completely surrounded by adobe structures. These, beginning at the eastern (baptistry) corner of the church, ran in a direction almost parallel to the longitudinal axis of the church for a distance of 178' before intersecting the front (northeastern) range of structures, which, 260' long, intersected in turn the southeastern range, 362' long, leaving the southwestern range, 300' long, to complete the enclosure and connect with the southern corner of the church proper. This enclosing group of structures, varying from 22' to 35' in width, was pierced at a point half-way along the southeastern range by a gate which provided a wagon entrance to the patio.

These buildings of the quadrangle have been roughly handled. Parts of the northeastern range were removed years ago to provide road material when the highway in the vicinity was improved. The portions just in front of the church, undoubtedly the living quarters of padres, have recently been excavated. It is to be hoped that in the not too distant future this very inter-

esting and historic portion of the quadrangle may be restored to its original form.

The present stone church, so much beloved by every true Californian, is probably the third church edifice erected at Carmel. The first was of temporary nature and not long used. The second was built by Padre Serra himself and described briefly by Lapérouse,¹ who visited the mission in 1786, thus:

"We were received like lords of a parish when they make their first appearance upon their estate; the president of the mission, clothed in his cope, and holding the water-sprinkler in his hand, waited for us at the door of the church, which was illuminated the same as on their greatest festivals; he conducted us to the foot of the high altar, where the *Te Deum* was sung in thanksgiving for the happy success of our voyage. . . . The parish church is very neat, although covered with straw; it is dedicated to Saint Charles, and ornamented with fairly good paintings, copied from Italian originals."

It was in this structure that the venerable Serra was laid to rest when he died in 1784. Palóu² relates that Padre Junípero had said to him: "I wish you to bury me in the church next to Father Fr. Juan Crespi, for the present, and when the stone church is built, you may place me where you will." Accordingly he was buried beside his beloved colleague, who had died in 1783, in the sanctuary on the Gospel side.

This church for twenty years served the purposes of the community. When the English navy captain, George Vancouver, first visited San Carlos, in December, 1792, he reported the preparation for the building of a stone church and the collection of material to this end. Actual construction was not begun, however, until the ensuing July, in spite of the fact that Manuel Estévan Ruiz, a master mason, had arrived during the winter to instruct the natives in stone-carving and masonry and to superintend the building of the church.

When Vancouver revisited the mission in November, 1794, the church was in process of construction and Sykes, the artist of his party, made a drawing³ which shows upon the left the old church, partly tiled and partly thatched, with the rising walls

¹ Lapérouse: *Voyages de la Pérouse autour du Monde*; II, 293.

² Palóu: *Vida*; 270.

³ Vancouver seems to indicate that this drawing was made in 1792, but since we have definite documentary evidence in the mission records of the date of the beginning of the structure, this date seems too early.

of the new stone church near by. Regarding the materials of construction ⁴ he had this to say:

"Some of them (the Indians) were at the time engaged under the direction of the fathers in building a church with stone and mortar. The former material appeared to be of a very tender friable nature, scarcely more hard than indurated clay: but I was told, that on its being exposed to the air, it soon becomes hardened, and is an excellent stone for the purpose of building. It is of a light straw color, and presents a rich and elegant appearance, in proportion to the labor that is bestowed upon it. It is found in abundance at no great depth from the surface of the earth; the quarries are easily worked, and it is, I believe, the only stone the Spaniards have hitherto made use of in building. . . . The lime they use is made from sea-shells, principally from the ear-shell, which is of a large size and in great abundance on the shores; not having as yet found any calcareous earth that would answer this essential purpose."

This, the present stone church (p. 31), was erected, it is believed, upon the site of the church of Serra's day. This notion is enforced because in the records there is nothing to show that the bodies of Fathers Crespi and Serra were ever removed to the "stone church" of which Serra spoke just before his death, an event which would certainly have found documentary record, had it ever taken place. When Father Casanova, in 1882, prosecuted his search for the graves of Padres Crespi and Serra, he followed the ancient burial record, and digging "in the sanctuary on the Gospel side," he located, identified, and opened the tombs on July 3 in the presence of an assemblage of several hundred people who had congregated for the event. This discovery in the stone church of the bodies known to have been buried in the adobe church, coupled with the absence of a notice of the removal of the bodies from the old church, would seem to indicate that the stone church occupies the same site as the older structure. The church, begun in 1793, was four years in the building. It was completed and dedicated finally in September, 1797, Padre-presidente Lasuén officiating.

In plan the church does not vary much from the typical mission edifice, which consisted of a simple nave with outlying sacristies and baptistries. The church, although some 150' long and 29' wide, inside, does not impress one with its dimensions, especially upon the exterior. This is, no doubt, due to the comparative lowness of the walls.

⁴ Vancouver: *A Voyage of Discovery*; II, 34.



MISSION SAN CARLOS DE BORRAMEO. THE RESTORED INTERIOR



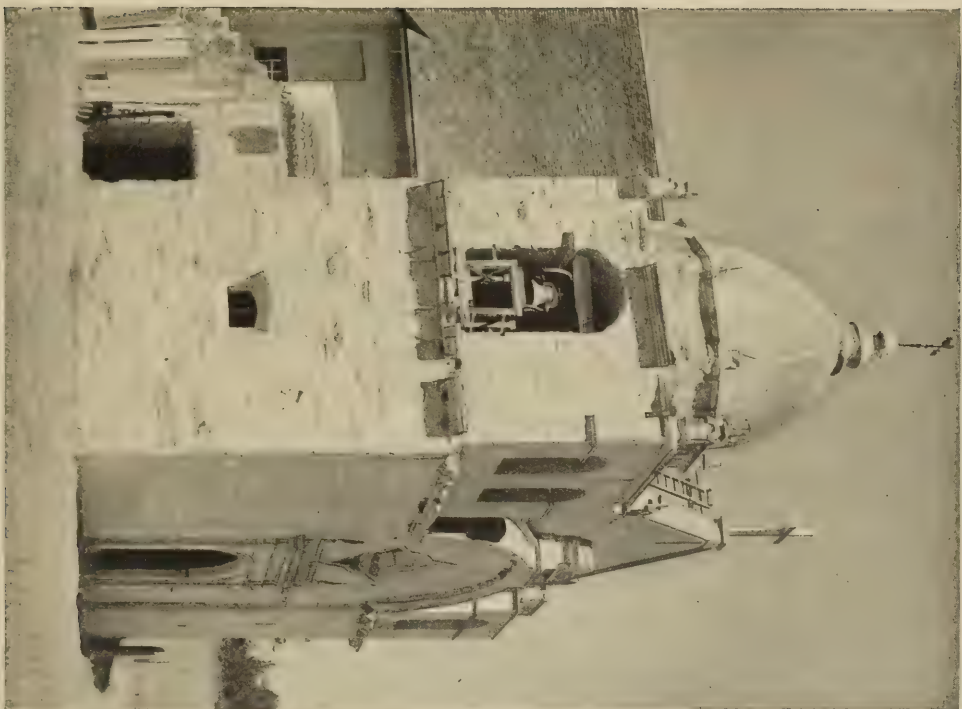
MISSION SAN CARLOS DE BORRAMEO. THE INTERIOR OF CHURCH BEFORE RESTORATION

Towers flank the main portal, the tower at the right, as one enters, containing a spiral staircase leading to the choir; the bell-tower, at the left, containing the baptistry. Upon the left, as one proceeds toward the altar, an ornate doorway opens into the chapel, and further on is another, which opened originally into the patio. Directly across, the pulpit hangs from the right wall and is reached by a stairway from the sacristy, which is, in turn, reached by a door leading from the sanctuary. The sizes of the chapel and sacristy are remarkable for Californian churches.

The original roof of San Carlos, no vestige of which remains, was unique. The nave was divided into four approximately equal bays by means of the Doric pilasters still to be seen upon the interior walls. These pilasters upheld transverse arches of stone, which carried the purlins defining a wooden tunnel vault. The vault was hidden by a low-pitched roof, the rafters of which were tangent to the vault near the top. This vault was elliptical in shape and the walls, which curved out at the top, made a transition to it, thus giving to the nave a curious oval-shaped transverse section. The curve of this vault is still to be traced in the masonry lines at either end of the church.

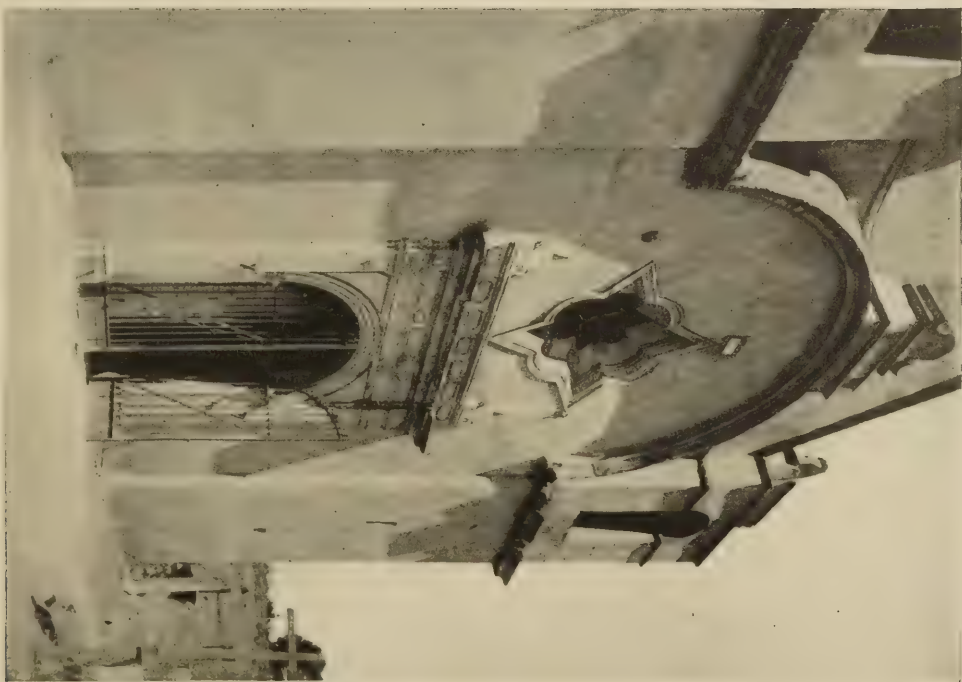
This roof, completed in 1797, stood with its tile covering until 1852, at which time, having fallen into disrepair, it collapsed. The church remained without a cover (p. 261) for thirty-two years, until, in 1884, it was reroofed and rededicated to worship. This period of fifty-five years (1797-1852) is sufficient to establish the structural integrity of the edifice and to prove the padres' ability to design and construct an unusual roof. The thrusts of the arches were taken by the heavy buttresses, which still flank the walls of the church. In restoring the church the original line of the wooden vaults has been preserved over the sanctuary only, the rest of the church being covered by a lower wooden vault, formed by means of beams that cross the nave at the wall height.

When the roof collapsed most of the tiles were broken. What remained were carried away to cover buildings in the neighboring town of Monterey. Funds were not available at the time of restoration for the replacing of the tiles and as a result the steeper-pitched, wooden roof was resorted to. The falling roof and subsequent long period of exposure practically ruined the ancient



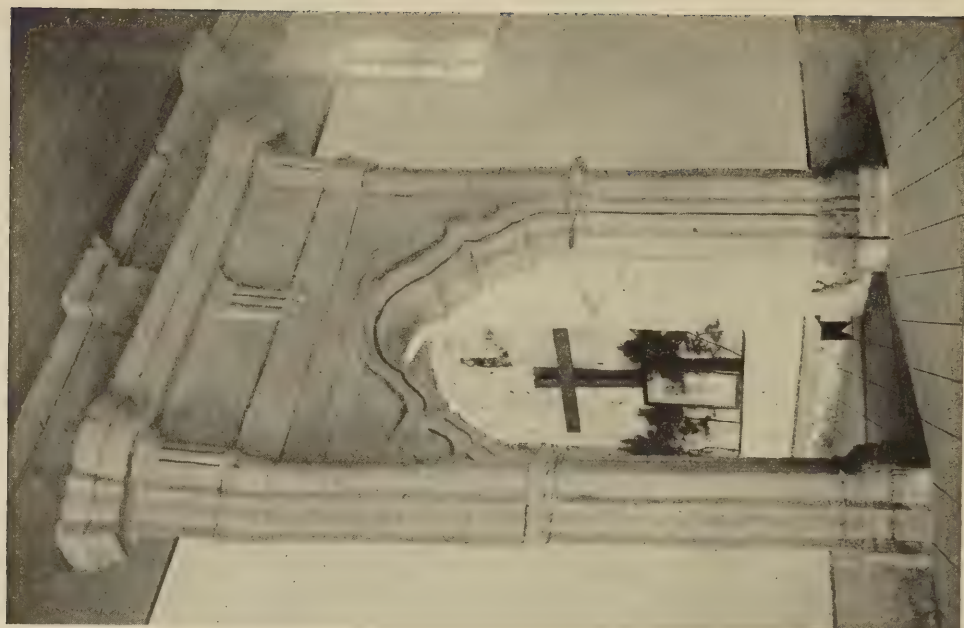
Courtesy Architectural Book Publishing Company

THE TOWER



Courtesy Architectural Book Publishing Company

FACHADA OF CHURCH



DOORWAY INTO THE CHAPEL



STAIRWAY TO THE TOWER

MISSION SAN CARLOS DE BORRAMEO

floor tiles, a few of which may be seen in place near the chapel door. The floor of the nave has been paved with concrete, but enough of the ancient tiles were found to repave the sanctuary.

The fachada of the church, as it stands today, is, of course, badly marred by the high-pitched roof, which in no sense resembles its ancient low-lying forerunner. The original vault is recalled upon the fachada by means of a circular pediment pierced by a "stellar" window and crowned by a pedestal, which, no doubt, at one time held aloft the symbol of salvation. The main portal is in many respects the least interesting doorway in the whole structure and seems very flat and weak when compared with the doors of the interior.

The most interesting feature of the fachada is certainly the staunch square campanario, which is, without doubt, as handsome a bell-tower as is to be found among the missions. Its lower story is unbroken except for a small window which lights the baptistry. The second story, consisting of heavy stone walls, pierced by arches, is reached by means of an exterior stone stairway. Above this story the tower transforms to a low, octagonal drum, which, in turn, carries the egg-shaped dome, surmounted by a large finial bearing a wrought-iron cross. The corners of the tower proper, as well as those of the drum, are accented by curious pinnacles. This tower imparts to the church a quaint oriental flavor and must certainly be reminiscent of some Moresque structure of Old Spain. Many parts of the belfry have suffered from the ravages of the elements, but the whole tower, covered in its upper portions with green moss, is a beautiful and picturesque mass and one much loved and painted by artists.

Among the interesting details of the church should be mentioned a doorway found upon the interior of the building. It is the entrance to the chapel and one of the most ornate of Californian doorways. That its designer had some knowledge of Doric architecture and that he handled it in a far better fashion than might be expected in an outpost so far removed from civilization, will be proved by an examination. Moreover, that it was executed by a stone-carver of skill is likewise evident. The mouldings, curious as they are, in their combination of classic and Gothic forms, show more refinement than is usual in mission structures,

and the whole composition a knowledge of architectural form scarcely conceivable in a missionary priest.

Whether the door belonged to the original edifice or was built when the chapel was added is not quite plain. It seems certain that the chapel itself was built between 1811 and 1820, but whether the door was provided at this time is quite another question. In spirit and execution the door is in perfect harmony with the pilasters along the walls, which are in the Doric style, and seems, therefore, to antedate the chapel. If built at the same time as the nave, and all internal evidence points to this conclusion, the door can be attributed to the mason Ruiz, already mentioned.

Another feature of San Carlos which is absolutely different from anything else in the mission chain is the baptistry. The plan is almost a square, being 10'3" by 10'7", and has its corners cut off at forty-five degrees, thus making the room an irregular octagon. Against the corners stand quarter-engaged columns in the Doric style, with simple bases and capitals, the latter of which serve as abaci from which spring the ribs that support a Gothic-like vault of stone. The columns, ribs, and mouldings are of the yellow stone used for details throughout the church; the "infilling" between the ribs, now whitewashed, is evidently of the same material. The original font was carted off years ago and a modern one of onyx now occupies its place. Aside from this font and a few relics in the way of fragments of tiles, crosses, and wrought iron, picked up in excavation, the room is bare. So long as San Carlos uncovered, deserted, and neglected, it is a wonder that anything at all remains.

The chapel is as bare as the baptistry but does exhibit upon one wall a bit of the original Indian fresco which escaped the whitewasher's brush when the church was restored. The sacristy contains a curious old lavabo (lavatory) cut in stone and having two basins, one above the other. The upper basin, serving as a reservoir, discharges into the lower, and was, no doubt, replenished by hand. The waste from the lower basin exhausts through the rear wall of the sacristy to a point outside the church.

The present pulpit is modern, the ancient pulpit having completely disappeared during the years that the church was

uncovered. This pulpit, reached by a broad stairway in the sacristy, rests upon a stone bracket which projects from the wall. That this bracket should have remained in place seems remarkable when we remember that the church roof collapsed, carrying down tons of heavy tiles, beams, and stones to the pavement below. The bracket at the present time appears perfectly sound and will last, doubtless, as long as the church itself.

Aside from these bits there are some chests and vestment cases in the sacristy, but most of the treasures of the church have been taken to Monterey for safe-keeping. Among these is a reliquary case made by one of the Indians to hold certain sacred relics which Padre Junípero prized, among them some Christian bones from the Catacombs.

At the present time the church is administered as a chapel of Monterey and is served by Father Mestres, who is striving to preserve everything that is historically interesting or valuable. He is raising the funds and directing the erection of the structures to replace the outlying mission-houses that have long since melted down, under the onslaught of the elements.



Witch Tree, Monterey Coast

CHAPTER XXII

LA CAPILLA REÁL DE MONTEREY

IF MISSION San Carlos Borromeo was the most important of the Californian churches from the ecclesiastical standpoint, la Capilla Reál, now San Carlos Church, Monterey, was just as truly the most important church in a political sense. It was the worshipping-place of the royal governors of the Californias under Spanish rule, of the Mexican provincial officials under Mexican rule, and for many years after American occupation, the principal church edifice at the capital. Thus the old structure has passed through many vicissitudes and has witnessed many stirring events, and, although the old presidio of which it was originally a part has practically disappeared, the church stands as staunch and firm today as in its earlier years.

The old presidio originally consisted of a quadrangle of tile-roofed, adobe buildings which enclosed a court or plaza some two hundred varas square. Surrounding the plaza and running along the fronts of the buildings was a corridor some ten feet wide, the roof of which was carried upon redwood columns. La Capilla Reál, facing north, stood upon the south side of this plaza, forming part of the southern wall. All of these buildings were surrounded by a stone wall twelve feet high, the single gateway of which was locked every evening at sunset. At the centre of the plaza stood a flag-staff, at the top of which waved the Spanish banner with its lion of Castile.

This plaza and the church were the scenes of many a festival, perhaps the most splendid of which was the inauguration, in 1815, of Governor Pablo Vicente de Solá, last of the Spanish governors. When Governor Solá was appointed, the revolution against Spain had already begun in Mexico, and since the Governor was of the royalist party and the people of Monterey were largely anti-revolutionists and loyal to the mother country, his arrival in California was naturally one marked for an unusual demonstration.

As was usual upon such occasions, the principal military officials, the Padre-presidente and priests of the missions, together with the "dons" of the ranchos, their families and servants, gathered at the capital to welcome the new Governor. Padre-

presidente Sarría asked each of the missionaries to bring with him anything that he thought might be of interest to the Governor or add success to the event. This request resulted in a number of offerings in the way of viands, which graced the table at the banquet that followed the inaugural ceremony. Among them were domestic and game fowl from Monterey, cordials, wines, and olives from San Diego, oranges and pomegranates from San Gabriel, figs and preserved dates from Baja California, bread and pastry from the wheaten flour of San Antonio, and old wines from San Fernando. The supply was so generous, it is said, that after the feast was over, five hundred of the villagers were fed from the surplus.

The ceremonies began in the plaza. The corridors were decorated for the occasion with pine boughs and huckleberry bushes, and among these numberless small lamps were hung. As evening came on, these lamps, together with those in the buildings and church, were lighted, producing a very festive appearance. Early in the evening the people gathered at the presidio to promenade in the illuminated corridors and to meet the new official. This event was followed the next morning by High Mass in the chapel with twenty padres in attendance, assisted by a choir of mission Indians. The neophytes were dressed in brilliant colors and carried musical instruments, violins, flutes, and drums, made in the mission shops. The *Te Deum* was followed by an eloquent sermon by Padre Sarría.

After Mass the Governor and staff returned to the plaza, where the Governor addressed the people, after which he congratulated the military officials and the padres for their good work. The party then adjourned to the home of the retiring Governor Argüello, where the banquet, already referred to, awaited the officials. The feast was followed by exhibitions of horsemanship, a bull-fight and a bear-fight.

In the evening a grand ball was given at the residence of the comandante, the music being furnished by the best local talent, assisted by the mission Indians who had played at Mass in the morning. The Governor is said to have been much surprised to find that the evening clothes were of a style worn in Spain forty years before. While they amused him, in view of the

revolutionist rumblings in Mexico, he was nevertheless pleased to find the old Castilian costumes still loved and used in so far-flung an outpost as Monterey.

The old presidio, the Governor's house, and many of the old structures that were extant in the days of Governor Solá have completely disappeared, but the chapel still stands, serving as the Catholic church of the community. To be sure it has undergone transformation in some of its parts. Especially is this true of the southern end. Originally the church was not cruciform in plan. In 1855 Governor Pacheco donated funds for the enlargement of the structure, and, in 1858, the transept, with its two ornate doors, and the main altar were added.

The fachada of the church remains almost as erected, although the pyramidal roof upon the tower is modern and dates from 1893. Access to the tower is had by means of a stairway that leads to the choir. The walls of the tower are very thick but diminish to 2'5" at the bell level. The bell arches, 3' wide and 9' high, contain, at the present time, only two bells, both of which are modern, as will be observed by their legends:

"WEED AND KINGWELL, S.F. 1885 "

"SAINT TERESA, 1885 "

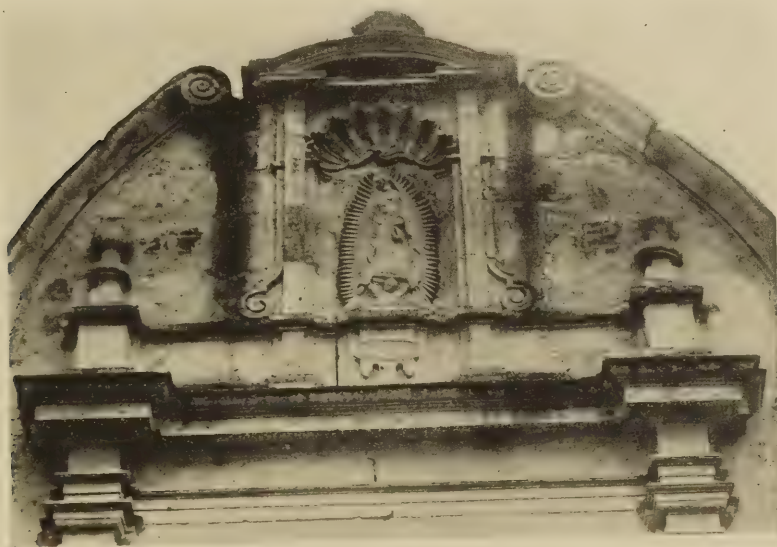
and

"CAST BY HENRY N. HOOPER, BOSTON, 1855 "

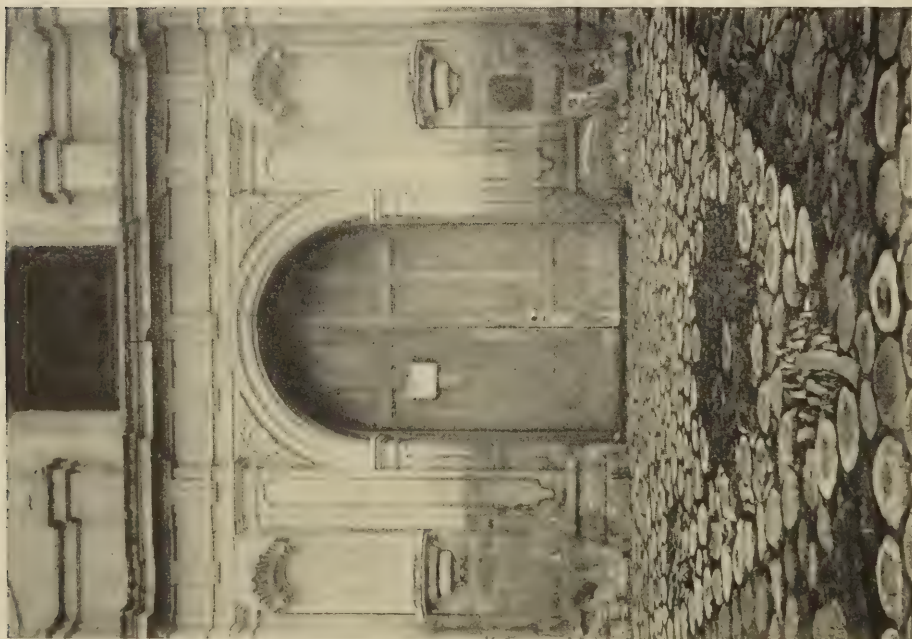
The fachada is without exception the most elaborate and ornate among the Californian churches. It consists of a circular-headed doorway flanked by Roman Doric pilasters, a pair on either side, the walls between which are relieved by niches with florid, semicircular heads and ornate corbels. The pilasters carry a Doric entablature (copied doubtless from some architectural book of the day), which in turn carries four pedestals, the central two of which, flanking the segmental window above the door, carry other pilasters that ascend the wall to the second cornice, which bears a shell-headed niche at the very top of the curved, pedimented gable. This upper niche, framed by appropriate pilasters and a segmental pediment, contains a representation of Our Lady of Guadalupe. Just below "Our Lady" is a cartouche bearing the legend "A. D. 1794," thus establishing the



LA CAPILLA REÁL, MONTEREY. NOW CHURCH OF SAN CARLOS



LA CAPILLA REÁL. CURVED GABLE



MAIN PORTAL AND PAVEMENT OF WHALE VERTEBRÆ



SIDE PORTAL

LA CAPILLA REAL, MONTEREY

date of the fachada, the building of which, it will thus be seen, is contemporaneous with that of Mission San Carlos. Indeed it is possible that the same craftsmen under Maestro Ruiz worked upon both structures. Especially is this view enforced when the architectural details of the two buildings are compared.

In none of the Californian churches are classic elements so much used as at Carmel and Monterey, and in none have the mouldings been so delicately wrought as here. While part of this refinement may be attributed to better workmen, certainly the material as well had its effect. Adobes and bricks do not favor delicate moulded work, and most of the Californian edifices were of these materials. Carmel and Monterey, on the other hand, afforded a stone easily worked and fairly durable in this genial, favoring climate. Consequently an architectural expression, confessedly impossible elsewhere, was the result. This distinctly classic design is, in the estimation of the writer, simply an afterglow of the classic reaction that in Spain followed the florid Churrigueresque of the early eighteenth century.

If the fachada is decidedly classic in flavor, the windows of the flanks of the church are Gothic, but this mixture of the classic and the Gothic has already been noted in the baptistry of Mission San Carlos. These windows filled, as they are at the present time, with modern stained glass appear more like modern innovations than the originals. But there is no data to tell one when the windows were changed, if changed they have been.

Among the most interesting of the church's features is a pair of elaborate doorways, one in either transept, and dating, as noted above, from 1858. As pieces of baroque design they are in every way worthy of the mission period and in perfect keeping with the fachada. They are the work of an Italian craftsman employed by Father Cormillas, then pastor of the church. The same workman was responsible for the high altar.

After the secularization, the mission at Carmel was deserted and the priest, Father Real, came to Monterey to reside in 1834. The Indians in the vicinity of Carmel were served, to be sure, by occasional visits of the Padre to the mission. At this time also many of the relics of the mission were transferred to the Monterey church. Among them are the fourteen paintings of the Passion

of Christ, a statue of Christ, a Saint John the Evangelist, a Dolorosa, and the reliquary mentioned in Chapter XXI.

In the sacristy of Capilla Real is an iron safe to hold the sacred vessels. It is about three feet wide and four feet high, strapped with heavy iron bands and studded with many knobs. The old vestments of mission days, together with the records of the church, here preserved, are of great historical interest. The sanctuary contains several chairs of oriental design, brought doubtless from the Philippines in a day when Monterey was a port of the Philippine-Mexican trade. They are of teak and ebony and have marble seats and marble discs set into the backs. Besides these there are a number of excellent old silver and brass candlesticks, the former of which are beautifully engraved. The interior of the church has been completely modernized and is consequently not of great interest.

A very curious pavement is to be seen in front of the building. At one time Monterey was a great port for whaling vessels, and the idea occurred to some one to make use of the vertebræ of a whale as paving-blocks. These bones, although admirably adapted to the use here made of them, would scarcely be able to stand the traffic of a modern city street.

At the rear of the church has been placed for safe-keeping all that remains of the historical oak under which Mass was celebrated when Viscáino visited Monterey in 1602, and under which Padre Serra celebrated Mass one hundred and sixty-eight years later. Some years ago the roots of the tree were injured while workmen were constructing a culvert near it. Soon it died and was torn out and thrown into the bay. Due to the efforts of Father Mestres and other patriotic citizens of Monterey, the relic was rescued and placed in the church-yard. A tablet at the base of the tree bears the legend:

"The Junípero Oak: At Monterey June 3, 1770, the ceremony of taking possession of California by Spain was enacted by Father Junípero Serra under the shade of this tree. Placed here for preservation by R. M. Mestres and H. A. Green, 1909."

CHAPTER XXIII

THE MISSION OF SANTA CRUZ

OF THE Mission of Santa Cruz (Holy Cross) not a vestige today remains. Santa Cruz, the twelfth in the line of missions, was established by Father-president Lasuén upon the north shore of the Bay of Monterey September 25, 1791. At the foundation ceremonies Chief Sugert and many of his dusky followers presented themselves, and, indeed, before the end of the year, the records show eighty-four converts. The mission gained neophytes rapidly, so rapidly, in fact, that the population reached its maximum of 644 souls within the next seven years. While the crops and herds continued to increase after this time, the Indian population did not keep pace. In 1800 the neophyte population was 492.

Some of the decline of Mission Santa Cruz may be attributed to the fact that the villa (town) of Branciforte was established not far away upon the opposite side of the Lorenzo River in 1797. The settlers of the town were poor moral examples to the Indians of the mission and the padres protested, pointing out the fact that the settlement was not only upon mission lands but actually upon the Indians' pasture-ground. Governor Borica, who had selected the site of Branciforte and who was very desirous of seeing more settlers in the territory, defended the selection of the site and said that the Indians were dying out, and that soon there would be no need for missions to Christianize them. As early as 1805 there was a suggestion to divide the neophytes of Santa Cruz between Missions Santa Clara and San Juan Bautista, but this was never carried out.

The padres were energetic from the beginning, and in February, 1793, the corner-stone of the mission church was laid. This church was 30 by 112 feet. The walls, 25 feet high, were of stone to a height of three feet, above which they were of adobes, the fachada being entirely of stone. The dedication of this church took place on May 10, 1794, at which time Padre Tomás de la Peña of Mission Santa Clara officiated. Ensign Sal acted as godfather and accepted the keys. A large Indian band as well as the troops attended and filled the church to overflowing.

In 1795 the two remaining sides of the patio were reported as completed and the padres now turned their attention to the erection of a water-propelled flour-mill. This was in operation in time to grind the wheat of 1796, although the winter rains of that year seem to have damaged the structure.

Santa Cruz witnessed the murder of one of its padres in 1812, when Father Quintana was called from his bed at night, brutally beaten to death, and then replaced in his bed. The Padre had been in poor health and the opinion was that he had died in the night. Several years later, however, some neophytes, who claimed the Father had mistreated them, confessed to the murder. Five of the nine who perpetrated the crime were caught and punished. The charge against the Father was carefully investigated by the officials but proved to be without foundation.

In 1818, when the raider Bouchard, who terrorized the coast during the fall of that year, visited northern California, Padre Olbés was directed by the Governor to pack up and send everything movable inland to Mission Soledad for safety. On the morning of November 23 Father Olbés and his Indians left for Mission Santa Clara, and Comisionado Buelna of Branciforte, pursuant to the orders of Governor Solá, went to the mission to remove the property. When it was learned that Bouchard had not landed, some of the Indians and the major-domo returned to the mission. Reaching the church, they found Buelna in charge, dismantling everything. They were indignant at first, but when the Governor's order was read, they turned in and helped. However, with a good store of liquor in the wine-room, spirits ran high, little care was exercised, and the Padre's trunk was forced open and some of his personal articles given to friends of the plunderers in the villa. When the Padre learned of this he was very indignant, but, as the culprits were punished, he soon let the matter pass and returned to the normal mission routine. This event was not one, however, to commend the people of Branciforte to the padres, and there were frequent difficulties between the villa and the mission. In 1823 a second effort was made to abandon the mission; this again without success.

After 1820, population dwindled but crops and herds kept up, with the highest number of cattle (3700) listed in 1828. But



MISSION SANTA CRUZ
From a Drawing by W. I. Hamby



CASTRO HOUSE, SAN JUAN

the mission was not destined to a brilliant success and was among the first to feel the effect of the secularization orders. Ignacio del Valle in 1834-1835 acted as comisionado and listed the properties at \$47,000, aside from the lands and church and \$10,000 distributed to the Indians. However, with secularization the estate was rapidly dissipated, and four years later Inspector Hartnell could find not more than one sixth of what had been listed.

The church stood in fair repair for a time, but in 1840 an earthquake and tidal wave wrought havoc with the fabric. At the tremor the tower was thrown down and many of the tiles broken. Eleven years later the walls, doubtless weakened by the quake, fell and human hands completed the destruction. No trace of the mission is to be found at the present time.



CHAPTER XXIV

MISSION SAN JUAN BAUTISTA

ONE of the quaintest towns in all California is San Juan, the site of Mission San Juan Bautista. As one spins along the gleaming Camino Real from Sargent's Station (San Juan is off the railroad) and into San Juan, it is difficult to realize that not far away upon the left stands one of the most interesting of the old Spanish missions, together with a number of quaint old houses coming down from Spanish days. But one square from the modern business street is to be found the old Spanish plaza, one of the sunniest, dreamiest of places. Surrounded by rows of locust trees, it is flanked upon the north by the mission, upon the west by the Castro House and the old Plaza Hotel, and upon the south by the Zanetta House. The east side looks down over a peaceful valley with its mission orchards and old mill. This old plaza was in days gone by the centre of civic life, but, since the coming of the cement-plant, automobiles, and modern highways, it is quite outside the scheme of things except for those who seek the romantic and beautiful.

The block plan will give some notion of the relation of the plaza to the mission, the pleasant corridors of which face the greensward (p. 44). Entering the corridors at the west end, one follows along the tile-paved arcade to the various doors of the mission-house, or on to the church proper. Just in front of the church with its frank and honest fachada is a delightful little garden planted with cropped cypresses and myrtle.

Access to the patio is gained through a door, about half-way along the corridor. The patio (p. 44) is delightfully overgrown and full of color, the green of the vegetation being enhanced by the many roof planes of corridor and mission-house, which, covered with their original tiles, are lovely in color and texture. The church stands at right angles to the house and is entered directly from the patio, either through the sacristy or through the ruined walls of the side-chapel. Ruined as the side-aisles are at the present time, the church appears more like an open-air sanctuary than a dimly lighted Christian temple.

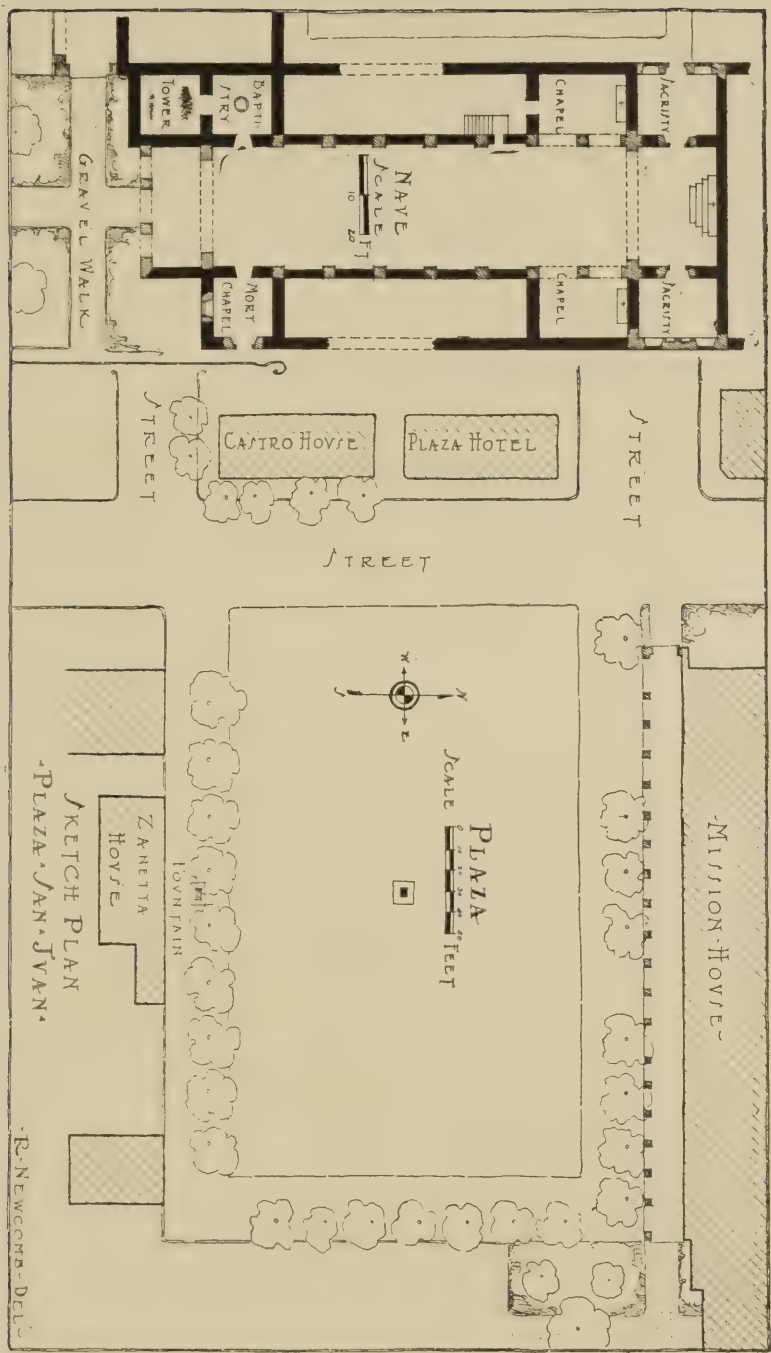
In plan the church proper, with its long, narrow nave and

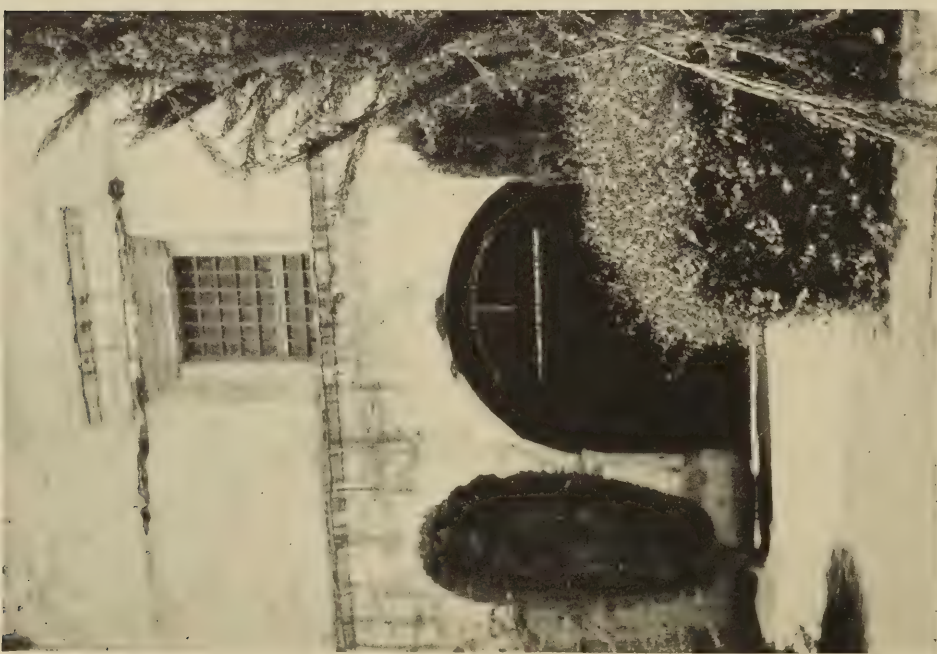
side-chapels, is cruciform. The lateral walls of the nave are composed of arcades of brick, carried upon piers, the arches of which have been filled in with curtain-walls of adobe masonry, thus cutting off completely the side-aisles which flank the nave. From internal evidence it would seem that the padres found no need for the side-aisles at the time the structure was occupied, and, as a consequence, had them cut off, or else that the arches were blinded when the structure was built, with the idea of making the church a three-aisled basilica, as the population demanded. At any rate it appears that only the first two bays of the aisles were utilized, and these as side-chapels. The aisles appear more as long, flanking corridors than as integral parts of the church. But this arrangement is absolutely unique in mission architecture and is the nearest approach to a three-aisled basilica in the whole mission chain.

At the front, the baptistry, with its rude stone font, flanks the church upon the west, the mortuary chapel, connecting with the cemetery, upon the east, while at the rear, either side of the sanctuary, sacristies are found. In front of the baptistry is a tower, built presumably to replace an older belfry. This tower, one of the worst of modern innovations, mars the venerable old structure from every aspect.

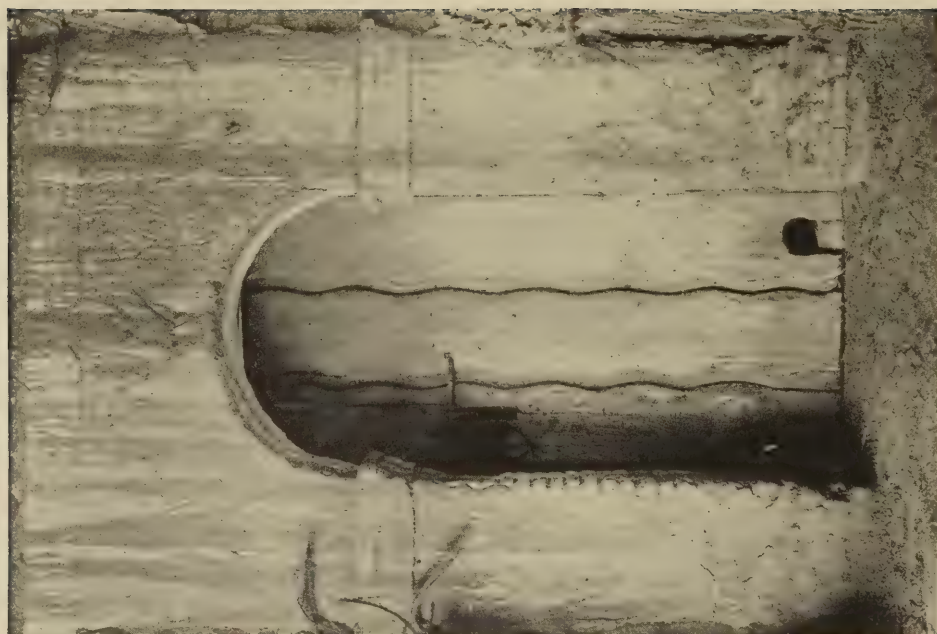
Suspended from the wall upon the west side of the nave is the ancient wooden pulpit, reached by a stairway in the side-aisle. From this old pulpit, it is said, Padre Arroyo preached to the Indian listeners in thirteen different dialects, but in our day no sermon is heard from the old pulpit, for the church is not used except upon very special occasions.

Our photograph (p. 285) will give an impression of the interior as it appeared some years ago, but not before the ancient Indian wall-paintings in brown and green had been obliterated or before the honest open-timber roof had been obscured by a ceiling of tongue-and-grooved material and painted in a most vulgar fashion. This ceiling belongs, doubtless, to the same period as the atrocious belfry. The altar has now been dismantled and the saints and paintings carried to a place of safety in the museum of the mission-house, but one can reconstruct for himself the splendid appearance the nave must have presented upon some





GARDEN IN FRONT OF CHURCH



DOORWAY

MISSION SAN JUAN BAUTISTA

great feast-day of long ago. The church dimly lighted, the penetrating rays of the California sun filtering in through the narrow windows of the clerestory and piercing with broad golden bands the incense-laden atmosphere; the altar resplendent in the hangings appropriate to the season and ablaze with numberless candles, gilding in light the robust timbers of the dark roof-trusses above; the padres busy with the Mass; the Indian choir chanting in clear but untutored voices some favorite composition coming down from ancient days; a thousand dusky children kneeling and arising in response to the service; ah, what a scene! Barbaric? Yes, but splendid; a veritable marriage in one religious service of what is, upon one hand, wild, barbaric, untutored, upon the other, cultured, historic, artistic. In such a scene as this the architectural forms, crude as they may be, become highly interesting as a setting and background for the human element, and, in this sense, just as sacred as the carved pillars and storied windows of cathedrals across the sea.

But San Juan Bautista must have witnessed many such a scene, for she was at one time one of California's most prosperous establishments. The mission was founded on June 24, 1797, when Padre-presidente Lasuén, aided by Padres Catala and Martiarena, and accompanied by Corporal Ballesteros and an escolta of five men, blessed the site and dedicated the establishment to Saint John the Baptist. The site was a fertile one, and within two years a crop amounting to some 2700 bushels was taken, while already the neophyte population numbered some 516 souls.

The padres had their troubles, however, during the early years of the mission. In 1798 the hostile Indians interfered to some extent with mission activities and even threatened to destroy the establishment, but, after a certain military strength was demonstrated by Captain Moraga, who was sent to bring in the offenders, the difficulties subsided. These disturbances were followed by a series of earthquakes which so badly cracked the adobe walls of the structures, that, for some time, the padres and neophytes were compelled to sleep outdoors for safety's sake.

In June, 1803, the corner-stone of the present church was laid, Padre Viader, assisted by the resident priests, conducting the ceremonies. Among others present were Don José de la Guerra,

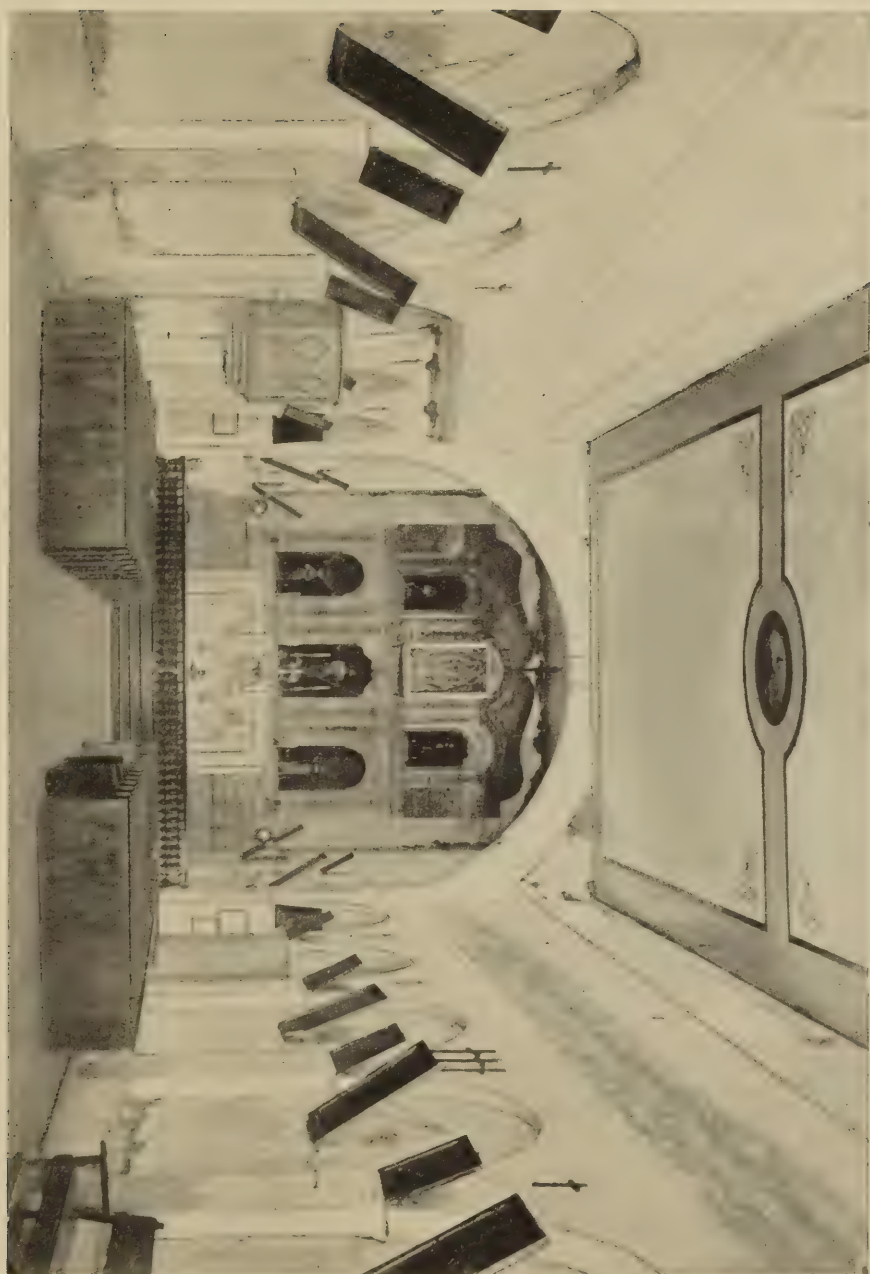
who acted as sponsor, Captain Font, and Doctor Morelas, army surgeon. The work, thus begun, continued for nine years, at the end of which time, June 23, 1812, the edifice was dedicated.

June 3, 1809, seems to have been a date of some importance in the chronology of the edifice, for the records bear an entry to the effect that upon this date the image of Saint John the Baptist was placed upon the altar in the sacristy, which served as worshipping-place until the main church could be completed. It is apparent that the altar of the nave with its reredos (still in place) was not completed until 1818, in which year it was dedicated.

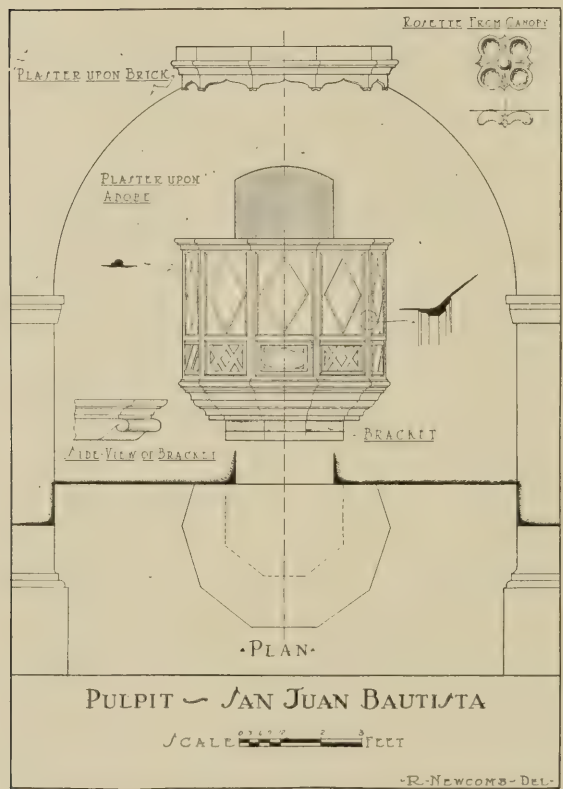
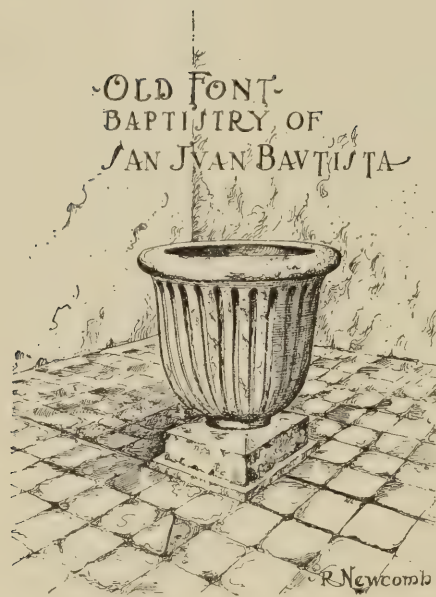
The Mexican painter hired to decorate the reredos and altar demanded six réals per day (about \$.75) for his services. This was considered beyond the mission's means, and, accordingly, the Yankee Felipe Santiago, or Thomas Doak, who had reached the country upon a Boston sailing-vessel, was hired to do the work. Remembering that, in addition to this pay, the mission furnished board and lodging, it will not be difficult to understand why the Yankee, noted generally for driving stiff bargains, would be content with a wage of less than six réals. He was apparently glad to get on solid ground again and to share for a long period the hospitality of the padres and the fare of the mission. That he made good paint is attested by the remains of the color still extant, but that he was *not* an artist is also apparent.

The old mission-house (p. 44), a portion of which is used for a museum, is very interesting, the kitchen with its masonry ovens being especially well appointed and in better preservation than that of any other mission. In the museum are to be seen many fine old vestments, candlesticks, processional torches, saints, Stations of the Cross, paintings, and furniture. Especially interesting and of beautiful design are the various candlesticks and altar ornaments of wood, silver, and brass. Perhaps the most curious object in the whole collection is a barrel-organ, manufactured in London by Benjamin Dobson. In its prime it is said to have played such tunes as "Go to the Devil," "Spanish Waltz," and "Lady Campbell's Hornpipe," but at the present time it appears even beyond the wheezing stage.

A number of books from the mission library remain; among them two manuscript music chorals devised by Padre Arroyo



MISSION SAN JUAN BAUTISTA, INTERIOR OF CHURCH



in instructing the Indian choir. He used the quaint, square notes in vogue in his day and resorted to the use of color to distinguish the various parts, some of the notes being red, others blue.

This Padre Arroyo must have been a genial and interesting character. Of all the priests of San Juan, he and Padre Tápis are best remembered in the various stories and legends of the mission. He was an accomplished linguist and spent much time in mastering the various Indian dialects and in compiling vocabularies of these languages. He was, in his later years, much subject to rheumatism and is said to have taken keen delight, when confined to his chair, in sitting upon the patio corridor and surrounding himself with his little Indian wards, to whom he assigned names of famous personages in history, such as Alexander, Plato, or Cicero.

San Juan's other beloved padre, Estévan Tápis, finally became Padre-presidente of the mission system, but he is buried at San Juan, where he died in 1825. He rests beneath the floor of the sanctuary just inside the altar-rail upon the west side of the church, where a marble slab, let into the floor, carries a legend in Latin which indicates that this venerable padre, a Franciscan for forty-eight years, had been in America forty years and in California thirty-five years. He lived a long and useful life in the service of his church and died one of the best beloved of the missionaries who labored in California.

Time has not been kind to San Juan Bautista. The church, badly ruined by the attacks of the elements, was seriously damaged by the earthquake of 1906, so that many parts of the structure stand open to the weather and in great danger, especially during the rainy season. Chapel is held at the present time in a portion of the mission-house because of the ruined condition of the church. It seems a pity that some of the great quantity of Portland cement made within a short distance of the old structure cannot be diverted from commercial channels to repair this, one of the most interesting and pathetic of the ruined missions.

CHAPTER XXV

THE MISSIONS OF SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

IN THE vicinity of San Francisco Bay there were at one time five Franciscan missions: San Francisco de Asís, founded October 9, 1776; Santa Clara de Asís, founded January 12, 1777; San José de Guadalupe, founded June 11, 1797; San Rafael Arcángel, founded December 14, 1817; and San Francisco Solano, founded July 4, 1823. Of the five only San Francisco, dedicated to the founder of the Franciscan Order, and Santa Clara, named for the holy woman of Assisi, are of architectural interest, and, indeed, of these two, only passable fragments of one remain—San Francisco.

MISSION SAN FRANCISCO DE ASÍS (DOLORES)

The missions of San Francisco and Santa Clara were proposed as early as 1770, when, on November 12, the Viceroy, Marquis de Croix, instructed Don Pedro Fages, Comandante of California, to explore the port of San Francisco, which had been discovered in 1769, with view to establishing a presidio and mission there. This port appeared to be an important one and the Viceroy was anxious to occupy it and thus cut off the claims of any other power. The Comandante, however, due to the scarcity of troops, was not able to comply immediately with the Viceroy's request, and as a consequence the bay was not explored until March of 1772. Even then the investigation and report were in nowise detailed. Therefore when Don Antonio María Bucaréli y Ursúa became viceroy, he directed Captain Rivera y Moncada, who had succeeded Fages, to make a further exploration of the port.

In November, 1774, Rivera, accompanied by Padre Palóu and sixteen soldiers, started from Monterey to explore the bay region, but bad weather came on and further work was prevented that season. On August 5, 1775, however, the packet-boat *San Carlos*, under Don Juan Manuel de Ayala, who was exploring the coast-line, anchored in San Francisco Bay. This ship—the first to pass the Golden Gate—Ayala used for forty-four days in making surveys and the maps of San Francisco Bay that have come down to us. The work done by this party was excellent, the

descriptions were good, and the soundings, shown on the map, compare favorably with those found later by the Coast Survey. Thus by the end of 1775 the waters of the port were tolerably well defined, but, as yet, no settlement had been made north of Monterey.

Nor was it possible to make a beginning at either San Francisco or Santa Clara before 1776, and, at this time, the matter of making a start at San Francisco depended upon the arrival of a band of colonists, who, under the direction of Captain Don Juan de Anza, were to enter California for the establishment of a Spanish garrison and town.

They left Mexico September 29, 1775, and, arriving at Mission San Gabriel January 1, 1776, reached Monterey by March 10th. According to directions from the Viceroy, Captain Anza was to deliver the party to Rivera at Monterey and then proceed to make a survey of the port and river of San Francisco before returning to his post at Tubac (Arizona). Shortly after arriving at Monterey, however, Captain Anza was taken ill and was not able to make his exploration until March 23rd, at which time he set out for the bay region. He remained in that vicinity for two weeks, returning to Monterey on April 8th. During this time, he located the site of the future presidio and mission, giving full directions as to their location. The former was to be located at the entrance of the port, the latter in a quiet valley where he discovered a pretty little rivulet which he named Arroyo de los Dolores,¹ since they came upon it upon the Friday of Sorrows (the Friday before Palm Sunday). Here he found fertile land for agricultural purposes, fuel, water, and stone and timber for building. Having attended to these directions of the Viceroy, Anza made a hurried exploration of the eastern shores of the bay and immediate back country and returned to the capital to make ready for his return to Tubac.

When Anza returned from San Francisco, Rivera was absent at San Diego, but Anza's maps, showing the location of the mission and presidio, were delivered to Rivera, who, in May, directed that the colonists should proceed to their new home. Accordingly

¹ The term Dolores is frequently applied to the mission and indeed to that whole section of the city within the boundaries of the old mission area.

the party began their journey to San Francisco on June 17th and arrived at the site, after a slow march, on the 27th. The packet *San Carlos* was sent to bring the provisions from Monterey, but, delayed by adverse winds, it did not arrive until August 18th. While awaiting the boat, Lieutenant Don José Moraga, who was in command of the party, employed his men in the cutting of timber for the buildings, and when the *San Carlos* arrived, sailors were sent ashore to help in the construction of the first shelters.

Padre Palóu, in speaking of the presidio and missions, says: "Formal possession of the presidio was taken on the 17th of September. . . . After having blessed, venerated and set up the Holy Cross, I on that day sang the first High Mass, closing the service with a *Te Deum*. The officers then performed the solemn act of taking possession in the name of Our Sovereign, with a cannonade from the vessel and shore. . . .

"The formal possession of the mission was delayed because we were hoping that the order from Comandante Rivera would arrive, and in the meantime the Commanders of the presidio and the packet-boat decided to make an expedition by sea in order to explore the great arm of water which projects inland from the harbor to the north. . . . When the launch had finished the exploration and returned to the port, both Commanders entered into a conference. . . . Though no word had been received from Comandante Rivera authorizing the founding of the Mission . . ., they resolved to take the step themselves and make a beginning. This they did on the ninth of October.

"After having blessed the site, set up the Holy Cross, and made a procession in honor of our Father San Francisco, . . . I sang the first High Mass and preached, taking as the theme the life of our Father San Francisco, our Patron Saint. The people of the presidio were present, as well as those from the vessel and Mission, and they gave their salvos in all the services." ²

Thus was established the Mission of San Francisco de Asís. The first buildings were only temporary, built of wood and thatch. Father Palóu gives a good description of them, but, since they were similar to such buildings elsewhere, they are of little interest to us here.

² Palóu: *Op. cit.*; 204-208.

The construction of a permanent church was begun on April 25, 1782, when the corner-stone was laid with appropriate ceremonies by Padre Palóu. Whether this beginning refers to the present church it is not quite plain, due to the fact that official reports regarding building activities did not begin until 1794. We are therefore without data between the years of 1782 and 1793. It is the opinion of the writer that the church begun at this time must have been completed presently, for on July 15, 1785, Padre Palóu laid to rest, in the church of that day, the relics of Lieutenant José Joaquín Moraga, Comandante of the Presidio, who had died on the 13th. That the church in which Lieutenant Moraga was first buried was not the church dedicated in April, 1791, is enforced by an entry in the Burial Register cited by Engelhardt in his "Dolores or Mission San Francisco" (p. 117). It reads:

"April 8, 1791. They have transferred from the old church to the new one the remains of the body of the late Don José Joaquín Moraga, Founder and Captain and Commander of the neighboring presidio."

In 1787 Governor Fages, reporting upon the condition of the missions, speaks of the poor church edifices at Missions San Francisco, Santa Bárbara, and San Buenaventura. In view of this statement it would seem that the present church, praised by Vancouver and others, was probably constructed after this date. Indeed it may have been an enlargement or lengthening of the previous adobe edifice, begun in 1782. The absence of documents between 1782 and 1793 makes impossible the settlement of this question, although certain internal evidence of the fachada points to some such conclusion.

When Vancouver visited the establishment in 1792 and 1793, he found that "the houses formed a small oblong square; the side of the church composed one end, near which were the apartments allotted to the Fathers." He found the buildings to be constructed in "the manner of those of the presidio," but "more finished, better contrived . . . larger and much more cleanly." He speaks especially of the "church which for its magnitude, architecture, and internal decorations did great credit to the constructors."

After December, 1794 records of building activities are frequent. Thus we learn that in that year a granary about 150' long and roofed with tiles, together with nineteen new Indian houses, were completed. Moreover, many of the older houses, originally covered with thatch, were given tile roofs, as was a portion of the church. During this year and the next, an irrigation ditch was constructed to enclose a pasture and grain field, and a storehouse 180' long was erected.

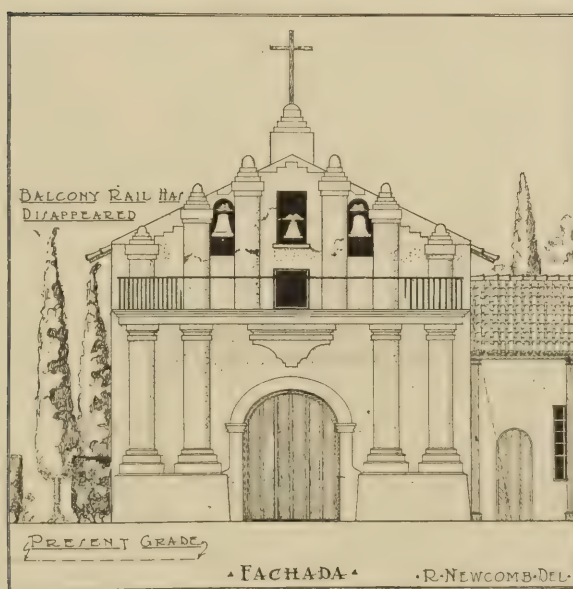
In 1798 the reports indicate that additions to the church made possible the completion of the quadrangle. The next year the cause of cleanliness was promoted by the construction of a bathhouse in which "bathtubs" were provided. A large caldron for the heating of water was installed and provision made for bathing the sick.

Additions to the mission structures continued into the next century, but, as these were mainly Indian houses, they have little interest for us here. By 1810 the church seems to have been completed and decorated, for we learn from the reports of that year that two side-altars of carved wood, brilliantly gilded, had been installed. A statue of San Miguel and six large paintings, four in handsome gold frames, had been placed in the church and a set of holy-oil stocks, a reliquary, and a pyxis of silver had been acquired. The church, thus adorned, prompted Lieutenant Camille de Roguefeuil of the French Navy to say, in 1817, "The church is kept in good order and handsomely decorated, the sacred utensils and the pictures are the work of Mexican artists and exceed in richness and taste what is generally seen of this kind in most of the towns of the second and third rank in France or Germany."

Vancouver speaks of the manufacture upon the mission looms of coarse blankets made from wool produced in the neighborhood, and praised the ingenuity of the Fathers in teaching the art. In 1797 Governor Borica ordered that mission-made blankets, rather than those imported from Mexico, should be used at the presidio. The manufacture of pottery was begun in 1796, apparently under the direction of Nariano Tapia, who seems to have been well qualified to teach the art. Thus while agriculture never flourished at San Francisco the manufactures did.



MISSION SAN FRANCISCO DE ASÍS (DOLORES)

MISSION SAN FRANCISCO DE ASÍS
MEASURED DRAWING OF FACHADA

General Vallejo describes the mission as having, in 1826, a church, residence for the padres, granaries, warehouses for merchandise, a guard-house for the soldiers, a prison, orchard, tannery, soap factory, and cemetery. Of these structures only the church with the cemetery at its side remains. The photograph (p. 293) will indicate the present condition of the church, the adobe walls of which are now protected by a wooden covering, the fachada alone remaining uncovered.

Careful examination of the fachada reveals the fact that some changes have been made since its original completion. Especially is it to be noted that the original roof-line has been changed, and that the present roof appears more as a protecting canopy to the ancient fachada than as its logical crown. The writer presents herewith a restoration of the fachada as it must have looked when the structure was in its prime (p. 293). This restoration is based entirely upon internal evidence and not upon documentary proofs of any kind. It will be noted also that the grade has been lowered more than three feet and that the ancient balcony rail has been removed. An old tintype of 1849, although it shows the present form of the roof, shows the structures at the right of the church and the balcony that the writer has included in his drawing. It is apparent that the fachada weathered badly in the moist climate of San Francisco, so that when the rebuilding of the edifice, already mentioned, took place, the ungainly protecting roof that now mars the building was constructed.

The old cemetery, now much overgrown, is an interesting place and contains some quaint stones, among them that of Don Luis Argüello, the first governor of Alta California under the Mexican régime (1823-1825). The monument of white stone is protected by a cast-iron fence of a type and pattern popular fifty years ago. In the early days of the mission the cemetery was the burial-place of the mission Indians and their padres. Within a few years, however, settlers who died were also buried here. There are many Mexican, Spanish, and American names, such names as Casey going far to prove the descent of the early American settlers of San Francisco. Lovely pepper trees hang low over the headstones, and roses and honeysuckle run riot over the all-but-forgotten graves.

MISSION SANTA CLARA DE ASÍS

When Captain Rivera reached Monterey from the south and found that the Mission of San Francisco had already been founded, he lost no time in making preparations for carrying out the second of the foundations directed by the Viceroy. His action was undoubtedly hastened by a letter, received in September, in which the Viceroy clearly indicated that he believed the foundation already accomplished. Rivera took with him Padre Tomás de la Peña, and by the latter part of November had found a site for the new mission about three leagues from the southern end of San Francisco Bay. The land was well watered by springs, which seemed adequate for irrigation purposes; there were fine oak trees in the vicinity, and a considerable number of Indians awaiting Christianization.

On November 30th Rivera returned to Monterey to bring up the troops, Father Murguía, and the equipment, which had been stored at San Carlos awaiting the foundation. Reaching the site, a cross was constructed, raised, and blessed, and, after a shelter of boughs had been made ready, Padre Peña said the first Mass on January 12, 1777.

Speaking of the site, Padre Palóu says: "This mission, we may say, occupies the best site of any of the acquired territory. . . . It has splendid lands for planting and harvests fine crops of wheat and corn as well as all sorts of vegetables. . . . Besides an abundance of water in the river, there are several springs which fill the ditches made to carry the water to the fields for irrigation."³

Indeed the first site proved unsatisfactory, due to this abundance of water. In 1779 the river twice flooded the habitations and a move to higher ground was clearly imperative. Consequently during the years of 1780-1782, the padres moved the mission to the second site, not far from the Southern Pacific Railway station of the modern city of Santa Clara, laying there the cornerstone of the new church on November 19, 1781. This structure, three years in building, was complete and dedicated on May 15, 1784. This church was designed by Padre Murguía and is said to have been the finest structure in California up to this time.

³ Palóu: *Op. cit.*; 213.

The architect died four days before the consecration of his edifice and was buried in the church by Padre Palóu, who had been summoned from San Francisco. Padre Serra, Governor Fages, and Lieutenant Moraga attended the dedication, which was somewhat saddened by the passing of Padre Murguía, the guiding spirit of the establishment.

In the fall of 1777 the pueblo of San José de Guadalupe⁴ (now the thriving city of San José) was founded. The padres protested that the pueblo was too near the mission, and the encroachments of the settlers upon mission lands formed the basis of many a bitter argument. These difficulties were not finally settled until, in 1801, the boundaries were surveyed, marked, and agreed upon. The mission and the pueblo, three miles away, were connected by a broad *alameda* or tree-lined promenade. This ancient street is still the principal drive between the modern cities.

The mission prospered at the second site, and, in 1790, Santa Clara was third in Indian population. In 1795, due to this growth, it was necessary to enlarge the church, which was lengthened twenty-four feet, the roof, at the same time, being covered with tiles. Between 1793 and 1795 twenty-three Indian houses of adobe were added, and, by 1798, all the mission structures were roofed with tiles. In 1795 an irrigation ditch, half a league long, nine feet wide, and five feet deep, was completed. On August 12, 1802, a grand high altar, imported for the church from Mexico, was set in place and consecrated.

The earthquake of 1812 wrought great havoc at Santa Clara, and this and structural defects finally compelled the reconstruction of the church and other buildings. The present church, only the sanctuary of which remains, was begun in 1817-1818 and dedicated in 1822. Our view, taken from an old painting made in 1849, will give an idea of how this structure must have appeared before secularization. This third group of buildings formed the nucleus from which have arisen the structures of the present-day University of Santa Clara. Padre Reál was the last of the Franciscan fathers. He was authorized, in 1846, to sell the mission lands in order to support himself and the church and to pay off

⁴ Not to be confused with the mission of the same name.



MISSION SANTA CLARA DE ASÍS, FROM A PAINTING MADE IN 1849



MISSION SAN JOSÉ DE GUADALUPE

the debts which had accumulated during the days of mismanagement that resulted from the secularization.

Father Reál was in charge of the church, then only a parish chapel, when Bishop Alemany arrived in 1850 to take charge of the Diocese of San Francisco. The Bishop, desiring to save the remnants of the mission and also to establish a college, invited the Society of Jesus to Santa Clara. The invitation was accepted, and on March 19, 1851, Father John Nobili, S. J., arrived at the mission to begin his work. He adapted the old adobe buildings to the requirements of the school, and, in 1855, a charter was granted giving the institution the status of a university. The school was known, however, as Santa Clara College until 1911, when the name was changed to the University of Santa Clara.

The earthquakes of 1856-1858 so thoroughly ruined the church, which was used as a chapel of the college, that it became necessary by 1885 to almost completely remove it. Scarcely anything of the old nave remains, although portions of the sanctuary are still in place. Some portions of the ancient cloisters remain, however, and here and there are to be seen remnants of the old mission vineyards and olive orchards. In the church the old pulpit is still in use, while in the museum many relics of mission days, such as sanctuary chairs, candlesticks, paintings, an old choral, vestments, altars, crucifixes, and altar-card cases, are to be seen. It seems particularly fitting that this old school of the padres should be perpetuated by this modern university, which numbers among its courses one in architecture.

MISSION OF SAN JOSÉ DE GUADALUPE

Fifteen miles north of Mission Santa Clara and almost opposite the southern extremity of San Francisco Bay stands the remnants of the Mission of San José de Guadalupe. This mission, together with four others, was authorized by the Viceroy in order that certain gaps in the mission chain of that day (1797) might be filled. Governor Borica was convinced that if the missions might be increased in number, and thereby placed closer together, the matter of defence would not be so acute, nor so expensive, as it was then proving. Therefore he set about to get the sanction of the Viceroy to a program calling for the establishment of five new

missions. This the Viceroy agreed to, with the stipulation that no more soldiers should be required. This agreed to by the Governor, the Viceroy sent word to the guardian of San Fernando College that establishment should proceed and that \$1000 per mission would be provided as foundation expenses. The guardian in turn recruited ten padres to send to California to make these foundations, and on June 11, 1797, San José, named in honor of the spouse of the Virgin, was established, Padre-presidente Lasuén performing the rites and placing in charge the first ministers, Isidoro Barcenilla and Agustín Merino. At the termination of the foundation ceremonies, the party returned to Mission Santa Clara, but, within the next week, the guard and laborers were sent to begin the construction of the buildings. The temporary structures were soon ready, and before the end of that year some thirty converts had been made.

Langsdorff, who visited the mission in April, 1806, had this to say of the mission and its resources:

"The situation of the Mission is admirably chosen, and, according to the universal opinion, this Mission will in a few years be the richest and best in California. The only disadvantage is, that there are no large trees very near. . . . To compensate this disadvantage, there are in the neighborhood of the Mission chalk-hills and excellent brick earth, so that most of their buildings are of brick. . . .

"Although it is only eight years since they were begun, the buildings are already of very considerable extent; the quantity of corn in the granaries far exceeded my expectations. . . . The kitchen-garden is well laid out, and kept in very good order; the soil is everywhere rich and fertile, and yields ample returns. The fruit-trees are still very young, but their produce is as good as could be expected. A small rivulet runs through the garden, which preserves a constant moisture. Some vineyards have been planted within a few years, which yield excellent wine, sweet and resembling Malaga."

Three years after Langsdorff's visit the new church of chalk-stone, to replace the older wooden structure, was completed. This church remained for many years after secularization, but an earthquake of 1868 completed the ruination that had begun with the decay attending the period of secularization. A modern parish church occupies the site of the old church and only a portion of the mission-house remains. The church was dedicated April 23, 1809, by Padre Arroyo de la Cuesta, its designer, before a large gathering from the neighboring pueblo of Santa Clara,

visiting padres, Indians, and soldiers. The cemetery beside it was dedicated three months later.

Padre Narciso Durán, for a long time Padre-presidente, was for twenty-seven years padre-in-charge at San José, and under his direction the mission reached, in 1824, its maximum population of 1806. The Padre at this time reported nearly 7000 cattle, 850 horses, and 12,000 sheep upon the mission lands—truly a great landed estate. The mission continued prosperous up to the time of secularization, at which Jesús Vallejo, commissioner of secularization, and Padre González Rúbio returned an inventory totalling over \$155,000 with all debts paid.

Back of the remnants of the old mission-house two avenues, flanked by olive trees and crossing at right angles, mark part of the rich garden and orchard land of the padres, which to this day is kept in good condition by the Dominican Sisters who conduct the orphanage near by. The old olive trees, now gnarled and twisted, still bear plentifully, supplying oil and pickled fruit for the table. The old mission vineyard remained until about twenty-five years ago, when, the vines becoming infected by some disease unknown in the mission days, were removed and not replaced. The wine of San José was famous in mission days and long after the days of secularization was used for sacramental purposes.

Several relics used in the old church are preserved in the modern, among them the old hammered-copper baptismal font, about three feet in diameter, which retains its surmounting cross of wrought iron. Two of the old bells hang in the new church and bear the simple inscriptions:

“S. S. JOSÉ, AÑO DE 1826”

and

“S. S. JOSEPH 1815, AVE MARÍA PURÍSIMA.”

ASISTENCIA OF SAN RAFAEL ARCÁNGEL

The mission chain, originally conceived as extending from San Diego to Monterey, was, as we have seen, extended to San Francisco in 1776, but it was not until well after the opening of the nineteenth century that the establishments made their way beyond the bay. The first of the two establishments built north of the bay was San Rafael, Arcángel, which was begun as an asis-

tencia for Mission San Francisco de Asís. The neophytes who became ill at San Francisco were transferred across the bay to the sheltered nook on the east side of the northern peninsula. This situation, not open, as was San Francisco, to the chill, damp, and sweeping winds from the ocean, proved a satisfactory one. Here, on December 14, 1817, Padre Sarriá, in the presence of Padres Abella, Gil y Taboada, and Durán, established the little settlement that was for seventeen years to serve as a mission-house and "health-resort" for plague-ridden San Francisco. Padre Gil was placed in charge.

The buildings of San Rafael have long since completely disappeared, but the old drawing, herewith reproduced (p. 304), will give some notion of the appearance of the buildings as they looked about 1818, when the structure comprising the church and mission-house was erected. As will be noted, the buildings were simple. The church was similar in character to the mission-house, the fachada of which was flanked by a simple portico with squared wooden posts, while the bells of the towerless church were suspended from a wooden frame. The severely plain fachada was pierced by a single portal, above which was a star-shaped window, while at the left of the church was a small shed-like addition which served as a baptistry. These structures of adobe began soon to decay, but, as late as 1846, they were in condition to house the troops under General John C. Frémont, who occupied them for a week.

The population of San Rafael seems to have reached about 1150 by the year 1828 in spite of the fact that nearly 100 of the San Rafaelites were sent to San Francisco Solano to live when it was founded in 1823. In 1834 Ignacio Martínez took charge under the secularization order and returned an inventory showing total assets of \$18,474, with debts of \$3488. Among these assets are noted property in the way of boats, church ornaments, and mission library, in addition to the usual buildings, live stock, orchards, tools, and implements.

Upon secularization San Rafael became a parish of the first class. In 1845, when Pico's order that the Indians return to the lands of San Rafael was disregarded, the mission farms were offered for sale and notice published. They were sold the next

year to Antonio Suñol and A. M. Pico for \$8000, but the purchasers did not gain possession and their title was later invalidated. The present town of San Rafael is the county-seat of Marin County and a pretty little city. Many San Francisco business people make their home here and daily cross the Bay in going to and from business.

MISSION SAN FRANCISCO SOLANO

The second of the establishments "across the bay" and the twenty-first in the California chain was San Francisco Solano, which, established July 4, 1823, was situated in the Sonoma Valley, forty-three miles north of San Francisco. In 1822 a conference between Padre José Altamira and Governor Argüello resulted in the plan to transfer San Francisco de Asís, with its asistencia San Rafael, to a situation north of San Pablo Bay. Of course no provincial governor or missionary priest had the right either to establish a new mission or to suppress an old one. Notwithstanding this fact, Padre Altamira and some politicians, accompanied by nineteen soldiers, selected a site in the Sonoma Valley and on July 4, 1823, formally established the mission, illegally, be it noted. The Padre-presidente, Father Sarria, righteously indignant, protested both the foundation and proposed suppressions. The final result of a great deal of talk was the decision to give San Francisco Solano the status of a full-fledged and independent mission and continue the other two. Padre Altamira was the first minister.

The first church at Solano was built of timbers but was used only until a larger adobe structure, with tiled roof and corridor, was completed toward the end of 1824. This was the church which, in ruined condition, persists to our day. The same year a granary and houses for the padres and escolta were built and within the next year all the other necessary structures were provided and a large number of fruit-trees and vines were already thriving. Within seven years the mission herd and flocks are said to have contained 8000 head, while the annual crops amounted to nearly 2000 bushels.

San Francisco Solano had a direct connection with the political situation, especially with the question of Russian encroach-

ment north of San Francisco Bay. With the secularization order of 1834, the pueblo of Sonoma, the forerunner of the modern city, was established. This was to afford homes for a party of colonists brought from Mexico at the time by Híjar and Padrés. In order to protect these colonists, overawe the Russians, and check American immigration by way of the north, the soldiers from Presidio San Francisco were transferred to Sonoma at the same time. Thus our mission became a pueblo and the eventual centre of the Bear Flag Republic.

The church and mission-house, as they appeared before the addition of the wooden tower, are shown in our painting (p. 304). The mission bears some resemblance to San Rafael. It has the same simple church, the same low-lying mission-house at right angles to the church, and a similar porch in front of the mission-house supported upon square wooden posts. Instead of a stellar choir window, it had originally a square-headed light and a rectangular door. Both of these features, as well as the side windows, were eventually modified in favor of the circular-headed openings which the building still retains. In 1835, it is said, General Vallejo, a prominent resident of the district, had constructed the ugly belfry, but this feature, in its present state, appears to the writer as of a date far more recent than 1835.

The church is not large, being about thirty-six feet long and sixteen feet wide. A vestibule some fifteen feet square precedes the nave proper, and from this, steps lead to the choir-loft. The fachada of the church, some six feet thick, is of adobe faced with burned brick; the lateral walls are of plain adobe. The church has been badly handled. In 1880 the Catholic Church of California sold the mission structures and grounds to a Mr. Schocken for \$3000. This money was used to build the modern parish church. The mission was used for service until the completion of the new church, after which time, for a period of about twenty-five years, it served its owner as a storehouse for hay. In 1903 William Randolph Hearst purchased the old landmark for \$5000 and presented it to the State of California with the intention that it would be preserved as an historic landmark. It is still in the possession of the State.

The mission-house, nearly a hundred feet long, is not so well



ASISTENCIA SAN RAFAEL ARCÁNGEL. FROM AN OLD PAINTING



MISSION SAN FRANCISCO DE SOLANO. FROM AN OLD PAINTING

preserved as the church, which, serving some practical purpose, has been kept in a passable state of repair. The modern shingle roof of the church has withstood the storms, while the dilapidated tile roof of the mission-house has long ago fallen in. The mission-house, divided by a wall just under the ridge of the roof, afforded two rows of rooms, each row of which faced the porches flanking the structure front and back. The ceiling beams of this building indicate that the attic was originally used, probably, as a dormitory for the Indian youth, as was the case in one or two other missions. The roofs, constructed of rough unhewn rafters, covered with crosspieces and tiles, continued down to form the porches, front and rear. At the front, suspended from a rack, originally hung the lone bell of San Francisco Solano, long since silenced. Thus we end the story of the last of that cordon of ecclesiastical establishments that extended from the Mexican border up the coast of California for a distance of seven hundred miles—a wonderful monument to the religious zeal, missionary spirit, and practical ingenuity of these sons of Saint Francis!



San Francisco Bay Area

PART III
THE HISTORIC HOUSES

CHAPTER XXVI

THE ESTUDILLO HOUSE AT OLD TOWN, SAN DIEGO

OF THE missions and their architectural expressions we have had considerable to say. The mission was, of course, the most important of our Hispanic types. That there was, however, another series of structures, less pretentious, but just as interesting, must not be forgotten. The next few chapters will have to do with these—the interesting domestic types of Spanish California—the *casa de campo* and the *casa de pueblo*. The *casa de campo* was the farm-house upon the great estate, the *casa de pueblo* the town dwelling, of which there are many still to be seen at San Diego, San Gabriel, Santa Bárbara, or Los Angeles.

In the early days of California each *ranchero* (farmer) or *poblador* (town-dweller) was his own architect and builder, and, like the mission fathers, he favored the time-honored and easily acquired sun-dried brick as a structural material. Little wood was used except for window and door frames, doors, and roofing timbers. The timber-framed roof was usually covered with burned tiles, but roofs of tule thatch were used upon occasion. The rooms of the country houses, as well as those of the more pretentious of the town houses, usually enclosed three sides of a court left open upon the fourth. The court often had a fountain at its centre and was planted with trees and flowers. There were, in addition to the family apartments, rooms for the servants, a room for implements, a room for cheese and milk, and another for hides and tallow. These, with the guest-room and a small family chapel, made up the architectural ensemble.

The rooms opened directly upon a corridor running around the court. These corridors were similar to those at the missions except that there were no arches; wooden posts or, in some cases, brick piers being employed to support the protecting roof of tiles. Often a porch, similar in construction, crossed the front of the house. In general the dwellings were far simpler than the mission structures and unadorned. The houses were plastered inside and out and whitewashed. Windows were barred, as in Spain and Mexico, with either iron or wooden grilles. Often the

windows were small and unglazed and the walls thick, all of these conditions operating to make the rooms dark and cheerless. Frequently there was no heat in the house proper, the only fireplace being in the *cocina* (kitchen), where the meals were prepared. This was due partly to the favoring climate and partly to what Bancroft¹ calls the Spaniards' "superstitious aversion to fires in dwellings." On the whole the habitations must have been cold and cheerless during the short rainy season, but, most likely, very pleasant during the greater part of the year.

Such a house as we have described was the Estudillo Homestead, situated in Old San Diego and not more than twenty minutes by electric car from the heart of the modern city. "Old Town," the birthplace of California, is not the site of the present city. It is a sleepy little Spanish hamlet situated north and west of the modern San Diego on a low-lying neck of land between Mission Bay and San Diego Bay. Here the first mission was established; here was situated the first presidio, the first pueblo, and, until the founding of the present San Diego in 1868, here was the centre of the political, military, and civil life of the southern end of California.

Casa Estudillo was built in 1825 by Don José Antonio Estudillo, a pure Castilian, whose family figured largely in Californian history during the mission period. José Antonio's father was José María Estudillo, at one time comandante of the Presidio of Monterey, and José Antonio himself took an important part in the political and commercial affairs of his day. In 1840 Inspector Hartnell removed Pío Pico as administrator of the secularized Mission San Luis Rey and appointed in his stead Don Antonio. The Picos in their brief period of administration had practically ruined the mission properties, diverting to their private use much of the wealth that, by law, belonged to the Indians. But so far as we know Don Antonio labored consistently to withstand the efforts of the Pico family to get hold of the lands again and cheat the rightful Indian owners.

The Estudillo House remained in possession of the family for three generations, or until 1887, when Salvador Estudillo abandoned it upon removing to Los Angeles. The Estudillo family

¹ Bancroft: *California Pastoral*; 140.



ESTUDILLO HOUSE, "OLD TOWN", SAN DIEGO, RAMONA'S MARRIAGE PLACE. WESTERN FACHADA



ESTUDILLO HOUSE. CORNER DETAIL



ESTUDILLO HOUSE, "OLD TOWN", SAN DIEGO. THE PATIO



ESTUDILLO HOUSE, OVEN AND KITCHEN

was known for its culture and its genuine Spanish hospitality, and, in the great days of the first half of the last century, the house was a favorite gathering-place for the best society of Southern California and the scene of many a splendid function. When Don Salvador removed to Los Angeles he left the place in charge of a faithless caretaker who, betraying the trust placed in him, sold off to treasure-seekers anything that they desired, be it the candlesticks or the great brass door-keys. A few years of such treatment reduced the place to the pitiful ruin that it was in 1910, when it was restored by Mr. John D. Spreckels, a public-spirited gentleman, who has always taken a wide interest in the historic and beautiful.

The house stands facing the ancient Plaza of "Old Town," where General Frémont first officially planted the American flag upon Southern California soil in 1846, but where the same standard had been unofficially raised in the days of the Mexican secession of 1829. The fact that Mrs. Helen Hunt Jackson made the little family chapel of the Estudillo's the marriage-place of Ramona, in her famous Indian novel of the same name, has given the house the romantic name of "Ramona's Marriage-place," and it is better known by that name than by its more authentic title.

The structure, consisting of twelve rooms and the chapel, is built around three sides of a patio or courtyard, some seventy-five feet wide by one hundred and fifty feet long, and faces north with its southern exposure towards the court. The entire structure is of adobe with walls from two to four feet in thickness. It is roofed with fine old Spanish tiles carried upon heavy timbers, the rough ends of which project through the walls, punctuating the eaves line with interesting spots of light, and casting, in the almost perpetual sunshine, most interesting shadows.

The roof is of the "shed" type, sloping toward the streets on all three fachadas and presenting, upon the patio side, a sheer wall against which the roofs of the corridors lean in the same picturesque manner so often noted in Italy and Spain. The corridor roofs produce a pretty contrast of color where they come against the cream plaster of the walls. Surely in such examples as this there should be much inspiration for modern domestic work. The timbers supporting the roof are bound together with

rawhide thongs, and nowhere are any nails visible. Many of the old doors, windows, and shutters remain in place and serve to acquaint one with the type of woodwork used in Spanish-Californian domestic architecture.

If, in the missions, life centred about the interior courts, the same was true in the home. Usually the exterior walls are more or less plain and severe, while the real beauties of architectural detail and planting are reserved for the inner courts. The patio of Casa Estudillo is one of the most interesting spots in all California and presents today as fine a picture as it ever made during the days of the Dons. At the centre of the intersecting paths is a circular pool with its rock fountain, pampas grass, and multi-colored lilies, while near it stands a gazing-globe, modern to be sure, but quite in keeping with the general spirit of the garden.

The patio is set with rare trees and beautiful plants. Flowering shrubs, climbing vines, roses, and dozens of old-fashioned flowers vie with one another, summer and winter, to present a lively panorama of color. At its extreme southern end the garden is bordered by beautiful yellow acacia, olive, and pepper trees, while scattered about between the shady, sanded paths, the botanically inclined will discover the orange, lemon, loquat, fig, mulberry, guava, zapata, and Catalina cherry. These old gardens of New Spain were useful as well as beautiful. Near the southern wall is to be seen a good example of an old Spanish *carreta* or ox-cart (p. 70), which for a long time was the only vehicle in all California.

At the extreme southern end of the eastern wing of the house is the old *cocina* with its fireplace for cooking, its iron and copper utensils, its old *armario* (cupboard), an old chair of curious design, and other things necessary to the culinary processes of the Spanish household. Just outside the door, near the arbor, is an interesting old Spanish *horno* (oven). It stands upon a rectangular base and is of the characteristic "bee-hive" type so prevalent in all Spanish-speaking lands. This oven was fired with wood, and it was necessary to draw the fire when the correct temperature for baking or roasting had been attained. The door of the oven is upon the side next the kitchen, the vent upon the opposite side.



ESTUDILLO HOUSE. "OLD TOWN", SAN DIEGO. CORRIDOR



ESTUDILLO HOUSE. INTERIOR OF KITCHEN

After the secularization of the missions by the Mexican Government many of the treasures of San Diego Mission, some four miles up the valley, were brought to the chapel of Casa Estudillo for safe-keeping. Seven of the bells from the mission were hung upon wooden beams in the patio, and, for many years thereafter, the little family chapel served as the only place of worship in San Diego, the parish priest, Father Ubach (the Father Gasparo of Mrs. Jackson's story), occupying an apartment near by. It was during this period that Mrs. Jackson visited San Diego to gather data for her book "Ramona," and, consequently, she makes the little chapel the "marriage-place" of her heroine. Thus the house is today better known as the setting of an episode in this wonderful story than it is as a casa de pueblo of the pastoral age of Alta California.

At the present time, the structure houses an interesting collection of historic relics, most of them relating to the early history of San Diego and California. The old comedor (dining-room), with its quaint fireplace, tile floor, and whitewashed walls, now serves as a writing-room for those who visit the museum. The room next, used as an art-gallery, has a number of old paintings, among them an interesting "Holy Trinity," in which the figures have triangular instead of circular halos. The Estudillo Room contains an old Spanish chest, the treasure-chest of Don Antonio. Here also are to be seen the first piano brought to California by way of Cape Horn in 1851, the first sewing-machine brought to the State, a chair used by the authoress of "Ramona," an interesting collection of Indian metates, and a number of drawings and paintings of the old missions.

In the "Horton" Room, so called for the founder of the modern San Diego, is preserved the furniture of "Father Horton," the old registers of the hotel which he conducted, and other relics. Among the notable features of the collection is a curious "Black Madonna" from Monserrat, Spain, which seems to have been carved from the trunk of an old tree. A "Saint Francis of Assisi," by Pasqual Pérez, purporting to be over three hundred years old, and a view of Camúlos Rancho, are among the more interesting of the paintings. A shrine from the old Mission of San Miguel near Loreto, Baja California, is perhaps as

interesting an object as the whole collection contains. It is said that the shrine was made in Spain in 1125 and brought to Mexico in 1745. Upon the doors are interesting paintings of Saints Peter and John the Baptist, and inside are statues depicting San Miguel conquering the Devil, a Pietà, and a "Madonna of the Rose."

When the restoration of 1910 was projected it was necessary to replace many parts of the original tile floors. A source of supply for these tiles was found at the site of the old dam of Mission San Diego. Thus we have preserved for us in the pavements of this old house, fragments of one of the earliest irrigation works of California.

Taken as a whole this old casa is an interesting and beautiful reminder of the pleasant and care-free life of the Dons of the Hispanic period. It has excellent domestic quality, and present-day architects of the Southwest would do well to study this and other domestic types as precedent for residential work. Many architects of so-called "mission" houses have apparently overlooked the value of these adobe houses of the Southwest, and desiring to do "architecture," have produced designs for residences that look more like churches than like human habitations. Thus they have missed the whole lesson that these honest, unassuming, and craftsmanlike structures teach.



Old Spanish Oven, Casa Estudillo, San Diego

CHAPTER XXVII

THE ARCHITECTURE OF SPANISH SANTA BÁRBARA

AMONG the several pueblos of the Hispanic period of California, one stands out distinctly from the rest as a centre of whatever there was of culture and refinement in the province. Dana in his "Two Years Before the Mast," and Alfred Robinson in his "Life in California," give frequent glimpses of life and society at Santa Bárbara. Both of these writers, to be sure, treat of the period just after the success of Mexican independence, but there is no reason to suspect that life was far different then from what it had been under Spanish dominion. As a matter of fact, Santa Bárbara, as well as most of the California pueblos, may be said to have had her most flourishing period after the days of Spanish rule. The Spanish period was the era of the mission, the Mexican period the era of the pueblo.

The foundation of Santa Bárbara dates from April 21, 1782, when Captain José Francisco Ortega, accompanied by Governor Felipe de Neve and Padre Junípero Serra, marched thither from the newly founded Mission of San Buenaventura, selected the site, and formally established the Presidio of Santa Bárbara. The venerable Padre had supposed that, as soon as the presidio was established and temporarily housed, the foundation of the mission would immediately follow. The Governor had different views, however, and felt that the position of the Spaniards amongst unknown tribes would be insecure until the fortifications were reasonably complete. With great disappointment the old Padre left Santa Bárbara for his home at San Carlos and died there, in 1784, two years after the establishment of the presidio and fully two years before the founding of the mission.

It is with the presidio, however, and particularly with one of its commanders, Captain José de la Guerra y Noriega, that we are here concerned. The old presidio was situated on the four modern city squares that corner at the intersection of Santa Bárbara and Cañon Perdido (Lost Cannon) Streets. In plan the structure was simple and consisted of an open patio about 320 feet square, surrounded on its four sides by the quarters of the officers and soldiers, and these, in turn, enclosed by

corrals and a high wall. The corners of the presidio pointed the cardinal directions.

We must not assume that the structures were laid out with anything like mathematical precision. As a matter of fact there was neither architect nor engineer with the party, so that our diagrammatic plan (p. 65) does not record the inaccuracies that must have crept into its construction. However, as a practical outpost it was admirably adapted to the conditions, and presented, when finished, an open space defended by three barriers—the outer high wall and the two walls of the enclosing houses.

The buildings were built of adobe, laid up in mortar, and, resting upon solid stone foundations, were plastered inside and out and whitewashed. The roofs were of tile. The main gate, near the middle of the southeastern side, was 20 feet wide and always carefully guarded. The guard-house was at the left as one entered, the storehouses at the right. Almost opposite the gate was the church and next to it the house of the comandante. Adjacent to his house was that of the *alferez* (ensign) and on the other side of the *capilla*, the house of the chaplain. Thus the officers' houses and the church occupied one side, the soldiers' quarters the flanking sides. The outer wall, also of adobe and upon a stone foundation, was seven feet thick and twelve feet high. At the eastern corner was a bastion, in which was mounted a small iron cannon. Two other iron pieces and a brass six-pounder completed the artillery. A water-supply was available from the springs near by, but in case of siege, a well in one corner of the patio was used.

Vancouver, the English traveller, leaves us a pretty picture of the presidio. (See Chapter VI.) His praise, coupled with the reports of Engineer Córdoba upon Presidio San Diego and other forts, would go far toward proving that Santa Bárbara was the best of the California strongholds. That this is in no sense high praise will be agreed when the material of which it was built—primitive adobe—is considered.

The superiority of Santa Bárbara was doubtless due to the quality of her commanding officers. The first comandante was Captain José Francisco Ortega, a man of "indomitable energy

and untiring in his efforts to establish a presidio in which no essential should be wanting." He built a large stone reservoir fed by the waters of Mission Creek, for irrigation purposes, established orchards near the presidio, and encouraged farming on a large scale. He was succeeded by Captain Felipe Goycochea, who remained in command until 1802. It was he who completed the presidial structures and was in command when Vancouver visited Santa Bárbara. We may infer from his long term that he was an efficient and courteous officer. He subsequently became governor of Baja California.

Goycochea was succeeded by Lieutenant Raimundo Carrillo, who was in charge for five years. It was during his period of office that the earthquakes of 1806 damaged the mission and the presidio chapel. To his military labors were added the burden of making the needed repairs, but he is said to have left a record of intelligent efficiency.

Carrillo was succeeded by Captain José Dario Argüello, who was comandante for nine years. He was an enterprising and public-spirited citizen, and one of his important acts was the establishment of public schools. He, doubtless, would have accomplished much more during his administration had it not been for the disastrous earthquakes of 1812, which destroyed almost completely the presidio as well as most of the mission structures in the district under his jurisdiction.

Captain Argüello was a Mexican by birth. He arose rapidly, due to his intrinsic worth, and became one of the most influential men in California, which was his place of residence for thirty-four years. He served for a short time as acting governor of Alta California and for several years as governor of Baja California. His son, Don Luis, was the first governor of Alta California under the Mexican régime.

Argüello was succeeded by Captain José Antonio de la Guerra y Noriega, without doubt the strongest of the presidial commanders of Santa Bárbara, and a man who would have reached a high position, politically, had it not been for the fact that he was a Spaniard by birth and consequently not trusted by the anti-Spanish party at Mexico City. At the time he assumed charge, the presidio was completely restored and in the

best condition of any in California. Thus, with little work along the line of construction, he was able to concentrate upon the duties of his office, as well as improve his private fortune. For twenty-seven years he was in charge of the military district of Santa Bárbara and wielded an influence out of all proportion to his military position.

Captain de la Guerra was born in Spain, in 1779, the son of a union of two important Spanish families, and he always retained the name of his mother, Noriega, as a part of his surname. His boyhood tendencies pointed toward the priesthood, but his parents discouraged him in this and sent him to Mexico to enter the mercantile business of an uncle, Pedro Noriega, in whose employ he seems to have remained but a short time. In 1798 he entered the office of *Habilitado-general* (paymaster-general) Carbaca, by whose influence he was enrolled as a cadet in the army, and attached to the San Diego company. Within two years he was appointed *alferez* (ensign) of the Monterey company and took up residence in the north.

Between the years of 1802 and 1806 he was *habilitado* (paymaster) at Monterey, and in 1804 he married Antonia, the daughter of Raimundo Carrillo, who, as we have seen, preceded him in command at Santa Bárbara. In 1806, he was promoted to a lieutenancy and stationed at Santa Bárbara, but between the years of 1806 and 1809 he was *habilitado* at San Diego. Beginning with the year 1808 he received large consignments of goods from his uncle in Mexico, and, by means of the profits resulting from the advantageous sales thereof, greatly improved his financial condition.

From 1815 on, he was *comandante* at Santa Bárbara, and soon made a place for himself among the best citizens at that place. Promoted to a captaincy in 1818, he continued to wield an ever-increasing influence, and, although he was not able to hold office himself, due to the attitude of the Mexican officials at the capital, he *was* able, by virtue of the trust placed in his judgment, to control the activities of many of those who did hold office. At all times he acted as a kind of treasurer and financial adviser to the *padres* and was looked upon by the people of Santa Bárbara as "the patriarch to whom the people" could "apply

as a matter of course to settle their controversies." "No man in California," says Bancroft, "ever came so near, by peaceful, legitimate means, absolute control of his district."

He remained in charge of the military district until April, 1842, at which time he retired to the direction of his business and the management of his estates, two ranchos of which, the San Julian and the National, had been granted him by Governor Alvarado. In his later years he lived quietly at his home, Casa de la Guerra at Santa Bárbara, where he died in 1858, leaving a hundred direct descendants.

Casa de la Guerra, the mansion which the Captain built as the family home, was begun about 1819 and completed in 1826. Like the Estudillo House, the structure surrounds three sides of a patio with open corridors on all three sides. The casa, like the buildings of the vanished presidio, stands several steps above the patio and not on the same level, as at Casa Estudillo. Originally the corridors extended the full length of the wings of the house, but, subsequently, the end bays were walled up to form small rooms. The roofs of the corridors were at one time carried upon brick piers twenty inches square, but, as an earthquake disturbed these, they were replaced by the wooden posts. The walls of the house are of adobe and stand upon heavy stone foundations. Originally they were plastered and whitewashed, but, as time went on, wooden siding was introduced to protect the weathering adobe. In recent years this siding has been removed and the walls re-stuccoed and tinted, so that today they present almost the original appearance. The roofs have been re-covered with red "Mission" tiles, that are far more appropriate than American shingles could possibly be.

In the old days there was a garden at the rear of the casa, made accessible by means of a corridor running directly through the house upon the axis of the patio. In this garden stood the small, two-storied apartment of adobe shown in the older view of the house. The upper part of this structure served as the library of Captain de la Guerra. In the early days of California the only libraries of consequence were those at the missions, but, as time went on, the more cultured families imported libraries of standard works. Much opposition was generated against the importa-



DE LA GUERRA HOUSE, SANTA BARBARA, AS IT LOOKED SOME YEARS AGO



DE LA GUERRA HOUSE, SANTA BÁRBARA. THE PATIO FROM THE SOUTHEAST



DE LA GUERRA HOUSE, SANTA BÁRBARA. THE PATIO LOOKING NORTH

tion of any but religious books sanctioned by the Church, and in one or two cases we hear of otherwise respectable citizens being excommunicated for the reading of books forbidden by the Church. Vallejo, comandante of San Francisco Presidio, who owned, perhaps, the best private library in California, together with José Castro and Juan Alvarado, both of whom were later governors of the province, found themselves in this predicament in 1831. As far as our knowledge goes, Captain de la Guerra's library was never molested. Bancroft has a note that the books were largely scientific and religious, and thus not open to the censure of the priests. With the growing encroachment of business upon what was, in the old days of the pueblo, a residence section, the "library" has been removed and in its stead we have the ugly sky-line of the modern business district.

Adjoining the passage that leads from the front corridor to the garden in the rear was the bodega (wine-cellar), where the master of the house kept the choice wines which made his hospitality famous. His son, Don Pablo, who succeeded to the possession of the old mansion, was even fonder of fine wines than his father, and is said to have been rather too much addicted to wines, brandy, and cards. The father, as master of over two hundred thousand acres, the producer of over \$100,000 worth of cattle annually, and one of the most prominent men socially and politically in his district, was compelled to entertain lavishly and often. A large bodega was therefore an essential under the prevailing social scheme.

The old Casa de la Guerra was the setting of many a splendid social event in the early history of the city. An interesting story is told of how once the Captain averted a serious rupture between the Governor and the military authorities by inviting all parties concerned to a great party at his house, where, when the fine food and good wines had done their best to make the event a pleasant social success, he proposed a scheme that would let all parties concerned out with saved faces. The story goes that hands were shaken all around and a rousing health was drunk to the host.

This, then, was the joyous, hospitable life that was lived in these casas of California. There is a measure of that hospitality written into the broad overhang of the red-tiled corridors that

flank the pleasant and inviting patio. The De la Guerra House was passed on to Don Pablo, himself prominent in Californian affairs, at one time administrator of the custom-house at Monterey, a member of the constitutional convention of '49, and later a State senator for several terms and acting lieutenant-governor. He was United States marshal after the American occupation, and served a long term as district judge. His genial temperament made the casa ever a pleasant social resort.

From him the house passed to a daughter, and, as a result, is still in the hands of the De la Guerra family. There it stands today surrounded by the structures of the modern business district. The gardens are no more, and so the patio has bestowed upon it the care that was formerly expended upon a far larger area. But, in the old days, the De la Guerra gardens were famous. The old Plaza, an open space several hundred feet long, that originally occupied the block directly in front of the mansion and was surrounded by less capacious casas de pueblo, has now been usurped by the modern city hall and fire-engine house, thus seriously marring an interesting area. That the casa itself is in excellent condition and the grounds well cared for, the photographs will testify.

It is not just certain when the first official grant of pueblo land was made at Santa Bárbara. The earliest deed recorded dates from 1835, and was a grant to Octaviano Gutierrez of a parcel of land, one hundred varas square, situated between the presidio and the mission, to be used as a homestead. What sort of a habitation he built is not now plain, but it was probably of little consequence.

The first residence of any pretensions built outside the presidial walls was probably the interesting Casa Arrellanes, which stands today at a distance of less than one hundred feet from where the eastern corner of the old presidio formerly stood. The casa was begun by a Spaniard in 1795, who built, presumably upon land without title, one end of the present house. At least two additions as large as the original house have since been made to meet the desires of subsequent owners. In the early days the structure served both as a residence and as a store for the sale of general merchandise and spirits. It finally came into the



ARRELLANES HOUSE, SANTA BÁRBARA



CASA CARRILLO, SANTA BÁRBARA



CASA CARRILLO, SANTA BÁRBARA. THE RESTORED PATIO



29 EAST DE LA GUERRA STREET, SANTA BÁRBARA. EXTERIOR



29 EAST DE LA GUERRA STREET, SANTA BÁRBARA. THE PATIO

possession of Theodoro Arrellanes, whose family and descendants occupied it for over two generations. Due to a public-spirited movement in Santa Bárbara, looking toward the preservation of the old landmarks, the house finally passed into the use of the Associated Charities of the city, which organization makes use of it as headquarters for its charitable and social-service work.

Our photograph shows the west end of the structure, with its heavy buttresses and bay window, the latter probably an addition of later years, but still very much in keeping with the spirit of the original work. It will be noticed that the house is a long one with no attempt at patio treatment, such as we have seen at Casa de la Guerra. A veranda, formed by a continuation of the main roof over the tile-paved terrace, crosses the entire fachada of the house, making of it a delightfully pleasant place in the warm days of summer and an equally efficient shelter during the winter rains. The porch posts of the western end are different from those of the eastern. It would be difficult to learn the story of these interesting carved wooden posts, but, that they are in perfect keeping with the residential character of the building and contrast pleasantly with the heavy ecclesiastical arches of the mission, can scarcely be gainsaid.

When the Associated Charities took over the place, certain openings had to be provided to permit the lighting of the sewing-rooms of the society. This accounts for a large window at the back of the house, which, of course, does not affect any but the rear fachada. Heavy beamed ceilings, wooden panelled walls, and simple but interesting fireplaces make the interior quiet and restful and provide admirable rooms for the organization.

Another old "adobe" that has been purchased and renovated for community purposes is the old Casa Domínguez, at the corner of Santa Bárbara and Carrillo Streets (932 Santa Bárbara Street). This structure serves as a school of music conducted by the Santa Bárbara Community Chorus, under the direction of Arthur Farwell, the famous composer of Indian melodies and dramas.

One of the most attractive of all the Santa Bárbara houses, unfortunately now destroyed, was that of Don Antonio Aguirre,

a native of San Sebastián, Spain, and a son-in-law of José Antonio Estudillo, the builder of the interesting casa at San Diego. Aguirre, in Mexican days, was a large merchant and trader upon the coast and the owner of a number of ships, among them the *Joven Guipuzcoana* (Maid of Guipuzcoa), originally the *Roger Williams* of Boston, which he purchased in 1840, and by means of which he imported goods from Mexico and other southern countries for sale in California. He is said to have imported most of the materials with which he embellished his Santa Bárbara house and several of the artisans to whom he entrusted its erection.

After 1838 Don José made Santa Bárbara his residence, and in 1841 had prepared la Casa de Aguirre for the coming of his bride. His marriage to María del Rosário Estudillo took place at San Diego early in 1842, and returning home upon his own ship, *la Joven Guipuzcoana*, he invited García Diego, the newly appointed first bishop of California, and party to accompany him. Since the Bishop had decided to abandon his plan to establish his episcopal seat at San Diego, there was every hope that he would think favorably of Santa Bárbara. Don José recognized the importance that would attach to Santa Bárbara should it become the capital of the diocese, and sent his brig, *Leonidas*, in advance to announce the coming of the Bishop. If we can judge by Alfred Robinson's description of the reception accorded the Bishop upon his arrival at Santa Bárbara, it was a splendid event in the history of the pueblo.

Casa de Aguirre was a large, one-storied house. There was only one two-storied residence in Santa Bárbara at the time, that the Alpheus B. Thompson house, built in 1835. Like the Casa de la Guerra, the structure was raised upon a stone podium that called for an approach of steps at the front. The fachada was relieved by a veranda, and a passage led from this through the front wing of the house into the patio, which was completely surrounded by the numerous rooms. The parlor is described as having been large and handsomely furnished, with "floors of polished hard woods and walls daintily frescoed." Many of the furnishings Don José imported from Mexico and South America.

The patio is said to have presented a splendid appearance and

to have been unique in Californian architecture. It was flagged with stone and surrounded by a corridor with wooden floors. Delicately carved posts supported the corridor roofs, which were constructed in such a manner as to leave a circular opening above the stone pavement. This delightful patio, with its air and shade, must have been a pleasant place of retreat for the family, whose privacy was further safeguarded by the placing of a high stone wall around the orchard and flower-garden adjacent. La Casa Aguirre was a favorite meeting-place of the best society of Santa Bárbara, and in the great days of the pastoral period was the scene of many a fiesta.

Not far from where once stood the Casa Aguirre is still to be seen the Joaquín Carrillo House. This delightful old structure, now used as the studio for a decorator and dealer in antiques, boasts of having been the "birthplace of Isabel Larkin, the first American child born in California." The restored patio of Casa Carrillo is a place of interest and beauty.

Another fascinating group of adobes are those in East De la Guerra Street. The house at No. 29, now called the "Patio Tea-room," is especially interesting in its restored condition. Our photographs show the street fachada and the patio which serves as the tea-garden. The fachada, with its tile-covered veranda extending over the sidewalk, its pretty dormer and white chimneys, makes a fine picture, but the patio, with its red-tile pavement, its comfortable shelters, picturesque roofs, and garden wall, is the most delightful feature of the place. Tea and cakes are worth twice the price in such surroundings.

Within Santa Bárbara there are many fragments of the old houses of pueblo days. The Natural History Society's Museum at No. 930 Anacapa Street occupies an interesting example, while the fragment of the old comandante's house at the corner of Santa Bárbara and Cañon Perdido Streets, long occupied by the descendants of Gumesuido Flóres, the last of the comandantes, is pointed out as the last vestige of the old presidial structures. This house, now badly marred by surrounding modern buildings, and partly removed when Santa Bárbara Street was laid out, was at one time a very important house and the scene of many official receptions. Aside from these, the more important of the old



29 EAST DE LA GUERRA STREET, SANTA BÁRBARA. THE PATIO FROM THE BALCONY



AN OLD ADOBE HOUSE, SANTA BÁRBARA



GASPÁR OREÑA HOUSE, MONTECITO, NEAR SANTA BÁRBARA

"adobes," Santa Bárbara has many others which have long since elapsed into decrepitude.

Outside the city, at the foot of Ortega Hill, stands the Gaspár Oreña house, an interesting old two-storied adobe with an overhanging balcony. This house, of a type that was more prevalent at Monterey, Los Ángeles, and Sonoma than at Santa Bárbara, may be pointed to as an example of the smaller *casa de campo* (farm-house). Set in a well-grown eucalyptus grove, with its whitewashed walls, overhanging balcony, and the deep shadows that the balcony induces, this old house makes at once a fascinating and characteristic picture.

With a most delightful climate, set like a jewel amid glorious mountains, and fronting the sea, Santa Bárbara is one of America's most favored spots. Her citizens, sensitive to these wonderful surroundings and mindful of a long and colorful history under three flags, have sought to build in somewhat the spirit of the old, with the result that many interesting residences and public buildings in the Hispanic style have been erected.



Mission Tower
Santa Bárbara

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE OLD HOUSES OF MONTEREY

IF SAN DIEGO was the first port of call and for many years the principal commercial centre of Alta California; and if Santa Bárbara, by virtue of her superb setting and genial climate, was, from the days of her founding, the favorite dwelling-place of many important Spanish families, Monterey, as capital of the Californias—Baja and Alta—and the seat of the governor and chief military officials, was, throughout the Spanish and Mexican régime and well into the American period, the most important town.

Monterey has figured in Californian history since the days of Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo, who, as early as 1542, sailed into the beautiful Bay of Monterey, which he called Bahía de Los Piños (Bay of Pines), and gave the name of El Cabo de Los Piños to that lovely promontory now known as the Point of Pines. The name Monterey was not attached to the place until December, 1602, when Don Sebastian Viscáino, sailing under cédulas from King Philip III., landed upon the shores of the crescent bay and named the spot "Monterey" in honor of Gaspár de Zúñiga, Count of Monterey, Viceroy of Mexico, and patron of the expedition.

Viscáino entertained ideas of returning to Monterey for the establishment of a colony, but his early death prevented the carrying out of this intention, and, as a result, the silence of the wilderness was not again disturbed by white men until 1769, when Don Gaspár de Portolá, Governor of Baja California, set out to rediscover the place.

But the stories of the Mission and Presidio have been told in former chapters, thus it is with the simpler and humbler structures of the pueblo that this chapter would concern itself. Historically speaking, there is no structure in Monterey, aside from San Carlos Church (la Capilla Real) (p. 268), that holds so prominent a place as the Old Spanish Custom-house. From the flag-staff of this building have floated the flags of three nations—the proud banner of Old Spain, the Mexican tricolor (1822–1846), and at the present time our own Old Glory. It was here

that on July 7, 1846, Commodore Sloat unfurled the Stars and Stripes to the breeze, ending forever Mexican rule in California.

The structure seems to reflect each of the periods during which it has been prominent. The northern, two-storied portion of the building was erected in 1814 by the Spaniards; the central, one-storied section, in 1822, by the Mexican authorities; and the southern end, which is a duplicate of the northern portion, after the American occupation of 1846. When Commodore Sloat occupied the town, the Custom-house became the headquarters of the American marines under Captain Mervine.

In spite of the various dates of construction the building presents a particularly symmetrical appearance and is a pleasant and staunch old landmark. At either end the two-storied porches, formed by the projections of the roofs, give the building a delightfully informal and picturesque quality. This is further enhanced by the gnarled roof-tree, a Monterey cypress, that stands at the southern end. The structure is situated upon a low, but steep, bank only a few feet from the bay, the view of which is obscured in the photograph by the tile-capped stone fence in the foreground. The old edifice is now the property of the State and is in the custodianship of the order of the *Native Sons of the Golden West*, who, with the *Native Daughters*, make their headquarters here.

Life at Monterey, in the old days, centred largely around the military and civil authorities who made Monterey their official home, and, so far as is known, social events at Monterey date from the arrival at the capital of Doña Eulalia, wife of Governor Pedro Fages, the fourth Spanish governor of California. Naturally the great functions were held in the residence of the Governor at the Presidio, but unfortunately, none of the presidial structures except la Capilla come down to us. One of the earliest social functions of Monterey was the reception given by Governor Fages and his wife in honor of the French navigator, Lapérouse, who, under orders from Louis XVI. of France, had been sent upon a scientific expedition to explore some of the remote parts of the world. The greatest events during the Spanish régime were the inaugural ceremonies in honor of the new governors, and of these, one of the most elaborate was that of Governor Solá,

the tenth and last Spanish governor, the story of which has been told in Chapter XXII.

As in most of the California pueblos, dancing was the chief amusement, not only of the young people but of the old as well. Many of the dances were held at the home of the Governor or at the house of the Comandante of the Presidio. But after T. O. Larkin, the first American consul in California, came to Monterey to live, his house, as well as that of Don José Abrego, was the scene of many a gay party.

At this time the aristocracy of Monterey consisted of those who were, or had been, in official station, either military or civil. These families were naturally in the minority, but they steadfastly maintained an aristocratic attitude, priding themselves greatly upon their Spanish blood and speech. They usually sought to furnish their homes with furniture imported from Spain or Mexico City, but the aggressive competition of the Yankee trading-vessels that came to the coast made articles of Spanish origin difficult to get. The people prided themselves upon good silver, dainty queen's-ware, and beautiful hangings. The kitchen and dining-room were usually detached from the main part of the house, and all the housework, so far as the upper class was concerned, was done by Indian servants, who frequently were good and faithful.

As will be noted in the accompanying photographs, most of the houses of importance at Monterey were of two stories. They were of two general classes: the square, hip-roofed type, with "lean-to" additions of one story, like the Larkin House, and the "House of the Four Winds," or long, gabled houses, with the gables parallel to the street, like the "Sherman Rose-tree House" or the Old Whaling Station.

The Larkin House, like many of the houses of the time, has a two-storied balcony at the front and sides, which, covered with roses and *buginvillea*, presents a delightful shelter from the brilliant sunshine. Mr. Larkin came to Monterey in 1832 and opened the first wholesale and retail establishment in the pueblo. He built his residence in 1834, and, after he became American consul, his home was a political and social centre of great importance, and the scene of many festive functions. Colton in his



OLD SPANISH CUSTOM HOUSE, MONTEREY



THE LARKIN HOUSE, MONTEREY



"HOUSE OF THE FOUR WINDS", MONTEREY



SHERMAN ROSE-TREE HOUSE, MONTEREY

diary, "Three Years in California," carries a note under date of February 16, 1847, in which he says: "I have just come from the house of Thos. O. Larkin, Esq., where I left the youth, the beauty, the wisdom, and the worth of Monterey. This being the last night of the carnival, every one has broken his last egg-shells. Two of the young ladies, remarkable for their sprightliness and beauty, broke their cascarones on the head of our commodore, and got kissed by way of retaliation." The house is at present the property of Robert F. Johnson, a former mayor of Monterey.

A very interesting old adobe, also erected by Larkin in 1834, and used for many years as a private residence, is the "House of the Four Winds." This place at the time of the American occupation was a store, but soon became the first "hall of records" in California, through the fact that Mr. W. C. Johnson, the first recorder of Monterey County, used the building as his office as well as his home. Our photograph shows this historic old house as it looked a few years ago, before civic pride rescued it from dilapidation to convert it into the club-house of the Monterey Civic Club. The name, which still attaches to the place, was given to it, probably, because of the weather-vane that for years swung continually in obedience to the variable winds of the Monterey Bay section.

The so-called "Sherman Rose-tree House," in the heart of the business section upon Alvarado Street,¹ was always a place of interest because of the romantic bit of lore that attaches to it, and indeed it was not without its claims as an interesting bit of old Hispanic architecture. The house was the home of Señorita María Ygnacia Bonifacio, and a popular story runs to the effect that Lieutenant William Tecumseh Sherman, who was detailed to Monterey in 1847, fell in love with the beautiful and popular señorita. When he had been ordered east and was calling for the last time upon his lady-love, it is said that he gave the señorita the rose-tree with the promise that when it bloomed he would return to claim her as his bride. The later famous General never returned, the promise was never fulfilled and Señorita Bonifacio spent her life unmarried. So far as any foundation in fact is concerned, it is quite certain that there was none, but the story,

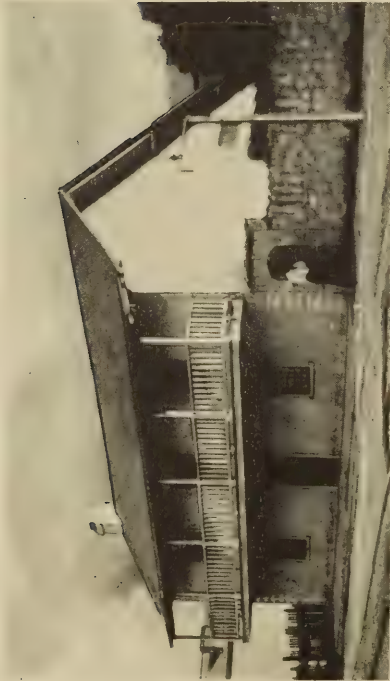
¹ Recently removed to make way for a new bank building.

like many another, still clings to the memory of the distinguished General and the beautiful señorita, and made the old place, long used as a Spanish restaurant and tea-garden, a profitable business venture for its owners.

At the corner of Pacific and Scott Streets stands an interesting but unpretentious one-story house that boasts of having been the "first theatre in California." The structure, a long, low adobe, typical of its date of erection (1843), was built by John Swan, a sailor, who came to Monterey from Mazatlan, Mexico. He erected the house as a sailors' boarding-house, and its use as a theatre was only one incident in its long history. This building is now used as residences, with a tea-room and book-shop occupying the northern wing.

An old structure that retains much of its picturesque originality is the Old Whaling Station on Decatur Street. This house, although it dates only from 1855 and in no chronological sense belongs to the Spanish or Mexican periods, exhibits most of the outstanding characteristics of the typical casa de pueblo at Monterey. It is two-storied, of the gabled type, with the gable parallel to the street, and has the inevitable projecting balcony and the snuggling "lean-to" at the rear. When Captain Davenport, an old-time whaler of Cape Cod, came to Monterey in 1854, to organize the Monterey Whaling Company, whaling upon the Pacific became a commercial industry. A Portuguese company soon entered the field, and these two companies, operating separately, did a thriving business until 1865, when they were consolidated. The industry was an important one for about thirty-five years, but was finally abandoned in the late eighties, due to the fact that the growing scarcity of prey made the industry a failing commercial venture. This old house, now privately owned, remains in a fine state of preservation and looks much as it did in the old whaling days.

One of the most interesting landmarks of old Monterey is Colton Hall, the "first capitol" building of California, and the meeting-place of the first constitutional convention. The edifice was designed and erected by Rev. Walter Colton, chaplain of the U. S. frigate *Congress*, who was appointed provisional alcalde (mayor), in 1846, by Commodore Stockton, and later elected by



OLD WHALING STATION, MONTEREY



OLD HOUSE AT END OF POLK STREET ON HARTNELL, MONTEREY



RENOVATED ADOBE HOUSE, POLK AND HARTNELL STREETS, MONTEREY



"FIRST THEATRE IN CALIFORNIA", MONTEREY



THE FIRST CAPITOL OF CALIFORNIA, MONTEREY



ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON HOUSE, MONTEREY

the people. Erected originally as a "town-hall," the building still continues to function as such. The structure is interesting in that it illustrates what was considered an appropriate and pretentious municipal building of the day.

The building is now flanked upon one end by the prison, which ruins the balanced simplicity of the pseudo-classic hall. Originally, however, the prison appears to have been a separate structure, the intervening portion having been built in at a later date.

The portico is treated with a curious attempt at a delineation of the Ionic Order. The columns are unfluted and have no entasis, and the capitals are rather remote approximations of the "angle" Ionic. In general, the structure has a character not infrequently encountered in rural portions of the South, but that it can hardly be reminiscent of the South will be apparent when we remember that its designer was a Vermonter by birth, a graduate of Yale in the class of 1822, and a former editor of the *Philadelphia North American*. However, he had had the advantages of travel in Europe and the Orient, and may have based his architectural essay upon something he had seen in Italy.

Of all the houses in old Monterey, Spanish or American, perhaps none is of greater historic or literary interest than the "Robert Louis Stevenson House," a two-storied residence in Houston Street between Pearl and Webster. The larger house, upon the street, bearing the sign is the authentic Stevenson house. This was the home of Jules Simoneau in 1879, when Stevenson, seeking health, came to Monterey as a place to find it. The house with yard and fence was the home of Doña Manuela Girardin, whose daughter was the wife of Doctor Heintz. With these good people Stevenson spent many a pleasant hour, and he has referred to them as the "little doctor and his little wife." Monterey was a dull, little, sleepy town when Stevenson knew it. The capital had been removed to Sacramento, the county-seat to Salinas, and the great Del Monte Hotel had not as yet been built. Monterey was a dethroned queen in rags.

During these quiet days of Monterey, however, many a writer and painter sought out the place because of her past glory, her historic and romantic interest, and her lingering Spanish atmos-

phere. Besides Stevenson came Charles Warren Stoddard, Bret Harte, and Daniel O'Connell, Strong, Bierstadt, Tavernier, and Rollo Pieters. Stoddard has left us a picture of the place as it appeared in his day.

"I saw her in decay, the once flourishing capital. The old convent was windowless and its halls half-filled with hay. The barracks and the calaboose inglorious ruins; the blockhouse and the fort mere shadows of their former selves. She was a dear old stupid town in my day. She boasted but a half-dozen thinly populated streets. Geese fed in the gutters and hissed as I passed by; cows, grazing by the wayside, eyed me in grave surprise; overhead the snow-white gulls wheeled and cried peevishly, and on the heights that sheltered the ex-capital the pine trees moaned and often caught the sea-fog among their thin branches when the little town was basking in the sunshine and dreaming its endless dreams."

But these days have gone forever; many of the interesting and beautiful old landmarks have been removed, others almost hopelessly disfigured, and everywhere the hand of "modern business" encroaches upon whatever of the old or romantic remains. Fortunate it is, however, that much of the charm that is Monterey can never be obliterated—her silver crescent bay, her wonderful protecting hills, her majestic cypress forests, her matchless "seventeen-mile drive," Carmel, Point o' Pines, the memories of Sloat, Sherman, and Stevenson!



CHAPTER XXIX

RANCHO CAMÚLOS—THE HOME-PLACE OF THE FABLED RAMONA

IN PAST chapters we have noticed the town residences of the early Californians of Spanish and Mexican extraction; it is our purpose in this chapter to present for consideration a typical *casa de campo*, or farm-house, of the same interesting period. California in the old days had many great agricultural and cattle-raising estates. From as early as 1784 temporary grants to occupy lands, up to this time considered by the Spanish Government to be the actual property of the natives, were given by Governor Fages to prominent applicants. After 1795 permanent grants were given, and from then on, during both the Spanish and Mexican régimes, occasional grants of large acreage were made to important citizens or political favorites. During the Spanish period proper, however (*i.e.*, before 1822), grants were not so common as afterward, but when one reads that, in 1784, Manuel Nieto was granted a tract of land bounded by the San Gabriel and the Santa Ana Rivers, the ocean and the mountains, in all some 300,000 acres, one may realize that principalities in the heart of what is now California's golden orange-belt were acquired for the asking.

The Camúlos Rancho, originally Rancho San Francisco, of which this chapter treats is interesting not only historically, but also for the fascinating and romantic story that one of America's great novelists has woven in and about the place. If the Estudillo House of San Diego can be called the "marriage-place of Ramona," Mrs. Helen Hunt Jackson's dusky heroine, Camúlos Rancho, twenty-five miles east of the old Mission of San Buenaventura and in Ventura County, is as truly the "home of Ramona."

When Mrs. Jackson interested herself in the Indian problem of California and decided to write a novel upon the theme nearest her heart, she went about southern California taking notes and making observations that would serve her in the accomplishment of her purpose. At the suggestion of Señor and Señora Antonio de Coronel, of Los Angeles, she visited Camúlos, the home of the distinguished Valle family. Here she found every-



RANCHO CAMÚLOS. SOUTH ELEVATION



RANCHO CAMÚLOS. THE CHAPEL INTERIOR



RANCHO CAMÚLOS. SOUTH VERANDA OF THE RANCH HOUSE

thing that she desired in the way of setting, characters, and local color for her memorable and touching story, "Ramona," the name of which was suggested, it is said, by the name of a child that the novelist met at the residence of Dr. J. De Barth Shorb, near Pasadena. Her inspiration for Señora Morena of "Ramona" was Señora Doña Ysabel del Valle, the widowed mistress of Camúlos Rancho; her inspiration for the lad Felipe, of the book, was the late Senator Reginald F. del Valle, the eldest son of the Señora; while details of the sad but engrossing story find their counterpart in the physical facts and features of this delightful Spanish-Californian rancho.

Rancho San Francisco, of which the present Camúlos was the residence and heart, was granted to Lieutenant Antonio del Valle, grandfather of the present owners of the estate, in 1839. This Antonio del Valle, like his grandson, the Senator, was prominent in Californian affairs. He seems to have come to California in 1819 from San Blas, in Mexico, where he was a lieutenant in the San Blas infantry. Arriving in California, he was placed in charge of forty men and stationed at Presidio San Francisco. In 1822 he accompanied the cañonigo (official party) of the newly-independent Mexican government upon a visit to Fort Ross, the Russian stronghold upon Russian River, and was the same year transferred to Monterey, where he was given charge of an infantry company.

At Monterey he did not get on well with Governor Argüello, against whom he made complaints, and as a result was tried by a military court and ordered to San Blas. He was finally permitted to remain in California, but the incident was not closed until 1826. Governors changed, however, and in 1834-1835 we find Lieutenant del Valle as *comisionado* in charge of the secularization of Mission San Fernando, where he served as major-domo until 1837. During the days of internal strife, Lieutenant del Valle lined up, as he saw best, for or against several powerful men. He was arrested in 1837, but seems, due to the changing fortunes of his prosecutor, to have been released, and in 1839 was granted the Rancho San Francisco, which lay in what is now Los Angeles and Ventura Counties, and included the sites of the modern towns of Castaic, Saugus, Newhall, and Kent, extending

as far west as Piru. Here he established his residence and lived until his death, which occurred about the time that gold, the first ever found in California, was discovered upon his place.

The story of the discovery of gold in Northern California is familiar to many, due to the fact that Marshall, the discoverer, toured America, telling the story upon the lecture platform, but that there were placer mines in Southern California some time before this is a new fact to many. Gold was discovered in Feliciano Cañon on Rancho San Francisco March 9, 1842, by Francisco López, major-domo of San Fernando Mission. The discovery was made when López, who was hunting some straying horses, sat down to rest and used his sheath-knife to dig up some wild onions, to the roots of which was attached the precious metal in the form of small nuggets.

The news spread rapidly and soon many men were in the vicinity to work the placers, a thing difficult to accomplish, due to the great scarcity of water. The provincial government took little notice of the discovery, and, aside from the granting of an expediente (official title of discovery) to López, and the appointment of Don Ignacio del Valle, who had succeeded to the ownership of the rancho, as encargado de justicia (commissioner of justice) to preserve order in the mining district, was not interested. The first California gold coined at the Philadelphia mint came from these mines.

Ignacio del Valle, the son of the old Lieutenant, came to California in 1825 with Echeandía, and in 1828 became a cadet in the company at Presidio Santa Bárbara. Going later to San Diego with the Governor, he was introduced into official circles and from this time on occupied places of prominence and trust under the Mexican and American governments, such as treasurer of civil government under Governor Pío Pico, elector in numerous elections, alcalde of Los Ángeles in 1850, recorder in 1851, and member of the Legislature in 1852. In later life he confined his efforts to his estate at Camúlos, and here he died in 1880 at the age of seventy-two.

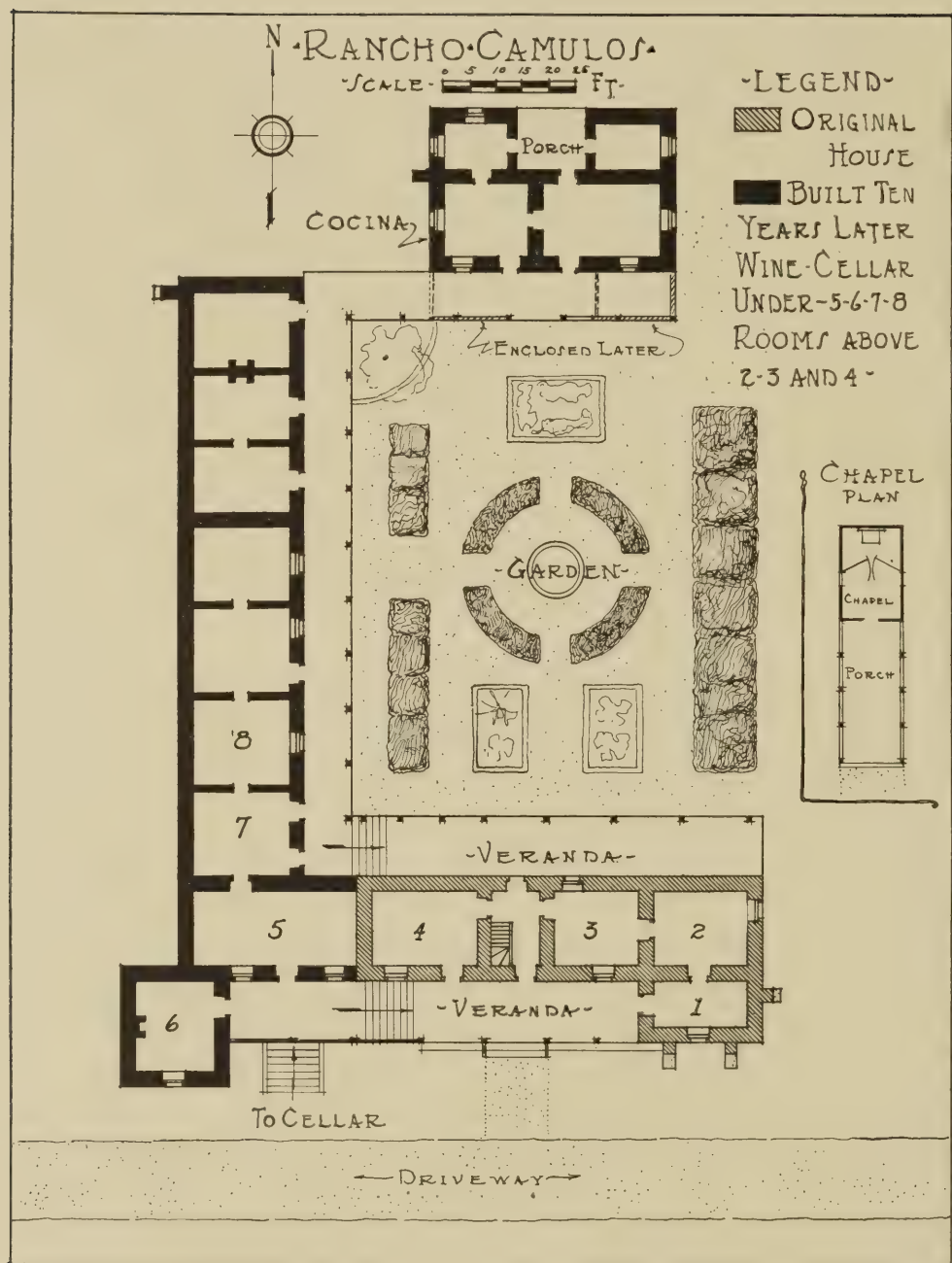
Don Ignacio del Valle married Señorita Ysabel de Varela at the Church of Our Lady of the Angels, in Los Ángeles, December 14, 1851, and it was she who was in active charge of the great



RANCHO CAMÚLOS. OLD COCINA (KITCHEN)



RANCHO CAMÚLOS. FOUNTAIN



estate when Mrs. Jackson visited Camúlos in 1882. This estimable lady, the original of the authoress's Señora Morena, suffered somewhat from the fact that the public attributed to her many of the short-comings, as well as the good qualities, of Mrs. Jackson's character. As a matter of fact, Mrs. Jackson never met Señora del Valle, who was absent from the rancho when the novelist visited it.

Of the old ranch-house and quaint little chapel the authoress has given us a faithful picture. The house has not changed materially since the days of her visit, although the widowed mistress of Camúlos has long since passed away. It is still, as Mrs. Jackson described it, "one of the best specimens to be found in California of the representative house of the half-barbaric, half-elegant, wholly-generous, and free-handed life led by the Mexican men and women of degree in the early part of this century, under the rule of the Spanish and Mexican viceroys. . . . It was a picturesque life, with more sentiment than will ever be seen again on these sunny shores. The aroma of it all lingers still: industries and inventions have not slain it; it will outlast its century."

Of this life and spirit the old rancho is perfectly reflective. The low whitewashed adobe walls of the house surround three sides of a patio, the flanking verandas providing shady retreats from the brilliant sunshine. The principal apartments are upon the south side of the court, while the little whitewashed cocina occupies the north side and stands opposite the dining-room, which is in the main house. This pleasant courtyard, with its flower-beds, its gravelled walks, its rose and closely cropped cypress hedges, forms the centre of domestic routine, its verandas the places in which many of the numerous duties of a great rancho, in this charming out-of-door country, were accomplished.

Across the front (south) of the central portion of the house extends a broad veranda, divided into two parts by a flight of steps which gives access to the two levels upon which the house finds itself disposed. This porch, with the splendid outlook that it affords toward orchard, arbor, and mountain, makes a most delightful lounging-place, and was doubtless the scene of many a pleasant hour in the days of the gifted Señora.

The little family chapel, to which much romantic and historic

interest attaches, is, of course, unique in Californian rancho architecture. The approach to this little shrine, a simple frame building, is accomplished by a latticed shelter, which is provided with benches where those who cannot find room inside may sit. The chapel itself is only 14 x 20 feet, the shelter 14 x 30 feet. Many distinguished churchmen have officiated here, and the chapel, through these associations and the fact that Mrs. Jackson made much of it and its altar-cloth (still to be seen), enjoys a unique place in the history of the Catholic Church in California.

The quaint and interesting old fountain which stands in an orange-grove in front of the chapel, and the little family cemetery, not far away, are features in themselves well worth a trip. Two of the bells, which hung from an oaken frame at the time of the novelist's visit, are still in place, while a third was removed by Mrs. Josefa Forster, a daughter of Señora del Valle, to do duty in a chapel erected by her in Los Angeles.

The old winery of brick, now used as a storehouse, the ancient willows, the spring and washing-place, the grape-arbor, the olive-mill, and many other features of the rancho, made dear to legions of readers by the authoress of "Ramona," still remain to add their note of romance and beauty of one of the most delightful and picturesque of the old ranch-houses of Spanish California.



Rancho Camulos



306 LOS OLIVOS STREET, SANTA BÁRBARA



316 LOS OLIVOS STREET, SANTA BÁRBARA



RESIDENCE, A. L. GARFORD, PASADENA

Marston & Van Pelt, Architects



RESIDENCE, LOS ANGELES

CHAPTER XXX

MODERN HISPANIC ARCHITECTURE

IN THE foregoing chapters we have set forth as connectedly as possible the story of the evolution of the Spanish-Colonial architecture of the Pacific Coast. It has been our purpose to see how, from this peculiar background of geography and climate, with its specific materials at hand, its definite racial and, therefore, historical, religious, social, and political influences, this interesting and highly characteristic architectural expression has resulted.

That the original buildings admirably reflect the thought and spirit of their time as far as that expression was possible to the builders, who had only poor materials and poor workmen at their disposal, goes without saying. Those who have strolled through the cloisters of the old missions or have sketched in the patios of the old houses know the charm and appropriateness of these interesting old folk expressions, crude and unrefined as they may appear in the light of our day. That they were honest, straightforward, and sincere—qualities unfortunately not characteristic of a great deal of our modern work—also cannot be denied. What, then, should the designer of today, with improved materials and good craftsmen, not be able to produce? The cue of honest craftsmanship is offered him. Let him take it, and, having mastered the abiding principles of the style, turn to his modern problem and seek to express the life and tenor of our times in the spirit of the Spanish-Colonial, one of the few architectures appropriate to a land with the climate of California and the Hispanic background that she possesses.

In this connection it should be pointed out that the Spanish-Colonial is appropriate and proper in California, New Mexico, Arizona, Texas, Florida, and other parts of our land that were at one time within the Spanish domain, and here, as time goes on, this style will continue to be a favorite architectural vernacular because it has in it the possibilities of an adequate expression not only of geographical setting and climate, but also of historic background and ethnic significance.

For that matter, any situation in the United States where



GLENWOOD MISSION INN, RIVERSIDE



UNITED STATES POST OFFICE, SANTA BARBARA



ARLINGTON HOTEL, SANTA BARBARA



"DIAS DORADOS", RESIDENCE OF THOMAS H. INCE, BEVERLY HILLS

Roy Sheldon Price, Architect

climatic conditions favor the use of patios and arcades will prove a suitable setting for these genial forms, and indeed in our Gulf States a large measure of inspiration for the solution of current problems is being sought in these old structures of the Southwest—buildings that have in them many a lesson of structural propriety and craftsmanlike straightforwardness applicable to architectural work of whatever character. Indeed these and many other charming qualities have commended the style to the consideration of architects and searchers after the beautiful and appropriate, with the result that the Spanish-Colonial and the mother style, the Renaissance of Old Spain, are enjoying a popularity unprecedented in American architectural annals.

California has wisely capitalized upon her architectural heritage and some of the most beautiful and meaningful architectural expressions of our day are to be found within her borders, where the real spirit of this delightfully simple, virile, and honest folk expression is sensed in both public and private buildings. The old mission structures, town and ranch houses, offer inexhaustible inspirations for institutional and residential architecture, and these are being utilized to the fullest, with the result that California cities are blossoming forth in a "Renaissance" of Spanish-Colonial.

For types where local structures do not offer suggestion, designers have recourse to the sister style, the Spanish-Colonial of Mexico, and the larger field of Spanish forms of the homeland, as several of our photographs will testify. Thus California—true daughter of Old Spain—has forsaken pretty largely the Anglo-Saxon forms of her American population in favor of the more appropriate and, therefore, beautiful and significant forms of her Hispanic past, and, in so doing, she is making for herself an adequate, appropriate, indigenous, and beautiful architectural expression. What has been possible in California is just as possible in other sections of our country where a genial climate and brilliant sunshine make such forms appropriate, and, as time goes on, this admirable and beautiful style will doubtless serve as a well-spring of inspiration for architects, designers, and beauty-lovers throughout the more favored portions of our land.



Bertram G. Goodhue, Architect

CALIFORNIA BUILDING, SAN DIEGO EXPOSITION, 1915



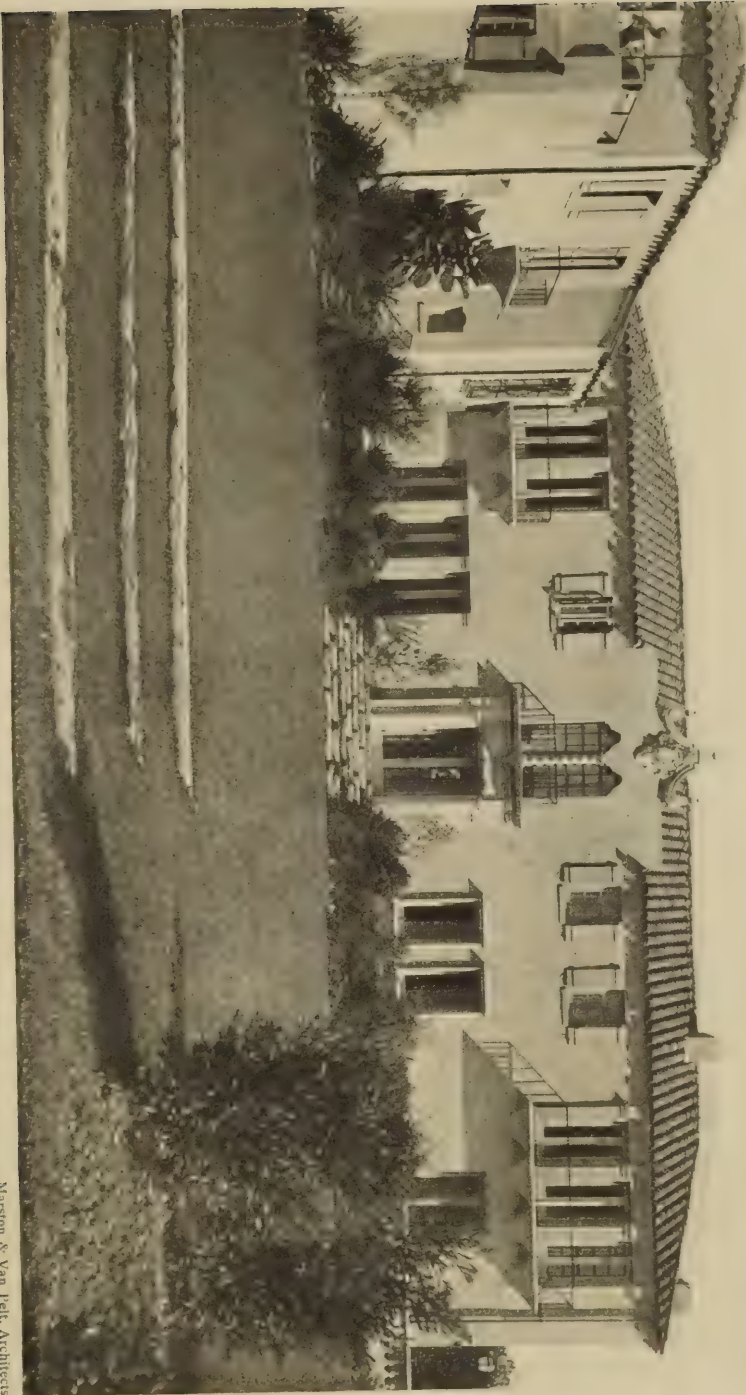
W. T. JEFFERSON RESIDENCE, PASADENA

Marston & Van Pelt, Architects



"VILLA ALEGRE", JOHN HENRY MEYER RESIDENCE, SAN MARINO

Marston & Van Pelt, Architects



GARDEN FACADE, "VILLA ALEGRE", JOHN HENRY MEYER RESIDENCE, SAN MARINO

Marston & Van Pelt, Architects



G. W. Smith, Architect

LIVING-ROOM OF THE W. T. BRAINARD RESIDENCE, SANTA BÁRBARA

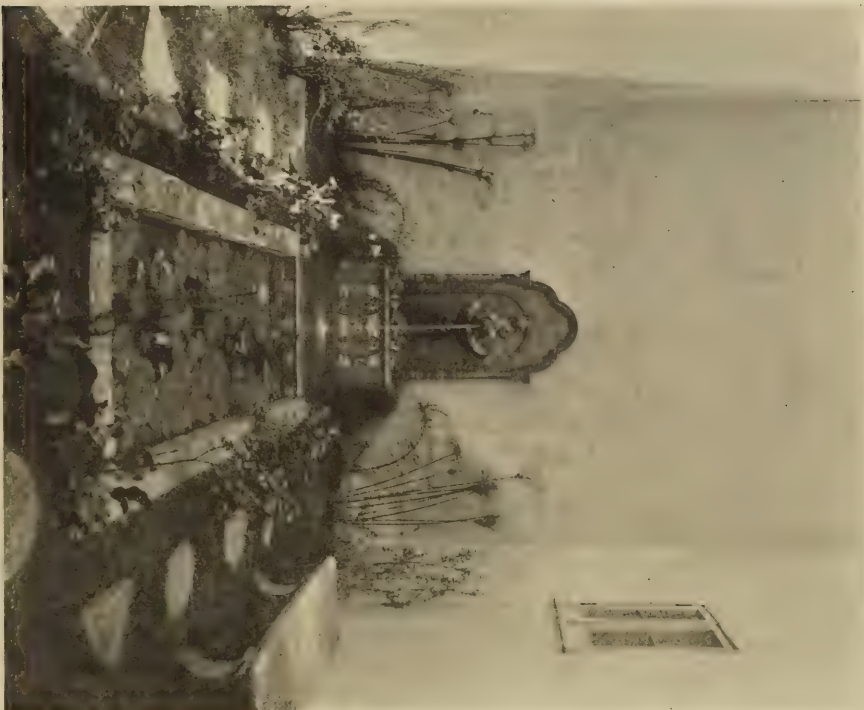


G. W. Smith, Architect

PATIO AT THE RESIDENCE OF GEORGE WASHINGTON SMITH, SANTA BÁRBARA



ROY SHELTON PRICE, Architect
STAIRWAY, "DIAS DORADOS", INCE RESIDENCE, BEVERLEY HILLS



H. H. WHITELEY, Architect
PATIO, "LA CABAÑA AZUL", LOS ANGELES

APPENDIX

A. LIST OF MISSIONS WITH DATES OF FOUNDING

I. San Diego de Alcalá	July	16, 1769
II. San Carlos de Borromeo (Carmel)	June	3, 1770
III. San Antonio de Padua	July	14, 1771
IV. San Gabriel, Arcángel	Sept.	8, 1771
V. San Luis, Obispo de Tolosa	Sept.	1, 1772
VI. San Francisco de Asís	Oct.	9, 1776
VII. San Juan Capistrano	Nov.	1, 1776
VIII. San Clara de Asís	Jan.	12, 1777
IX. San Buenaventura	March	31, 1782
X. Santa Bárbara	Dec.	4, 1786
XI. La Purísima Concepción	Dec.	8, 1787
XII. Santa Cruz	Sept.	25, 1791
XIII. Nuestra Señora de la Soledad	Oct.	9, 1791
XIV. San José de Guadalupe	June	11, 1797
XV. San Juan Bautista	June	24, 1797
XVI. San Miguel, Arcángel	July	25, 1797
XVII. San Fernando, Rey de España	Sept.	8, 1797
XVIII. San Luis, Rey de Francia	June	13, 1798
XIX. Santa Inés	Sept.	17, 1804
XX. San Rafael, Arcángel	Dec.	14, 1817
XXI. San Francisco de Solano	July	4, 1823

(Dedicated April 4, 1824)

B. LIST OF SPANISH AND MEXICAN GOVERNORS

(Dates mark acceptance and surrender of office)

SPANISH ¹ (1767-1804)

I. Gaspár de Portolá	1767-1771
II. Felipe Barri	1771-1775
III. Felipe de Neve	1775-1782
IV. Pedro Fages	1782-1791
V. José Antonio Romeu	1791-1792
VI. José Joaquín de Arrillaga	1792-1794
<i>(Ad Interim)</i>	
VII. Diego de Borica	1794-1800
VIII. José Joaquín de Arrillaga	1800-1804

¹ During this period governors administered both Baja and Alta California.

SPANISH GOVERNORS OF ALTA CALIFORNIA

(1804-1821)

José Joaquín de Arrillaga	1804-1814
IX. José Dario Argüello	1814-1815
<i>(Ad Interim)</i>	
X. Pablo Vicente de Solá	1815-1822

MEXICAN GOVERNORS OF ALTA CALIFORNIA

(1821-1847)

Pablo Vicente de Solá	1822
I. Don Luis Argüello	1822-1825
II. José María Echeandía	1825-1831
III. Manuel Victoria	1831-1832
IV. Pío Pico	1832
<i>(Ad Interim)</i>	
V. José Figueroa	1832-1835
VI. José Castro	1835-1836
VII. Nicholas Gutiérrez	(January to May) 1836
<i>(Ad Interim)</i>	
VIII. Mariano Chico	(May to August) 1836
IX. Juan B. Alvarado	1836-1842
X. Manuelo Micheltorena	1842-1845
XI. Pío Pico	1845-1846
XII. José María Flóres	1846-1847
XIII. Andrés Pico	(January 11 to 13) 1847

American Régime

C. TABLE OF MISSION ADMINISTRATORS

Junípero Serra (padre-presidente)	1769-1784
Francisco Palóu (presidente)	1784-1785
Francisco Fermín de Lasuén (presidente)	1785-1803
Estévan Tápis (presidente)	1803-1812
José Señan (presidente)	1812-1815
Mariano Payéras (presidente)	1815-1819
Mariano Payéras (comisario prefecto) ²	1819-1823
José Señan (presidente)	1819-1823
Vicente de Sarría (prefecto and presidente)	1823-1825
Vicente de Sarría (prefecto)	1825-1835
Narciso Durán (presidente)	1825-1827
José Bernardo Sánchez (presidente)	1827-1831
Narciso Durán (presidente)	1831-1839 ³
Narciso Durán (prefecto)	1835-1846
Francisco García Diego (prefecto for Zacatecans)	1833-1835
José Joaquín Jimeno (presidente for Fernandinos)	1839-1846
José Joaquín Jimeno (prefecto)	1846-1856
Francisco García Diego, First Bishop	1840-

² Comisario prefecto, a new and superior office. This official had supreme control of all mission temporal affairs.

³ In 1833 a division of labors was effected in California, priests from the College of Zacatecas administering the missions north of San Carlos, the San Fernandinos those south of San Antonio.

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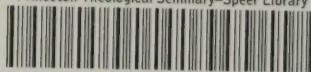
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