CHAPTER 17
Cycles of Celebration: High Holy Days in the Franciscan Missions of Northern New Spain[1]

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When Franciscan missionaries, soldiers, Hispanicized Indians, and settlers moved into the northern reaches of Spanish claims in the Americas, their daily and devotional lives were punctuated by the liturgical seasons and required celebrations of the Catholic calendar—particularly Christmas, Holy Week and Easter, Corpus Christi, and the feast days that honored Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the saints. After the Council of Trent, the Catholic Church codified the rituals of the liturgy in missals and manuals, with specific instructions for leading the faithful in celebrations for special occasions.[2] In Spain's American colonies, Franciscan missionaries incorporated the faithful into these celebrations as participants, instead of relegating them to positions as spectators.

High holy days were important occasions in the lives of mission communities. On these days, Franciscans, soldiers, settlers, and mission Indians did not work in mission fields or buildings, but instead attended worship and celebrations. Manuals for the administration of sacraments, such as the 1762 *Manual para administrar los santos sacramentos* by Fray Diego Osorio, contained instructions and prayers for special occasions.[3] Despite the absence of extensive

[1] Some of the major themes in this essay appear in *The Power of Song: Music and Dance in the Mission Communities of Northern New Spain, 1590–1810* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press and Berkeley, CA: Academy of American Franciscan History, 2010), particularly chapter 7.

[2] Clifford Howell, "From Trent to Vatican II." In *The Study of Liturgy*, rev. ed., edited by Cheslyn Jones, Geoffrey Wainwright, Edward Yarnold, and Paul Bradshaw (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 287.

[3] *Manual para administrar los santos sacramentos, arreglado al ritual romano, con el orden de bendiciones, Exequias, Procesiones y otras cosas necesaria. Dispusolo el r.p. Fr. Diego Osorio, Ex-Lector de Teología Moral, Predicador General, Calificador del Santo Oficio, Notario Apostolico, Chronista*

collections of books in the Franciscan missions of northern New Spain, manuals and missals appear frequently in mission inventories. Franciscans were trained in the rituals of the liturgy and recitations of the prayers, and the Christian calendar's obligations structured their daily and yearly lives.

In contrast, indigenous peoples from California to Florida marked their time by natural cycles of the sun, moon, and Venus, and agricultural cycles of gathering, planting, and harvesting. Ritual specialists, as well as singers and dancers, led groups in ceremonies to mark these occasions, as well as to ensure their success. For example, circular dances, often with masks or body paint, imitation of animals, ingestion of hallucinogens, and large bonfires characterized the dances of Coahuiltecan bands in the Texas hills and plains.[4]

Ritual calendars sometimes coincided on holidays such as Christmas/Epiphany (at the winter solstice), Holy Week/Easter (spring equinox), and the feast day of St. John (summer solstice). Celebrations in the northern missions included elements of both pre-Hispanic and European Catholic festivals: exchange, dancing, feasting and drinking, ritual performance, games, singing, processions, and revelry. Detailed studies of the role of ritual and cultural celebrations in articulating and shaping identity in colonial Latin America provide insights about the mechanics of power and cultural exchange. Evidence of activities surrounding these celebrations in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Franciscan missions of northern New Spain reveals negotiation over culture, sacred time and space, and religious beliefs.

Blending of cultural practices in shared ritual celebrations began long before European missionaries arrived with the goal of converting and civilizing the large indigenous population of the Americas. Indigenous groups borrowed ball games, pole dances, and songs from each other in much the same way that folk dances, plays, and melodies spread throughout the European continent.[5] However, the political, economic, and social pressures caused by migration, disease, labor demands, and expansion of the Spanish frontier forced closer

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General de todas las Provincias de Nueva España, cura Ministro por sy Magestad de la primitiva Parroquia de Naturales de este Reyno, y Vicario de la Capilla del Señor San Joseph en el Convento de N.P. San Francisco de Mexico, 1762 Calatayud, Imprenta de Juan Aguirre, copy in Biblioteca Franciscana, Centro de Investigaciones Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, Cholula, Mexico. This manual appears on inventories of all of the Franciscan missions of New Mexico in 1776, as well as other northern Franciscan missions in the late eighteenth century.

[4] Frederick Ruecking, Jr., "Ceremonies of the Coahuiltecan Indians of Southern Texas and Northeastern Mexico," *Texas Journal of Science* 6, no. 3 (1954), 336.

[5] For example, see Jane C. Desmond, "Embodying Difference: Issues in Dance and Cultural Studies," *Cultural Critique* 26 (Winter 1993–1994), 33–63.

contact among cultural groups, and celebrations for special occasions provide unique glimpses of acculturation and religious change.

HOLY WEEK AND EASTER

The most extensively celebrated season in the Franciscan missions of northern New Spain occurred in the spring, with the dramatic procession of Palm Sunday, confessions, and repentance of Holy Week, and the triumphal resurrection of Easter. Holy Week, the week prior to Easter Sunday, was the yearly period during which Indians from surrounding *rancherías* were required to come to the mission to confess and receive doctrinal instruction, making it the busiest week of the year for Franciscan missionaries.[6] Superiors such as Fray Antonio Margil de Jesus instructed friars to place great emphasis on the confession of sins in the week leading up to Easter. He recommended preaching sermons on the proper way to confess, showing visual images of miserable individuals who failed to confess, and organizing processions of penitents throughout the communities.[7] Some missionaries encouraged penitents to carry crosses and wear thorn crowns in imitation of Christ. While Margil did not promote flagellation as a form of penitence, processions involving self-flagellation were a significant part of Good Friday ceremonies.[8] Religious dramas depicting the Passion of Christ were also featured during Holy Week in some northern missions.[9] Settings of *Miserere* or the sequence *Dies Irae* were performed by the

[6] Miguel del Barco, *Historia natural y crónica de la Antigua California*, edited by Miguel Leon-Portilla (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1998), 398; and Cristóbal de Cañas, "Relación sonorense," 1730, paragraph 43, in Luis González Rodriguez, ed., *Etnología y misión la Pimería Alta* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Mexico, 1977), 301.

[7] "Formulario de misionar, que hizo, y dictó N.V.P. Fr. Antonio Margil de Jesús," Archivo Histórico de la Provincia Franciscana de Michoacán, Fondo del Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro, Letter I, Legajo 4, Number 46, f. 9r–14r., in David Rex Galindo, "Propaganda Fide: Training Franciscan Missionaries in New Spain," Ph.D. diss., Southern Methodist University, 2010, 301.

[8] These processions were common throughout the north in both Franciscan and Jesuit missions. See the report of José Pascual, June 29, 1653, on Mission San Felipe, Archivo General de la Nación, Historia 19, exp. 144, f. 204–204v; Dunne, *Lower California*, 151–52; Jesuit carta anua of 1599 concerning Sinaloa, Zubillaga, *Monumenta Mexicana*, vol. VII, 220–21; Pérez de Ribas, *History of the Triumphs of Our Holy Faith*, book 6, chapter 19, 422; Molina, *Estado de la provincia de Sonora*, 1730, 14; Benoist and Flores, *Guidelines*, 3.

[9] Merrill, *Rarámuri*, 178–80, discusses the liturgical drama introduced for Easter by Jesuits among the Tarahumara. Spicer, *The Yaquis*, 114–15, discusses the origins of the Yaqui passion play, or Waehma. Franciscan Yaqui missions also included elaborate celebrations for Holy Week and Easter. Services in Alta California for Tenebrae, on Good Friday, involved elements of liturgical

choir for services on Good Friday or Holy Saturday. The Alta California missions produced an extensive collection of music for this season; mission choirs and instrumentalists must have spent hours in rehearsal to master the music.[10]

In his work in the Sierra Gorda, Fray Junípero Serra re-enacted Christ's last days with the mission neophytes. According to his biographer Palóu, on Maundy Thursday he washed the feet of twelve senior men of the community, ate with them, preached on foot washing, and ended the evening in procession with an image of the crucified Christ. Good Friday's morning sermon concerned the Passion, and a choir performed hymns in the afternoon. Fray Junípero had a lifelike image of Christ made, and it was nailed to the cross to demonstrate the crucifixion in the afternoon. Serra removed the figure from the cross, and placed it in a casket, after which a burial procession snaked around the pueblo. On Good Friday evening, the community held a procession in honor of Nuestra Señora de Soledad. Holy Saturday was highlighted with baptisms of those who had received instruction and been prepared for the sacrament. Easter observances concluded with a pre-dawn procession of the risen Christ, then a high mass with elaborate music, and a final sermon about the resurrection.[11] Indians of the Sierra Gorda missions experienced Easter through physical activity, music, drama, and liturgy. Similarly, a 1776 Via Crucis procession witnessed by visitor Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez at Abiquiu in New Mexico involved a large community of Indians, mestizos, and settlers, who stopped at altars to hear prayers, before stopping at "Calvary." Some participants remained and participated in self-flagellation after nightfall.[12]

Rituals for Lent, Holy Week, and Easter resonated with the indigenous peoples of northern New Spain. They symbolically re-enacted the cycle of death and rebirth, a common theme in indigenous cosmology. Holy Week also fell during the spring, instead of early summer, at a time, which coincided with the planting season in the agricultural cycle of some indigenous groups.[13]

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drama as well. See Joseph Halpin, "Musical Activities and Ceremonies at Mission Santa Clara de Asis," *California Historical Quarterly* 50, no. 1 (March 1971), 39–40. Processions at Mission Concepción in San Antonio also involved a reenactment of the passion of Christ. See Benoist and Flores, *Guidelines*, 3.

[10] Craig Russell, *From Serra to Sancho: Music and Pageantry in the California Missions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 401, 407.

[11] Francisco Palóu, *La Vida de Junípero Serra*, March of America facsimilie series, no. 49 (Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms, 1966), 30–31.

[12] Eleanor B. Adams and Angélico Chávez, eds. *The Missions of New Mexico in 1776* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Pres, 1956), 124.

[13] Anthropologist William Merrill explained that the modern-day Rarámuri (Tarahumara) celebration of Holy Week reflects an association between the end of a yearly agricultural cycle and

Perhaps most importantly, mortality rates in mission communities were high, and music and ceremonies about death, such as the *Miserere* and the *Dies Irae*, must have been familiar.

CORPUS CHRISTI

Like Holy Week, Corpus Christi celebrations featured the physical involvement of worshipers in procession as a key component. Corpus Christi, a feast that celebrates the Body of Christ in the Eucharist, was added to the Christian calendar in the thirteenth century; it was an important feast in early modern Spanish Catholicism. In the missions of northern New Spain, like in the metropolitan centers of Mexico City, Puebla, and Cuzco, Corpus Christi celebrations were well attended by a mix of Indians, clergy, soldiers, and settlers. However, this feast was more important in core cities than in frontier regions due to the participation of state, as well as religious, officials.[14] Revelry for Corpus Christi often lasted more than just one day in the Franciscan missions of northern New Spain. The five Franciscan missions in San Antonio, Texas, for example, held their own Corpus Christi services, each on a different day near the feast, all of which attracted Indians and settlers from the region. Musicians and dancers could perform as part of more than one celebration in this manner.[15] While processing, the faithful in Alta California sang devotional songs in vernacular Spanish, such as "O Rey de Corazones" and "Pan de Vida," perhaps accompanied by guitar. Within the mission church, sequences such as *Lauda Sion Salvatorem* and hymns like *Verbum Supernum Prodiens, Pange Lingua, Sacris Solemniis,* and *Tantum Ergo* were part of worship services.[16]

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the disruption of their universe, embodied in a conflict between Our Father and the Devil that occurs during Holy Week. See "Rarámuri Easter," in Rosamond B. Spicer and N. Ross Crumrine, eds., *Performing the Renewal of Community: Indigenous Easter Rituals in North Mexico and Southwest United States* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1997), 380.

[14] Excellent studies of Corpus Christi in Mexico City and Cuzco include Linda Curcio-Nagy, "Giants and Gypsies: Corpus Christi in Colonial Mexico City," in *Rituals of Rule, Rituals of Resistance*, edited by William Beezley, Cheryl English Martin, and William French, 1–26. (Wilmington, NC: SR Books, 1994); Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999); and Geoffrey Baker, *Imposing Harmony: Music and Society in Colonial Cuzco* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008).

[15] Howard Benoist and Eva María Flores, trans. and eds., *Guidelines for the Missionary of Mission Concepción in San Antonio* (San Antonio: Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Collection, Our Lady of the Lake University, 1994), 35.

[16] Russell, *From Serra to Sancho*, 169–72, 178–80.

Infused with forms and practices of indigenous spiritual ceremonies, observance of Corpus Christi in the larger mission communities of northern New Spain involved not only processions, but also nighttime revelry with feasting and dancing. Decorations of tree boughs, ribbons, candles, and flowers reflected both indigenous and Catholic desires to beautify and sanctify space. Flowers, which bloomed infrequently in the high deserts of northern Sonora and New Mexico, must have been particularly important symbolic decorations.

A mission's Corpus Christi procession was occasion for the display of the mission's wealth and material effects. A surprising number of missions in this frontier territory list ornate silver or gilded *custodias* among church ornaments in their inventories. Some, such as the reliquary at Dolores, were gifts from wealthy benefactors. The existence of such ornaments is proof that frontier missions were not as economically isolated from central Mexico as might be supposed.[17]

CHRISTMAS[18]

Like in Europe and central New Spain, Franciscans capitalized on the association of Christmas with the winter solstice, an important ceremonial time for groups like the Puebloans of New Mexico. During Advent, the period preceding Christmas, Franciscans' sermons addressed themes such as Christ's second coming and his parents' character. Indigenous groups, such as those in the pueblos of New Mexico, traditionally observed the coming of winter by gathering stores of firewood and corn and by performing animal dances.[19] Friars had little success in abolishing indigenous dances and instead tried to rededicate them to Christian figures, such as Mary, Jesus, or the community's patron saint. Some likely tried to redirect animal dances into European dance-dramas

[17] Jacinto Quirarte, *The Art and Architecture of the Texas Missions* (Austin: University of Texas, 2002). Clara Bargellini noted that some reliquaries in the northern Jesuit missions even came from Italy. Many silver pieces, including monstrances, were produced in Mexico. See "At the Center of the Frontier: The Jesuit Tarahumara missions of New Spain," in Kaufmann, Thomas DaCosta, and Elizabeth Pilliod, eds., *Time and Place: The Geohistory of Art* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2005), 113–34.

[18] For a more detailed examination of Christmas in the Jesuit and Franciscan missions of the northern borderlands, see Kristin Dutcher Mann, "Christmas in the Missions of Northern New Spain," *The Americas* 66:3 (January 2010), 331–51.

[19] Ethnographies such as J. Walter Fewkes, "The Winter Solstice at Walpi," *American Anthropologist* 11, no. 4 (April 1898), 101–15; and Erna Fergusson, *Dancing Gods: Indian Ceremonials of Arizona and New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1966), provide detail about animal dances.

such as the *matachines*, although the precise origins of these dance-dramas is uncertain.[20] Indians at Mission San Juan Capistrano in Texas performed *matachines* dances with ankle rattles, cascabels, masks, and costumes.[21]

Drama was also incorporated into the celebration of Christmas at Mission Santa Clara in Alta California, where a *pastorela* play depicting the shepherds' visitation by the angels and the adoration of the infant Jesus was performed by indigenous actors, singers, and musicians. Pastorelas were permanent elements of Christmas celebrations in larger cathedrals and parish churches, and the existence of multiple manuscripts in Alta California suggests that they were performed in multiple locations.[22]

Outdoor components of Christmas and Epiphany celebrations included candlelit processions, bonfires, and large feasts. The lighting of bonfires was a part of both Holy Saturday vigils and Christmas Eve vigils in New Mexico and Texas. The Hemish of New Mexico and Hasinai and Coahuilteco of Texas used fire as part of ritual dances, so the practice of lighting bonfires after Christmas Eve Vespers combined elements of pre-Hispanic and Catholic culture.[23] Feasting was another important component of celebrations for Christ's nativity. Missionaries opened storehouses and directed the butchering and preparation of livestock. Because food was often scarce during winter months, plentiful supplies of it and gifts made attendance at Christmas and Epiphany festivities attractive, even for those who did not reside adjacent to the mission compounds.

Christmas, Corpus Christi, and Easter fiestas, as well as those celebrated for other Catholic holy days served important purposes in the Franciscan missions of northern New Spain. First, they were important agents in acculturation, for both Indians and Spaniards. In late seventeenth-century Texas, Caddos wanted to incorporate the Spanish into their society, and they did this by making them a part of kin networks through trade and marriage. The Spanish wanted to

[20] On the *matachines* dances of New Mexico, see Flavia Waters Champe, *The Matachines Dance of the Upper Rio Grande: History, Music, and Choreography* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983); and Sylvia Rodríguez, *The Matachines Dance: Ritual, Symbolism, and Interethnic Relations in the Upper Río Grande Valley* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996).

[21] 1772 inventory, Mission San Juan Capistrano, Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Collection, Our Lady of the Lake University, Archivo del Colegio de Querétaro, reel 10, fr. 4271–4294.

[22] Margaret Cayward, "A Pastorela from Eighteenth Century Alta California," paper presented at Encuentros/Encounters 2009: Mission Music of California, January 30, 2009, University of California, Riverside; and "Musical Life at Mission Santa Clara, 1777–1834" (master's thesis, University of California-Hayward, 2002).

[23] Isidro Félix de Espinosa, *Crónica de los Colegios de Propaganda Fide* (Washington, DC: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1964 [1746]), 716.

incorporate Caddos into their society through conversion and Hispanicization.[24] Fiestas on high holy days assisted in achieving both goals. They provided opportunities for trade, socialization, and exchange within and between kin networks. For the missionaries, celebrations for high holy days helped to uproot or at least redirect native religious celebrations and sync them to the Christian liturgical calendar. Evangelists aimed to induce new converts to act according to the markers of time set by the Church, meanwhile slowly dissolving loyalty to autochthonous markers of time. In Texas and New Mexico, attendance at the festivals was dictated by the ringing of specific celebratory peals on the church bells. Indians were instructed to come to the celebrations freshly bathed and dressed in their Spanish-style peasant clothing. In Alta California, festivities, including European-style processions, were held in the center of newly constructed mission buildings and adobe houses, symbols of Hispanic, Catholic claims on the territory. Fray Junípero Serra wrote to Francisco Palóu that a Corpus Christi procession and mass would surely "drive out any little devils that might lurk in the land."[25]

Indigenous ideas about what constituted sacred space differed significantly from those of the missionaries. Land was much more than territory to be conquered—it was synonymous with the people themselves. Loss of land, in which the sacred universe resided, meant a destruction of the people.[26] Whereas space in which Catholic holy rites were celebrated had to be covered (either in an outdoor structure or inside the church itself), many indigenous groups exercised their religious ceremonies outdoors in natural places thought to have divine significance, including groves of trees, springs, or caves. For example, Edward Spicer detailed the Yaqui concept of *huya aniya*, which he theorized could be traced to pre-Conquest society.[27] *Huya aniya*, or the "tree-world," was distinct from the human-built world exemplified by the Spanish-style pueblo surrounding a central courtyard and church building. In the natural world, great beings lived and exercised their powers. Under Spanish rule, *huya aniya* could be transformed into sacred land for settlement through human action undertaken by ritual specialists such as singers and

[24] Juliana Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 71, 82–83.

[25] Serra to Palóu, June 13, 1770, in Antonine Tibesar, ed., *Writings of Junípero Serra*, vol. I, (Washington, DC: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955), 176–79.

[26] Joe S. Sando, *Nee Hemish: A History of Jémez Pueblo* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press), 8.

[27] Edward Spicer, *The Yaquis: A Cultural History* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1980), 63–70.

dancers. During the mission period, important religious rites and significant performances for special occasions, such as the Pascua dances, even among the converted Yaquis, were held outside of the church buildings in the open air of the courtyard.

For the Franciscans, liturgical and extraliturgical celebrations provided strategic opportunities for communicating Catholic doctrine. As commemorations of crucial events in the lives of Jesus Christ, Mary, key saints, and the history of the Church, these festivals helped teach basic tenets of the Catholic faith in a lively and entertaining manner. By preaching sermons, singing spiritual songs, and displaying artwork about Christ's birth, friars could emphasize the nuclear family. They also attracted the unconverted, who often attended the festivities for material and personal benefit, trade, and revelry. In addition, Holy Saturday's mass baptisms were held in conjunction with religious services. The guaranteed presence of godparents, parents, and community members was a prime opportunity to teach doctrine and to baptize those who had professed their faith.[28]

Celebrations for high holy days helped created a sense of shared history and community identity. The entire mission community, as well as people from surrounding pueblos, came together to perform acts that bound them together. This was particularly important for establishing community identity in northern New Spain, where disease and relocation had reconstituted many indigenous communities. Indigenous neophytes from central Mesoamerica had also relocated to the north to serve as model converts in some areas. The result was the fracturing of many indigenous communities and the building of new communities, surrounding the missions, comprised of members of different ethnic groups and cultural backgrounds. In some parts of Texas, as well as in eighteenth-century New Mexico, missions did not attract permanent residents, but feast days attracted groups from throughout a region. Communal celebrations involved not only missionaries and indigenous peoples, but also local settlers, soldiers and their families, and visitors. Through joint participation in performances, processions, and worship at celebrations for special occasions, group identity was gradually forged. A 1787 letter to the friars at Mission Purísima Concepción in San Antonio instructed that other missionaries in the area were to attend the celebration in honor of La Purísima, and that the musicians from Missions San Antonio and San Juan should be requested to join.[29]

[28] For a comparison with seventeenth-century Jesuit missions, see Bolton, *Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta*, 175.

[29] Benoist and Flores, eds., *Guidelines*, 7.

The participation of musicians from an entire region was common in the north, particularly since individual mission choirs were small. In some instances, instrumentalists and singers from a mission and those nearby worked closely for months practicing music for a particular religious service.[30] This daily rehearsal surely bound the musicians together as a group for the occasion, and perhaps it forged longer-lasting ties.

Although religiously based, holy days in mission communities were largely forms of entertainment and revelry that acknowledged reciprocity among and between those within the mission communities and those outside, such as Hispanic settlers, presidial soldiers, and nonmission Indians. Along with processions, mass, and vespers, were fireworks, dances, decorations of the church and surrounding area with flowers and greenery, feasting, mimicry and pantomime, games, bullfights, military parades, costuming, gift exchanges, and even the pomp of "flying banners and blowing whistles."[31] These activities involved no small degree of preparation: Indians gathered resources from mission food stores, butchered livestock, prepared enormous quantities of food, rehearsed performances, and housed visitors. Missionaries ordered supplies and clothing, and often distributed these items in preparation for feast days. On the days of celebration, entertainment such as dancing, mock battles, and fireworks functioned as safety valves in which indigenous peoples could participate in revelry without uprooting the fragile Spanish hold on frontier territory. By controlling the types of entertainment and the material goods present at a fiesta, resident missionaries could hope to ensure that pagan dances, gambling, drunkenness, and the ingestion of hallucinogens would not occur.

The elaborateness of a celebration was often an indication of the degree of importance attached to the event. While Corpus Christi in New Mexico was occasion for feasting, dances, processions, and elaborate liturgical services, the arrival of Governor Bernardo López de Mendizábal to Socorro in 1659 was heralded only with the pealing of bells, playing of trumpets, and Fray Benito de la Natividad sprinkling holy water on the governor and his caravan. Mendizábal, who was not favored by the Franciscans, was disappointed with the lack of pomp displayed by the mission and its friars. In a testimony about

[30] For example, Alfred Robinson, a New England merchant, described the elaborate music performed for San José's feast day at Mission San José in Alta California in 1831: "The music was well executed . . . for it had been practiced daily for more than 2 months. . . . [T]he instruments performed upon were violins, flutes, trumpets, and drums." See Ray and Engbeck, *Gloria Dei: The Story of California Mission Music* (Sacramento: State of California Parks and Recreation, 1974), 14.

[31] Joseph Och, transcribed in Theodore Treutlein, ed., *Missionary in Sonora: The Travel Reports of Joseph Och* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1965), 164.

the event, he complained, "[T]hey should receive me like the Most Holy Sacrament on the Feast of Corpus Christi."[32]

Finally, celebrations for special occasions were important symbols and recreations of Spanish and Catholic hegemony and social hierarchy in borderlands society, but they were also a reminder that this hegemony was incomplete. As Clifford Geertz noted, all political authority needs a "cultural frame" to define itself and put forth its claim to legitimacy.[33] Cultural phenomena help to root the symbolic power of the governing elite, justifying their existence through establishing their connection with "transcendent things." Celebrations for special occasions, whether liturgical feasts or state holidays, served as cultural frames in New Spain. They connected church and state with the seemingly transcendent, although invented, traditions of celebrating everything from the birth of an heir to the throne to the death and resurrection of Christ. Studying celebrations for holy days in different places and times illuminates the power relationships present in individual communities, including their changes over time and space. For example, the large number of musical manuscripts, coupled with descriptions of processions and high masses held for Corpus Christi and Easter in Alta California demonstrates the Franciscans' ability to marshal large numbers of resources to support these feasts, and acculturation of a segment of the population.[34] In contrast, in eighteenth-century New Mexico, Puebloan fiestas for Christmas and Holy Week/Easter functioned more as opportunities for animal dances and offerings to elders. Pueblo peoples largely refused to attend confession prior to Easter, and while they attended Mass, they did not participate in large choirs or orchestras with elaborate musical scores.[35]

By the second half of the eighteenth century, Jesuits were expelled from missions in the northwestern frontier of New Spain. Franciscan resources were

[32] Cited in Joseph P. Sánchez, *The Río Abajo Frontier, 1540–1692: A History of Early Colonial New Mexico* (Albuquerque, NM: Albuquerque Museum, 1987), 111.

[33] Clifford Geertz, "Centers, Kings, and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power," in R. Sean Wilentz, ed., *Rites of Power: Symbolism, Ritual, and Politics Since the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 15–16, 30. See also Armando Guevara-Gil and Frank Salomon, "A 'Personal Visit': Colonial Political Ritual and the Making of Indians in the Andes," *Colonial Latin American Review* 3, nos. 1–2 (1994), 3–36, for a description of how *visitas* reinforced colonial order.

[34] For an inventory of musical manuscripts in the California missions, see Craig H. Russell, *From Serra to Sancho*: Music and Pageantry in the California Missions (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 399–402.

[35] Edward Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533–1960* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1972), 506–08.

stretched thin as they attempted to staff old Jesuit missions and push into Alta California with new settlements. Meanwhile, the Spanish Bourbon administration's focus on order and social morality limited some of the elements of holy day celebrations that were considered irreverent or profane.[36] In effect, these restrictions dramatically cut the central role of Indians in the festivities as paid dancers and other costumed characters. The Fourth Mexican Provincial Council, held in 1771, reflected the Bourbon preoccupation with social order. Under Archbishop Antonio Lorenzana, the Council tried to curtail public acts of self-flagellation by decreeing that processions involving *penitentes* were not to be held as part of Holy Week observances. The Fourth Provincial Council admonished those who attended Corpus Christi processions to practice decency, modesty, and decorum.[37] It is difficult to ascertain whether these Bourbon mandates were followed in the north. As a frontier area, it was largely outside of direct state control, as evidenced by the lack of adherence to other mandates from Spain and Mexico City. Because Indians were responsible for organizing and performing the labor for most of the festivities for Corpus Christi, as well as other feast days, it is likely that indigenous participation remained strong. Descriptions of Corpus Christi processions throughout the colonial period and across the entire northern frontier are relatively similar. With respect to Holy Week, the presence of self-flagellation in processions was not completely curtailed either, although reports of these processions were more numerous in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[38] At Mission Concepción in San Antonio, the missionary was given the option of holding other festivities to supplement the obligatory mass on Corpus Christi. *Matachines* dances, presumably deemed to be more religiously appropriate, were to be substituted for the presence of *gigantes* if a procession was held.[39] The missionary was directed to hold at least three separate processions during Holy Week, including songs and a liturgical drama re-enacting the passion of

[36] Curcio-Nagy, "Giants and Gypsies," 20–21; and Brian R. Larkin, "Liturgy, Devotion, and Religious Reform in Eighteenth-Century Mexico City," *Americas* 60, no. 4 (April 2004), 493–518.

[37] *Concilio Provincial Mexicano IV, Celebrado en la ciudad de México en el año de 1771* (Querétaro: Imprenta de la Escuela de Artes, 1898), 161, 164–65.

[38] See, for example, José Pascual's report on Mission San Felipe, June 29, 1653, AGN, Historia, vol. 19, exp. 144, f. 204–204v; Jesuit carta ánua, 1599, in Zubillaga, *Monumenta Mexicana*, vol. VII, 220–21; Pérez de Ribas, *History of the Triumphs of Our Holy Faith*, book 6, chapter 19, 422; and Flavio Molina Molina, *Estado de la provincia de Sonora, 1730* (Hermosillo, Sonora: Diócesis de Sonora, 1978), 14. Penitential practices appeared in New Mexico throughout the nineteenth century, despite the orders of bishops prohibiting them.

[39] Benoist and Flores, *Guidelines*, 35.

Christ.[40] By the end of the eighteenth century, Holy Week and Easter celebrations appear to have eclipsed Corpus Christi celebrations in scope throughout the northern borderlands of New Spain.

In sum, celebrations on special days during the liturgical year opened up possibilities and spaces for indigenous groups to re-create culture. Through the processes of cultural adaptation, Catholic special celebrations were blended with indigenous practices, and traditions were reinvented, so that by the nineteenth century, popular religiosity in indigenous and mestizo communities of the northern borderlands exhibited a great deal of syncretism. The remaking of rituals tied to high holy days, such as dance-dramas for Easter, such as the Yaqui Pascua and *fariseos* performances, and *matachines* dances in the pueblos of New Mexico serve as powerful reminders of the ways in which ritual can define and re-create community identity.

[40] Ibid., 3.

CHAPTER 18
The Missionary Predicament: Conversion Practices in Texas, New Mexico, and the Californias

Mariah Wade

Missionaries of all religious orders came to the New World with one objective: to convert and to save the souls of the Native populations they encountered. Religious orders had different approaches to conversion and their methodologies and practices were time and space sensitive. These approaches reflected each religious order's ideologies and the missionaries' individual needs to understand and to adapt to the landscape and to the local populations and politics. Conversely, local Native populations underwent, by choice or coercion, a process of adaptation that reflected their needs to comprehend, deal with, and maneuver around the missionaries' religious concepts and practices. It took time for both entities to adapt and much adaptation was done in the process of conversion. Expeditious practices such as general baptisms, summary religious instruction, or reliance on local interpreters and translators were soon discarded or found wanting. In Central and North America, the early experiences in the Basin of Mexico and even in Yucatán proved flawed when the missionaries moved northward and often were faced with nomadic native groups, and with scant military forces frequently inexperienced, poorly trained, and given to abuses of power. In northern New Spain, dealing with the continuous diversity of languages and the mobility patterns of the populations was arduous and exasperating.

Regardless of the missionaries' sanctioned and preferred methods and practices or the Native populations they encountered, the most important condition to convert Native American populations was the capability to build a church within or near settlements or villages and have the local populations attend the church voluntarily or by force. Alternatively, missionaries could congregate and retain the Native populations in a mission. Other parameters, such

as Native settlement patterns, the extent of contact, colonial labor systems, generational gaps, and disease affected the work of conversion. These parameters often were specific to a region or mission field. In this essay I discuss the predicaments that Franciscans and Jesuits faced and the solutions they employed to address the problems of conversion in New Mexico, in Baja and Alta California, and in Texas.

NEW MEXICO

Franciscan missionary work in New Mexico did not begin in earnest until the end of Juan de Oñate's conquest, although by the time Oñate resigned his post, seven thousand Natives had been baptized. Despite those numbers and the Franciscan missionaries' pleading, the Crown was reluctant to invest in a remote province with little proven wealth. Although most Native converts resulted from warfare and enslavement, their number posed a moral problem: Who would minister to the Christianized Natives if the province were abandoned? Between 1608 and 1630, under Fray Alonso de Benavides and Fray Estevan Perea's custodianships, groups of friars were sent to New Mexico to minister to a sparse population in a very extensive landscape. From the beginning, churches and convent complexes were built adjacent to, or within, existing Pueblo settlements. By 1617, 14,500 Natives had been baptized; by 1626, 34,650; and by 1644, about 500,000.[1] This means that an average eighteen thousand people were baptized every year between 1617 and 1644. It is impossible to estimate the population of potential converts, as these numbers do not include only conversions among the peoples in Pueblo country but also many Native groups in adjacent regions, such as the Apache and Navajo. Realistic or not, numbers such as these point to general baptisms and to the conversion accountability and accounting needed to justify mission work—a continuous predicament for missionaries of all orders.

In 1666 the Franciscans asked that New Mexico be made a *custodia* because they had twenty-four thousand Natives in all established missions.[2] The friars were provided with these and other Natives for church services and domestic chores, as well as food growing and processing. Most missions had a gardener,

[1] Fray Francisco Ayeta, Letter of Fray Francisco de Ayeta to the Viceroy, 1680, *Historia* 25, 160–160b, Archivo General de la Nación, Benson Latin America Collection, Austin, TX (hereafter AGN); Fray Pedro Serrano, Informe del R. P. Provincial Fray Pedro Serrano al Exmo Señor Virrey Marques de Cruillas, 1761, *Historia* 25, 72b, AGN.

[2] Fray Miguel de Menchero, Informe de Fray Miguel de Menchero á D. José Villaseñor, n.d., *Historia* 25, AGN.

two or three young males who assisted the friar with domestic chores, one to three women to grind corn and wheat, one to three sacristans, a bell-ringer, and a doorman. Aside from these services, the Natives provided to each mission between one and five *fanegas* (2.6 pounds per *fanega*) of corn and wheat that they planted and harvested for the friar, as well as meat, and supplies of wood and water. Adolescents of both sexes built the churches and convents.[3]

Native males and females of all ages labored for the Spanish settlers and the military as *encomendados*. They worked as farmers, ranchers, shepherds, masons, carpenters, blacksmiths, potters, cooks, nursemaids, and servants. Unlike the Californias and Texas, New Mexico conquistadors benefited from the *encomienda* and *repartamiento* labor systems, and Native households paid tribute in the form of cotton blankets and cereals.[4] Excessive and continuous demands for Native labor and goods resulted in fierce conflicts in the early period (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) as the Acoma and Jumano rebellions exemplify (Hammond and Rey 1953).[5] The demands imposed by the *encomienda* and *repartamiento* added to the labor provided the missionaries exacerbated Native grievances. The testimony of José, who spoke Spanish and was the servant of Sergeant Major Sebastián de Herrera, is a case in point. He joined the revolt because he was hungry and because of the harassment and bad treatment he received from several Spanish officers, who beat the Natives, stole what they had, and made them work and did not pay them for their labor and goods.[6] José was about twenty years old and exemplifies the attitudes of a generation that grew up under Spanish domination and Christianization. Born in the decade of 1660, José's anger had twenty years to fester. While the missionaries had great difficulty in excising traditional spiritual practices from among the older generations and often targeted the younger ones born under the Spanish colonial system, they had to contend with the dissatisfaction of the younger generations whose members continued to suffer the burden of the colonizer's demands without experiencing any relief, and that was a continuous missionary predicament regardless of mission location.

Labor complaints did not ease in later years. In 1782, Fray Agustín de Morfi stated that "a man who yesterday did not have a blanket with which to cover himself today is ashamed to work, and the poor Indian who owned his

[3] Fray Manuel de S. Juan Nepumocemo y Trigo, Letter to the R. P. Commisary General Fray Juan Antonio Abasolo, 1754, 357b–358, *Historia* vol. 25, AGN.

[4] George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, eds., *Don Juan de Oñate, Colonizer of New Mexico, 1595–1628* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1953), vol. 1, 22, 508.

[5] Ibid., vol. 1, 428–30, 509; and vol. 2, 615, 620, 650–51.

[6] José, Testimony, 1681, *Historia* 26, 129–32, AGN.

land for the same reason is a slave."[7] Labor demands and resulting conflicts were the symptom of a deeper malaise: the inevitable and sustained contact between two societies whose interdependence was real but unbalanced. In 1776, Lieutenant Colonel Antonio Bonilla noted that "the poorly-regulated frequent contact with the Spaniards led the Natives to lose the respect the early conquistadors managed to instill in them, because then the Natives saw them as immortal and alien people."[8] Bonilla, like many other military officers, mistook the effects of the power of the gun for respect, but he understood that contact demystified the Spanish, making them vulnerable, mortal, and equal.

Notwithstanding the labor burdens imposed on the Native Pueblo populations, sporadic revolts and the killing of friars resulted mostly from the Natives' refusal to discard their beliefs and spiritual practices. Native testimonies obtained in the 1681 attempts at reconquering New Mexico, as well as those made in 1696, show the strength of Native traditions and the spiritual deprivation their prohibition caused. In 1681, Governor Antonio de Otermín found that the outcomes of indigenous cultural and spiritual deprivation were the defilement, stoning, and burning of sacred images, and Native attempts to exorcize Christianity by bathing in the rivers, denying Christian marriages, and prohibiting the use of baptismal names.[9] This purifying rage also was a result of sustained contact and represented a measure of the deep wound that Christianity had made in Natives' cultural lives. Had Christianity not been relevant to the lives of post-conquest generations, 'exorcisms' would not have been necessary. The case of Don Francisco de Espeleta, who led the rebellious Moqui after 1680, exemplifies the intimacy and discord between the two cultures. Don Francisco was named after Fray José de Espeleta who raised Francisco and taught him to read and write. Don Francisco killed Fray Espeleta.[10]

Despite the expeditions of Francisco de Coronado (1540s) and Juan de Oñate (1590s to early 1600s) and the destruction and displacements they caused, the majority of Puebloans continued to live in large, well-organized towns. Attendance at religious ceremonies and performance of labor require-

[7] Fray Juan Agustin de Morfi, Desórdenes que se advierten en el nuevo México, y medios que se juzgan oportunos à repararlos para mejorar su constitución, y hacer feliz aquel réyno, 1782, *Historia* 25, 142–142b, AGN.

[8] Antonio Bonilla, Apuntes Historicos sobre el Nuevo México, escritos por el Sr. Teniente Coronel Dn. Antonio Bonilla, 1776, *Historia* 25, 124, AGN.

[9] José, Testimony, 67B, 130–33; Pedro Naranjo, Testimony, 1681, *Historia* 26, 136–37, AGN.

[10] Fray Francisco Yrazabal, Noticias de Moquí, y otras modernas del nuevo Mexico, 1730, *Historia* 25, 208b, AGN.

ments were compulsory, but Natives remained autonomous, retained their leaders, and continued to travel fairly unencumbered, maintaining contact among individuals, groups, and pueblos. Most importantly, the majority of household members returned to their pueblos and private dwellings at the end of the day, which sustained mutual support and provided a space of privacy to air out grievances and to strategize. Given the distances between pueblos and their distance from the seat of government in Santa Fe, as well as the presence of few Spaniards in each pueblo, including one or two friars, Spanish control was minimal compared to that of Alta California or Texas.

In New Mexico, the missionaries had the conditions for the preferred conversion model: a settled organized polity, fully agricultural and able to provide labor and sustenance to the friars.[11] Pueblo towns were the closest missionaries would get to the "European" village. The members of these polities could be convinced of the advantages of Christianity, and eventually accept, be forced, or be persuaded to attend and perform Catholic rituals. Conversion was at best skin deep as the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 finally proved. Over a century after the beginning of Catholic conversion in New Mexico, twenty-one Franciscan friars were killed in a couple of days. For the next sixteen years, the Spanish tried to reconquer New Mexico and they finally succeeded in 1696. Continuous rebellions after 1696 reaffirmed the problematic nature of the reconquest and Native conversion. In New Mexico, the friars had what they wished for: an agricultural population congregated in a village. From a Eurocentric perspective, it seemed that conversion would thrive in such setting, and yet it did not.

The *encomienda* system and the labor services provided to the missionaries created opportunities for systemic contact between conquerors and conquered; from that issued abuses, conflicts, and grievances. Continuous infighting between secular and religious leaders, mostly over authority in general and the control of native labor in particular, placed Native populations in the middle. While settled populations guaranteed easy access to food resources and craftspeople for settlers and friars, tightly knit villages made it possible for natives to communicate easily, share information, and maintain their ritual practices. I suggest that in New Mexico it was precisely the Eurocentric village model setting, together with a vivid memory of grievous early Native American experiences and the *encomienda* system, that permitted the continuation of Native spiritual practices, fortified their resolve, and led to the largest and longest Native revolt in the Southwest.

[11] Hammond and Rey, eds., *Don Juan de Oñate*, vol. 1, 483.

BAJA CALIFORNIA

The Jesuit conversion of Baja California began in 1697, one year after the Spanish reconquered New Mexico. Contact with Europeans had been sporadic and restricted before the missionaries' arrival. For various reasons, the Jesuits benefited from a good measure of financial autonomy, which allowed them to exercise options often unavailable to the Franciscans. Likewise, the Jesuits' capability to choose most of the local military leaders permitted a considerably more harmonious relationship with the military than that the Franciscans had in New Mexico, the Californias, or Texas, but this accord did not extend to the Native populations.

The first Jesuit letters speak of conflicts and apprehension as they attempted to establish a missionary beachhead in Baja California at Concho. The missionaries built trenches and palisades and used cannons to survive concerted Native attacks.[12] Throughout the peninsula, the Native groups that the Jesuits encountered were linguistically diverse, highly mobile, and hunted, gathered, and fished for a living. Although mobile, they set up their *rancherías* in specific resource areas for extended periods of time according to pre-established seasonal patterns. In the spring of 1698 while among the Cochime, Father Salvatierra explained the process: "[W]hen suddenly the whole *ranchería* left to another spot, and although the Caziques had warned us . . .[,] we were saddened by this departure or transmigration—as they had been here for seven months. . . . What is strange is that as soon as these people left, others of the same nation came . . . and remained here eight days attending the Christian doctrine just like the others; and then these also left and others of the same nation came to live here."[13]

Faced with the challenges that reluctant and mobile Native populations posed, in addition to an agriculturally poor and difficult landscape, the Jesuits opted for a system under which different Native groups visited the main mission on a weekly or biweekly rotation, returning afterward to their *rancherías.* Elsewhere[14] I assume that the Jesuits devised this rotational system as they realized its appropriateness, but quite likely they adopted it precisely because it fit the ancestral resource rotation the Native populations practiced, as Salvatierra noted among the Cochime. Writing in July 1699 while visiting Viggé (Biaundó)

[12] Fray Juan de Maria Salvatierra, Letter to Padre Juan de Ugarte, 1698, *Historia* 20, pt. 1, AGN.

[13] Fray Juan de Maria Salvatierra, Letter to Padre Juan de Ugarte, 1698, *Historia* 22, 33b–34, AGN.

[14] M.F. Wade, *Missions, Missionaries, and Native Americans: Long-Term Processes and Daily Practices* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008), 113–14, 144.

west of Loreto, the missionary noted that they spent part of the winter inland and relied on the products of the land and not on seafood.[15] Although most Baja California groups had a great appetite for corn, under this resource strategy and mission rotational system the Natives were responsible for their sustenance when away from the mission but retained their preferred lifestyles.

The Jesuits relied on *temastians*, native catechists who taught the Christian doctrine and basic prayers, and who were presumed to keep an eye on new converts while they were away from the mission.[16] Few Natives resided permanently at the mission stations, and for those who did not, contact with the missionaries was minimized, although not necessarily with civilian and military settlers and with the sailors who visited the Baja California coast. Nevertheless, unlike the situation in New Mexico, Native populations were not compelled to perform labor for the colonizers and could choose to avoid contact at the expense of trade and labor opportunities.

The Jesuits congregated the people from some *rancherías*, but these actions were taken mostly to address social concerns between groups and the considerable loss of population through disease.[17] The rotational system used, that was likely co-opted from the Natives, permitted the Jesuits to run the missions with fewer resources and minimized conflicts among Native groups, while facilitating the logistics of managing large gatherings. Nonetheless, as in New Mexico, this system provided the Native populations with considerable autonomy and opportunities to continue their spiritual practices. Also like New Mexico, revolts resulted mostly from confrontations with the missionaries about continued Native spiritual and social practices, indicating that the space of freedom the mission rotational afforded was not sufficient to mitigate the Christianization pressure on the Natives' lives.

After the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, the Franciscans took over missionary work in Baja California and in some cases continued to use the Jesuit rotational model.[18] Considering the variables discussed, such as systemic contact, settlement pattern, generational gaps, compulsory labor systems, and disease, this system could have worked better in terms of conversion because most Native groups came and went as they pleased, thus avoiding forceful congre-

[15] Fray Juan de Maria Salvatierra, Letter to Padre Juan de Ugarte, 1699, *Historia* 22, 62–63, AGN.

[16] Wade, *Missions, Missionaries, and Native Americans*, 159.

[17] Ernest J. Burrus, S.J., *Jesuit Relations, Baja California 1716–1762* (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1984), 115; Robert H. Jackson, *Indian Population Decline: The Missions of Northwestern Spain 1687–1840* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1995).

[18] Wade, *Missions, Missionaries, and Native Americans*, 172.

gation and fugitivism, except for the large loss of population due to epidemics in the area since at least 1699.[19] In comparison, dealing with massive and recurrent epidemics, a predicament for the missionary on moral and practical grounds, was largely absent from the missionary fields of New Mexico and Texas. Unlike the other variables, disease epidemics were a variable that neither Natives nor missionaries knew how to modify.

TEXAS

The Franciscans established the first missions in East Texas in 1690 among Caddoan-speaking agricultural populations, with minimal success. These populations lived in farmsteads and were organized into polities with influential religious and civic leaders who presided over a rich ceremonial life. The Caddoans of east Texas accepted the friars but, despite the latter's repeated insistence, refused to congregate around the missions. These nations welcomed the possibilities of trade offered by the Spanish, but dexterously avoided religious commitments. The Caddoans' settlement pattern minimized contact with the conquistadors whose reputation for meddling and sexual misconduct preceded them. In fact, the Hasinai of east Texas, where the first missions were established, insisted that the Spanish settlers and soldiers should bring along their wives and families.[20] For the missionary, the impossibility of gathering the Natives for a daily religious schedule of mass, catechism, and other religious ceremonies created a serious predicament. Native enmity, the Crown's financial woes, and a great deal of missionary frustration eventually resulted in the abandonment of most east Texas missions by 1730.

Unlike New Mexico, where the pueblo houses were concentrated around a plaza, although the agricultural fields were away from the pueblo, the east Texas Caddoans' dwellings and farmsteads were dispersed and often located at considerable distance from village religious and civic centers. This settlement pattern made the missionaries' access to resources and services difficult and they were mostly dependent on Native officials for protection. Also, the Spanish were invited guests in Hasinai country; the local Native groups had not been conquered by force, nor were they subject to labor requirements. It is possible that under the social etiquette afforded to guests, the Spanish could not be made to

[19] Fray Francisco Palou, Noticias de la Nueva California escritas por el R. P. Fray Francisco Palou, 1779, *Historia* 22, 53b-56, AGN; Fray Juan de Maria Salvatierra, Letter to Padre Juan de Ugarte, 1699, *Historia* 22, 61, AGN.

[20] Wade, *Missions, Missionaries, and Native Americans*, 112.

leave by force, although they could certainly be forcefully persuaded to depart, as they were. While pervasive contact between Spaniards and Natives in New Mexico fostered Native contempt and led to revolt and violent reconquest, in east Texas diminished contact led to crafty Native policies of postponement, which eventually resulted in missionary fatigue to win over the Natives.[21]

In the early 1700s, the Franciscans established several missions on the Rio Grande, along the San Antonio River, and on the Texas Gulf coast. Unlike the earlier missions, these were set up for groups that hunted and gathered for a living and had a high degree of mobility. The Natives were persuaded or forced to congregate at the missions following a modified hacienda model.[22] Under this model, the natives labored communally for the building, maintenance, and sustenance of the mission community. Natives grew crops, raised cattle, processed and cooked food, wove most of their own clothing, and made many of the tools and utensils needed for a large agricultural facility—in sum, Native labor maintained a facility that generally housed over two hundred people. Willingly or not, mission residents raised their families in the compound and it had to have been a lively, vibrant community with intense contact among different Native groups, as well as with those from nearby missions. In fact, one of the reasons that the missions in San Antonio and on the Rio Grande fared so well was the support neighboring missions provided to each other.

The missionaries made every effort to minimize Native contact with the settlers and the military, although contact was inevitable because Natives were used as guides, interpreters, and warriors. Obviously the mission Natives were not continuously under the friars' or soldiers' control, but their lives were highly regimented, and if they fled, they were brought back by force or persuasion. The Natives often opted out of the mission life; this constituted one of the missionary's most trying predicaments. In time, high fortified walls were built to keep the Natives in and everyone else out, particularly groups such as the Apache, Comanche, and Wichita, who threatened the missions from the 1720s onward. This model came to be called "the Texas method,"[23] and in this model the missionary was the religious leader as well as the purchase agent and financial manager of the community—and that was a predicament. Friars, such as Fray José Oliva, resented the need to be effective as a financial manager and having his missionary capabilities judged, or misjudged, accordingly. He, and others, saw the missionary task as one of relentlessly working at conversion,

[21] Ibid., 111–12.
[22] Ibid., 115–16.
[23] Ibid., 115.

even if no one was converted.[24] It is as if the secular intricacies of financial management constituted a distraction and a pollutant of the scholarly and religious mind of the missionary. The adoption of the Texas method also created logistic and didactic conditions in the Texas and Alta California missions rather different from those in New Mexico and Baja California.

Similar to the situation in New Mexico, the gap between the contact and post-contact generations created issues for the missionaries, although never on the scale of New Mexico's. Sporadic Native disputes with specific missions resulted in the loss of mission population, labor power, and hampered the economic welfare and sustainability of missions.[25] While this generation gap was not a serious predicament for the missionaries in Texas, fugitivism was, because it was a continuous phenomenon that systematically eroded the size of the Christianized population and affected the spiritual and economic life of the mission. Conversely, and as in New Mexico, disease epidemics do not appear to have had as great an impact in Texas as they did in the Californias, and did not constitute a severe predicament for the missionaries.

ALTA CALIFORNIA

The Franciscans began the conversion of Alta California in 1769, about the same time that the majority of Texas missions were being closed or secularized. The missionization of Alta California came at the end of the Spanish colonial period, but it benefited from 150 years of mission experience in North America and from the work of energetic and gifted Franciscans such as Fray Junípero Serra and Fray Fermín Lasuén. In Alta California as in Baja, the Franciscans encountered mostly mobile Native populations who hunted, gathered, and fished for a living, although similar to Baja California, these populations remained in resource-rich areas for extended periods of time.

Physiography, distance, and language diversity challenged the missionaries, but they did not have to deal with the *encomienda* system as in New Mexico, nor did they fear well-armed, well-organized, and efficient warriors such as the Apache, Comanche, or Wichita as they did in Texas. Yet, the Franciscans in Alta California adopted the Texas method and their missionaries faced the same predicaments: repeated Native fugitivism and managerial responsibilities for which many lacked skill. In Texas, Fray José Oliva saw the role of the Franciscan friar as separate from that of a financial manager, who might or

[24] Ibid., 263.
[25] Ibid., 117–21.

might not be competent for that task. In California, Fray Francisco Palou and his colleagues expressed their discontent in another manner. In 1779, when faced with Inspector-General José de Gálvez's demands for Native labor without remuneration, Palou polled his missionary colleagues on what to do. The friars suggested that he renounce the financial and economic administration of the Baja California missions in order that the San Fernando College Franciscans would not be blamed for the loss or poor condition of the missions.[26]

The Native populations in the missions of Alta California suffered repeated epidemics and generally high mortality rates,[27] which directly affected the viability of the missions and the long-term work of conversion as the missionaries sought to restore their missions' populations. Losses from both disease and fugitivism were serious predicaments for the missionaries. Several violent revolts and the episodic killing of missionaries highlighted the experiences and attitudinal differences between the populations of Alta California and Texas, where no significant revolts against the missionaries ever occurred.[28] Undoubtedly there were generation gap issues for those involved in the revolts as the influence of spiritual specialists was always strong, but it is difficult to assess the influence of older generations on the younger ones because the missions of Alta California were established at the end of the mission period.[29] The paramount incentive to rebel and to shun the colonial burden of labor and Christianity appears to have been the missionary project to civilize and erase Native traditional practices (*la gentilidad*) by making them all Christians (*haciendolos a todos cristianos*).[30]

CONCLUSIONS

When one considers the major predicaments faced by the missionaries who came to North and Central America, three principal clusters of issues become salient: didactical and logistical, biological and genealogical, and spiritual and civilizing. Missionaries could not accomplish their conversion objectives unless they were able to congregate the Native populations for religious instruction and practices. A proper venue was not sufficient; they needed to gather the people for systematic instruction and reinforcement through practice. Also, mis-

[26] Fray Francisco Palou, Noticias de la Nueva California escritas por el R. P. Fray Francisco Palou, 1779, *Historia* 22, 61, AGN.

[27] Jackson, *Indian Population Decline*, 60–88.

[28] Wade, *Missions, Missionaries, and Native Americans*, 178–79.

[29] Ibid., 173, 223.

[30] Fray Francisco Palou, Noticias de la Nueva California escritas por el R. P. Fray Francisco Palou, 1775, *Historia* 22, 338–39, AGN.

sionaries were often asked and expected to act as financial managers of the missions they ran, and many saw these requirements and expectations as contrary to their work as spiritual guides and instructors. The mission, as a self-sustaining institution, demanded continuous work and attention to detail, and placed great demands on the missionary's time, effort, and patience. A corollary to the profitable and well-managed mission was the obvious fact that it attracted "converts" for the resources it provided, served as an example to emulate, and could be used as a poster mission to promote the establishment of other missions. From those perspectives, economic and financial management skills were essential to feed and clothe the Native populations, keep them in the mission, and further the work of conversion through the creation of other missions.

The loss of population through disease, warfare, fugitivism, and labor attrition diminished the number of life-long converts and resulted in continuous replacement of the Natives under instruction. Coupled with this problem was the generation gap. While the generation that experienced colonial contact often rejected Christianity because of their cultural attachment to traditional practices and ideas—social, spiritual, or both—the post-contact generations resented Christianity's impositions that destroyed the socioeconomic Native systems principally through the Catholic mandate of marriage and proscription of warfare, and through colonial labor practices. Christianity demanded the acceptance of a new social system that precluded traditional alliances through marriage and upward mobility through warfare practices, while the colonial systems of labor, in cases such as New Mexico, also precluded economic stability, which in turn affected marriage and upward mobility.

Several archival examples and Native statements emphasize the extent to which the Catholic interdiction against Native spiritual practices remained the hub against full, internalized conversion, and the fact that some of these were death-bed statements makes them all the more relevant. The role of shamanic guidance and admonitions was intrinsically sociocultural and economic. Like Christianity, Native spiritual leanings permeated through all aspects of Native life. If the systemic nature of Christianity's demands was the paramount predicament for missionaries and for Natives because it left no aspect of Native life untouched, so was the abandonment of traditional Native practices.

If we take Fray Oliva's reluctance to deal with financial matters and the accounting of baptisms not as much as a denial of the importance of such issues, but as a deep understanding that conversion required time, we can make sense of his predicament. Fray Oliva wanted to put time *into* conversion, that is, to give it time to become a habit, a life compass that would not be disrupted by questions of faith.

CHAPTER 19
Talking to the Desert: Franciscan Explorations and Narratives of Eighteenth-Century Arizona

José Refugio de la Torre Curiel

> How do we know landscape? For most human beings,
> the primary way of knowing the material world is through vision,
> the simple act of opening the eyes and looking at an object,
> a scene, a horizon.[1]

As simple as this epigraph might seem, discovering the landscape around us brings together our earlier experiences, a certain ability, one's innate curiosity, and a willingness to register or ignore elements that call out to or challenge our intention to endow with meaning the surroundings we strive to perceive. Since comprehending the landscape involves a process of ordering the spectator's ideas, context, and sensibilities, it is in essence a form of representing space and the histories interwoven within it.[2]

In recent years, students of visual culture have set out from such reflections to analyze photographs, images, maps, gardens, walls, and cities, so as to understand how the landscape is captured, configured, and transmitted by different individuals, considering that those elements constitute "metaphoric framing devices for personal and institutional ideologies absorbed through the visual perception of landscapes."[3] It is this perspective that gives rise to a notion in which the landscape is seen as a consequence of the interaction between sub-

[1] Diane Harris and D. Fairchild Ruggles, "Landscape and Vision," in *Sites Unseen: Landscape and Vision*, edited by Harris and Ruggles (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007), 6.

[2] John Brinckerhoff Jackson, *A Sense of Place, a Sense of Time* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1994).

[3] Harris and Ruggles, "Landscape and Vision," xiv.

ject and environment, a result of repeated experiences, or a creation of the senses. Thus, landscape is a human construct and a product of personal experience with the environment; as W.J.T. Mitchell suggests, it must be understood "not as an object to be seen, or a text to be read, but as a process by which social and subjective identities are formed."[4]

In the case that concerns me here, I suggest examining a series of geographical descriptions from the late colonial period as part of those same cultural practices of appropriating the landscape. My goal is to show that beyond the Spanish Crown's expansionist logic, the narratives elaborated by Franciscan missionaries were shaped by intellectual frameworks and specific personal and institutional contexts that were congruent with the debate over the possibilities of renewing missionary work in New Spain in the late eighteenth century. It has been said that such testimonies form part of the writing of an imperial history that reduces landscapes to mere scenarios where significant events take place for the culture that seeks to impose its meaning of territorial occupation. Nonetheless, it is possible to begin to see in those narratives two other ways of perceiving the landscape or documenting a "spatial history" that reveals the "spatial forms and fantasies through which a culture declares its presence."[5] One as yet unexplored aspect is the way in which the inhabitants of the lands described in such texts relate themselves to the local landscape through the names they bestow upon the elements that constitute it; the ways in which they traverse those territories; and the historical-religious symbolism with which they are associated. Another angle—the one presented in this study—deals with the perception of the landscape mediated by two missionaries' experiences; considering this perspective obviously brings the broader imperial dimension into the analysis, but without reducing the dialogue among observer, landscape and representation to that sole cause. Just as open-air observations in the eighteenth century turned to Claude glass in order to appreciate the details of the landscape in an environment designed by the observer, to control perspective "in order to create dramatic illusions of a landscape that appeared real," and to guide the eye to perceive in a culturally privileged form, so too the questions that underlie this work ask if it is possible to determine—in the case of descriptions written by eighteenth-century Franciscans—what the metaphoric mirrors for capturing the landscapes of New Spain's northern frontier where, and how

[4] W.J.T. Mitchell, *Landscape and Power* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 1.

[5] Eric Hirsh, "Introduction: Landscape: Between Place and Space," in *The Anthropology of Landscape. Perspectives on Place and Space*, ed. Eric Hirsh and Michael O'Hanlon (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 3.

their use limited or expanded the vision of those authors.[6] This is a study about a dialogue between a couple of Franciscans and the landscape they tried to understand; they evidently asked biased questions, but that very characteristic is what constitutes an important matter of discussion.

NORTHERN NEW SPAIN IN THE CONTEXT OF LATE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY IMPERIAL EXPANSION

The final third of the eighteenth century was a period of constant rearrangements in European geopolitics, changes that to a greater or lesser degree impacted the territories held by England, France, and Spain in the Americas. The Seven Years' War (1756–1763) would constitute a watershed in this context because of the costly consequences of that conflict for France and Spain. Suffice to recall that the Treaty of Paris (1763), which put an end to that conflagration, endorsed Great Britain's advance in North America, as it secured the territories of Canada and those east of the Mississippi. For Spain, in turn, this meant the loss of Florida and the acquisition of the French region of Louisiana.[7]

For obvious reasons, the result of this new alliance between Spain and France exacerbated the Spanish monarchy's fear of the very real possibility that it might lose its American possessions given the consolidation of British, military, naval, and commercial power. The fact that their rivals in this conflict proclaimed that with the short-lived capture of Havana and Manila, they had achieved "the most transcendental conquest yet attained in [the Americas]," was a somber reminder of the latent threat of British expansionism.[8] Indeed, it was clear to the Spanish that "the vital scenario of intra-European rivalry was not Europe, but the Americas, and that the greatest threat was . . . England."[9] Another disturbing foreign presence came from the northern Pacific coast,

[6] Diane Harris and D. Fairchild Ruggles, "Landscape and Vision," in *Sites Unseen: Landscape and Vision*, ed. Diane Harris and D. Fairchild Ruggles (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007), 9.

[7] The Treaty of Paris stipulated the ceding of Florida to Great Britain by Spain in exchange for the return of Havana and Manila, cities captured by the English during the war. France, in turn, ceded its positions in Canada and east of the Mississippi to England. To compensate Spain's losses, France also ceded the Louisiana territory west of that river. At the end of the war, Charles III decided to strengthen his defenses in Cuba and New Spain, in preparation for possible British expansion. J.H. Elliot, *Empires of the Atlantic World. Britain and Spain in America, 1492–1830* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2006); and Pedro Ruiz Torres, *Historia de España*, vol. 5: *Reformismo e Ilustración* (Barcelona: Crítica-Marcial Pons, 2008), 333–38.

[8] Cited in Ruiz Torres, *Historia de España*, 338.

[9] Stanley J. Stein and Barbara H. Stein, *El apogeo del imperio: España y Nueva España en la era de Carlos III, 1759–1789* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2005), 24.

where the Russians had established a fur-exporting enclave. Its operations (and potential danger for the Spanish presence in California) increased, especially toward the last quarter of the eighteenth century.[10]

To protect its American territories, the Spanish knew that they had to prepare military defenses in case of a foreign incursion. On the other hand, some of the Spanish king's advisors were certain that the danger emanated from within his own dominions, as certain sectors of the population criticized the restrictions placed upon trade and communications between the colonies and the Metropolis. Moreover, the fiscal and administrative control over the American possessions was insufficient to satisfy the demands of the Crown.[11]

But, as if English power and the reduction of the Crown's financial resources were not enough reason for urgent reflections by Spanish diplomats and Treasury (Hacienda) officials, the threat of widespread indigenous uprising along New Spain's northern frontier was equally pressing. Whether fictitious or real, the possibility that such indigenous peoples as the Pimas, Seris, Yaquis, Apaches, and Comanches would displace Spanish settlers from those provinces represented a grave threat to the viceroyalty's internal security.[12]

In New Spain, a first step toward resolving these issues was taken in 1765 when the Marquis de Rubí ordered a review of all presidios in New Spain, and proposed that "everything necessary to conduce to their better government and state of defense" be done.[13] As is well known, the fiscal aspect and political administrative reforms in New Spain were entrusted to Visitador General José de Gálvez (1765–1771),[14] who would later push for the establishment of the system

[10] Although the Russian presence is documented from earlier times, it took on greater relevance in the 1780s after the commencement of formal operations by the Imperial Russian-American Fur Company (1779). After that, the Spaniards were wary of a possible alliance between Russia and England in the Pacific, or the expansion of the Russian colony on the Kamchatka Peninsula. Mario Hernández Sánchez-Barba, *La última expansión española en América* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 1957), 286–88.

[11] Stein and Stein, *El apogeo del imperio*, 25–26.

[12] José Refugio de la Torre Curiel, "Con la sierra a cuestas: Apaches y españoles en la frontera sonorense en el siglo XVIII," *Nuevo Mundo. Mundos Nuevos* (2011), Debates section, available at http://nuevomundo.revues.org/60707 (accessed February 10, 2011); María del Carmen Velázquez, *La frontera norte y la experiencia colonial* (Mexico City: Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, 1982).

[13] The inspection took almost two years, from March 1766 to February 1768. Hernández, *La última expansión española*, 86–92; Herbert Ingram Priestley, *José de Gálvez: Visitor-General of New Spain (1765–1771)* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1916), 288–89; Nicolás de Lafora, *Relación del viaje que hizo a los presidios internos situados en la frontera de la América Septentrional. . .* (Mexico City: Editor Pedro Robredo, 1939).

[14] In March 1765, Gálvez received specific instructions to look for ways to increase revenues for New Spain's Treasury (Real Hacienda), defend its frontiers, visit all tribunals in the viceroyalty,

of *intendencias* and the creation of the Comandancia General de Provincias Internas (General Command of the Internal Provinces) in the viceroyalty.[15]

In that context, the exploration of northern New Spain became, more than ever before, an enterprise of capital importance for the Spanish monarchy. According to Enlightenment policies devised to ensure better control over the Crown's dominions, surveying and delimiting the frontier was an imperative both for defending Spain's possessions and for the planning of territorial and administrative reform.[16] The expedition to California (1769) led by Gaspar de Portolá and the search for the route from Sonora to California headed by Juan Bautista de Anza (1774–1776) were undertaken precisely during those efforts to firmly establish the Spanish presence along those frontiers.[17] In the second case, Anza's commission provides some clues for a better understanding of the milieu that appears in the diaries written by two of his companions: Franciscan missionaries Francisco Garcés and Pedro Font.

THE FRANCISCAN MISSION FRONTIER IN THE NORTHWEST

After the expulsion of the Jesuits from New Spain in 1767, the Franciscan province of Xalisco and three Colegios de Propaganda Fide—Santa Cruz de Querétaro, San Fernando de México, and Guadalupe de Zacatecas—took on mission work on the viceroyalty's northern frontier—except for the "Antigua California" missions, which in time comprised a Dominican-staffed district.[18]

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and fix whatever was necessary as he saw fit. Measures such as establishing the *reales caja*s, royal monopolies on certain products (cards, gunpowder, tobacco), other tax increases, and a reduction in the price of mercury, all contributed to those ends. During his visitation, Gálvez organized the expedition to Sonora to combat the Seri Indians and strengthen frontier *presidios*. Priestley, *José de Gálvez*, 123–34.

[15] Ibid., 283–95; Hernández, *La última expansión española*, 114–32; and Luis Navarro García, *Don José de Gálvez y la Comandancia General de las Provincias internas del norte de Nueva España* (Seville: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1964), 131–349.

[16] Áurea Commons, "La organización territorial de España y sus posesiones en América durante el siglo de las luces," in *La geografía de la Ilustración*, coord. José Omar Moncada Maya (Mexico City: Instituto de Geografía, 2003), 41–81.

[17] Hernández, *La última expansión española*, 266–74.

[18] José Refugio de la Torre Curiel, "La frontera misional novohispana a fines del siglo XVIII: un caso para reflexionar sobre el concepto de misión," in *El gran norte mexicano. Indios, misioneros y pobladores entre el mito y la historia*, coord. Salvador Bernabéu Albert (Seville: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2009), 306–07. The Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, or Propaganda Fide, founded in 1622, aimed to reinvigorate missionary work among members of the Franciscan order. A number of *colegios*—colleges/seminaries—were established after that date according to the spirit of this Congregation. In New Spain, the first seminary of this kind was

Several studies have shown that in this new phase of missionary activity, restrictions on the padres' roles as well as new arrangements for Spanish population centers worked in favor of the development of haciendas and Spanish villages, despite the fact that harassment by hostile Indians and attacks by diverse pluriethnic bands posed a constant threat to those advances.[19] In the specific case that concerns me here, the province of Sonora, the gradual consolidation of the civilian population together with the reorganization of the context of mission operations, meant that the evangelization projects of the Franciscans met different fates in the two mission districts in the province. By the 1770s, in Pimería Baja and Opatería, it was clear that the missionaries from the Franciscan province of Xalisco had found it impossible to keep the mission Indians there living in peace and order (*bajo campana*); to make things worse, local churches' material conditions had begun to deteriorate due to scarcity of funds. In Pimería Alta, in contrast, the greater distance between missions and Spanish settlements, the relatively low number of nonindigenous settlers, and the fact that the clergy from the Colegio de Querétaro were authorized to administer the temporalities of those missions and organize Indians' communal work, were all factors that favored the rapid recovery of local finances; in that context, the Queretarans were able to seriously consider the possibility of extending the mission frontier towards the Gila and Colorado Rivers as early as 1768.[20]

FRANCISCANS IN THE DESERT

Among the missionaries of the Colegio de Querétaro assigned to Pimería Alta, the idea of establishing new missions among the Yumas and Pimas in the

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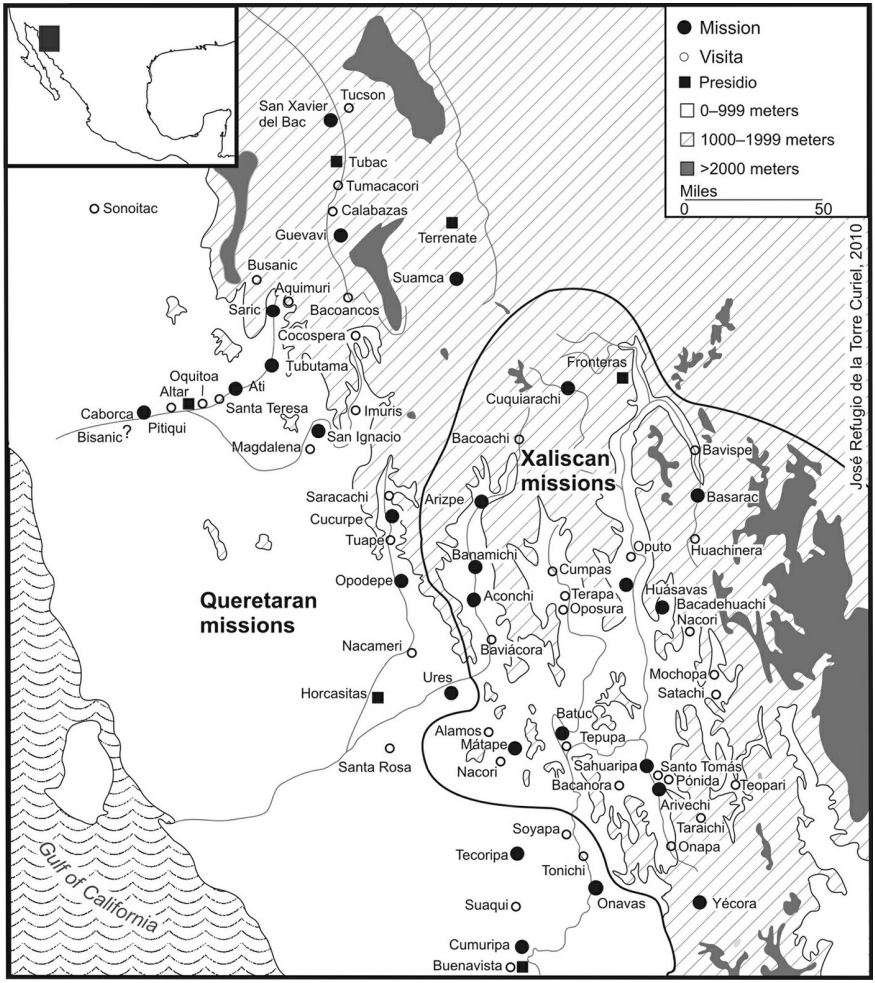
founded in Querétaro in 1683. Isidro Félix Espinosa, *Crónica de los Colegios de Propaganda Fide de la Nueva España* (Washington, DC: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1964).

[19] Among other measures, royal officials tried to enhance the interaction between Indians and Spanish settlers by limiting the missionaries' access to indigenous labor, separating them from the handling of communal properties, and restricting the activities of the friars exclusively to doctrinal concerns. Saúl Jerónimo Romero, *De las misiones a los ranchos y las haciendas. La privatización de la tierra en Sonora, 1740–1860* (Hermosillo: Gobierno del Estado de Sonora, 1995); José Refugio de la Torre Curiel, "Decline and Renaissance amidst the Crisis: The Transformation of Sonora's Mission Structures in the Late Colonial Period," *Colonial Latin American Review* 18, no. 1 (2009), 51–52; José Refugio de la Torre Curiel, "Con la sierra a cuestas"; Ignacio Almada Bay, José Marcos Medina Bustos, and María del Valle Borrero Silva, "Hacia una nueva interpretación del régimen colonial en Sonora: Descubriendo a los indios y redimensionando a los misioneros, 1681–1821," *Región y sociedad* 29, special issue (2007), 254–60.

[20] De la Torre Curiel, "Decline and Renaissance amidst the Crisis," 51–73.



MAP 1. Franciscan missions in Sonora, 1768.

desert had been with them ever since their arrival in Sonora in 1768. In concordance with the objectives of Propaganda Fide, the project of converting the largest possible number of individuals to Christianity was the main justification of the existence of that branch of the Franciscans.[21] In the Colegio de

[21] Some recent studies of the Colegio de San Fernando de México and the Colegio Santa Cruz de Querétaro offer important reflections on the diverse ways of understanding this call among the Propaganda Fide seminaries in New Spain. See Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M.

Querétaro's view, the commission that Viceroy de Croix had entrusted to them upon placing them in Sonora entailed, first, attracting the Indians to the mission towns "and congregating as many of them as possible"; that was how the plan designed by that Colegio summarized the internal government of the missionaries sent to Sonora, while adding, secondly, that upon his arrival at this new destination each friar was expected to obtain "an exact knowledge of the qualities and circumstances of those localities [including] the rivers, hillsides and plains so as to gain a full understanding of their situations and, principally, of the nations that wander freely there and can be added to the missions."[22]

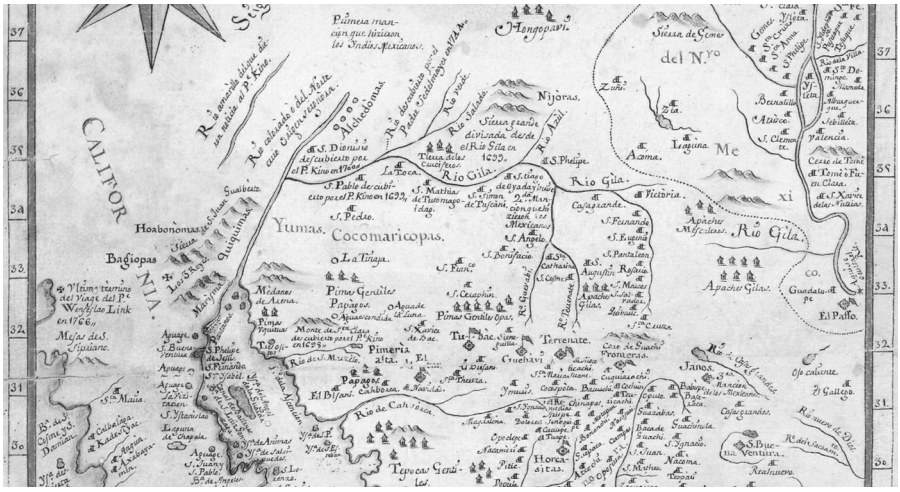
In the case of Fray Francisco Garcés, assigned to the San Xavier del Bac Mission, the first opportunity to carry out those instructions emerged only two months after his arrival in Sonora.[23] On August 29, 1768, he set out for the first time to traverse the territory between Pimería Alta and the Gila River, a zone he dared to visit once again in October 1770, before joining the expeditions that searched for the land route to California.[24]

Senkewicz, "Uncertainty on the Mission Frontier: Missionary Recruitment and Institutional Stability in Alta California in the 1790s," in *Francis in the Americas: Essays on the Franciscan Family in North and South America*, ed. John F. Schwaller (Berkeley, CA: Academy of American Franciscan History, 2005), 295–322; David Rex Galindo, "Franciscanos e indios en la Alta California española, 1769–1822," *Espacio, tiempo y forma*, 4, no. 20 (2007), 157–70; José Refugio de la Torre Curiel, "Franciscan Missionaries in Late-Colonial Sonora: Five Decades of Change and Conflict," in *Alta California: Peoples in Motion, Identities in Formation, 1769–1850*, ed. Steven W. Hackel (Berkeley: University of California Press and The Huntington Library, 2010), 47–75.

[22] *Instrucciones para los misioneros del Colegio de Querétaro destinados a Sonora*, Querétaro, August 4, 1767, Archivo Franciscano de la Provincia de Michoacán, Archivo de Querétaro (hereafter AFPM-AQ), letter K, leg. 14, no. 3.

[23] Garcés was born in 1738 in the kingdom of Aragón and at twenty-eight years of age entered the Colegio de Querétaro. He formally received the San Xavier del Bac mission on June 28, 1768. AFPM-AQ, letter K, leg. 14, no. 8; John Galvin, "Introduction," in *Fray Francisco Garcés, A Record of Travels in Arizona and California: 1775–1776* (San Francisco: John Howell Books, 1967), v.

[24] In March 1769, Garcés traveled across the lands of the Apaches and Sobaipures; later, on August 8, 1771, he set out on another trip into the area southwest of San Xavier del Bac, reaching as far as San Marcelo de Sonoitac. In 1774, he joined Juan Bautista de Anza in a small expedition to San Gabriel, California, and on October 21, 1775, he returned to the desert as a member of that year's Anza expedition. *Copia de las noticias sacadas y remitidas por el Pe Predicador fr. Francisco Garcés de los diarios que ha formado en las cuatro entradas practicadas desde el año de 68 hasta el presente de 75 a la frontera septentrional de los gentiles de Nueva España*, Fray Francisco Garcés, San Xavier del Bac, May 21, 1775, AFPM-AQ, letter K, leg. 14, no. 6; Galvin, "Introduction." Garcés's reports on his five *entradas*—not including the 1769 visit to Apache country—were published in Elliott Coues, "Introduction," in *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer: The Diary and Itinerary of Francisco Garcés (Missionary Priest) in His Travels through Sonora, Arizona and California, 1775–1776*, ed. Coues (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1900), xiii–xxx.



MAP 2. José Antonio de Alzate, Plano de las Provincias de Ostimuri, Sinaloa, Sonora. . . , 1772 (fragment). (From Martín Reyes Vayssade and Víctor Manuel Ruiz Naufal, *Joyas de la cartografía mexicana* [Mexico City: Grupo Impresor Carmona, 1995], 81.)

Garcés obviously benefited from earlier travels in that country; the descriptions, maps, and territorial projects of Eusebio Kino and Jesuit companions provided ample evidence and knowledge about those lands and their people.[25] However, unlike those previous experiences, Franciscan explorations in the late eighteenth century took place in the midst of a shared urge for pushing north New Spain's frontier.[26]

Beyond that common ground, we also need to acknowledge that new perspectives and ways of understanding such distant places were at play in this new context. It is important to note that during his initial stage of observation in the Papaguería, Garcés seemed to radically change his way of projecting the process of mission settlement and thus his perception of the desert space and landscape.

[25] Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Rim of Christendom: a biography of Eusebio Francisco Kino, Pacific coast pioneer* (New York: MacMillan, 1936); De la Torre Curiel, "La frontera misional novohispana."

[26] As Coues and Galvin noted, Garcés traveled along and across the desert beyond San Xavier del Bac in the interest of both church and state, reporting which of the Indian groups were willing to congregate in new missions and become subjects of the king of Spain, and attempting to discover an overland route that would link New Mexico, Sonora, and California. Galvin, "Introduction," v–vi; Coues, "Introduction," xiii.

I consider it necessary to return to this stage—the one preceding the preparation of his well-known diary of the 1775–1776 expedition—in order to contextualize the process of landscape construction he presents in his narratives.[27]

At the beginning, Garcés found himself in the midst of an expedition of conquest, as the Papaguería was still a scenario of open warfare in which the military was obliged to constitute the vanguard of the Spanish presence. Hence, as he wrote in one of his first reports to the Colegio de Querétaro, the key was to establish a military garrison (*cuartel numeroso*) among the Nijoras as a base from which to extend occupation of the territory between the Gila and Colorado Rivers. The recent practice of forming the presidios in a line behind the towns left the Indians exposed to raids by the Apaches and other enemies, acts that would not occur if the presidios were established ahead of the settlements. Occupying the lands connecting New Mexico and Sonora, finishing off the hostile Indians, and establishing towns and trade "between Monterey, the Colorado River, New Mexico and New France" were the three benefits that this model of expansion promised, in all likelihood because of recent rearrangements in the political geography in the north of the American continent. It was necessary to make such ambitious calculations and "speak squarely," Garcés declared in early 1771, "because when one sees his house burning, one does whatever it takes."[28] However, in that same year Garcés's ideas on how to work among the inhabitants of those lands would change, as he suggested a more moderate form of intervention, one more in harmony with the resources of the groups among which the Spanish wished to found new missions. The key elements would be sporadic visits by friars, who would stay in the Indian camps (*rancherías*) for at most two weeks at a time, constructing their own dwellings, but making no mention of extensive plantings or demanding that the Indians provide services to them. Garcés insisted that they should not think of "entering in one fell swoop including soldiers, and obliging [the Indians] to serve them by supplying grains and water."[29] Thus, the keystone of this new vision of the Papaguería landscape and the delta of the Gila River consisted in recognizing a precarious balance in the disposition of resources for the new population centers; in essence, Garcés suggested, the

[27] Garcés's diary—*Record of Travels* or *Diario y derrotero*—was completed in Tubutama, Sonora, on January 3, 1777. It has been published several times since its first appearance in Mexico in 1854. For consistency's sake, quotations for this work come from Galvin's 1967 edition (see n. 23).

[28] Fray Francisco Garcés to Fray José del Río, San Xavier del Bac, March 8, 1771, AFPM-AQ, letter K, leg. 14, no. 6.

[29] AFPM-AQ, letter K, leg. 14, no. 6.

only persons capable of sustaining this balance were the missionaries by congregating local indigenous groups.

Although it lacks the grandeur of his latest explorations—and reports, for this study's purposes—the span between 1768 and 1774 could be considered as a phase of reconnaissance and learning that led Garcés to mold a particular image of a vast region commonly perceived as a desert landscape.[30] Thus, for example, upon arriving at the Gila River in 1770, this explorer-missionary recorded the presence of "many people and good lands" quite pleasing to the European eye, and stressed the fact that beyond San Xavier del Bac he had found "temporary ranches" inhabited by Pápagos. It must be noted that, according to Garcés, this journey was motivated by his desire to succor the Gila River Pimas, who had informed Garcés that many of them were dying because of "smallpox and fever."

During this trip, Garcés went back to the Pima towns of Pitac and Sutaquison, visited previously by Jesuit missionaries Kino and Sedelmayer, although he later strayed from the route followed by the black robes to approach the lands of the Opas, near a Sierra called "Comars." Along the way, he passed an unnamed salt flat that he marked as a reference point for the entrance to Opa lands. There, he heard news of an Opa town called Uctuactac, where bartering took place among the Opas, other Indians, and white men from Moqui.[31] Garcés's 1770 report emphasized the availability of some produce and the agricultural knowledge of local Pima Indians, thus implying that missionary work in that zone could rely on such elements: "[T]hese Opa Indians and the Gila [River] Pimería have good lands; cultivate cotton, squash, watermelon, corn and in the former ranches, wheat."[32] He was no naturalist, as Galvin reminds us[33]; when Garcés looked around, edibles and nuisances seemed to have powerfully captured his attention; his suggestive silence on river resources and the selective presence of wheat seem to speak more to the way in which this missionary imagined the future presence of his religious institution in those zones than to any relation between local Indians and their environment.

This is confirmed, in part by the fact that the observer was puzzled as to why, having cotton, those people did not use that resource to produce textiles.

[30] Compared to his participation in the 1775–1776 expedition to California, Garcés's previous trips have been considered of "little consequence" and "not notable" in their results. Coues, "Introduction," xiii.

[31] Fray Francisco Garcés to the guardian of the Colegio de Querétaro, Fray José de Araujo, Tumacacori, November 23, 1770, AFPM-AQ, letter K, leg. 14, no. 6.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Galvin, "Introduction," viii.

Indeed, he wrote: "though [the Opas] plant cotton, their women still wear a branch around their body from which they hang many strips cut from the bark of willow trees which serves as undergarments." But perhaps Garcés's most important conclusion resulting from his visit to the Gila River was configuration of a mental map of the boundaries that could be established around the area inhabited by the Opas and Gila River Pimas, which would not be based on recognizing their subsistence patterns or the meanings that the Indians attributed to their surroundings but, rather, by the conclusions at which the observer himself arrived upon realizing the scope of the "relatives and enemies" of those groups. Thus, he delineated a political configuration for the desert and river, one justified by the commercial relations and linguistic affinity that Garcés deduced from his experience among the Opas and Pimas, thanks to his Pima interpreter.[34]

As stated above, Garcés continued his *entradas* to the Gila River after 1770. On the basis of his reports, the Colegio de Querétaro formally requested permission to establish new missions in the area described by this friar. Thus, in mid-1773 the Quereterans petitioned Viceroy Bucareli that in view of the practice that different religious institutions were assigned to "separate districts" for their missionary labors, and given that the Colegio de Querétaro was penetrating the areas around "the Gila, Colorado and Azul Rivers, among others":

> Your Excellency, in your wisdom, should assign to the aforementioned Colegio for its apostolic ministry [the area from] the mouth of the Colorado River in the cabecera of the California Gulf, following the course of the aforementioned rivers until they meet with the missionaries of New Mexico and following the frontier and meridian of those missions [to California] until they encounter the Dominicans or the Franciscan fathers of [the] Colegio de San Fernando. . . .[35]

As can be seen, the 1773 petition covers the territory that Garcés recognized as the home of the Gila River Pimas, Yumas, Pápagos, and Opas "and their relatives." From the Colegio de Querétaro's point of view, those territories might become a new mission zone that could be linked to Pimería Alta and governed according to the administrative norms of the Franciscan missions in Texas—already applied by the missionaries of the Colegio de Querétaro in Pimería Alta. A number of administrative and financial reasons, such as the lim-

[34] Garcés to de Araujo, November 23, 1770.

[35] Fray Diego Ximénez, *Memorial presentado a S. Exa. y su decreto para la división de rumbos que han de llevar los misioneros de este colegio y otros en sus conversiones*, Mexico City, May 8, 1773, AFPM-AQ, letter K, leg. 14, no. 24.

ited number of missionaries and the lack of funds, came into the discussion in subsequent years as New Spain's authorities asked the Colegio de Querétaro to submit specific proposals for the staffing of the new missions.[36] As this expansion project progressed at a slow pace in Mexico City, Franciscan hopes for establishing new missions beyond San Xavier del Bac were rekindled by Juan Bautista de Anza's expeditions to California.

As is well known, four missionaries from the Colegio de Querétaro took part of Anza's entourage—Garcés, Font, Díaz, Eyxarch—and left records of all that occurred during those expeditions in the diaries that each one wrote concerning the landscapes through which they traveled with Anza's group, either during the 1774 trip to the San Gabriel mission or on the 1775–1776 expedition to San Francisco Bay.[37] For purposes of this study, I will focus on the writings by Fathers Garcés and Font documenting Anza's second expedition in order to analyze the Franciscans' take on New Spain's northward expansion.

The parallels, coincidences, and conflicts between these texts have been largely established by the editors of the manuscripts, among other scholars.[38] However, what still remains unexplored is the ways in which these narratives, drafted on the basis of shared experiences, articulated landscape, knowledge, and missionary zeal into a particular form of appropriation of space. In this process, Garcés contributed precious empirical observations and personal testimonies about the people and lands beyond northern Sonora. He portrayed local Indian groups as would-be catechumens willing to receive Franciscan missionaries, and described selected portions of the lands near the Gila and Colorado Rivers as propitious for agriculture and the sustenance of permanent

[36] This is the context in which the Colegio de Querétaro ceded the Pimería Baja missions to the Franciscan province of Xalisco in 1774–1775. José Refugio de la Torre Curiel, *Vicarios en entredicho. Crisis y desestructuración de la provincia franciscana de Xalisco, 1749–1860* (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán and Universidad de Guadalajara, 2001), 323–25.

[37] Garcés and Díaz set out with Juan Bautista de Anza in early 1774 on a small expedition to the San Gabriel mission in Alta California. Font, Garcés, and Eixarch joined the Anza expedition from San Miguel de Horcasitas to San Francisco (September 29, 1775–September 17, 1776) at different points along the way (Font accompanied Anza from Horcasitas; Garcés and Eixarch joined the expedition in Tubac on October 21, 1775). Díaz's diary on the 1774 trip (written in two parts) was translated and published in Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Anza´s California Expeditions*, 5 vols. (New York: Russell & Russell, 1966), vol. 2: 247–90, 293–306. An abbreviated version of Font's diary—the so-called "short diary"—was published in Bolton, *Anza´s California Expeditions*, vol. 3: 203–307. Font's larger diary—which includes that of Eixarch—can be seen in Julio César Montané Martí, *Fray Pedro Font: Diario Íntimo, y diario de fray Tomás Eixarch* (Mexico City: Universidad de Sonora and Plaza y Valdés, 2000). Eixarch's diary is also translated and published in Bolton, *Anza´s California Expeditions*, vol. 3: 311–81.

[38] Bolton, *Anza´s California Expeditions*; Galvin, "Introduction"; Montané, *Fray Pedro Font.*

communities. Thus, for instance, at Laguna de Santa Eulalia, near the juncture of the Gila and Colorado Rivers, he declares:

> Showing [to the Cajuenche Indians] the portrayals of Mary Most Holy and the Damned Man, I gave them to hear of the things of God, at which they showed great rejoicing, crying to the Divine Lady that all was very good. . . . [T]hey added that they very much wanted the Fathers and the Spaniards to come to their lands.[39]

Explicit as it was, such portrayal of a new Jerusalem aimed to construct a narrative appropriation of those territories. According to that scheme, suggesting a series of new missions in that region was the best way the Franciscans found to meet the rhetorical enthusiasm of the Gila and Colorado River peoples. The new missionary district, Garcés proposed, could incorporate seventeen *cabeceras* located along the two rivers, as the following missions were needed:

> Among the Cucapá nation, two, one at Las Llagas and the other at the Laguna de San Mateo; among the Jalliquami nation, one at Santa Rosa; among the Cajuenche nation, one at the Laguna de la Merced, another at San Francisco; among the Yuma nation, one at San Pablo, another at the Puerto de la Concepción; among the Jalchedun nation, one at San Pedro, another at San Antonio; among the Jamajab nation, one at Santa Isabel, another at La Pasión; among the nation of the Gileño Pimas, one at San Juan Capistrano, another at La Encarnación; among the Cocomaricopa nation, one at San Saimón y San Judas de Upasoitac, another at San Diego de Vitorrium; among the Pápago nation, one at Sonoitac and, with good foresight, another at Ati.[40]

In many aspects, Garcés's and Font's narratives overlap, although similar passages often include different data (distances and names of people and places). Due to their character as official reports, both diaries have as their principal feature records of the towns and terrains that they encountered between Tucson and California, recognizing, of course, that the territory between Orcasitas and Tucson had already been delimited. What interests me here, however, is the ways in which Font expanded Garcés's observations by bringing a different expertise into his account. Garcés's narrative was a central feature in the construction of a new phase of Franciscan expansion in the late eigh-

[39] Francisco Garcés, *A Record of Travels in Arizona and California, 1775–1776*, trans. and ed. John Galvin (San Francisco: John Howell Books, 1967), 16.

[40] Garcés, *A Record of Travels in Arizona and California*, 93.

teenth century; Font's diary, in turn, while contributing to the circulation of news on the Gila and Colorado River peoples compiled a handbook that transcended the purposes of an official report: the longest version of his diary reinforced the written portrait of a new missionary district, but at the same time it mapped the Franciscan expansion project in that frontier. In doing so, Font also linked the Franciscan chronicler genre to the Spanish map-making tradition recently revised and updated by Augustinian writer Henrique Florez.

Unlike the first draft of his diary—June 23, 1776—, Font's longest and latest version of his account is intended for the private use of his Colegio de Querétaro.[41] As the author himself informed the guardian of that seminary,[42] it reflected a personal initiative that had not been expressly requested by his superiors; rather, it was born of his intention to suggest "how they could administer the new missions of the Colorado River, once they are founded." On this point, Font stated that he wished to take advantage of his observations while accompanying Anza to benefit the labors of the Colegio de Querétaro:

> [I]magining that I was not just along for the ride on the expedition, but should take note of and [report] that which seemed to me important . . .[,] I confess that . . . there was some vanity on my part in thinking that what I might say in this respect could be useful in establishing and securing those missions, as well as that which I have seen and spoken with the subjects of those lands.[43]

As in other narratives on the exploration of those lands, Font took note of the availability of pastures, watering places, suitable resting places, and the distance between places visited by Anza's expedition. However, in this new account, Font presented the Colegio de Querétaro with a definition of a geographical unit that could be clearly delimited, which once again coincided with

[41] After his trip as part of Anza's second expedition, Font returned to the mission of Ures, where he drafted at least three different versions of his diary. The shortest version (June 23, 1776), identified by Bolton as "short diary," was addressed to Viceroy Bucareli and constituted Font's official report on the location of the places along the route taken by the expedition, as the viceroy specifically requested in his orders to Font. A detailed map of Sonora, including the Pimería, Papaguería, and Apachería regions was also completed on the same date, serving as that report's visual reference. Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, vol. 3: 203-307. According to Montané, a second, more detailed version of this report also existed but apparently got lost. The last version to be written was identified by Bolton as "complete diary" or "intimate diary" as Montané prefers to call it. It was finished at Ures, on May 11, 1777. Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, vol. 4: xiii, 1–534; Montané, *Fray Pedro Font.*

[42] Fray Pedro Font to Fray Diego Ximénez, Ures, July 18, 1776, in Montané, *Fray Pedro Font*, 477–83.

[43] Montané, *Fray Pedro Font*, 478.

the perception of the territory that Garcés had expressed years before: the successive Sierras that ran from Dolores, on the banks of the San Miguel River, through Tucson and ending at the Gila River, marked the frontier with the Apachería. This left Pápago lands—Papaguería—to the west of said zone on the outskirts of Tucson.[44] The area between San Xavier del Bac and the Gila River was not appropriate for new missions because it was a place "with little pasturage and no water," no trees, and only sparse shrubbery. Moreover, there was nothing there that was worthy of praise.[45] In contrast, in the area of the Gila River, the northern boundary of this projected conquest, it was considered possible to work with the Pimas, "brave [people] and bitter enemies of the Apaches." In his report to the fellows of the Colegio de Querétaro on the adversities of the climate in this zone, Font presented a landscape that was "very cold in winter and very hot in summer," but pointed out the possibility of settling on the banks of the Gila River where they could exploit the water and wood as did the Indians to water their crops and build their dwellings.[46]

Beyond that point, the series of Pima ranches found along the banks of the Gila River offered principles of work organization that the mission initiative could exploit. There were cornfields "fenced in with poles and laid off in divisions" that benefited from irrigating ditches (*acequias*) and that held the promise of greater yields thanks to the small dams that the Indians had already begun to build. According to Font, the most encouraging sign in that area was that the Pimas "are in a propitious condition for the founding of missions amongst them, not only because they are gentle; but also because they lived in established pueblos, for in the district of some six leagues there are five towns ... and because with their fields they succeed in supporting themselves by their own labor."[47] Following the course of the river, the Opas and Yumas were equally willing to receive missionaries but had an additional advantage, as Font pointed out—the river there had a stronger current because it joined the Asunción River, and thus made larger harvests possible.[48]

In compiling this practical manual for use by those missionaries who followed in his footsteps, Font had in mind a specific narrative model suggested

[44] Pedro Font, "Diary kept by the Father Preacher…, during the journey which he made to Monterey. . .," in Bolton, ed., *Anza's California Expeditions*, vol. 4: 29–30.

[45] Montané, *Fray Pedro Font*, 66–67; and Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, vol. 4: 30–33.

[46] Montané, *Fray Pedro Font*, 69; Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, vol. 4: 33-34.

[47] Montané, *Fray Pedro Font*, 75, 81; Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, vol. 4: 43, 49–50.

[48] Montané, *Fray Pedro Font*, 82–83; Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, vol. 4: 51–52.

by his reading of Fray Henrique Florez's *Clave geográphica*.[49] In addition to explicit references to this book,[50] Font's writing—and especially the longest version of his diary—showed evidence of sharing Florez's interest in describing and delimiting landscape as an indispensable condition for the understanding of local histories and for the appropriation of space. Only that concern for the mixture of time and space, suggested Florez, could aid the observer not to repeat the miscues of "those who have meant to turn into historians without any previous expertise in Geography."[51] In order to avoid gross misrepresentations of any landscape, the *Clave geográphica* recommended following a classic model of observation and inquiry mastered by Greek and Latin authors by

> noting the ancient and modern name of any region, city, [or] town, if possible; [documenting who] their founders, expanders, or remodelers were; [registering the] rivers that flow across them, [and] their shores, ports, hills, forests, weather, [and] pastures. [Finding out] what their antique form of government was and what the present one is; [the kind of] clergy, judges, schools for the young, libraries, distinguished men, factories, churches, palaces, walls, or castles they have; [and also noting what kind of] ancient monuments, statues, paintings, fountains [they have], [as well as] their customs, dress, commerce and crafts &, since all of this is noticed by the most polished writers.[52]

This is precisely what Font did when collecting his field notes and later on, when he wrote his diaries. Two entries in his long diary, corresponding to November 18–19, 1775, are good examples of these suggestions. Thus, his description of San Pascual's piedmont takes the reader's gaze in every direction by successively talking about soil, water, game, plants, weather, and people:

[49] Augustinian friar Henrique Florez de Setién y Huidobro (1702–1773) had a degree in theology from the University of Alcalá, where he also served as professor of theology until at least 1750. After 1750, he became a protégé of Spanish King Ferdinand VI—and eventually of his successor Charles III—, who supported and sponsored Florez's project of traveling across the Iberian Peninsula in order to gather materials for an ambitious treatise on Spanish geography and ecclesiastical history. The result of his extensive travels and inquiries was the twenty-nine–volume *España Sagrada*; the first volume of this collection was the abovementioned *Clave geographica* (Geographic key). Jesús Salas Álvarez, "La antigüedad clásica en la España Sagrada del Padre Henrique Flórez de Setién y Huidobro," *Gerión* 27, no. 2 (2009), 57–78; and Francisco Javier Campos y Fernández, "El P. Enrique Florez y la España Sagrada," in Enrique Florez, *España Sagrada*. . . , vol. 1, 4th ed. (Madrid: Editorial Revista Agustiniana, 2000), xv–xvi.

[50] Fray Pedro Font to Fray Diego Ximénez, Ures, July 18, 1776, in Montané, *Fray Pedro Font*, 479.

[51] Henrique Florez, *España Sagrada: Theatro Geográphico-Histórico de la Iglesia de España*. . ., vol. 1: *Clave geográfica. Discurso práctico previo sobre la utilidad de la geografía* (Madrid: Don Miguel Francisco Rodríguez Florez, 1747), 2.

[52] Ibid., 8–9.

> [T]he Cerro de San Pascual [is] a very rough and rocky range of medium height coming from the Papaguería. . . . The road is very sandy [here] . . . and after crossing the [Gila] River the land is very saline, so much so, indeed, that near [our] camp the soldiers found much granulated salt, with which the people were supplied to some extent. The camp site is very short of pasturage, as there is only some bad Carrizo in a flat formed by the river. . . . The Opa or Cocomaricopa tribe, which extends from the Gileños downstream nearly to this place, is so small, according to what is inferred from the number who have come to see us . . . that it apparently does not reach three thousand persons. This is a small number considering the extensive district which it occupies, for in more than fifty leagues in all directions there is no other tribe. This is proof of the poverty of the country, for since it is so unfruitful and sterile it is almost uninhabitable. . . . From this I infer that with two missions all of this heathendom would be provided for, one in Uparsoytac . . . and another at Agua Caliente. . . . With these, and with the establishment of two others at Sutaquison and Uturituc for the Gileños, all the heathen living along this great river will be provided for.[53]

Although the projected Franciscan northward expansion was an idea formulated from the very beginning of the Queretaran presence in Sonora, and strongly influenced by Yuma chieftain Salvador Palma's requests for missionaries,[54] there is no doubt it gained momentum thanks to the reports generated after Anza's expeditions to California. But these narratives should not be taken as mechanical or schematic repetitions of old chronicler-style writing. This is an example of the combination of geographic description and map-making knowledge mediated by a form of representing space primarily focused on the definition of the boundaries of compact territories. Before the Franciscan attempt to expand the mission frontier to such far off lands finally materialized—although very briefly—in the 1780s,[55] Garcés's and Font's descriptions, as well as Font's rendering of the limits

[53] Montané, *Fray Pedro Font*, 89-90; Bolton, *Anza´s California Expeditions*, vol. 4: 61–63.

[54] According to Juan Bautista de Anza, a Yuma chieftain called Salvador Palma had repeatedly asked for missionaries to his people since 1776. As proof of that, Anza sent to Viceroy Bucareli a letter allegedly produced by such chieftain. In 1777, Palma traveled to Mexico City in order to make his requests in person. In response, Viceroy Bucarely promised to send Franciscan missionaries to the Colorado River region. Juan Domingo Arricivita, *Crónica seráfica y apostolica del Colegio de Propaganda Fide de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro en la Nueva España*…, 2nd part (Mexico City: Felipe de Zúñiga y Ontiveros, 1792), 533. See also *Carta del capitán Yuma Salvador Palma al virrey de Méjico pidiendo misioneros para los indios de su nación después de referir sus servicios a los españoles*, Museo Naval (Spain), Virreinato de Mejico, Ms. 567, doc. 18; a copy of this letter is in the Archivo General de Indias, Guadalajara 517, along with the file on his baptism in Mexico City.

[55] In the autumn of 1779, two missions were founded on the banks of the Colorado River. Fray Juan Díaz and Fray Joseph Matías Moreno stayed in San Pedro y San Pablo del Bicuñer. Three

both missionaries assigned to the territories of each Indian group in that area, proved to be two important phases in the evolution of this venture. In this context, it should be noted that a central feature in Font's narratives—and especially in his "complete" or "intimate" diary—is the Franciscan parceling of the Papaguería region into smaller territories (see Map 2).

In doing so, Font's 1776 map drew upon Henrique Florez's discourse on geography and physical boundaries:

> The general idea of my España Sagrada is [to present] a geographic tableau (*Theatro Geographico*) of the [Catholic] Church in Spain. . . . [I]n order to do so, it is indispensable to *demarcate the limits of every province* [emphasis added] according to the civil government, upon which the ecclesiastic ones were adopted. . . . This cannot be done without using topographic, cosmographic, and hydrographic terminology, such as continents, shores, river banks, hills, capes, latitude degrees, cardinal points, distances, orientation and other matters.[56]

According to this principle, every landscape was a geographic tableau, "in which the Supreme Author wanted to represent his perfection, [allowing us] to make sense of it in a marvelous way through vision."[57] The map maker's role, then, was to apprehend the singularities of such tableau (*teatro geográfico*), representing both the boundaries and nature of every discernible district in order to understand its connections to other districts and to a bigger sphere. By sharing this approach to capturing landscapes, Font developed an intellectual framework that allowed for more detailed observations. Perhaps this is what Bolton had in mind when he compared Font's writings to those of his Franciscan fellows:

> Of all the diarists of the Anza expeditions Font was the master. His observations were keen. He had a sharp eye for landmarks, and a canny knack of telling what he saw. His record of distances and directions is so accurate and his description of natural features is so graphic that nothing surprises the explorer of his trail. . . . He had a mathematical turn of mind which he carried even to

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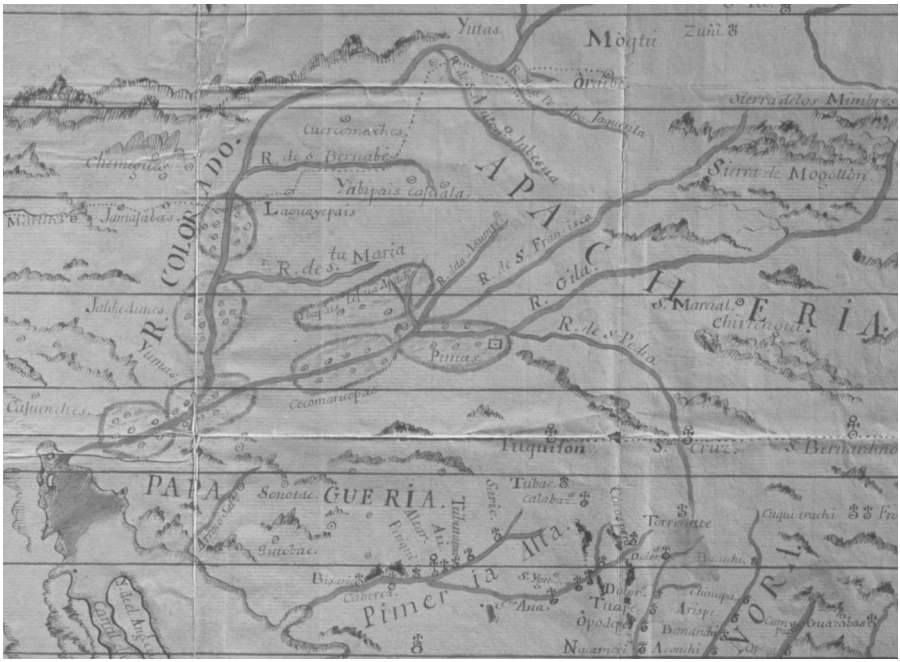
leagues distant the Purísima Concepción del Río Colorado mission was established, and Fray Francisco Garcés and Fray Juan Antonio Barreneche were its missionaries. On July 17, 1781, local Indians at Bicuñer rebelled, killing Díaz, Matías, and other Spanish settlers. Two days later, on July 19, 1781, Garcés and Barreneche were also killed as a result of a Yuman uprising in Concepción. Arricivita, *Crónica seráfica*, 529–54; and Pedro Fagés, Pitiqui, February 16, 1782, AFPM-AQ, letter K, leg. 14, no. 72.

[56] Florez, *España Sagrada*, "Advertencias," n. p.

[57] Ibid., 18.



MAP 3. Fray Pedro Font, Plano que contiene las provincias de Sonora, Pimerías, Papaguería. . . 1776 (fragment). (From Mapas y Planos, México 349, Archivo General de Indias.)

his sermons. He had a reputation for knowledge of latitudes and map making which he sustained by the performance of his difficult task with Anza.[58]

FINAL COMMENTS

In contrast to humanist writers interested in presenting fantastic and idyllic landscapes and in narrating the discoveries and explorations of the sixteenth century,[59] Garcés and Font formed part of a strong Spanish reaction to the crit-

[58] Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, vol. 4: v–vi.

[59] Francisco Esteve Barba observed that sixteenth-century chroniclers were interested, above all, in "recounting and keeping the facts together with news of what was seen and heard, and in discovering and perfecting the history of aboriginal peoples." Their interests, according to this author, were mediated by their classical formation, which led to *sui generis* representations of observed reality: "ensconced in ancient authors," the sixteenth-century writer "hardly needed to make an effort to relate that which was seen with that which was read, and the lens of his readings

icisms by various thinkers, Enlightenment figures, and philosophical travelers with respect to Spain's inability to become familiar with and exploit its territories, and in connection to the thesis about the deterioration of the species in the American continent. The fact that the instructions the missionaries from Querétaro took to Sonora consisted of immediately undertaking a description of the environment, can undoubtedly be associated with what one author has called a "patriotic movement," in which the forms of perceiving the landscape and writing about it sought to better document and understand the Spanish territories with a view to ensuring control over them and rewriting their history.[60] However, the testimonies of the itinerant Franciscans examined herein speak also of a search for exclusivity that, paradoxically, was common to the religious institutions of the time. Here, exclusivity must be understood, first, in terms of a displacement, moving reality to the dimension that one imagines for it. This can be seen, for instance, in the Colegio de Querétaro's eagerness to work in areas where other Franciscan provinces and colegios did not interfere, leaving them free to perform their labors without the pressures of civilian Spanish settlement for as long as possible—an ideal certainly not shared by Spain's colonial authorities as the viceroy made clear to the Franciscans upon receiving their petition to create a mission district delineated in accordance with Garcés's travels.[61] Influenced by the dramatic results of the ill-fated attempts to establish a permanent missionary district on the banks of the Gila and Colorado Rivers, the exploration of this area as well as the writing evoking

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was intrepidly interposed between reality and his writings. Even the most primitive figures can come to express themselves with a Roman accent in his chapters." Francisco Esteve Barba, *Historiografía Indiana* (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1964), 7–9. In the same vein, but showing the variations that those influences manifested among writers of the time on the historiography of New Spain, see Karl Kohut, "Introducción. Las crónicas de Indias y la teoría historiográfica: Desde los comienzos hasta mediados del siglo XVI," in *Narración y reflexión: Las crónicas de Indias y la teoría historiográfica*, ed. Karl Kohut (Mexico City: El Colegio de México and Cátedra Guillermo y Alejandro de Humboldt, 2007), 15–60. In general, this context seems to have been shared in several regions of Europe, as shown by Winfried Löschburg, in *A History of Travel* (N.p.: Hippocrene Books, 1982), 53–58.

[60] Jorge Cañizarez-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), 2–8, 134.

[61] In their reply of May 8, 1773, the viceroy's counselors suggested that the Colegio de Querétaro be allowed to establish missions in this zone, while not authorizing such establishments for other orders; however, they expressly recommended that this authorization could be granted "on the understanding that it was not exclusive, [since it would not prohibit civilian settlement], as in those vast territories conquest can be extended and [at the same time] the doctrine can advance." The viceroy's reply is found in Fray Diego Ximénez, *Memorial. . .* , AFPM-AQ, letter K, leg. 14, no. 24.

its potential as mission territory remained part of a Franciscan evangelical ideal, one that although gradually fading over time, could be described as an attempt to have a conversation between the Colegio and the desert, between missionaries and local Indians—an ideal that now and then kept surfacing in the Queretarans' recollections about that northern frontier in the early nineteenth century, as can be seen in the imaginary dialogue that Fray Diego Bringas had with Fray Francisco Garcés when the former asked Garcés what came to his mind upon contemplating the landscape beyond Pimería Alta. In his hypothetical reply, the departed friar said he always strove for

> discerning the connections, wars, trades and customs of those numerous, uncultured nations, that being within the view of this mission do not permit my spirit to enjoy a soothing quietness. I wish to find out which are dominant, know their extension, [and] calculate their number: I shall go and live with them in their homes for a time; I plan to work in such a way that will bring temporal and eternal happiness to these fertile and rich provinces; placate the ferocity of the barbarous Apaches. Propitiate useful and fruitful reciprocal communication between Sonora, northern California, New Mexico, Moqui, Monterey and New France. . . . I yearn to extinguish the mutual hostilities among all these barbarous nations, so that united with the sweet bond of peace, their obedience, union, and mutual trade, our access to them will be facilitated so we can preach [to] them the true religion.[62]

From another perspective, the landscape reconstructed in the narratives here analyzed speaks of two complementary processes of practical knowledge acquisition. In this respect, it is useful to recall the metaphor of the Claude glass used by the artist to add effects of light and shadow that were not present before his observation of the landscape. Garcés's late writings exemplify the *experientia docet* principle in the sense that his 1777 diary is primarily informed by the quests, inquiries, and explorations that kept this missionary's mind busy since his arrival in Sonora in 1768. His own conclusions about the traditions and practices of local Indian groups, his personal observations, first-

[62] Diego Miguel Bringas de Manzaneda, *Sermón que en las solemnes honras celebradas en obsequio de los VV PP Predicadores apostólicos, Fr. Francisco Tomás Hermenegildo Garcés, Fr. Juan Marcelo Díaz, Fr. José Matías Moreno, Fr. Juan Antonio Barreneche, misioneros del Colegio de Propaganda fide de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro, Fundadores de las Conversiones de la Purísima Concepción y de S. Pedro y S. Pablo del Río Colorado entre los Gentiles Yumas, y muertos en ellas gloriosamente a manos de los mismos Bárbaros en los días 17 y 19 de Julio de 1781 dixo en la iglesia de dicho Colegio el 19 de julio de 1794 en que se sepultaron sus cenizas. . .* (Madrid: Imprenta de Fermín Villalpando, 1819), 76–77.

hand information collected during his travels, as well as the news and opinions other travelers and missionaries shared with him over the years are all represented in Garcés's descriptions on the lands bordering the Gila and Colorado Rivers. Thus, his conclusions about the proximity of Opa and Cocomaricopa Indians to the Gulf of California—without being in their territories—were established by his meeting some people from these nations in various places, and by comparing his observations on the design of those people's necklaces with the ones described in a letter he had received from Fray Juan Crespi, then stationed at mission San Carlos.[63] In similar vein, various conversations with Gileño Pimas, soldiers, and traders from Nuevo Mexico led him to be persuaded that "the Moqui is located some 40 leagues from Acome and Zuni . . . [and therefore] from the Gila River Pimería . . . [the distance] is very short to Nuevo Mexico."[64] As mentioned previously, this practical knowledge was a fundamental resource that Anza's expeditions to California could not afford to leave aside.[65]

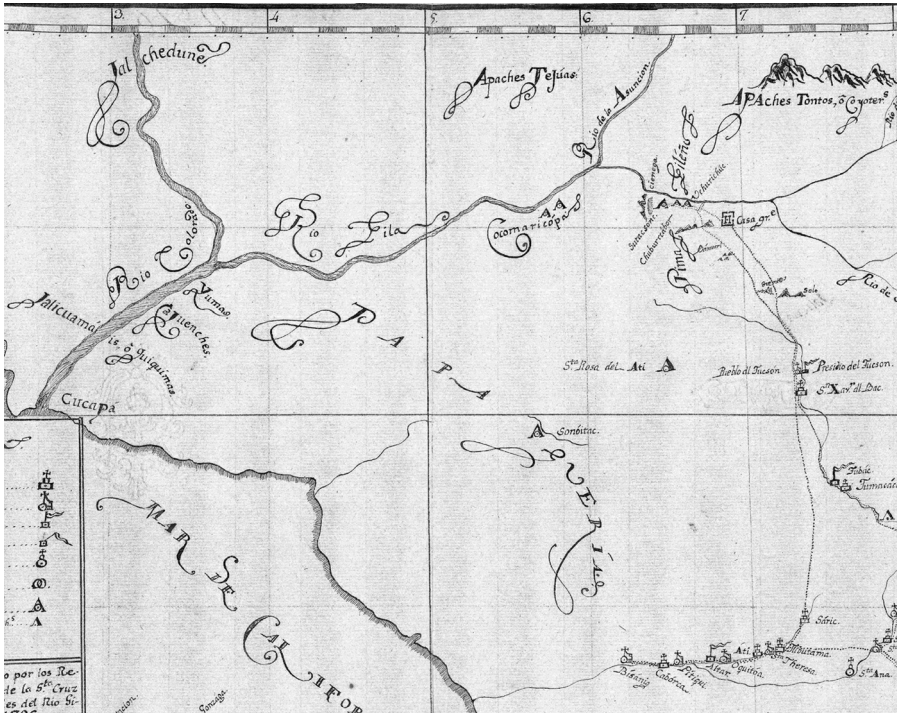
On the other hand, Font's metaphoric lenses undoubtedly related geography, astronomy, and history to his personal experiences in the Gila and Colorado Rivers through his reading of Fray Henrique Florez's *Clave geográphica*; however, this intellectual framework—identifiable in Font's demarcation of the boundaries of different ethnic groups—was also the result of individual discoveries, in the sense that Font´s readings were not filtered by formal instruction at some university or seminary. Although he studied theology and spent several years in the Franciscan seminaries in his home province of Catalonia and in the Colegio de Querétaro, Font seemed to have been a self learner. As one of his biographers tells us, he followed his natural talents and personal interests in the choir at the Colegio de Querétaro, singing and writing choir books, all of which he made "to perfection."[66] Unlike some of his Jesuit predecessors, Font lacked a formal training in geography or astronomy,

[63] Fray Juan Crespi (Mallorca, 1721), was a member of the group of Franciscan friars from the Colegio de San Fernando de México taking over the missions in Lower California after the expulsion of the Jesuits. In 1769, he joined Gaspar de Portolá's expedition to Upper California; in 1771, Junípero Serra left Crespi in charge of the mission of San Carlos, where he died in 1782. Ángela Cano Sánchez, *Crónicas del descubrimiento de la Alta California, 1769* (Barcelona: Ediciones Universitat Barcelona, 1984), 287. Garcés's remarks on the Opas and Cocomaricopas can be seen in Fray Francisco Garcés to Fray José del Río, San Xavier del Bac, March 8, 1771, AFPM-AQ, letter K, leg. 14, no. 6.

[64] Fray Francisco Garcés to Fray José del Río, San Xavier del Bac, March 8, 1771, AFPM-AQ, letter K, leg. 14, no. 6.

[65] Arricivita, *Crónica seráfica*, 450–51.

[66] Ibid., 560.



MAP 4. Fray Diego Bringas, Nuevo Viaje hecho por los Religiosos del Colegio de la Santa Cruz a los Pimas Gentiles del Rio Gila. . . 1795 (fragment). (From Harold B. Lee Library, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT.)

and even when the Colegio de Querétaro facilitated the books and instruments that Font used during his travels—his intellectual journey included—it failed to build on Font's improvements of the cartographic representation of the territories explored by the Franciscan missionaries during the 1770s (see Map 3).

In 1795, Fray Diego Bringas de Manzaneda mapped the new Franciscan visit to the Gileño Pimas, and even when his map shares with Font some technical information—a scale in degrees of latitude calculated in Mexican leagues consisting of 5,000 *varas*, indicating equivalence of 28 Mexican leagues or 17.5 Castilian leagues per degree[67]—Font's demarcation of ethnic territories on the banks of the Gila River is lost in this new chart (see Map 4).

[67] Montané, *Fray Pedro Font*, 48.

Encouraged as they were by specific evangelical and institutional motifs, Franciscan representations of an important portion of present-day Arizona were, after all, products of personal interpretations of a multivoiced dialogue intended to decipher the nature and character of far-off peoples and lands. In some cases, complementarities occurred, as proved by the shared vision of Garcés and Font. As the years passed, new discussants showed up in this scene, although their connections with their predecessors were more difficult to establish over time. Once this dialogue was gone, the desert and its peoples kept talking about that landscape . . . but their conversations were recorded in ways yet to be explored.

CHAPTER 20
Franciscan Concepts of the Congregated Mission and the Apostolic Ministry in Eighteenth-Century Texas

Jay T. Harrison

The settled mission was at the core of Franciscan concepts of the missionary enterprise in Texas. Various scholars have considered the institution of the mission in Texas and elsewhere; beginning with Herbert Bolton and his students, this research has continued to the present although shifts in focus have occurred. In recent years, Juliana Barr and Maria F. Wade considered the institutional focus of Texas missions from both gendered and anthropological assessments of the missionaries and their intended targets among the Indians of the province. These studies build on the shift signaled by Elizabeth John thirty-five years ago in seeing Texas and New Mexico as regions dominated by indigenous political actors rather than sites of successful Spanish conquest. In part, recent scholarship has exposed the anxieties, clearly expressed in historical documents, of Franciscans working to establish missions in what was a changing Indian political landscape in Texas.[1] While some aspects of the Franciscans' missionary concepts appear in these studies, it remains that the full scope of the friars' ideation of the mission needs to be reconsidered against the revisionist interpretation of an indigenous-controlled Texas rather than a Spanish-domi-

[1] Juliana Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007); Maria F. Wade, *Missions, Missionaries, and Native Americans: Long-Term Processes and Daily Practices* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008); Elizabeth A.H. John, *Storms Brewed in Other Men's Worlds* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1975); F. Todd Smith, *From Dominance to Disappearance: The Indians of Texas and the Near Southwest, 1786–1859* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006). See also Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008).

nated Texas. With that end in mind, this paper dissects certain aspects of the Franciscans' concept of the mission and their roles as missionaries.

Franciscans from the Propaganda Fide apostolic colleges of Querétaro and Guadalupe de Zacatecas defended their concept of the missions in Texas throughout the long eighteenth century. Writing in defense of pastoral roles, mission property and water rights, and their autonomy as missionaries, friars proclaimed their vocational intentions and purpose on numerous fronts when challenged. Their leadership both in the missions (the father presidents) and in the colleges noted from the beginning to the end of the mission period that the friars' ministry in Texas hewed to an understood concept that the missionaries were to construct and lead communities of neophytes for the joined purposes of creating new Christian towns and loyal American vassals for the Spanish Crown. This concept endured the passage of time in Texas, though its implementation was far from uniform over the period ending in the early 1820s. On the whole, the Propaganda Fide friars in the province imagined their missions in terms of landscape, leadership, and influences on indigenous peoples. Failed missions troubled the missionaries over the century, but the intent and concept of the ideal mission did not fade.

Friars serving in Texas drew from a rich store of knowledge of prior centuries' efforts in missions in Europe, Asia, and closer to hand in New Spain and elsewhere in the New World.[2] The topic of missionary theory among early Franciscans in New Spain received much consideration from past generations of scholars and continues to do so today.[3] At the core of the Texas experience was a concept, refined over centuries, that the primary model of missions to *los infieles* was that of the congregated population in localized, stationary sites in

[2] The most recent effort to tie the long history of Franciscan and other mendicant missions worldwide to those in Spain is David Rex Galindo, "Propaganda Fide: Training Franciscan Missionaries in New Spain" (PhD diss., Southern Methodist University, 2010). Other historians acknowledged specific influences on the missionaries in New Spain with differing emphases. See Georges Baudot, *Utopia and History in Mexico: The First Chronicles of Mexican Civilization, 1520–1569*, trans. Bernard R. Ortiz de Montellano and Thelma Ortiz de Montellano (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1995); and John Leddy Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World*, 2nd ed., rev. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970). For a critical reading of Baudot and Phelan, see the essays of Lino Gómez Canedo, *Evangelización, Cultura y Promoción Social: Ensayos y Estudios Criticos sobre la Contribucion Franciscana a los origenes Cristianos de México* (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1993), especially 151–58.

[3] Among the many studies treating early Franciscan missionary theory in New Spain, see Edwin Edward Sylvest, *Motifs of Franciscan Mission Theory in Sixteenth Century New Spain* (Washington, DC: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1975). Also useful is Osvaldo Pardo, *The Origins of Mexican Catholicism: Nahua Rituals and Christian Sacraments in Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004).

a physical complex where friars could regulate the lifeways of the residents.[4] This picture, so common in regions where sedentary indigenes inhabited a centralized mission regime, also informed expectations of eighteenth-century missionaries who saw themselves as reviving the past fervor of the Franciscan apostolate to semisedentary and nomadic indigenous bands on the frontiers of Spanish territories. Notwithstanding the dual purpose of the Propaganda Fide college-seminaries that included the popular missions to the baptized populations of New Spain, such an ideal persisted when it came to the frontier regions bordering established, Spanish-governed territory.[5]

At the outset of the missionary college-seminaries in the 1680s with the founding of the Colegio de Propaganda Fide de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro to the early decades of the eighteenth century, the friars' conceptual framework, indeed, their overall worldview, existed atop the older Habsburg-era foundations of Franciscan evangelism and state support for their activities. While such support did not wane in the initial decades of the Bourbon regime, by mid-century Franciscan hegemony over the Indian countryside of New Spain was under attack, first by regalist efforts to secularize the large number of Indian *doctrinas* still served by the friars, and later by shifts in the culture of New Spain away from religious vocations. As such, the eighteenth century became a time of great change for the Order of Friars Minor in New Spain: once-prosperous provinces failed to resuscitate their former missionary fervor, lost their primary apostolate to the Indians of central New Spain, and then failed to repurpose themselves towards new areas of missionary endeavor with the same energy as in prior centuries.[6] Such a gross generalization might not apply equally across the breadth of the order in New Spain, but in the central Franciscan provinces the losses outweighed the gains in the late Bourbon period.

[4] This is a core theme of Wade, *Missions, Missionaries, and Native Americans*, especially Chapter 7. Throughout her study, Wade compares the various missionary models used in northern New Spain and Florida.

[5] On the dual role of the apostolic colleges, see Félix Saiz Diez, *Los colegios de Propaganda Fide en Hispanoamérica*, 2nd ed. (Lima: CETA, 1992); Michael B. McCloskey, *The Formative Years of the Missionary College of Santa Cruz, Querétaro, 1683–1733* (Washington, DC: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955); and Galindo, "Propaganda Fide." For several well-argued essays that treat the concept of the congregated mission in Northern New Spain, see Gómez Canedo, *Evangelización, Cultura y Promoción Social*. The assumption that a mission in a frontier zone signified the congregating of indigenous persons is not to be taken for granted, yet it has been the norm in what has been called the Bolton school of Spanish mission–presidio institutional histories.

[6] Francisco Morales, "Mexican Society and the Franciscan Order in a Period of Transition, 1749–1859," *The Americas* 54, no. 3 (January 1998), 323–56; and D.A. Brading, *Church and State in Bourbon Mexico: The Diocese of Michoacán, 1749–1810* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 62–81.

To a certain extent the failure of the provinces was both a boon and a distinguishing aspect of the Propaganda Fide college-seminaries. From the founding of the Colegio de Santa Cruz in 1683, friars serving missions to the faithful and in frontier regions thought of themselves as the essence of the Franciscan revival of the late seventeenth century. The other colleges founded in New Spain prior to the 1749 secularization decree developed a similar perspective of their elite nature within the order, and they all shared an early and sustained hagiography that extolled their virtues and accomplishments.[7] When the provinces sent to Spain for reinforcements in the second half of the century, the colleges did likewise, claiming for themselves the mantle of progressive evangelism that marked the colleges as elite centers of applied Franciscan charisma.[8]

The increasing Bourbon interventions in the religious milieu of eighteenth-century New Spain meant that the Crown was less likely to support the traditional pastoral role of the friar-missionary over the long term, and the colleges were not blind to this change in royal perspective. They focused their energies on new missions on the far northern frontiers and the interstices of unsettled lands in between the mining regions of the near north. Nor were they immune to the growing challenge of staffing their colleges either from local vocations or imported friars from Iberian houses, and they struggled at times to meet the canonical quotas of friars both in residence at the colleges and in the missions. When the Crown expelled the Jesuits from New Spain in 1767, the Franciscans along with their Dominican brethren gained in importance to the colonial government by providing replacement personnel for the vacated missions, but at the same time they also suffered further dissipation of resources in an era made difficult by shrinking professions overall among the Franciscan provinces.[9]

[7] The colleges actively invested in the writing of their respective histories by appointing chroniclers to document the works and sanctity of leading figures in the colleges and the missions. Two of the best-known chronicles are Isidro Felix de Espinosa, *Crónica de los Colegios de Propaganda Fide de la Nueva España*, 2nd ed., ed. Lino Gómez Canedo (Washington, DC: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1964); Juan Domingo de Arricivita, *Apostolic Chronicle of Juan Domingo Arricivita: The Franciscan Mission Frontier in the Eighteenth Century in Arizona, Texas, and the Californias*, 2 vols., trans. George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey (Berkeley, CA: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1996).

[8] Such Catholic revitalization via the missions to the faithful was not limited to the Friars Minor, but included oratorians and other religious in heavily populated areas of New Spain. See Brading, *Church and State in Bourbon Mexico*, 20–61, for examples of revitalization in Michoacán.

[9] Morales, "Mexican Society and the Franciscan Order," 329–35. Even before the Jesuit expulsion, the college at Zacatecas required additional men of canonical age. See request of guardian and council for permission to augment the number of religious, October 3, 1753, Biblioteca Nacional de México, Fondo Reservado, Colección Archivo Franciscano (hereafter BNAF), 58/1168, ff. 25–26.

We may expect that writings dated to the early *entradas* speak of the purpose and understandings of the missions, and to a certain extent this is true. From the period from1690 to 1693, and then in the first decades following the expedition of 1709, friar missionaries from the Propaganda Fide colleges of Querétaro and Guadalupe de Zacatecas wrote about their lofty considerations of what it was they expected to achieve in Texas. Two missionaries' explanations suffice to summarize the numerous statements found in the archives. Fray Damian de Mazanet, superior of the expedition that erected the first missions in east Texas in 1690, expressed his party's attempt as aimed at the "conversion of those poor infidels redeemed with the Blood of Christ, our life" by the "poor religious, who labor . . . reducing souls to the community of our Holy Roman Catholic [and] Apostolic Mother Church."[10] Mazanet wrote that the efforts at hand were intended to catechize the Indians and promote their learning of the Spanish lifestyle, including the mechanical arts, language, and governance. After the retreat from east Texas for reasons of hostile indigenes (Hasanai Caddos primarily), hostile weather, and the exhaustion of their supplies, the missions in Texas lay buried, literally, until the subsequent expedition renewed reconnaissance in 1709 and following years that reestablished these missions from 1716 onward. An early estimation of his confreres' intent at the time appears in a letter of Fray Isidro Felix de Espinosa. Espinosa claimed that he and his brethren intended that "towns be congregated, the holy faith planted, our King and Lord be obeyed" with credit given to viceroy, Crown, and God himself for a successful spiritual conquest of the region.[11] Father Espinosa's elucidations in this year mirror his thoughts of 1709 when he was a member of the small expeditionary group whose purpose was to gauge indigenous interest in the return of the Franciscan missionaries.[12] While the statements differ in their tone given their placement in different arguments to successive viceroys and slightly altered expectations of the Crown in terms of immediate results, their intentions of the missionary project were the same:

[10] Fray Damian de Mazanet to the Conde de Galve, Mexico, September 1690, in Lino Gómez Canedo, ed., *Primeras exploraciones y poblamiento de Texas* (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1988), 174–77. Gómez Canedo located the original document in the Archivo General de las Indias, Sevilla, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 617.

[11] Fray Isidro Felix de Espinosa to the viceroy, August 18, 1721, Mission Concepción de Agreda, Archivo del Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro (hereafter ACQ), Archivo de la Provincia Franciscana de San Pedro y San Pablo de Michoacán, K, legajo 1, no. 10 (J).

[12] Fray Espinosa's diary of the 1709 *entrada* is in Gabriel Tous, trans., "The Espinosa-Olivares-Aguirre Expedition of 1709," in *Preparing the Way: Preliminary Studies of the Texas Catholic Historical Society I*, ed. Jesús F. de la Teja (1930; Austin: Texas Catholic Historical Society, 1997), 51–66.

friars were sent to Texas and to the Caddos in the eastern lands, specifically, to catechize, convert, and civilize the Indians. Together, these statements and those of other missionaries clearly define the primary conceptual element of the ideal mission as a congregated mission, wherein aspirants to Christianity would be indoctrinated in the faith and all things Spanish.

The consistent understanding of the friars was that their missions would be centers of congregants of surrounding, and sometimes rather distant, bands that were to be lured by gifts, examples of more desirable lifestyles, and traditional preaching by friars for the Indians to convert. Fray Gabriel de Vergara wrote in 1731 to the guardian of the Santa Cruz college that quotidian life progressed as normal with the residents at Mission Concepción de Acuña, though this mission existed under the threat of Apache raids. Vergara's is but one example of the typical letter to the prelate in which it may be understood that the term "mission" refers to the physical complex and its congregated, residential Indian neophytes.[13] In another early classic statement of the missions at work, Fray Benito Fernández de Santa Ana expounded at length on the nature of the congregated mission and its intent. Fray Benito's concept of the successfully executed mission portrayed indigenous bands reduced, or congregated, according to the political (and cultural) vision of the Spaniards and thoroughly engaged in the Catholic faith. He noted that these "natural savages" were congregated for rudimentary education in political and spiritual life, and that the friars cooperated with the Crown on this project of town construction in Texas.[14] Such ideas find voice in the explanations at various points in the late 1740s and 1750s by Fray Mariano de los Dolores, and during this friar's presidency of the San Antonio missions of the Colegio de Santa Cruz, his brethren in the surrounding missions reflected similar points of view. In Fray Mariano's 1751 questionnaire addressed to his fellow Texas friars, the missionary fathers Acisclos de Valverde, Juan Domingo de Arricivita, and Joseph de Guadalupe provided confirmation of specific understandings of the congregation and administration of indigenous neophytes in the missions.[15] These collected dis-

[13] Fray Gabriel de Vergara to guardian, Mission Concepción de Acuña, October 22, 1731, Fr. Marcellino de Civezza Collection, Pontificio Ateneo Antoniano, Rome, Part II film, 202/8, Academy of American Franciscan History Microfilm Collection, BANC MSS 2005/262, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[14] Fray Benito Fernández de Santa Ana to the viceroy, March 4, 1743, Mission Concepción de Acuña, Archivo General de la Nación (hereafter AGN), Provincias Internas, vol. 236, exp. 1, ff. 79–79v.

[15] Cuestionario formulado por el padre presidente Fray Mariano Francisco de los Dolores en relación al gobierno de las misiones del Río de San Antonio, y respuestas dadas por los misioneros, Texas, 1751, BNAF, 6/135.2, ff. 3–35.

courses reinforce the notion of a persistent concept of the congregation of neophytes within mission walls, and the purpose of the missionary enterprise to create towns of new Christians as mentioned.

Later reflections and comments, primarily those of the Zacatecan friars remaining after 1768, concur with the mid-century texts.[16] In 1768, Fray Joseph María de Escobar commented on the ideal of a congregated, controlled mission population within the walls of the La Bahia missions, and how the friars were to pursue the discipline of Indians who challenged such a state of affairs.[17] Several missionaries in the last decades of the century drew on the concept of the congregated mission as they discussed both old and newer establishments in Texas. In the coastal missions, Fray José Francisco Mariano de la Garza and Fray Manuel Julio de Silva mentioned this ideal repeatedly while reviewing efforts to populate the Espiritu Santo mission with coastal peoples.[18] Fray José Francisco Lopez was less cheered than his fellow brethren in the south when writing on the sad state of affairs at Mission Rosario in 1790. Lopez recorded the depredations to the stores and livestock of that mission, yet stopped short of abandoning the concept that Indians should be congregated there. He counted those persons in residence (or those nearby who pretended residence within the compound) and expounded on the need for more, including those who just recently had left for the surrounding territory.[19] Curiously, given the conditions he describes, Fray Lopez discouraged innovation at this post and declared his faith that the affairs of the mission held hope for better times to come. Fray Lopez's faith in the future of this particular mission location is a simple display of the long-standing ideology Franciscans embraced in Texas that the congregated mission would ultimately succeed in the region.

The concept of a congregated mission was evolutionary. Missionaries were convinced that *conversiones* would ultimately be transformed into diocesan

[16] Following the expulsion of the Society of Jesus from New Spain in 1767, the Santa Cruz friars were in need of personnel to staff the missions that the Jesuits abandoned in the Pimería Alta and other locations in Sonora, and pursuant to canonical requirements they chose to relinquish some missions in the Pimería Baja as well as those of Coahuila and Texas. The guardian and discretorium of Santa Cruz used this chance to turn over the college's remaining missions in Texas to the care of the Zacatecas college in 1772–1773. See Arricivita, *Apostolic Chronicle*, II, 137–44.

[17] Fray Joseph María de Escobar on mission Indians, La Bahia, June 27, 1768, Bexar Archives, Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin, microfilm roll 010, frames 0588-90 (hereafter microfilm cited as BA with roll and frame number; originals cited with date and box number).

[18] Letter of Fray José Francisco Mariano de la Garza, Mission Espiritu Santo, May 19, 1791, BA 2S58; Journal of Fray Manuel Julio de Silva, Mission Espiritu Santo, April 26, 1791, BA 2S58.

[19] Letter of Fray José Francisco Lopez, October 8, 1790, San Antonio de Valero mission, BA 2S57.

parishes.[20] Although in most of the Spanish period in Texas this constituted a distant and unrealized goal, one of the ways that friars marked the importance of their role in preparing for this evolution was through their claims to privileges in the missions both as missionaries and as pastors. Their complex and firmly rooted notion of themselves as unique in possessing all of the rights and privileges accorded to both pastors of diocesan parishes, and to apostolic missionaries on the frontier is best illustrated by the degree to which the Texas missionaries noted their privileges zealously from the beginning to the end of the period, often elaborating more on this topic than any other theme if given the slightest opportunity to do so.

We mention but a few of the statements on missionaries' privileges in Texas, most of which derived from events of perceived violations of those privileges that friars clung to in the province. Both colleges sponsoring missions in Texas carefully archived the canonical and other ecclesiastical documents that granted immediate privileges of autonomy, sacramental authority, and custodial claims for missions founded or controlled by the colleges. In addition, the ancient rights and responsibilities given the regular orders in total were substantially documented within these same college-seminaries in Zacatecas and Querétaro, a testament to the tremendous edifice of accumulated rights with which the Franciscans had to treat in their execution of missionary actions.[21]

Letters patent from guardians and fellow councilors of the colleges to missionaries in Texas and other regional missions spelled out the perceived canonical privileges of the friars.[22] In one such document of the 1750s, the leader-

[20] Eighteenth-century Franciscan documents often use the term *conversiones* rather than the earlier term *doctrina*, which is more common in the historiography of missions in New Spain. One potential reason for the use of the term may be that the distinction it signifies (permanence of the mission as a place of conversion rather than a temporary place of religious indoctrination) is the heightened political and juridical understanding that Franciscans held in the later colonial era after their extended contests with the Crown and its New World representatives to retain the order's original hegemony over missions in the provinces of New Spain.

[21] See Saiz Diez, *Los colegios de Propaganda Fide*, in which much of the author's discussion is based on papal bulls, pastoral letters of the fathers general and commissaries general, and other canonical documents of the order. For typical accounting of such ephemera, see the Libro de Patentes de . . . los Reverendos Padres Visitadores, Numero 1, Archivo del Colegio de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zacatecas, Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Collection, Center for Mexican American Studies, Our Lady of the Lake University, San Antonio, microfilm roll 4: 6775–6853. Herbert Bolton's typewritten inventory of the original Zacatecas college archive also lists many such documents in manuscript form. See Bolton, "Manuscripts in the Case in the Stairway," notes on Legajos 1, 2, and 5, and "Manuscripts in the Library," Catholic Archives of Texas, Austin, Box 120, Folder 14.

[22] Letters patent were official orders issued by authorities, both religious and secular, to their constituents directing persons to accomplish specific acts or changes to operating procedures. The

ship of the Santa Cruz college declared that the missionaries' privileges mirrored those of a parish priest in that the friars may baptize, preach, confess the faithful, and solemnize marriages of their parishioners, the neophytes in the missions.[23] This document is but one of the many erudite expositions on friars' canonical rights in the missions; it follows the models of those of the previous century that argued against the movements set in motion by the first two Mexican provincial councils in the sixteenth century. While the patent cited here clearly acknowledged the authority of bishops in the immediate arena of parish sacramental activity, much of the argument discusses conditions where the parish, or in this case the mission, was in excess of twenty leagues distant from the area of the bishop's authority. Very pointedly the authors noted that the east Texas missions were more than two hundred leagues from the nearest diocese; the closest point in provincial Texas was the Bahia de Espiritu Santo, itself a mere thirty leagues away from the nearest bishop's boundaries. By way of an interesting reference to the relationship of King Saul and David, the council at the Santa Cruz college explicitly recalled historical grants of privileges to friars by bishops who blessed the missionaries' work to "convert the infidels" at great distance from the diocese. The authors cited both recent and historical canons starting with Benedict XIV's bull of 1746, and they included those of Pius V (1567), Innocent XI, Adrian VI, Clement V, Paul V, Clement VIII, and other prelates as well. The intent of the argument is very clear, as the authors stated: "Religious in the said missions may baptize, confess, attend, as parish priests [and] marry [celebrate matrimony of]" their mission residents. All this was to be supported by the other Spaniards assisting in Texas, that is, the military and civil governors and their personnel, "for the end of converting the Infidel Indians."

In a 1753 patent attributed to the governing council of the Zacatecas college, the authors added to the previous claims to rights in the missions. They asserted that missionary friars were given the "care of the souls of the military Spaniards, and non-Indian residents that attend the Presidios for the conservation of our Missions . . . [,] which has been charged to us by our Catholic King of Spain." The Zacatecas patent adds the authority of bulls issued by

father guardians and the councils of the apostolic college-seminaries utilized letters patent to issue general operating guidelines for missionaries in specific regions.

[23] Cuaderno sobre los privilegios de los Misioneros de Texas, undated, ACQ, K, legajo 4, no. 29, no pagination. The document references the then-bishop of Guadalajara as Fray Francisco Tejada, who occupied the see of Guadalajara from late 1751 to his death in December 1760; it would appear that the document dates to around 1755.

Gregory XIII and Sixtus V when discussing the authority awarded friars in their missions. The capstone of this patent was the clear delegation of all ecclesiastical authority to the friar within his mission. According to the leadership of the Zacatecas college, the missionaries "proceeded to exercise all acts of spiritual jurisdiction, which were conceded us by the Supreme Pontiffs, as if each one of the reverend fathers was priest, vicar *in capite*, and ecclesiastical judge of his mission."[24]

What tells us more of the mind-set of Texas missionaries was their words while ministering in the province. From numerous sources a concise understanding emerges among this cohort of friars. The record of individual missionaries' claims to privileges is lengthy and covers the entirety of the mission period in Texas. Missionaries argued for their rights as priests and guardians of their missions in cases involving the scarce water of the San Antonio River, the friars' rights to perform baptisms and marriages within the vicinity of the mission compounds, and against what they perceived as impudence on the part of military commanders and provincial governors.

In a lengthy assessment written in 1732 on non-Indian baptisms inside the mission walls, Fray Miguel Sevillano de Paredes expounded the case between the missionary at San Antonio de Valero mission and that rare creature in Spanish Texas, the diocesan priest assigned to the villa of San Fernando.[25] The argument is deeply researched and eloquently presented by Paredes, and was written as a favor to his brothers in the missions north of him. He cited no less than fifty-five individual sources ranging from classical authorities to Church doctors to local ecclesiastical precedents and judgments by both provincial and college leaders of the recent past. In thirty-five exhaustively argued pages, Fray Paredes demonstrated the rigor with which friars defended their privileges even on the remotest frontiers. Paredes's apparent ease with the sources reveals also that the friars sent to this province possessed finely honed skills as scholars, legal advisors, writers, and casuists; in a sense, they were heirs of the Castilian *letrados* on whom the Crown depended during the Habsburg centuries for administration and advisory services.[26] Further-

[24] Patente del Colegio de Zacatecas relativo a los privilegios de los misioneros, July 4, 1753, ACQ, K, legajo 19, no. 105, folios 1-4.

[25] Parecer del P. Fr. Miguel Sevillano de Paredes, San Bernardo del Rio Grande del Norte, February 12, 1732, ACQ, F, legajo 1, no. 6, folios 1–35v. Fray Miguel noted at the outset of his parecer that he was limited in his capability to craft the response to his colleagues in Texas since he lacked most of his canonical sources at his posting in the San Bernardo mission.

[26] On *letrados* and education in early modern Spain, see Richard Kagan, *Students and Society in Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974).

more, such demonstrations of erudition and memory demonstrate that some of the humbly attired men sent as missionaries to the frontiers were indeed the scholarly equals of more highly placed churchmen of the day. Not only did friars contend with spiritual jurisdiction, but this emphasis on knowledge of both canon and royal law, coupled with study of imperial precedents in the Americas, enabled missionaries to engage their defense of political and economic rights of the missions as well.

Many a friar battled the notorious Isleño leaders in San Fernando de Bejar over water rights, sales of vegetable products and grains, land for grazing, and livestock ownership.[27] More significantly, friars battled several of the province's governors and military commanders over the long century of their residence. Some governors, such as Don Carlos Franquis de Lugo, who governed Texas in the 1730s, drew intense rebukes in verbal and written confrontations with friars. Don Carlos's issues with the Franciscans are well documented by historians of the political history of the province, but in terms of privileges the documentation shows tremendous consistency among the missionaries' concept of their corporate and individual privileges.[28] He appears to have violated each one in turn and often several privileges at once.

In their arguments against the governors such as Franquis, Franciscans often found themselves defending their roles as missionaries. They spoke of him and others dishonoring them as men and priests, discrediting the friars in front of Indians, other Spaniards, and provincial leaders.[29] Franquis stood out, particularly, because one of the incidents involved his removal of a friar from his post and publicly humiliating him before his neophytes.

[27] For an overview of the Isleño-Franciscan rifts, see Jesús F. de la Teja, *San Fernando de Bejar: A Community on New Spain's Northern Frontier* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995). Examples of friars' writings on these conflicts include the letter of Fray Gabriel de Vergara to Captain Don Antonio Pérez de Almanzán concerning the Canary Islanders, Concepción de Acuña mission, August 8, 1731, ACQ, K, leg. 19, no. 29; Letter of Fray Vergara to the governor, Concepción de Acuña mission, May 20, 1732, AGN, vol. 163, exp. 4, ff. 173–74; Letters of Fray Isidro Félix de Espinosa to the viceroy, April and May 1733, AGN, vol. 163, exp. 4, ff. 193–195; and petition of Fray Benito Fernández de Santa Ana, Texas missions, 1740s, ACQ, K, Leg. 19, no. 35.

[28] Donald E. Chipman, *Spanish Texas, 1519–1821* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992), 142-43; Marion A. Habig, *The Alamo Chain of Missions: A History of San Antonio's Five Old Missions* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1968), 47–48, 126, 162–64, 204–206; Carlos E. Castañeda, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, 1519–1936*, vol. 3 (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones, 1936–1950), 49–65.

[29] "Autos a Representación de los P.P. Misioneros Apostólicos de la Prov[inci]a de los Tejas s[obre] el malos tratam[ien]tos perjuicios q[ue] les causa el Gov[ernad]or Don Carlos de Franquis," 1732 to January 1737, missions of Texas, AGN, Misiones, vol. 21, exp. 3, folios 44–121. The friars' primary arguments concerning privileges occur before folio 85.

This offense marked the high point of the friars' outcry against governors and military leaders during the century; one friar noted that the "oppression" of the governor was in complete opposition to the right order in which a missionary was autonomous in his mission and only needed to yield to his father president as superior of the missions. The friars' reaction to gubernatorial abuses was to hurl canon law at their oppressor, in Franquis's case significant sections of the canons of the Council of Trent, twenty-fifth session, on the reform of the Church and avoidance of scandal. When faced with emasculating insinuations by the civil authorities, friars responded as well with citation upon citation of Church fathers' writings on the nature of the priest in his parish, his rights, and the respect due his position.[30] For the Texas friars from both colleges, such arguments entailed two claims to the respect of their civil and military peers in the colonial leadership: the friars were priests in every sense as understood within the Hispanic culture of the period, and they were missionaries serving both God and king in the province and held title to the mission's neophytes, physical plant, and production.

Other such conflicts occurred regularly. In 1724, Fray José Gonzales accused the commander of La Bahia presidio, Captain Nicolas Flores, of "ribald behavior" that influenced mission neophytes and detracted from the authority of the missionaries. Neither did Fray José appreciate the abusive language the captain directed at the priests or the Indians.[31] In the ongoing battles with the Isleño settlers of San Fernando de Bejar over water and produce of the missions, Indian labor, and related issues, friars accused Governor Juan Antonio Bustillo y Ceballos in 1732 of collusion with the townspeople by reference to inequities in his defense, or lack of such effort, of the rights and prerogatives of the missionaries. Yet another round of conflict, again with the townspeople as catalysts, ensued between the Santa Cruz friars and the provincial government in the 1740s. One of the extant petitions from that period reveals the perturbation of the father president, Fray Benito de Santa Ana, with the grinding assault of the secular estate as represented by the villa of San Fernando on the rights of the missionaries to control, supervise, and dispose of mission assets. Fray Benito laid claim not only to the canonical rights the friars held but also provided evidence of the immense investment of time and funds made by the Franciscans in the San Antonio

[30] Ibid., folios 49–50.

[31] Fray José Gonzales, charges against Captain Nicolas Flores, San Antonio de Valero mission, March 18, 1724, AGN, Provincias Internas, vol. 32, exp. 7, ff. 155–62.

River missions.[32] By mid-century the friars extended their defenses against civil and military officials to the presidio captain at the San Xavier River missions and the lieutenant governor in San Antonio. Disrespectful behavior to the father preachers at the three missions on the San Xavier was only one of the recurring charges that led to the excommunication of the captain and his men, only to lead next to the murder of a friar and a layman by persons working for the captain. The closing chapter on the San Xavier missions was an extended defense of the missionaries' privileges in their statements against corrupt soldiers and government officials.[33]

The conflicts were intense but not the norm. More typically, missionaries, civil officials, and military officers cooperated in the attempt to better the lot of the Spaniards in Texas. In the midst of such peaceful times, friars revealed their understandings of the potential for their role, and thus the ultimate rationale for their privileges, in the province. In January 1799, Fray José María Puelles brought witnesses to testify to the quality of his life and work at the Rosario mission. Their testimony, guided by Puelles, illustrates what actual missionaries and their flock thought about the expected role, and rights, of the minister in a *conversión*. Among the elements of his ministry that he asked them to confirm were his fulfillment of the duty to instruct and preach Christian doctrine, and his faithfulness in the administration of the sacraments during normal times and the delivery of the viaticum to the dying. Both his testimony and those of his witnesses, *vecinos españoles*, appears in every respect to be a thorough description of the work of a village priest.[34] It indicates that his identity as a pastor (without the title and with authority from a different source than that of a diocesan priest) was as important to him as his identity as a missionary with rights and privileges sanctioned by the king.

[32] Fray Gabriel de Vergara to the governor, Concepción de Acuña mission, May 20, 1732, AGN, Provincias Internas, vol. 163, exp. 4, ff. 173–174; Petition of Fr. Benito Fernández de Santa Ana, 1740s.

[33] Auto of the 1752 murders at Mission Candelaria, full and partial copies, BA, Box 2S27.

[34] Authorization of Fray José María Puelles for the payment of his *sínodo* to Don José Camacho in Saltillo, January 1, 1799, AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 3569, exp. 37, folio 1. Fray Puelles's request and the testimony it contains compare favorably to the résumés maintained by diocesan priests and submitted for *concursos*, the open competitions for parish benefices in the dioceses of New Spain. Diocesan priests staffing poorer parishes often remarked on their dedication in administering sacraments, attending the sick, and catechizing their parishioners in language reminiscent of the claims of missionaries' service records in Texas. See William B. Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred: Priests and Parishioners in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), 102–106.

This was not an isolated case. In the early nineteenth century friars in Nacogdoches reported on their work among the community gathered there—Spaniards, mestizos, ladino Indians, immigrant Frenchmen and Anglos—in terms reflecting the community's recognition of the Franciscans' privileges as the local parish priests as well.[35] Congenial relations with other Texas governors, particularly at mid-century and late in the Spanish period, illustrate missionaries' inclusion as members of the provincial elite. Most notable among the friars in the mid-eighteenth century was Fray Mariano Francisco de los Dolores y Viana, whose long tenure extended from 1733 to the early 1760s. Fray Mariano worked with most of the provincial leadership, civilian and military, over this period, often accompanying presidio commanders to sites for new missions, participating in councils of war, discussing negotiations with indigenous bands and nations, and contributing his comments on a range of subjects in letters and memorials.[36] The Zacatecan friars maintained influence in local affairs late in the century and often developed a friendly, continuous relationship in letters and meetings with the governors. These late colonial relations between Texas missionaries and provincial leaders demonstrate the influence, noted above for the priests in Nacogdoches in the spiritual realm, that held also in dealings between the friars and government on Indian welfare and the economics of mission life.[37]

Folding together the concept of the congregated mission with the friars' understandings of the privileges they held essentially as parish priests on the frontier, it becomes possible to engage the missionaries' expectations of the pastoral impact for their work. With such a tightly woven view of their own personal roles

[35] Fray José María Huerta de Jesus and Fray Mariano Sosa, Report on foreigners in Nacogdoches, BA, 2S99, May 3–4, 1810. Fray Manuel Julio de Silva identified the priests in Nacogdoches in November 1792 as ecclesiastical judges for the location, Colegio de San Fernando de Mexico, BA, microfilm 22:0891-0900.

[36] Benedict Leutenegger, trans., and Marion A. Habig, ed., *Letters and Memorials of Fray Mariano de los Dolores y Viana 1737–1762: Documents on the Missions of Texas from the Archives of the College of Querétaro*, Documentary Series No. 7 (San Antonio, TX: Old Spanish Missions Research Library, Our Lady of the Lake University, 1985). Of the forty-two documents included by Leutenegger in the collection, twenty-four were addressed directly to governors and presidio officers; each illustrates the activist methods used by Fray Mariano to advance the missions in Texas.

[37] The history of the Zacatecas friars in Texas following the secularization of some of the missions in the 1770s and the exit of the Santa Cruz friars in the same decade is often ignored or downplayed. The *colegio* at Guadalupe de Zacatecas continued to send men to the Texas missions until Mexican independence, and many of these friars took active roles in provincial affairs. See letter of Fray Manuel Julio de Silva to Governor Manuel Muñoz, Espiritu Santo mission, March 24, 1791, BA, 2S58; letters of Fray Antonio de Jesús Garavito, Refugio mission, October 13 and October 27, 1798, BA, 2S73.

in Texas, friars from the apostolic colleges expected that they would be the ones to minister to the first generations of Hispanized indigenous Christians in the province. No clear alternative existed in their view. A few examples show how concretely this expected role appeared in friars' quotidian efforts.

The rather common issue of enforcing monogamy among Indian couples cropped up in Texas in the eighteenth century as it did in other parts of colonial Spanish America in previous periods, and while just one aspect of the civilizing project of the friars, it is a prime lens through which to view the project of cultural transformation the missionaries desired for the Indians. Franciscans in Texas commented both on their efforts to encourage and enforce European Catholic notions of marriage and their role in performing this kind of social policing. The Santa Cruz college archive contains various discourses for use by missionaries in determining the manner in which to address the resolution of marriage among persons already engaged in either serial monogamy without the blessing of the friars, or those living within polygamous relationships.[38] From the earliest days of the Texas missions the friars knew they had to meet such issues with force if they were to transform indigenous societies.[39] The emphasis on overseeing marriage and applying other forms of social control in the missions is a core element of every directive issuing either from the college guardians or the father presidents. Each instruction in 1748, 1753, and the mid-1760s clearly noted such aspects of the missionary's role as pastor in the mission.[40] Methods of social control in general, to include controls on dancing, feasting, preparation for warfare, and other communal actions on the part of the neophyte population, were a common denominator marking pastoral roles for Spanish missionaries in the north of New Spain, and the Texas mis-

[38] Consulta de Fray Antonio de Andrade, n.d., ACQ, F, legajo 7, no. 3. Fray Andrade cites Cardinal Bellarmine and Bonaventure, as well as the synoptic gospels and certain books of the Pentateuch.

[39] See Fray Francisco Hidalgo to Fray Isidro de Espinosa, San Juan Bautista mission, November 20, 1710, in ACQ, K, legajo 1, no. 8.

[40] Patente del discretorio del Colegio a los presidentes y ministros de las misiones. . . , Querétaro, August 19, 1748, ACQ, K, legajo 3, no. 51, folio 1v; Cuaderno sobre los privilegios de los Misioneros de Texas, folios 1-2; Patente del Colegio de Zacatecas relativo a los privilegios de los misioneros, Guadalupe de Zacatecas, July 4, 1753, in ACQ, K, legajo 19, no. 105; Howard Benoist and María Eva Flores, eds., *Guidelines for a Texas Mission: Instructions for the Missionary of Mission Concepción in San Antonio*, trans. Benedict Leutenegger, 4th printing (San Antonio, TX: Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Library, Our Lady of the Lake University, 1994). See also typical accounts of sacramental activities such as that by Fray Acisclos de Valverde to Fray Mariano Antonio de Buena y Alcalde, prefect of missions, San Antonio de Valero mission, December 15, 1764, in ACQ, K, legajo 19, no. 125; and that by Fray Juan Domingo de Arricivita, Province of Texas, 1772, ACQ, K, legajo 19, no. 131.

sionaries were not alone in seeing social policing as yet another application of their apostolic ministry.[41]

Friars wrote often of their pastoral inclinations towards neophytes and settlers in Texas. This particular aspect of Franciscan charisma—the friars' act of writing of their pastoral intentions and emotional involvement with their neophytes—stands out in such descriptions of work in the Texas missions. At regular intervals in the historical record the Franciscans note their constancy in watching over the Indians physically in the missions and those, like the Lipan Apache bands at mid-century, who lived away but visited regularly.[42] The friars also defined as pastoral care their legal wrangling on behalf of the mission communities for the water of the various rivers bordering the missions. Missionaries took pride in their knowledge and recognition of Indian leaders in the missions themselves; not only were friars acting out pastoral guidance in teaching the political structures Spaniards followed, but they saw themselves protecting space, or land, for the Indians in their respective locales.[43] Though widely used by historians today, no other statement better summarizes the friars' perspectives on their pastoral and administrative role in Texas missions than the words of the author of the instructions for the missionary at Mission Concepción in San Antonio, that he "be all to all [neophytes] in order to win them all."[44] This statement in 1787 and others like it provide ample testimony to the friars' abiding perspective that they were charitable, compassionate, and sufficient pastors.

Friars exhibited consistent understandings of the conceptual ideal of the congregated mission in Texas, and this ideal persisted over the long term. Franciscans in the province foresaw and planned the development of Hispanized, Christian towns under their leadership. Indians were to live under Franciscan tutelage until their emancipation to spiritual and political adulthood; during this maturation, Indians' lives were to adhere to friars' enforce-

[41] See the essays in Jesús F. de la Teja and Ross Frank, eds., *Choice, Persuasion, and Social Control on Spain's North American Frontiers* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005).

[42] Fray Francisco Javier Ortiz to Commissary General Fray José Antonio de Oliva concerning his visit to the missions of the San Antonio River, San Antonio de Valero mission, June 17, 1756, BNAF, 30/592.1, ff. 1–1v; Letter of Fray Joseph de Guadalupe received by the viceregal office on June 21, 1743, San Francisco de la Espada mission, AGN, Provincias Internas, vol. 236, exp. 1, ff. 81–82.

[43] Fray Pedro Pérez de Mezquia to viceroy, Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro, May 4, 1731, AGN, Provincias Internas, vol. 236, exp. 1, ff. 89–90; Protest of Fray Antonio Olivares to the founding of San José de Aguayo mission on the San Antonio River by Fray Antonio Margil, Presidio and town of Béjar, February 23, 1720, ACQ, K, legajo 4, no. 5.

[44] Benoist and Flores, eds., *Guidelines for a Texas Mission*, 11–49; for quote, see p. 33.

ment of social control in a variety of forms. Missionaries in Texas provided a consistent discourse, available through their communications back to the colleges and used in the training therein, on the privileges and nature of the friars' mission to the frontier. Finally, these concepts led to a lasting pastoral construct that reinforced friars' conceptions of themselves as ministers perpetually supporting the spiritual, moral, and physical well-being of neophytes in Texas. While the overall Franciscan self-image was cast in a positive light, elements of social control and discipline were part of the exercise of identity maintenance in that Franciscans engaged in convincing themselves of the value of such actions for the Indians' spiritual and social health. The friars' dedication to the idealized congregated mission and self conceptions as proto-parish pastors were at odds with the realized results of the Texas enterprise in which few of the missions succeeded in their goals over the long century, but this conceptual framework remained in place until the closing of the missions in the province.

CHAPTER 21
Junípero Serra: From Mallorcan Preacher and Teacher to California Missionary

Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz

As the founder and first president of the mission system in the Spanish province of Alta California, Junípero Serra is closely identified with California. Statues of him can be found at each of California's twenty-one missions and in places as diverse as Golden Gate Park in San Francisco and in front of the Ventura Courthouse. His name is attached to a mountain peak, various schools, and countless streets and thoroughfares. For instance, if one drives to San Francisco from the south, one fairly direct route to the city will take the traveler on Interstate Highway 280, formally named the Junípero Serra Freeway. Upon arriving in the city, one way to get downtown is via Junípero Serra Boulevard. Such "name branding" would imply that Serra lived his entire life in California, but in reality he spent only the last quarter of his life there. Indeed, he lived in the Americas for only half of his seventy years. His first thirty-five years were spent on the largest of the Balearic Islands, Mallorca. Serra lived the first fifteen years of his life in the small village of Petra on the island's western side. He entered the Franciscan Order at the age of sixteen and then for almost two decades he resided in an academic environment, first as a student, and then as an eminent teacher and preacher. In this essay we consider how the lesser-known first half of his life influenced the very public and much-studied fifteen years he later spent in Alta California.

Serra's desire to become a missionary originated in Mallorca but there is no record of his having come into contact with any Franciscan who had been a missionary in America before he volunteered to leave his native island. The values that led him abroad were ones he had acquired at home. There is every indication that these values persisted during the nineteen years he spent in the Americas before he set foot in Alta California in 1769. After he arrived at the

Colegio de San Fernando in Mexico City on January 1, 1750, he did not undergo extensive training in New World missionary methods and procedures. The Colegio had undertaken the recruiting expedition to Spain in which Serra had enlisted because it was desperately short of manpower and needed fresh men to staff its missions in the Sierra Gorda. Scarcely six months after his arrival, Serra was out in the field. He spent the next eight years ministering to already-evangelized native communities in the Sierra Gorda. For another eight years he was engaged in domestic missions to already-evangelized Spanish-speaking communities in various parts of New Spain, such as Oaxaca. He never seems to have immersed himself in the rich body of missionary writings, such as memoirs, handbooks, or analyses of indigenous religions that the Franciscans and other religious orders had produced in the New World since the middle of the sixteenth century. Indeed, his voluminous writings are noticeable for the relative infrequency with which they cite such material. We believe that the core of Serra's basic missionary methods largely stemmed from his experiences in the first half of his life, as a Mallorcan villager who became a highly successful priest and academic.[1]

There were at least three major ways in which his Mallorcan background influenced the manner in which Serra organized his missionary enterprise in California.[2] First, he was born in 1713, the year of the Treaty of Utrecht, which ended the War of Spanish Succession and formalized the Bourbon presence on the Spanish throne. Like many other areas of Spain that had ties to Aragón, Mallorca, which had favored the Habsburgs, was on the losing side of that conflict. The Bourbon army took forcible possession of the island shortly after the end of the war and it maintained a strong and continuous presence there for decades after that. In the 1720s soldiers looking for resistors invaded churches, and in the late 1740s the army rounded up a number of young men in the cap-

[1] On the training programs for future missionaries in the Apostolic Colleges of New Spain, see David Rex Galindo, "Propaganda Fide: Training Franciscan Missionaries in New Spain" (PhD diss., Southern Methodist University, 2010). Serra was aware of the great missionary writings and had access to them. In 1779, he loaned Governor Neve a copy of Torquemada's *Monarquía Indiana*. See Serra to Felipe de Neve, September 17, 1779, in Junípero Serra, *Writings of Junípero Serra*, 4 vols., ed. Antonine Tibesar (Washington, DC: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955), vol. 3: 374. But these types of works were rarely cited in his writings.

[2] We have dealt with these three major issues—the military, the Inquisition, and agriculture—in Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, "What They Brought: The Alta California Franciscans before 1769," in *Alta California: Peoples in Motion, Identities in Formation, 1769–1850*, Western Histories 2, ed. Steven W. Hackel (Berkeley: Published for Huntington-USC Institute on California and the West by University of California Press, Berkeley, and Huntington Library, San Marino, 2010), 17–46.

ital of Palma where Serra lived. These men were sent off to fight in the Italian theater of the War of Austrian Succession. Serra left for the New World in 1749 with tremendous skepticism about the army. At least some of the ferocity of his continuous quarrels with various military officers in Alta California resulted from those memories.

Second, like many areas of Spain, Mallorca was an active participant in the Inquisition and Inquisition activities intensified on the island at the end of the seventeenth century. In 1691 three *conversos* were burned alive in Palma, and two *autos-da-fe* were held there in the 1720s. The targets were members of the Jewish community whose conversions to Christianity were suspected of being less than genuine. This group was allowed to live only in certain parts of the city, and pressure against them persisted throughout the time that Serra was on Mallorca. He himself was an investigator for the Inquisition, although most of his activities appear to have involved reading theological tracts for their orthodoxy.

The Mallorcan Inquisition inculcated a sensibility of suspicion about the sincerity of conversions. Serra carried those suspicions with him to California where he applied them to Indian converts. He had a great suspicion of baptized Indians when they were off by themselves away from the watchful eyes of the mission authorities for he feared that they were, in their own way, secret Judaizantes, practicing their own rituals. This suspicion strengthened his desire to ensure that the normal pattern of mission life in Alta California was the *reducción*, in which Indians were congregated together and in which Indian freedom of movement was severely limited.

Third, Mallorca was an agricultural island but the success of this endeavor was extremely fragile. Sustained hunger was never more than one drought away and the last few years of Serra's stay on Mallorca were in fact marked by severe drought. This experience gave him a deep practical sense of what was needed if the missions were to become self-sustaining agricultural enterprises. Indeed, in Alta California's early years he cautioned his fellow missionaries against baptizing too many people too quickly, before the missions had developed to the point where they would be able to feed the new Christians. A large part of his 1773 memorandum to the viceroy when he visited Mexico City concerned the details of keeping the supply chain between Mexico and Alta California open and free.

In addition to these large forces, there was another important aspect of Serra's Mallorcan experience that throws additional light on the way in which his homeland continued to affect him after he crossed the Atlantic. This was his teaching and preaching. During his time in Palma, Serra generally resided at the church of San Francisco. He taught a three-year course in philosophy from 1740 to 1743. At this time he was also involved in graduate studies in theology. In 1743, he

became a professor of theology but never taught the philosophy course again. One of his students kept extensive notes from the philosophy course, so we have an idea of what and how he taught.[3] In addition, an approbation of a 1749 funeral sermon that he and another faculty member composed is also extant.[4]

In addition, while he was a university professor, Serra regularly engaged in preaching, both in the city of Palma and in various villages throughout the island. Four Lenten homilies that he preached at a convent of Poor Clares in Palma in 1744 have survived.[5] Considered as a whole, this body of writings and notes is markedly different from the massive amount of correspondence and reports Serra composed when he was engaged in missionary work. They help us fill out the picture of the man and offer examples of the intellectual and religious currents that helped to shape his missionary strategy.

Taken as a whole, Serra's writings reveal that he was a widely read individual. The funeral sermon he was assessing in the 1749 essay rested on the classical myth of the phoenix. The essay in which he evaluates the sermon was replete with classical allusions. Serra and his co-author quoted from Vergil, Seneca, Plutarch, and Quintillian. Serra apparently liked Vergil, whose emphasis in the Aeneid on *pietas* and duty made him one of the Medieval Church's most favored classical authors. And, Serra ended his philosophy course in 1743 with a quotation from that epic poem.[6]

The course Serra was assigned to teach was a standard survey course of scholastic philosophy, which was grounded on the thought of Aristotle, whom the medieval scholastics termed simply "the philosopher." In the Middle Ages, Aristotle was interpreted somewhat differently by the Dominicans, who followed the synthesis of Thomas Aquinas in emphasizing the philosophical analysis of the intellect, and the Franciscans, who tended to follow Bonaventure and Scotus in focusing on an analysis of the will.

[3] The Santa Bárbara Mission Archive-Library contains a typescript of the student's notes from the first year ("Logic") and part of the second year ("Physics"). See Junípero Serra, "Compendium Scoticum" (Palma de Mallorca, 1743), Junípero Serra Collection, no. 34, Santa Bárbara Mission Archive-Library. The original is in Mallorca.

[4] Serra, *Writings of Junípero Serra*, 1:28 4: 292–301.

[5] Junípero Serra, "Four Sermons" (Palma de Mallorca, 1744), Junípero Serra Collection, no. 15, Santa Bárbara Mission Archive-Library. These Catalán sermons were translated into Spanish in Bartolomé Font Obrador, *El apóstol de California, sus albores* ([Palma de Mallorca]: Direcció General de Cultura, 1989). In our translations of parts of the sermons into English for this essay, we used the texts in both languages.

[6] Maynard J. Geiger, *The Life and Times of Fray Junípero Serra, O.F.M.; or, The Man Who Never Turned Back, 1713–1784: A Biography,* 2 vols. (Washington, DC: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1959).

On the first day of class, as a good teacher, Serra established a relationship with students. He told them something about himself—specifically that he was a student of Scotus and that he himself was very happy that the influence of Scotus's ideas appeared to be increasing within the Church.

One of those ideas was a notion that Scotus championed, that Mary, the mother of Jesus, had been conceived without original sin. This idea of the Immaculate Conception had not yet been officially adopted as doctrine by the Church, but Serra told his students that it was gaining greater acceptance and advancing toward official recognition. This was standard Franciscan practice in Mallorca. Indeed, part of the vow formula that Serra recited as a young Franciscan in 1731 contained an oath to defend the concept of the Immaculate Conception.

Having given this more personal introduction, Serra turned to the traditional course he had been assigned. He immediately plunged into the first topic of his logic presentation, "De operationis intellectus," a consideration of the way in which intellect works. Serra developed the course around the dialectical style that would have been familiar to any student in a Franciscan scholastic philosophy course in Europe. The content was also quite traditional, and the authorities he most often cited were Aristotle, Scotus, and Aquinas. When we remember that Serra was working on his advanced theology studies at the same time he was teaching this course, its standard nature comes as no surprise. Serra was directing his intellectual energies elsewhere during these three years.

His sermons were replete with citations from various sources. As would be expected, he quoted liberally from the Jewish and Christian scriptures. A number of Church fathers, including Saints Augustine, Jerome, John Chrysostom, and Gregory the Great, made their way into the sermons. In addition, Saint Francis, Saint Bonaventure, Sor María de Jesús de Ágreda, and others from the Franciscan tradition were quoted. But Serra did not ignore the secular world. For example, the very first person quoted in the first sermon was the well-known former king of Aragón, Alfonso the Wise. Aristotle, with whom Serra was very familiar from his philosophy studies, was also cited. Towards the end of the fourth sermon, Serra extensively paraphrased a section of the Old Digest from the legal code of Justinian.

These writings set the stage for Serra's activity as a missionary. First, they demonstrate that Serra was able to integrate the religious, classical, and political worlds. When he arrived in Alta California in 1769, he had also become very familiar with the missionary worlds of the Sierra Gorda, where he worked in the 1750s, and was for a time president of the five Franciscan missions there. He was also quite familiar with the parish life of many locations in colonial

Mexico, where he preached in the 1760s. Much of the assurance he demonstrated in his relations with Spanish officers in Alta California (some would and did call his assurance arrogance) stemmed, we believe, from his sense of self as being more educated, more well-rounded, and possessing a broader intellectual and cultural background than his adversaries.[7]

Second, the style of his preaching seems to have oscillated between two extremes. On the one hand, much of his public preaching tended to be dramatic and extravagant. Perhaps to compensate for not being very tall, which, as he reported to his friend Francisco Palóu, bothered and even embarrassed him as a young Franciscan, he developed a boisterous and theatrical pulpit persona. Palóu reported that during a sermon in Mexico City in the 1760s Serra took out a chain and began to flog himself with it. He had developed the roots of his theatrical approach in Mallorca. He began his third Lenten sermon in 1744 by constructing a vivid and imaginative description:

> A full and vibrant trumpet call ought to resound in this church today before I begin my sermon, for I am going to issue a public call and publish a royal decree. Congratulate yourselves a thousand times over, you happy vassals of that Monarch who continues, more and more, to demonstrate his great good will toward you and who loves you so tenderly. "*That the Lord is good*."
>
> My public call is about the grand price of a coin with which on this very day you all ought to make yourselves rich. And what is this coin of such a high price? Christians, this coin is made up of the pains and labors which the Lord sends us in this life.

In 1747, as Serra was giving what Palóu diplomatically described as a "very fervent" sermon in the Mallorcan village of Selva, one woman got up in the middle of it and denounced it as just a lot of yelling and screaming. Serra took solace in his conviction that she was possessed by the devil![8]

Yet the overall tone of the 1744 sermons was significantly different. Serra spoke at times as if he were in a classroom. All of the sermons required his listeners to compare and contrast a number of concepts. In the first sermon he told the sisters and the other listeners that God speaks to people with two kinds of voices: "interior voices in our hearts" and "exterior voices to our ears, through his ministers." In the same sermon he asked them to ponder that the

[7] On Governor Felipe de Neve's attitude toward Serra, see Edwin Beilharz, *Felipe de Neve, First Governor of California* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1971), 51–52, 134.

[8] Francisco Palóu, *Life of Fray Junípero Serra*, ed. Maynard Geiger (Washington, DC: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955), 5, 6, 41–42.

human person consists of two parts: "an inferior or sentient part, which he shares with irrational creatures," and "a superior or rational part, which he shares with the angels." In the second sermon he declared that "the yoke of the divine law" was very soft and gentle in two complementary respects: "first in its intrinsic nature and, second, because of various extrinsic circumstances," such as the nature of God, the example of Christ, the presence of divine grace, and the hope of heavenly glory. In the third sermon, he stated that the trials and tribulations people suffer in this life are actually quite gentle in two senses: *a priori,* because "sufferings come from the paternal and infinite love that the Lord has for us," and *a posteriori*, "because of the eternal and heavenly prize they allow us to reach." And in the fourth sermon, Serra argued that God's mercy was boundless both intensively and extensively. "In terms of its intention," he stated, it was boundless "because of the intense and intrinsic affection with which he [God] pardons us." The divine mercy was extensive, on the other hand, "because of the great multitude of sins which God's mercy reaches." In the same sermon, he quoted Saint Anthony of Padua to the effect that God's mercy is his greatest virtue, since it is infinite. But Serra wondered aloud, how can the saint say that? Are not all of God's virtues infinite by definition? To explain this seeming contradiction, Serra put on his best academic hat. Here we must, he told his listeners, "make a distinction." One wonders if his listeners were taking notes through all of this!

These extremes of intense emotion and academic complexity marked Serra's tenure as mission president. His emotion was often directed at soldiers or military officials. During one meeting in August 1775, for instance, Serra became very agitated with military commander Fernando de Rivera y Moncada's refusal to provide the number of soldiers that Serra mistakenly thought the viceroy had ordered for the founding of a mission along the Santa Bárbara Channel. Serra was so angry that he banged the table with his hand and started shouting at the commander.[9] Serra also privately confessed to a fellow missionary in 1779 that he was so irritated with Governor Felipe de Neve that he was unable to sleep at night and that talking to the governor before Mass so upset him that it was only with great difficulty that he was able to celebrate the sacrament with the reverence and equanimity it deserved.[10] But even his fellow missionaries could become exasperated with what they regarded as his petulance and high-handedness. In 1775, responding to many such com-

[9] Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, *Writings of Fermín Francisco de Lasuén*, 2 vols., ed. Finbar Kenneally (Washington, DC: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1965), 1: 57.

[10] Serra, *Writings of Junípero Serra*, 3:292–93, 390–91.

plaints, the guardian of the Colegio de San Fernando in Mexico City issued a decree severely limiting Serra's power over his fellow missionaries. Serra's successor, Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, was much more even-tempered and exhibited greater diplomatic skills in dealing with Spanish authorities than Serra did. Lasuén's appointment was probably made with these very qualities in mind.[11]

Serra's ability to employ somewhat obscure academic distinctions was also part of his missionary strategy. This was one of his most constant tactics in his seemingly endless struggles with Neve. One set of disagreements revolved around the mission inventories. Neve asked for them to be forwarded to him so that he could use them in preparing his reports to the Commander General of the Interior Provinces, Teodoro de Croix, whose headquarters were in Sonora. According to Neve, Serra agreed to do this "directly" (*en derechura*). But then it turned out that Serra had meant "directly," not in the sense of "right away," but in the sense that he would send the material "straight" to the viceroy.[12] As was typical in the Spanish empire, this dispute generated an enormous correspondence at various levels of the colonial bureaucracy. When Serra was finally ordered by Croix to turn the material over to the governor, Serra gamely protested that he had never really been explicitly ordered to hand over the inventories, and thus the implication in Croix's order that he had not complied with legitimate orders was erroneous. He said he would be happy to obey, except that the documents he would need to comply with this order had already been sent to Mexico City. And, he was sorry to have to add, there was also a serious shortage of paper in the missions, and thus he was not sure that he had anything to write the reports on! He insisted, however implausibly, that he was anxious to fulfill these orders and would do so just as soon as was humanly possible.[13]

A similar situation occurred around the sacrament of confirmation. This sacrament was normally administered by a bishop, but, in remote areas such as a mission territory, in which a bishop did not reside, the Vatican often delegated the authority to administer this sacrament to the chief missionary of the area. The Jesuits received such authority in Baja California, and the Franciscans in Alta California routinely applied for this privilege for themselves in the early 1770s. The Vatican granted this request in 1774. Serra received the authorization to administer the sacrament in 1778 in a document from the Colegio de

[11] Francisco Pangua to the Missionaries of California, February 7, 1775, in Serra, *Writings of Junípero Serra*, 2: 459–63; Francis F. Guest, *Fermín Francisco de Lasuén (1736–1803): A Biography* (Washington, DC: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1973), 343.

[12] Beilharz, *Neve*, 176, fn. 12.

[13] Ibid., 49–55; Serra to Teodoro de Croix, April 28, 1782, in Serra, *Writings of Junípero Serra*, 3: 125–35.

San Fernando in Mexico City, and he soon started doing so at various missions. When Neve found out, he demanded to see the document entitling Serra to administer confirmations. He claimed that he needed to see, not the document sent to Serra by his superiors in Mexico City, but the document originally sent from Madrid to Mexico City. This document was, of course, at the Colegio in Mexico City. The normal voluminous correspondence ensued and Serra was ultimately ordered by the commander general's office in Sonora to cease administering confirmation. He replied that he had already asked that the document in question be sent to him from Mexico City, so that should take care of everything. The authorities were not pleased and demanded that Serra give Neve the documents he possessed on this matter, so that Neve could send them to Sonora for inspection. Serra had already anticipated this request and replied that he had already sent those documents on to Mexico City so that they could be sent from there to Sonora. He disingenuously claimed that he had done this so that the documents could get to Sonora faster![14]

Neither of these controversies was really about the matters at hand. As for the inventories, the military was stationed at each of the California missions, so Neve and his officers had a fairly good idea of the state of each of those institutions. As for confirmation, it was, in the ecclesiastical jargon of the day, not a sacrament that was "necessary for salvation," so Serra was not animated by saving more Indian souls. Both controversies were about power and precedence in California and Serra's background in academic philosophy and theology had made him an adept player in the game of colonial bureaucracy. Serra proved over and over that he was more than willing to use his expertise to try to increase the power of the missions.

Third, the content of the 1744 sermons offers important clues into how Serra conceived the beginning stages of the missionary enterprise. Indeed, of all the Mallorcan writings that have survived, the sermons undoubtedly offer the deepest insight into Serra's own views. Whereas he was constrained in the philosophy class by the traditional nature of the course, and in the approbation document by the text of the funeral sermon itself, in the sermons he was able to choose his own theme, develop it as he saw fit, and offer his own interpretation of the relationship between God and humanity. This interpretation informed his missionary activity.

Serra preached five sermons at the convent. The first three appear to have survived more or less entirely, and a large part of the fourth appears to have sur-

[14] Beilharz, *Neve*, 55–61; Geiger, *The Life and Times of Fray Junípero Serra, O.F.M.*, 2: 159–70.

vived as well. The fifth is lost. The audience consisted of the cloistered sisters and members of the public who were able to attend in the more public area of the convent church. The overarching theme of the sermons was taken from a verse from Psalm 34: "Taste and see that the Lord is good." When he spoke, Serra quoted the verse from the Latin Vulgate: *Gustate, et videte quoniam suavis est Dominus.* Then he played with the Latin word that is usually translated into English as "good"—*suavis.* He announced that his theme was going to be God's *suavidat*—a Catalan word meaning "softness," or "mildness," and connoting "gentleness" or "sweetness." Then, picking up on the beginning of the verse ("taste") Serra introduced the word *dulzura* (sweetness) as a virtual synonym for *suavidat.* At the beginning of the first sermon, Serra told his audience that the five sermons would be devoted to different ways in which this *suavidat* of God is manifest: in the words with which He calls people, in His law that He orders them to observe, in the sufferings He sends them, in the mercy with which He pardons them, and in the glory with which He will reward them.

The basic theme of the sermons is the sweetness, gentleness, and accessibility of God. Serra insisted that God could be directly experienced by human beings, and that this experience was like coming across a type of hitherto-unknown culinary delicacy: "Those who do not know anything about this sweetness and do not taste it do not have any appetite for it. But someone who has tried it just once finds that he has an increasing appetite for it and finds it very soothing." This notion, that the encounter with God would awaken in people aspects of themselves they had not before experienced, informed his missionary strategy. In California, this notion was at the root of his insistence that missions should be located near Indian villages, that native peoples should have the opportunity to visit the priests informally, and that priests should be allowed to act as the primary agents of contact with local indigenous villages. For the task of embodying God's sweetness and gentleness was one for which the missionary was uniquely equipped. In 1770, after a few short weeks at Monterey Bay, Serra complained, "I have barely been able to find time to meet the gentiles who live at some distance from here, even though they have come to see us a number of times. They very humbly and generously have given us some of their food."[15] For Serra, these informal contacts were crucial if he were going to be able to introduce the native peoples to the "sweetness" of the Lord.

The theme of Serra's third sermon is especially relevant, given that coercion and armed force directed against native peoples were always indispensable

[15] Serra, *Writings of Junípero Serra*, 1: 180.

elements of the mission enterprise. The third sermon concerns "the pains and labors which the Lord sends us in this life," and the "punishments" He sometimes metes out. In part of the sermon, Serra was at pains to insist that it was not always legitimate to regard peoples' suffering as simply a punishment that God was visiting on those who deserve it. This was a reference to well-known events. A plague in the middle of the seventeenth century had wiped out almost twenty percent of Mallorca's population. Indeed, a few months after Serra finished these sermons, another plague claimed ten thousand victims on the island.[16]

The overall thrust of the sermon was Serra's insistence that what people often regard as punishment might better be regarded as a gift from God. The reason was that, if God punishes people, He does so with the intent to make them better and bring them closer to their eternal salvation. In this sense, God is very much like a responsible parent, in whom "love and strictness are in harmony." Serra continued:

> It is precisely because the father loves him [his son] that he teaches him to obey. When he misbehaves, the father scolds and punishes him so that the son can correct his mistakes. Because he does not want his son to turn out wrong, he takes him out to the field to teach him to work. So that he might be able to defend himself, the father teaches him how to use weapons and he takes great care that the son will not use them in any inappropriate way. The father continuously watches over his son's life and health. When he appears to be depressed, the father perks him up, counsels him, and helps him. Finally he makes him heir of all he possesses. In this way, even though it might seem at first glance that the son is his father's slave, it becomes clear that he is his father's deeply beloved son. The Divine Father behaves in a similar way with men, who are his own sons.

When this analogy was transported to the Americas, it had the inevitable effect of infantilizing the native peoples.

Serra also used other analogies to drive home the same point. He asked his listeners if they would want a doctor who told them everything was fine, or a doctor who would occasionally have to hurt them to cure them of their infirmities. The answer to this rhetorical question was obvious. He also compared punishments to what happens when a glassblower exercises his craft. There is

[16] Sacra Congregatio Pro Causis Sanctorum Officium Historicum, *Beatificationis et Canonizationis Servi Dei Juniperi Serra Sacerdotis Professi O.F.M. Positio Super Vita et Virtutibus* (Vatican City: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1981), 19.

fire and destruction, but the final result is definitely a thing of beauty. What Serra never grasped was that these analogies, which seemed harmless and even self-evident in one cultural context, would have quite a different effect when they were transported to other cultural contexts. However, he was not the only eighteenth-century European who did not grasp these issues. Indeed, the Europe from which Serra came regarded the human inhabitants and the natural features of the Americas much more negatively than had been the case a century earlier.[17]

Junípero Serra and his contemporaries regarded his California achievements as the greatest in his life. His first biographer, Francisco Palóu, devoted three-quarters of the biography to Serra's life after he arrived in Alta California in 1769. Such an emphasis is surely correct, and the identification of Serra with California is justified. But Serra came to California as a mature and developed individual. To understand fully what he tried to do in California, we need to understand the intellectual and religious views he brought to that region. His experiences in Mallorca for the first thirty-five years of his life provide, we think, an indispensable foundation for understanding his achievements, his struggles, and his challenges in Alta California.

[17] See, for instance, Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World: Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001).

CHAPTER 22
From Ahogado *to* Zorrillo*: External Causes of Mortality in the California Missions*

Steven W. Hackel

From the onset of European exploration and colonization of the Americas, observers noted the rapid decline of indigenous populations, and soon thereafter began a debate about the origins and magnitude of this catastrophe.[1] In our own time, no concept remains more central to our understanding of Europe's expansion into the New World than the "virgin soil epidemic." The term virgin soil epidemic describes the initial outbreak of a disease previously unknown or absent from a particular area for many generations. To scholars of colonial America, the story of the course of these epidemics is a familiar one, and it has shaped the understanding of the past five centuries of history in the Americas. Virgin soil epidemics, according to most histories of the colonization of the New World, were largely inevitable, wherever and whenever Europeans came into sustained contact with American Indians. Their enormous historical importance derives from the fact that they decimated Indians, causing sudden and dramatic depopulation, which in turn unleashed social, economic, and political chaos, all of which facilitated European conquest and settlement throughout much of the New World. As many scholars have told us, these epidemics resulted in extremely high rates of illness and mortality, and without them the history of the Americas over the last five centuries would have been quite different.[2]

[1] Early drafts of this paper were presented at the USC–Huntington American Origins Seminar, the Bay Area Early American History Seminar, and the Annual Meeting of the Social Science History Association. The author would like to thank two anonymous reviewers who read this article for this publication and provided unusually helpful guidance, and J. David Hacker who provided encouragement and insight at an early stage of this investigation.

[2] Scholarship that invokes the concept of the virgin soil epidemic is immense and growing. For the seminal article, see Alfred W. Crosby, "Virgin Soil Epidemics as a Factor in the Aboriginal Depopulation of America," *William and Mary Quarterly* 33 (1976), 289–99. For a recent restate-

But virgin soil epidemics cannot explain the totality of Indian population decline in the Americas. Scholars would do well to remember that although these terrible epidemics were a major force driving Indian population decline, they were just one among many causes, especially among Indians who became integrated into the colonists' modes of labor and production.[3] The writings of Mariano Payeras, a Spanish Franciscan working in California, dra-

ment of the argument, see, for example, the synthesis of Colin G. Calloway, *New Worlds for All: Indians, Europeans, and the Remaking of Early America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 33–41. Among the earliest and most enthusiastic proponents of the concept is Henry F. Dobyns, *Their Number Become Thinned: Native American Population Dynamics in Eastern North America* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983).

[3] Few if any scholars doubt the occurrence of virgin soil epidemics—there are no virgin soil epidemic deniers—but an increasing number of historians have sought to refine our understanding of the concept. Some scholars have suggested that "indirect episodes" associated with virgin soil epidemics are in fact more important to population decline than the epidemics themselves. See, for example, Russell Thornton, "Health, Disease, and Demography," in *A Companion to American Indian History*, edited by Philip J. Deloria and Neal Salisbury (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), 72. James Rice and Paul Kelton have forced us to rethink the timing of virgin soil epidemics and their methods of introduction and transmission in the New World. See Rice, *Nature and History in the Potomac Country: From Hunter-Gatherers to the Age of Jefferson* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009); and Kelton, *Epidemics and Enslavement: Biological Catastrophe in the Native Southeast, 1492–1715* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007). Robert McCaa has helped us to understand both the intensity and chronology of the epidemics that hit colonial Mexico in the sixteenth century. Robert McCaa, "Spanish and Nahuatl Views on Smallpox and Demographic Catastrophe in Mexico," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 25 (1995), 397–431. Suzanne Austin Alchon has placed in a larger context the epidemics that affected Native Americans after Europeans arrived in the New World. She makes a convincing case that virgin soil epidemics were not unique to the New World but were particularly virulent because Indians often experienced multiple epidemics at the same time or within a few years. Alchon, *A Pest in the Land: New World Epidemics in a Global Perspective* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003). David S. Jones, an M.D. and Ph.D., has criticized what he sees as scholars' casual and unthinking references to Indians as immunologically defenseless in the face of European diseases and virgin soil epidemics. He has urged us to remember that Indians were without adaptive immunity to only some diseases, such as smallpox and measles, and that Indians had "deficient immunity" to these maladies only when compared to Europeans, who might have contracted them as children. But Indians were not defenseless. According to Jones, virgin soil epidemics were exceptionally lethal in the New World because of "disease synergy"—the outbreak of many diseases at once—and because epidemics were often intensified by other blows Indians absorbed during the colonial period, namely, malnutrition, poverty, dispossession, and mental stress. See Jones, *Rationalizing Epidemics: Meanings and Uses of American Indian Mortality since 1600* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), and Jones, "Virgin Soils Revisited," *William and Mary Quarterly* 60 (2003), 703–42. In his work, Jones has urged us to understand Indians' susceptibility to disease within the context of Indians' subjugation, rather than vice versa. Along similar lines, scholars have also begun to reassess the degree to which Indians were susceptible to tuberculosis. See Christian W. McMillen, "'The Red Man and the White Plague": Rethinking Race, Tuberculosis, and American Indians, ca. 1890–1950," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 82 (2008), 608–45.

matically illustrate that even contemporary observers noted that depopulation could occur in the absence of consistent epidemics. In 1820, when he was serving as Father President of the California missions, Payeras wrote a most thoughtful reflection on the legacy of a half-century of Spanish and Franciscan rule in colonial California. Having served in Alta California since 1793, Payeras wrote from experience. He reported that after more than fifty years of missionary work in California, the Franciscans had baptized all the Indians between San Diego and an area just north of San Francisco. The missionaries had expected their efforts to lead to a "beautiful and flourishing church and some beautiful towns which could be the joy of the sovereign majesties of heaven and earth." Instead they found themselves "with a people miserable and sick, with rapid depopulation of rancherías [villages], which with profound horror fills the cemeteries." Payeras lamented that previously healthy Indians, once baptized and resident at the missions, became feeble, lost weight, sickened, and died.

As an example of this unfolding tragedy, Payeras pointed to Mission San Carlos Borromeo, also known as Mission Carmel. Mission San Carlos was established in 1770 by Father Junípero Serra in the heart of the territory of the Rumsen Costanoan Indians. By 1796 the mission population had grown to 835 Indians, but this total was reduced to 390 souls in 1818, despite the fact that the Indians in Payeras's words had suffered "*but two epidemics in 24 years.*" Payeras also pointed to neighboring Mission Soledad, where he had worked in the early 1800s. By 1820 the mission had been reduced to "a skeleton" with "an unbalanced society made up of a group of two hundred (or close to it) of either widowers or single men without one woman to marry them, nor even the hope of doing it."[4] Payeras was at pains to point out that something in addition to epidemics was destroying the population at the missions. To his great frustration he was unable to explain—or arrest—this consistent population decline.

In 1821, a year after Payeras wrote his lament, Spanish rule in California gave way to Mexican independence. By then over 70,000 Indians had been baptized in the region's twenty Franciscan missions. As Payeras suggested, during the Spanish and Mexican periods the Indians of the coastal region saw their numbers fall dramatically. The region most intensively settled by Spain,

[4] Payeras to Reverend Father Guardian [Baldomero López] and Venerable Discretorio of Our Apostolic College of San Fernando de México, 2 February 1820, in *Writings of Mariano Payeras*, edited and translated by D. C. Cutter, 225–28 (Santa Barbara, CA: Bellerophon Books, 1995). Emphasis here is mine.

the coast between San Diego and San Francisco, was most likely home to around 64,500 Indians in 1769, the year that Spain began to settle the region.[5] In 1821, after more than five decades of demographic disaster in California, mission Indians numbered only 21,750 and the population of the missions had only been maintained through the recruitment of Indians from the interior valleys.[6] By 1855, after the California Gold Rush and the advent of American rule, the Indian population of the state had probably fallen to around 50,000, far below the more than 300,000 who lived in California in 1769.[7]

In some of my earlier work I have documented that in the Franciscan missions of Alta California persistent endemic disease created crushingly high mortality among Indian infants, children, and adults, as well as very low fertility and even sterility among a very high number of Indian couples. Infant mortality rates at three principal missions, San Carlos, San Diego, and San Gabriel, were consistently between 350/1000 and 430/1000, and childhood mortality rates were between 380/1000 and 470/1000. Adult mortality rates were not as high but well over 100/1000 for men and over 200/1000 for women. And fertility, because of venereal disease, was low and most Indian women produced

[5] Estimating the Indian population of California is difficult and speculative. While scholars debate the size of the pre-contact population, most agree that more than 300,000 Indians lived in what is now the state of California in 1769. Sherburne F. Cook's work is still considered by many to be the most reliable. See, for instance, Cook, *The Population of the California Indians, 1769–1970* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976). Cook estimated the precontact population of California in 1769 at 304,000. The population began to decline after 1769, and by 1845 the Indian population had fallen by half, to about 150,000.

[6] Population estimates are for 1820. Peter Gerhard, *The North Frontier of New Spain* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987), 309. There is an extensive literature on Indian population decline in California. Among the most important works are Steven W. Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian–Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769–1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 65–123; Sherburne F. Cook, *The Conflict Between the California Indians and White Civilization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976); Cook, *The Population of the California Indian*; and Robert H. Jackson, *Indian Population Decline: The Missions of Northwestern New Spain, 1687–1840* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994); Sherburne F. Cook and Woodrow Borah, "Mission Registers as Sources of Vital Statistics," in Cook and Borah, *Essays in Population History*, vol. 3, *Mexico and California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 177–92. In *Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization: The Impact of the Mission System on California Indians* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), 41–72, Robert Jackson and Edward Castillo concentrate on disease, nutrition, sanitation, overcrowding, overwork, and psychological dislocation as factors that contributed to Indian depopulation in California. In his ecent work, James A. Sandos emphasizes syphilis and infertility as important factors of Indian population decline in California. Sandos, *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), 111–27.

[7] Cook, *The Population of the California Indians*, 42–45.

fewer than two children during their reproductive lives.[8] Surely, illness and disease go a long way toward an explanation of these extremely high rates of mortality and the rapid decline of the Indian population of Alta California after 1769. But, there are myriad other important factors that contributed to Indian depopulation in Hispanic California, and many of these have largely escaped the study of historians.

In this essay I pick up where Father Payeras left off and discuss the share of Indian mortality in the California missions that was a result of factors other than epidemic disease. As I hope to illustrate, Indian population decline in California was brought on by illness and infertility and accelerated by external causes, such as acts of violence, natural disasters, dangers associated with animals and insects, as well as work- and transportation-related mishaps.[9] These external causes do not in themselves explain Indian population decline, but they add considerably to our understanding of life and death in early California, and they give us a richer understanding of how some Indians lived, worked, died, and even prayed in Spanish and Mexican California.

MISSION BURIAL RECORDS AND DEATH RECORD ENTRIES: THEIR PRODUCTION, BIASES, AND UTILITY AS SOURCES

To begin to understand the external causes of Indian mortality in Spanish California, I studied thousand of death records at the California missions.[10] This analysis was facilitated by a major scholarly resource, the Early California Population Project (ECPP), a database for which I am the general editor.[11]

[8] See Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 65–123.

[9] According to theWorld Health Organization's *International Classification of Diseases* (ICD), the external causes of morbidity and mortality, are typically used as supplementary classifications to be paired with classifications that are found in earlier chapters of the ICD. But California missionaries did not provide enough information to allow this sort of classification. For example, they might state that a man died when he was struck by a falling tree branch, but they would not state where the branch had hit him or the type of injuries sustained.

[10] I examined the burial records of the California missions held at several institutions. The Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library has photocopies of all of the mission registers. The Henry E. Huntington Library has microfilm copies of the majority of burial registers. And microfilm copies of most of the burial registers are available through the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints' Family History Centers. Furthermore, in my capacity as general editor of the Huntington Library's Early California Population Project (ECPP)—an online database of all of these records—I not only have examined copies of all of the original records but I have worked extensively with the database now encompasses them.

[11] My research was not confined to the online database. See fn. 10. The ECPP is intended as a source for a range of researchers, many of whom will certainly ask questions that cannot now be

Missionaries in California were required to keep records for all Indians affiliated with the missions and for the region's Spanish and Mexican populations, all of whom were at least nominally Catholic. Thus, whenever the missionaries in California baptized, married, or buried an individual, they recorded, to the best of their abilities, that individual's birthplace, age, parents, marital status, children, siblings, godparents, Spanish name, and any other information they deemed unique or relevant. They also assigned individual baptism, marriage, and burial records a unique number. Because the separate baptism, marriage, and burial registers for all of California's twenty-one missions are largely complete, consistently thorough, and in many ways cross-referenced, records from different missions and registers can be linked and sorted by individual.

All basic data entry for the ECPP was completed in June 2006, and the project went online soon thereafter.[12] The project has records on about 101,000 baptisms, 28,000 marriages, and 72,000 burials performed in California between 1769 and 1850. The database encompasses records from all twenty-one of the California missions, in addition to the Los Angeles Plaza Church (1826–1848) and the Santa Barbara Presidio (1782-1848). One of the most valuable aspects of the database is the fact that records are linked: death records have been linked to the deceased's baptismal record; baptism records that list information on a Spanish-named mother have been linked to the mother's baptismal record; baptism records that list information on a Spanish-named father have been linked to the father's baptismal record; and for marriage records, we have cross-linked the bride to her baptism record and the groom to his baptism record.

The death cause records examined here come from nineteen of the twenty-one California missions as well as the Pueblo of Los Angeles and the Presidio of Santa Barbara (Table 1). Missions San Carlos, San Francisco Dolores, and San

anticipated. Thus, the database includes a wide range of fields designed to allow for the capturing of all of the information contained in the mission registers. The result is a wide and flexible range of fields designed to allow data entry to expand in relation to the amount of information contained in a given record. In its current form, the ECPP database has more than eighty-two fields related to individual baptism records, ninety-two covering the marriages of individuals, and forty-seven concerning burial information. An electronic *Guide to Users* aids researchers in searching. Information has been transferred directly from the original registers as it appears in the original records. For more information on the ECPP, see Hackel and Anne Marie Reid, "Transforming an Eighteenth-Century Archive into a Twenty-First Century Database: The Early California Population Project," *History Compass* 5 (2007), 1013–25; and Hackel, "Early California Population Project Report," *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 26 (2006), 71–74.

[12] The ECPP is available through the website of the Huntington Library, its host and sponsoring institution. See http://www.huntington.org/Information/ECPPmain.htm.

TABLE 1. Distribution of Death Cause Records by Site

Site	%
Santa Barbara Presidio	0.7
Pueblo of Los Angeles	0.1
La Purísima	3.8
San Antonio	2.4
Santa Barbara	3.1
San Buenaventura	5.1
San Carlos	11.7
Santa Clara	6.0
Santa Cruz	6.5
San Diego	4.6
San Francisco Dolores	16.4
San Fernando	2.6
San Francisco Solano	9.1
San Gabriel	3.0
Santa Inés	1.3
San Juan Bautista	5.5
Soledad	0.0
San José	6.9
San Luis Obispo	3.8
San Luis Rey	0.0
San Miguel	1.7
San Rafael	5.0
San Juan Capistrano	0.6
Total	100.0

José are numerically overrepresented in the data because Franciscans at these missions recorded this cause of death for Indians who died in particularly deadly epidemics that took the lives of hundreds of Indians in a short period of time. Some missions are underrepresented if their resident Franciscans only rarely recorded cause of death information. Lamentably, the burial records for Missions San Luis Rey and Soledad are lost, and there is a sixteen-year gap in the burial records for San Diego after 1831. Collectively, the records are the product of more than ninety missionaries at twenty-one sites. Of all the California missionaries, Father Ramón Abella recorded the most burials with a death cause. Of his 364 records examined here, 233 resulted from his record keeping at Mission San Francisco Dolores during the 1806 measles epidemic that swept Alta California. In July of that year, Father Mariano Payeras observed that the epidemic had "cleaned out the missions and filled the cemeteries."

From Mission La Purísima, where Payeras was posted, he wrote to a fellow Franciscan in Mexico that the measles had "carried off 150 of our Indians."[13]

Mariano Payeras oversaw the burial of most of the Indians who died at La Purísima in the 1806 epidemic, and he recorded their burials in the mission's burial register, but he never once listed a cause of death for any of these Indians. And in that regard he was typical, as missionaries in California more often than not failed to record death cause information for those that they buried.[14] Between 1769 and 1850, there were 72,213 deaths recorded in the mission burial registers. In 3,911 or just under 5.5% of these burials, the missionaries recorded a cause of death even if all they could do was state that the cause was uncertain. Indians accounted for 66,969 of these deaths, and in just under 5% (3,312) of these 66,969 burial records, the missionaries recorded something about what they believed was the cause of death.

During the first decades of colonization, they recorded very few causes of death for Indians even though Indian mortality was already quite dramatic. As Table 2 shows, in the 1780s and 1790s Franciscans recorded cause of death in less than 2 percent of burials. In later decades, they recorded death causes for an increasing percentage of burials, such that in the 1830s they recorded cause of death for 9 percent of burials and during the 1840s the percentage increased to 13.

Even though all burial records for Indians in the California missions do not contain death cause data, the Franciscans' recording of death cause information was systematic and thus a solid foundation for an analysis of many of the external causes of mortality in the missions. In Alta California, missionaries and priests recorded death cause information primarily when they believed that the cause of death was itself very unusual (capital punishment carried out by the state, for example), particularly noteworthy (measles, plague, or smallpox), or, as was sometimes the case in accidental and violent deaths or illnesses that killed suddenly, when the manner in which an adult Indian died prevented the missionaries from administering last rites. Given that the death cause information

[13] Father Mariano Payeras, July 2, 1806, in *Writings of Mariano Payeras*, 34.

[14] For a similar study of death causes in mission records, see Yves Landry and Rénald Lessard, "Causes of Death in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Québec as Recorded in the Parish Registers," *Historical Methods* 29 (1996), 49–57. Landry and Lessard examine causes of death in 4,587 certificates between 1625 and 1799 as drawn from the Programme de Recherche en Démographie Historique (PRDH). This represents 2.2 percent of the total 208,876 death records in the PRDH during that period. Despite the tremendous differences between Québec and Alta California, death cause records in the two regions are remarkably similar with a few notable exceptions.

TABLE 2. Death Cause Records by Decade

Decade	% of All Burials	Death Cause Records
1770s	3.9%	20
1780s	1.7%	53
1790s	1.4%	113
1800s	4.3%	608
1810s	3.3%	451
1820s	5.0%	671
1830s	8.9%	798
1840s	12.7%	554
1850s	16.9%	64

recorded by the Franciscans leaned toward the unusual, I make no argument that this death cause data is somehow representative of all Indians who died in the missions. Rather, I argue that this death cause data—because it points to previously unstudied external causes of mortality—opens up for study previously unseen aspects of Indian mortality in the California missions.[15]

In a similar study of death cause information created by Catholic missionaries in colonial America, Yves Landry and Rénald Lessard postulated that the missionaries of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Québec recorded cause of death information when they were unable to administer last rites to those that they buried.[16] However, had this been the case in California, there would have been far more burial records for adult Indians that included a cause of death. In Alta California, 30 percent of adult Indians died without having received penance or extreme unction, but only 16 percent of these burial records contain a cause of death. The figures are more dramatic for final communion: 92 percent of adult Indians died without having received final communion, but only 7 percent of these burial records contain a cause of death.

The weak link between a lack of administration of last rites and presence of a death cause record in Alta California derives from the fact that at the onset of Spanish colonization in California most missionaries believed that most

[15] These records have gone unexamined not because they are not of interest but because before the ECPP, there was simply no way to efficiently review them in aggregate or to classify them in any meaningful manner. To wade through all the death records for the California missions in search of death cause information would have required years of work. Furthermore, without the linking of records that is at the heart of the ECPP, it would have been nearly impossible to interpret and contextualize any information gleaned from the records.

[16] See fn. 14.

TABLE 3. Adult Burials with Penance by Decade

Decade	Adult Burials	With Penance (%)
1780s	1,112	648 (58)
1790s	3,397	1,533 (45)
1800s	8,262	5,933 (72)
1810s	8,204	6,989 (85)
1820s	7,943	6,602 (83)
1830s	5,931	4,424 (75)

California Indians were too primitive to understand or merit last rites under any circumstances.[17] Thus, California missionaries often felt no need to justify in the burial records why they had not given an Indian last rites.[18] Missionaries in Alta California, though, seem to have moderated their position as Indians became more acculturated, more fluent in the Spanish language, and more aware of the fundamental beliefs and practices of Catholicism. Thus, in the decades after the 1790s missionaries increasingly gave last rites to adult California Indians (Table 3). And as the Franciscans administered last rites to more and more adult Indians in Alta California, they began to note in more burial records why they were unable to administer those sacraments (see Table 4). And this is largely what explains the overall increase in burial records of adult Indians with a death cause (Table 5). Increasingly the Franciscans in California were motivated to record the cause of death as a way to explain why they had not administered last rites. During the Mexican period (1821–1848), the increasing percentage of burials recorded with a death cause also probably reflected heightened risks associated with mission life and work as Indians took on more tasks involving large animals and heavy construction.

Missionary practices created at least three biases in the death cause record data. First, there is a bias toward adults (those above the age of ten) in cause of death, as children with few exceptions received none of the last rites. In adult burial records, there is death cause information for about 7% of all burial entries; for children's records the figure falls to 1.4%. It is noteworthy and ironic, therefore, that newborns and children—those who suffered the highest mortality rates in Alta California—are only rarely represented in death cause records. Of the nearly 25,000 Indian children who died in the missions before age ten, the

[17] On this point, see Hackel, *Children of Coyote,* 170–81.

[18] Perhaps in New France, Jesuit missionaries granted more Indians last rites, and thus the link found by Landry and Lessard between a death cause record and the absence of last rites.

TABLE 4. Adult Burials without Penance and with Cause of Death

Decade	Adult Burials without Penance	With Death Cause (%)
1790s	1,844	72 (4)
1800s	2,329	221 (9)
1810s	1,215	242 (20)
1820s	1,341	356 (27)
1830s	1,507	369 (24)

TABLE 5. Percentage of Adult Burials with Cause of Death by Decade

Decade	Adult Burials	With Death Cause (%)
1790s	3,397	80 (2)
1800s	8,262	446 (5)
1810s	8,204	341 (4)
1820s	7,943	510 (6)
1830s	5,931	604 (10)

padres recorded a cause of death for only 338. The majority of these 338 Indian children died in epidemics of measles or smallpox or from some type of violent cough or severe fever. Sadly, it would seem that to the Franciscans, at least according to their own records, the deaths of the remaining 24,496 Indian children were in a sense "normal" and not worthy of comment in the burial records. As I have argued extensively elsewhere, the infant and childhood mortality of Indians in the missions, while very high and probably the result of water-borne diseases, at its worst was not unlike that suffered by many of the communities in Spain and Mexico where the Franciscans lived and worked before they came to Alta California.[19] Thus, even though this high mortality troubled the Franciscans, in their eyes it warranted no commentary in the burial records, especially since California Indian children did not receive last rites.

Second, the death cause records also reveal a bias toward odd, violent, abrupt, and unanticipated deaths. For example, Father Buenaventura Fortuny noted in September of 1821 that Ysaac Yacalacce, an Indian at Mission San

[19] Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 104–08. See also Sven S. Reher, *Town and Country in Pre-Industrial Spain: Cuenca, 1550–1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 111, Table 3.20, and Reher, V. Pérez-Moreda, and J. Bernabeu-Mestre, "Assessing Change in Historical Contexts: Childhood Mortality Patters in Spain during the Demographic Transition," in *The Decline of Infant and Child Mortality: The European Experience, 1750–1990* (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1997), 39, table 2.1.

José, had died "from an extraordinary disease that filled his head with worms that came out so regularly that he drowned."[20] And finally, the records are biased in favor of men, as 59 percent of the burial records with a death cause document the burials of men. This bias is related to the fact that men were more likely than women to die suddenly or violently or from workplace accidents, as I will discuss below.

Information on Indian mortality in the California missions that can be gleaned from these death records is not a sufficient means to quantify the number of Indians who died from various factors. Clearly, these records do not reflect an accurate count of the Indians who died from the causes of death noted by the padres. If Ysaac Yacalacce had died *after* receiving last rites, the missionaries might not have recorded his unusual cause of death. Despite their inherent biases and limitations, death cause data recorded by the missionaries illustrates that the California missions, the California countryside, and Spanish colonial society in general presented Indians with an enormous range of dangerous challenges, all too many of which proved fatal.

ICD CLASSIFICATIONS: SUDDEN DEATH, DISEASE, AND ILLNESS

To categorize the 3,312 Indian burial records that have death cause information, I used the World Health Organization's *Manual of the International Statistical Classification of Diseases, Injuries, and Causes of Death, Version 10-2010 (ICD)*.[21] (See Table A1 in the appendix for the full tabulations of this

[20] Mission San José burial record 2718, September 29, 1821; Mission San José baptism record 1620, November 5, 1808.

[21] For this study I consulted the online version of the ICD-10, Version 2010, available at http://apps.who.int/classifications/icd10/browse/2010/en. See Table A2 in the Appendix for a guide to how I mapped the death causes recorded by the missionaries onto the modern ICD taxonomy. Since various forms of "unknown" are part of the ICD system of categorization, I have kept the 681 "unknown" records in this tabulation. There are methodological challenges inherent in a study that tries to use archaic and colloquial terms to classify causes of death according to a modern taxonomy. And there is, of course, the problem that in the past deaths were often attributed to what we now see as symptoms, not disease. For example, missionaries often wrote "fever" or "pain" as the cause of death. On this point, see George Alter and Ann Carmichael, "Studying Causes of Death in the Past," *Historical Methods* 29 (1996), 44–48. Despite the methodological challenges, there is a great deal we can learn about life and death in Alta California from these records, especially since they supplement what we can learn through other sources and other methodologies. The ICD has thousands of classifications for disease, representing twenty-one broad categories, not all of which were relevant to Alta California. In this study, I divided the death cause records into more than 100 causes that the ICD placed into sixteen broad categories. When the figures for Indians and non-Indians are combined, the figures are close to those of Québec as

TABLE 6. Death Cause Ranked by ICD General Category

		General Category	Number (%)
18	R00-R99	Symptoms, signs, and ill-defined conditions	1395 (42.12)
20	V01-Y98	External causes of mortality and morbidity	857 (25.88)
1	A00-B99	Certain infectious and parasitic diseases	810 (24.46)
19	S00-T98	Injury, poisoning, and other consequences of external causes	62 (1.87)
11	K00-K93	Diseases of the digestive system	55 (1.66)
15	O00-O99	Pregnancy, childbirth, and puerperium	53 (1.60)
10	J00-J99	Diseases of the respiratory system	28 (0.85)
5	F00-F99	Mental and behavioral disorders	15 (0.45)
9	I00-I99	Diseases of the circulatory system	12 (0.36)
14	N00-N99	Diseases of the genitourinary system	10 (0.30)
6	G00-G99	Diseases of the nervous system	5 (0.15)
16	P00-P96	Complications originating in the perinatal period	6 (0.18)
2	C00-D48	Neoplasms	2 (0.06)
4	E00-E90	Endocrine, nutritional and metabolic diseases	1 (0.03)
21	Z00-Z99	Factors influencing health status	1 (0.03)
			3312 (100.00)

study. Also in the appendix, Table A2 contains a numerical ranking of the death causes and examples of the missionaries' language from the original records used to make these classifications.) A classification of the causes of death according to the ICD general categories suggests that general illness brought on by non-infectious disease was the major cause of death among adults in the California missions (Table 6). But this classification also shows that external causes of mortality are the next most common; they occur in 26 percent of those records with a death cause compared to 24 percent of those records stating an infectious disease as the cause of death, the third-most likely classification.

shown in the work of Landry and Lessard, "Causes of Death in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Québec": infectious disease, Alta California (AC) = 24.5%, Québec (Q) = 6.0%; pregnancy, AC = 1.93%, Q = 2.2%; symptoms, signs, and ill-defined conditions, AC = 41.9, Q = 43.7; and injury and external causes, AC = 28.9, Q = 45.8. The difference between the figures for infectious disease in the two provinces has to do with the fact that in Québec only 202 deaths were attributed to smallpox and measles, whereas in Alta California those diseases were blamed for the deaths of 658 people. The figure for injuries and external causes is much higher for Québec because in Québec some 1,302 individuals drowned in Québec's waterways; there was no comparably dangerous activity in Alta California.

Moving beyond the general ICD categories to a more specific discussion, in 3,312 Indian burial records that have a cause of death, the missionaries indicated that some 681 Indians had died for unknown reasons. Most of these Indians, some 538, died suddenly, and the Franciscans would typically just state in the burial records that the man or woman had died "suddenly," "quickly," or "immediately." One minute these people were at work, the next they were dead. One minute they were walking across the mission quadrangle, the next they were dead. Typical of this set of records is the burial record of the fifty-two-year-old Casto Saquenela of Mission San Francisco. On June 9, 1823, Casto was "working in the fields" and "suddenly he fell dead."[22] Similarly, Leta Pisisiaye was recorded as "grinding seeds" when she suddenly died on June 1, 1825.[23] Ysaura Ouocmayen of Mission San José, age fifteen, died suddenly in January 1824 when she was returning from having taken some *atole* from the mission kitchen.[24] Mauricio Toquilme died at Mission Santa Cruz in March 1822 at age forty-four "suddenly without showing any signs of illness."[25] The percentage of Indians who died suddenly is twice that of the non-Indians. This could be related to work and residential patterns that placed Indians at greater distance from the padres than the soldiers, as might have been the case with Casto.

Sudden death might also mask a certain Indian ambivalence with Catholicism or life in the missions, for it is easy to imagine that an Indian who was not keen about a missionary or Catholicism might not have alerted the missionaries of his or her physical condition if he or she did not want to be anointed with holy oils, make a final confession, or receive final communion. One might also see a similar resistance to Catholicism in the deaths of twenty-eight Indians who the padres noted died away from the mission and whose corpses were then cremated by the gentiles or devoured by "wild animals." For example, in the death record of Pasqual Palui from Mission Santa Clara, the Franciscan noted that the missionaries had heard that Pasqual Palui had been "eaten by animals, when he had fled the mission."[26] Indians who died away

[22] San Francisco burial record 5113, June 9, 1823; San Francisco baptism record 1830, April 9, 1795.

[23] Mission San José burial record 3367, June 1, 1825; Mission San José baptism record 5049, August 19, 1824.

[24] Mission San José burial record 3089, January 21, 1824; Mission San José baptism record 4787, December 21, 1823.

[25] Mission Santa Cruz burial record 1473, March 21, 1822; Mission Santa Cruz baptism record 941, August 16, 1800.

[26] Mission Santa Clara burial record 2707, January 1802; Mission Santa Clara baptism record 3653, August 29, 1798.

from the mission could have been fugitives like Pasqual Palui or people who simply wanted to die outside the mission, perhaps in their native village. For example, an Ensen man, Antelmo José Lalcasolom of Mission San Carlos, died in January 1796, and his body was "burned in the hills as was the [Indians'] custom," according to the Franciscan who recorded his death after hearing about it from others.[27] The Franciscans recorded another 115 Indians as having died for reasons that were not known to the padres and in an unknown place. If we take the 538 Indians who died suddenly at the mission, and those twenty-eight who died for unknown reasons away from the missions, and the 115 who died for reasons unknown to the padres at a place they did not specify, we are left with 2,631 Indians whose cause of death can be categorized based on information the missionaries left in the records.

Only eighty-three Indians in all, or 3 percent of all Indians in this study, died from old age or what the padres termed "natural causes." Mission burial records clearly affirm that disease was the greatest killer of Indians in Spanish and Mexican California. All told, 62 percent or 1,634 of the 2,631 Indians whose cause of death is known died from some form of illness. In 30 percent or 492 of the 1,634 cases where illness was stated as the cause of death, the exact illness was not specified. However, 810 or 50 percent of those who died from an illness succumbed to an infectious disease. For Indians, the most lethal infectious diseases were measles (41 percent), smallpox (34 percent), plague (13 percent), and syphilis (5 percent). A roughly equal number of men and women are recorded as having died from these infectious diseases. However, most of the Indians whose death records list smallpox as the cause of death were men. Measles and plague appear more commonly as a cause of death among women than men. Why the Franciscans' records of these infectious diseases would be skewed toward women is not exactly clear but it might have been related to some aspect of housing, health care, or disease transmission in the California missions. (For tabulations of the leading causes of death recorded in burial records of Indian men and women in the California missions, see Tables A3 and A4, respectively, in the appendix.)

For non-Indians, the most lethal infectious diseases were smallpox (61 percent), cholera (14 percent), and then measles (7 percent). Whereas smallpox and measles are listed as having killed many hundreds of Indians, according to the records only forty-three non-Indians died from smallpox and only five from

[27] Mission San Carlos burial record 1103, January 7, 1806; Mission San Carlos baptism record 449, April 14, 1777.

measles. It is likely that some soldiers and settlers and their children had been exposed to measles or even smallpox in Mexico before they came to California, and thus they might have acquired some immunity to these diseases and therefore been less vulnerable to them than previously unexposed Indians. But no soldiers or settlers would have been immune to cholera, as immunity conferred by previous exposure seems to be temporary. Surely, therefore, more non-Indians in California died from smallpox, measles, and cholera than death cause data suggests. But if non-Indians with these diseases died with last rites, the Franciscans would have had little incentive to record a cause of death and these individuals would not appear in the dataset. In another surprise that is probably an artifact of the data, water-borne infectious diseases like cholera and dysentery seem to have hardly affected Indians—only eleven died from cholera and eight from dysentery, if the records are to be believed. Given the poor sanitary conditions of the missions, and their close living quarters, one would expect higher numbers of Indian deaths attributed to cholera and dysentery, but again there is almost certainly a bias away from these records. Indians who contracted water-borne diseases at the missions would have died there under the care of the padres and possibly received last rites.

Missionaries recorded a vast array of unspecified illnesses that they considered to be fatal to Indians. Of all Indians stated as having died of an illness, 1 percent died of respiratory ailments, 2 percent of intestinal infections, and 5 percent died from what the padres believed was syphilis. Another 172 Indians, or 11 percent of the total who died with illness as a cause, died from ailments whose symptoms were variously described as fever, bloody vomit, coughs, ulcers, skin infections, generalized pain, and more specifically, head pain or chest pain.

Another forty-six Indian women died in childbirth or soon after delivery. At least ten pregnant Indian women who died before going into labor had their unborn fetuses removed by caesarian section. In Spanish California a caesarian operation was only performed after the death of the pregnant mother. Franciscans performed this operation to allow baptism of the unborn child before it died rather than to save the mother during a difficult and complicated delivery. The expectation was that the infant would die soon after it was removed from the deceased mother, and this was nearly always the case.[28] One woman, Quiteria of Mission Santa Inés, had twins removed from her body after

[28] On caesarian section operations in the California missions, see the article in three parts by Sherburne F. Cook, "Sarría's Treatise on the Caesarian Operation, 1830," *California and Western Medicine* 47, nos. 2-4 (1937), 107–09, 187–89, 248–50.

her death; one of the infants lived twelve days before dying.[29] More typical was the infant Ramón Nonato, who lived only ninety minutes after he was extracted from his mother, Facunda.[30] Five women died from what the padres described as "an inflamed uterus." Only seven Indian infants are listed as having been born *abortada* or having been miscarriages, intended or otherwise. This is curious given some of the padres' laments that Indians used all sorts of abortifacients, the risks inherent to mother and child during pregnancy and childbirth, and what are generally believed to be high rates of syphilis at the missions. But again, since the padres did not give last rites to infants, there is a bias against these sorts of records in the data.

EXTERNAL CAUSES OF MORTALITY

Disease was not the only killer in colonial California, as Indians at the missions died from a host of external causes (Table 7). As a leading cause of death, after illness in its many varieties, came violence in its many varieties. The missionaries recorded that some 375 Indians died of various forms of violence. At the missions where living conditions were often abysmal and discipline severe, conflicts between individuals could grow violent. Some 173 baptized Indians died from some form of what the padres called "assault," or assassination. Assaults included knife wounds, brutal beatings, strangling, and witchcraft. Five died from gunfire and four more from poisoning. Nearly all the victims of these assaults were men. Capital punishment in Spanish California was relatively rare. Nonetheless, the Spanish state took the lives of at least twenty-six Indians accused of crimes ranging from robbery to rebellion.

Spaniards in California insisted that by colonizing the region they were bringing peace to warring Indians,[31] but organized military clashes between Indians and Spaniards took their toll on Indians military might the Spanish conquest of California was more the result of disease than military might (Table 8). At least twenty-one Indians died at the hands of Spanish soldiers during battle. Another 146 baptized Indians died in battles with villages of unbaptized Indians. This high figure suggests the degree to which Spanish col-

[29] For the mother, see Mission Santa Inés burial record 155, January 8, 1808. For the daughter, see Mission Santa Inés burial record 156, January 18, 1808.

[30] Mission San Antonio burial record 1425, February 19, 1802.

[31] On Spaniards believing that they brought peace to warring California Indians, see Pedro Fages, *A Historical, Political, and Natural Description of California by Pedro Fages, Soldier of Spain*, trans. by Herbert Ingram Priestley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1937).

TABLE 7. Deaths by Acts of Violence, Excluding Acts of War

Category	Total	Men (% of category)
Assault by unspecified means (homicide, murder)	125	95 (76.0)
Legal execution	26	23 (88.5)
Assault by bodily force (*golpe*)	11	11 (100.0)
Assault by sharp object (knife)	10	10 (100.0)
Hanging, strangulation and suffocation, undetermined intent	9	9 (100.0)
Gunfire	5	3 (60.0)
Assault by sharp object (*degollada, achazo*)	5	4 (80.0)
Homicidal poisoning	4	2 (50.0)
Assault by sharp object (arrow)	3	3 (100.0)
Assault by spouse	3	0 (0.0)
Other and unspecified firearm discharge, undetermined intent	3	3 (100.0)
Witchcraft	3	3 (100.0)
Neglect and abandonment by parent	1	0 (0.0)
	208	166 (79.8)

onization divided Indians and at times accentuated village rivalries and animosities. The bodies of many more who were killed in these confrontations were probably never recovered, and if the Indians had not been baptized their deaths would not have been recorded in a mission burial register. Again, nearly all of the fatalities in these acts of war were men.

Scholars have documented in great detail the work regimes at the missions and the role that labor played in the Franciscans' attempts to, in their words, "denaturalize" Indians.[32] And while much of this scholarship has pointed to Indian resistance to Franciscan notions of time and labor, none has alluded to the danger that the actual work of the missions posed to Indians, who at least in the first years of the missions had little or no experience with large farm animals (Table 9). Horses quickly became indispensable to the missions' agricultural and pastoral economies, and Indian *vaqueros* became quite skilled at rounding up cattle and livestock that often ranged far and wide from the missions. But this was dangerous work even for Indians skilled in working with horses, and at least thirty-two Indians died after falling from a horse. Sixteen

[32] See Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 130–32, 280–87.

TABLE 8. Deaths by Operations of War

Operations of War	Total	Men (% of category)
Indians killed by gentiles	146	126 (86.3)
Indians killed by soldiers	21	20 (95.2)
Indians killed by Americanos	1	1 (100.0)
	168	147 (87.5)

TABLE 9. Deaths Caused by Agricultural Work Animals

	Total	Men (% of category)
Fall from horse	32	30 (93.8)
Horses (trampled by)	16	14 (87.5)
Bulls (trampled/gored by)	16	12 (75.0)
Oxen (trampled by)	1	1 (100.0)
Total	65	57 (87.7)

were killed when they became tangled in the reins and were trampled or dragged to death. Sixteen more were killed by bulls, and another was killed by an ox, the animal that Indians used to plow mission fields. These casualties were just one more effect of the padres' crusade to get Indians to work in plowed fields, an endeavor the Franciscans believed was crucial if they were ever to get Indians to abandon hunting and gathering for a sedentary existence at the missions. Other work in and around the mission could be dangerous: eighteen-year-old Cayetano José Cheqemeyta died at the nearby Santa Barbara Presidio, when he tumbled into the well that he had been sent to clean.[33] Others died when they fell from the missions roofs they had been sent to repair. Some were crushed by trees when they were sent to cut wood for mission construction.

The food Indians grew and harvested at the missions had to be prepared and cooked, and these activities posed additional dangers. Two Indians were burned to death when they fell into one of the large cooking vats at the missions. Pedro, a four-year-old orphan boy, only recently baptized, died at Mission San Francisco when he "fell into a cauldron of hot *atole*."[34] And Abundancio, a nine-year-old orphan boy, also at Mission San Francisco, died

[33] Mission Santa Barbara burial record 17, August 23, 1788; Mission Santa Barbara baptism record 134, July 21, 1787.

[34] Mission San Francisco burial record 9, October 20, 1777; Mission San Francisco baptism record 15, August 27, 1777.

when he fell into the *posole* cauldron and "was burned up to his neck."[35] It is no coincidence that both of these victims were orphan boys. The Franciscans often gave special attention to orphan boys in the hopes that in the absence of any other parental authority the Franciscans could win their loyalty and mold them into leaders of the missions. Pedro and Abundancio must have been put to work by the Franciscans in the mission kitchen, and obviously they were unprepared for the dangers of this type of work.

If the missions' agricultural and pastoral economy and regular maintenance posed numerous dangers for Indians, so too did the countryside. Death cause records illustrate that the missions remained relatively porous despite the Franciscans' and soldiers' attempts to keep baptized Indians within the missions most of the time. Despite the padres' wishes, long into the Spanish period Indians continued to gather much of their food from the countryside and coastal waters. Thus, it is no surprise that at least eight Indians died from the toxic effects of shellfish, three from wild mushrooms, and another nine from acorn gruel that the padres believed had been improperly prepared. Another four died after having consumed what the padres believed was improperly cooked meat. Another nine perished after having ventured from the missions in the winter, become lost, and frozen to death. When Indians left the missions to visit family and friends in remote villages, or when they ventured into the countryside to gather seeds or to hunt for themselves, they were vulnerable to bear attack. During the colonial period bears roamed throughout the regions where the padres established missions, and bears often feasted on mission cattle, horses, and an occasional Indian. At least sixty-nine Indians—nearly all of whom were men—were killed by bears in lands not far from the missions. Other animal dangers lurked in and around the missions. Insect bites could prove fatal, and at least one Indian died from a spider bite. Mountain lions killed four Indians, and curiously one Indian—Tomás Usarof Mission San Fernando—died after having been attacked by a *zorrillo*, or skunk.[36] Most likely Tomás died from rabies, as did at least three other California Indians. Another twenty-two died from snake bites.

As we know, California is a land where accidents happen and where natural disasters occur. Dry arroyos could be transformed quickly into raging torrents during fall and winter rains, and coastal waters could turn dangerous. At least 109 Indians accidentally drowned in rivers or in coastal waters, and nearly

[35] Mission San Francisco burial record 1223, November 3, 1798; Mission San Francisco baptism record 815, October 24, 1790.

[36] Mission San Fernando burial record 1179, May 2, 1816.

all of these fatalities were men. Ramón Guatapiyilol of Mission Santa Barbara was simply found "*ahogado*" in the summer of 1838.[37] Felipe Benicio of Mission San Juan Bautista was found "drowned while fishing" in 1833.[38] And Cleto Chichcanquitpix, Fulgencio Putalgeyum, Juan de Parma, Pio Lupite, and Simpliciano Unitia, all adult men from Mission San Francisco, drowned when they were "conducting a little cargo boat with provisions for the Padre at [Mission] San Rafael."[39] These Indians' deaths by drowning reveal—just like the sixty-nine deaths from bear attacks—that life in Alta California was dangerous, not just for Indians in the missions but for those who ventured beyond and between them in search of food or on errands for the Franciscans.

In the colonial period earthquakes rattled and damaged all the missions, sometimes with devastating effects. On December 8, 1812, a severe quake leveled the recently completed stone church at Mission San Juan Capistrano killing some forty-one Indians who had gathered inside for prayers. Thirty-three of these forty-one fatalities were women, and four of the males were children (ages 0, 7, 9, and 13). Women and children worshipped apart from men in the missions of Spanish California, and when the church at San Juan Capistrano collapsed, these women and children were trapped in the church and unable to escape. While forty-one individuals may seem like a small number of deaths given the devastating nature of the quake, the 1812 earthquake seems to have been the deadliest, natural disaster in Alta California during the mission period.

California Indians were skilled managers of fire, and none seem to have died in wildfires.[40] But some thirty-five Indians died when their homes adjacent to the missions caught fire. Most of these fatalities were women, a fact that is probably related to women shouldering much of the cooking in the missions. Most interestingly, four Indian men died after having become overcome by smoke and flames in a *temescal*, a native sweat lodge, a vestige of pre-contact Indian culture that survived at most missions. Two of these men died at Mission Santa Inés, one at San Buenaventura, and another at San Carlos. Lucas, an adult man, died at San Carlos after he apparently fell and was burnt to death in the sweat lodge. This calamity did not seem to surprise the

[37] Mission Santa Barbara burial record 3858, July 28, 1838; Mission Santa Barbara baptism record 1807, September 7, 1801.

[38] Mission San Juan Bautista burial record 2935, October 17, 1833; Mission San Juan Bautista baptism record 2207, November 10, 1817.

[39] Mission San Francisco burial records 4717–4721, n.d. (between August 26, 1819, and September 12, 1819).

[40] On California Indians' use of fire, see Kent Lightfoot and Otis Parrish, *California Indians and Their Environment* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 94–122.

Franciscans. Father Ramón Abella noted in Lucas's burial record that the man spent a lot of time in the *temescal*. Abella also believed that Lucas suffered from seizures and hence was prone to accidents.[41]

CONCLUSION

Collectively, all of these Indian fatalities and their myriad external causes, which ranged from *ahogado* in the ocean or a river to bitten by a rabid *zorrillo*, reveal just how many ways there were for Indians to die in Alta California and by extension much of the rest of colonial America during the period of European expansion. The details of the transformation of places like the Franciscan missions of California from growing centers of Indian congregation to skeleton communities, as lamented by the Franciscan Mariano Payeras, are especially important because of the sheer magnitude of the decline of Indians in America during the era of European expansion and the enormous number of Indians who were in one way or another incorporated into Catholic missions. But as I have argued here, and as Father Payeras suggested, we should not assume that all of this mortality was caused by disease or more specifically by virgin soil epidemics. Clearly, external causes of mortality added significantly to the already high mortality of Indians in the California missions. But it is noteworthy that measles and smallpox, the two most deadly infectious diseases in the California missions, according to death cause information gleaned from mission burial records, did not devastate the missions until 1806 and 1833, respectively. By 1806, when the first terrible measles epidemic hit the missions and measles begins to appear as a cause of death in burial records, the population of the missions was in freefall, and by 1833, when smallpox appears, many of the missions had been reduced to the "skeleton" communities so lamented by Payeras in 1820.

In North America north of present-day Mexico, there were at least 420 Catholic missions, and the total number of Indians affiliated with these missions may have reached a million individuals.[42] Not all of these Indians lived in conditions like those in Alta California. But the external factors—the deaths by violence, workplace mishaps, or natural disasters that occurred throughout Alta

[41] Mission San Carlos burial record 2705, October 30, 1828.

[42] While evidence suggests that nearly all missions in North America were lethal to Indian populations over time, missions in Paraguay may have actually allowed Indian populations to recover and survive. See Massimo Livi-Bacci and Ernestro J. Maeder, "The Missions of Paraguay: The Demography of an Experiment," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 35 (2004), 185–224, and the response by Robert H. Jackson, "The Population and Vital Rates of the Jesuit Missions of Paraguay, 1700–1767," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 38 (2008), 401–31.

California and claimed so many Indian lives—took place not because colonial California was unusually dangerous, or because California Indians were weak or clumsy, or because Spaniards were unusually cruel. Rather, life in a colonial, premodern, preindustrial, preantibiotic society was dangerous for Indians and non-Indians alike. It is important to underscore that the death cause data discussed here is just the tip of an iceberg of mortality and suffering. For every Indian whose death was recorded as having been caused by an agricultural accident, an assault, an act of war, or a natural disaster, it is almost certain that there were many others in the missions who met a similar fate but whose deaths went unrecorded or whose burial record had no cause of death. Moreover, for every Indian killed by an external cause, countless others escaped similar mishaps with their lives but with grave or debilitating injuries. For every Indian who died in an agricultural accident, it seems likely that there were others who merely suffered broken bones. Similarly, for every Indian orphan burned to death in a mishap in a mission kitchen, there were likely others who suffered terrible injuries as they sought to assist the Franciscan fathers in feeding those gathered at the mission. Thus, the external factors that contributed to Indian population decline in colonial California are suggestive of the fatal circumstances and the complex and dangerous labor regimes that were initiated in many places when and where Europeans attempted to colonize the native peoples of the Americas. While external factors of mortality do not in themselves explain Indian population decline, they need to be examined alongside disease and virgin soil epidemics if we are to fully understand the calamities that befell Indians in California and elsewhere after the European invasion.

APPENDIX

TABLE A1. Tabulation of Alta California Indian Mission Death Causes According to ICD-10 Categories

ICD Rank			Total (%)	Male (%)
			3,312 (100.0)[a]	**1,958 (59)**[b]
1	**Certain Infectious and Parasitic Diseases**		**810 (24.5)**	**402 (50)**
	Intestinal infectious disease			
	A00	Cholera	11 (1.4)[c]	10 (91)[d]
	A03	Dysentery	8 (1.0)	4 (50)
	Tuberculosis			
	A16.9	Respiratory TB, unspecified	28 (3.5)	12 (43)
	Certain zoonotic bacterial diseases			
	A20	Plague	105 (13.0)	49 (47)
	Infections with a predominantly sexual mode of transmission			
	A53.9	Syphilis, unspecified	42 (5.2)	21 (50)
	Viral infections of the central nervous system			
	A82	Rabies	4 (0.5)	3 (75)
	Viral infections characterized by skin and mucous membrane lesions			
	B03	Smallpox	278 (34.3)	170 (61)
	B05	Measles	329 (40.6)	131 (40)
	Helminthases			
	B74	Elephantiasis	1 (0.1)	0 (0)
	Pediculosis, acariasis, and other infestations			
	B86	Scabies	4 (0.5)	2 (50)
2	**Neoplasms**		**2 (0.1)**	**0 (0)**
	Neoplasms of uncertain or unknown behavior			
	D48.9	Cancer	2 (100)	0 (0)
4	**Endocrine, Nutritional and Metabolic Diseases**		**1 (0.05)**	**0 (0)**
	Other nutritional deficiencies			
	E4	Scurvy	1 (100)	0 (0)
5	**Mental and Behavioral Disorders**		**15 (0.5)**	**7 (47)**
	Organic, including symptomatic, mental disorders			
	F03	Unspecified dementia	8 (53.3)	6 (75)
	F05	Delirium	4 (26.7)	1 (25)
	F43.2	Adjustment disorders (death of parent, child, relative)	3 (20.0)	0 (0)
6	**Diseases of the Nervous System**		**5 (0.2)**	**5 (100)**
	Episodic and paroxysmal disorders			
	G40	Epilepsy	1 (20.0)	1 (100)
	G83	Other parayltic syndromes	4 (80.0)	4 (100)

TABLE A1. (continued)

ICD Rank		Total (%)	Male (%)
9	**Diseases of the Circulatory System**	**12 (0.4)**	**9 (75)**
	Ischaemic heart disease		
	I20 Angina	1 (8.3)	1 (100)
	Cerebrovascular diseases		
	I64 Stroke	11 (91.7)	8 (73)
10	**Diseases of the Respiratory System**	**28 (0.8)**	**17 (61)**
	Acute upper respiratory infections		
	J00 Common cold	13 (46.4)	8 (62)
	Influenza and pneumonia		
	J18 Pneumonia, organic unspecified	4 (14.3)	2 (50)
	Chronic lower respiratory diseases		
	J45 Asthma	1 (3.6)	1 (100)
	Other specified respiratory diseases		
	J98.8 Other respiratory disorders	10 (35.7)	6 (60)
11	**Diseases of the Digestive System**	**55 (1.7)**	**32 (58)**
	K30 Indigestion	9 (16.4)	7 (78)
	K31 Diseases of the stomach	17 (30.9)	7 (41)
	Other diseases of the intestines		
	K59 Constipation	1 (1.8)	1 (100)
	Other diseases of the digestive system		
	K92 Hemorrhage	28 (50.9)	17 (61)
14	**Diseases of the Genitourinary System**	**10 (0.3)**	3 (30)
	N39 Disorder of the urinary system	5 (50.0)	3 (60)
	N71.9 Inflammatory disease of the uterus	5 (50.0)	0 (0)
15	**Pregnancy, Childbirth, and Puerperium**	**53 (1.6)**	**5 (9)**
	Pregnancy with abortive outcome		
	O03 Miscarriage	3 (5.7)	3 (100)
	O06 Unspecified abortion	4 (7.5)	2 (50)
	Complications of labor and delivery		
	O75 Other complications of labor and delivery	46 (86.8)	0 (0)
16	**Certain Conditions Originating in the Perinatal Period**	**6 (0.2)**	**3 (50%)**
	P01.6 Fetus and newborn affected by maternal death	5 (83.3)	4 (80)
	P50.1 Fetal blood loss from ruptured cord	1 (16.7)	1 (100)
18	**Symptoms, Signs, and Abnormal Laboratory Findings, Not Elsewhere Classified**	**1,395 (42.1)**	**781 (56)**
	R02 Gangrene	2 (0.1)	2 (100)
	R05 Cough	15 (1.1)	10 (67)
	R07.0 Pain in throat	6 (0.4)	4 (67)

TABLE A1. (continued)

ICD Rank			Total (%)	Male (%)
	R07.4	Pain in chest, unspecified	16 (1.1)	10 (63)
	R09.1	Pleurisy	6 (0.4)	3 (50)
	R40.2	Coma, unspecified	17 (1.2)	10 (59)
	R50	Fever of unknown origin	52 (3.7)	28 (54)
	R50.8	Fever with chills	7 (0.5)	4 (57)
	R51	Headache	4 (0.3)	2 (50)
	R52	Acute pain	13 (0.9)	7 (54)
	R53	Malaise and fatigue	1 (0.1)	0 (0)
	R54	Old age, senility	83 (5.9)	54 (65)
	R69	Unknown or unspecified cause of morbidity	492 (35.3)	240 (49)
	R96	Sudden death, cause unknown	538 (38.6)	310 (58)
	R98	Unattended death	28 (2.0)	21 (75)
	R99	Other ill-defined and unspecified cause	115 (8.2)	76 (66)
19	**Injury, Poisoning, and Certain Other Consequences of External Causes**		**62 (1.9)**	**41 (66)**
	S01	Open wound to the head	2 (3.2)	1 (50)
	S12	Fracture of neck	2 (3.2)	1 (50)
	S18	Decapitation	2 (3.2)	2 (100)
	Injuries to unspecified part of trunk, limb or body region			
	T14.1	Open wound, unspecified	23 (37.1)	15 (65)
	T14.9	Injury, unspecified	6 (9.7)	6 (100)
	T51	Toxic effect of alcohol	3 (4.8)	3 (100)
	T61.2	Other fish and shellfish poisoning	8 (12.9)	5 (63)
	T62	Ingested mushrooms	3 (4.8)	2 (67)
	T62.8	Other specified noxious substances eaten as food (meat)	4 (6.5)	2 (50)
		Other specified noxious substances eaten as food (*atole*)	9 (14.5)	4 (44)
20	**External Causes of Morbidity and Mortality**		**857 (25.9)**	**648 (76)**
	Transport accidents			
	V06	Pedestrian injured—hit by a cart	4 (0.5)	4 (100)
	V80	Other land transport accidents—fall from a horse	32 (3.7)	30 (94)
	Other external causes of accidental injury			
	Falls			
	W14	Fall from tree	6 (0.7)	5 (83)
	W19	Unspecified fall	11 (1.3)	9 (82)
	Exposure to inanimate mechanical forces			
	W20	Struck by thrown, projected or falling object	9 (1.1)	9 (100)

TABLE A1. (continued)

ICD Rank		Total (%)	Male (%)
W32	Handgun discharge	3 (0.4)	1 (33)
Exposure to animate mechanical forces			
W55	Bitten or struck by other mammals		
	Bear	69 (8.1)	57 (83)
	Leopard	4 (0.5)	3 (75)
	Bull	16 (1.9)	12 (75)
	Oxen	1 (0.1)	1 (100)
	Horse	16 (1.9)	14 (88)
W57	Bitten or stung by nonvenomous insect	1 (0.1)	0 (0)
W69	Drowning and submersion while in natural water	44 (5.1)	37 (84)
W74	Unspecified drowning	65 (7.6)	56 (86)
Other accidental threats to breathing			
W75	Accidental suffocation and strangulation in bed	3 (0.4)	3 (100)
W84	Unspecified threat to breathing	10 (1.2)	6 (60)
Exposure to smoke, fire, and flames			
X00	Exposure to uncontrolled fire in building (*casa*)	11 (1.3)	3 (27)
X00	Exposure to uncontrolled fire in building (*temescal*)	4 (0.5)	4 (100)
X09	Unspecified smoke, fire, and flames	24 (2.8)	8 (33)
Contact with heat and hot substances			
X12	Contact with other hot fluids	2 (0.2)	2 (100)
Contact with venomous animals and plants			
X20	Contact with venomous snakes and lizards	22 (2.6)	11 (50)
X21	Contact with venomous spiders	1 (0.1)	1 (100)
Exposure to forces of nature			
X31	Exposure to excessive natural cold	9 (1.1)	5 (56)
X34	Victim of earthquake (Mission San Juan Capistrano 1812)	41 (4.8)	8 (20)
Accidental poisoning by and exposure to noxious substances			
X41	Tobacco	1 (0.1)	1 (100)
X42	Hallucinogens	2 (0.2)	2 (100)
Overexertion, travel, and privation			
X53	Lack of food	3 (0.4)	3 (100)
Accidental exposure to other and unspecified factors			
X58	Exposure to unspecified factor	67 (7.8)	38 (57)

TABLE A1. (continued)

ICD Rank			Total (%)	Male (%)
	Assault			
	X90	Homicidal poisoning	4 (0.5)	2 (50)
	X94	Gunfire	5 (0.6)	3 (60)
	X99	Assault by sharp object (arrow)	3 (0.4)	3 (100)
	X99	Assault by sharp object (knife)	10 (1.2)	10 (100)
	X99	Assault by sharp object (*degollada, achazo*)	5 (0.6)	4 (80)
	Y04	Assault by bodily force	11 (1.3)	11 (100)
	Y06.1	Neglect and abandonment by parent	1 (0.1)	0 (0)
	Y07.0	Assault by spouse	3 (0.4)	0 (0)
	Y09	Assault by unspecified means (homicide, murder)	125 (14.6)	95 (76)
	Y24	Other and unspecified firearm discharge, undetermined intent	3 (0.4)	3 (100)
		Witchcraft	3 (0.4)	3 (100)
	Event of undetermined intent			
	Y20	Hanging, strangulation and suffocation, undetermined intent	9 (1.1)	9 (100)
	Legal intervention and operations of war			
	Y35.5	Legal execution	26 (3.0)	23 (88)
	Y36	Operations of war (Indians killed by soldiers)	21 (2.5)	20 (95)
	Y36	Operations of war (Indians killed by *Americanos*)	1 (0.1)	1 (100)
	Y36	Operations of war (Indians killed by gentiles)	146 (17.0)	126 (86)
21	**Factors influencing health status and contact with health services**		**1 (0.0)**	**1 (100.0)**
	Z65.1	Imprisonment and other incarceration	1 (100.0)	1 (100.0)

[a] Boldface numbers in parentheses are percentages of all death causes for all persons in specified categories (column 4). Thus, the denominator in boldface cells in this column is always 3,312, or the total number of death cause records. The numerator is the total death cause number by category.

[b] Boldface numbers in parentheses in column 5 are percentages of the column 4 number in the same row; the denominator is the number in column 4, and the numerator is the number of males in column 5. Thus, the proportion of males in death records for certain infectious and parasitic diseases is 50% (402/810).

[c] Nonboldface numbers in parentheses in column 4 are percentages of the total number of death records in the general ICD category (rank number is provided). Thus, cholera accounts for 1.4% of all death records under rank 1, certain infectious and parasitic diseases (11/810 = 0.01358).

[d] Nonboldface numbers in parentheses in column 5 are percentages of the number in the cell to the left, same row, column 4; the denominator is the number in column 4, same row, and the numerator is the number of males in column 5. Thus, the proportion of males in all deaths attributed to cholera is 91% (10/11 = 0.9090).

Table A2. Ranking of Cause of Death among Indians in California Missions, Pertinent Information from Burial Record, and Corresponding ICD Code

Rank	Cause of Death Listed in Burial Records	Number (% of 3,312)	Cause Stated in Burial Records	ICD Code
1	Sudden death, cause unknown	538 (16.24)	*repente, repentinamente*	R96
2	Unknown or unspecified cause of morbidity	492 (14.86)	*enfermedad, enfermo*	R69
3	Measles	329 (9.93)	*serampion*	B05
4	Smallpox	278 (8.39)	*viruelas*	B03
5	Operations of war	168 (5.07)	*mataron los indios gentiles, mataron los soldados, mataron los Americanos*	Y36
6	Assault by unspecified means (homicide, murder)	125 (3.77)	*insulto, matado, arrebatado, violento*	Y09
7	Other ill-defined and unspecified cause	115 (3.47)	*inopinado, muerto, no supo de que murió, encontrado muerto*	R99
8	Bitten or struck by other mammals	106 (3.20)	*oso, toro, caballo, leopardo, buey*	W55
9	Plague	105 (3.17)	*peste*	A20
10	Old age, senility	83 (2.51)	*vejez, viejo*	R54
11	Exposure to unspecified factor	67 (2.02)	*accidente*	X58
12	Unspecified drowning	65 (1.96)	*ahogado*	W74
13	Fever of unknown origin	52 (1.57)	*fiebre*	R50
14	Other complications of labor and delivery	46 (1.39)	*mal parto*	O75
15	Drowning and submersion while in natural water	44 (1.33)	*ahogado en el mar, ahogado en la playa*	W69
16	Syphilis, unspecified	42 (1.27)	*galico*	A53.9
17	Victim of earthquake (Mission San Juan Capistrano, 1812)	41 (1.24)	*"murieron sepultados en las ruinas de la dicha Yglesia. . ."*	X34
18	Other land transport accidents—fall from a horse	32 (0.97)	*caido de un caballo*	V80
19	Respiratory TB, unspecified	28 (0.85)	*tisis*	A6.9

Table A2. (continued)

Rank	Cause of Death Listed in Burial Records	Number (% of 3,312)	Cause Stated in Burial Records	ICD Code
19	Hemorrhage	28 (0.85)	*vomito de sangre, sangre por la boca*	K92
19	Unattended death	28 (0.85)	*quemaron su cuerpo los gentiles, comido de animales*	R98
22	Legal execution (capital punishment imposed by Spanish)	26 (0.79)	*pasado por las armas*	Y35.5
23	Unspecified smoke, fire, and flames	24 (0.72)	*quemado*	X09
24	Open wound, unspecified	23 (0.69)	*llagas*	T14.1
25	Contact with venemous snakes and lizards	22 (0.66)	*vivora*	X20
26	Assault by sharp object	18 (0.54)	*flechazo, puñalada, degollado, achazo*	X99
27	Diseases of the stomach	17 (0.51)	*dolor de estomago*	K31
27	Coma, unspecified	17 (0.51)	*privado de sentidos*	R40.2
29	Pain in chest, unspecified	16 (0.48)	*enfermedad de pecho, ydropesia*	R07.4
30	Cough	15 (0.45)	*tos*	R05
30	Exposure to uncontrolled fire in building	15 (0.45)	*quemada en su misma casa, temescal*	X00
32	Common cold	13 (0.39)	*catarro*	J00
32	Acute pain	13 (0.39)	*dolor*	R52
32	Other specified noxious substances eaten as food	13 (0.39)	*aver comido carne, comiendo atole, aver comido yslay*	T62.8
35	Cholera	11 (0.33)	*colera*	A00
35	Stroke	11 (0.33)	*apoplegia*	I64
35	Assault by bodily force	11 (0.33)	*golpes*	Y04
35	Unspecified fall	11 (0.33)	*caido*	W19
40	Other respiratory disorders	10 (0.30)	*afección de pecho*	J98.8
40	Unspecified threat to breathing	10 (0.30)	*sofoco, sufocado*	W84
42	Indigestion	9 (0.27)	*empacho*	K30
42	Exposure to excessive natural cold	9 (0.27)	*el frío*	X31

Table A2. (continued)

Rank	Cause of Death Listed in Burial Records	Number (% of 3,312)	Cause Stated in Burial Records	ICD Code
42	Hanging, strangulation and suffocation, undetermined intent	9 (0.27)	*ahorcado*	Y20
42	Struck by thrown, projected or falling object	9 (0.27)	*caido de un roble*	W20
46	Dysentery	8 (0.24)	*desenteria*	A03
46	Unspecified dementia	8 (0.24)	*demencia*	F03
46	Other fish and shellfish poisoning	8 (0.24)	*de resultas de una Almeja*	T61.2
49	Fever with chills	7 (0.21)	*pasmo*	R50.8
50	Pain in throat	6 (0.18)	*mal de garganta*	R07.0
50	Pleurisy	6 (0.18)	*dolor de costado*	R09.1
50	Injury, unspecified	6 (0.18)	*heridas*	T14.9
50	Fall from tree	6 (0.18)	*caido de un arbol*	W14
54	Fetus and newborn affected by maternal death	5 (0.15)	*muerte su madre, operación caaesaria*	P01.6
54	Disorder of the urinary system	5 (0.15)	*pujos*	N39
54	Inflammatory disease of the uterus	5 (0.15)	*enfermedad del vientre*	N71.9
54	Gunfire	5 (0.15)	*balazo*	X94
57	Rabies	4 (0.12)	*rabia de la mordedura de un zorrillo*	A82
57	Scabies	4 (0.12)	*sarna*	B86
57	Delirium	4 (0.12)	*delirio*	F05
57	Other parayltic syndromes	4 (0.12)	*perlatico*	G83
57	Pneumonia, organic unspecified	4 (0.12)	*pulmonia*	J18
57	Unspecified abortion	4 (0.12)	*abortada*	O06
57	Headache	4 (0.12)	*dolor de cabeza*	R51
57	Pedestrian injured—hit by a cart	4 (0.12)	*mato una carreta*	V06
57	Homicidal poisoning	4 (0.12)	*enyerbado*	X90
66	Adjustment disorders (death of parent, child, relative)	3 (0.09)	*haver muerta de tristesa por el fallecimiento de su hijo*	F43.2

Table A2. (continued)

Rank	Cause of Death Listed in Burial Records	Number (% of 3,312)	Cause Stated in Burial Records	ICD Code
66	Witchcraft	3 (0.09)	*maleficiado, hechico*	NA
66	Miscarriage	3 (0.09)	*nacio completamente ya estaba muerta*	O03
66	Toxic effect of alcohol	3 (0.09)	*ebrio*	T51
66	Ingested mushrooms	3 (0.09)	*haber comido hongos venenosos*	T62
66	Handgun discharge	3 (0.09)	*escopetazo que desgraciadamente se disparo de una casa al tiempo de passar*	W32
66	Accidental suffocation and strangulation in bed	3 (0.09)	*sofocaron sus padres dormidos*	W75
66	Lack of food	3 (0.09)	*nesesidad, hambre*	X53
66	Assault by spouse	3 (0.09)	*fue matada por su marido*	Y07.0
66	Other and unspecified firearm discharge, undetermined intent	3 (0.09)	*de un balazo en la puerta de su casa*	Y24
76	Cancer	2 (0.06)	*cancer*	D48.9
76	Gangrene	2 (0.06)	*grangena*	R02
76	Open wound to the head	2 (0.06)	*abrio la cabeza*	S01
76	Fracture of neck	2 (0.06)	*fractura en el pescueso*	S12
76	Decapitation	2 (0.06)	*perdida de la cabeza*	S18
76	Contact with other hot fluids	2 (0.06)	*caido en el cazo de atole caliente*	X12
76	Hallucinogens	2 (0.06)	*por haber vevido tolociche*	X42
83	Elephantiasis	1 (0.03)	*lazarino*	B74
83	Scurvy	1 (0.03)	*escorbuto*	E54
83	Epilepsy	1 (0.03)	*epilepsia*	G40
83	Angina	1 (0.03)	*angina*	I20
83	Asthma	1 (0.03)	*asma*	J45
83	Constipation	1 (0.03)	*constipación*	K59
83	Fetal blood loss from ruptured cord	1 (0.03)	*ombligo mal cortado*	P50.1

Table A2. (continued)

Rank	Cause of Death Listed in Burial Records	Number (% of 3,312)	Cause Stated in Burial Records	ICD Code
83	Malaise and fatigue	1 (0.03)	*aletargada*	R53
83	Bitten or stung by nonvenomous insect	1 (0.03)	*resultos de haber tragado una mosca*	W57
83	Contact with venomous spiders	1 (0.03)	*picado de una araña venenosa*	X21
83	Tobacco	1 (0.03)	*por haber comido tabaco*	X41
83	Neglect and abandonment by family	1 (0.03)	*miserablemente abandonada de sus parientes*	Y06.1
83	Imprisonment	1 (0.03)	*en el calabozo*	Z65.1

TABLE A3. Leading Causes of Death Recorded in Burial Records of Indian Men in California Missions

	Cause of Death	Number (% of all male death causes)
1	Sudden death, cause unknown	314 (16.0)
2	Unknown or unspecified cause of morbidity	240 (12.3)
3	Smallpox	170 (8.7)
4	Measles	131 (6.7)
5	Operations of war (Indians/Spaniards killed by gentiles)	126 (6.4)
6	Assault by unspecified means (homicide, murder)	92 (4.7)
7	Bitten or struck by other mammals	87 (4.4)
8	Other ill-defined and unspecified cause	76 (3.9)
9	Unspecified drowning	56 (2.9)
10	Old age, senility	54 (2.8)
11	Plague	49 (2.5)
12	Exposure to unspecified factor	38 (1.9)
13	Drowning and submersion while in natural water	37 (1.9)
14	Other land transport accidents—fall from a horse	30 (1.5)
15	Fever of unknown origin	28 (1.4)
16	Legal execution	23 (1.2)
17	Syphilis, unspecified	21 (1.1)
17	Unattended death	21 (1.1)
19	Operations of war (Indians killed by soldiers)	20 (1.0)
20	Hemorrhage	17 (0.9)
21	Open wound, unspecified	15 (0.8)
22	Respiratory TB, unspecified	12 (0.6)
23	Contact with venomous snakes and lizards	11 (0.6)
23	Assault by bodily force	11 (0.6)
25	Coma, unspecified	10 (0.5)
25	Pain in chest, unspecified	10 (0.5)
25	Cough	10 (0.5)
25	Cholera	10 (0.5)
25	Assault by sharp object (knife)	10 (0.5)
30	Unspecified fall	9 (0.5)
31	Acute pain	8 (0.4)
31	Victim of earthquake	8 (0.4)
31	Unspecified smoke, fire, and flames	8 (0.4)
31	Common cold	8 (0.4)
31	Stroke	8 (0.4)

TABLE A4. Leading Causes of Death Recorded in Burial Records of Indian Women in California Missions

	Cause of Death	Number (% of all female death causes)
1	Unknown or unspecified cause of morbidity	252 (18.6)
2	Sudden death, cause unknown	224 (16.5)
3	Measles	198 (14.6)
4	Smallpox	108 (8.0)
5	Plague	56 (4.1)
6	Other complications of labor and delivery	46 (3.4)
7	Other ill-defined and unspecified cause	39 (2.9)
8	Assault by unspecified means	33 (2.4)
8	Victim of earthquake	33 (2.4)
10	Old age, senility	29 (2.1)
10	Exposure to unspecified factor	29 (2.1)
12	Fever of unknown origin	24 (1.8)
13	Syphilis, unspecified	21 (1.6)
14	Operations of war (Indians killed by gentiles)	20 (1.5)
15	Bitten or struck by other mammals	19 (1.4)
16	Respiratory TB, unspecified	16 (1.2)
16	Unspecified smoke, fire, and flames	16 (1.2)
18	Hemorrhage	11 (0.8)
18	Contact with venomous snakes and lizards	11 (0.8)
18	Delivery by emergency C-section	11 (0.8)
21	Diseases of the stomach	10 (0.7)
22	Unspecified drowning	9 (0.7)
23	Open wound, unspecified	8 (0.6)
23	Exposure to uncontrolled fire in building (*casa*)	8 (0.6)
25	Drowning and submersion while in natural water	7 (0.5)
25	Unattended death	7 (0.5)
25	Coma, unspecified	7 (0.5)
28	Pain in chest, unspecified	6 (0.4)
29	Acute pain	5 (0.4)
29	Other specified noxious substances eaten as food (*atole*)	5 (0.4)
29	Cough	5 (0.4)
29	Common cold	5 (0.4)
29	Inflammatory disease of the uterus	5 (0.4)
34	Other respiratory disorders	4 (0.3)
34	Unspecified threat to breathing	4 (0.3)
34	Exposure to excessive natural cold	4 (0.3)
34	Dysentery	4 (0.3)
38	Legal execution	3 (0.2)
38	Stroke	3 (0.2)
38	Other fish and shellfish poisoning	3 (0.2)

TABLE A4. (continued)

	Cause of Death	Number (% of all death causes, males)
38	Fever with chills	3 (0.2)
38	Pleurisy	3 (0.2)
38	Delirium	3 (0.2)
38	Assault by spouse	3 (0.2)
38	Adjustment disorders (death of parent, child, relative)	3 (0.2)

CHAPTER 23
John Duns Scotus, The Tabernacle in the Wilderness and the Interior Decoration of the Church at Mission San Miguel Archangel

Pamela Jill Huckins

INTRODUCTION

Imagery was a vital component of the mission endeavor in Alta California. Paintings and statues were employed liturgically, devotionally, as mnemonic devices to recall lessons of the catechism, to inspire conversion, and to promote faith. Some images were called on to intercede on behalf of humankind. Some were used as didactic visual aids in teaching basic tenets of Christian belief and rituals, to convey notions of acceptable personal comportment, to illustrate ordered and settled communal living, and to inculcate Western European values. In many instances, a single image might function in several capacities.

In addition to portable works of art, the walls and ceilings of mission churches were elaborately adorned.[1] The church at Mission San Miguel Archangel was no exception. The interior of this church today is a singular example of mission-era painted decoration to survive in its entirety. Its contribution to the study of mission history is invaluable. Said to have been realized in the early 1820s, its execution was likely supervised by a friar or other Spaniard whose plan was carried out by Indian assistants.[2] Thus the decoration is a unique synthesis of European motifs largely realized by aboriginal hands.

[1] Norman Neuerburg, *The Decoration of the California Missions* (Santa Barbara, CA: Bellerophon Books, 1996).

[2] Zephyrin Engelhardt, *San Miguel, Arcangel: The Mission on the Highway* (Ramona, CA: Acoma Books, 1971), 25.

The painted decorative scheme of the church at Mission San Miguel Archangel is pregnant with meaning. It is a sophisticated iconographical program designed specifically for the mission environment. In the same way that a portable work of art might function in more than one capacity, so too the painted decorations of the church. Accordingly, in addition to beautifying the house of God, at Mission San Miguel Archangel the painted interior is a visual manifestation of the physical and spiritual journey undertaken by indigenous converts to Christianity. Concomitantly, its symbolism reflects the theology and self-understanding of the Franciscan friars who endeavored to institute Western European moral, civil, and ceremonial norms among the peoples of this land.

JOHN DUNS SCOTUS AND THE TABERNACLE IN THE WILDERNESS

Two areas of knowledge are required to understand the symbolism of the church decoration. The first are the basic teachings of John Duns Scotus (ca. 1265–1308), an important and influential Franciscan philosopher-theologian of the Middle Ages, whose complex and nuanced thought earned him the nickname Doctor Subtilis (Subtle Doctor).[3] Among Scotus's theological concepts is the idea that the Incarnation occurred not to free humankind from its bonds of sin—to save us from the consequences of the Fall—as nearly all other theologians have posited, but rather, to facilitate the union of God and humankind.[4] According to Scotus, the Incarnation was the premier unifying moment when both natures were present in one person, Jesus Christ. Thus, to achieve union with the divine, a human being must strive to be like Christ. For this, one must progress spiritually, so that religious development becomes a process of *christification* as one advances ever closer to union with God. Saint Francis is the epitome of this spiritual progress; his *stigmatization* is the climax.

At Mission San Miguel Archangel, the church decoration signifies in dual dimensions this pilgrimage toward divine union. In one regard, it reflects the *physical* journey of the Indian convert from outside the church—that is, outside the Christian religion—into the *sotocoro*, through baptism in the baptismal aedicule to participation in the mass in the nave, and on to the communion rail at the ingress

[3] Miriam Minges, "Bl. John Duns Scotus," *Catholic Encyclopedia,* 1909, www.newadvent.org/cathen/05194a.htm. See also Thomas Williams, "Bl. John Duns Scotus," 2009, http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/duns-scotus.

[4] Joe Schwab, O.F.M., written communication with the author, January 9, 2007. See also Valentin Breton, *Franciscan Spirituality* (New York: Desclee Company, 1959), 14; and Mary Beth Ingham, *Scotus for Dunces: An Introduction to the Subtle Doctor* (Saint Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2003), 74–78.

to the sanctuary for partaking in the eucharist and thus achieving *physical* unity with God.[5] Simultaneously, the decoration reflects an individual's *spiritual* journey from outside the Church, through baptism, to spiritual growth, and, ultimately, to the *soul*'s union with God. At Mission San Miguel Archangel, this ultimate union is represented by the imagery on the ornately decorated *retablo*.

The second area of knowledge necessary for understanding the decorative scheme concerns the construction and meaning of the Tabernacle in the Wilderness, the movable tent-like sanctuary erected by the Israelites during their journey to the Promised Land.[6] As recounted in the book of Exodus, the Tabernacle was built per divine command as the sanctified location for God's presence on earth.[7] A tripartite construction, it comprised an outer courtyard, an enclosed area for priests known as the Holy Place and an innermost, especially sacred, area known as the Holy of Holies (Plate 1).

God articulated to Moses exactly how the tabernacle was to be built.[8] Of interest here are the divine instructions for erecting the outer courtyard, the long side walls of which consisted of pillars with hangings of fine linen between them.[9] Also important for our purposes are God's commands for the construction of the Holy Place and the Holy of Holies. His instructions make clear that the entire perimeter of both discrete areas be draped with curtains.[10] Moreover, ten curtains at the entrance to the Holy of Holies, adjacent to the Holy Place, were embroidered or woven with images of cherubim.[11]

[5] The area here termed *sotocoro* is identified in some churches as the "undercroft." The sanctuary is the area around the altar, from the communion rail all the way up to and including the wooden altarpiece, herein termed the *retablo*.

[6] I am greatly indebted to Jaime Lara for his generosity of wisdom regarding church buildings and the Old Testament antecedents of the Temple and the Tabernacle in the Wilderness.

[7] Exod 25:8–9. The Tabernacle is known in Hebrew as the Mishkan (Residence or Dwelling Place). It was a portable dwelling place for the divine presence from the time of the Exodus. The English word "tabernacle" is derived from the Latin word *tabernaculum*, meaning tent. For the sake of clarity, hereafter the Israelite tent-sanctuary described in Exodus will be referred to as the "Tabernacle in the Wilderness" or "Tabernacle" (with an uppercase "T"). The receptacle for the consecrated Eucharist situated on the *retablo* at Mission San Miguel Archangel will be identified as the "Christian tabernacle." For more on the Tabernacle in the Wilderness, see John Dilworth, *Pictorial Description of the Tabernacle in the Wilderness: Its Rites and Ceremonies* (London: Sunday School Union, 1878); and Paul F. Kiene, *The Tabernacle of God in the Wilderness of Sinai*, translated by John S. Crandall (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Corp, 1976).

[8] Exod 26–27.

[9] Exod 27:9–19.

[10] Exod 26:1–14. See also Exod 36:8–19.

[11] Exod 26:1. Cherubim in this context signifies winged sphinxes with the body of a bull or lion and a human head. A class of heavenly creatures populating the Court of the Lord, cherubim occupy with seraphim the highest rank in the celestial hierarchy.

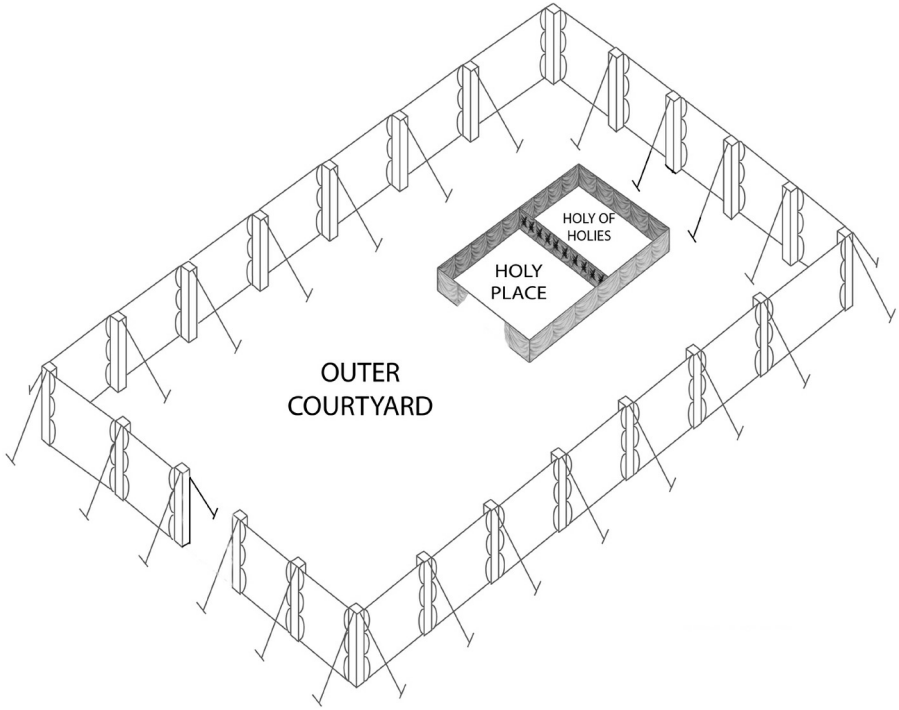


PLATE 1. Tabernacle in the Wilderness. (Artist's rendering by: Brian Fortune, FVP Images)

The Holy of Holies housed the Ark of the Covenant containing the tablets of the Ten Commandments.[12] Thus the Ark was the terrestrial dwelling place of God and His Word. Consequently, it is identified with the Christian tabernacle, which because it holds the physical body of Christ (also known as the Word) in the form of the consecrated eucharist, is deemed the dwelling place of Christ on earth.

It is important to note that chapters 1 through 19 of the book of Exodus concern the history of the Israelites in bondage, their emancipation from Egypt, and their sojourn to Sinai. The second part of Exodus summarizes the bestowal and implementation of a threefold law.[13] The moral aspect of the law

[12] According to some sources, a golden pot of manna and the budding rod of Aaron were also kept in this area.

[13] C.W. Stemming, *Made According to Pattern* (Fort Washington, PA: CLC Publications, 2003), 11–12.

governs one's individual behavior, the civil component regulates the secular community, and the ceremonial element orders spiritual life. The construction and function of the Tabernacle in the Wilderness was the physical manifestation of this threefold law.

THE CHURCH AT MISSION SAN MIGUEL ARCHANGEL

The interior of the church at Mission San Miguel Archangel is divided into eight decorative parts: (1) *sotocoro*, (2) choir loft, (3) baptismal aedicule, (4) nave or congregational area, (5) pulpit, (6) sanctuary, (7) *retablo*, and (8) sacristy (Plate 2). However, in relation to the Scotist theology of *christification*, the focus is on the five main liturgical zones: the *sotocoro*, the baptismal aedicule, the nave, the sanctuary, and the *retablo*. In relation to the Tabernacle in the Wilderness, the three latter areas correspond in physical layout to one of the three divisions of the Tabernacle.[14] Each of the areas of the church is decorated according to this correspondence.[15]

For example, the *sotocoro*, located in the east end of the structure immediately inside the main portal, is more sparsely decorated than the remainder of the church. This area is where the unbaptized catechumenate gathered during mass and, as such, is adorned according to its occupants' status within the liturgy. As non-Christians, these individuals could not participate in the mass; consequently, they were situated farthest from the eucharist. The reservation of this narthex area for catechumens not yet baptized, and therefore, not yet admitted to congregate with baptized Christians in the nave, is a practice that dates to the early Christian church.[16] The decoration of the *sotocoro* in the church at Mission San Miguel Archangel suggests that this tradition was practiced at the mission.

The dado in this area is painted a rusty-brown hue up to a height of about three feet. Above it, a pale green background is framed by a deep blue meander border in a Greek key design. One of the three symbolic motifs in the *sotocoro*, the Greek key was likely incorporated because it is a contiguous and never-ending chain, thus referencing eternity and everlasting life. Here the motif is

[14] The nave corresponds to the outer courtyard; the Sanctuary corresponds to the Holy Place; and, the *retablo* corresponds to the Holy of Holies.

[15] Indeed, each of the eight zones is adorned according to its respective role in the function of the building. However, I will not address the decoration of the choir loft, pulpit, or sacristy, as the adornment of these areas is outside the scope of this paper. Suffice it to say each is sufficiently ornate to reflect its respective sacred function.

[16] Ralph Adams Cram, "Narthex," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1911, www.newadvent.org/cathen/10704b.htm.

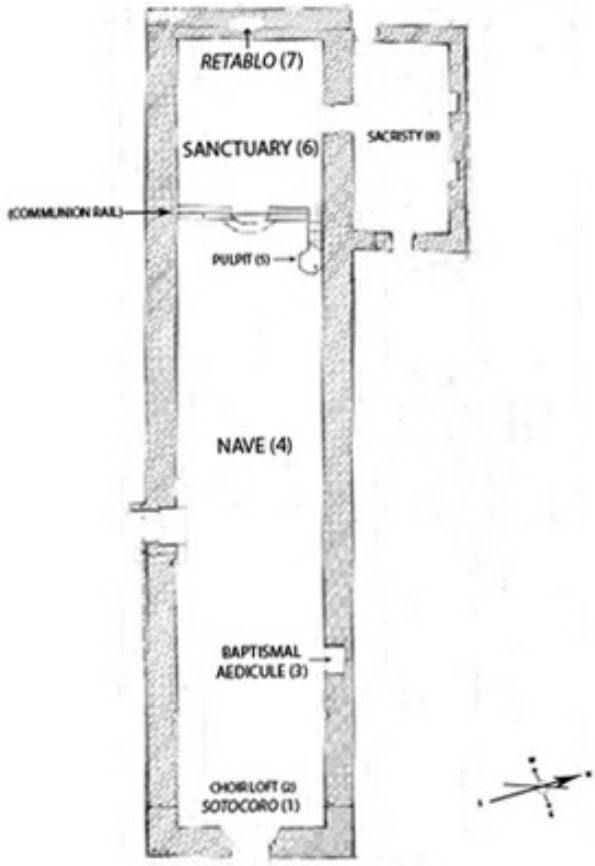


PLATE 2. Eight Decorative Zones of the Church at Mission San Miguel Archangel. (Artist's rendering by: Brian Fortune, FVP Images)

employed as an allusion to the promise offered through baptism of resurrection and eternal life.

Bright blue rosettes are Roman symbols of victory, in this case victory over death and the triumph of eternal life. The green on the walls is the color of vegetation and, therefore, symbolizes life and the triumph of spring over winter, or the triumph of life over death. Thus, upon entering the church one encounters the simply adorned *sotocoro* representing the basic promise of Christianity: union with God manifested in resurrection and eternal life. This was the first stage of a mission: gathering and settling non-Christians and offering them a new faith and way of life.

The baptismal aedicule is located just beyond the *sotocoro*. It is carved into the north wall of the building, that is, the epistle side of the church. The interior of the baptismal aedicule is not presently decorated nor is there any evidence it ever was. The small niche-like space is fronted by two wooden doors decorated in the same motifs as the nave.

The placement of the baptismal aedicule next to the area where the unbaptized congregated was intentional: It would have been nearly impossible for those gathered in the *sotocoro* to overlook the adjacent area reserved for the sacrament of baptism. Baptism was the next step for these individuals toward entry into Christian faith, and the beginning of the converts' physical and spiritual progression.

The nave is the area where the neophytes, or baptized members of the community, gathered for prayers, mass, and other liturgical events (Plate 3). Its painted architectural scheme replicates in *trompe l'oeil* the interior configuration of the first basilican churches in Christian Rome. The decoration consists of a dado, painted to resemble marble veneer,[17] upon which rests a rendering of a Roman Doric colonnade. The colonnade consists of eight fluted columns on each side of the nave, topped by a frieze incorporating decorative elements.[18]

An unusual fabric or animal hide motif, painted in a green shade similar to that on the *sotocoro* and choir-loft walls, appears swagged, or stretched, and pinned between each column. Finely stenciled decorative detail represent generic leaf patterns, likely employed as conceptual symbols of life.[19]

Fabrics pinned in this manner are commonly found in contemporaneous European fresco decorations.[20] However, here the motif conjures the manner

[17] In this regard, the Alta California missions were current with fashion in Europe, where imitation was as accepted as it was accomplished. See Reed Benhamou, "Imitation in the Decorative Arts of the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of Design History* 4, no. 1 (1991), 1–13.

[18] In medieval numerology, eight symbolizes resurrection and regeneration because Christ rose from the dead eight days after entering Jerusalem. It is also the number of beatitudes, which open the Sermon on the Mount. See Matt 5:3–10. For more on medieval numerology and church architecture, see Elizabeth Read Sunderland, "Symbolic Numbers and Romanesque Church Plans," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 18, no. 3 (October 1959), 94–103. See also Richard Krautheimer, "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture,'" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942), 1–33. I am just beginning to consider the significance of numerology in the construction of the mission church building.

[19] A balustrade topping this architectural configuration appears to have been modeled after that in the church at the College of San Fernando in Mexico City, the home church of the friars administering the mission. Both are in an unusual location on the nave wall in that neither aligns with the real balustrade of the choir rail.

[20] See, for example, the frescos in the entrance loggia of the Villa Farnesina and the Sala di Constantino in the Vatican Palace, both created after designs by Raphael (1483–1520) in Roger

PLATE 3. Nave looking west, Church of Mission San Miguel Archangel. (Library of Congress/HABS)

in which hides are stretched and pegged to dry. This mission—like all the Alta California missions—produced a great quantity of hides for trade, and it may be that the Indian artisan modeled this motif on the multitudes of hides affixed to the ground surrounding the mission. These *trompe l'oeil* fabric motifs tacked between the columns appear to be an artistic interpretation of the long side walls of the outer courtyard of the Tabernacle in the Wilderness, with its pillars with hangings of fine linen between them.

The privilege of congregating in the nave was limited to baptized Christians. Scotus taught that the journey toward union with God starts with baptism, which purifies and prepares the soul for the spiritual journey. *Spiritually*, therefore, analogous to entering the Christian faith through baptism, one had to undergo baptism to gain access to the nave. Likewise, in order to enter the nave from the main portal, one had to *physically* pass by the baptismal aedicule.

Jones and Nichaolas Penny, *Raphael* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1983), 184–85 and 243. See also Ursula Reinhardt, "La tapisserie feinte: Un genre de décoration du maniérisme romain au XVIe siècle," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 84 (November–December 1974), 285–96.

Furthermore, the decoration of the nave perspectivally reproduces the Antique Roman architectural world in which Christianity was first endorsed. In this setting, the new Christians at the mission were equated with the new adherents to the nascent religion of the newly Christian Roman Empire. Thus, the meaning of the decoration on the nave walls is multivalent: While the colonnade conjures the early Christian basilicas of Rome, the insertion of swagged fabrics between them identifies the space as a descendant of the outer courtyard of the Tabernacle. In the latter sense, the decoration reflects the sanctuary of a people in pilgrimage to the Promised Land. Likewise, at Mission San Miguel Archangel, the congregation comprises physical and spiritual pilgrims, moving through the church *en route* to the promise of union with God.

Toward the west of the structure, just before the communion rail demarcates the transition from nave to sanctuary, the nave walls are decorated not with this colonnade and swagged fabric motif, but rather with a large shell motif in alternating rays of pink and green radiating from a central base. On the south wall this motif is in full view; on the north it adorns the wall behind the pulpit.

The shell is an important symbol of baptism in Christian iconography. Tradition holds that John the Baptist used a pilgrim's shell to baptize his followers in the wilderness. Accordingly, the shell motif is significant in the context of a frontier mission, where conversion to Christianity in the act of baptism was the mission's spiritual *raison d'être*.

The shell, moreover, is the attribute of Saint James the Greater who is said to have evangelized Spain and is that country's patron saint. Saint James is credited with having assisted Spanish soldiers in the conquest of the Moors in Andalusia. He was subsequently said to have participated in a similar manner in the conquest of Mexico. Thus, in the context of a frontier mission—particularly because it is administered by Spanish friars and its Indian inhabitants the newest subjects of the Spanish Empire—allusion to Saint James symbolizes the conquest of Christianity over paganism and the triumph of Spain in this land. Although such an interpretation was unlikely to have been understood by the neophyte Indians, it would have served to inspire the friars in their mission endeavors.

Additionally, the shell is a symbol of pilgrimage because early pilgrims carried cockles as receptacles for begged food and drink. In the context of the church decoration at Mission San Miguel Archangel, reference to a pilgrim's shell reinforces the notion of journey: both the Scotus progression toward union with God and the Israelites' journey toward the Promised Land.

The communion rail, as mentioned, separates the nave from the more sacred sanctuary. Five block and tackle pulleys are attached to the ceiling beam

directly above the rail; five corresponding sockets are carved into the sanctuary floor beneath them. These pulleys were intended for use with a *velum temple* (temple veil) employed during Lent.[21] This cloth is usually a large piece of white or natural linen or other simple fabric similar to Christ's burial shroud. Sometimes the cloths would be painted, usually in *grisaille* (gray tones), with a scene related to Christ's Passion.[22]

The cloth would be raised from the floor using the pulleys on either the first Sunday in Lent or on Ash Wednesday, and remain drawn across the front of the Sanctuary throughout the Lenten season.[23] In the Liturgy of the Passion celebrated on Holy Saturday, upon the reading of Saint Luke's Passion, the cloth at the communion rail would apocalyptically drop precisely at the recitation of the words *velum temple scissum est medium* (and the curtain of the temple was torn in two).[24]

[21] Laurie Wiegert, "Velum Temple: Painted Cloths of the Passion and the Making of Lenten Ritual in Reims," *Studies in Iconography* 24 (2003), 199–229. See also Ulrich Schießl, Stefan Wülfert and Renate Kühnen, "Technical Observations on the So-Called 'Groẓes Zittauer Fastentuch': A Lenten Veil Dating from 1472," *The Fabric of Images: European Paintings on Textile Supports in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, edited by Caroline Vilers (London: Archetype Publications Ltd, 2000), 99–108; and Pál Kelemen, "Lenten Curtains from Colonial Peru," *Textile Museum Journal* 111, no. 1 (December 1970), 4–14.

[22] Molly Teasdale Smith, "The Use of Grisaille as a Lenten Observance," *Marsyas* 8 (1957/1959), 43–54. Angela Hass, "Two Devotional Manuals by Albrecht Dürer: The 'sSmall Passion' and the 'Engraved Passion': Iconography, Context, Spirituality," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 63, no. 2 (2000), 176–77. A rare mission-era example of a *grisaille* Lenten cloth survives to this day at Mission San Francisco.

[23] Traditionally, Lenten sanctuary veils were pulled aside during the reading of the Gospel. Whether this was practiced at Mission San Miguel Archangel or how it was achieved is unknown.

[24] William Durandus, *The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornament*, translated by J.M. Neale and Benjamin Webb (Leeds: T.W. Green, 1843), 72–75; Alessandro Nova, "'Popular' Art in Renaissance Italy: Early Response to the Holy Mountain at Varallo," *Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America, 1450–1650*, edited by Claire Farago (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 113–26. Saint Luke's Passion comprises Luke 23:1–49; the biblical verse quoted is Luke 23:45. According to San Diego resident Corinne Lillian Whaley (September 4, 1864–September 14, 1953), a similar type of Lenten cloth was apparently still in use at the Adobe Chapel in Old Town San Diego in the late nineteenth century. According to Whaley, "A heavy black curtain was suspended across the chancel, the whole width of the church, completely hiding the altar. Three large white crosses, the central one the largest, adorned the curtain. In the centre of the chancel at the foot of the curtain stood the Madonna [i.e., the Dolores], draped in solemn black. Her clasped hands and uplifted eyes seemed to plead piteously and imploringly for her beloved Son who lay stretched in agony upon the cross at her feet. . . . [However], on Easter Morning . . . [t]he solemn, black curtain is dropped and the altar, gorgeously decorated, bursts upon the sight. It is a bewildering, dazzling mixture of saints and flowers, tall candlesticks, lighted candles and tapers. The Madonna, no longer in trailing mourning, but beautifully robed occupies an exalted position on the altar. The clasped hands and uplifted face now

PLATE 4. Sanctuary and Retablo, Church of Mission San Miguel Archangel. (Library of Congress/HABS)

The next zone of the church, the sanctuary, encompasses two side altars painted in *trompe l'oeil*, the altar table, and the *retablo* (Plate 4). This area is reserved for priests, friars, and laypersons assisting with the mass. As the dwelling place of the body of Christ—namely, the consecrated eucharist stored in the Christian tabernacle—the sanctuary is the most sacred area of the church and, consequently, is the most ornately decorated area.

The north and south walls of the sanctuary, including the walls on either side of the *retablo*, are adorned with curtains painted in *trompe l'oeil*. In addi-

seem to bespeak joy, ecstacy [*sic*], infinite gratitude." See C. Lillian Whaley, *California's Oldest Town*, edited by June A. Reading (San Diego, CA: Whaley House, n.d.); and James L. Nolan, *Discovery of the Lost Art Treasures of California's First Mission* (San Diego: Copley Press, Inc., 1978), 43–44 and 110, n. 79.

tion to conjuring Tabernacle imagery, as will be discussed in more detail below, this motif replicates a device from ancient Christianity called the *tetravela altaris* (altar curtain).[25] *Tetravelae* were drapes that were drawn around the altar table while the priest intoned the eucharist. These *tetravelae* were made of rich fabrics such as linen, silk, or embroidered cloth. After transubstantiation had occurred, the curtains were drawn back so that the congregation could see the elevated host. No doubt the ancient custom of the *tetravela altaris* was imitated at Mission San Miguel Archangel because, like the early church, the mission was a church on the Christian frontier: a church at the beginning of Christianity in a pagan land.[26]

A wooden *retablo* covers the west wall of the sanctuary. It accommodates the Christian tabernacle containing the body of Christ. Norman Neuerburg astutely observed that the ornamentation of the *retablo*—indeed much of the *retablo* overall—is similar to that in the Chapel of San Miguel in the Cathedral of Granada.[27] At Mission San Miguel Archangel, the entablature includes

[25] Alessandro Nova, "Hangings, Curtains, and Shutters of Sixteenth-Century Lombard Altarpieces," in *Italian Altarpieces 1250–1550, Function and Design*, edited by Eve Borsook and Fiorella Superbi Gioffredi (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 180.

[26] Mission San Miguel Archangel appears not to have been unique in its desire to replicate the *tetravelae* of early Christianity. The first annual report for Mission San Antonio, dated December 1774, recorded that the mission had received among the supplies from Mexico City "twenty-four *varas* of cotton curtains with embroideries for curtains to decorate the altar and the walls." Fabrics painted in *trompe l'oeil* on the sanctuary walls at Mission San Fernando, contemporaneous (circa 1815–1825) with Mission San Miguel Archangel, served the same purpose. See Zephyrin Engelhardt, *Mission San Antonio de Padua* (Ramona, CA: Acoma Books, 1972), 16. I am grateful to the Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library for providing access to the mission-era annual reports. For the walls at Mission San Fernando, see Norman Neuerburg, *The Decoration of the California Missions* (Santa Barbara, CA: Bellerophon Books, 1996). The sanctuary walls of the Franciscan mission church of San José de Laguna in Laguna Pueblo (in present-day New Mexico) were similarly painted in *trompe l'oeil* to resemble hanging fabrics. See E. Boyd, "Preservation of the Reredos in San José de Laguna Mission, New Mexico," *The Masterkey* 25, no. 1 (January–February 1951), 8–13. These sanctuary walls have since been whitewashed or painted.

[27] Norman Neuerburg, "Mission San Miguel, Interior Decoration" (presentation, California Mission Studies Association Tenth Annual Meeting, San Miguel, CA, February 12–14, 1993). My thanks to Bill Fairbanks for providing a DVD of Neuerburg's lecture. According to Cruz Cabrera, the Chapel of San Miguel in the Cathedral of Granada was constructed at the expense of Don Juan Manuel Moscoso y Peralta, archbishop of Granada and former bishop of colonial Cuzco Peru, for his own interment. His sarcophagus is the product of the academic artist Jaime Folch. The polychrome and marble *retablo* was designed by Francisco Romero de Aragón, with gilded ornamentation by Narciso Miguel Bueno, a great carving in marble of the Archangel Michael by Juan Adán, and a relief of the Holy Trinity amid a burst of rays of glory, which is the work of Manuel González. See José Policarpo Cruz Cabrera, "La Catedral durante los siglos XVIII y XIX. Ornato, funcion y decoro," in *El Libro de la Catedral de Granada*, edited by Medina L. Gila (Granada: Cabildo Metropolitano de la Catedral de Granada, 2005), 209–38. To date, the manner in which the design

repetitive stenciled designs with small square appliqués adorned with a simplified flower motif in the shape of an "X," a dentil comprised of individual pieces of pegged wood, neoclassical lozenge shapes, and inlaid elements in contrasting colors. Most striking is a pattern of interlocking circles enclosing a stylized alate motif. The circles of this decorative element evoke the Franciscan cord. Significantly, the feathery detail suggests the wings of the cherubim adorning the ten curtains at the entrance to the Holy of Holies in the Tabernacle.[28]

A statue of Saint Francis occupies the southern bay on the gospel side of the *retablo*, and a statue of Saint Anthony occupies the northern bay on the epistle side. The emblem of the arms of the Franciscan Order (also known as the Conformities) is painted directly on the *retablo* above Saint Francis; the emblem of the five wounds appears above Saint Anthony.

In the center bay of the *retablo* is a larger-than-life statue of Saint Michael. Clearly, Saint Michael is featured on the *retablo* to honor his role as the titular saint of the mission. Moreover, the friars would have interpreted Michael's defeat of the dragon in Revelation 12 as representative of triumph of the Church over heresy. Analogous to Saint Michael, the friars were engaged in battle against heresy and the devil, over which they hoped to likewise prevail. This saint, furthermore, is reported to have appeared on earth several times. One time was in the fourth century, at Monte Gargano, where a shrine was subsequently established in his honor.[29] Saint Francis, who was particularly devoted to Saint Michael, made a special pilgrimage to this site.[30] The saint is also said to have appeared to an Indian in Tlaxcala, New Spain, in 1631. And, in 1656, he again was seen at Monte Gargano, at which time he cured a plague.

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may have been transmitted to Mission San Miguel Archangel is not known. However, it is possible that it was conveyed via the printed obsequies which may have accompanied the August 13, 1812 solemn mass and homage celebrated in Moscoso's honor in the Church of Mercy in Lima. For mention of this mass, see Leon G. Campbell, "Rebel or Royalist? Bishop Juan Manuel de Moscoso y Peralta and the Tupac Amaru Revolt in Peru, 1780–1784," *Revista de Historia de América* 86 (July–December 1978), 135–67.

[28] The motif also brings to mind the seraph that appeared to Saint Francis when he received the stigmata. Much confusion surrounds the exact appearance of biblical cherubim and seraphim; in some instances depictions of these heavenly creatures are interchangeable.

[29] Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend. Readings on the Saints*, translated by William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), vol. 2, 201–02.

[30] Michele d'Arienzo, "Il pellegrinaggio al Gargano tra XI e XVI secolo," in *Culte et pèlerinages à Saint Michel en Occident*, ed. Pierre Bouet, Giorgio Otranto, and André Vauchez (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 2003), 219-44. For the primary source of the account of Saint Francis's pilgrimage to Mount Gargano, see Bartholomew of Pisa, "De conformitate vitae beati Francisci ad vitam Domini Iesu," *Analecta Franciscana* (Ad Claras Aquas, Quaracchi: Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1906–1912), 12.

Therefore, not only is Saint Michael a sacred character with direct access to heaven, but also he is a miraculous individual who intervenes on behalf of humankind on earth. Thus, he bridges the two worlds of heaven and earth, a function for which he is venerated as the guide of the departed, accompanying worthy souls to the gates of heaven. It is in this capacity in which Saint Michael appears at his eponymous mission in Alta California.

Significantly, these three images—Saint Francis, Saint Michael, and Saint Anthony—are displayed in front of "niches" painted in *trompe l'oeil* in imitation of a dossal. A dossal is an ecclesiastical fabric drape that hangs behind such altar statues.[31] Saint Michael's niche in the center not only incorporates the dossal, but also this statue is sheltered by a cloth of honor, likewise painted in *trompe l'oeil*, which simulates a baldachin or canopy, such as was traditionally placed over an altar or a throne.[32]

Suspended high above and in front of the *retablo* is the commanding all-seeing eye of God superimposed on a cloud from which rays of glory radiate. It is situated so as to appear to look out over the entire church. Five block-and-tackle pulleys are located on the ceiling beam, above and behind the eye, just in front of the *retablo*. These, no doubt, suspended a Lenten altar-veil, intended to conceal crosses and altar images during Lent and Holy Week.[33] Using these pulleys, a single large curtain would have been raised to shroud the entire *retablo* behind it.[34] The position of the pulleys indicates that the cloth thus raised would be behind the eye, so that even when the Lenten altar-veil and *velum temple* at the communion rail were raised, the omnipresent eye could still be seen throughout the church.

At Mission San Miguel Archangel, the all-seeing eye of God is drawn on a triangular piece of paper glued to a wooden cut-out of a cloud. The cloud in turn is surrounded by a glory of projecting rays. These details carry symbolic meaning. First, the triangular shape of the paper is representative of the Trinity. Second, according to scripture, a cloud is the symbol for the presence

[31] The word "dossal" derives from the French word *dos* (back). The term "altar screen" is sometimes used as a synonym for dossal. See Augustin Joseph Schulte, "Altar Curtain," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1907, available at www. newadvent.org/cathen/01353a.htm.

[32] Rona Goffen, "Icon and Vision: Giovanni Bellini's Half-Length Madonnas," *Art Bulletin* 57, no. 4 (December 1975), 487–518. See also Anne Hollander, "Cloth of Honor," *Fabric of Vision: Dress and Drapery in Painting*, exhibit catalog (London: National Gllery Company and Yale University Press, 2002), 31.

[33] I am grateful to Br. Bill Short for his contributions to this discussion.

[34] Sometimes these curtains are elaborately painted with scenes of the Passion. The Lenten curtain at the *retablo* would remain in place until the Easter Vigil on Holy Saturday.

of God.[35] In Exodus 13:21, for example, as the Israelites fled Egypt, "the Lord went in front of them in a pillar of cloud . . . to guide them on their way."[36]

Moreover, once the Tabernacle had been constructed, and each time it was erected within an Israelite encampment, God's presence was made known by a cloud hovering over the Holy of Holies. According to scripture, "the cloud of the Lord was on the tabernacle by day, and fire was in the cloud by night, before the eyes of all the house of Israel at each stage of their journey."[37] Radiating beams of light are a common symbol for the glory of God, but within the context of Mission San Miguel Archangel the beams also suggest the fire in the cloud of the Lord by night. Just as the glory cloud above the Tabernacle verified to the Israelites in the wilderness that God was present among them, so the eye superimposed on a cloud at Mission San Miguel Archangel reminds congregants that God is always present and demonstrates His infinite power and knowledge.

SUMMARY ANALYSIS

The interior decoration of the church at Mission San Miguel Archangel is a vivid illustration of the theology of John Duns Scotus. The entire scheme visually manifests the Scotist theology of pilgrimage toward unity with God. The pilgrimage begins outside the church, advances to the simply adorned *soto-coro* and, passing through the baptismal aedicule, proceeds to the colonnade of the nave and the communion rail. The adornment of the sanctuary and the *retablo* represent the culmination of this journey.

Iconographically, all decoration in the sanctuary and on the *retablo* concerns the confluence of heaven and earth. Saint Francis's presence as the Franciscus Alter Christus (Francis, Second Christ) underscores this notion.[38] This terrestrial human being, Francis, received the marks of the divine wounds by way of a heavenly messenger. Heaven touches earth through Francis. Saint Anthony's presence on the *retablo* functions in a similar manner. The two worlds of heaven and earth are conjoined in the image of the earthly being,

[35] In Christianity, the cloud is a symbol of the eucharist because the body of Christ lies cloaked within, present but unseen.

[36] All biblical quotes herein are derived from *The HarperCollins Study Bible*, NRSV, edited by Wayne A. Meeks (New York: HarperCollins, 1993). Elsewhere scripture recounts that God appeared at Mount Sinai in a thick cloud. See Exod 19:9. See also Num 9:15–23.

[37] Exod 40:3.

[38] Hank W. van Os, "Saint Francis of Assisi as Second Christ in Early Italian Painting," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 7, no. 3 (1974), 115.

Anthony, holding the heavenly Christ child. Saint Anthony represents a connection between humankind and God. The two emblems of the Franciscan Order also represent this convergence: the emblem of the five wounds simultaneously represents heavenly Christ and terrestrial Saint Francis, while the emblem of the arms of the Franciscan Order represents the meeting of the two realms, with the arms of Christ and Saint Francis crossed, unmistakably symbolizing the intersection of heaven and earth.

The titular saint, Saint Michael, is presented in his role as the weigher and guide of souls deemed worthy to enter heaven. In this capacity, Saint Michael is the conduit through which the saved are escorted to heaven. Saint Michael literally accompanies the soul from the earthly world to heaven and, in this way, links the two worlds. In short, Saint Michael facilitates the soul's union with God.

The all-seeing eye of God representing the Trinity at the top of the *retablo* visually signifies the climax of the journey. Scripture states that the blessed will see God in heaven. Thus, in addition to being a symbol of God's perpetual vision of humankind, the eye also evokes Christians' eternal beatific vision of Him; the adoration of the divine face of God that is the ultimate destination of the soul.[39]

Thus, the progressive and hierarchical interior decoration of the church reflects the religious purpose and function of the mission: to lead indigenous people from itinerancy, to settled living, and, through evangelization and conversion, to salvation. This message culminates with the confluence of heaven and earth, with Saint Michael standing front and center, ready to escort the Christian soul to divine union.

In addition to the Scotist imagery of union with God, the sanctuary and *retablo* also are meant to invoke the Tabernacle in the Wilderness. At Mission San Miguel Archangel, the sanctuary represents the Holy Place. As in its exemplar, this area is reserved for priestly functions. The *trompe l'oeil* fabrics, which appear to be hanging on the sanctuary walls, simulate the curtains that enclosed this area of the Tabernacle. During Lent, when both the *velum temple* and the altar veil were raised by pulleys, like the Holy Place in the Tabernacle, the sanctuary would be enclosed by curtains on all four sides; the front and back with real fabric and the two sides with textiles painted in *trompe l'oeil*.

The *retablo* at Mission San Miguel Archangel represents the Holy of Holies, that most sacred inner sanctum of the Tabernacle in the Wilderness.

[39] For scriptural references, see 1 Cor 13:12, Matt 18:10, 1 John 3:2. On the beatific vision, see J. van Engen, "Beatific Vision," *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology*, edited by Walter A. Elwell (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1984), 130. For John Duns Scotus on the beatific vision, see Richard Cross, *Duns Scotus* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 149–53.

Analogous to the Holy of Holies—the earthly dwelling place of God—the *retablo* in the church is the terrestrial dwelling place of the body of Christ. The *trompe l'oeil* fabrics on the side walls represent the curtains of the Tabernacle.[40] And, during Lent, when the altar veil was raised by pulleys, like the Holy of Holies, the *retablo* would be enclosed on all sides by fabric; the front with the real fabric altar veil, the two sides with textiles painted in *trompe l'oeil* on the sanctuary walls, and the back with the dossals of the *retablo*, also executed in *trompe l'oeil.*

Two details that further emphasize this interpretation are the cherubic motif on the entablature of the *retablo* and the all-seeing eye of God. First, recall that in the Tabernacle ten curtains at the entrance to the Holy of Holies, adjacent to the Holy Place, were embroidered or woven with images of cherubim. Likewise, on the *retablo* at Mission San Miguel Archangel, the cherubic motif on the entablature marks the threshold between the symbolic Holy Place of the sanctuary and the Holy of Holies of the *retablo* proper. Second, the all-seeing eye of God, perpetually hovering above the *retablo* on its radiating cloud, references the presence of God in the Tabernacle in the form of a glory cloud.

The painted interior decoration of the church at Mission San Miguel Archangel is remarkably germane for a mission to a pagan populace in the hinterlands. It is a sophisticated decorative program that simultaneously points to different facets of the mission experience.

First, the *trompe l'oeil* colonnade in the nave equates the authenticity of the earliest Roman church buildings with the church at Mission San Miguel Archangel, thereby juxtaposing the new Christians of Rome with the new Christians of Alta California. Second, the iconographic program visually signifies the Scotist theological concept of progression toward union with God, reflecting both the spiritual and physical pilgrimage of the native convert. Similarly, the decoration's references to the Tabernacle in the Wilderness equates the Israelites' journey with native converts' pilgrimage from the bondage of pre-Christianity to the liberation of divine union and eternal life, thus addressing the religious aspect of mission life.

[40] William Durandus, *The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornament*, translated by J.M. Neale and Benjamin Webb (Leeds: T.W. Green, 1843), 18. Copies of the Durandus text circulated in New Spain since the early colonial days. For this and more on the replication of the temple of Jerusalem, a not uncommon practice in New Spain, see Jaime Lara, *City, Temple, Stage: Eschatological Architecture and Liturgical Theatrics in New Spain* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame, 2004), 111–49; and James R. Lara, "Urbs Beata Hierusalem Americana: Stational Liturgy and Eschatological Architecture in Sixteenth-Century Mexico" (PhD diss., Graduate Theological Union, 1995).

Moreover, allusion to the Tabernacle parallels nonreligious circumstances of the mission to Alta California. Reference to the Tabernacle acknowledges the secular social and cultural concerns of the mission enterprise—the moral and civil facets of mission life—and the concomitant notions of appropriate individual behavior and the idea of ordered and settled communal living. In the same way that Moses led the Israelites out of slavery in Egypt through the wilderness to the Promised Land, and in the process established the nation of Israel, the friars were conducting native Californians from the bondage of pre-Christian beliefs and autochthonous mores and social order, to the moral, civic, and religious traditions of Western European culture.

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