

**The Old Stand:  
A Historic Resource Study of the Royal Presidio of Monterey, 1770 – 1840**

by

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in

Cultural Resources Management

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21 April 2015

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**ABSTRACT**

**Purpose of the Study:** The Royal Presidio of Monterey functioned as the center of cultural, political, and economic activities in California during the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. There has been very little published about the Presidio of Monterey in comparison to the other three Presidios and the 21 California missions despite this significance. The purpose of this study is to produce a Historic Resource Study of the Presidio centered on the period from 1770 to 1840. The study provides a detailed historical and archaeological overview of the Presidio in order to inform future legal compliance and preservation efforts. This thesis also contributes to scholarship on the Presidio's formation as a frontier settlement, examining both the built environment and sociocultural landscape.

**Procedure:** Archival data was collected using historical research methods and then cross-compared with archaeological investigations in order to describe and reconstruct the evolution of the Presidio quadrangle through time. In addition, census and mission records and other primary sources were examined in order to identify and interpret processes of ethnogenesis among the soldiers and settlers at the Presidio of Monterey.

**Findings:** Two primary processes contributed to the formation of the Presidio. First, the Presidio quadrangle underwent physical processes, including five major phases of construction and modification due to inconsistent maintenance, fire and weather damage, foreign attack, and changing leadership. Second, the soldiers and settlers of the Presidio experienced changes to their ascribed identities under the *sistema de castas* through processes of ethnogenesis and transitioned to *gente de razón*, a more unified identity.

**Conclusions:** The review of documentary and archaeological records demonstrates that the colonial landscape of the Presidio was formed through a diverse array of physical and cultural processes during the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. These processes included various physical developments and modifications to the environment as well as significant changes in colonial social and ethnic structures. By examining how space is created and reconfigured with that of sociocultural processes, archaeologists can better understand the ways in which colonial subjects perceived and shaped their experiences within the landscape.

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Signature

MA Program: Cultural Resources Management

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## CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

My attraction to the field of historical archaeology originated from my childhood fascination with ancient cultures from around the world. Despite this curiosity, I lacked any interest in the history of California and, more specifically, the city of Monterey, my hometown. My disinterest stemmed from nine years of elementary school (K-8<sup>th</sup> grade) at Junipero Serra School located at Mission San Carlos Borromeo in Carmel, California. I told myself that I would never again have anything to do with Mission or Spanish colonial history. Much to my chagrin, I was immersed in the archaeological study of the California missions during my undergraduate experience at California State University, Monterey Bay. I soon became fascinated, and the rest, as they say, is history.

This thesis represents the culmination of several years of research and exploration of Spanish colonialism in California and the “old stand” that is the Royal Presidio of Monterey (Culleton 1950: 50). The goal of this thesis is to produce a Historic Resource Study (HRS) of the Royal Presidio of Monterey centered on the period from 1770 to 1840. A HRS provides a historical overview of a site, park, or region by synthesizing all available cultural resource information (NPS 2014). This overview serves as a reference for city planners, interpreters, cultural resource specialists, and interested public (NPS 2014). A HRS also evaluates a site’s cultural resources and includes the preparation of National Register of Historic Places nominations for all eligible or potentially eligible resources (NPS 2014).

This study provides a detailed historical and archaeological overview of the Presidio in order to inform future legal compliance and preservation efforts. Historic preservation and management of the Presidio is important because the site is a

nonrenewable cultural resource (OHMVR 2015). The Presidio represents local, state, and national significance. The Presidio of Monterey functioned as the seat of government and military power in Alta California from 1777 through to the early Mexican period (ARG 2000: 38; Walton 2001: 63; Williams 1993: 13). Soldiers, settlers, and Native Californians were all influenced by military regulations, religious doctrine, local and international economic networks, and sociocultural customs practiced at this site. However, future plans and development have the potential to impact the Presidio and its heritage. Therefore, this thesis provides recommendations for the Presidio's management and future research in order to maintain the site's heritage for future generations.

This thesis also seeks to contribute to current scholarship on the Presidio's formation as a frontier settlement by way of a historic landscape perspective. Such an approach furthers the interpretation of the Presidio as a space for ethnogenesis, or, new or transformed cultural identities. Unlike a traditional HRS, this study does not include the preparation of a National Register of Historic Places nomination. The Royal Presidio Chapel is already listed on the National Register and the Presidio site was previously nominated (see Chapter 7).

### ***El Real Presidio de San Carlos de Monte Rey***

The Royal Presidio of San Carlos of Monterey was originally established as *El Real Presidio de San Carlos de Monte Rey* (hereafter the Royal Presidio of Monterey, Presidio of Monterey, or the Presidio). The Presidio of Monterey was founded on June 3, 1770 as a joint mission and military outpost. The site is located on the Monterey Peninsula in the northwestern portion of Monterey County, California. The Presidio

functioned as the center of cultural, political, and economic activities for the diverse soldiers and settlers who left their homelands for the frontier in search of a new life.

According to the City of Monterey Historic Master Plan (ARG 2000: 28), the Royal Presidio of Monterey is “one of the City’s [Monterey’s] most historic sites.” Despite this local significance, the Presidio of Monterey has been depreciated and overshadowed by Mexican and early American period historic properties in Monterey as well as other mission and presidio sites regionally (ARG 2000: 52). The extent of this is such that one historian deemed Monterey, and by extension the Royal Presidio of Monterey, as “California’s forgotten first capital” (Abrahamson 1989: 3).

The use of similar names in the documentary record has also contributed to scholarly and local conflation of the Presidio’s history. The Presidio of San Carlos de Monterey and Mission San Carlos de Monterey were founded together and developed within the same complex (Serra 1955a: 171, 237). However, when the Mission was transferred to Carmel (today, Carmel Mission), both it and the Presidio were initially identified in Father Junípero Serra’s letters as “San Carlos de Monterey” (Serra 1955a: 237; Serra 1955c: 257). The two were later distinguished by the addition of “Carmelo” or Carmel for the Mission San Carlos (Serra 1955a: 349). In addition, there is local confusion with the United States Army post. The Monterey Military Reservation was established in 1902 (ARG 2000: 45). In 1904, the Monterey Military Reservation adopted the name the “Presidio of Monterey” in honor of the Royal Presidio of Monterey (ARG 2000: 45). Ironically, the namesake of the Presidio of Monterey has in part contributed to its being forgotten.

Furthermore, the Royal Presidio Chapel is the only surviving Spanish colonial Presidio building. While the Chapel has an active parish within the community of Monterey and adjacent cities, the remaining Presidio site is easily overlooked. Fortunately the Presidio of Monterey has a diverse collection of historical documents, maps, historic photographs, plans, drawings, sketches, and related records associated with the site that help illuminate its formation as a colonial landscape. The archaeological record of the Presidio is equally significant in understanding the site's development as a frontier military settlement.

### **Spanish Colonial Studies of California**

Most Spanish colonial studies of Alta California emphasize the relationship between Franciscan missionaries and Native Californian Indians and the impacts of colonialism on the indigenous way of life (Lucido 2014: 82). With some exceptions, most of these early studies apply binary models of colonization (see Chapter 2) in order to interpret the colonial landscape of Alta California (e.g., Hackel 2005, 2010; Mendoza 2014; Panich and Schneider 2014; Sandos 2004). As noted by Barbara Voss in her research of colonial San Francisco, such studies that use the “colonizer–colonized dichotomy” consequently “mask the differences in social identities within each group” (2005: 462).

More recently, studies of the 21 California missions have focused on forms of indigenous agency and identity formation (e.g., Haas 2011, 2014; Hackel 2010; Mendoza 2014; Panich and Schneider 2014; Sandos 2004). New perspectives on Native Californian Indian responses to Spanish and Mexican colonial processes are becoming increasingly mainstream in the fields of historical archaeology, ethnohistory, and historical ecology

(e.g., Panich and Schneider 2014). Despite the contributions by these scholars, California mission studies overshadow scholarship on the four presidios in Alta California (Lucido 2014: 82).

The Franciscan missions were only one aspect within the “colonial package” (Graham 1998: 29). Presidios were a distinctive type of colonial development equally important to the Spanish colonization of Alta California (Bense 2004: 1; Lucido 2014: 83). Spanish colonial scholar Judith Bense notes that:

The presidio was an important frontier settlement of Spanish Borderlands, and their residents were the frontline of acculturation. Cultural and biological hybrids developed at presidios and became the foundation for a significant part of modern-day culture in the southern half of the United States [2004: 1].

Therefore, more in-depth studies of presidios are necessary in order to construct a more comprehensive understanding of Spanish colonial history in California, and North America more broadly (Lucido 2014: 83).

Research has focused on the Royal Presidios of San Francisco, San Diego, and Santa Barbara (e.g., Blind, Voss, Osborn, and Barker 2004; Costello and Walker 1987; Voss 2005, 2008, 2010, 2012; Whitehead 1996; Williams 2003, 2004b). In contrast, scholarship on the Royal Presidio of Monterey is not as widely disseminated as that of the other presidios (ARG 2000: 52; Lucido 2014: 83). Given this situation, a secondary objective of this thesis is to more fully integrate the Presidio of Monterey into mainstream historical archaeology.

### **Study Area Location and Description**

The Presidio is located at 500 Church Street in Monterey, Monterey County California. The study area encompasses approximately 8 acres (348, 040 square feet). The site perimeter is delineated by historical markers that approximate its defensive

walls. The Presidio is owned by the Roman Catholic Diocese of Monterey (DOM), the United Services Organization (USO), and the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) of the Monterey Peninsula (Monterey County Assessor 2014).

The study area is mapped on the Monterey 7.5-minute, 1:24,000-scale United States Geological Survey (USGS) topographic map (1997; see Figure 1). The following eight Assessor's Parcel Numbers (APNs) are within or partially within the study area: 001-727-009-000, 001-727-011-000, 001-727-012-000, 001-728-001-000, 001-728-002-000, 001-728-003-000, 001-729-006-000, and 001-729-007-000 (Monterey County Assessor 2014).

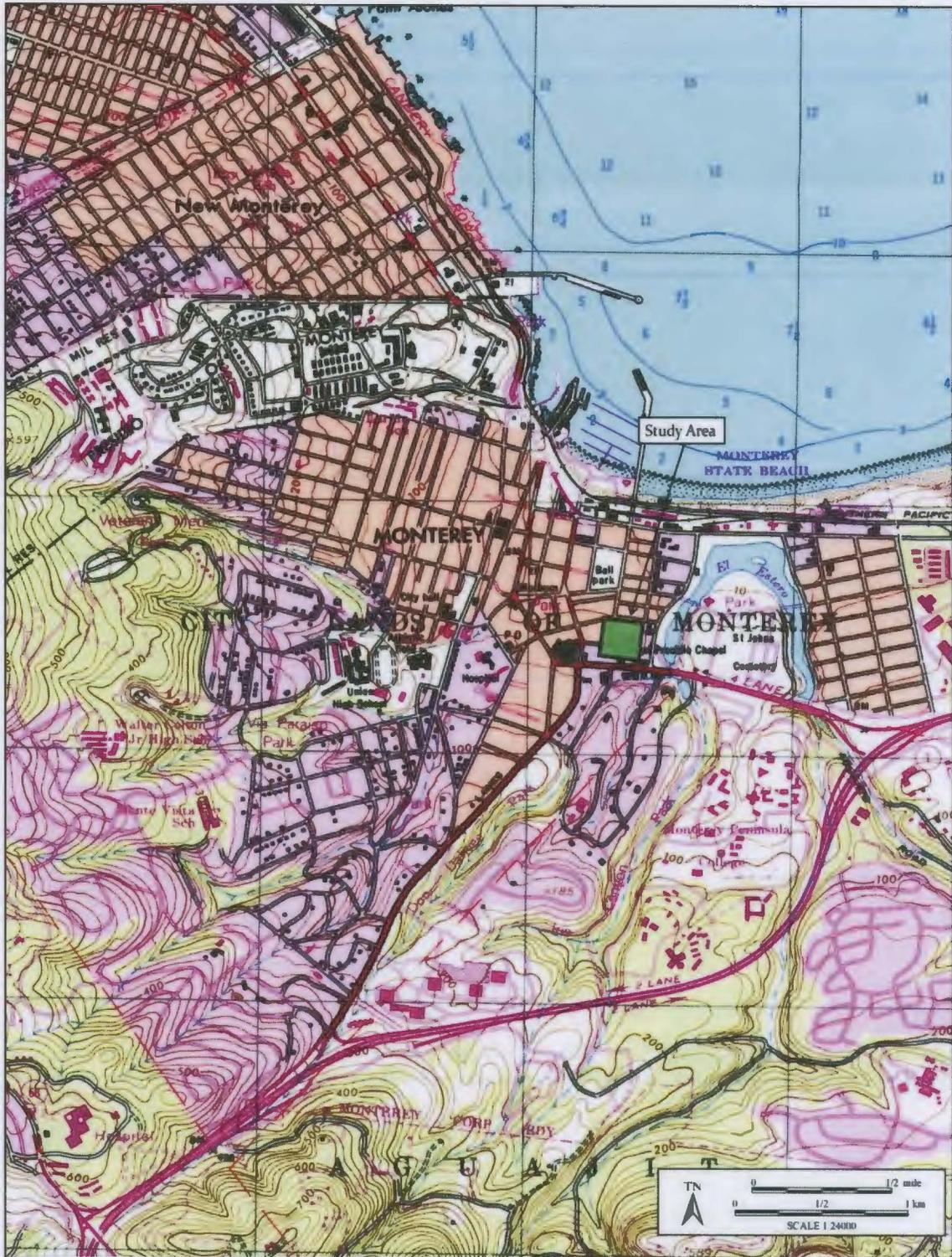


Figure 1. Study Area on Monterey 7.5 min USGS Topographic Map

Six buildings are located within the study area, and three others are partially contained within it (see Figure 2): 1) the Royal Presidio Chapel, 2) the San Carlos Parish Hall, 3) the San Carlos School, 4) Parish Offices Building, 5) the San Carlos Rectory, 6) Branches Resale Shoppe (for San Carlos School), 7) Vicar for Religious, and 8) and 9) two privately owned buildings. With the exception of the Royal Presidio Chapel, these buildings are 20<sup>th</sup> century additions and have no bearing on this study. The study area also encompasses a grass field and two parking lots, all owned by the Diocese of Monterey.

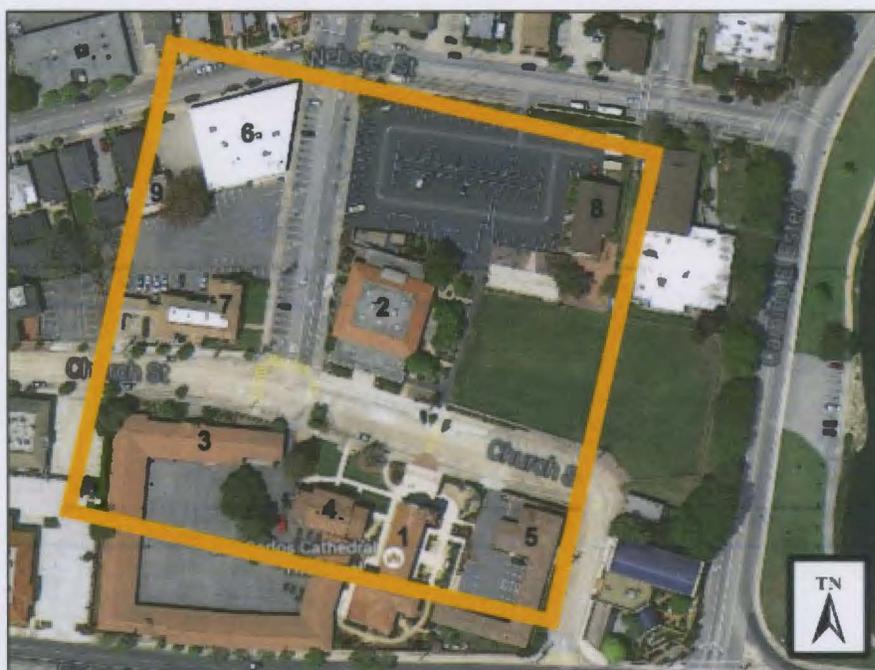


Figure 2. Study Area at 500 Church Street, Monterey, California (Google Earth 2014). Line art by the author.

### Thesis Overview

Chapter 1 describes the Royal Presidio of Monterey and the location of the study area as well as the objectives of the thesis. In addition, this chapter includes an overview of the organization of the thesis.

Chapter 2 presents a broad review of the literature and theoretical framework. The literature explores a diverse spectrum of perspectives on historic landscape studies, models of colonialism and colonial landscapes, and processes of ethnogenesis and identity formation. In addition, this chapter provides a comparative case study for this thesis that reflects these components.

Chapter 3 provides an overview of specific federal, state, and local historic preservation regulations that guide the management of cultural resources, such as the Royal Presidio of Monterey. In addition, a controversial preservation issue regarding the Presidio is summarized.

Chapter 4 describes the prehistoric, ethnographic, and ethnohistoric context of the study area, and Monterey Bay region more generally. Archaeological, ethnohistoric, and linguistic lines of evidence are examined to establish a setting of the study area before, during and after Spanish colonization.

Chapter 5 provides the historic context of the study area. Primary and secondary documentation are used to examine the various regulations and processes that guided the formation of the colonial landscape of the Royal Presidio of Monterey. This chapter is divided into two primary sections: 1) the first section addresses the physical development and modification of the study area, including its layout, the various buildings constructed, and land use; and 2) the second section explores the sociocultural formation of the site, including an examination of the motives for prospective colonists to relocate to the frontier that in turn led to the changes in social and ethnic identities of the soldiers and settlers associated with the Presidio.

Chapter 6 reviews the major archaeological investigations of the Royal Presidio of Monterey and the Chapel. This chapter also reviews two ancillary studies, including a historic structure report of the Royal Presidio Chapel and a cut mark analysis of the faunal remains recovered from one of the archaeological investigations. In addition, this chapter summarizes the diverse material culture recovered from the previous excavations so noted.

Chapter 7 concludes with a summary of the findings discussed in this thesis. In addition, this chapter presents recommendations for the management and preservation of the Presidio as well as avenues for future research.

## **CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **Introduction**

This chapter reviews a broad range of literature and theoretical frameworks pertaining to historic landscape studies, models of colonialism and colonial landscapes, and processes of ethnogenesis and identity formation. Historic or cultural landscape is a broad concept that can be applied to archaeological and documentary research in order to further understanding about past cultures (Clement 1991: 1).

Studies of historic landscapes primarily document interactions between humans and their physical environments over time. The National Park Service (NPS), for example, defines a historic landscape as a geographic location modified by past human activity (Clement 1991: 1). Alternatively, NPS notes that historic landscapes may lack human modification but retain important traditional cultural values to a group or community (Clement 1991: 1). However, the historic landscape is not limited to the physical environment. Archaeologists also examine historic landscapes in order to identify and interpret changes between humans and their sociocultural environments in a given geographic location.

This chapter reviews recent archaeological studies of historic landscapes over time and space. These studies demonstrate how archaeologists have contextualized historic landscapes in relation to processes of colonialism and colonization. For the purposes of this thesis, colonialism refers to asymmetrical social relations of political, military, or economic dominance by foreign groups over indigenous populations while colonization is the process of establishing colonies or settlements in a foreign region (Stein 2002a: 28-29).

These elements in archaeological studies of historic landscapes can be understood through several topical approaches: first is the review of current concepts and definitions identified with historic landscapes; second is rethinking a specific type of historic landscape--the colonial landscape--through a review of cross-cultural case studies; and finally, this review examines historic landscape approaches in conjunction with frontier studies to understand processes, such as ethnogenesis, by which colonial subjects both perceived and shaped their experiences within the colonial landscape. In addition, this latter section concludes with a review of the ethnogenesis process at the Royal Presidio of San Francisco, California, as a comparative case study for this thesis. The potential to identify both inter- and cross-cultural connections and trends emerges and may be applied to the interpretation of the historic landscape at the Royal Presidio of Monterey through the examination of these diverse approaches.

### **Historic Landscapes Studies: Defining Space and Land Use**

Historic landscape studies have been a multi- and interdisciplinary endeavor (Finch 2013: 143). The study of landscapes as it relates to the archaeological record, or “landscape archaeology” has emerged within the last 20 years or so (Dalglish 2012: 327; Thomas 2001: 165; Turner 2013: 131). Historic landscapes can be contested because concepts of place, space, and relationships are defined differently by archaeologists (e.g., Anschuetz, Wilshusen, and Scheick 2001: 157; Branton 2009: 52; Finch 2013: 143; Thomas 2001: 166). As a result, archaeologists engaged in the study of historic landscapes tend to be interested in the broader relationships between people and their environments (Anschuetz, Wilshusen, and Scheick 2001: 161; Branton 2009: 52; Turner 2013: 131).

O.G.S. Crawford offers one of the earliest descriptions of landscape studies in relation to archaeology (Turner 2013: 132). Crawford describes landscape archaeology as a palimpsest, or:

...a document that has been written on and erased and over again; and it is the business of the field archaeologist to decipher it. The features concerned are of course the field boundaries, the woods, the farms and other habitations, and all the other products of human labour; these are the letters and words inscribed on the land. But it is not always easy to read them because, whereas the vellum document was seldom wiped clean more than once or twice, the land has been subject to continual change throughout the ages [1953: 51].

By this definition, the layering of features is an essential component of the historic landscape. Consequently, discerning one layer from another can be challenging.

Furthermore, Crawford does not offer a scale for “landscape,” an aspect that later archaeologists address in their research of historic landscapes. Instead, Crawford emphasizes the significance of features in order to identify various human activities and behaviors.

More recently, historic landscapes have been conceptualized within three broad frameworks: 1) historic landscape as the result of human and environmental relations (Broughton, Cannon, and Bartelink 2010: 371; Clement 1991: 1; Dalglish 2012: 328; Erickson 2010: 104); 2) historic landscape as a social construction (Casella 2010: 93; Finch 2013: 143; Oliver 2007: 2; Turner 2013: 134); and finally, 3) historic landscape as the combination of both human-environment relations and social constructions (Anschuetz, Wilshusen, and Scheick 2001: 160; Branton 2009: 51; Dalglish 2012: 333; Finch 2013: 143).

For example, studies of ecological edges, or boundaries with high levels of biodiversity and natural resources, demonstrate long-term changes in the environment

(Erickson 2010: 105; Turner, Davidson-Hunt, and O'Flaherty 2010: 439). Of recent interest among archaeologists in this type of historic landscape study is the concept of “niche construction” (Broughton, Cannon, and Bartelink 2010: 371; Turner, Davidson-Hunt, and O'Flaherty 2010: 439). Niche construction is the human modification of the environment in order to accommodate certain needs or pressures (Broughton, Cannon, and Bartelink 2010: 372, 374). Ecological edges can also be impacted by “resource depression” or the reduction of a resource (e.g., animal or plant) due to elevated human or other predator activities (Broughton, Cannon, and Bartelink 2010: 372, 374).

Modification of ecological edges can positively or negatively affect the environment, and thereby, the human relationships with it (Broughton, Cannon, and Bartelink 2010: 372).

These studies emphasize that the ability to alter or adapt to the environment offers benefits and flexibility in subsistence (Turner, Davidson-Hunt, and O'Flaherty 2010:442; Dobres 2010: 156).

Historic landscape studies of interactions between humans and their sociocultural environment likewise examine changes over time. Moreover, these landscapes are affected by various interrelationships. Jeff Oliver emphasizes the social construction of landscapes. According to Oliver:

living and working in such places gave meaning to social life at a variety of levels...landscapes are not simply outcomes of human impact, but rather lenses through which social worlds are both constructed and contested, particularly at the scale of routine lives [2007: 2].

Studies of sociocultural landscapes demonstrate how social space is divided into distinctive social realms, hierarchies, and classes (Casella 2010: 92; Turner, Davidson-Hunt, and O'Flaherty 2003: 453; Wurst 2010: 325). Some of these realms permit greater social flexibility and agency while others are more rigid, depending on the cultural

context (Comaroff and Comaroff 2010: 246; Lightfoot, Martinez, and Schiff 2010: 191; Voss 2010: 265). Therefore, multiple interpretations of the same historic landscape can exist simultaneously (Casella 2010: 92; Lee 2008: 373). The potential for processes of interchange, cooperation, and expansion of social networks also increases in geographic areas of cross-cultural significance or “cultural edges” (Chabot-Hanowell, Benjamin, and Smith 2013: 72, 79-80; Kohl 2008: 495; Thomas 2001: 175; Turner, Davidson-Hunt, and O’Flaherty 2003: 439). However, similar to ecological edges, the potential for negative effects or conflicts may also emerge from shared cultural edges (e.g., over territorial resources; Chabot-Hanowell, Benjamin, and Smith 2013: 72, 79-80; Kohl 2008: 495).

The interpretation of the archaeological record through the lens of a historic landscape reveals a multilayered and ongoing process of change. As discussed earlier within this section, this may be attributed to either human interaction with the physical or sociocultural environment. However, articulating the relationship of these two components that form a historic landscape contributes to a more integrated and holistic understanding of the archaeological record.

As noted by Chris Dalglish, emphasis of the landscape as a sociocultural construction denies the landscape its natural agency while emphasis of the landscape as a natural environment or wilderness denies its human agency (2012: 332). Therefore, studying both the “human and non-human elements” of the historic landscape permits archaeologists to acknowledge the aspects that form it “without requiring [archaeologists] to deny the distinctiveness of either” (Dalglish 2012: 332). As a result, historic landscape studies can address the contributions of those agents and processes previously suppressed or altogether eliminated from archaeological discourse (Dalglish 2012: 332).

Furthermore, Dalglish emphasizes the plurality of the historic landscape. Dalglish states that “Different actors might occupy the same geographical location, but they may be involved in different complexes of relationships – in effect, living different landscapes” (2012: 333). This plurality and multitude of actors contributes to the continual development of a historic landscape. Dalglish observes that “Change is ever present and whether or not it is good or bad will depend on the character of the new or transformed relationships that emerge from it” (2012: 333).

Nicole Branton similarly defines historic landscape studies. Branton states that landscape studies embody how “people in the past conceptualized, organized, and manipulated their environments and the ways that those places have shaped their occupants’ behavior and identities” (2009: 51). Like Dalglish’s definition, Branton’s description of a historic landscape permits broader interpretations while at the same time accommodates more nuanced understandings. In addition to defining the historic landscape, Branton also offers a definition of place: “this common human tendency to attach cultural meaning (often connected to individual or group memory) to discrete locations” (Branton 2009: 52). Similar to historic landscapes, places are multivocal and both influence human activity and are influenced by it (Branton 2009: 52).

The concept what a “landscape is not” is another important consideration when conceptualizing space and land use (Ingold 2010: 60). According to Tim Ingold, the landscape cannot be construed as land, nature, or space (2010: 60). Ingold asserts that these aspects are inadequate for defining and understanding landscapes because they are static and omit the intertwined relationship of landscape (or place) with that of humans (2010: 60). Rather, Ingold perceives the landscape as a form or body created and

influenced by interactive features, such as activities of dwelling or tasks (2010: 63-64). This process produces a “taskscape” which exists in present perception but is characterized by the past and will continue to be shaped in the future (Ingold 2010: 63).

Ingold utilizes two sensory analogies to support his argument. First, he describes the temporality of the landscape as an orchestrated performance (2010: 65). According to Ingold, landscapes exist only when being “performed” (2013: 66). Performance is then played out through the intertwinement of different cycles and repetition (Ingold 2013: 65-66). However, unlike the end of a song, historic landscapes are continuous and carry on past cycles or repetitions into the next performance (Ingold 2013: 65-66). In his second analogy, Ingold portrays landscape as a painting, similar to Crawford’s description of the landscape (2010: 67). Like layered strokes of paint, Ingold notes how the visual perception of a landscape fails to illuminate the underlying processes that underlie its production (2010: 67). By peeling through the layers of paint, or identifying past dwelling activities, various interrelationships of time and landscape may be revealed.

Nicole Branton and Jonathan Finch also argue against passive representations of historic landscapes. Branton asserts that while landscapes are bounded by space, a landscape is not a “container for human activity” (2009: 51). Finch in turn describes the historic landscape as “not limited to being passive, neutral, setting for human activity, nor should it be seen as merely another form of artefact, created by human activity, instead it encompasses material, cognitive and symbolic realizations of human-environmental relationships” (2013: 143).

Another issue in historic landscape studies that Finch identifies is the scale of the landscape (2013: 143). The term landscape can be used to distinguish a site-specific

inquiry or place from that of a much broader area or space (Finch 2013: 143). And yet, both the scale of either “place” or “space” can be further defined and contested in what Finch refers to as “nested landscapes” (2013: 143). Nested landscapes are composed of social groups (i.e., family, kin, community, and gender) that demonstrate “very different meaning and significance to the physical spaces within which they lived and worked” (Finch 2013: 143). Therefore, the scale of a historic landscape can also be defined in terms of social boundaries (Branton 2009: 53).

The study of historic landscapes provides a broad framework by which to interpret the archaeological record. As the concept of “landscape” has a multitude of meanings. Archaeologists are confronted with “different forms of information and different aspects of human life” (Thomas 2001: 181). Furthermore, the study of historic landscapes can help contextualize the relevance of the past in the present. Therefore, approaching archaeology from the perspective of a historic landscape contributes to diversifying and influencing public perception and understanding of the past and thereby its management and relevance in the present (Dalglish 2012: 327; Fairclough 2010: 414). Historic landscapes are in constant motion shaped by dynamic processes and humans--but not limited to humans--that interact with landscapes.

### **Rethinking Colonial Landscapes**

As noted by Jonathan Finch “One of the most important areas within which historic landscape studies can make a significant contribution is in understanding the global impact and legacy of colonialism” (2013: 148). Colonial landscapes are the product of complex and entangled processes that impact both the physical and cultural environments. As a result, attempting to analyze colonial landscapes only through a

single framework greatly hinders its interpretation.

Throughout the 1990s and 2000s, archaeologists engaged in studies of colonial landscapes have challenged binary models of colonization that present a set relationship between colonial processes and outcomes. Binary models presume unidirectional social, cultural, and political hegemony of a foreign society imposed over that of an indigenous landscape and people (Atalay 2010: 560; Dietler 2005: 54; Lightfoot 2005: 209). This framework has been utilized by historians and archaeologists during the 1970s and 1980s. More recently, archaeologists have rejected this approach as they are confronted with a spectrum of discrepancies within colonial landscapes (Atalay 2010: 560; Carroll 2011: 107; Domínguez 2002: 65; Gosden 2004; Orser 2008, 2012; Schmidt and Walz 2010; Stein 2002a: 28). Moreover, the archaeological record demonstrates a significant array of variation, complexity, and nuances in colonial landscapes that span temporal and spatial contexts not reflected in binary models.

Archaeology has been employed as a vehicle to identify the experience of the colonized and contributes to providing voices to those people otherwise marginally represented in colonial landscapes (Carroll 2011; Given 2004; Lyons and Papadopoulos 2002: 11). The binary model proposes binary processes and relationships between the colonizer and the colonized. However, employing the terms “colonizer” and “colonized” only serves to perpetuate this paradigm because it assumes relationships that reflect colonial domination and indigenous incapacity (Given 2004: 10).

Michael Given asserts that representing colonialism and colonization in such a binary framework is a “clear falsification of every colonial situation” (2004: 10). Rather, colonialism and colonization are far more complex processes that impact both the

“colonizer” and the “colonized.” Furthermore, colonialism and colonization do not necessarily have uniform or unilateral outcomes that influence the actions, experiences, and identities of the “colonized” and the “colonizers” (Atalay 2010: 560). Therefore, archaeologists need to be aware of the underlying assumptions that they may impose upon the archaeological record when interpreting the colonial landscape.

One of the principal approaches toward rethinking colonial landscapes is identifying in the archaeological record how peoples responded to colonial processes (Atalay 2010: 560; Byrne 2010: 163; Silliman 2005: 63; Voss 2012: 189). Failure to acknowledge the forms of agency that shaped colonial landscapes consequently contributes to the victimization and disempowerment of native, and in some cases, non-native, communities (Given 2004: 9, 13; Hall 2011: 289-290). Denis Byrne (2008: 163) insightfully observes that:

when non-Western “traditional” cultures...are observed to be undergoing change in the colonial context this is perceived to be a symptom of cultural breakdown or collapse. It is seen to represent a loss of integrity and authenticity. The changes are almost always seen as being forced onto these cultures, almost never seen as innovative responses by people who, while they did not choose to be colonised, may nevertheless be determined to take advantage of whatever opportunities the new situation has to offer.

Taking into consideration how indigenous peoples responded to and interacted with colonists, scholars can dismantle binary assumptions that colonial landscapes were exclusively asymmetric and adversarial (Horning 2010: 535).

Archaeologists have analyzed indigenous peoples’ responses to colonial processes within the landscape. For example, Martin Hall discusses “places of transgression” in the landscape as a form of resistance (2011: 298). Places of transgression are characterized by material culture that reflects opposition, suppression, and subversion of colonial

processes (Hall 2011: 298). “Hidden transcripts” is another type of transgressional behavior in which covert resistance and insurrection can occur although identifying material correlates of this behavior in the archaeological record can be challenging (Singleton 1998: 179).

Michael Given asserts that indigenous resistance to colonial processes provides key ways of understanding intercultural experiences that are embedded within the colonial landscape (2004: 8). Moreover, Given contends that resistance is not a single activity; rather, resistance involves processes of decision-making and negotiation with colonial officials (2004: 10-11). Given further argues that it is the archaeologist’s responsibility to interrogate material culture, particularly that associated with routine practices (as opposed to hidden transcripts) of everyday life (2004: 9). According to Given, archaeologists must “investigate how the colonized chose to resist, subvert, or accommodate colonial rule” (2004: 9). Given cautions that identifying resistance in the archaeological record can be misleading due to the variation in how resistance is defined and thereby contextualized (2004: 11).

Lynda Carroll’s research on farmsteads demonstrates how Bedu tribes of the Balqa’ region of the Transjordan engaged in transgressive behavior in response to colonization during the mid to late 19<sup>th</sup> century (2011:105). With the influx of Palestinian merchant settlers, Bedu tribes served as laborers for their new farmsteads, and by extension, contributors to the capitalist economy of the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, the Ottoman Empire implemented Tanzimat, or a “reorganization” period in which new laws and policies reorganized the socioeconomic landscape (Carroll 2011: 109). Consequently, the Bedu tradition of pastoralism became largely displaced as the Balqa’ region became

agriculturally productive. However, Carroll's case study of Qasr Hisban suggests an alternative narrative (2011: 117). The Bedu people at this site used hidden spaces, such as caves, in which to hide agricultural produce and other goods; subsequently, the Bedu people circumvented taxes to which they would have been otherwise subjected under Ottoman rule (Carroll 2011: 115; Given 2004: 116). Moreover, informal agreements between the Palestinian merchant settlers and Bedu tribes permitted usage of the land as pasture space, and created a new market for global trade that benefitted both the Bedu and the settlers. Carroll's study demonstrates how Bedu tribes manipulated and resisted parts of the colonial landscape.

It is important to recognize that transgressive behavior is also reflected in other contexts in which non-indigenous peoples subverted and opposed colonial institutions. For example, Eleanor Conlin Casella's case study of the Ross Female Factory, a female convict settlement in Tasmania, Australia, demonstrates the presence of multiple sociocultural landscapes existing simultaneously (2010: 92). Casella describes how "segregation of space also exerted social control by materially expressing relationships of dominant and subordinate status" (2010:94). Convict administrators were able to establish an "institutional landscape of order and reformation" through the segregation of interior space (Casella 2010: 93). Despite this "geography of domination and subordination," the acquisition and transport of various illicit materials within the factory suggests that the convicts actively engaged in covert behavior and acts of resistance (Casella 2010: 93, 98, 100). The female convicts were able to construct their own landscape despite both the physical and sociocultural confines of imprisonment. The study of places of transgression within the colonial landscape constitutes a dynamic

approach by which archaeologists may interpret how both indigenous and non-indigenous peoples responded to colonial processes.

Responses to colonialism and colonization can vary greatly. The application of a binary colonial model in any of the examples presented here would fail to acknowledge all the types of agency in which both indigenous and non-indigenous peoples engaged. With this in mind, the concept of places of transgression within the colonial landscape provides one dynamic framework by which to interpret the archaeological record. Moreover, it is important to recognize that transgressional behavior and resistance are not the sole acts of agency to colonial processes; therefore, archaeologists must interpret with caution when applying the places of transgression framework lest they fall victim to the same trap of the Western colonial landscape.

As noted by Peter R. Schmidt and Jonathan R. Walz, archaeology constitutes a means by which “to challenge and present alternative views to conventional historical thinking” (2010: 406). Given this approach, archaeology can also be used to challenge itself, particularly those “conventional” interpretations of colonialism and colonization. Alternative modes of understanding the colonial landscape have brought forth considerations and questions not previously addressed due to the limitations of binary colonial models (McNiven and Russell 2005; Schmidt and Walz 2010; Voss and Casella 2012).

Adolfo J. Domínguez questions if the presence of colonizers is even necessary for colonialism to “achieve its ends” (2002: 67). Domínguez has identified various Greek cultural elements that demonstrate a Greek colonial landscape based on his archaeological studies of the Iberian Peninsula during the sixth and fifth centuries. These

include colonial processes that appropriated indigenous identity by renaming places, cities, and the Iberian peoples themselves to reflect Greek mythology (Domínguez 2002: 69). “Iberia” is itself a Greek designation (Domínguez 2002: 68). However, there were no formal Greek colonies in the Iberian Peninsula at that time (Domínguez 2002: 68). And yet, archaeological evidence strongly attests to the presence of Greek colonialism in southeastern Iberia. Domínguez argues that local Iberian elites engaged in two primary modes: trade of Greek material culture and emulation of Greek tradition (2002). Domínguez also attributes direct contact and interaction with Greek merchants as a contributing factor to the presence of colonialism without colonization. This case study of colonialism without colonization provides a unique colonial landscape and incites further research questions, including how these processes of trade and emulation arrived, why were they accepted by the indigenous people of southeastern Iberia, and how prestige was attached to them (Domínguez 2002: 70).

Gil Stein provides another type of colonial landscape to consider with his studies of new Mesopotamian city-states of the Uruk period that extended into Syria and southeast Anatolia in 3700 B.C. (1998, 2002a). Stein applies the “trade diaspora model” to his interpretation of colonialism, originally introduced by Abner Cohen in his studies of Hausa traders and Yoruba communities in West Africa (2002a: 30). Using Cohen’s definition, trade diasporas are:

interregional exchange networks characterized by culturally distinct and socially independent merchant groups that organize economic and social ties with the host communities while maintaining a high level of economic and social ties with related communities who define themselves in terms of the same general cultural identity [Cohen 1971: 266-267; Spence 2005: 175; Stein 2002a: 30].

By using this framework, Stein was challenged in his studies to determine the organization of political and economic relations between these Uruk merchant diasporas and their Anatolian host communities without assuming colonial dominance.

The Uruk merchant groups would have maintained distinct identity from Anatolians (Stein 2002a). Therefore, Stein established multiple criteria in order to distinguish ethnicity and the presence of Uruk colonies in the archaeological record because a single type of material culture is insufficient and not reliable. These criteria included the necessity to identify Uruk architecture, site plan, material culture assemblage, and behavioral patterning identical to those of Uruk but demonstrated spatial distinction from the settlements of Anatolia, the host culture (Stein 2002a: 36). In addition, the archaeological record should reflect apparent discontinuities in architecture and artifacts from Anatolian occupation (Stein 2002a: 36).

While the archaeological record at sites such as Hacinebi support the presence of Uruk colonies, Stein argues that the colonies were without colonialism. According to Stein, evidence for colonial dominance would need to demonstrate: 1) Mesopotamian asymmetric control over exchange and circulation of goods; 2) net outflow of subsistence and craft goods from the local settlements to foreign enclaves; and 3) complementarity in economic activities and exchange between Uruk and local host communities (Stein 2002a: 50). In contrast, evidence for socially autonomous trade should reflect: symmetric trade systems, with no evidence for Mesopotamian economic or political control; a parity of flows of subsistence and craft goods between the two communities; and Mesopotamian self-sufficiency (Stein 2002a: 50). Based on the archaeological evidence, Stein argues the latter outcome. Stein's case study of the Uruk trade diaspora colonies demonstrates that:

once we disentangle the more general social phenomenon of ‘colonies’ from the highly specific European political-economical phenomenon of ‘colonialism,’ it becomes possible to generate more realistic models of cross-cultural interaction [2002a: 58].

Stein also acknowledges that distance-parity interaction is a type of trade diaspora model (Stein 1998). Distance-parity interaction occurs when the “hegemonic power [of a colonial authority] decays with distance, thereby leading to increasing parity or symmetry in economic and political relations with increasingly distant peripheries” (Stein 1998: 229). This model contrasts with the world system paradigm which assumes asymmetric relationships with that of the “periphery” or host culture (aka the “colonized”), and thereby influencing major changes in the host culture’s economic output and social complexity. According to Stein, the distance-parity interaction model does not incite major change in economic output and social complexity and thereby the colonial presence maintains a more symmetric relationship with the “host” culture. While the extent of symmetry varies according to context, distance-parity interaction demonstrates how colonial processes can differ. This model also brings into consideration questions such as why do host communities and/or their leaders permit diaspora communities to settle within their territory (Stein 2002a: 32)? Stein argues that the interaction benefitted leaders of host communities and helped to increase local wealth, sometimes to the extent that colonial merchants “work[ed] themselves out of business” (Stein 2002a: 34) and consequently compromised their roles.

### **Future Studies of the Colonial Landscape**

The colonial landscape is formed through the combination of a complex system of experiences and interactions shared by both colonial powers and those subjected to it (Silliman 2005: 64). Therefore, examining colonial landscapes contributes to

understanding how people responded to colonialism and colonization without assuming a predetermined model or rigid dichotomy between “colonized” and “colonizer.” This spectrum of colonial landscapes reinforces the notion of non-uniform outcomes.

Therefore, the application of any of the alternative models discussed in this review likewise does not produce uniform outcomes because colonial landscapes are context-specific. However, by comparing cross-cultural contexts, archaeologists can identify similar colonial processes and thereby form models or frameworks that contribute to the broader understanding and interpretation of colonial landscapes.

Given the great variety of colonial and intercultural contexts, one potential next step for archaeologists includes the reconsideration of the validity and applicability of binary frameworks of colonialism. This would require revisiting and reexamining archaeological studies that have been previously understood through binary frameworks of colonialism. The various frameworks and case studies discussed in this review serve as starting points or recommendations for future research. These approaches allow for greater fluidity and the potential for new questions, interpretations, and perspectives bearing on existing archaeological data.

One of the main challenges for archaeologists that arises from rethinking colonial landscapes is how best to integrate the “multiplicity of meanings...the dynamism which characterizes colonial entanglements” into public discourse (Horning 2010: 545). This is critical because rethinking colonial landscapes must extend beyond the reinterpretation of the past just for archaeology’s sake. Rather, doing so also impacts the contemporary identities of descendant communities and stakeholders, including the descendants of both the “colonized” and the “colonizers.” As observed by Audrey Horning,

It is the tenacity of the stories, and the strength of perceptions of colonialism that nevertheless remain paramount in the construction of contemporary identities, and therefore must be recognized and potentially deconstructed in public discourse [2010: 537].

To help redress imbalances in colonial narratives, archaeologists should include descendants and stakeholders in their research process. In that way, descendants and stakeholders will have the opportunity to more fully comprehend the experience of their ancestors and engage in the past in ways not previously considered or ignored in within the study of colonial landscapes.

### **Frontier of Ethnogenesis and Changing Identities**

Historic landscapes, and colonial landscapes in particular, can be further contextualized in terms of frontier studies. Frontier studies examine how processes, such as ethnogenesis, affect the way in which colonial subjects perceived and shaped their experiences within the colonial landscape. Frontiers are largely construed as geographic zones of transformation that impact identity, culture, and social organization (Chappell 1993: 267; Hall 2000: 239; Hu 2013: 371; Lucido 2014: 86). Therefore, the study of frontiers provides a context-specific setting that can offer insights into those processes of ethnogenesis, or “birthing of new cultural identities” that contributed to the formation of a given colonial landscape (Hu 2013: 371; Lucido 2014: 86; Voss 2008: 1).

Thomas Hall uses biological analogies in order to describe processes of colonialism on frontiers (2000: 240; Lucido 2014: 86). Hall characterizes frontiers as type of a membrane. Diverse colonial processes can permeate this membrane and people contained within it are also affected (Hall 2000: 240). Moreover, Hall notes that the permeability of the membrane varies as types of material culture and people interact,

shape, and reshape existing sociocultural structures over time (2002: 39; Lucido 2014: 86).

Hall explicitly emphasizes changes in indigenous lifeways, identities, cultures, and social organizations due to the oscillation of variables (2000: 239, 248; Lucido 2014: 86). However, Hall does not address how those same changes may impact colonists (Lucido 2014: 86). Therefore, it is important to acknowledge that colonists and indigenous peoples alike are subject to these same processes on the frontier (Lucido 2014: 86). One must ask, how relocating to a frontier zone transforms colonists and reconstructs their identities, cultures, and social organizations (Lucido 2014: 86)?

Before exploring processes of ethnogenesis, archaeologists must first contend with existing perspectives of ethnic identity. Di Hu draws upon earlier perceptions of ethnic identity to elucidate its applicability to understanding ethnogenesis. Hu adopts Max Weber's definition of ethnic identity, or "a belief in group affinity that is based on subjective beliefs of shared common ancestry drawn from 'similarities of physical type or of customs or both' or 'of memories of colonization and migration'" (Hu 2010: 372; Weber 1978: 389). Furthermore, Hu notes that reproduction of group formation is based on this belief in shared common ancestry (2010: 372). As a result, ethnic identity is "situational and relational and in the constant process of making, unmaking, and sometimes disappearing" (Hu 2010: 371).

Ethnic identity can be further understood through two pairs of perspectives: 1) isolationist and interactionist, and 2) primordial and instrumental (Hu 2010: 375-376). Isolationist perspectives argue that ethnic identity is created and maintained through the absence or minimal interaction with other cultural groups (Hu 2010: 375). By contrast,

interactionist perspectives maintain that ethnic identity is created and defined through interaction with other cultural groups (Hu 2010: 375). According to Hu, isolationist and interactionist perspectives fail to account for why ethnic identity emerges (2010: 376). Rather, Hu finds that primordial and instrumental perspectives are more able to address this discrepancy (2010: 376). Primordial ethnic identity is based on “deep, long-lived attachments between people: blood, religion, language, customs” (Hu 2010: 376). On the other hand, instrumental ethnic identity uses ethnicity as a means to advance political and economic status (Hu 2010: 376). David Chappell in turn offers an interpretation of primordialism and instrumentalism (1993: 268). According to Chappell, it is “contact with strangers that awakens communal identity” (1993: 268). Chappell defines primordialism as bounded and “biologically self-perpetuating” whereas instrumentalism is the invention of ethnic identity (1993: 268).

Individually these perspectives are one-dimensional; however, when combined, these four perspectives reflect a multidimensional scheme that is applicable to interpreting ethnogenesis processes on the frontier (Hu 2010: 376). Hu proposes a four-quadrant scheme of these perspectives: primordial and isolationist, instrumentalist and isolationist, primordial and interactionist, and instrumentalist and interactionist (2010: 376). Hu argues that with this scheme, archaeologists can identify transitions or changes from one quadrant to another.

Hu identifies another issue: how to address ethnic identity in the archaeological record (2010: 372; Lucido 2014: 86). According to Hu, “[archaeologists] cannot directly infer the character of identities from material culture” (2010: 372; Lucido 2014: 86). Hu further challenges the analytical and ethical value of studying ethnic identity given that it

originates from nation-state objectives to differentiate cultural and geographic boundaries (2010: 372-373; Lucido 2014: 86). Ethnic categorizations and identity support the legitimation of power, authority, and inequality (Hu 2010: 374; Lucido 2014: 86). Rather, Hu recommends that archaeologists examine the production of social relationships and forms of identification over time (2010: 372).

Hu's four-quadrant scheme can be used to assist archaeologists with addressing this issue. Archaeologists can use the scheme to "trac[e] how social relations were organized before and after ethnogenesis as well as the precipitating causes of ethnogenesis" (Hu 2010: 378; Lucido 2014: 86). Hu asserts that the identification of these causes or "tipping points of ethnogenesis" affords social scientists with a basis for comparison of the process in social and historical contexts (2010: 378). Some of these "precipitating causes of ethnogenesis," like ethnic identity formation, are situational and relational (Hu 2013:371, 378).

Hu presents four mechanisms or tipping points that have the potential to influence processes of ethnogenesis (2013: 381). These include: 1) fissioning due to the rise of internal social inequality, 2) resistance against institutionalized inequalities, 3) the maintenance of social inequality through the legitimization of unequal access to power and resources, and 4) relocation to colonial borders or frontier zones (Hu 2013: 381; Lucido 2014: 86). These mechanisms can individually and or collectively affect ethnic identity, particularly as agents are confronted with diachronic change (Hu 2013: 377; Lucido 2014: 86; Voss 2008: 26). Moreover, relocating to a frontier may be the result of mechanisms one through three. Causes that prompted the movement of one cultural

group before may in turn be projected upon other cultural groups within the frontier, thereby establishing a pattern of changing ethnic identity.

Frontiers are complex environments that directly and indirectly enable or force agents to generate, adapt, or negotiate new and or reconstructed ethnic identities (Chappell 1993: 274; Lucido 2014: 86). It becomes apparent that there are a vast range of experiences shared by both colonial powers and those subjected to colonialism that impact identity formation and ethnogenesis (Silliman 2005: 64). As a result of these experiences, the colonial landscape is in turn shaped and reshaped as these forces interact.

*Ethnogenesis at the Royal Presidio of San Francisco: A Comparative Case Study.*

Barbara Voss' extensive archaeological and documentary research at the Royal Presidio of San Francisco or "El Presidio de San Francisco" serves as a comparative case study for this thesis (2005, 2008, 2010, and 2012). Moreover, her work provides a framework and foundation by which to document and interpret how soldiers, settlers, and their families engaged in ethnogenesis and frontier identity formation at the Royal Presidio of Monterey in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Voss observes that while the ethnogenesis is important to the understanding how those oppressed or marginalized by colonial powers have adapted, it is equally significant in the study of colonists and the colonial landscape (2008: 36). According to Voss, ethnogenesis provides insights into

the ways in which colonizing populations are themselves transformed by their imperial actions and ambitions, and how such changes in identification practices are negotiated within and despite the structural conditions of powerful colonial institutions such as presidios [2008: 116].

The Royal Presidio of San Francisco was founded in 1776 on the northern edge of the San Francisco peninsula (Voss 2008: 41). Like the Presidio of Monterey, the coastal

location of Presidio of San Francisco served as a defense against indigenous attacks and European maritime invasions (Voss 2008: 57). At the time of San Francisco's establishment, the population was composed of 202 individuals or 48 family households (Voss 2008: 72-73). The colonial population at the Presidio fluctuated over time as households grew, soldiers were deployed to other missions, presidios, and pueblos, and families were transferred for reassignment to other settlements (Voss 2008: 73).

Most soldiers and settlers at the Royal Presidio of San Francisco originated from New Spain's provinces of Sinaloa and Sonora, present-day northwestern Mexico (Voss 2008: 83). As Spanish citizens, adherence to a *sistema de castas* or legal caste system was part of daily life (Voss 2008: 83). However, the frontier afforded soldiers and settlers with the opportunity to challenge their given *casta* and transform their ethnic and social identities within the colonial landscape at the Presidio of San Francisco (Voss 2008: 147). Voss observes that "The relationship between social identity and landscape is a recursive one" and is demonstrated at the Presidio (2008: 147). As a result, "military settlers shaped a new land for themselves and shaped themselves to fit this new land" (Voss 2008: 147).

Voss emphasizes the colonial landscape in order to interpret changes in ethnic and social identity at the Royal Presidio of San Francisco. She asserts that:

The importance of landscape in study of colonial ethnogenesis in Alta California is far from coincidence. After all, the colonial settlers took their new collective ethnonym, Californios, from the toponym of the province. In doing so, they grafted themselves onto the land, and the reproduction and transformation of social identities became entangled with the reproduction and transformation of place [Voss 2008: 147].

Voss uses a multiscalar approach to further contextualize the formation of the colonial landscape and ethnogenesis (2008: 149). This approach included the examination of the

following scales of analysis: 1) Spanish military regulations (1772 Regulations) in structuring social relations at the Presidio, 2) the spatial organization of military operations on the Francisco Bay, 3) the diachronic development of the presidial landscape as influenced by community or cultural practices and church doctrine, and 4) the individual experience of a colonial woman, Juana Briones, and her ability to shape her identity in relation to the landscape.

Voss traces how material culture and the built environment influenced ethnic and social identity, which was in turn influenced by changes in these identities over time (2008: 196; Lucido 2014: 84). Through the comparison of archaeological and documentary evidence, Voss determined that the Presidio did not completely meet the regulation standards for defense, but rather, military leaders guided the development of the presidial landscape (2008: 154, 174). Changes in the Presidio architectural plan also impacted social relations (Voss 2008: 197). Partitions and subdivisions in the Presidio quadrangle afforded military settlers with the opportunity to heighten sexualized and gendered hierarchies, particularly those between male settlers and Native Californian women (Voss 2008: 197, 304). In addition, analysis of artifact deposits reflected segregation of colonial and indigenous material culture (Voss 2008: 163). This suggested to Voss (2008: 172) that “despite constant physical proximity, the military settlers used material and spatial practices to create a firm boundary between themselves and Native Californians.” These factors contributed to the construction of *Californio* identity at the Royal Presidio of San Francisco during the late 18<sup>th</sup> century (Voss 2008:100; Lucido 2014: 84). Voss contends that ethnogenesis provided the Presidio soldiers and settlers with the opportunity to differentiate themselves from New Spain as well as the Native

Californian Indian population (2008: 102, 147; Lucido 2014: 84).

### **The Colonial Landscape at the Presidio of Monterey**

This thesis examines the formation of the colonial landscape on the frontier of Alta California, using the Royal Presidio of Monterey as a case study drawing on those concepts and approaches addressed in previous sections. Understanding the colonial landscape of the Presidio facilitates a holistic interpretation of the site. In addition, a historic landscape interpretation of the Presidio furthers three goals: 1) provides specific recommendations for the protection and conservation of archaeological resources; 2) assists with the reconfiguration of the Presidio's past physical and sociocultural spatial organization, land use patterns, built environment, cultural practices, and those military regulations that contribute to the formation of the colonial landscape; and 3) bolsters the colonial landscape interpretation of the Presidio as a landscape for ethnogenesis.

## CHAPTER 3. REGULATORY BACKGROUND

### Introduction

This chapter reviews some of the federal, state, and local regulations that protect historic properties and archaeological resources in the United States as they relate to the Royal Presidio of Monterey. The historic preservation legislations discussed in this chapter include the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (NHPA), the California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA), and local regulations issued by the County of Monterey Resource Management Agency (RMA) Planning Department and the City of Monterey Historic Zoning Ordinance. Collectively these regulations function as mitigation measures that protect and preserve both historical and archaeological resources from substantial adverse effects associated with planning and development, land use, destructive modification, etc.

While this thesis was not conducted in concert with a specific local project or federal undertaking, the Presidio is a historic resource and it is important for the Diocese of Monterey to understand cultural resource regulations before undergoing any future development of the site. This is significant as there is presently no formal master plan for the Presidio by which to guide the cultural resource management of the site in relation to the federal, state, and local regulations noted earlier. The chapter concludes with a summary of recent controversy regarding the Presidio that demonstrates some of challenges that the Planning Department, City of Monterey, cultural resource professionals, and locals had to resolve in order to preserve the Royal Presidio Chapel (aka the Chapel of 1794) and underlying archaeological resources.

## **National Historic Preservation Act and the Presidio**

The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, enacted the National Register of Historic Places in order to protect and preserve American historic properties (36 CFR Part 60). Historic properties are defined by the NHPA as “any prehistoric or historic district, site, building, structure, or object included in, or eligible for inclusion on the National Register, including artifacts, records, and material remains related to such a property or resource” (NHPA Sec. 301(5): 16 U.S.C. 470w-Definitions). Properties must meet one or more of the Criteria for Evaluation in order to be eligible for listing in the National Register (CFR 36 Part 60.4). Only one of the four Spanish presidios in California is listed in the NRHP as part of the NHL program (National Historic Landmark Program-California 2014). The Royal Presidio Chapel of San Carlos Borroméo (also known as the San Carlos Cathedral) is listed on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) as National Historic Landmark (NHL) number 66000216.

Under NHPA, federal agencies are responsible for inventorying, evaluating, and nominating cultural resources under their jurisdiction (Hardesty and Little 2009: 9). The Royal Presidio Chapel and the surrounding thesis study area are privately owned by the Diocese of Monterey and the USO / YMCA. As a result, not all onsite projects are obligated to comply with federal cultural resource regulations or the Section 106 process. However, if federal funding and/or a federal agency is involved with an undertaking, then compliance with Section 106 is required (36 CFR § 800.2). The Diocese is responsible for the cultural stewardship of the Royal Presidio Chapel and surrounding area and maintaining its listing on national and state registers.

The Royal Presidio Chapel is a religious property, owned by the Diocese of Monterey, and used for religious purposes. Most religious properties are excluded from consideration for inclusion in the NRHP. However, under Criteria Consideration A described in 36 CFR Part 60.4 Criteria for Evaluation, religious properties are considered eligible for the NRHP if “[a] religious property deriv[es] primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance” (36 CFR Part 60.4[a]). This criterion consideration permits religious properties to be eligible for the NRHP without conflicting with the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment of the United States Constitution (King 2013: 95). The First Amendment states that “Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion” (U.S. Constitution, amend. 1). As a result, the government is prohibited from promoting one religion over others (King 2013: 95). Accordingly, the Chapel has demonstrated its eligibility for the NRHP for its architectural and historical significance.

### **California Environmental Quality Act, Local Regulations, and the Presidio**

Similar to NHPA, the California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA) applies to cultural resources management at the state and local levels of governance. CEQA requires state and local public agencies to consider the environmental impacts of proposed discretionary projects on historical resources (OHP 2014). Discretionary projects require public agencies to determine if a project or activity will be approved, or if a permit will be issued (OHP 2014). Agencies must also determine if the impacts will be significant and identify mitigation measures to reduce or eliminate adverse effects to the environment and archaeological resources (PRC § 21002(b); PRC § 21083.2; OHP 2014). A project that may cause a “substantial adverse change in the significance of a

historical resource” may also affect the environment and are not exempt from the CEQA process (PRC § 21084 (e); PRC § 21084.1).

Historical resources that are listed in the CRHP or may be eligible for listing are included in the CEQA process (PRC § 21084.1; OHP 2014). The Royal Presidio Chapel is a historical resource listed in the California Register of Historic Places (CRHP) and is designated as California Historical Landmark (CHL) number 105; therefore, the resource must be given consideration in the CEQA process for projects that might adversely impact it (OHP 2014; PRC § 21084.1).

The County of Monterey Resource Management Agency (RMA) Planning Department acts as the lead agency for County projects and implements CEQA procedures. RMA functions to “efficiently process planning permits, provide quality long-range planning and consistently develop and administer land use policies” (RMA 2014). In addition, RMA provides services in the area’s development and resource protection to residents and business operators throughout the county, including unincorporated areas (RMA 2014).

The RMA consists of the Current Planning and Long Range Planning divisions. The Current Planning Division reviews land use and development proposals and permit requests for consistency with Monterey County's land use policies and regulations and takes appropriate action on these requests (RMA 2014). The Long Range Planning Division creates and implements Monterey County's development policies and regulations, primarily through the administration of the General Plan, Community Master Plans and the Zoning Ordinance (RMA 2014).

*City of Monterey Historic Zoning Ordinance.* The City of Monterey advocates for historic preservation efforts within its jurisdiction in accordance with the RMA and CEQA, by way of a Historic Master Plan and a Historic Zoning Ordinance (ARG 2000; City of Monterey 2014a; RMA 2015a). Together, these planning tools help facilitate surveys of the city for historic buildings that are potentially eligible for historic designation.

The Monterey Historic Master Plan has two primary goals: 1) to improve coordination among agencies, nonprofit organizations, and individuals who own historic properties within Monterey in order “to maximize preservation, promotion and education with limited financial resources,” and 2) to improve preservation of historic properties, artifacts, and memories (ARG 2000: 1). The Royal Presidio of Monterey, however, is not included in the City of Monterey Historic Master Plan.

The City of Monterey Historic Zoning Ordinance has three primary functions. These include 1) to preserve the exterior of designated buildings, and in some cases, building interiors, 2) to enhance the historic setting, and 3) “encourage public awareness and participation in the retention of historic structures, sites and features” (ARG 2000: 26). The ordinance is detailed in the Monterey City Code, Chapter 38 - Article 15-Historic Ordinance. Zoning consists of three types: “H-1” zoning, “H-2” zoning, and “H-D” zoning (City of Monterey 2014a). H-1 zoning may not be applied to noncommercial properties owned by religious organizations without the owner’s consent (ARG 2000: 46). The Royal Presidio Chapel is “H” zoned as per the Monterey Historic Zoning Ordinance, but the larger site itself is not protected under the Historic Master Plan (ARG 2000: 3).

H-1 zoning is intended to identify and protect important historic resources in Monterey, particularly those with state, national, and international significance (38-75 H-1 Landmark Overlay Zoning; City of Monterey 2014a). H-1 zoning may be established without owner consent and provides incentives to support and encourage preservation of the city's historic resources. H-2 zoning assists to identify and protect important historic resources in Monterey of local historic importance given that their importance may not be recognized outside of the Monterey Peninsula (38-76 H-2 City Historic Resource Overlay Zoning; City of Monterey 2014a). In contrast to H-1 zone, H-2 zoning requires owner consent, with the exception of noncommercial properties owned by religious organizations. And finally, H-D zoning functions to identify and protect geographical areas with a concentration of historic resources important to understanding Monterey's history (38-77 H-D Historic District Overlay Zoning; City of Monterey 2014a).

Properties in H zones must abide to certain restrictions (38-76 H-1 and H-2 City Historic Resource Overlay Zoning; ARG: 2000: 26; City of Monterey 2014a). H zoning prohibits the alteration or demolition of a property without a "Historic Permit" (38-76 H-1 and H-2 City Historic Resource Overlay Zoning; City of Monterey 2014a). Proposed projects that require major alterations and/or do not meet the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Treatment of Historic Properties must be reviewed by the Historic Preservation Commission and may require a public hearing (38-76 H-1 and H-2 City Historic Resource Overlay Zoning). In such an instance, the Historic Preservation Commission requires a "Historic Preservation Report" (38-76 H-1 and H-2 City Historic Resource Overlay Zoning; City of Monterey 2014a). A Historic Preservation Report is a "plan for maintenance of the historically important elements of a historically zoned

building and site” and details the architectural history of the property in question (38-76 H-1 and H-2 City Historic Resource Overlay Zoning; City of Monterey 2014a).

*Politics of Preservation at the Royal Presidio Chapel.* Efforts to seismically retrofit the Royal Presidio Chapel became nationally publicized in 2006. In an article published December 28, 2006 in the *Los Angeles Times*, Maria L. La Ganga examines the controversial struggle between preserving five California redwood trees as opposed to prioritizing the preservation of the Chapel. The redwood trees were planted on the east side of the Chapel during the 1950s (La Ganga 2006; Mendoza 2007: 1). Over time, the roots intruded into the Chapel’s foundation footings (Mendoza 2007: 1). Consequently, the root intrusion threatened the building’s stability and designation as a National Historic Landmark (Mendoza 2007: 1, 2012: 64). Furthermore, the root intrusion had the potential to adversely impact the archaeological resources adjacent to and beneath the Chapel (Mendoza 2007: 12). According to Rubén Mendoza principal investigator of the Royal Presidio Chapel Conservation Program (2007: 12), “all of the redwoods in question have to one degree or another compromised the architectural integrity, and archaeological resources, of the Royal Presidio Chapel.” Mendoza recommended to the Diocese of Monterey and the City of Monterey that the trees be removed in order to avoid the potential for further destruction of the resource (2007: 12).

The threat was brought to the attention of the City of Monterey when it was encountered during Mendoza’s archaeological investigations of the Chapel in 2006 (Mendoza 2007: 1). Accordingly, the Diocese of Monterey requested the City to permit the removal of the trees in order to preserve the historic landmark (La Ganga 2006). However, the city arborist believed that the redwood trees were threatened by the Chapel

(La Ganga 2006). Robert Reid, arborist for Monterey, argued that the ‘rightfully magnificent native redwood trees’ needed the community’s protection (La Ganga 2006). Ruskin Hartley, director of Conservation for the Save-the-Redwoods League, further argued for the protection of the trees given their status as the official state tree of California (La Ganga 2006). The “clash of California icons” commenced (La Ganga 2006).

Redwood trees are neither endangered or threatened plant species, nor proposed endangered or threatened plant species (CDFW 2014). In contrast, the Royal Presidio Chapel is a nonrenewable resource. As noted by Spanish colonial scholar and archaeologist Jack S. Williams “I love redwood trees, and I would hate to see one come down...But we cannot plant another presidio [at Monterey]” (La Ganga 2006). The combination of Mendoza’s documentation of the root intrusion and damage to the Chapel with that of the national exposure of the “clash” (distributed via the Associated Press) contributed to the removal of all four redwood trees later in 2007 (Mendoza 2007: 1; 2012: 64).

The Presidio of Monterey is an invaluable historical resource that has demonstrated its significance at the local, state, and national levels. As a result, local, state, and federal regulations of cultural resources must be taken into consideration in the event that new construction or development is proposed within the study area. This is true unless an exemption applies. Preservation and management of the Presidio is important because it stimulates public discourse about the experiences of the diverse peoples that contributed to the formation of the historic landscape (see Chapter 7).

## CHAPTER 4. PREHISTORIC, ETHNOGRAPHIC, AND ETHNOHISTORIC CONTEXT

### Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the prehistory of Monterey County through the synthesis of a multidisciplinary literature. While the focus of this thesis is the Spanish colonial period in Monterey, it is important to examine the cultural landscape of Monterey prior to Spanish colonization in order to gain a more holistic understanding of changes in the landscape over time. Establishing a long-term perspective of the indigenous presence on the Monterey Bay contributes to the identification of continuities and discontinuities that characterize the landscape prior to and during 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century Spanish settlement of the region.

The scope of this chapter spans the central-southern coastal indigenous groups of California from the Middle Archaic (2000 BCE to 1000 CE) through Late Period (circa 1000 CE) into the historic era (Chartkoff and Chartkoff 1984: 74; Moratto and Fredrickson 1984: 125). More specifically, this chapter examines the sociocultural relationships between two ethnolinguistic groups affiliated with the Monterey Peninsula: the Esselen and Rumsen of the Southern Ohlone/Costanoan traditions (Breschini and Haversat 2004:6-7; Kroeber 1925: 462, 544). The Esselen and Rumsen occupied the study area at the time of contact with the Spanish during the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. The chapter also describes the ethnohistoric setting of the Royal Presidio of Monterey during the initial settlement by Spanish frontiersmen and their initial impressions of the Rumsen and Esselen, as well as the Rumsen and Esselen impressions of the colonists. The chapter

concludes with a brief review of prehistoric cultural resources and studies in and near the study area.

### **Prehistory of Monterey County**

Archaeological, ethnohistorical, and linguistic data indicate that at the time of European contact, the Esselen, Southern Ohlone/Costanoan (Rumsen), and Northern Salinan populated the region now identified with Monterey County (Breschini and Haversat 1986: 14; CSAC 2012a, 2012b; Kroeber 1925: 462, 544; UCB 2013). Linguistic studies hypothesized six language families that represent prehistoric California, including Athabaskan, Uto-Aztecan, Penutian, Yok-Utian, Hokan, Chumash, and Yukian (Golla 2007: 71; UCB 2013). Descendants of Hokan (Esselen) and Penutian (Rumsen) speakers occupied the area that would later become the Royal Presidio Monterey.

Hokan speakers are hypothesized to have entered and settled the coast of central California approximately 4,000 to 6000 years ago (Breschini and Haversat 2004: 192). These peoples are thought to be ancestors of the Esselen (and possibly Salinan as well), whose presence in Monterey County began circa 2,500 to 4,000 years ago (Breschini and Haversat 2004: 193). The Penutian speakers are hypothesized to have entered and settled central California approximately 2,500 to 5,000 years ago (Breschini and Haversat 2004: 191). These incoming Penutian speakers migrated into Esselen territory and subsequently influenced Esselen expansion south along the Big Sur coast (Breschini and Haversat 2004: 196, 2008: 18).

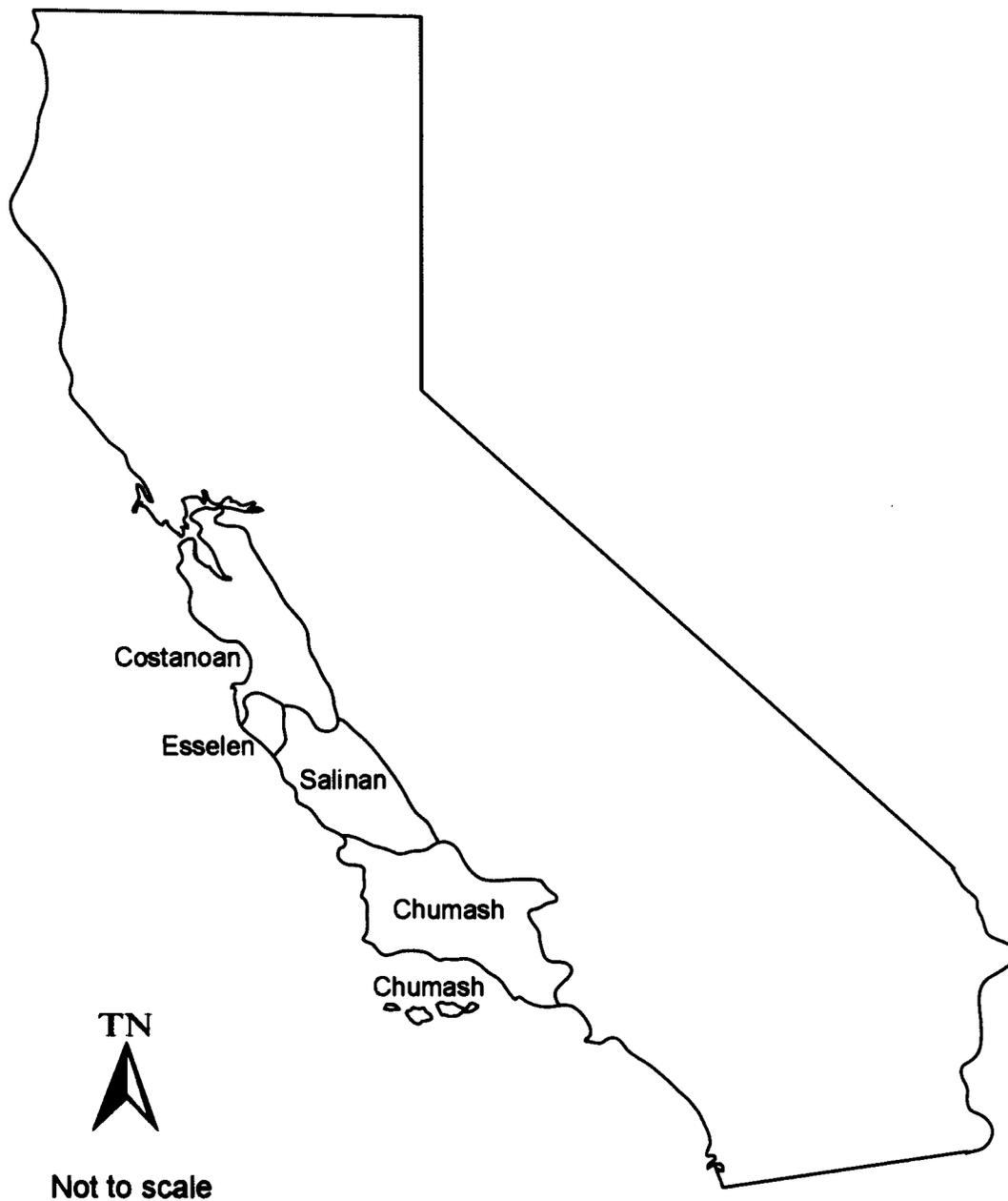


Figure 3. Map of Central Coast Tribal Territories. Adapted from Heizer and Sturtevant (1978: ix). Map redrawn by the author.

*Esselen and Rumsen of the Monterey Peninsula.* Speakers of the Esselen language, or the Huelel language as it has been referred to more recently, occupied the northern Santa Lucia Mountain range and coastal plains of Big Sur (Breschini and

Haversat 2004: 17; Shaul 1995: 191-192; UCB 2013). The five primary Esselen districts or multi-village-communities identified at Spanish contact include *Excelen*, *Eslenajan*, *Imunajan*, *Ecgeajan*, and *Aspasniajan* (Milliken 1990: 59). These districts spanned Carmel Valley in the northwest and further inland regions near the Arroyo Seco, Salinas River, and adjacent creeks of southeastern Monterey County (Breschini and Haversat 2004: 6; Milliken 1990:59). Population projections for the Esselen range from 500 to 1,300 speakers and, as such, the Esselen were among the smallest groups in California (Breschini and Haversat 2004: 5).

The Rumsen territory spanned the San Francisco Bay and Carquinez Strait in the north to the Big Sur and Salinas rivers in the south (Levy 1978: 485; Milliken 1995: 19). The three primary Southern Ohlone/Costanoan districts within Monterey County (from the Monterey Peninsula to Big Sur River) identified at Spanish contact include *Rumsen*, *Ensen*, and *Sargentaruc* (Breschini and Haversat 2004: 6; UCB 2013). These districts are collectively construed as part of the Rumsen ethnolinguistic group consisting of approximately 800 speakers (UCB 2013).

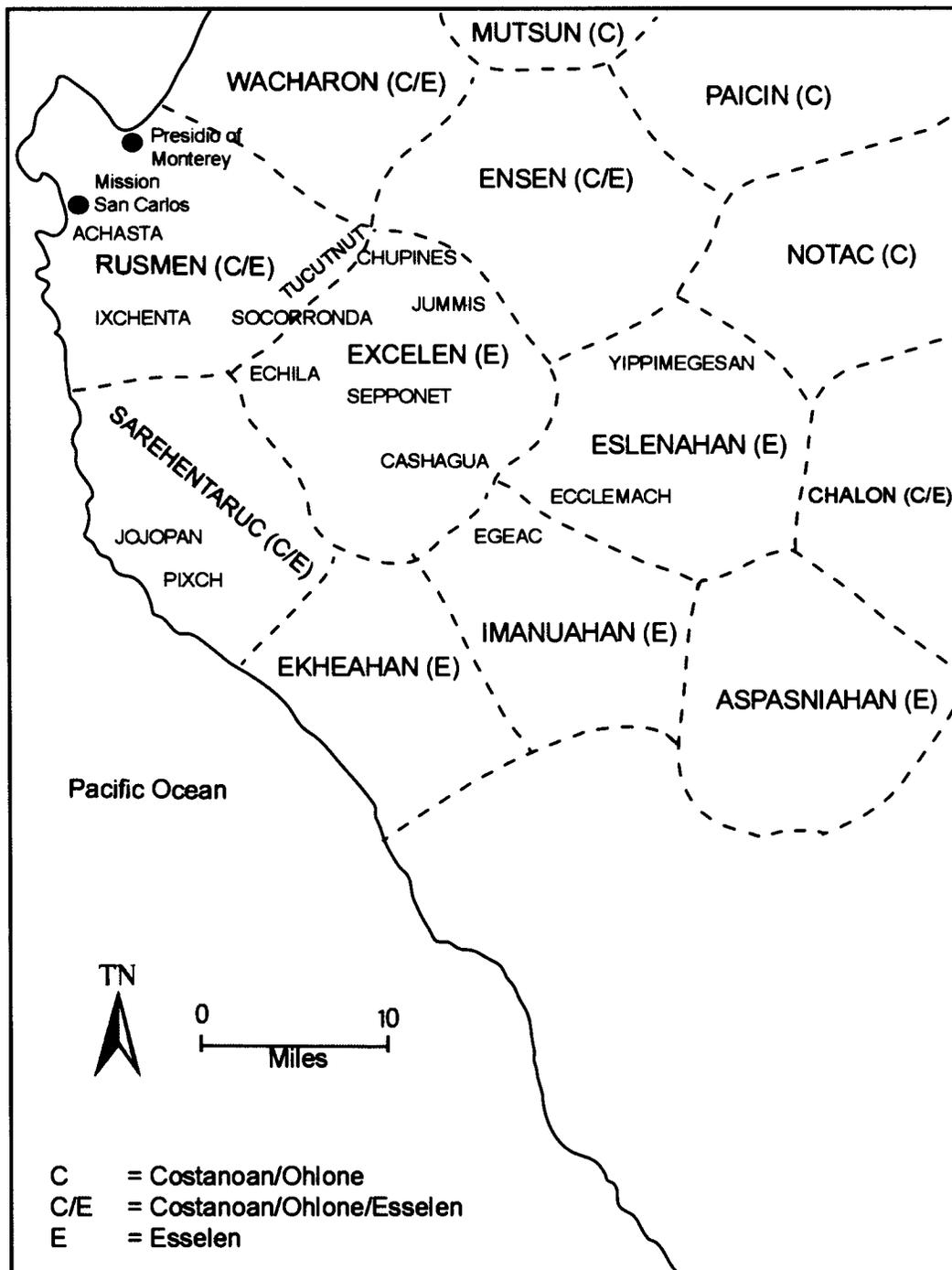


Figure 4. Map of Esselen and Costanoan/Ohlone Districts. Adapted from Schwaderer (2010: Figure 2). Map redrawn by the author.

The literature contains conflicting interpretations and evidence regarding the cultural and sociopolitical relationships between the Esselen and Rumsen. These

divergent interpretations range from: 1) “mutual dislike,” therefore suggesting minimal to no interaction (Breschini and Haversat 2004: 100-101; Brusa 1975:37; Cutter 1990: 149; Fages 1937: 65); to 2) more hostile and antagonistic relations (Breschini and Haversat 2004: 102; Milliken 1981:88; Shaul 1982: 205); and 3) Esselen-Rumsen biculturalism and bilingualism (Lavery 2003: 42, 2010: 23; Milliken 1990: 73; Shaul 1982: 205, 1995: 192). The first and second interpretations are documented in ethnographic and ethnohistoric sources, while the latter is supported by linguistic studies and the archaeological record (Breschini and Haversat 2004: 100-101; Lavery 2010; Milliken 1981, 1990; Fages 1937: 65; Shaul 1982: 205).

Linguistic studies of Esselen and Rumsen languages strongly support long-term interaction and convergence (Lavery 2003: 43; Milliken 1990:73). Linguistic anthropologist David Shaul (1982: 207, 1995: 192) identified grammatical and phonological similarities between the Esselen and Rumsen languages (Lavery 2010: 23). Shaul’s comparative analysis of the Esselen and Rumsen languages suggest lexical and syllabic borrowings of plant and animal names, and most significantly, shared kinship terminology (Lavery 2010: 23; Shaul 1995: 192, 1982: 206). Other linguistic studies contend that Esselen “sea terminology” was integrated into Ohlone/Costanoan language as part of their adaptation to coastal subsistence on the Monterey Bay (Breschini and Haversat 2008: 16). Hokan and Penutian languages may have initially been mutually intelligible. Long-term interaction and convergence in the region influenced linguistic similarities between Esselen and Rumsen languages. Through bilingualism, scholars contend that networks of marriage, trade, and ceremony emerged and thereby promoted cross-boundary relationships (Lavery 2010: 84, 94; Milliken 1981: 88, 1990:73).

Archaeological studies of Esselen also suggest long-term change over time as a result of Rumsen cultural interaction and convergence. Monterey County archaeologists Gary S. Breschini and Trudy Haversat used two models to describe the archaeological record as it relates to the Esselen and Rumsen. The foraging model represents the settlement and subsistence strategies of the Hokan-Esselen, whereas the collector model characterizes the settlement and subsistence strategies of the Penutian-Rumsen (Breschini and Haversat 2004: 113, 2008: 13-14).

Some scholars disagree with the application of these forager and collector models in Monterey Bay prehistory. According to Deborah Jones, the forager-collector approach is “generalized” and the material culture from the Monterey Bay lacks chronological attribution (1992: 105). However, Breschini and Haversat have radiocarbon dated over 554 individual specimens from numerous archaeological sites throughout the Monterey Peninsula with the intent of reconstructing a temporal sequence for the region (2008: 1). Considering the combination of these radiocarbon dates and Breschini and Haversat’s long-term research of Esselen and Rumsen ethnography, ethnohistory, and archaeology, the forager-collector model is a valid interpretation of Monterey prehistory.

The foraging subsistence model as applied to Monterey County is predicated on several attributes observed archaeologically. Foraging sites are characterized as middens with shell (as opposed to shell middens); and such sites tend to have a smaller number of artifacts and thinner archaeological deposits compared to collector sites identified with the Rumsen (Jones 1992: 106). Hokan-Esselen sites are radiocarbon dated to older than 200 BCE (Breschini and Haversat 2008: 15; Jones 1992: 105). These foraging sites represent a “Sur Pattern” that are distinct from later sites associated with the Penutian-

Rumsen (Breschini and Haversat 2008: 15-16; Jones 1992: 105). Additional characteristics of foraging include seasonal residential patterns related to resource patches, daily gathering of food because of minimal or no storage, limited distance between resource acquisition and residence, variability in group size due to nomadic patterns, and exhausted resources (Breschini and Haversat 1994: 187-188, 2008: 14).

The Hokan-Esselen established residential bases by the coast within a mile of the intertidal zone (Breschini and Haversat 2004: 109). These locations provided access to marine resources including mussels, abalone, and other fish as well to marine mammals such as sea otters, harbor seals, California and Stellar sea lions, fur seals, etc. (Breschini and Haversat 2004: 109-110, 119; Jones 1992: 105). In addition to the coastal occupation sites, there were interior foraging sites in the forests and mountains identified with the Hokan-Esselen (Breschini and Haversat 2004: 110). These sites contain terrestrial resources including deer and other small mammals, birds, and reptiles, etc. (Breschini and Haversat 2004: 117). Hunting and butchering tools associated with Esselen foraging sites include bone awls, antler flakers, various projectile points from local chert and Napa Glass Mountain obsidian, scrapers, as well as sharpened hardwood arrow foreshafts (Breschini and Haversat 2004: 128). Arrow foreshafts represent rare findings of Esselen hunting technology given their perishable material (Breschini and Haversat 2004: 128). Archaeological evidence including bedrock mortars in sandstone, hopper mortars, and various milling stone tools, suggests that the interior sites were not places of permanent occupation. Rather, these sites served primarily as places of vegetation gathering and seed and nut processing (Breschini and Haversat 2004: 110). Breschini and Haversat hypothesized that during the Middle Archaic Period, Esselen foraging sites would reflect

a greater emphasis of terrestrial resources with the southward movement of Penutian speakers into the Monterey Bay (2008: 16).

The collector subsistence model is associated with the Middle Archaic Period expansion of Penutian-Rumsen speakers into the Esselen territories of the Monterey Peninsula (Jones 1992: 106). Collector sites have substantial shell midden and a greater spectrum of archaeological artifacts and features including various fishing technologies (e.g., whalebone pries and abalone and mussel fishhooks), high quantities of carbon and fire-altered rock, charcoal fragments, and marine mammal remains (Breschini and Haversat 1986: 8; Jones 1992: 105-107). These sites are identified with the “Monterey Pattern” and demonstrate a “specialized peri-coastal food procurement and processing site” strategy (Breschini and Haversat 1986: 1; Jones 1992: 105-107). Monterey Pattern residential bases were typically situated inland (e.g., Carmel Valley) whereas the Esselen Sur Pattern residential sites were primarily situated by the coast (Jones 1992: 106). Therefore, the Rumsen transported marine resources from the coast to interior village-communities and/or nearby sites for processing and consumption (Breschini and Haversat 1986: 8, 11). In contrast, the Esselen gathered, processed, and consumed resources near the origin of the food source, whether marine or terrestrial (Breschini and Haversat 1986: 8, 11).

There are no sites associated with the Monterey Pattern that are identified as Esselen in the archaeological literature reviewed (Breschini and Haversat 2004, 2008; Howard 1974, 1975, 1977, 1979; Jones 1992; Pritchard 1984). Moreover, there are no sites directly identified as Esselen dated to the Middle and Upper Archaic periods (Breschini and Haversat 2004, 2008; Howard 1974, 1975, 1977, 1979; Jones 1992;

Pritchard 1984). However, that is not to preclude the possibility that Esselen did not engage in subsistence and settlement strategies comparable to the Monterey Pattern. Therefore, archaeologists should exercise caution against the assumption that a Monterey Pattern site or site with collector model characteristics is Rumsen. Advancing assumptions that the Monterey Pattern represents only Rumsen occupation invalidates Esselen presence from the archaeological record. Furthermore, this assumption fails to account for the “reappearance” of the Esselen in the Spanish ethnohistoric records of missions San Carlos (and the Presidio), Soledad, and San Antonio. Another interpretation supporting cultural convergence is the ecological model or “competitive exclusion” (Hoover 1992: 37-38). According to this model, when two or more cultures occupy the same area and rely on the same resources, the practices of one or both of cultures must be altered for co-existence to succeed (Hoover 1992: 38).

Preliminary identifications of the cultural affiliation of archaeological sites should integrate the geocultural and ethnolinguistic settings of Monterey County. Radiocarbon data is another essential component to consider. Considering these factors, it is plausible that if the radiocarbon chronology of a site dates to the Late Archaic Period, and the site is identified with the Monterey Pattern, it may represent Esselen if located in southern Monterey County or Rumsen if located in northwestern Monterey County. A site radiocarbon dated to the Late Archaic Period located in central Monterey County is more likely to suggest convergence between Esselen and Rumsen given the lack of surviving, distinctive material cultures.

In sum, there appears to be no distinctive subsistence-settlement material correlates of prehistoric cultural convergence between the Esselen and Rumsen.

Nevertheless, the apparent absence of Esselen subsistence and settlement in the archaeological record following Rumsen migration into Monterey County suggests a material transition or other form of conveyance. The Esselen may have emulated or incorporated Rumsen material culture and vice versa. In addition, ethnolinguistic correlates also support prehistoric convergence between the Esselen and Rumsen (Shaul 1982: 205). Collectively, these factors likely contributed to the development of an informal ethnogenesis that permitted fluid socioeconomic relationships between the Middle Archaic and Late periods.

### **The Royal Presidio of Monterey at Contact (1769-1791)**

The ethnohistoric record provides a basis for understanding the initial years of Spanish settlement at the Royal Presidio of Monterey, and the region in general. Spanish soldiers, missionaries, and explorers documented their observations about the Esselen and Rumsen. Historical narratives shared from contemporary Rumsen and Esselen descendants offer additional perspectives for the Presidio at contact.

Lieutenant Pedro Fages rendered one of the earliest written descriptions of the Rumsen and Esselen during two Spanish expeditions to the Monterey Bay in 1769 and 1770 (Fages 1937: vii, x). Fages acted as both the *gobernante* or provincial administrator (1770-1774) and military commandant of Alta California (Nuttall 1972: 252, 262). Fages observes that:

The natives of Monterey should be considered as divided into two parts for the purpose of dealing with their natural and political history, because the Indians of the port and its environs are not the same as the more remote ones, as for instance the hill tribes of Santa Lucía and other more distant villages [Fages 1937: 65-66].

Fages further describes accounts of indigenous territoriality in Monterey. He notes that the “[Esselen and or Rumsen] are prevented [by the Salinan] from going far from this

district” and that the “new Christians” or neophytes are frequently persecuted by the gentiles or unconverted Indians (Fages 1937: 64).



Figure 5. *Indio de Monterey*. Esselen or Rumsen of Mission San Carlos de Monterey. Drawing by José Cardero in circa 1791 during the Malaspina expedition to Monterey. Reproduction from Cutter (1960: Figure 2). Photo by Rubén G. Mendoza.

According to Fages:

The situation was the same before the foundation of the Presidio de San Carlos [Presidio of Monterey], according to their confession, and they were continually at war. It is even supported that it was worse then, and that much warfare has been eliminated by the New Settlement, for it is very natural that those who now oppose the removal of acorns which grow in their country should have been themselves the aggressors in their turn, coming to provoke these Indians, which they would still be doing today were it not for fear that our arms would aid those who are now our friends and so live in confidence and understanding with us. The same thing will come in time to pass with all these natives of Monterey when they shall be reduced and submit their necks to the yokes of the holy law of God through baptism [Fages 1937: 64-65].

Fages' accounts of Monterey at contact corroborate those interpretations discussed earlier in this chapter regarding the relationships and interactions between the Esselen and

Rumsen. Fages continued to compile observations and information regarding the indigenous population and the characteristics of the region during his tenure as military commandant at the Presidio of Monterey (Fages 1937: 1).

The Rumsen and Esselen limited their interaction with the missionaries and presidial company at the time of the founding of the Royal Presidio of Monterey in June 1770. On July 2, 1770, Father Junípero Serra, the Father President and founder of the Mission and Presidio of Monterey, wrote to the Visitador General, Don Joseph de Gálvez, the following report:

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

Despite this initial encounter, there were no baptisms or converts until over six months of Spanish occupancy in Monterey (Culleton 1950: 45). On December 26, 1770, Serra officiated the first baptism of a child from the Rumsen village of *Achasta* (Huntington Library - ECPP 2006). Serra christened the boy Bernardino de Jesús (Serra 1770, Baptismal Number 1; see Figure 6 below). The following day, two boys were baptized (Serra 1770, Baptismal Numbers 2-3).

En el nombre del Padre, del Hijo, y del Espiritu Santo. Amen.

1. **Bernardino de Jesus.**  
 En 26 de Diciembre de 1770 en la Iglesia de esta Mision de S. Carlos de Monte-Rey, Bautizo solemnemente un niño de edad de cinco años hijo de Sr. Pedro de la Cruz y de Sr. Juana de la Cruz, y le bautizo con el nombre de Bernardino de Jesus. Fue su Padrino Sr. Pedro Fages Oficial de la Comandancia de Cataluna Comandante del Real Presidio de este Puerto, y el nombre el padrino espiritual y obli- gaciones de su padrino con el nombre de Sr. Juan de la Cruz.

2. **Joseph Maria.**  
 En 27 de Diciembre de 1770 en la Iglesia de esta Mision de S. Carlos de Monte-Rey, Bautizo solemnemente un niño de edad de dos años, y le bautizo con el nombre de Joseph Maria. Fue su Padrino Sr. Pedro Fages Oficial de la Comandancia de Cataluna Comandante del Real Presidio de este Puerto, y el nombre el padrino espiritual y obli- gaciones de su padrino con el nombre de Sr. Juan de la Cruz.

3. **Agustina.**  
 En 28 de Diciembre de 1770 en la Iglesia de esta Mision de S. Carlos de Monte-Rey, Bautizo solemnemente un niño de edad de tres años, y le bautizo con el nombre de Agustina. Fue su Padrino Sr. Pedro Fages Oficial de la Comandancia de Cataluna Comandante del Real Presidio de este Puerto, y el nombre el padrino espiritual y obli- gaciones de su padrino con el nombre de Sr. Juan de la Cruz.

Año de 1771.

4. **Francisco Louisa.**  
 En 7 dias de Enero de 1771 en la Iglesia de esta Mision de S. Carlos de Monte-Rey, Bautizo solemnemente un niño de edad de tres años, y le bautizo con el nombre de Francisco Louisa. Fue su Padrino Sr. Pedro Fages Oficial de la Comandancia de Cataluna Comandante del Real Presidio de este Puerto, y el nombre el padrino espiritual y obli- gaciones de su padrino con el nombre de Sr. Juan de la Cruz.

5. **Pedro Regalado.**  
 En 8 dias de Enero de 1771 en la Iglesia de esta Mision de S. Carlos de Monte-Rey, Bautizo solemnemente un niño de edad de tres años, y le bautizo con el nombre de Pedro Regalado. Fue su Padrino Sr. Pedro Fages Oficial de la Comandancia de Cataluna Comandante del Real Presidio de este Puerto, y el nombre el padrino espiritual y obli- gaciones de su padrino con el nombre de Sr. Juan de la Cruz.

6. **Juan Bautista.**  
 En 9 dias de Enero de 1771 en la Iglesia de esta Mision de S. Carlos de Monte-Rey, Bautizo solemnemente un niño de edad de tres años, y le bautizo con el nombre de Juan Bautista. Fue su Padrino Sr. Pedro Fages Oficial de la Comandancia de Cataluna Comandante del Real Presidio de este Puerto, y el nombre el padrino espiritual y obli- gaciones de su padrino con el nombre de Sr. Juan de la Cruz.

Figure 6. Bautismos de la Mision de Sn. Carlos de Monte-Rey, y comienzan en el año de 1770. First page of the baptismal records for the Mission and Presidio of San Carlos de Monterey, 1770. On file at the Archives of the Diocese of Monterey, Monterey, California. Photo by Rubén G. Mendoza.

Other accounts of these early encounters are detailed by the modern-day descendants of the Rumsen. According to Tony Cerda, Chairman of the Costanoan Rumsen Carmel Tribe:

When Father Serra arrived at Monterey in 1770, he was met by the people of the Rumsen villages of Achasta. The news of the arrival of those foreigners traveled fast through the five Rumsen villages. It wasn't long before "Chanjay," the Headman from the Rumsen villages of Echilat, learned of their arrival.

After gathering much knowledge and offering prayers to the creator, the sixty-year-old Chanjay convinced tribal Chiefs from the villages of Achasta, Tucutnut, Soccorronda, Echilat and Ichxenta to send tribal members to assist Father Serra in building Mission San Carlos and planting crops [Costanoan Rumsen 2014].

Cerda also supports Fages' early observations of the Rumsen and Esselen interactions at the time of the Spanish settlement in Monterey:

Chief Chanjay's role as a Rumsen Headman was to pass on the culture by his teachings, stories, songs, and dances, organizing gatherings and by conducting ceremonies. He led his tribal members who were mostly young men to the best hunting ground and coastal fishing areas. Chanjay sanctioned marriages and oversaw disputes among tribal members and other Rumsen villages. The villages of Echilat were in constant conflict with Esselens over crops and hunting grounds. Chanjay was always able to out-manuever the Esselens.

As a consequence of this constant conflict with the Esselens, most of the inhabitants of Echilat were always very young most were under 25 years of age [Costanoan Rumsen 2014].

Given these accounts, the cultural convergence between Rumsen and Esselen appear to be more hostile than reciprocative prior to and during the arrival of Spanish colonists despite archaeological indications of long-term interaction and evidence of linguistic similarities.

From 1789 to 1794, the Spanish government funded a scientific expedition to investigate "around the world" (Cutter 1960: v-vii). The naval expedition was led by Captains Alejandro Malaspina and José Bustamante y Guerra on two Spanish corvettes,

*Descubierta* and *Atrevida* (Cutter 1960: v). In 1791, the captains visited Monterey and documented their impressions of the Esselen and Rumsen (Cutter 1960: v). Malaspina describes the Esselen and Rumsen at Monterey as:

...the stupidest, as well as the ugliest and filthiest [Indians] that can found. In their rancherias they make meals of seafood that the sea spreads upon the beach in unspeakable abundance, thus saving the work of fishing and of preparing the equipment necessary for it. They are very skillful hunters, and thus provide themselves with hares, rabbits, foxes, squirrels and deer, of which there is abundance here. To kill the latter the Indians put on the stuffed head of an already killed deer; and hiding their bodies in the grass, they imitate the stance, appearance and look of a deer with such propriety that many are deceived until attracted to within range. As is the case with the work that they do in the mission, the fruits are then divided equally in order to feed and clothe them; but they lack the stimulus of private property and the advantage that the most active and most hardworking would achieve, and thus only engage in the tasks which they are obliged to perform [Cutter 1960: 53].

David Cutter suggests that Malaspina's "unflattering" description of the Rumsen and Esselen derives from comparisons with other indigenous peoples, such as the Nootka Indians of the Pacific Northwest (1960:53). Cutter also notes that Malaspina's and other explorers' preconceived notions of indigenous peoples in California influenced their accounting of the Rumsen and Esselen (1960:53). Even so, Malaspina's characterization of the Rumsen and Esselen proves contradictory in that he first declares them to be stupid but also recognizes their notable skills in hunting



Figure 7. *India y Indio de Monterey*. Esselen or Rumsen woman holding a basket with two figures in the background. Drawing by José Cardero in circa 1791 during the Malaspina expedition to Monterey. Reproduction from Cutter (1960: Figure 3). Photo by Rubén G. Mendoza.

Esselen and Rumsen also shared their impressions of Spanish frontiersmen and explorers. In 1774, Junípero Serra traveled to New Spain (Mexico) with a recently baptized Rusmien neophyte as his companion (Serra 1955b: 87). Serra inquired about the Rumsen's perceptions of the presidial company during their return to Monterey:

...[Serra] asked him if he or his fellow countrymen [the Rumsen], when they saw the officers and soldiers, had ever imagined a country where everybody wore clothes, etc.?

He answered no, that they thought all countries were like their own. As regards the soldiers and the Fathers, after carefully looking them over, they had come to the conclusion that they were the sons of the mules on which they rode [Serra 1955b: 87].

The ethnohistoric record serves to contextualize the precontact setting of the study area at the time of Spanish settlement. In addition, the ethnohistory of the Presidio provides a basis by which to compare the archaeological record and linguistic evidence. These ethnohistorical accounts suggest reciprocal long-term interaction that contributed to linguistic similarities between the Esselen and Rumsen. However, the ethnohistoric record indicates change in the type of interactions among the Esselen and Rumsen not apparent in archaeological features or linguistic studies. The Esselen and Rumsen adapted to changing cultural landscapes with their ability to maintain their dynamic cultural entities and subsistence-settlement practices in response to diverse experiences of cultural contact and convergence.

### **Prehistoric Cultural Resources Within Study Area**

In order to identify previously recorded cultural resources, a records search was conducted at the Northwest Information Center (NWIC) of the California Historical Resources Inventory System in Rohnert Park, California. The NWIC is one of 10 other CHRIS centers affiliated with the State of California Office of Historic Preservation (OHP) in Sacramento (NWIC 2014). One of the principal functions of the NWIC is to manage historical resource records (prehistoric and historic), reports, and maps (NWIC 2014). A records search provides previously documented or studied reports, maps, and site records within or adjacent to the study area, in this instance that of the Presidio. This

included a review of the following literature: National Register of Historic Places, *California Inventory of Historic Resources* (State of California 1976), and the *Historic Properties Directory* (California Office of Historic Preservation 2012).

Nine previous prehistoric cultural resource studies have been conducted in and within 0.25 miles of the study area, thereby resulting in approximately 100% archaeological survey coverage of the area. These studies are summarized in Table 1 (below). Historic-era cultural resource studies in the study area are listed and described in Appendix D.

**Table 1. Previous Prehistoric Studies in and within 0.25 miles of the Study Area**

| Study Number | Author   | Date | Title  |
|--------------|--|------|--|
| S-003452     | Sylvia Broadbent   | 1953 | A Resurvey of Carmel Point (and some field notes and several archaeological sites in Monterey and Carmel)  |
| S-003456     | Sylvia Broadbent   | 1953 | Shell deposits of the Monterey Peninsula: notes on their distribution and fauna  |
| S-005536     | Mary Ann Fazio   | 1977 | Prehistoric Resources, City of Monterey: General Plan Technical Study  |
| S-005537     | Ray Treathaway, Gary Breschini, and Rob Edwards  | 1974 | Evaluation of the Archaeological Resources of the Coastal Zone of Monterey, Santa Cruz, and San Mateo Counties, California                                       |
| S-034216     | Colin L. Busby   | 2005 | Cultural Resources Assessment: Technical Report for Proponent's Environmental Assessment (PEA), California America Water, Monterey County, Coastal Water Project |
| S-34216a     | Kari Jones and John Holson   | 2009 | Archaeological Survey for the Cal-Am Coastal Water Project, Monterey County, California  |
| S-026699     | Elena Reese  | 2009 | Archaeological Literature Review of the City of Monterey 2009 Sewer Rehabilitation Project in the City of Monterey, California                                   |
| S-038178     | Patricia Mikkelsen, Laura Leach-Palm, Valerie Levulett, Robert Pavlik, Randall Milliken, Jennifer Hatch, Elizabeth Kallenbach, and Jerome King | 2001 | Cultural Resources Inventory of Caltrans District 5 Rural Highways, Monterey and San Luis Obispo Counties, California, Coast Highway 1, Volume Report            |
| S-038728     | Lisa Holm, Katherine Chao, and John Holson   | 2011 | Archaeological Assessment for the City of Monterey 2011 Sewer Rehabilitation Project, Monterey County, California  |

The NWIC records search revealed that there were no previously recorded prehistoric archaeological resources within the study area. Two prehistoric cultural resources have been previously recorded within 0.25 miles. These resources are summarized in Table 2. Historic-era archaeological resources in the study area are listed and described in Chapter 6.

**Table 2. Previously Recorded Prehistoric Resources within 0.25 miles of the Study Area**

| Resource Numbers              | Recorded By                                    | Date(s) Recorded | Period                   | Resources Attribute Codes and Definitions  |
|-------------------------------|--|------------------|--------------------------|--|
| P-27-000337<br>(CA-MNT-00272) | M.E. Hinshaw                                   | 1955             | Prehistoric and Historic | AH16 (Other) - ceramics; AP02 (Lithic scatter); AP09 (Burials); AP15 (Habitation debris); AP16 (Other) |
|                               | D.S. Miller and J.L. Chartkoff                 | 1965             |                          |  |
|                               | D.S. Miller, J.L. Chartkoff, and N.N. Nakamura | 1965             |                          |  |
| P-27-00467<br>(CA-MNT-00372)  | D.S. Miller and J.L. Chartkoff                 | 1955             | Prehistoric              | AP02 (Lithic scatter); AP15 (Habitation debris); AP16 (Other)  |
|                               | D.S. Miller and J.L. Chartkoff                 | 1965             |                          |  |

Archaeologist Mary Ann Fazio defines three zones of prehistoric archaeological sensitivity for the City of Monterey (1977: 16). High sensitivity zones contain known or previously recorded archaeological resources, typically found on the coastline and within areas identified with fresh water. Moderate sensitivity zones are areas in which archaeological resources are likely to be encountered based on research even if none had been previously recorded. Low sensitivity zones have a small probability of encountering archaeological resources, such as areas of steep, rugged terrain. Each of these zones is identified on “Map 1” of Monterey (Fazio1977: 19).

According to Map 1, the study area is classified with a high level of archaeological sensitivity despite that there are no previously recorded prehistoric sites within the area. The high sensitivity is likely due to the study area's location near the coastline, and two prehistoric cultural resources noted in Table 2. In contrast, there is one historic-era cultural resource recorded within the study area. This resource is further discussed in Chapters 5 and 6.

## CHAPTER 5. HISTORIC CONTEXT – THE ROYAL PRESIDIO OF MONTEREY

### Introduction

This chapter provides the background context for discussing the founding and development of the Royal Presidio of Monterey as part of the colonial landscape in Alta California. The historic context is organized into four settings: the Spanish discovery of the Monterey Bay (1542 -1768), the arrival of Father Junípero Serra, the formation of the Presidio as a Spanish outpost (1770-1820), and the demise of the Presidio during the Mexican Period (1821-1848). More specifically, this chapter reviews documentary findings pertaining to the Presidio's military regulations, built environment, spatial organization, and land use patterns that contributed to its formation. In addition, this chapter examines incentives for relocating to Alta California and how Presidio of Monterey soldiers and settlers became engaged in ethnogenesis and frontier identity formation. This chapter concludes with a summary of the Presidio in its present-day condition and its relationship with the Monterey community.<sup>1</sup>

### The Spanish Discovery of the Monterey Bay (1542-1768)

Alta California was claimed by the Spanish Empire as a province of the Viceroyalty of New Spain or *Nueva España* (present-day Mexico; Milliken 1995: 2). The earliest Spanish maritime expeditions of the California were led by Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo and Bartolomé Ferrello from 1542-1543, followed by Sebastian Rodríguez

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<sup>1</sup> Portions of this chapter were adapted from a previous publication by the author. Cited from and or adapted with revisions from Jennifer Lucido, "Heroes in these new lands": Evolving Colonial Identities at the Spanish Royal Presidio of Monterey, *Boletín: The Journal of the California Mission Studies Association* 30, no.1 (2014): 82-105.

Cermeño in 1595, and Sebastian Vizcaíno from 1602-1603 (Lightfoot and Simmons 1998: 140; Lightfoot 2005: 46). In 1587, Pedro de Unamuno and his crew made landfall near Morro Bay but were not instructed to map or explore the region (Lightfoot and Simmons 1998: 141). The objectives of the Cabrillo-Ferrelo voyage (1542-1543) were to map the coastline of Alta California and to identify landmarks (Lightfoot and Simmons 1998: 141). The Cermeño voyage (1595) in turn was instructed to explore the California coastline and anchored in Drakes Bay (Lightfoot and Simmons 1998: 141). However, after about a month's land exploration and interaction with the Coast Miwok, their ship, the *San Agustín*, sank in Drakes Bay and thereby abruptly ended the expedition (Lightfoot and Simmons 1998: 141).

Unlike previous voyages, the Vizcaíno expedition (1602-1603) was ordered to identify a port along the California coast for the refitting of the Manila galleons (Walton 2001: 19). Vizcaíno recorded prominent topographic features on maps, including what would become known as the Monterey Bay (Walton 2001: 19). Vizcaíno named the region after the Viceroy Monterrey who funded the expedition (Walton 2001: 19). Vizcaíno and his crew celebrated mass by a live oak tree near the beach having "found [themselves] to be in the best port one could desire" (Vizcaíno 1930: 91-92; Williams 1993: 3; Walton 2001: 19). Vizcaíno further described Monterey as consisting of "good lands, plentiful water, and abundant pines suitable for use in ship construction" (Vizcaíno 1930: 91; Williams 1993: 3). Soon thereafter in 1606, King Philip III ordered a settlement to be developed at Monterey (Williams 1993: 3). A plan was developed and 20,000 pesos were allocated for the settlement (Williams 1993: 3). However, Viceroy Montesclaros persuaded King Philip to use the resources instead towards an expedition in

the hopes of discovering the islands of *Rica de Oro* and *Rica de Plata* (Williams 1993: 3).

It was not until 1768 that the Spanish settlement of the Monterey Bay became a serious endeavor (Walton 2001: 19). Visitor General José de Gálvez determined that the Monterey Bay had a “tremendous potential” (Williams 1993: 3). He further elected that Monterey function as the center for military defenses and missionary programs of both Alta and Baja California (Williams 1993: 3). Gálvez informed King Charles III of Spain that California required defensive settlements in order to protect against British and Russian encroachments (Fireman 1997: 96). One year later, Gálvez ordered the military occupation of Alta California (Mason 1998: 18).

A missionization effort was implemented to support this endeavor. This sought the “Hispanicization, Mexicanization, and Catholic conversion” of indigenous populations (Mendoza 2014: 114). These processes would in turn form *mestizaje* or hybrid communities to support the colonial landscape of California, and by extension, the Spanish empire (Mendoza 2014: 117). The missionization of Alta California was commissioned by the Pious Fund, an endowment that originally supported the Jesuit missions of Baja California (Mason 1998: 18). Given that the Jesuits had been expelled from Baja California, the missions in Alta California were to be founded and administered by the Order of Friars Minor, the Franciscan order of the Roman Catholic Church (Mason 1998: 18).

### Arrival of Father Junípero Serra and the Founding of the Presidio

According to the historical archaeologist and Spanish colonial scholar, Jack Williams (1993: 5), “from its inception, the success of the California endeavor hinged on the occupation of Monterey. If the King's forces failed to achieve this goal, then the expedition would be a complete failure.” In 1768, a land and naval expedition was dispatched with the intentions of rediscovering and settling Monterey (Williams 1993: 5). As the first governor of Alta California, Captain Gaspar de Portolá led the land expedition attended by two other military leaders, Lieutenant Pedro Fages, and Commander Fernando Rivera y Moncada (Williams 1993: 5). Portolá was unable to corroborate Vizcaíno’s descriptions of the Monterey Bay despite having passed through the region, and therefore failed to meet the objective of the expedition (Walton 2001: 19).



Figure 8. Detail from watercolor of the Bay of Monterey, 1770 by Miguel Costansó. Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

In 1769, Portolá made his second attempt to relocate Monterey and retraced his way from the earlier land expedition (Walton 2001: 19). Father Junípero Serra, the first President of the missions of Alta California, followed Portolá on this second expedition, referred to as the *Sagrada Expedicion* or the Sacred Expedition (Temple II 1931: 72). Serra traveled by sea, aboard the *San Antonio*, also called *El Príncipe* (Serra 1955a: 161). On May 31, 1770, the *San Antonio* anchored in the port of Monterey (Serra 1955a: 161). Serra was able to fulfill his role as the Catholic religious founder of both the Mission and Presidio of San Carlos of Monterey (Lucido 2014: 98). In a letter written on 12 June, 1770, Serra recounted the founding of the Mission and Presidio to Father Juan Andres, which had taken place on the Catholic holy day of Pentecost on Sunday, 3 June 1770:

A little chapel and altar was erected in that little valley, and under the same live-oak, close to the beach, where it is said, Mass was celebrated at the beginning of the last century [during the Vizcaino expedition]. Two processions from different directions converged at the same time on the spot, one from the sea, and one from the land expedition; we signing the divine praises in the launch, and the men on land, in their hearts.

Our arrival was greeted by the joyful sound of the bells suspended from the branches of the oak tree. Everything being in readiness, and having put on alb and stole, and kneeling down with all the men before the altar, I intoned the hymn *Veni, Creator Spiritus* at the conclusion of which, after invoking the help of the Holy Spirit on everything we were about to perform, I blessed the salt and the water. Then we all made our way to a gigantic cross which was all in readiness and lying on the ground. With everyone lending a hand we set it at an upright position, I sang the prayers for its blessing. We set it in the ground and then, with all the tenderness of our hearts, we venerated it. I sprinkled with holy water all the fields around. And thus, after raising aloft the standard of the King of Heaven, we unfurled the flag of our Catholic Monarch likewise. As we raised each one of them, we shouted at the top of our voices: "Long live the Faith! Long live the King!" All the time the bells were ringing, and our rifles were being fired, and from the boat came the thunder of the big guns.

Then we buried at the foot of the cross a dead sailor, a caulker, the only one to die during this second expedition...

...The officers proceeded to the act of taking formal possession of that country in the name of His Catholic Majesty, unfurling and waving once more the royal flag, pulling grass, moving stones and other formalities according to law - all accompanied with cheers, ringing of bells, cannonades, etc. [1955a: 169, 171].

Despite this founding event, the actual location of the Mission and Presidio of San Carlos of Monterey was not established at the Vizcaíno oak where the Pentecost mass had taken place. Serra notes that “A few days later the expedition moved to a pretty plain about a rifle shot from the beach, and there established the presidio and the mission to it” (1955a: 171). The Presidio site was selected by Miguel Costansó, a royal engineer, about one mile from the Vizcaíno oak (Walton 2001: 21). Costansó selected site so that the Presidio would be oriented towards the Monterey Bay harbor near a small estuary (Walton 2001: 21). Construction of the Mission and Presidio of Monterey commenced.

### **From “Frontier” to Spanish Capital: Forming the Presidial Landscape (1770-1820)**

The colonial landscape of the Royal Presidio of Monterey developed through a diverse array of processes. These processes may be understood within two broader contexts: 1) the formation of the presidial landscape as a result of physical development and modification to the environment and 2) the sociocultural formation of the presidial landscape. The first context examines how military regulations and individuals influenced the evolution of the Presidio’s general layout, construction of the built environment, and land use. The second context explores the motives of prospective colonists to relocate to the frontier that in turn led to the changes in social and ethnic identities of the soldiers and settlers associated with the Presidio of Monterey.

*Military Regulations and the Presidio.* Under the Bourbon Reforms, King Charles III of Spain decreed the *Reglamento E Instrucción Para Los Presidios Que Se Han De*

*Formar En La Línea De Frontera De La Nueva España. Resuelto por el Rey Nuestro Señor en cédula de 10 de Setiembre de 1772* or simply stated, the Royal Regulations of 1772 (Brinckerhoff and Faulk 1965: 6-7; Lucido 2014: 96). The Regulations were a revision of earlier military regulations based on the recommendations of the Marqués de Rubí (Brinckerhoff and Faulk 1965: 6-7; Gerald 1968: 7; Lucido 2014: 96; Voss 2008: 149). These revisions functioned to more efficiently govern those presidios located in the northern and northwestern frontiers of *las Provincias Internas*, or the Interior Provinces of New Spain (Brinckerhoff and Faulk 1965: 6-7; Lucido 2014: 96; Voss 2008: 149).



Figure 9. Photograph of an original copy of the Royal Regulations of 1772. The Regulations were distributed to all of the presidios in the Provincias Internas, including the Royal Presidio of Monterey in Alta California. Courtesy of the California Historical Society, San Francisco, California. Photo by Rubén G. Mendoza, 2014.

The Interior Provinces was composed of Nueva Vizcaya, Sonora, Sinaloa, New Mexico, Coahuila, Chihuahua, Texas, Nuevo Leon, Nuevo Santander, and Alta and Baja

California (jointly referred to as *las Californias*). By 1776, the Interior Provinces were considered to be autonomous from New Spain (Brinckerhoff and Faulk 1965: 6; Lucido 2014: 96; Williams 2004a). Nevertheless, the frontier policies guided governance, defense, and deployment of presidios of the Interior Provinces until 1848 (Brinckerhoff and Faulk 1965: 7; Lucido 2014: 96). The Regulations specified a number of policies and instructions pertaining to presidio architecture and construction, roles of presidio personnel (i.e., captains, officers, soldiers, and chaplains), attire and armament, salary and gratuities, treatment of Native Americans, general governance, and other standards (Lucido 2014: 97).

Another set of regulations was implemented in 1782, *Reglamento e Instrucción para los Presidios de la Pastilla de California*, or “Regulations and Instructions For the Garrisons of the Peninsula of Californias, erection of new Missions, and fostering of the colonization and extension of the Settlements of Monterey,” written by Felipe de Neve, the governor of Alta California (also known as Neve’s *Reglamento* of 1781; Lummis, Bonilla, Neve, Galvez, and Mayorga 1931: 157; Williams 1993: 41). These regulations and instructions were created specifically for the mission and presidio settlements of the Californias, and Monterey in particular. Like the Royal Regulations of 1772, these regulations provided explicit instructions regarding the roles of presidio personnel, military attire, salary and allowances, goods and rations, treatment of Native Americans, distribution and management of livestock, and general governance (Lummis, Bonilla, Neve, Galvez, and Mayorga 1931: 157-158). In addition, Neve introduced a new military position, the presidio commandant, to assist with the duties of the governor (Williams 1993: 41). However, unlike the Royal Regulations of 1772, there were no instructions in

these new regulations pertaining to presidio architecture and construction (Williams 1993: 41). Rather, the Regulations emphasized the role of paymaster, the settlers, and the construction of towns or *pueblos* (Lummis, Bonilla, Neve, Galvez, and Mayorga 1931: 185).

*Architectural History of the Main Quadrangle*. The Royal Regulations of 1772 mandated specific architectural requirements for the presidios of the Interior Provinces (Brinckerhoff and Faulk 1965: 49, 63; Voss 2008: 152). Military engineer Don Nicolás Lafora designed a master plan for the design of these presidios (Brinckerhoff and Faulk 1965: 49; Voss 2008: 152). Based on Lafora's new design, the Royal Regulations of 1772 instructed that:

...the exterior walls are to be built first of adobes, with two small bastions in the angles; afterward on the interior will be built the chapel, the guardhouse, residences for the captain, officers, and chaplain, and quarters for the soldiers and Indians, sheltering everyone during the construction in expedition tents and temporary barracks...It is understood that this work should be done by the troops as a campaign task and that it will accrue to their benefit and protection; the Indian scouts are not to be burdened with more work than that of the soldiers, for both should be treated equally. All should be given a moderate gratuity for this special work, as regulated and vouched for by the captain [Brinckerhoff and Faulk 1965: 63].

In this way, the colonial landscape of the Interior Provinces became further politicized given that "Architectural decisions that had once been made locally, by presidio captains and the soldiers and families under their command, now had broader significance in terms of compliance with or deviation from the colonial master plan" (Voss 2008: 152). Voss further notes that the Royal Regulations of 1772 integrated "geometric symmetry and principles of enclosure and surveillance into military architecture" derived from the European Enlightenment (2008: 152). Moreover, the instruction to treat the Indian scouts

equally, so as to evenly distribute and share labor with the soldiers reflects values inherent in Enlightenment philosophy.

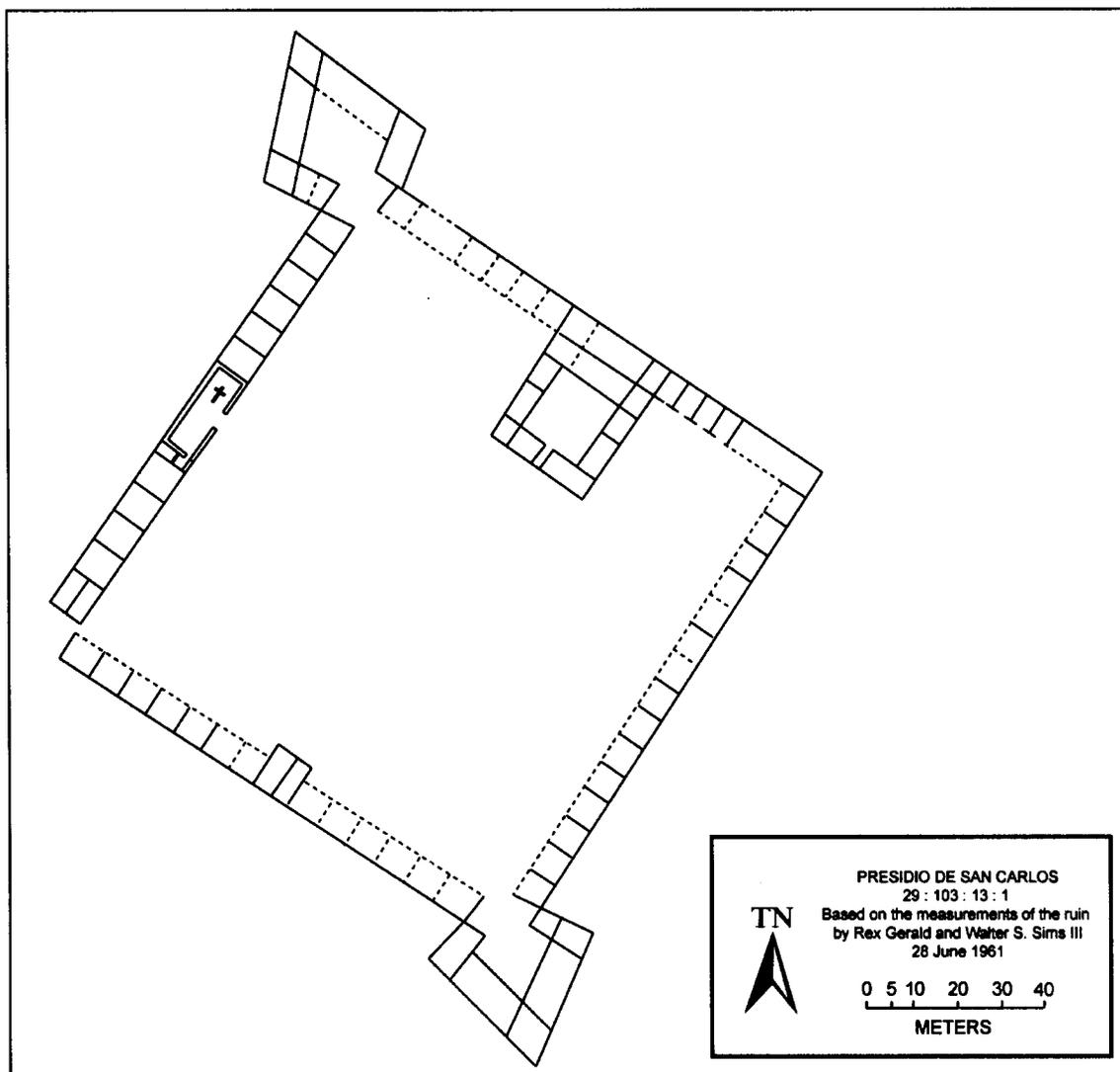


Figure 10. Architectural plan of Presidio de San Carlo, Chihuahua, Mexico by Rex E. Gerald and Walter S. Sims III (Gerald 1968: 36, 38). This plan reflects the requirements of a presidio as described in the Royal Regulations of 1772 based on Larfora's design (Voss 2008: 153). Redrawn and adapted by the author.

These new regulations had not yet reached Alta California by the time of the founding of the Presidio of Monterey. As such, the military leaders of Alta and Baja California would

have been expected to abide by the Royal Regulations of 1729 until the new regulations were active in the Interior Provinces (Fireman 1977: 56). However, given that Costansó and Lafora were both members of the Royal Corps of Engineers, it is plausible that Costansó had some knowledge of the new regulations at the time that the Presidio of Monterey was founded (Fireman 1977: 28).

Construction of the Presidio began immediately after its founding. As the royal engineer, Costansó was charged with the supervision of the construction and design of the first buildings (Williams 1993: 7, 11). According to Francisco Palóu, one of the Franciscan missionaries, “[the] engineer Don Miguel Costanzó made his measurements on it and drew the plan of the presidio, and at one side of it the mission, all the people moving to it. With this act a beginning was made of the royal presidio and mission” (1926: 293; Williams 1993: 8). Costansó created a provisional plan (see Figure 11) that detailed locations for buildings and structures, including the Presidio chapel, soldier barracks, missionary quarters, warehouses, workshops, ravelins, etc. Costansó projected that the interior quadrangle or plaza of the Presidio would measure 50 by 50 *varas* (1 *vara* equals 33 inches or 2.75 feet), or about 137.5 by 137.5 feet (Howard 1976: 13; Whitehead 1983: 84).

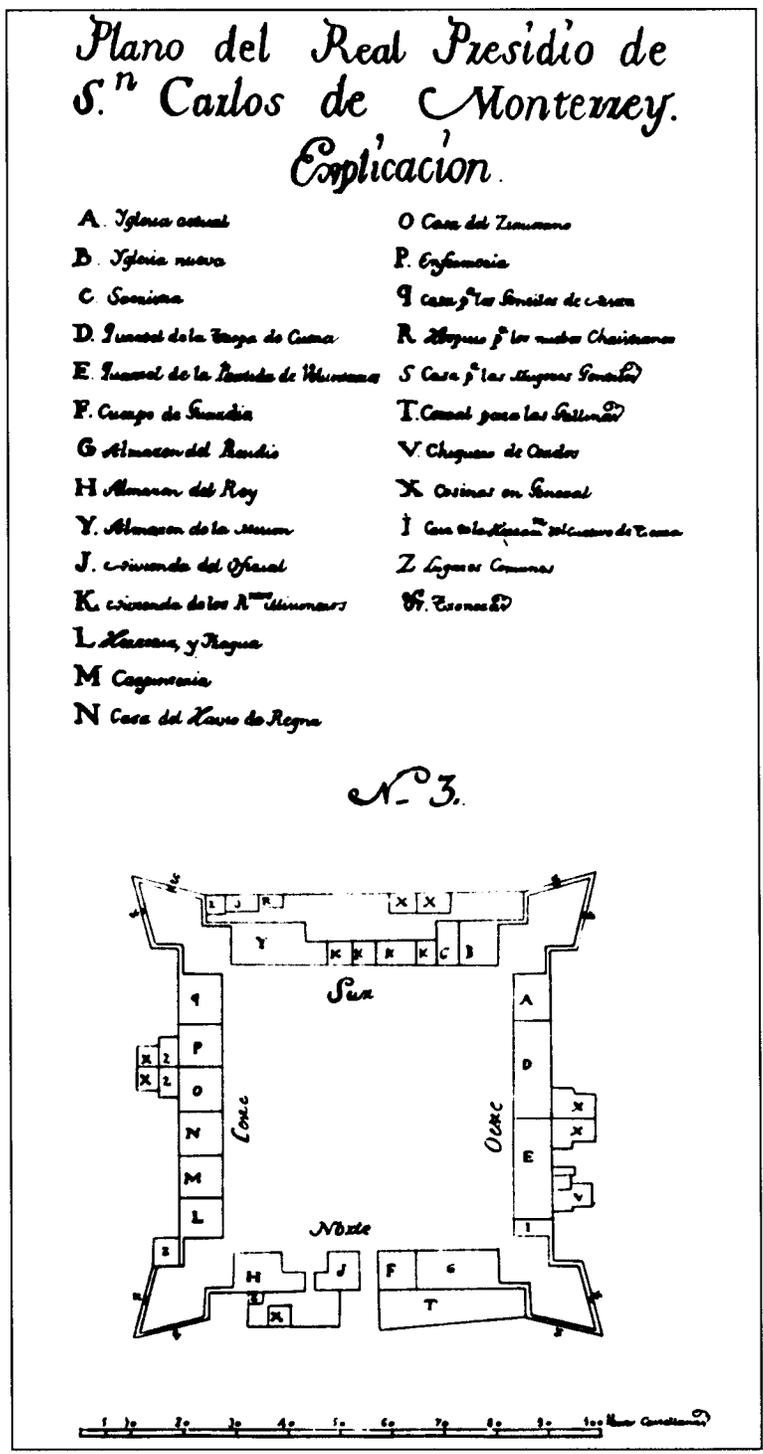


Figure 11. *Plano del Real Presidio de San Carlos de Monterrey*, or provisional plan of the Royal Presidio of Monterey by Miguel Costansó, 1770. Reproduced from Whitehead (1983: 81). Original in Archivo General de Indias, Casa Lonja, Seville, Spain.

The plan incorporated the required buildings described in the Royal Regulations of 1772 for presidio construction, with the exception of two additional ravelins. According to Williams, Costansó recognized that the Presidio buildings proposed in his plan would be temporary until more permanent facilities could be constructed (1993: 7).

The Presidio *plaza* or interior quadrangle was cleared of brush, and as per the Royal Regulations of 1772, the soldiers were assigned with tasks related to the construction of the site (Williams 1993: 7). The Presidio of Monterey commandant, Captain Pedro Fages, supervised the construction of the site (Geiger 1967: 327; Williams 1993: 11). Fages maintained an intensive work schedule for the soldiers and settlers (Geiger 1967: 327; Williams 1993: 11). The task of building the Presidio was apparently so laborious that Corporal Miguel Periqués, a Catalonian Volunteer from Spain, issued a grievance against Fages, claiming that:

On June 6, 1770, work began on the foundation of the presidio and mission. There was nothing we were not told to do: felling trees, building houses, carrying poles, mixing clay, making adobe, digging and carrying off the soil, cleaning up, making toilets - slaves could not have been treated worse. They gave us so much to do that we had to work all day from dawn to dusk... If we did not finish it, we would have to finish it on Sunday. This was when we had Sundays free. But for the first seven or eight months we had neither Sundays nor feast days free; we had only the time it took for Mass to be said; the rest was for work. This continued until the President [Serra], wrapping himself about with the cloak of zeal for the honor of God, reminded him [Fages] of the duties that lay on him as a Christian. That was when work in the fields was stopped. But in its place, on such days, he substituted inspection of arms, washing of clothes and mending them, and bringing in wood for his kitchen for the whole week. In short, we worked just as hard on Sundays as on the other days of the week [Serra 1955a: 404].

Two of the first Presidio buildings were completed by July 3, 1770, both constructed of pole and thatch, or *jacal* (Williams 1993: 12). The first building was a warehouse which served multiple functions, including use as a storehouse for supplies, residence, and

provisional church during this period of early construction (Serra 1955a: 181, 187; Williams 1993: 11). The second *jacal* functioned as a temporary powder magazine (Williams 1993: 12). In addition to these first buildings, an enclosed palisade measuring about 248 by 248 feet was also completed in early July (Williams 1993: 128). The interior *plaza* measured 50 by 50 *varas* square in accordance with Costansó's provisional plan for the Presidio (Williams 1993: 12).

On June 20, 1771, Fages sent a report regarding the progress of the Presidio to General Carlos Francisco de Croix and Marqués de Croix, Viceroy of New Spain (Fages 1911: 157; Mendoza 2013: 48, 57; Williams 1993: 14). Fages noted that a house for the gardener and a guardhouse for the powder magazine were both in construction (1911: 159). Fages also notes that the completed houses in the Presidio have been plastered and whitewashed on both their exteriors and interiors. In addition, the report included a plat map of the Presidio prepared by Fages (Fages 1911: 159).

Although not identified in Fages' 1771 report, a small adobe monastery or missionary's quarters had also been completed at that time (Serra 1955a: 237). The monastery accommodated 12 friars, and like the other buildings within the Presidio quadrangle, the monastery had been plastered and whitewashed with lime (Serra 1955a: 237). Serra describes the monastery as "separated from the presidio, although attached to it" (1955a: 237). The joint Presidio and Mission of San Carlos of Monterey, however, was short lived. In June of 1771, Serra relocated the Mission to Carmel, approximately six miles south of the Presidio (Serra 1955a: 171; Williams 1993: 14). Serra was disappointed that there was no *rancheria* or Indian settlement within Monterey proper and determined that Carmel had better natural resources (i.e., land, water, etc.) for

agricultural production (Serra 1955a: 171, 241). Furthermore, Serra was concerned with the potential misbehavior of soldiers at the Presidio toward Native California women (Williams 1993: 14).

On September 29, 1773, Fages sent a second report regarding the status of Alta California, including a detailed description of the Presidio of Monterey to the Viceroy Antonio María Bucareli y Ursúa (Geiger 1967: 327, 334). Fages' report includes measurements of 31 buildings and structures noting construction materials and locations within the Presidio quadrangle (see Appendices A and B, and Figure 12, below). These buildings included a new church and bell tower, soldiers' and missionaries' residences, storerooms, workshops for blacksmithing and carpentry, kitchens, a pharmacy, etc. (Geiger 1967: 330). The doors to these buildings were composed of redwood, pine, and cypress (Geiger 1967: 331). In addition, Fages describes a wooden cross situated in the center of the *plaza*, resting atop a base of adobes four *varas* square and four steps half a *vara* in height (Geiger 1967: 328).

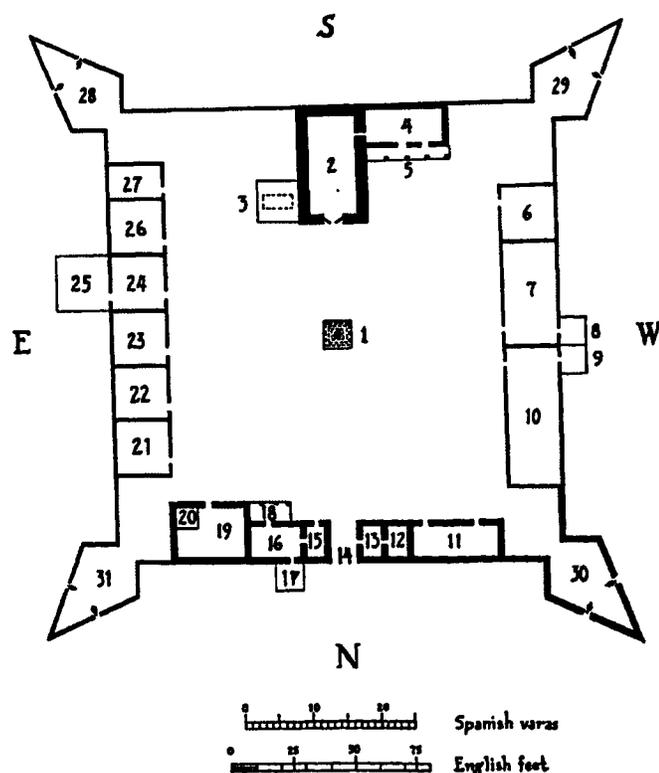


Figure 12. Footprint of the Royal Presidio of Monterey based on Pedro Fages' 1773 report, by Alan K. Brown (Whitehead 1985: 82). Buildings and structures identified: 1) central cross on pedestal, 2) church, 3) belltower, 4) missionaries' quarters, former church and sacristy, 5) porch, 6) dispensary or pharmacy—originally the first chapel, 7) Catalan volunteers' quarters, 8) volunteers' kitchen, 9) Leatherjacket troop's kitchen, 10) quarters of the Leatherjacket soldiers, 11) government stores, 12) jail, 13) guardhouse, 14) main gate, 15) commandant's store or commissary, 16) commandant's quarters, 17) commandant's kitchen, 18) porch, 19) storehouse, 20) bin for grain, 21) postriders (mails) and smithy, 22) carpenter shop, 23) storage for muleteers' pack gear, 24) servants' quarters, 25) kitchen, 26) Indians' quarters, 27) storage for field implements, 28-31) ravelins with cannon in place.

The measurements of interior plaza and exterior defensive walls remained the same as those recorded in 1770. However, the north defensive wall was described as having as stone foundations while the remaining three walls were palisade constructions of pine wood (Geiger 1967: 331). Fages notes that the north defensive wall was reconstructed with adobe brick given that “the humidity of the place tends to rot and destroy the wood” (Geiger 1967: 331). However, even if the climate had not compromised the security of the Presidio, adobe defensive walls were required under the

Royal Regulations of 1772, and the palisade wall would have eventually require replacement to meet this need. At the corners of the Presidio quadrangle were four ravelins (Geiger 1967: 331). Each of these ravelins contained batteries and a bronze cannon (Geiger 1967: 331).

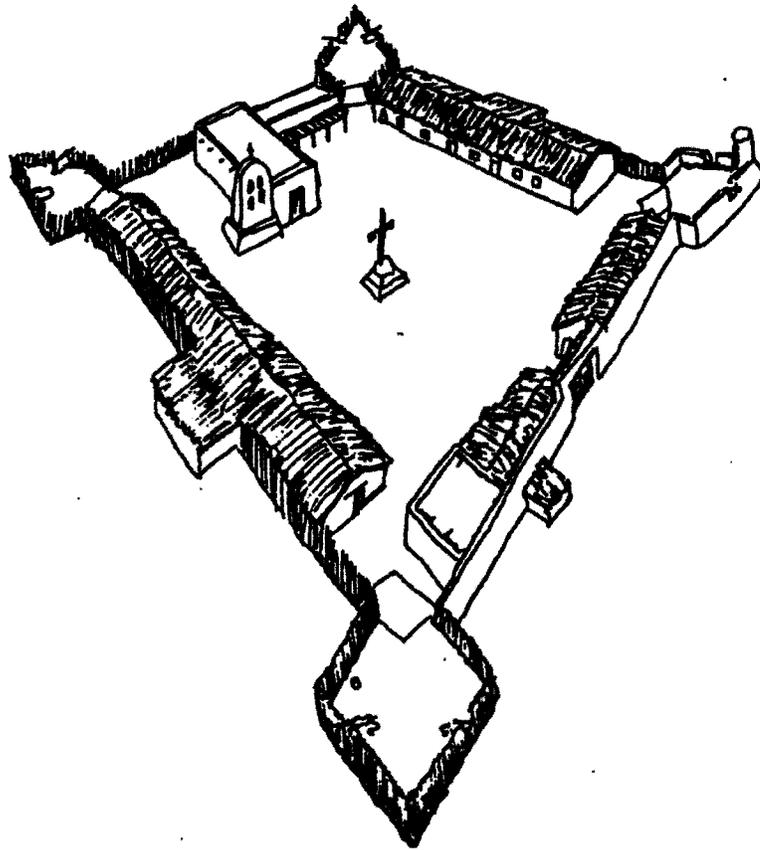


Figure 13. Conjectural reconstruction of the Presidio of Monterey in circa 1774, by Jack S. Williams (1993: 26).

Fages also describes several outlying buildings and structures in the Presidio's vicinity. These included a powder magazine four *varas* square (11 feet square) "at about a fifteen minutes walking distance from the presidio," a stockade four *varas* high, at a distance of four *varas*, and a guardhouse four *varas* square "a musket shot away leeward to the northwest" (Geiger 1967: 332). As described earlier, Fages' 1771 report documents a guardhouse for the powder magazine, four *varas* square. However, Fages did not

indicate whether or not both the guardhouse for the powder magazine and powder magazine itself were situated off site from the Presidio proper. Moreover, a temporary powder magazine was constructed in 1770 within the Presidio quadrangle. It is unclear if these are the same buildings constructed in 1771 or new buildings. In addition, Fages notes the cultivation of a Presidio garden about two miles from the site (Geiger 1967: 333). The garden was 120 *varas* in length and 70-80 *varas* wide, or 330 feet long and 192.5-220 feet wide (Geiger 1967: 333).

Captain Juan Bautista de Anza arrived at the Presidio of Monterey with a caravan of some 200 settlers on March 10, 1776 (Voss 2008: 41-42). Anza and the settlers rested at the Presidio prior to continuing north to the San Francisco peninsula to establish a mission and the Royal Presidio of San Francisco (Voss 2008: 42-43). Pedro Font, a Franciscan friar, accompanied Anza on the expedition (Voss 2008: 42). During his stay, Font commented in his diary on the conditions of the Presidio:

The royal presidio of Monterey is situated in a plain formed by the Sierra de Pinos, which ends here. It is close to the sea and about a quarter of a league from the port of Monterey. Its buildings form a square, on one side of which is the house of the commander and the storehouse in which the storekeeper lives. On the opposite side is a little chapel and the quarters or barracks of the soldiers, and on the other two sides there are some huts or small houses of the families and people who live there. All are built of logs and mud, with some adobe; and the square or plaza of the presidio, which is not large, is enclosed by a stockade or wall of logs. It is all a very small affair, and for lack of houses the people live in great discomfort. Nor is this for want of materials, for there is lime and timber to spare, but for lack of effort directed to the purpose. The commander, indeed, had to lodge in the storehouse, and I in a dirty little room full of lime, while the rest of the people accommodated themselves in the plaza with their tents as best they could [Web de Anza 2000; Williams 1993: 27].

Font observed several modifications to the Presidio since the Fages report of 1773. These include accommodations for a supply officer, the relocation of the soldiers' barracks to the missionaries' quarters, and the presence of soldiers' families within the quadrangle.

Francisco Rivera y Moncada was appointed as *commandante de armas* of Monterey in 1774 to replace Fages (Williams 1993: 25). Rivera sought the relocation of the Presidio to the Salinas River in 1777 because of the insufficient supply of water at Monterey (Bancroft 1886a: 309; Williams 1993: 28). The Viceroy approved the relocation of the Presidio but Rivera was reassigned to Loreto before he could implement the move (Williams 1993: 28). However, King Charles III vetoed the Viceroy's approval because he did not want to leave the Monterey Bay defenseless (Williams 1993: 32).

Felipe de Neve was transferred from Loreto to replace Rivera at the Presidio and appointed Governor of Alta and Baja California in 1777 (Williams 1993: 28). With this transfer and appointment, the Royal Presidio of Monterey became the capital of the Californias (Culleton 1950: 83; Williams 1993: 31). The entire original log stockade had collapsed by Neve's arrival in Monterey (Williams 1993: 32). Neve noted that the Presidio of Monterey was entirely unprepared in the event of an attack from either Native Californians or Europeans (Beilharz 1971: 73-83; Williams 1993: 32). Williams suggests that the condition of the Presidio was likely due to the soldiers and other occupants' anticipation of the Presidio's relocation to the Salinas Valley under Rivera's governance (Williams 1993: 32).

In 1777, Neve ordered the reconstruction and enlargement of the Presidio compound from Costansó's provisional plan to that of a compound measuring 50 by 50 *varas* or 137.5 by 137.5 feet (Howard 1971: 2, 4). The expansion of the Presidio encompassed the entire original Presidio (Williams 1993: 32). The measurements of this enlargement vary according to the source. The Presidio expansion ranges from approximately 330 to 369 feet square for the interior quadrangle and 400 to 427 feet on

each side for the defensive exterior wall (Beilharz 1971: 81; Howard 1971: 2, 4, 1978: 11; Williams 1993: 33). The walls of the defensive perimeter were expanded to approximately 4 feet in thickness and 12 feet in height (Howard 1978: 11). Neve ordered these walls constructed of rubble stone and adobe (Williams 1993: 33). Neve also commanded the construction of barracks of 18 by 136 feet, and 10 adobe houses measuring 21 by 24 feet along the east wall of the Presidio (Howard 1971: 4). As new buildings were constructed within the new quadrangle, old ones were dismantled (Williams 1993: 33). The exteriors and interiors of all buildings and structures were whitewashed with lime plaster (Williams 1993: 33). According to historian Edwin A. Beilharz “All this construction was the work of the soldiers” which would have been consistent with the Royal Regulations of 1772 (1971: 81).

By 1789, Fages reported to the Viceroy that the establishment of the four Royal Presidios of Alta California had been completed (Williams 1993: 52). On August 11 of that year, sparks from a standard salute to the Spanish ship *San Carlos* in the harbor caused a catastrophic fire at the Presidio of Monterey, thereby negating the progress reported by Fages (Bancroft 1886a: 468; Howard 1978: 56; Williams 1993: 52). Fages composed a second report that detailed the conflagration:

The packet boat San Carlos saluted the presidio with seven shots and the presidio answered with five, as is the custom. A spark jumped from one of the presidio cannons to the tule roof of a warehouse without anyone noticing it. Because of a very strong wind, a blaze soon developed. The roofs of the presidio were of *jacal de tule*, very combustible. Hence the destruction of the property that occurred was considerable. Four warehouses, the houses of the officers, the governor's house, that of the sergeant, and the houses of eleven of the troops--all were destroyed. More than half of the presidio was burned. Fages asked for fifteen or twenty Indians from San Carlos Mission to begin the reconstruction of the presidio. Fages had had three men come from the Presidio of Santa Barbara who were skilled in stone masonry. They were to make tiles for the roofs of the new presidio building [Howard 1978: 56].

According to Williams, the destruction at the Presidio in 1789 was “the single most devastating disaster to strike the settlement during the entire Spanish period” (1993: 52). Fages was then left with the task of reconstructing the Presidio (Williams 1993: 52). Roof tiles or *tejas* were created to replace thatched roofs (Williams 1993: 54). In addition, efforts were undertaken to complete an outer row of enclosed yards that separated the room blocks from the defensive wall and those buildings destroyed initiated (Williams 1993: 54). By 1790, nearly a year after the conflagration, the reconstruction of the defensive walls had been completed with the exception of two supplementary or countermure (low rampart) walls that served to enlarge the homes of families (Howard 1976: 39; Williams 1993: 54). Even as late 1791, some of the Presidio families were forced to reside “with some corrals” during the reconstruction phase of the Presidio (Howard 1976: 39).



Figure 14. *Vista del Presidio de Monte Rey*. Sketch of the Royal Presidio of Monterey by José Cardero, 1791-1792. Construction of third chapel and expansion of the south defensive wall as seen from the perspective of the southeast view to the northwest. Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

The Presidio of Monterey was visited by several expeditions, both Spanish and foreign during the 1790s. As noted in Chapter 4, the Spanish government funded a scientific expedition “around the world” between 1789 and 1794 (Cutter 1960: v-vii). In 1791, the Presidio was visited by the naval expedition led by Captains Alejandro Malaspina and José Bustamante y Guerra (Cutter 1960: v). Malaspina described the Presidio and its setting as he perceived it when entering the port:

Looking toward the presidio, the memory of the usefulness and pleasure of country life was renewed by the various objects which included the soldiers, their figures and faces extraordinarily healthful and robust, and their own little children busy tending livestock or entertaining themselves in roping a steer or riding horseback [Cutter 1960: 49].

Expedition illustrators José Cardero and Tomás de Suría accompanied the captains and documented the natural and cultural landscapes of Monterey (Cutter 1960: v, 12, 14). Cardero’s illustrations document the Presidio in its iteration of 1791, including the construction of the third chapel (see Figure 14, above).

The following year, the Presidio was visited by a British expedition led by Captain George Vancouver (Williams 1993: 61). According to Williams, Vancouver found the Presidio of Monterey “not nearly as impressive as might be expected” (1993: 62). Vancouver described the Presidio as follows:

...the present Presidio is the identical one that was built on the first establishment of this port in the year 1770, without having undergone the least improvement or alteration since that period. The buildings of the presidio form a parallelogram, comprehending an area of about three hundred yards long, by two hundred and fifty yards wide, making one entire inclosure. The external wall is of the same magnitude, and built with the same materials; and except that the officers apartments are covered in with a fort of red tile made in the neighborhood, the whole presents the same lonely uninteresting appearance, as already described at St. Francisco. Like that establishment, the several buildings for the use of the officers, soldiers, & etc., and for the protection of stores and provisions, are erected along the walls on the inside of the enclosure, which admits of but for one

entrance for carriages or persons on horseback; this, as at St. Francisco, is on the side of the square fronting the church, which was rebuilding with stone like that at St. Carlos [Vancouver 1801: 72-73].

Vancouver's interpretation of the Presidio is flawed. As previously described within this section, the Presidio had undergone several reconstructions. By the time Vancouver arrived in 1791, the Presidio's configuration doubled in size since 1770, and was constructed of logs, adobe, and stone. It is unclear where Vancouver obtained his information about the Presidio, particularly as he had not previously visited Alta California. Perhaps Vancouver simply assumed that the Presidio remained unchanged since its founding.

Another important observation about Vancouver's description is the measurements he provided for the Presidio quadrangle. Although Vancouver claimed that the Presidio measured 300 by 250 yards, it is unlikely that the Presidio measured larger than approximately 400 by 427 feet (see Table 3). Williams suggests that Vancouver was prone to exaggerate his descriptions (1993: 61). For example, in 1792 Vancouver described the quadrangle of the Royal Presidio of San Francisco as 200 yards square when Presidio Captain Hermenegildo Sal recorded the site as 120 *varas* or 330 feet in that same year (Williams 1993: 61).

Between 1792 and 1821, the primary objective of the presidios of Alta California transitioned from serving as a defensive measure for and against Native Californians to protecting the ports (Williams 1993: 69). This was implemented through the construction and repair of defensive structures (Williams 1993: 69). At Monterey, batteries such as *El Castillo* were constructed for purposes of defending the port against foreign vessels. In addition, the reconstruction of ravelins as bastions as part of the Presidio's defense was completed in circa 1795 (Williams 1993: 74). By 1797, Presidio ramparts were also

under repair (Williams 1993: 74). In order to provide additional defense of the ports, new barracks were constructed in order to accommodate more soldiers and artillerymen (Williams 1993: 87).

In 1800, second lieutenant Raymundo Carrillo, the post commandant of Monterey described the Presidio's condition, number of buildings and structures within the quadrangle, and expressed the need for funding in order to implement reconstruction operations:

Four wings made partly of stone, and partly of adobes, roofed in tile, of one hundred and ten varas on each side.

In the north wing stands the main gate and a corresponding guardhouse. Three small rooms stand on one side of the gate, and on the other, two large warehouses and a small additional room. Two of the later are threatening to fall into ruins, one wall having opened up after it had become dislodged from its foundations.

West wing - there is the governor's house, with a main hall, eight small rooms and a kitchen; five with platform beds; a barracks; two houses for officers; and another for the surgeon. All require reconstruction as a result of having been built upon walls that had been burned by the fire that took place in 1789.

South wing - there are nine apartments of the families of the troops. In the middle of the wing is the church, which is in need of repair.

East wing - nine rooms for the families of the troops, and another which is used for the forge.

The last two wings have their small enclosures of eight varas on a side, the majority are in a very bad state.

The entire presidio is in need of repairs to its tile roofs [Williams 1993: 73, 75-76].

However, before receiving a reply, a natural disaster hit Monterey (Williams 1993: 76). In 1801, a series of storms swept through California and damaged many Spanish settlements along the coastline (Williams 1993: 76). In the aftermath of this climatic event, Governor José Joaquin de Arrillaga reported that:

I wish to announce that the church and other structures are in ruins... That after the work of twenty years by the troops, Indians, and settlers, in building this post, it [the Presidio] has been rendered useless by the rains and the building's fragile character ... I [now] believe that it is necessary that the works at Monterey and San Diego be started anew, in a more solid manner [Williams 1993: 76].

Despite these additional damages, the Presidio managed to restore its functionality (Williams 1993: 76). In addition, the Presidio population had increased during that year and 17 apartment homes were added to the south wing of the quadrangle (Williams 1993: 76). Rebuilding efforts of the Presidio continued into the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Pablo Vicente de Solá, the governor of Alta California (1814-1822), sought to expand the quadrangle by 100 feet (Williams 1993: 94). Solá ordered the construction of a new west defensive wall (Edwards and Simpson-Smith 1994: 15). Second lieutenant José Mariano Estrada reported the state of Presidio in 1816:

The structures are made up of four wings made of stone and adobe; roofed in tile; and of one hundred and seventy-five varas in length, and one hundred and twenty-eight varas in width [481 by 352 feet].

On the wing on the north side is the main gate to the guardhouse, a jail, a barracks, and four houses to be used as habitations for the corporals; all these stand on one side; and on the other; a jail, a small infirmary, and a house for the habitation of the sergeant.

On the south exists a church and eight houses, one of these has two rooms, a kitchen, and a room for storage; with a sally port on one side; and on the other five rooms that have been re-roofed so as to survive the rains.

On the east there are fourteen houses and a room which serves as a forge; and the main gate for coming in and going out on horseback.

In the west are the house of the governor, the house of the lieutenant, the house of the alférez, the house of the surgeon, the house of a cadet, two warehouses, each one measuring eight varas [22 feet]. The house of the lieutenant is in the same state as last year.

To the north, outside the presidio, is a granary measuring fifteen varas long [41 feet] and ten varas wide [27 feet; Williams 1993: 95].



requested copies of the plans of the four presidios of Alta California in 1878 so that the artist Edward Vischer could paint them “for posterity” as he did the 21 missions (1985: 68- 69). Historian Justin Ruhge suggests that General Vallejo drew the map from memory given that he served as Commandant of the Presidio of Monterey in 1836 and as a soldier in previous years (2009: 79).

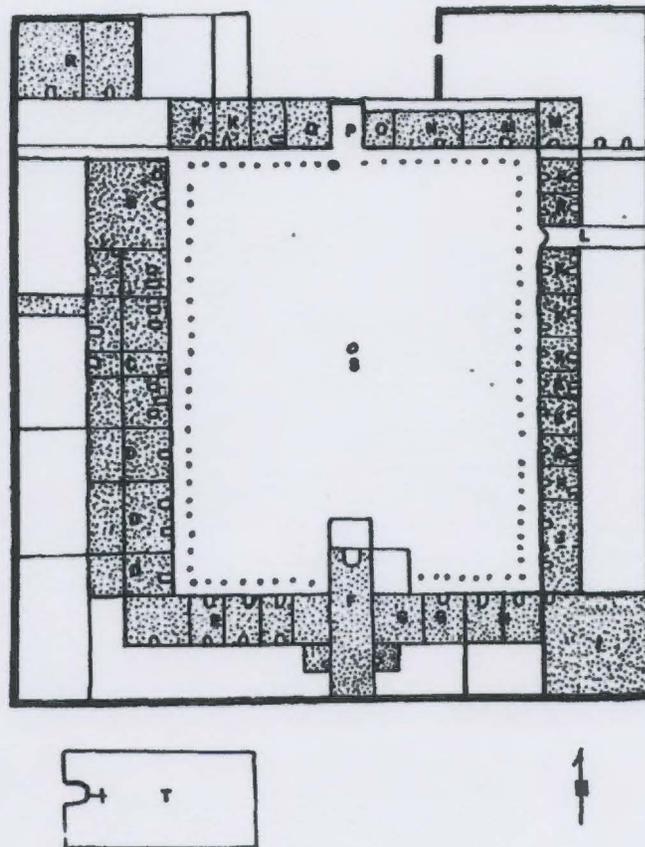


Figure 16. 1820 map redrawn by Jack Williams (1993: 101). Williams' key: A) barracks, B) warehouse, C) governor's house, D) officer's house, E) not legible on original, F), Chapel of 1794, G) Padres' quarters, H) blacksmiths' houses, I) bastion (ravelin), J) forge, K) houses of the settlers and married soldiers, L) sally port, M) corporal's houses, N) cavalry barracks, O) jail, P) main gate, Q) guardhouse, R) infantry barracks, S) flagpole, T) cemetery.

However, Sergeant Ignacio Vallejo (General Vallejo's father) supervised the reconstruction of the Presidio of Monterey (Williams 1993: 99). Therefore, it is plausible that the map was originally drawn by Sergeant Vallejo and later copied. Alternatively,

Whitehead suggests that this map as well as the other three presidio maps may have been ordered by Governor Solá (1983: 69). In 1818, Solá visited the Presidios of Alta California and reported his observations to the Viceroy, although no mention of the maps was included in his report (Whitehead 1983: 69).

The Presidio's quadrangle and built environment was influenced by military leaders such as Pedro Fages, Felipe de Neve, and Pablo Vicente de Solá (see Appendix B). These men oversaw the construction and reconfiguration of the Presidio as the population and military objectives expanded over time. In addition, external forces, such as fires, inclement weather, and foreign attacks affected the formation and underdevelopment of the quadrangle.

**Table 3. Chronology of the Royal Presidio of Monterey Quadrangle**

| Year              | Wall Measurements   | Material               | Notes   | Source(s)   |
|-------------------|---|------------------------|---|---|
| 1770              | Interior plaza, 50 <i>varas</i> sq. (137.5 ft. sq.)<br>Exterior wall, 90 <i>varas</i> sq. (248 ft. sq.) | Palisade               | Log fortress  | Williams 1993: 12-13, 128                                 |
| 1773              | Interior plaza, 50 <i>varas</i> sq. (137.5 x 137.5 ft.)   | Palisade and adobe     | Adobe north wall  | Fages 1773 report; Geiger 1967: 331                       |
| 1778              | Each side ranges from 400-427 ft.   | Rubble stone and adobe | Walls 4ft thick, 12 ft. high (Neve)                       | Howard 1978: 1; Williams 1993: 33                         |
| 1778<br>-<br>1789 | 330 ft. sq. (interior)<br>369 ft. sq. ft.<br>402 ft. sq. (exterior)                                     | Stone and adobe        |   | Beilharz 1971: 81; Bancroft 1886: 331; Williams 1993: 128 |
| 1792              | Interior plaza, 300 yd. x 250 yd.   | Adobe                  | Parallelogram shape. Measurements exaggerated (Vancouver) | Howard 1971: 2; Williams 1993: 61                         |
| 1800              | 110 <i>varas</i> square (302.5 ft. sq.)   | Adobe                  | (Carrillo)  | Howard 1981: 13   |
| 1803              | 110 <i>varas</i> square (302.5 ft. sq.)   | Adobe                  | (Guerra)  | Howard 1981: 14   |
| 1815              | 200 <i>varas</i> (550 ft.)  | Adobe                  | (Hittell 1897 based on Alvarado)                          | Howard 1971: 3  |
| 1816              | 175 x 128 <i>varas</i> (481 x 352 ft.)  | Adobe                  | (Estrada)   | Howard 1981: 15   |
| 1817              | N/A   | Adobe                  | Pablo Vicente Sola ordered new west defensive wall        | Edwards and Simpson-Smith 1994: 15                        |
| 1820              | Interior plaza, 229 x 172 ft.<br>Exterior wall, 333 x 372 ft.   | Adobe                  | (Vallejo)   | Williams 1993: 128  |
| 1820<br>-<br>1830 | 656 ft. sq.<br>330 ft. sq. (exterior)   | N/A                    | Undefended plaza (Duhaut-Cilly 1827; Pattie 1831)         | Williams 1993: 128  |

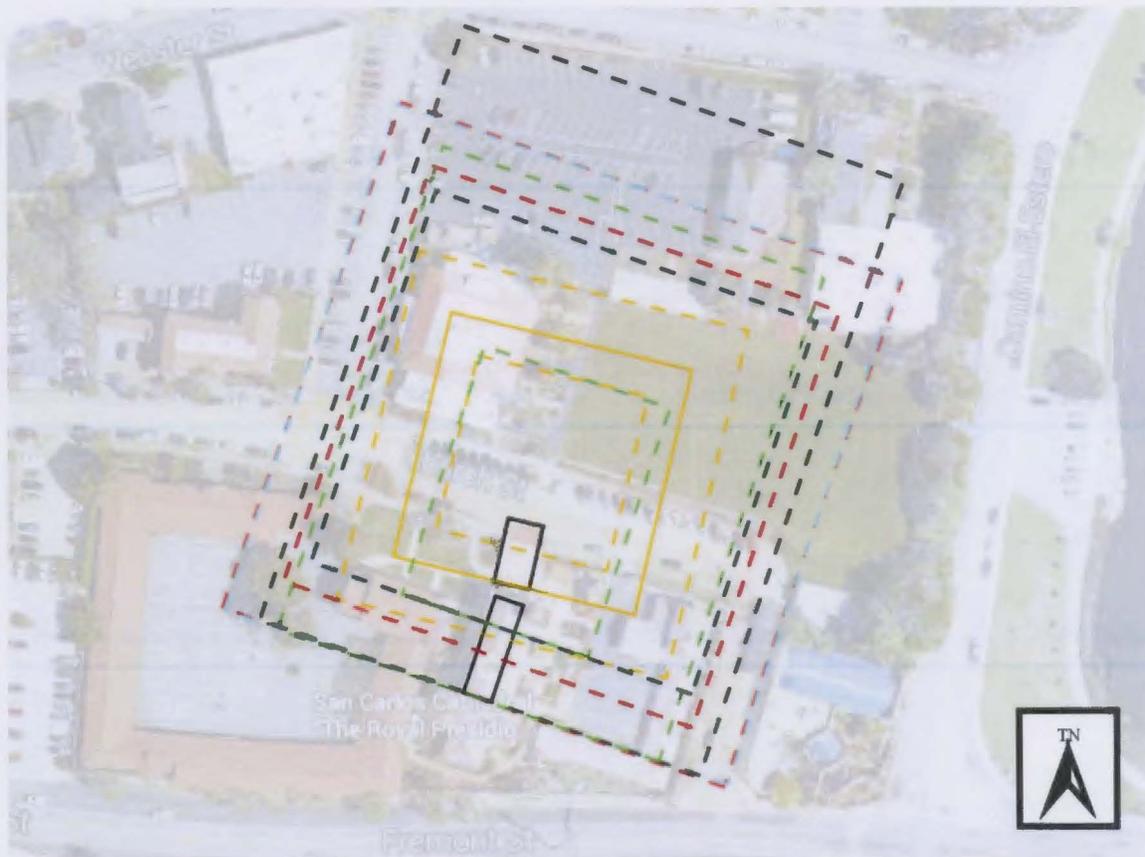


Figure 17. Conjectural projection of the Presidio quadrangle, 1770-1820 over Google Earth (2014). Gold: 1770-1777, red: 1778-1789, light blue: 1790-1815, black: 1816; and green: 1820. The Royal Presidio Chapels of 1772 and 1794 are depicted by the black rectangles. Line art by the author.

*Evolution of the Royal Presidio Chapels.* Archaeological evidence (see Chapter 6) suggests that only three Royal Presidio chapels were constructed at the Presidio of Monterey (Mendoza 2013: 47-48). These chapels included 1) the pole and thatch building (*jaca*), or the Chapel of 1770, 2) the adobe Chapel of 1772, and 3) the extant stone Chapel of 1794 supervised by master stonemason, Manuel Ruiz (Mendoza 2013: 43-44). However, according to archaeologist Don Howard (1978:9), there were four chapels. The first two were *jacales* converted to chapels in circa 1770-1772, the third chapel was

constructed of adobe in 1773, and finally, the fourth chapel was built of stone and completed in 1794 (Howard 1978:9). The documentary record appears to corroborate more with the archaeological evidence recovered by Rubén Mendoza than that of Howard (Mendoza 2013: 47-48).

The first Presidio chapel was constructed in June and July 1770. Father Francisco Palóu notes that a chapel as constructed “of poles and mud was erected, to serve as a temporary church” (Watson and Temple II 1934: 109). As noted in the previous section, this first church was located within a larger pole and thatch building that had multiple functions in addition to use as a chapel (Serra 1955a: 187). This chapel is considered one of the earliest Christian houses of worship identified with the ministry of Father Junípero Serra (Mendoza 2013:32).

The initiation and completion of the second chapel is unknown at this time. According to James Culleton, Fages’ 1771 plat map “indicates that a site at least been chosen for a new church” although at the time of this thesis, no reproduction of the map has been located to corroborate this fact (1950: 60). Therefore, it is likely that the second church was built sometime between 1771 and 1773 (Geiger 1967: 328).

This second church is also detailed in Fages’ 1773 report to the Viceroy (Geiger 1967: 328). Fages states that “In the wing of the presidio on the south side facing the base is an adobe church whose foundations are of stone set in mortar” (Geiger 1967: 328). This new church measured 15 *varas* long, 7 *varas* wide, and 7 *varas* high, or 41.25 feet long, 19.25 feet wide, and 19.25 feet high. The roof of the church was flat and consisted of four spouts to carry off rainwater (Geiger 1967: 328).

The new church also had an adobe bell tower located on its east elevation (Geiger 1967: 328). The bell tower measured 6 *varas* by 6 *varas*, and 15 *varas* high, or 16.5 feet long, 16.5 feet wide, and 41.25 feet high. Fages also notes that the tower was “surmounted by a cupola in the shape of a half orange” with an iron cross (Geiger 1967: 328). Both the exteriors and interiors of the church and the bell tower were covered in lime plaster (Geiger 1967: 328).

By 1778, the second chapel stood in the middle of the *plaza* because Neve had significantly expanded the interior quadrangle and defensive walls (Williams 1993: 36). Little to no modifications of the Presidio chapel had been made at this time (Williams 1993: 36). In 1789, Fages, the succeeding governor, ordered the fabrication of new adobes for a proposed third chapel (Bancroft 1886a: 468; Williams 1993: 41). The second chapel remained in use by the Presidio populace until the completion of the new chapel in 1794 (Kimbrow 1999: II-V; Mendoza 2013: 38).

The third Royal Presidio Chapel, completed in 1794, is the most thoroughly documented of the three chapels. A host of primary sources, including letters and reports, illustrations, and paintings document the Chapel’s construction, completion, and modification over time. Furthermore, unlike the previous chapels, the design and construction of Royal Presidio Chapel of 1794 was influenced by explicit architectural principles and practices (Mendoza and Lucido 2015: 6).

In Mexico City, the *Real Academia de San Carlos de Nueva España* (est. 1786), or the Royal Academy of San Carlos of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture (RASC), provided oversight of Neoclassical revival and architectural styles for New Spain, including the northern frontier (Deans-Smith 2010: 280; Mendoza and Lucido 2015: 4).

RASC was one of four art academies founded under Spanish royal patronage and the sole academy established in Spain's American colonies (Deans-Smith 2010: 279). The other three academies were based in Spain (Deans-Smith 2010: 279). RASC provided education and training in fine arts and arts for the citizens in Mexico City (Deans-Smith 2010: 280).

RASC "was intended as a 'commercial utility' to foster and promote employment for artisans and artists with specialties in painting, sculpture, architecture, and print and metal engraving" (Deans-Smith 2010: 280). According to historian Susan Deans-Smith:

Architectural plans for major ecclesiastical and secular buildings from cities and towns throughout the Spanish empire were to be submitted to the [Architecture Commission at the] Madrid academy for final assessment and approval, regardless of whether they possessed an academy or not [2010: 283].

As such, the design of the third Royal Presidio Chapel was subjected to review by the Architecture Commission in Mexico City.

Fages initiated the process for construction of the third chapel in 1789 (Williams 1993: 54). In 1790, Fages noted that the Chapel of 1772 was too "small and in the center of the plaza," and therefore he deemed it "necessary to build it new and in a better site" (Howard 1976: 39). However, it was not until the beginning of 1791 that work towards constructing a new chapel began (Williams 1993: 54). However, instead of building another adobe church, Fages decided that the third Presidio chapel should be built of stone (Kimbrow 1999: II-2). As noted in the previous section, the Presidio was visited by the Malaspina-Bustamante expedition during this initial construction phase of the Chapel of 1794. The drawings by Cardero document the Presidio and the construction of the third chapel (see Figure 14, above and Figure 18 below).



Figure 18. *Plaza de Armas*. Sketch of the Royal Presidio of Monterey by José Cardero, 1791-1792. Chapel of 1772 as seen from the northeast to the southwest with the construction of the third chapel observed in the background. Note the thatched-roof second chapel described in Fages' 1773 report. Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Later that year, Manuel Ruiz and his two journeymen stonemasons, Salvador and Joaquin Rivera of Mexico City, were contracted to work on the new chapel and to teach both settlers and Native Californians their craft (Geiger 1952: 208; Mendoza 2012: 27; Milliken 1995: 277; Williams 1993: 54). Unlike the two previous chapels, the Chapel of 1794 was designed to have an elaborate stone-carved façade (Williams 1993: 83). Ruiz designed a plan of the façade that was sent to Mexico City for an architectural review by RASC (Williams 1993: 84). Antonio Velásquez, director of RASC, reviewed and revised Ruiz's plan (Williams 1993: 84). Velásquez's plan simplified the Ruiz plan as per cost considerations (Geiger 1952: 209; Williams 1993: 84).

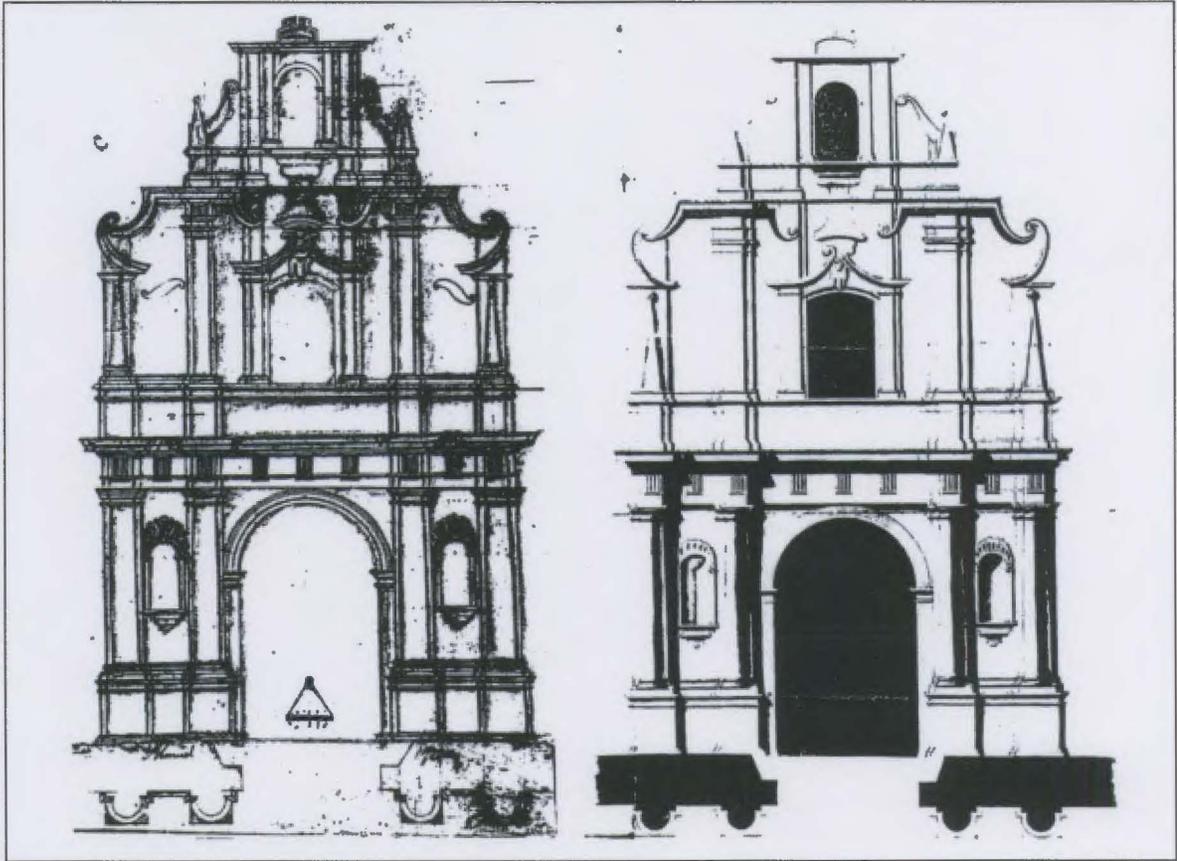


Figure 19. Proposed façade plans by Ruiz (left) and Velázquez (right), circa 1791-1792. Courtesy of the Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City.

The Chapel of 1794 was dedicated in January 1795 by Father Fermín Francisco de Lasuén (Williams 1993: 84). In 1810, an adobe sacristy (west) and stone baptistery (east) were added to the Chapel (Mendoza 2012: 8, 83; Williams 1993: 84). The Chapel continued to be modified and reconstructed as damages accrued during the Spanish, Mexican, and American periods (Williams 1993: 84).



Figure 20. Conjectural map showing the evolution of the Royal Presidio Chapels in relation to the quadrangle, 1770-1840. Courtesy of the Royal Presidio Chapel Heritage Center Museum. Photo by the author.

*Military Operations on the Monterey Bay.* The Royal Regulations of 1772 assigned duties for all ranks of military personnel (Brinckerhoff and Faulk 1965: 39). The highest ranked men were expected to supervise, train, discipline, and provide for their subordinates (Brinckerhoff and Faulk 1965: 39, 41). The lower-ranked soldiers, such as the *soldados de cuera* or leather-jacket soldiers, were expected to “give the blindest obedience” to their superiors, maintain their uniforms and arms, among other duties that demonstrate “good behavior” (Brinckerhoff and Faulk 1965: 43; Williams 1993: 2).

In the context of the frontier, however, implementation and enforcement of these duties varied according to the military leader in charge. In his capacity as captain, Fages upheld the Royal Regulations of 1772 at the Royal Presidio of Monterey. For example, the Regulations stated that “He [the captain] cannot excuse the most minute fault in the health, hardiness, and resolution of a soldier” (Brinckerhoff and Faulk 1965: 41). While Corporal Periqués and others complained of Fages’ relentless treatment of the soldiers during the construction of the Presidio, Fages in fact acted in accord with his duties as captain.

Although most soldiers were required to stand guard at the Presidio, some served as members of an *escolta* or mission guard (Williams 1993: 13). An *escolta* generally consisted of three to six soldiers, including a corporal, who were stationed at missions within the Presidio’s jurisdiction (Lightfoot 2005: 57; Williams 1993: 13). The primary duties of the mission guard were to protect the mission, enforce the missionization process, and bring back neophytes or converted Native Californians who had fled or otherwise left without a *paseo* or approved leave (Lightfoot 2005: 61; Schneider et al. 2012: 328).

From 1770-1781, *escoltas* were established at Missions San Carlos, San Antonio, and San Luis Obispo (Williams 1993: 171). A guard was also assigned to protect the Presidio’s ranch, *Rancho del Rey* (Williams 1993: 171). From 1782-1792, the Presidio of Monterey was composed of a lieutenant (commandant), an *alférez* (second lieutenant), a sergeant, five corporals, and 46 enlisted men (Williams 1993: 173). In addition, the founding of Mission Soledad within the Presidio’s jurisdiction required the dispatchment of a fourth *escolta* (Williams 1993: 173). From circa 1792 to 1825, the Presidio provided

additional *escoltas* for Missions San Miguel and San Juan Bautista but also stationed men at *El Castillo*, a gun battery, a new customs house, as well as at the *pueblo* or settler town of *San José* (Williams 1993: 174). By that time, the Presidio accommodated additional sergeants, corporals, 62 enlisted men, and five artillerymen (Williams 1993: 174).

*El Castillo de Monterey* or *El Castillo* was established in 1792 as an off-site battery of the Presidio in Monterey (Spencer-Hancock and Pritchard 1984: 231). *El Castillo* was located on a hillside that overlooked the bay and functioned to protect the port of Monterey against foreign invaders (Spencer-Hancock and Pritchard 1984: 231). *El Castillo* was V-shaped, formed by two 60-foot long wings built of adobe that looked out on the harbor (Spencer-Hancock and Pritchard 1984: 233). The wings formed a platform with a crenelated wall design that functioned to protect soldiers and as mount ten to twelve canons (Spencer-Hancock and Pritchard 1984: 233). In addition, two buildings were constructed near the apex of the platform, including a powder magazine and a one and one-half-story adobe barracks building for artillerymen (Spencer-Hancock and Pritchard 1984: 233).

Vancouver observed in 1791 the development of *El Castillo* in addition to his descriptions of the Presidio compound:

The four dismounted cannon, together with those placed at the entrance into the presidio, are intended for a fort to be built on a small eminence that commands the anchorage. A large quantity of timber is at present in readiness for carrying that design into execution: which when completed, [*El Castillo*] might certainly be capable of annoying vessels in that part of the bay which affords the greatest security, but could not be of any importance after a landing was accomplished as the hills behind it might be easily gained, from when the assailing party would soon oblige the fort to surrender [Spencer-Hancock and Pritchard 1984: 231; Williams 1993: 62]. . .

Indeed, *El Castillo* did defend the Presidio against naval vessels that threatened the settlement on several occasions (Spencer-Hancock and Pritchard 1984: 231). The most notable of these attacks occurred when the Argentine Privateer Captain Hippolyte Bouchard attacked in 1818.

Bouchard invaded Monterey on November 21, 1818 (Walton 2001: 75).

According to Williams, Bouchard's intentions were to "loot and pillage" Monterey in the hope of instigating a rebellion against the Spanish empire (1993: 91). Bouchard led two heavily armed ships, the *Argentina* and the *Santa Rosa* composed of a diverse crew, including Hawaiians, Malaysians, Filipinos, Englishmen, Americans, Spaniards, Portuguese, and criollos (Spencer-Hancock and Pritchard 1984: 235; Williams 1993: 91). Having sighted Bouchard's ships the day before the invasion, some 25 Presidio soldiers, 11 militiamen, and 4 artillerymen were prepared to defend the port of Monterey (Uhrowcizk 2001: 63). In addition, the civilian population of Monterey evacuated the town in anticipation of an attack, some seeking refuge as far south as Mission Soledad (Uhrowcizk 2001: 72).

The *Santa Rosa* anchored in the Monterey harbor (Uhrowcizk 2001: 65). As a result, *El Castillo* and a beach battery fired its guns at the ship and successfully defeated the *Santa Rosa* (Uhrowcizk 2001: 66). According to historian Peter Uhrowcizk, "This was the only time in the history of California that a shore battery engaged in a gun battle with enemy ships" (2001: 67).

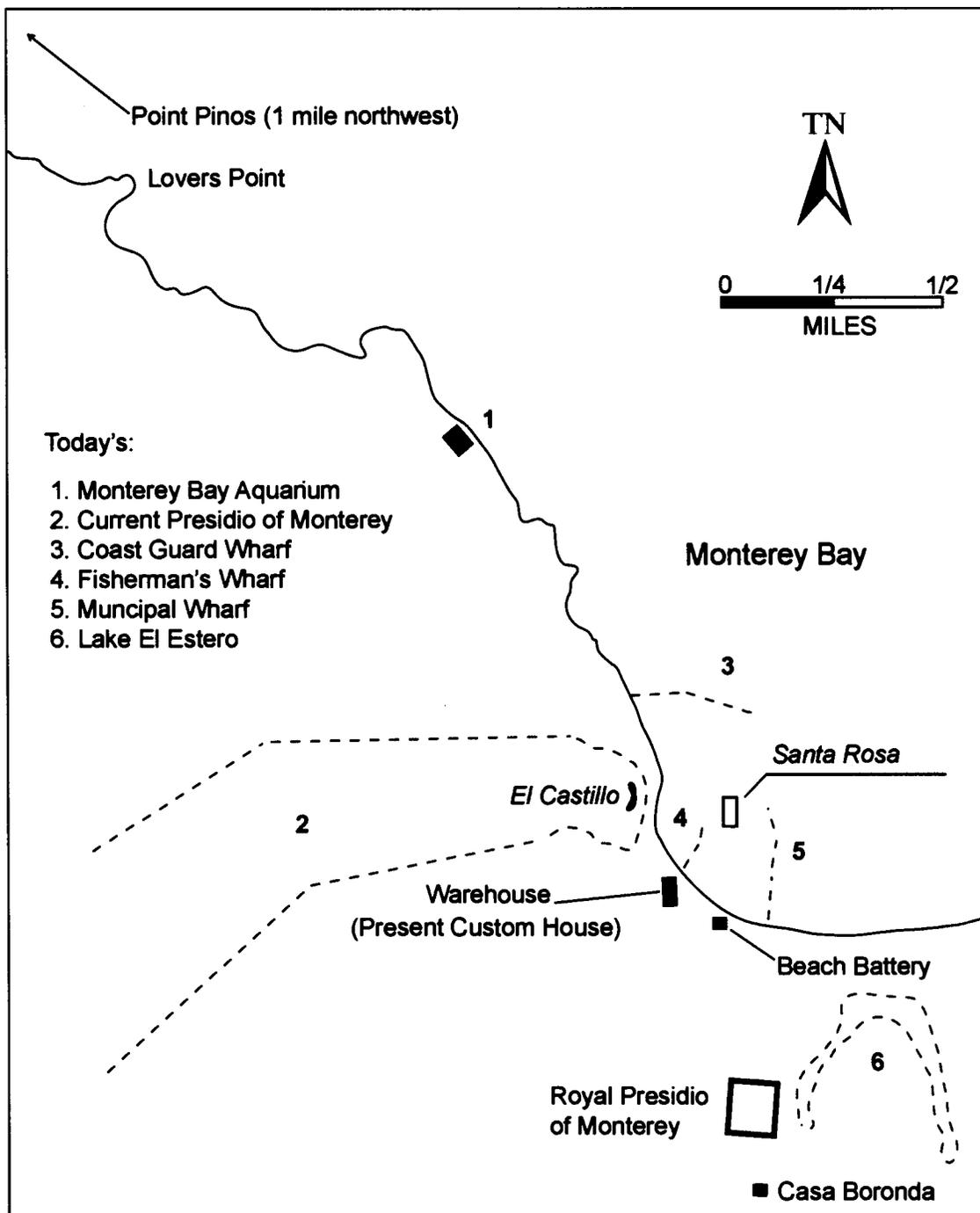


Figure 21. Map of *El Castillo* in relation to the Presidio of Monterey and Bouchard's ship, the *Santa Rosa* in 1818, by Uhrowczik (2000: 65). Redrawn by the author.

Governor Solá sent a report of the battle to the Viceroy in which he acknowledged the crucial role of the artillerymen led by *alfereces* Manuel Gómez and José Estrada, the commandants of *El Castillo*:

At dawn, November 21, the *Santa Rosa* opened fire on the shore battery. The eight Spanish guns, six and eight pounders, were not all serviceable, but returned fire, and with so much skill and good luck were they aimed by the veterans and amateurs under Gomez, that after a two-hour battle during which they kept up a constant and effective fire, they did much damage to the frigate [*Santa Rosa*]. They were aided by the men of the presidial company who bore themselves at the battery with an unspeakable serenity despite the balls that were falling around them. The insurgents lost five men, many more were wounded and transferred to the *Argentina* before a cease-fire was requested and [they] lowered their flag [Spencer-Hancock and Pritchard 1984: 235-236; Uhrowcizk 2001:29].

Despite this success, Bouchard still managed to capture Monterey for a period of several days (Spencer-Hancock and Pritchard 1984: 236). Bouchard sent 400 men ashore during which they managed to storm *El Castillo* and burn Monterey (Spencer-Hancock and Pritchard 1984: 236). The Presidio soldiers retreated to *Rancho del Rey* (Uhrowcizk 2001: 72).

As a result, the Presidio suffered many damages. The north and south wings of the Presidio were severely burned, destroying three houses (Williams 1993: 98). The west wing, which contained the houses of the commandant and the governor, was damaged (Williams 1993: 98). As noted by Williams (1993: 98) and Uhrowcizk (2001: 74), given that the Presidio houses were built of adobe, the only parts that burned were the wooden roof beams. The Royal Presidio Chapel, however, remained unscathed (Uhrowcizk 2001: 74). In the years following the attack on Monterey, *El Castillo* was enlarged and modified but gradually fell into ruin by the 1830s (Spencer-Hancock and Pritchard 1984: 236, 239).

*Ecological Impacts of the Presidio.* As noted by historian John Walton, “Europeans and Indians used their environment in fundamentally incompatible ways” (2001: 36). As a result, “environmental conflict [was] set in motion” in Alta California, impacting both Native Californians and the settlers (Lightfoot and Parrish 2009: 66). The Royal Presidio of Monterey was no exception (Culleton 1950: 143).

Ranching and large-scale agriculture were among the first major Spanish colonial industries introduced into Alta California (Walton 2001: 36). Ranching provided meat, leather, hide, tallow, and other products for use at the missions and the presidios. In the archaeological record at the Presidio, the remains of cattle and pig are most abundant. This is attributed to their adaptability to New World environments. By contrast, sheep were less adaptive and represent a lower percentage of faunal remains (Lucido 2013: 61).

In Fages’ 1773 report, he notes that the Presidio managed three pig styes “facing the open country” and a fourth, larger pig stye at a distance of 40 *varas* (Geiger 1967: 331). Also at this distance are two corrals 50 *varas* in circumference for cows and mules (Geiger 1967: 331). The introduction of these animals had variable impacts on the presidial landscape. By 1781, there were ongoing problems with cattle overgrazing and drought at the Presidio, which consequently impacted native grasses and seeds and reduced the food supply of wild game in Monterey (Lucido 2013: 62; Walton 2000: 36-37). As a result, some of these herds were relocated from Monterey to the Pueblo de Los Angeles (Lucido 2013: 62).

Problems regarding Presidio livestock continued during the 1780s and 1790s (Bancroft 1886a: 683; Culleton 1950: 143; Walton 2001: 36). Native Californians stole livestock and destroyed Presidio ranches in the Salinas Valley (Culleton 1950: 143;

Walton 2001: 36). According to Walton, Serra charged the Presidio of Monterey with the responsibility for the actions of Native Californians as a result of the impact of the Presidio's livestock on native lifeways (Walton 2001: 36).

Governor Felipe de Neve retaliated against the actions of these Native Californians and ordered:

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

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

The Presidio's operation caused other impacts on the Native Californian landscape as the Presidio soldiers engaged in intensive extraction of natural resources in the surrounding area. Mariano Carrillo, a Catalonian Volunteer soldier of Monterey describes some of these operations during the initial years of the Presidio's establishment:

...we were ordered to erect a warehouse, to store the supplies of the King... We were also told that since there were no other men for the task, we soldiers would have to undertake it. At once the work of cutting timber and transporting it on mules was begun. We soldiers acted as woodsmen and muleteers, without any of us being excused, and although there were two muleteers at hand, everyone did a like share of the work...

The amount of work per day at cutting timber was set as follows: fifty logs of from three to four varas in length, if of good width; if they were thinner, and then

sixty must be cut daily. The work of those who transported the logs, depending on the distance they had to carry them [Howard 1978: 53-54]...

The Presidio also engaged in salt extraction. In his 1773 report, Fages details the harvesting and transportation of salt from salt beds or marshes about 10 miles away from the Presidio (Geiger 1967: 331). Fages ordered “about 200 loads of salt to be dug up” and clearly intended the continued extraction of this resource during the summer and early fall (Geiger 1967: 331). Fages anticipated that at this rate of salt extraction, “one could obtain hundreds of loads” (Geiger 1967: 331).

Additional impacts to the environment introduced by the way of Spanish colonialism arose from the restriction of certain Native Californian practices. In 1773, Fages prohibited anthropogenic burning or fire management of the landscape (Cuthrell, Striplen, Hylkema, and Lightfoot 2012; 155). Fages noted that tribes practicing anthropogenic burning were

...wont to cause these fires because they have the bad habit, once harvesting their seeds, and not having any other animal to look after except their stomachs, set fire to the brush so that new weeds may grow to produce more seeds, also to catch rabbits that get overcome and confused by the smoke [Cuthrell, Striplen, Hylkema, and Lightfoot 2012: 155].

Impacts to the environment and Native Californian subsistence practices were further impacted by the introduction of foreign plants. In his 1773 report, Fages notes that a garden about 1.5 miles from the Presidio produced vegetables, although most of the Presidio’s off site agricultural production was undertaken at ranches in the Salinas Valley (Geiger 1967: 333). Individually, the Presidio level of agriculture and foreign plant species may not have wrought major changes to the environment. However, the large-scale agriculture production in the missions of California impacted native plant diversity and overwhelmed some native species (Anderson 2005: 76-77).

### **Ethnogenesis in Alta California**

The frontier of Alta California represented a range of opportunities for the Spanish empire and the initial settlers who colonized the region during the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. For Spain, Alta California was a frontier that functioned to support imperial objectives. However, for the colonists of Alta California, the frontier afforded an opportunity to negotiate, transform, and reconstruct sociocultural and ethnic identities (Lucido 2014: 82). This section applies Di Hu's four-quadrant scheme and four tipping points that have the potential to prompt ethnogenesis (see Chapter 2). Hu's scheme holds the potential to further contextualize the process at Monterey and the formation of the colonial landscape. In addition, this section examines the *sistema de castas*, and how it was deconstructed by the ethnogenesis process of those soldiers (*soldados*) and settlers (*pobladores*) identified with the Royal Presidio of Monterey.

*A Landscape for New Beginnings.* During the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, prospective soldiers and military settlers were attracted to the frontier of Alta California by various influences and incentives. These influences embody Hu's four tipping points that set the stage for ethnogenesis in Alta California. This in turn helps to understand the socioeconomic climate of New Spain and some of the reasons why Spanish citizens were prompted to depart their homelands (Lucido 2014: 94). Most settlers in Alta California originated from the northwestern provinces of Sinaloa and Sonora, New Spain (Lucido 2014: 95). Colonists also migrated from the provinces of Baja California, Jalisco, Nayarit, Chihuahua, and Durango (Mason 1998: 65). These Spanish citizens worked primarily as artisans, farmers, cattle-herders, and shepherds in their homelands (Mason 1998: 5).

In Sinaloa and Sonora, a host of circumstances impacted the lifeways of the colonists (Lucido 2014: 95). Crop failure, flooding and drought, ongoing Apache and Seri attacks on Spanish settlements, and the depletion of area silver and gold mines affected the source communities (Hackel 2005: 57; Lucido 2014: 95; Mason 1998: 45). At this time, three recruitment efforts in these provinces were initiated following the founding of the first missions and presidios in California (Lucido 2014: 95). The first expedition in 1774 was led by Commander Fernando de Rivera y Moncada (Menchaca 2001: 135). Rivera y Moncada escorted a land party to Alta California from Baja California, consisting of the first women settlers (Menchaca 2001: 135). For the second expedition, Captain Juan Bautista de Anza of the Tubac Presidio in Arizona recruited and escorted a land party of some 200 soldiers, settlers, and their families in 1776 (Hackel 2005: 56; Mason 1998: 29). In 1781, the third land expedition was led again by Rivera y Moncada (Mason 1998: 36). Given the dire circumstances that impoverished many of these artisans, farmers, cattle-herders, and shepherds, the opportunity to begin a new life would have appeared to be particularly apropos (Lucido 2014: 95).

Continued recruitment to the frontier was promoted in the Royal Regulations of 1772 (Lucido 2014: 97). While the Regulations primarily detailed presidio policies regarding the administration of presidios, they also made explicit the Spanish empire's need for frontier soldiers (Brinckerhoff and Faulk 1965: 6-7; Lucido 2014: 97). Article 5 in Title One of the Royal Regulations of 1772 states:

Because these troops are in continual warfare and must be of the highest quality and caliber, it is my [King Charles'] pleasure that they be considered among the most reliable in my armies; their officers, sergeants, etc., are to alternate in everything with regular troops and to have equal right to promotion, honors, rank, and pay, and also to retirement pay when because of wounds, illness, or advanced

age they no longer are able to continue the hardships of service [Brinckerhoff and Faulk 1965: 15].

Whether directly or indirectly being informed from reading the Regulations or a secondary source or person, the fifth item in Title One of the Regulations expresses some of the socioeconomic opportunities available to soldiers of the Interior Provinces (Lucido 2014: 97). Potential frontier soldiers may have been drawn by the prospect of furthering their professional, economic, and social status.

The Regulations outline additional incentives for military enlistment and relocation to the Interior Provinces. Under Article 1 of Title Eleven, “Political Government” of the Royal Regulations of 1772 states:

With the justified aim that protection by well-regulated presidios will foment settlement and commerce in the frontier area, and that the strength of the presidios likewise will be augmented by a great number of inhabitants, I [King Charles] order the commandant-inspector, captains, officers, and other persons on no pretext to impede or dissuade people of good reputations and habits from entering and settling in their districts; and when their presidio is no longer large enough to contain the incoming families, they are to expand it on one side, the work to be done in common since it redounds to the benefit of all. At the same time I order the captains to distribute and assign lands and town lots to those that ask for them, with the obligation that they cultivate them and they keep horses, arms and munitions for use in expeditions against enemies when necessity demands it and they are so ordered. In the distribution of lands and town lots (*tierras y solares*), preference will be given to the soldiers who have served their ten-year enlistments and to those who have retired because of old age or illness and to the families of those who have died; to all these will be delivered the balances due them, as well as the one hundred pesos that should have accumulated in the treasury of the common fund, in order that they may provision themselves for their labors [Brinckerhoff and Faulk 1965:35].

This article elaborates on the long-term benefits that will accrue to enlisting as a frontier soldier from Article 5 in Title One (Lucido 2014: 98). Perhaps one of the most alluring incentives was the opportunity to become a landowner, particularly to those agriculturalists and their families of Sinaloa and Sonora who endured economic loss due

to natural disasters and crop failure (Lucido 2014: 98). Article 1 of Title Eleven also details financial allowances, thereby providing not only incentives for soldiers but also their families. However, this article also required a 10-year commitment of recruits in order to merit these benefits. As a result, there was “an informal first-come, first-serve policy” in order for soldiers to claim lands and town lots after completion of their military duty (Lucido 2014: 98). King Charles III and his royal subjects anticipated that offering social and economic incentives would support the recruitment of soldiers, and thereby entice them to remain as productive and reproductive Spanish colonists in the Interior Provinces (Lucido 2014: 98).

Father Serra also played a significant role in the recruitment of settlers to Alta California (Lucido 2014: 98). As a Franciscan missionary, Serra’s primary objective was the “Catholic conversion and Hispanicization of the indigenous peoples of Alta California” (Lucido 2014: 98). Serra clearly recognized the importance of settlers and artisans to the missionary enterprise. Writing to the Viceroy of New Spain, Antonio Maria de Bucareli y Ursua on 19 July, 1774, Serra acknowledged that:

I promised the poor families of blacksmiths and carpenters, whom I brought from Mexico and Guadalajara, and another besides from Tepic, that, in addition to their salaries as laid down by the Regulations, they should be given food rations for themselves and their wives; for married people, that the amount given to the husband should likewise be given to his wife...if the rations for man and wife were not sufficient for the whole family, they would find the doors of the royal warehouses open for them to buy what they needed, and the price would be deducted from their salaries [Serra 1955b: 131].

Serra’s statement demonstrates that the Royal Regulations of 1772 not only afforded benefits to soldiers but also to settlers and artisans. Like the soldiers, the Regulations granted settlers and artisans salaries and food rations. Serra’s promotion of food rations suggests that some Spanish citizens living in provinces such as Guadalajara and Tepic

lacked reliable subsistence, such as in Sinaloa and Sonora (Lucido 2014:99). In this way, prospective settlers would have incentive to remain in Alta California as “fruitful and procreative Spanish colonists” (Lucido 2014:99).

Serra also sought to address socioeconomic needs of the soldiers of Presidio of Monterey and their families, as well as the Catalonian Volunteers, or soldiers recruited from Spain (Lucido 2014: 99). In a subsequent letter to Viceroy Bucareli y Ursua on 24 August, 1774, Serra explains:

The soldiers, volunteers from Catalonia, who have been married in the Mission of San Carlos de Monterey, at the Carmel River, with convert Christian girls of this country are: Manuel Butrón, Antonio Torba [Yorba], and Domingo Arús [Aruz]. And those who are making up their minds to marry soon, either at the San Luis Obispo Mission, or in another, are: Francisco Cayuelas, Antonio Montaña, and Geronimo Bullferic. They all wish for and anxiously ask and beg that with permission to leave the service, a piece of land be assigned them on which to settle down, and as is provided in the new Regulations: a seaman’s salary for two years, and rations for five years for themselves and their wives. The first three declare that, if the Officer had not given them assurances to this effect, they would not have married [Serra 1955b: 149].

It is evident that a frontier marriage to either indigenous women or women from New Spain was a pull-factor for both active and prospective soldiers. Serra’s plea was soon answered, and of the Catalonian volunteers, Manuel Butrón and his neophyte wife, Margarita, from Mission San Carlos, were among the first to receive a land grant in 1775 (Serra 1955a: xli).

Frontier marriage was a pull-factor for both single men and women (Lucido 2014: 99). Prior to 1774, there were no female colonists in Alta California (Mason 1998: 21).

According to Antonia Castañeda:

single women were encouraged to find husbands among the soldiers who were starved for women of their own kind. The crown hoped that as marriage quelled their lustful behavior, the soldiers would choose to settle in the frontier once their

military duty was completed. Thus, the colony would prosper and be increasingly populated by *gente de razón*” [1990: 121].

In addition, the Regulations afforded soldiers’ wives and families the opportunity to obtain financial allowances, food rations, and elevated social status if they immigrated to Alta California (Lucido 2014:99). Writing to the Viceroy on 8 January, 1775, Serra proposed the following roles for frontier women:

The families which I suggested in my first Memorandum to Your Excellency might be brought from Sinaloa: soldiers from respectable stock, taking care that in their number there would be some who should bring their families with them; that two such families be placed in each mission, so that the wives of these soldiers should devote themselves to instructing the women of the missions—a piece of work that presents obvious difficulties to the Fathers [Serra1955b: 203]...

Serra emphasizes the economic and social roles for colonial women rather than their reproductive capacities (Lucido 2014: 100). Moreover, Serra recognizes the importance of recruiting colonial women to the frontier given that, by his own admission, women have skill sets that the Franciscan fathers and soldiers do not. Serra’s perspectives thereby elevates the significance of female settlers in the colonization of Alta California.

Commander Fernando de Rivera y Moncada’s recruitment expedition of 1781 coincided with the release of the Regulations and Instructions of 1782. Like the Royal Regulations of 1772, the Regulations and Instructions of 1782 offered similar incentives to soldiers and settlers who relocated to either Alta or Baja California. These incentives promised access to rations, livestock, land and town lots, and other economic allowances (Lummis, Bonilla, Neve, Galvez, and Mayorga 1931: 157-158). The Regulations and Instructions of 1782 also expanded upon some of the original incentives. For example, under Article 9 of Title Fourteen, “The new Settlers shall be exempt and free for the term of five years from paying tithes or any other tax on the fruits and produce brought them

by the lands and herds with which they are furnished” (Lummis, Bonilla, Neve, Galvez, and Mayorga 1931: 183).

Exploring the specific circumstances that prompted Spanish citizens to relocate to the frontier also bring into question some of those misconceptions identified with these colonists (Lucido 2014: 94). Nineteenth and twentieth century American popular history portrays the Spanish colonial populations of California as composed of “outcasts, convicts, and other undesirables” (Lucido 2014: 94-95). This perspective is misleading and misrepresents the majority of the settler population, particularly given that most had arrived in Alta California by 1790 (Mason 1998: 44). As early as 1791, a convict recruitment plan was implemented, although convicts accounted for only a minority of the overall colonial population (Lucido 2014: 94-95; Williams 2004b: 121). Moreover, only those convicts that met certain criteria were selected to be settlers in Alta California (Hernandez 1990: 220). The wives of convicts had to petition to *oidores* or judges to permit their husbands to be temporarily exiled to California rather than sentenced to hard labor in San Blas or Cuban prisons (Hernandez 1990: 206). If selected, the convict’s wife and children were then required to accompany him to start a new life on the frontier (Hernandez 1990: 222). Furthermore, not all convicts and their families remained in California after completing their temporary exile (Mason 1998:41).

Orphans were also recruited from New Spain during the late 1790s and sent to California in 1800 (Hernandez 1990: 209; Mason 1998: 41). Both male and female orphans were selected based on criteria set forth by the Viceroy (Hernandez 1990: 209). Only boys over the age of six years were eligible for consideration as frontier apprentices (Hernandez 1990: 209). Girls were expected to marry settlers or soldiers, bear children,

and serve as instructors of domestic skills in the missions (Hernandez 1990: 224). Selection was also determined by *casta* or caste (Hernandez 1990: 209). Orphans of Spanish, Mexican Indian, or mixed Spanish-Indian heritage were selected while children of African descent were excluded (Hernandez 1990: 209-210). Under the *sistema de castas*, people of African ancestry were perceived as inferior to the other *castas* (Hernandez 1990: 210). Officials involved in the selection process made deliberate efforts to manipulate the incoming frontier settlers to reflect a more “Spanish” population. Convict settlers and orphans only accounted for minority of the colonial population. Examining the sociocultural and political setting in place prior to the initial colonization of Alta California works to redress these misrepresentations of early colonists (Lucido 2014: 95).

A host of incentives and tipping points contributed to the recruitment of prospective colonists for the Interior Provinces and colonial settlements such as that of the Royal Presidio of Monterey. Both the Royal Regulations of 1772 and Regulations and Instructions of 1781 permitted men to start new lives in the Interior Provinces. Such an opportunity would have been particularly attractive to those men and their families in Sinaloa and Sonora who suffered economic loss due to crop failure or natural disaster, and or sought refuge from Apache and Seri attacks. In Alta California, influential leaders such as Captain Juan Bautista de Anza, Commander Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, and Father Junípero Serra helped to propel recruitment expeditions on the northern frontier. While Anza and Rivera y Moncada sought to recruit soldiers and their families in order to establish a colony of Spanish subjects, Serra sought the recruitment of colonists to assist with the missionary effort. Convicts and orphans were also recruited to the frontier during

the late 1790s, although by then the colonial settlements were already well established. Without these soldiers and settlers, the Spanish empire's mandate to colonize Alta California would have proven unfeasible.

*Sistema de Castas and the Colonial Landscape.* While the soldiers and settlers of Alta California were Spanish by nationality, the *sistema de castas* or caste system of ethnic and social categories was implemented in New Spain and throughout the Interior Provinces (Voss 2005: 463). The *sistema de castas* developed in the 16<sup>th</sup> century in tandem with the colonization of the Americas (Castañeda 2000: 30; Mason 1998: 9; Voss 2005: 463). It originated with the concept of *limpieza de sangre*, or purity of blood identified with three “pure” races based on geographic origin: American, Iberian, and African (Voss 2005: 463). Spaniards that relocated from the Iberian Peninsula to the Americas were identified as *peninsulares* and construed as one such pure race (Stephens 1999: 426). The children of *peninsulares* born in the Americas were identified as *criollos* (Stephens 1999: 161). However, increasing distinctions between those *españoles* of European (i.e., *peninsular* or *español europeo*) descent and those of *mestizo* (persons of mixed ancestry) descent emerged (Guerrero 2006: xiv-xv; Stephens 1999: 199). As a consequence, *mestizo* became interchangeable with *criollo* and impacted social and ethnic identity (Guerrero 2006: xiv-xv; Stephens 1999: 199). Upper class persons of Spanish descent could be construed as *español*, even if not a *peninsular* or *criollo* (Carrera 2003: 36; Guerrero 2006: xv; Stephens 1999: 197).

During the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the primary *casta* classifications in New Spain included Spanish or *español*, Indian or *indio*, and African or *negro* (Lucido 2014: 87). *Casta* designations were further complicated and hybridized through intermarriage (see Table 4;

Castañeda 2010: 30; Guerrero 2010: 2; Mason 1998: 8-9, 48). Eventually over 40 legal codifications of *casta* emerged as populations in the colonies expanded both socially and economically (Carrera 2003: 36; Guerrero 2010: 2; Lucido 2014: 87; Voss 2010: 463).

**Table 4. Sample of *Casta* Marriages and Child (Mason 1998: 48)**

| <i>Casta</i> of Husband | <i>Casta</i> of Wife | <i>Casta</i> of Child |
|-------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>español</i>          | <i>india</i>         | <i>mestizo/a</i>      |
| <i>mestizo</i>          | <i>india</i>         | <i>coyote/a</i>       |
| <i>español</i>          | <i>negra</i>         | <i>mulato/a</i>       |
| <i>español</i>          | <i>mulata</i>        | <i>morisco/a</i>      |
| <i>español</i>          | <i>morisca</i>       | <i>albino/a</i>       |
| <i>español</i>          | <i>albina</i>        | <i>tornas atras</i>   |
| <i>español</i>          | <i>mestiza</i>       | <i>castizo/a</i>      |
| <i>indio</i>            | <i>tornas atras</i>  | <i>lobo/a</i>         |
| <i>lobo</i>             | <i>india</i>         | <i>cambujo/a</i>      |
| <i>cambujo</i>          | <i>mulata</i>        | <i>albarazado/a</i>   |
| <i>albarazado</i>       | <i>mulata</i>        | <i>barcino</i>        |

Given the numerous *casta* borne of intermarriage, *casta* paintings or *las pinturas de castas* (see Figures 22 and 23, below) exemplifies that ethnic diversity in play during the 18<sup>th</sup> century in New Spain (Lucido 2014: 87).

Another important element of the *sistema de castas* is that individual *castas* were not limited to the physical or phenotypical characteristics of a person (Voss 2005: 463). As noted by Voss, *casta* also integrated “parentage, class, mannerisms, and material practices” into the social identity of the person (Voss 2005: 463). Furthermore, Spanish art historian Magali M. Carrera emphasizes that “Casta identity was elusive and

ambiguous, and Spanish identity could be mimicked; thus, neither category was definitive or conclusive” (2003: 38). As a result, the *sistema de castas* was not as rigid a system, which differentiates it from Anglo-American practices of ethnic identity (Voss 2005: 463). The *sistema de castas* permitted opportunities for racial and social mobility, even of born from a parent of lower-status *casta* (Voss 2005: 463).



Figure 22 (above). Detail from *De español y morisca, albina*. Painting of an *español* married to a *morisca* with their daughter, an *albina*. Figure 23 (below). Detail from *De barquino y mulata, coyote*. Painting of a *barquino* or *barcino* married to a *mulata* with their daughter, a *coyote*. Courtesy of Museo Nacional de Historia. Photos by Rubén G. Mendoza, 2014.



The *sistema de castas* continued into the northern frontier (Lucido 2014: 87). The soldiers and settlers who migrated to Alta California were therefore diverse as a result of the *sistema de castas* (Lucido 2014: 87). Colonists of Spanish, mixed Spanish-Mexican Indian, Spanish-African and Mexican Indian-African, Afro-mestizos, and Hispanicized Mexican Indian descent are recorded in the Alta California *padrón* or census of 1790 (Lucido 2014: 87). The 1790 census, officially published as the Revillagigedo Census of 1793, was conducted under the administration of Viceroy Revillagigedo of New Spain (Lucido 2014: 87; Mason 1998: 1).

By 1790, approximately 1000 settlers were documented in Alta California (Mason 1998: 2, 47). Only 463 of these (less than half of the colonial population) had *casta* designations recorded (Guerrero 2010: 16; Mason 1998: 2, 47). Furthermore, the 1790 census only identified six *castas*: *español*, *mestizo*, *mulato*, *indio* (either California or Mexico Indian), *morisco*, and *coyote*. (Lucido 2014: 87). This strongly attests to the dynamic character of the *sistema de castas* on the frontier (Lucido 2014: 87).

John R. Johnson and Joseph G. Lorenz introduce another dimension into the understanding of the *sistema de castas* employed on the frontier (2010: 157). Johnson and Lorenz examined the mitochondrial DNA (female) of present-day descendants of Alta California's Spanish colonial population (2010: 181). One of the objectives of the study was to distinguish the mitochondrial DNA of incoming female settlers from those of Native Californian women (Johnson and Lorenz 2010: 170). Based on the mitochondrial DNA, Johnson and Lorenz identified four Haplogroups: A, B, C, and D (2010: 171). MtDNA Haplogroup A predominantly represents those of Native American origin, MtDNA Haplogroups B and C primarily reflect those of northwestern Mexican and

American Southwestern origins, and MtDNA Haplogroup D represents Mesoamerican and American Southwestern origins (Johnson and Lorenz 2010: 175-178).

The MtDNA analysis narrowed the source population to six women identified as the wives of Presidio soldiers at Monterey (Johnson and Lorenz 2010: 171). Three of the six were settlers from New Spain and identified with the *castas* of *española*, *coyota*, and *india* (Johnson and Lorenz 2010: 171). The remaining three were of Native California Indian descent (Johnson and Lorenz 2010: 171). Johnson and Lorenz note that while a woman may have partial indigenous ancestry based on her genetic genealogy, she could still be identified as *española* under the *sistema de castas* (2010: 182). Johnson and Lorenz determined that despite the *casta* indicated for a given woman in the 1790 census, more than 80% were determined to be of Mexican Indian descent (2010: 181).

*Evolving Casta Identities.* Several notable Spanish colonial scholars have established the precedent for interpreting this decline in the use of the *sistema de castas* and the ethnogenesis of the colonists in Alta California, including Barbara L. Voss, Vladimir Guerrero, and William M. Mason (Lucido 2014: 84). These authors have deconstructed the colonial landscape through the examination of the archaeological, documentary, and ethnohistorical records. Moreover, Voss, Guerrero, and Mason examined the ways in which soldiers and settlers generated, adapted, and negotiated new ethnic identities.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the work of historical archaeologist Voss is of immense value to understanding ethnogenesis and colonial identity formation in Alta California (Lucido 2014: 84). Voss' research demonstrates that "origins, race, gender, and age of El Presidio de San Francisco's colonial population reveals that the distinction

'colonial,' although a fundamental aspect of social identity, was complicated by considerable diversity within the colonial population" (2005: 463). She notes that this complication of diversity becomes further compounded as the Presidio soldiers and settlers used the frontier--the colonial landscape--as an opportunity to shape their colonial identity "from *casta* to Californio" (Voss 2005: 465, 2008: 70).

The research of Vladimir Guerrero also demonstrates this complexity in ethnic and social identity in Spanish California (2010: 1). By cross-referring *casta* terms in primary sources produced in Alta California, Guerrero identified the emergence of new frontier identities that afforded colonists with greater social mobility (Lucido 2014: 84). Moreover, Guerrero argues that soldiers and settlers of Alta California actively exploited the relative isolation of the frontier for circumventing the *casta* system (2010: 13, 17; Lucido 2014: 84-85). According to Guerrero, "Sufficiently hispanicized, however, a full-blooded Indian in the frontier could be a soldier, settler, tradesman, servant, etc., and as such, he would be a person of reason, or *gente de razón*, instead of an *indio*" (2010: 4). Soldiers and settlers achieved higher social standings by masking their respective *casta* designations in the context of the frontier (Lucido 2014: 85). As a result, Guerrero asserts that the *sistema de castas* employed in New Spain during the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries no longer impacted the lives of colonists in Alta California (2010: 17; Lucido 2014: 85).

William M. Mason (1998) compiled data from the Alta California census of 1775, and that of 1790. He similarly relied on the 1790 mission registers of the colonial population for compiling a single database (see Appendix C). Mason's study is a great contribution to advancing understanding of ethnogenesis in Alta California. Mason

provides a demographic foundation from which other researchers, including Voss and Guerrero, identified and interpreted processes of ethnogenesis and identity formation on the frontier.

The concept of *gente de razón* is essential to each of these scholars' interpretations of frontier identity formation. The identity of *gente de razón* or "people of reason" was the prevalent identity adopted by the soldiers and settlers as the defining colonial status of Alta California (Lucido 2014: 92). The concept originated with New Spain, and functioned to "distinguish the Christianized tribal Mexicans from the non-Christian ones," or the *gente sin razón*, people without reason (Miranda 1988: 265). However, the *sistema de castas* practiced in New Spain waned (Lucido 2014: 93). On the frontier, *gente de razón* was frequently recorded in the mission registers, and gradually came to replace most of the *casta* designations used in earlier records (Lucido 2014: 92).

The adoption of *gente de razón* served two primary functions for the soldiers and settlers (Lucido 2014: 92). First, soldiers and settlers adopted this identity to assert their social, cultural, and ethnic superiority over Indians, identified as *gente sin razón* or "people without reason," and this despite the Franciscan missionization and Hispanization efforts (Hackel 2005: 60; Lucido 2014: 92). However, as noted by Lucido (2014: 92), "establishing and reinforcing distinctions between colonizer and the colonized is inherent to the colonial process." The second function of *gente de razón* bears greater significance. The adoption of *gente de razón* afforded soldiers and settlers of the lower *castas* the opportunity to establish a distinctive and more unified identity (Lucido 2014: 94). Moreover, *gente de razón* as an identity allowed soldiers and settlers to elevate their social and ethnic standing so as to equal that of the *español* identity of

New Spain, and by extension, the Spanish empire. This manipulation of identity was only possible on the frontier (Lucido 2014: 92).

The *gente de razón* continued to evolve in Alta California. Like the founding soldiers and settlers, the generations that followed also assumed new ethnic and social identities. Voss identifies the designation *gente de razón* as a precursor to the emergence of the *Californio* identity of the early to mid-19<sup>th</sup> century (2008: 91). During the Mexican period, *Californio* identity became “the most common term of identification used by military and civilian colonists in Alta California” (Voss 2008: 102). However, Voss cautions that the ethnogenesis of *Californio* identity was “not a uniform process, but was rather the emergence of a tentative consensus that existed alongside other congruent practices of social identification” (2008: 103). The *Californio* identity continued to take shape and new meanings as Mexican settlers migrated to California and developed socioeconomic relationships with Anglo Americans during the 1840s (Stephens 1999: 71; Voss 2008: 115).

*Casta Identity at the Royal Presidio of Monterey.* The present author reviewed findings from the collective works of Voss, Guerrero, and Mason to inform research on the ethnogenesis of the Royal Presidio of Monterey (Lucido 2014: 84-85). I found that all six *casta* designations recorded in the 1790 census of Alta California are also documented at Monterey (Lucido 2014: 89). At that time, the Presidio population consisted of 110 adults of whom approximately 30% were identified as *español*, 20% as *mestizo*, 25% as *mulato*, 3% as *indio* (Mexico), 7% as *indio* (California), 4% as *indio* (unspecified), 3% as *morisco*, 7% as *coyote*, and 2% unspecified (Lucido 2014: 89; Mason 1998: 50). Of the 110 adults noted, the Presidio population contained 36 married

couples (see Figure 24; Lucido 2014: 89). Seventy percent were intermarried with other *castas* (Lucido 2014: 89). Of the remaining marriages, only 11% were *español* married to *española*, thereby creating a small genetic pool for future *español* marriages at the Presidio of Monterey (Lucido 2014: 89).

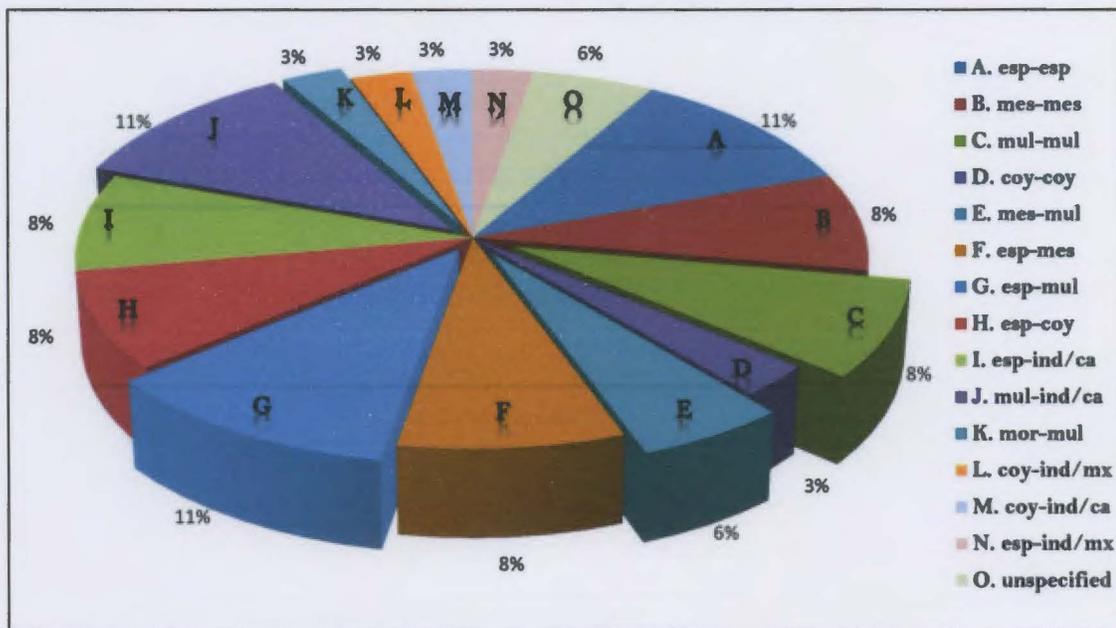


Figure 24. Pie chart of the *casta* marriages at the Royal Presidio of Monterey in 1790.\* A: *español* married to *española*; B: *mestizo* married to *mestiza*; C: *mulato* married to *mulata*; D: *coyote* married to *coyote*; E: *mestizo/a* married to *mulato/a*; F: *español/a* married to *mestizo/a*; G: *español/a* married to *mulato/a*; H: *español/a* married to *coyote/a*; I: *español* married to *india* (California); J: *mulato* married to *india* (California); K: *morisco/a* married to *mulato/a*; L: *coyote/a* married to *india* (Mexico); M: *coyote/a* married to *india* (California); N: *español/a* married to *indio/a* (Mexico); O: unspecified. \*Note: “/a” indicates that the spouse may be either male or female. The extruded slices represent the marriages between individuals of African ancestry. Reproduced from Lucido (2014: 89).

By the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, the transition from *casta* identities to that of *gente de razón* becomes more pronounced at the Presidio of Monterey and Mission San Carlos (Lucido 2014: 90). In 1812, the Spanish empire released an *interrogatorio*, or detailed questionnaire directed at the overseas colonies (Lucido 2014: 90). The purpose of the *interrogatorio* was to document the extent to which the hispanicization and Catholic conversion of indigenous populations was successful by Spanish standards (Lucido 2014:

91). The Spanish government intended to use the *interrogatorio* to inform “its impartial guidance, management and administration of those [colonial] subjects in the way of utility and beneficence” (Geiger 1949: 478). In Alta California, the Franciscan friars were assigned the task of responding to the *interrogatorio*. The Franciscans answered the questions regarding their respective mission by way of a *respuesta*, sent to Don Ciriaco González Carvajal, the provisional secretary of the Spanish colonies in the Americas (Lucido 2014: 90).

The *interrogatorio* consisted of 36 questions, primarily concerned with about native cultures (Lucido 2014: 90). The first three questions specifically requested demographic information about the colonial populations. To that end, the *interrogatorio* requested detailed statistics regarding the *castas* of the colonists, “whether they are Americans, Europeans, Indians, Mulattos, Negroes, etc., omitting no group whatsoever” (Geiger 1949: 478). Father Juan Amorós, one of the governing Franciscans of Mission San Carlos Borromeo de Monterey (now referred as the Carmel Mission), was responsible for the *respuesta* to the *interrogatorio* (Lucido 2014: 91). In his *respuesta*, Amorós described the colonial population at Mission San Carlos, and by extension, the population at the Royal Presidio of Monterey given the close proximity of the two settlements (Lucido 2014: 91). On 3 February, 1814, Amorós responds to the first three *interrogatorio* questions:

Our first observation is that we have charge of two churches or settlements; the one is the chapel of the royal presidio of Monterey. Here reside the governor of the province, the officials, and soldiers, cavalymen of the leather-jacket company, and some retired soldiers with their families. In their own group, as well as throughout the province, they are called *gente de razón*, without distinction of class or caste. They are considered heroes in these new lands, provided they speak Spanish [or Castilian] in some measure. Thus we will be

excused for making no distinction of caste or class among these people, for they are not classified as such, and they look upon themselves as Spaniards only. The other church or settlement is the Mission of San Carlos, commonly called Carmelo because it is situated in the plain of the Carmelo River. There the guard of five or six soldiers from the abovementioned company lives, with their families. The remainder of the population consists of full-blooded Indians, some but recently baptized, others born of neophytes, baptized at a very early period. We proceed to give an accurate account of them according to the information obtainable [Geiger 1950: 476-477].

From the outset, Amorós strongly supports the new identity construct for *gente de razón* and disregards the *interrogatorio* request to include all *casta* designations for settlers and soldiers at Monterey (Lucido 2014: 92). Amorós' declaration of this new ethnic and social identity is particularly significant given that he is both representing himself and the colonial community of Monterey in an official capacity to the provisional secretary of the Spanish colonies in the Americas (Lucido 2014: 92). This overt deviation from the 200-year old *casta* tradition of New Spain emerged from the abridged implementation of the *sistema de castas* on the frontier. As the *sistema de castas* declined in Alta California, the collective identity of *gente de razón* developed and was adopted by the settlers and soldiers at the Presidio. In my article, I concluded that this new collective identity established at Mission San Carlos, the Presidio of Monterey and the frontier more broadly, demonstrated “an informal declaration of independence” from the Spanish empire (Lucido 2014: 92).



Figure 25. *Soldado de Monterey* and *Mujer de un Soldado*. Drawings by José Cardero. Cardero's sketches depict a *soldado de cuera*, or a Presidio of Monterey soldier and his wife. Reproductions courtesy of the Royal Presidio Chapel Heritage Center, Monterey, California.

While soldiers and settlers actively sought to challenge the *sistema de castas*, the agency of individuals, such as the Franciscan friars, contributing to the ethnogenesis process on the frontier cannot be overlooked. According to Voss, "Most priests and military officers responded...that such [*casta*] classifications were impossible because the population was too racially mixed to categorize or because the colonists would respond only that they were *españoles*" (2008: 101). Father Amorós demonstrates this agency in his *respuesta*. Amorós equates "*gente de razón*" with "Spanish," arguing that earlier designations of social or ethnic identity were no longer applicable to the settler populations at the Presidio of Monterey (Lucido 2014: 94). This would further justify to

Amorós the usage of *razón* to describe soldiers, settlers, and their descendants in the mission registers as opposed to earlier *casta* identifications (Lucido 2014: 94).

The role of priests in recording ethnic identity may be discerned from in the Early California Population Project Database (ECCP). The ECCP is an online database that contains transcribed and coded mission registers (i.e., baptisms, marriages, deaths, etc.) from all 21 missions. The ECCP was established by Steven Hackel and the Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens (Huntington Library 2006). The ECCP staff note that in many of the later mission records, “*razón*” has been added in the margins of the text or in other notes to some of these registers (Huntington Library 2006). This coincides with Voss’ notion that the Franciscans may have and perhaps in some cases, retroactively, elected to identify a given person as “*razón*” rather than assign ethnicity or *casta* for purposes of expediency. At the same time, ECCP staff have labeled ethnicity as “unspecified” in those records in which the ethnic identity of the person was not identified by the priest (Huntington Library 2006). In other instances, the data entry technicians have inferred ethnicity by way of lineage or other association (Huntington Library 2006). In this latter situation, the inferred ethnicity is distinguished from recorded ethnicity with brackets (e.g., [mestizo]; Huntington Library 2006).

Three samplings of the ECCP suggest that the Franciscans engaged in practices that reflect both individual agency and pragmatism when determining ethnic identity or the lack thereof for a given individual. The first sample consists of a cross-comparison of soldiers and settlers identified in the 1790 census at the Presidio of Monterey with that of mission registers spanning pre-1776 to 1830 (see Table 5). This sample demonstrates instances in which *casta* transitions occurred, as well as the introduction of “*razón*”

(*gente de razón*). The changes of lower-*casta* to a higher *casta* suggest efforts to elevate social and ethnic identity, whereas the transition from *casta* to *razón* reflects the emergence of a collective identity (Lucido 2014: 90). In contrast, cases of unchanged or unaffected *casta* can be observed in the records of Mariana Briones. However, as demonstrated in Table 5, discrepancies of *casta* classification in the census and mission registers are also evident. For example, the marriage record of Marcos Briones does not acknowledge a *casta* or *razón* whereas the census of 1790 identifies him as *mulato*. Similarly, the marriage record of Manuel Mendoza identifies him as *razón* whereas the census of 1790 designates Mendoza a *coyote*.

**Table 5. Sample 1: Changes in *Casta*, 1775-1833.**  
**Based on ECPP Database and Censuses of 1775 and 1790**  
**(Huntington Library 2006; Lucido 2014: 90; Mason 1998: 92-98)**

| Name                        | <i>Casta</i> on Census | Occupation or Rank      | Mission Record      | <i>Casta</i>   | Record Number <sup>2</sup> |
|-----------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|----------------|----------------------------|
| Domingo Aruz                | N/A                    | Soldier                 | Marriage / 1782     | <i>razón</i>   | SBV 00002                  |
| Marcos Briones              | <i>mulato</i> / 1790   | Soldier                 | Marriage / 1784     | N/A            | SC 00263                   |
| Mariana Briones             | <i>india</i> / 1790    | Wife of Vicente         | Marriage / pre-1776 | <i>india</i>   | SLO 00001                  |
| Manuel Butrón               | <i> europeo</i> / 1775 | Soldier                 | Marriage / 1794     | <i>razón</i>   | SCL 00315                  |
| Antonio Buelna              | <i>español</i> / 1790  | Soldier                 | Death / 1821        | <i>razón</i>   | SCL 05388                  |
| Antonia Tapia Buelna        | <i>india</i> / 1790    | Wife of Antonio         | Death / 1830        | <i>razón</i>   | SC 02765                   |
| Joaquin Castro              | <i>mestizo</i> / 1790  | Soldier                 | Marriage / 1791     | <i>español</i> | SFD 00217                  |
| Macario Castro              | <i>morisco</i> / 1790  | Corporal                | Death / 1809        | <i>razón</i>   | SC 01872                   |
| Salvador Espinosa           | <i>mestizo</i> / 1790  | Soldier                 | Death / 1815        | <i>razón</i>   | SC 02129                   |
| Gertrudis Valencia Espinosa | <i>mestiza</i> / 1790  | Wife of Salvador        | Death / 1795        | <i>razón</i>   | SC 01074                   |
| Jose Vicente Gonzales       | <i>mulato</i> / 1790   | Soldier                 | Marriage / 1790     | <i>razón</i>   | SC 00405                   |
| José Manuel Higuera         | <i>español</i> / 1790  | Son of Manuel           | Marriage / 1794     | <i>razón</i>   | SC 00509                   |
| Sebastian Lopez             | <i>español</i> / 1790  | Soldier, <i>escolta</i> | Marriage / 1780     | <i>razón</i>   | SCL 00018                  |
| Rosa Tapia                  | <i>mulata</i> / 1790   | Wife of Sebastian       | Marriage / 1780     | <i>razón</i>   | SCL 00018                  |
| Toribio Martinez [Guzman]   | <i>mulato</i> / 1790   | Soldier                 | Death / 1833        | <i>razón</i>   | SC 02850                   |
| Manuel Mendoza              | <i>coyote</i> / 1790   | Soldier                 | Marriage / 1785     | <i>razón</i>   | SCL 00103                  |
| Juan Maria Pinto            | <i>mestizo</i> / 1790  | Soldier                 | Marriage / 1781     | <i>razón</i>   | SCL 00056                  |
| Manuela Tapia               | <i>mulata</i> / 1790   | Wife of Pinto           | Marriage / 1781     | <i>razón</i>   | SCL 00056                  |
| Diego Ruiz                  | <i>coyote</i> / 1790   | Retired Soldier         | Death / 1813        | <i>razón</i>   | SCL 04526                  |
| Julian Rios                 | <i>mulato</i> / 1790   | Soldier                 | Death / 1826        | <i>razón</i>   | SC 02583                   |

<sup>2</sup> Record Number key: SBV: San Buenaventura, SC: Mission San Carlos and Presidio, SCL: Mission Santa Clara, SFD: San Francisco de Asis Mission and Presidio, and SLO: San Luis Obispo.

The second sample noted represents yet another cross-comparison of the 1790 census at the Royal Presidio of Monterey with that of the mission registers (see Table 6). Unlike the first, this sample compares the *castas* of ten children based on their baptismal records from 1777 to 1789 with that of their parents listed in the 1790 census. All children were identified as *razón* in the baptismal records. This is significant because cross-comparison with the *castas* of the parents demonstrates a distinctive pattern of practice by the officiants. In this sample, no matter the *castas* of the parents, the officiants designated the children as *razón*. One noteworthy baptismal record is that of Juan Ysidoro. The officiant Father Pedro Benito Cambón noted in the record that Juan's parents were *mulatos*. In this instance, the ethnic designation of *mulato* would have been appropriate. Instead, Father Cambón chose to designate Juan with the social classification of *razón*, thereby exhibiting individual agency on his part.

**Table 6. Sample 2: *Casta* on Baptismal Records and *Casta* of Parents, 1777-1790.  
Based on ECPP Database and Census of 1790  
(Huntington Library 2006; Mason 1998: 92-98)**

| Name            | Year | <i>Casta</i> | Officiant             | Record Number <sup>3</sup> | Father           | <i>Casta</i> 1790 | Mother                  | <i>Casta</i> 1790 |
|-----------------|------|--------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| Bernabela       | 1777 | N/A          | Juan Crespi           | SC 00452                   | Antonio Buelna   | <i>español</i>    | Antonia Tapia           | <i>india</i>      |
| Maria Raymunda  | 1780 | <i>razón</i> | Miguel Pieras         | SAP 00692                  | Antonio Buelna   | <i>español</i>    | Antonia Tapia           | <i>india</i>      |
| Nicolas         | 1780 | <i>razón</i> | Antonio Paterna       | SLO 00447                  | Vicente Briones  | <i>mulato</i>     | Mariana                 | <i>india, SLO</i> |
| Juan Ysidoro    | 1784 | <i>razón</i> | Pedro Benito Cambón   | SFD 00362                  | Vicente Arroyo   | <i>mulato</i>     | Maria Dolores Amesquita | <i>mulata</i>     |
| Cayetano        | 1784 | <i>razón</i> | Jose Cavaller         | SLO 00640                  | Julian Rios      | <i>mulato</i>     | Irene                   | <i>india, SLO</i> |
| Mariano         | 1785 | <i>razón</i> | Francisco Palóu       | SFD 00424                  | Ignacio Castro   | <i>mestizo</i>    | Barbara Pacheco         | <i>española</i>   |
| Maria Eusebia   | 1787 | <i>razón</i> | Jose Cavaller         | SLO 00745                  | Juan Maria Pinto | <i>mestizo</i>    | Manuela Tapia           | <i>mulata</i>     |
| Manuela         | 1787 | <i>razón</i> | Miguel Giribet        | SAP 01509                  | Manuel Mendoza   | <i>coyote</i>     | Gregoria Gonzales       | <i>india</i>      |
| Ygnacio Vicente | 1788 | <i>razón</i> | Jose Cavaller         | SLO 00798                  | Marcos Briones   | <i>mulato</i>     | Isidora Tapia           | <i>mulata</i>     |
| Salvador        | 1789 | <i>razón</i> | Joseph Maria Martinez | SAP 01611                  | Juan Maria Pinto | <i>mestizo</i>    | Manuela Tapia           | <i>mulata</i>     |

The third sample addresses the baptismal records of Mission San Carlos de Monterey (see Table 7). The parents of the children listed in this sample were all identified in the census of 1790 as part of the population of the Royal Presidio of Monterey. During the period of 1770 to 1780, only nine baptisms of children recorded the *casta mestizo*. In each of these records, the mother of the child was a Native Californian

<sup>3</sup> Record Number key: SAP: Mission San Antonio de Padua, SC: Mission San Carlos and Presidio, SFD: San Francisco de Asis Mission and Presidio, and SLO: San Luis Obispo.

woman, or *india*. Eight of the nine fathers were Catalonian Volunteers, soldiers recruited to New Spain from the province of Catalonia, Spain, and therefore considered *peninsular* or *uropeo* under the *sistema de castas* (Sánchez 1990: 8-9). In the context of the frontier, the *casta* designation would have been evident to the officiant given explicit distinction between *india* and *uropeo*, particularly when compared to children born of more diverse *casta*.

These initial *castas* on the baptismal records contrast from later designations of identity during adulthood as demonstrated in marriage and death mission registers. Six of the nine were designated “*razón*,” two were unspecified, and one was not identified in either marriage or death registers. Also of note is the fact that except in the instances in which ECCP staff inferred ethnicity, no other baptismal records at Mission San Carlos de Monterey identified persons as *mestizo*.

**Table 7. Sample 3: *Mestizo* Baptisms at Mission San Carlos de Monterey, 1770-1780.  
Based on ECPP Database (Huntington Library 2006)**

| Name                            | Year | <i>Casta</i>   | Officiant        | Record Number | Mission Record  | <i>Casta</i> | Officiant             | Record Number <sup>4</sup> |
|---------------------------------|------|----------------|------------------|---------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| Francisco Joseph Aruz           | 1774 | <i>mestizo</i> | Junipero Serra   | SC 00247      | Death / 1785    | <i>razón</i> | Diego de Noboa        | SCL 00223                  |
| Manuel Joseph Butron            | 1776 | <i>mestizo</i> | Junipero Serra   | SC 00407      | Marriage / 1794 | <i>razón</i> | Ysidro Alonso Salazar | SCL 00315                  |
| Joseph Antonio Aruz             | 1776 | <i>mestizo</i> | Francisco Dumetz | SC 00414      | Death / 1825    | <i>razón</i> | Ramon Abella          | SC 02530                   |
| Francisco Xavier Yorba          | 1776 | <i>mestizo</i> | Francisco Dumetz | SC 00429      | N/A             | N/A          | N/A                   | N/A                        |
| Domingo Joseph Manuel Aruz      | 1778 | <i>mestizo</i> | Juan Crespi      | SC 00542      | Death / 1807    | <i>razón</i> | Geronimo Boscana      | LPC 01044                  |
| Sebastian Joseph Butron         | 1779 | <i>mestizo</i> | Junipero Serra   | SC 00577      | Marriage /1807  | <i>razón</i> | Juan Amoros           | SC 00737                   |
| Francisco Pasqual Villavicencio | 1779 | <i>mestizo</i> | Junipero Serra   | SC 00591      | Marriage /1807  | <i>razón</i> | Baltasar Carnicer     | SC 00718                   |
| Diego Maria Yorba               | 1780 | <i>mestizo</i> | Junipero Serra   | SC 00636      | Marriage /1806  | N/A          | Jose Sanchez          | SD 01598                   |
| Jacome de la Marca Espinosa     | 1780 | <i>mestizo</i> | Junipero Serra   | SC 00637      | Death / 1781    | N/A          | Junipero Serra        | SC 00186                   |

Whether by virtue of expediency or individual agency, these three samples suggest that Franciscans played a part in the identity formation of soldiers, settlers, and their descendants. The rejection of *casta* designations by the *gente de razón* of Monterey during the late 18 and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries reflects processes of ethnogenesis that collectively influenced the colonial landscape. Moreover, the fact that even today, these first soldiers and settlers are construed as “pureblood Spaniards” in popular history, without any acknowledgement to their diverse heritage, is a testament to the significant

<sup>4</sup> Record Number key: SC: Mission San Carlos and Presidio, SCL: Mission Santa Clara, SD: Mission San Diego, and LPC: Mission La Purisima Concepcion.

role that ethnogenesis played in shaping the colonial landscape, and how it continues to be perceived in the 21st century (Mason 1998:4).

*(De)constructing Ethnic Identity on the Frontier.* Ethnic identity formation on the frontier can be deconstructed through Hu's four-quadrant scheme and the tipping points of ethnogenesis discussed in Chapter 2. As previously explained, the four pairings of ethnic identity include: 1) primordial (based on blood, religion, language, etc.) and isolationist (based on the absence of interaction with other cultural groups), 2) instrumentalist (based on ethnicity as a means to advance political and economic status) and isolationist, 3) primordial and interactionist (based on the interaction with different cultural groups), and 4) instrumentalist and interactionist.

The initial colonists had ascribed ethnic and social identities based on both primordial and interactionist identities. The *sistema de castas* originated from interactions between distinctive cultural and ethnic groups, including the Spanish, Mexican and Mesoamerican Indians, and Africans. Each of these groups had primordial associations based on their respective people, religion, language, and customs that were profoundly affected by the convergence of these groups in New Spain. These interactions under the *sistema de castas* in turn created and reinforced instrumental agendas among the *castas* in which ethnic identity was used as a means to advance political or legal and socioeconomic status in New Spain.

These trends continued into the frontier of Alta California as Spanish colonists interacted with Native Californian Indians and constructed their colonial landscape. However, the instrumentalist/isolationist model becomes more evident as colonists eventually adopted a more uniform identity (although not necessarily at the same time)

that distinguished them from Native Californians. Moreover, this combination of instrumentalist and isolationist identities also served to create and maintain a sort of distinctive identity from New Spain. With the influx of Anglo Americans into California during the 1840s, the social and ethnic identities of the founding colonial population had already undergone significant change and transformation.

### **Presidio during the Mexican Period (1821-1846)**

The independence of Mexico from Spain in 1821 ended Spanish governance of the Royal Presidio of Monterey, and by extension, Alta and Baja California (ARG 2000: 38; Howard 1976: 31). The Presidio transitioned into a Mexican military settlement. By 1830, the Presidio was under the direct command of the Governor and consisted of a commandant general, and a presidial troop and militia of 55 men (Williams 1993: 176).

Alta California was partitioned out into land grants acquired by the *Californios*, incoming Mexican settlers, and other foreigners (Walton 2001: 61-62). Mexican California became “a land of contrasts, pastoral yet tied to the global economy, revolutionary but acquiescent in the face of encroaching foreign powers” (Walton 2001: 62). Monterey gradually developed as a town beyond the walls of the Presidio compound (Walton 2001: 62). In 1827, French trader Auguste Duhaut-Cilly described Monterey as seen from the harbor:

You must not expect to see a city of any size, or you will think you have not found the right anchorage. After doubling Point Pinos, the first buildings to be seen on rounding Point Pinos are those of the presidio, which form a square of two hundred meters on each side; having only the ground floor, they resemble nothing so much as a group of long storehouses roofed with tile. Then can be seen, to the right of the presidio and scattered here and there over a grassy area, about forty, also roofed with tile and quite pretty attractive with their whitewashed exteriors. There you have, with an equal number of thatched huts, the whole of the capital of Alta California [Duhaut-Cilly 1999: 73].

The historic landscape of the Presidio of Monterey had changed yet again as the population increased, populated by not only new settlers but also retired soldiers and their families (Walton 2001: 63). About the time of Duhaut-Cilly's account, Monterey was composed of twelve private land grant ranches that employed 350 people (Walton 2001: 63).



Figure 26. *Presidio of Monterey*. Watercolor by Richard Brydges Beechey, 1826-1827. Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

According to Walton, Monterey's "best known description" during this time comes from Richard Henry Dana who visited Monterey aboard a Boston merchant ship in 1825-1826 (Walton 2001: 64). In his description of Monterey, Dana noted the condition of the Presidio and the soldiers:

Monterey...is...the pleasantest and most civilized-looking place in California. In the center of it is an open square, surrounded by four lines of one-story buildings, with half a dozen cannon in the centre; some mounted, and others not. This is the Presidio, or fort. Every town has a Presidio in its centre; or rather every Presidio

has a town built around it...The Presidio here was entirely open and unfortified. There were several officers with long titles, and about eighty soldiers, but they were poorly paid, fed, clothed, and disciplined [Dana 1899:85-86].

By this time, Walton notes that Monterey households “demonstrated a diversity of occupations” (2001: 66). Of the 184 householders in 1836, 67 were soldiers, 35 were farmers, 27 were artisans, 20 were merchants, 17 were identified as professionals, 11 were cooks, and 7 were laborers (Walton 2001: 67). Of the 67 soldiers, 52 were single men living in *El Cuartel*, a new barracks building outside of the Presidio quadrangle (Walton 2001: 66).



Figure 27. *The Presidio and Pueblo of Monterey, Upper California*. Watercolor by William Smyth, 1827. Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Under the Mexican government, the Presidio and the broader community of Monterey strove for greater independence (Walton 2001: 81). Several uprisings or “revolutions” occurred between 1828 and 1844 (Walton 2001: 81). In 1829, for example,

Joaquín Solís led the soldiers of Monterey in revolt against the Presidio and José Maria de Echeandía, the Mexican governor of California (Walton 2001: 83). In the previous year, the Presidio soldiers demanded back pay and better living standards, albeit to no avail (Bancroft 1886c: 66; Howard 1976: 32; Walton 2001: 83). As a result, the soldiers abandoned their respective posts (Bancroft 1886c: 66; Howard 1976: 32; Walton 2001: 83). In retaliation, Solís and the soldiers imprisoned local officials and took over Monterey (Walton 2001: 83). During this time, the Presidio suffered from “continued decay and neglect” (Williams 1993: 109).

By 1842, the Presidio was in ruins with the exception of the Chapel of 1794 (Howard 1976: 32-33). French explorer Eugene Duflot de Mofras notes that:

The presidio of Monterey, at one time the most important fort in the province, is now entirely demolished, a few traces of the foundations remaining. Although strategically situated with guns commanding all ships entering the port, yet it was built of such inferior materials and was so poorly equipped that it would have been unable to resist any serious attack [Duflot de Mofras 1937: 211].

Duflot de Mofras further observes that “During the wave of revolutions that swept over Monterey, the presidio was pillaged by inhabitants who used the material for building houses. Plans, however, have been made to reconstruct the church, which although in a weakened condition, is still standing” (1937: 211).



Figure 28. Detail from *The City of Monterey, California*. Lithograph by Charles Gildemeister and F. D'Avignon, 1842. Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

The Spanish and Mexican colonial landscapes of Monterey had “died in an era of Republican neglect” as the next colonial power, the United States, “conquered” California as part of Manifest Destiny (Walton 2001: 109; Williams 1993: 126). American Commodore John Drake Sloat landed in Monterey on July 7, 1846 and claimed California for the United States (Walton 2001: 109). A new Monterey gradually emerged as the Spanish Presidio turned Mexican *pueblo* transitioned into an American town, faced with an uncertain future for its inhabitants (Walton 2001: 109).

## **CHAPTER 6. ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT**

### **Introduction**

This chapter reviews previous archaeological investigations at the Royal Presidio of Monterey and provides the archaeological context for discussing the development of a presidial historic landscape. This context focuses on the Presidio's establishment as a Spanish colonial outpost from 1770 to 1826. This review spans the period after which the Mexican government obtained the site. In addition, this chapter examines other historic resource studies of the Presidio that contribute to understanding its formation as a frontier settlement. These include a historic structure report of the 1794 Presidio Chapel, a study of the culturally modified faunal remains recovered from a 2007 trenching operation that encompassed the perimeter of the Chapel, and a summary of the material culture recovered from each investigation.

### **Previous Archaeological Studies of the Royal Presidio of Monterey**

As discussed in Chapter 4, a cultural resource records search was conducted at the NWIC. The study area and Royal Presidio Chapel are identified in the NWIC as historical resource record P-27-000376 (CA-MNT-00271H). Eighteen previous historic cultural resource studies have been conducted in and within 0.25 mile of the study area, resulting in approximately 100% archaeological survey coverage of the area. These studies are summarized in Appendix D. In addition, the NWIC record search indicated that the Royal Presidio of Monterey was previously recorded in 1950 by Robert Heizer and Arnold Pilling, in 1979 by E. Breck Parkman, and in 1991-1992 by Robert Edwards,

Charr Simpson-Smith, Beth Bagwell, and Lucy Carcerano. No other archaeological resources were recorded within the study area.

The Presidio has undergone several major archaeological investigations between the 1970s and 2008. Archaeologists have studied the Presidio with a particular emphasis on the architectural history of the site, and the Royal Presidio Chapel of 1794. These studies examine the spatial organization of military operations on the Monterey Bay, the development of the built environment, and land use patterns that contribute to the Presidio's formation as a historic landscape.

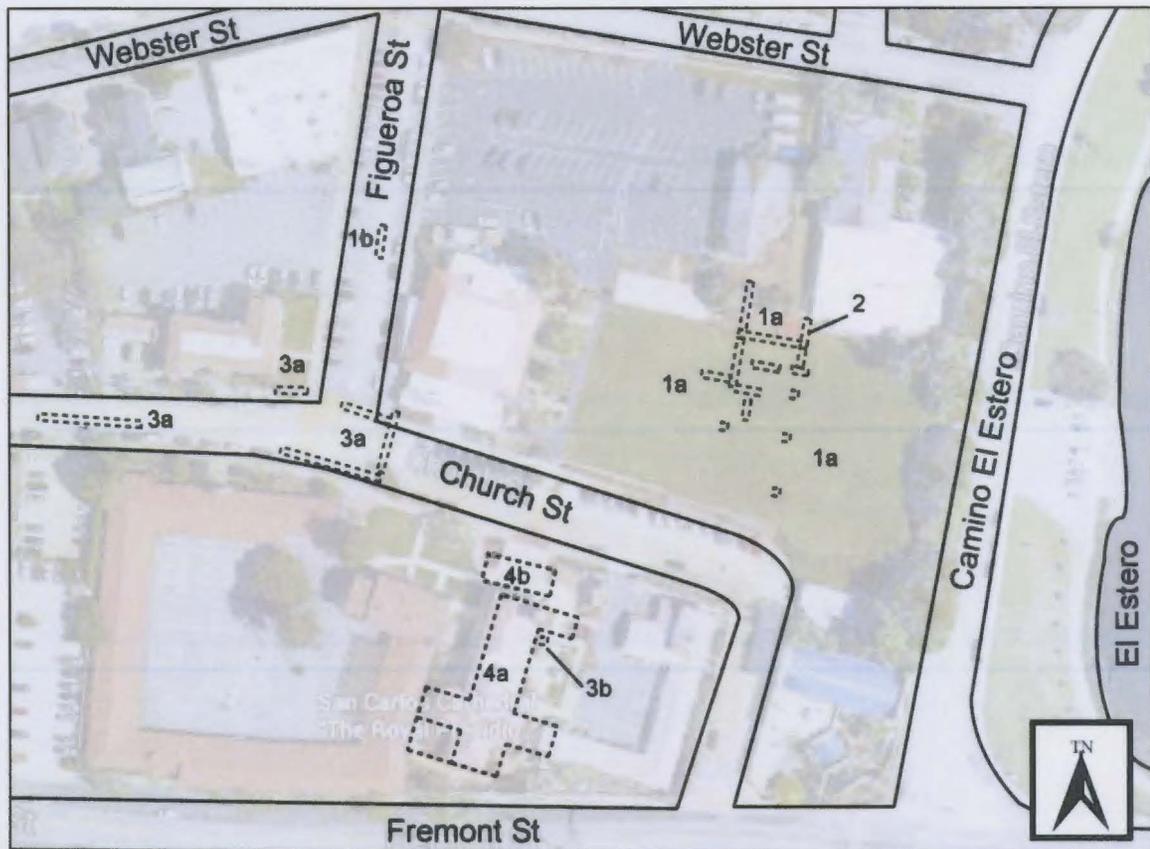


Figure 29. Approximate location of archaeological studies in study area. 1a) Howard (1971-1972), 1b) Howard (1979), 2) Dole and Swernoff (1982), 3a) Edwards, Simpson-Smith, and Lönnberg (1994), 3b) Edwards and Simpson-Smith (1995), 4a) Mendoza (2006-2007), and 4b) Mendoza (2008).

Collectively, these studies further facilitate interpretation of patterns of sociocultural interaction identified with the historic landscape, including colonial ethnogenesis as interpreted from the documentary and archaeological records.

*Howard Investigations (1971-1972, 1979).* Archaeologist Don Howard of the Monterey County Archeological Society conducted one of the first major archaeological investigations of the Presidio in 1971 and 1972. Howard's objective was twofold: to identify and excavate the Presidio's foundation footing locations and to compare findings from those excavation units with the documentary record (1971a: 4).

Howard excavated 18 units along the north, west, and east perimeters of the Presidio. The widest footing was recovered along the eastern perimeter in unit J-7 and measured 3.66 feet. This measurement contrasted with Pedro Fages' 1773 description of the Presidio. According to Fages (Geiger 1967: 328; Howard 1971: 4), "In the wing of the presidio on the south side facing the base is an adobe church whose foundations are of stone set in mortar. These foundations extended two quarters above the surface and are a *vara* and a half in width." One *vara* measured 2.75 feet while a *vara* and a half would be about 4.16 feet. However, Howard determined these measurements to be incorrect because the church walls would not likely be wider than that of the defensive east wall.

The defensive east wall footings were the most massive archaeological feature Howard encountered during his 1971 investigation (Howard 1971: 5). The excavation of units C-7, J-1, J-7, and J-15 contained well hewn Miocene Monterey shale and Santa Lucia granodiorite stones pressed into an adobe matrix (Howard 1971: 5). Howard recovered perpendicular footings west of the eastern wall footings. These footings were thinner and have smaller shale pieces than the east wall, indicating an inner building wall

(Howard 1971:5). The space between east wall and the first inner wall measured 35 feet. This space is depicted in José Cardero's 1791 illustration, *Vista del Presidio de Monte Rey* (see Figure 14) and was likely used as a livestock corral (Howard 1971: 5).

Howard determined that the east defensive wall footings encountered during his investigation were consistent with the measurements of the defensive walls observed in an 1816 description by José Mariano Estrada, *alférez* or second lieutenant of the Presidio of Monterey (1971: 5). Estrada described the compound as 75 by 128 *varas* or 481 by 352 feet (Howard 1981: 15). Estrada also noted that "On the East there are 14 houses and a room which serves as forge, the large door for entry and departure on horseback" (Estrada; Howard 1976: 41). According to Howard, units A and B contained footings that may be the remains of the eastern entrance described by Estrada (1976: 16, 70). The A units contained a shale corridor covered by a pillared awning (Howard 1976: 89-90). Moreover, the shale foundation footings would have been able to support an adobe wall, which Estrada also described (Howard 1976: 16, 70).

An additional footing was found west of the east wall footings in units N-1 and N-2. The footing provides evidence for another wall or building that projected into the inner quadrangle of the Presidio compound (Howard 1971: 5). Howard (1971: 5) notes that in Fages' 1773 description of the Presidio, the north wall was built of adobe; as a result, the north wall would require a more solid footing. In units N-1 and N-2, Howard recovered an abundance of granitic rocks, which he believed represented the north wall of the 1773 Presidio compound (1971: 5). Furthermore, the distance from unit N-2 to the northeast corner of the bell tower of the Chapel of 1794 is 160 feet (Howard 1971: 5). This is approximately the distance between the church façade and the north wall represented in

the 1770 Miguel Costansó plan of the Presidio (Howard 1971: 5).

In 1778, the Presidio compound was enlarged by Governor Felipe de Neve from Costansó's plan of 50 by 50 *varas* (137.5 ft. by 137.5 ft.) to 400-427 feet on each side (Howard 1971: 2, 4). Neve also ordered the construction of barracks building measuring 18 by 136 feet; and 10 adobe houses measuring 21 by 24 feet, and situated along the east wall of the Presidio (Howard 1971: 4). The addition of the barracks of 1778 is supported by the recovery of shale footings of a room block in units B-5 to B-6, D-1 to D4, and G-1 to G-4. These footings measure approximately 18 by 18 feet, and continue at least 45 feet southward. The H units recovered a footing of nearly 21 feet long, and Howard suggests that this footing may have an affinity with one of the 10 adobe houses added by Neve in 1778.

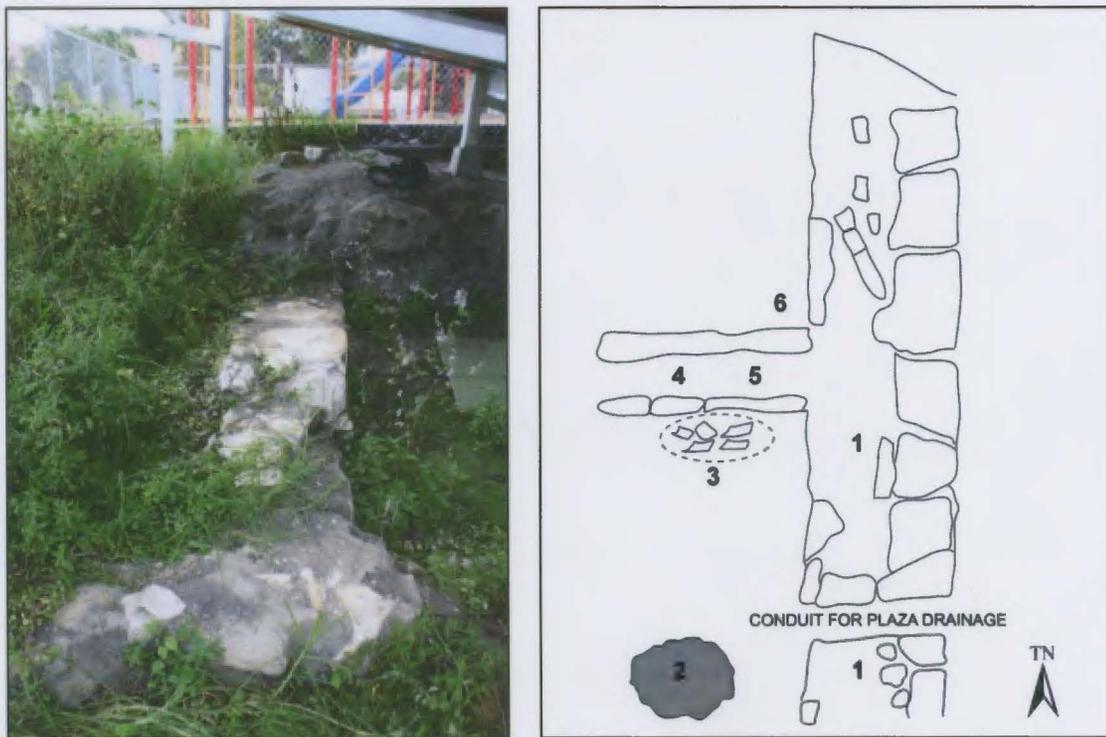
In 1979, Howard identified two western wall footings in addition to the 1773 north defensive wall and the circa 1816 eastern defensive wall (1981: 54, 56). The earlier footing, dated to 1778-1819 was located below Figueroa Street, Monterey, in a utility pit (Howard; 1981: 56). The older footing, dated by Howard as "pre-1826," was located beneath the Knights of Columbus House (Monterey Council) off of Webster Street and consisted of Monterey shale (Howard 1981: 52, 54). Howard then created a map representing the evolution of the Presidio defense walls from 1770-1840, based on with these archaeological findings and historical descriptions of the Presidio (1978: 80). According to Howard's map, the location of the footings of the 1816 eastern defensive wall were consistent with earlier descriptions of the Presidio compound, spanning circa 1792 to 1818 (1978: 80). Therefore, perimeter expansion and or reconstruction projects spanning the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries only impacted the north, west, and south

defensive walls.

In sum, Howard's extensive excavations at the Royal Presidio of Monterey have identified the following archaeological features: 1) the locations of the north (1773) and east (circa 1792-1816) adobe wall footings, 2) the eastern entrance (1816) to the Presidio, 3) the footings of one of the 10 adobe houses added by Neve in 1778, and 4) the west defensive walls dated to 1778-1819 and circa 1826. Howard's body of work at the Presidio has influenced the research objectives of succeeding archaeologists, including those within this thesis. As noted by California mission archaeologist Rubén Mendoza, Howard's research at the Presidio "remains a significant point of departure for assessing long standing questions and scholarly conundrums regarding the evolution of the architectural and cultural histories of the *Real Presidio de San Carlos de Monterey*" (2013: 32).

*Dole and Swernoff Investigations (1982)*: Philip Dole and Michael Swernoff of Professional Analysts undertook an intensive pedestrian survey along the northeastern perimeter of the thesis study area in 1982. The survey recorded and evaluated the eastern portion of the Presidio perimeter wall footings and extant YMCA building. As noted earlier, the foundation footings of the eastern portion were originally discovered by Don Howard in 1971. The perimeter wall footings were recorded at a depth of one foot below grade (Dole and Swernoff 1982: 3-15). The foundation walls consist of two elements: 1) an 8 foot-long wall segment extending from the west property fence, but running parallel to it and trending north, 2) a perpendicular section trending west (Dole and Swernoff 1982: 3-15). Dole and Swernoff recorded the footings at 3 feet wide and 2.5 feet in depth

(see Figures 30 and 31 below).



Figures 30 and 31. View west over eastern perimeter wall footings (left). Photo by the author. Sketch of eastern perimeter footings (right). 1) Eastern room block wall. 2) Fire-hearth dug into room floor. 3) Roof tiles. 4) Profile column of excavation. 5) Shale foundation for entrance corridor. 6) Room floor. Adapted and redrawn from Howard (1971) by the author.

In addition to their pedestrian survey, Dole and Swernoff conducted auger testing in order to find additional footings of the original Presidio wall that were exposed during the 1971 Howard investigation. Located 16.4 feet away from the MCAS dig, “Auger hole one” consisted of a 95 cm deep sounding that yielded dark grey soil. The upper 1.5 feet of the auger test yielded bone, a piece of glazed earthenware, a brick, and portions of a square glass bottle. Shale wall footings were encountered at a depth of circa 1.5 feet while terra cotta tile was recovered at a depth of between 2.13 – 3.11 feet deep (Dole and Swernoff 1982: 3-13). No additional footings were identified during the auger testing.

*Edwards, Simpson-Smith, and Lönnberg Investigations (1994-1995).* From 1992-1993, Rob Edwards, Charlotte Simpson-Smith, and Allan Lönnberg recorded and

monitored cultural resources uncovered during a California American Water Company (Cal Am) trenching project on Church and Figueroa streets, Monterey (1994: 1).

Edwards, Simpson-Smith, and Lönnberg recorded 25 archaeological features within the area. Of these features, nine footings were identified and determined to be associated with the construction of some of the original buildings, and western defense walls of the Presidio (Edwards, Simpson-Smith, and Lönnberg 1994: 9). The footings consisted of Monterey shale and mud mortar (Edwards, Simpson-Smith, and Lönnberg 1994: 10). In addition, nine refuse pits were identified (Edwards, Simpson-Smith, and Lönnberg 1994: 9). Of these nine refuse pits, five were determined to be associated with the Spanish colonial period while the remaining four were dated to later periods (i.e., Mexican and American). The remaining features consisted of two dirt floors, two postholes, a layer of lime or ash, and a pavement-like layer of Monterey shale (Edwards, Simpson-Smith, and Lönnberg 1994: 10-11).

Edwards, Simpson-Smith, and Lönnberg compared the documentary record and secondary sources to establish dates of construction or occupation of those archaeological features encountered during the study (1994: 16). For example, they determined that Feature 3 represented a portion of the 1817 shale footings of the west wall (1994: 20). In 1817, Governor Pablo Vicente Sola ordered the construction of a new west defensive wall (Edwards and Simpson-Smith 1994: 15). Edwards, Simpson-Smith, and Lönnberg note that the location of this wall conforms to Walter Colton Little's 1901 map of the Presidio. They also observed that Don Howard's superimposition of Presidio footings onto Little's map, which uses the southeastern corner of the Presidio as a datum, is consistent with the location of the 1817 west wall (1994: 15).

Edwards, Simpson-Smith, and Lönnberg also identified two earlier footings of the west wall at Features 13 and 19. These footings were dated to circa 1777-1792. Edwards, Simpson-Smith, and Lönnberg determined this date on the basis of a description of a “second inner wall” noted from an October 1, 1847 deed (1994: 17). The deed also mentioned that the wall was located 147 feet west of the Royal Presidio Chapel of 1794, which approximates the distance to Feature 13 (Edwards, Simpson-Smith, and Lönnberg 1994: 17). In addition, these features align with the western wall footings Howard encountered in 1976 on Figueroa Street, and identified with the 1778-1819 wall (Edwards, Simpson-Smith, and Lönnberg 1994: 17).

As discussed earlier in this section, Edwards, Simpson-Smith, and Lönnberg identified five refuse pits dated to the Spanish colonial period. They determined that the refuse pits dated to the Spanish period, and contained late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> ceramic and other earthenware remains, fired bricks, roof tiles, lime plaster, glass, faunal remains, etc. (Edwards, Simpson-Smith, and Lönnberg 1994: 16-19). In contrast, the pits that postdated the Spanish colonial period contained other diagnostic artifacts, such as English transferprint wares produced and traded in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century (Edwards, Simpson-Smith, and Lönnberg 1994: 16).

In 1995, Edwards and Simpson-Smith excavated a single 3.28 by 6.56 foot unit immediately adjacent to the eastern wall of the Royal Presidio Chapel of 1794 (1995: ii). The purpose of this excavation was to determine the extent to which landscaping around the Chapel impacted or had the potential to impact associated archaeological features (Edwards and Simpson-Smith 1995: 17). Edwards and Simpson-Smith determined that “The surface [of the Chapel] is exfoliating and exposing surfaces which appear to be

suffering from excessive moisture... [which] appears to be causing deterioration of the walls and depositing evaporated salts” (1995: 1). Edwards and Simpson-Smith concluded that the flowering shrubs, water/sprinkler lines, and redwood trees needed to be removed (1995: 17). The removal of the redwood trees later became a source of contention between the Diocese of Monterey and the City of Monterey arborist (see Chapter 3).

*Mendoza Investigations (2006-2008)*: During the fall of 2006 and summers of 2007 and 2008, Rubén Mendoza (2012: 4-5) and his crew of California State University Monterey Bay archaeology students undertook a four-phase investigation of the Royal Presidio Chapel of 1794. The study was commissioned by the Royal Presidio Chapel Conservation Program of the Diocese of Monterey. Phases 1 and 2 (2006-2007) entailed the excavation of seven test units. Phase 3 (2007) consisted of an extensive trenching operation comprised of 31 22 foot-long and 18 inch-wide trenches that encircled the whole perimeter of the Chapel. Finally, Phase 4 (2008) consisted of the excavation of the Serra Chapel of 1772 (Mendoza 2013: 38, 47). The significance of the Serra Chapel of 1772 (see Figure 32) lies with Mendoza’s identification of it with “the earliest Christian houses of worship identified with *Alta California* and the ministry of Fray Junípero Serra, OFM, the Apostle of California” (Mendoza 2013: 32). Mendoza (2013: 32) reassessed the original phasing of the investigation into three phases. Phase 1 consisted of subsurface archaeological testing. Phase 2 entailed extensive trenching activities. Phase 3 resulted in the discovery of the Serra Chapel of 1772.



Figure 32. The Serra Chapel of 1772. Photo by Rubén G. Mendoza

Based on the archaeological evidence, Mendoza determined that only three chapels were constructed at the Presidio (2013: 47-48). These included the Chapel of 1770 (pole and thatch or *jacal* construction), the Chapel of 1772 (adobe construction), and the extant Chapel of 1794 (stone construction; Mendoza 2013: 43-44). This contrasts with other previous historical research in which four chapels were tentatively identified (Howard 1978: 9). Howard concluded that the first two chapels were constructed of *palizada* or pole and brush in circa 1770-1772 (1978:9). These early buildings originally functioned as storerooms prior to conversion as chapels (Howard 1978: 9). According to Howard, the third chapel was built in 1773 of adobe with stone and lime foundations while the fourth was stone built by master stonemason, Manuel Ruiz in 1794 (1978: 9).

During Phase 3, Mendoza encountered a previously unidentified feature adjacent the south wall footings of the Serra Chapel of 1772 (2013: 39). The feature consisted of charred timber postholes and decomposed granite rock footings (Mendoza 2013: 39). This area was previously determined to constitute the original southern defensive wall of 1770. However, Mendoza also argues that these footings represented the north wall of the Chapel of 1770. Mendoza based this interpretation on descriptions that the first mass convened at the Presidio was officiated by Junípero Serra within a *jacal*, or pole and thatch warehouse in 1770 (2013: 39). Furthermore, he suggests that the southern defensive wall also functioned as the south wall to the Serra Chapel of 1770, thereby indicating that the Chapel of 1770 was in fact built within the original palisade of the Presidio (2013: 46). In addition, Mendoza notes that the north wall of the feature in question was joined to the south wall of the Chapel of 1772, and shared a passageway with the southeast corner of the Chapel of 1772 (2013: 39). According to Mendoza, this demonstrates that the building continued to be in use even as a provisional pole-and-thatch structure (2013: 39). Mendoza also recovered a fine masonry platform built of shale blocks within the Chapel of 1770. This platform was found at the juncture of the southwest corner of the Chapel of 1772 and the interior of the proposed Chapel of 1770 (Mendoza 2013: 39). Mendoza suggests that the platform may have served as an altar base for the Chapel of 1770 (2013: 39).

Mendoza identified several significant Spanish colonial era architectural features at the Presidio, in addition to the earliest chapels (see Figure 33). These features include 1) the 4.1 foot-wide Terrace 1 feature identified with the original south wall of the Chapel of 1794, 2) the foundations of the 1778-79 Padres' Quarters, 3) the foundation footings of

the Sacristy of 1778, 4) foundations footings for the Baptistry of 1810, and 5) the foundation footings for the 1778 southern defensive curtain (wall), which also served as the south wall of the Soldiers' Barracks and Padres' Quarters (Mendoza 2013: 38). In addition, great quantities of ceramics (foreign earthenwares and *majolicas*) and faunal remains were recovered (Mendoza 2013: 39; see also summary of Presidio artifacts and specimens below).

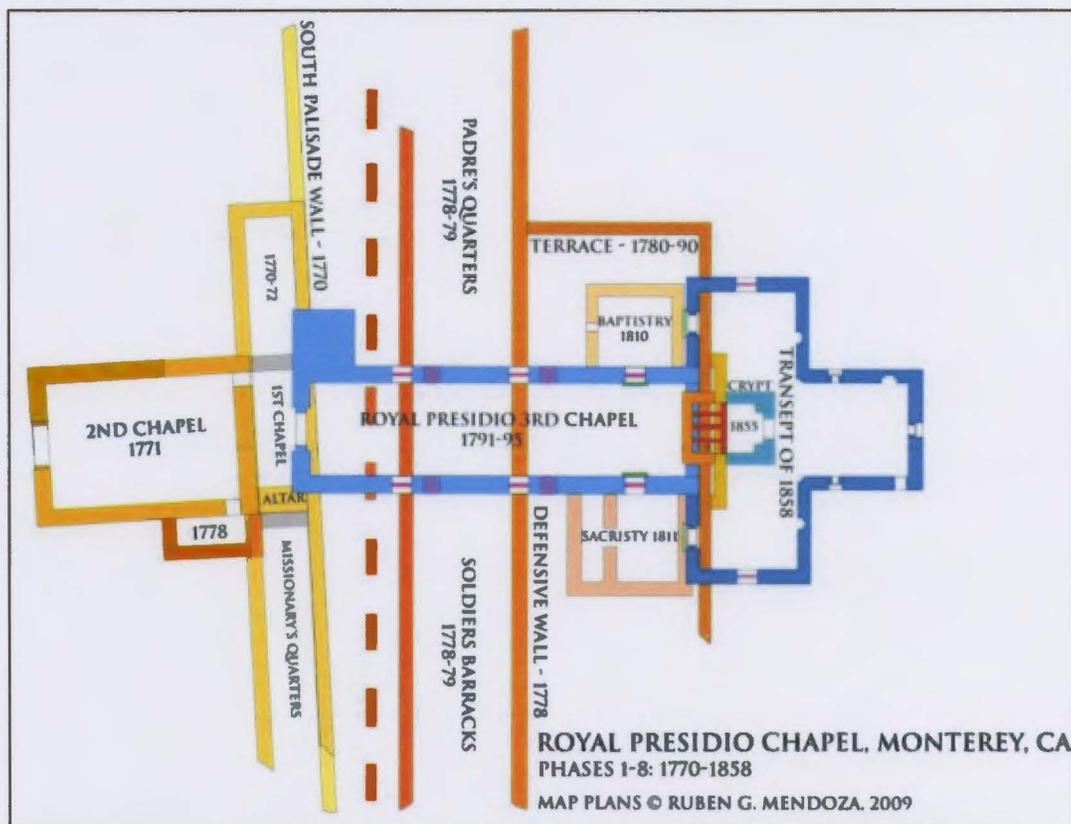


Figure 33. Plan view by Rubén G. Mendoza (2013: 38) of the subsurface features.

Mendoza investigated the archaeological record in order to address previous interpretations regarding the original chapels and the configuration of the earliest buildings identified with the Royal Presidio of Monterey. The archaeological footings of these buildings represent the earliest formation of the presidial landscape in Monterey. Mendoza studies ultimately determined that the remains of the 1770 and 1772 Serra

chapels constitute the earliest Christian houses of worship in California (Mendoza 2013: 52).

### **Additional Studies of the Presidio**

This section examines other notable studies that have contributed to understandings of the Presidio's formation as a frontier settlement. These include a historic structure report of the 1794 Presidio Chapel, a study of the culturally modified faunal remains (cutmark patterns) recovered from a 2007 trenching operation that encompassed the perimeter of the Chapel, and finally, a summary of artifacts recovered from those studies reviewed in the previous sections.

*Historic Structure Report of the Royal Presidio Chapel.* In 1999, Edna Kimbro prepared a Historic Structure Report (HSR) on the Royal Presidio Chapel in order to address preservation issues (Kimbro 1999 I-1). At that time, significant portions of the Chapel's historic fabric were compromised, including the carved Neoclassical stone façade, the interior of the building, and drainage, among other architectural detailing (Kimbro 1999: I-1, I-2). The Historic American Building Survey (HABS) recorded the Chapel in 1934 (Kimbro 1999: I-2). Therefore, subsidiary objective was to document both exterior and interior alterations to the Chapel undertaken since the HABS recordation. This served to enhance the recording and evaluation of the current condition of the building (Kimbro 1999: I-2).

Kimbro's review determined that the building's walls and shale foundations were retaining humidity (Kimbro 1999: I-1). Consequently, the "rising damp" that developed within the interior space threatened the overall stability of the building (Kimbro 1999: VI-16). Edwards and Simpson-Smith first documented this threat in their 1995 study.

Another important element of the HSR was Kimbro's assessment that the building was constructed of unreinforced stone masonry, and lacked modern seismic strengthening (1999: VI-3). In addition, the Chapel was modeled using Etabs, a "finite element analysis computer program" in order to assess the potential impact of seismic activity on the building (Kimbro 1999: VI-3). Without further reinforcement, it was determined that the Chapel was at significant risk for seismic damage (Kimbro 1999: VI-3). Kimbro recommended that the Chapel be rehabilitated and retrofitted with steel reinforcements (1999: VI-3). Conservation efforts began in 2006, and the Chapel retrofit was completed in 2009 (Mendoza 2012: 7-8).

*Butchery Practices and Faunal Analysis.* The cutmark patterns on faunal remains recovered from the Mendoza 2007 Phase 2 trenching operation were examined in a previous study undertaken by the present author (Lucido 2013: 60). In my article, I used faunal remains to assess butchery practices and dietary patterns for the soldiers, settlers, and laborers residing at the Royal Presidio of Monterey from circa 1770 to 1810 (2013: 60). The fauna under study consisted predominantly of cattle (*Bos taurus*), as well as pig (*Sus scrofa*), sheep (*Ovis aries*), goat (*Capra a. hircus*), and chicken (*Gallus gallus*) remains (Lucido 2013: 58).

Most cattle-related faunal remains were recovered from six trenches during Phase 2 of the archaeological investigation at the Presidio (Lucido 2013: 60). These included Trenches 3a, 4a-b, 6, 8a/c, 9, and 26 (Lucido 2013: 60). Of these trenches, Trenches 3a, 4a-b, 6, and 9 recovered kitchen middens from multiple periods of occupation (1770 through 1810; Lucido 2013: 60).

Approximately 1000 individual faunal skeletal elements were recovered (Lucido 2013: 66). From this lot count, 82 skeletal specimens were identified with distinctive cutmarks (see Appendix I: Index of Faunal Assemblages by Trench, Lucido 2012: 84-89). Rib bone elements constituted the majority, or 52% of the total collection of those specimens sampled (Lucido 2013: 66). The second largest body of skeletal elements from the collection included appendicular or long bones (femoral, humeral, and metapodials) at 21% (Lucido 2013: 66). The third largest selection, or 14%, consisted of largely indeterminate fragmented ribs and/or thoracic vertebrae (Lucido 2013: 66). The remaining faunal elements in the sample included the humerus, femur, and metatarsal elements (Lucido 2013: 66). In my article, I acknowledged that the proportions represented in the overall sample have been skewed, particularly given that fragmented ribs or thoracic vertebrae could not be always be distinguished for purposes of the study (2013: 66). Despite this discrepancy, ribs constitute the dominant skeletal element from this collection.

The cutmarks were organized into seven types: 1) chop marks at 33%, and 2) fine cutmarks at 30% (Lucido 2013: 66). The remaining cutmark types consisted of 3) dismemberment marks, 4) scrape marks, 5) clean cuts, 6) clean cuts with other markings, and 7) combinations of those types noted (Lucido 2013: 66). These cutmark types were compared with the faunal remains and produced a comparative bar graph (see Figure 34). Some bones exhibited specific clustering of cutmark types in particular portions of the bone itself, a fact likely related to meat consumption and butchery practices (Lucido 2013: 67). Skeletal elements, such as appendicular or leg bones, tended to exhibit multiple cutmark types (Lucido 2013: 67).

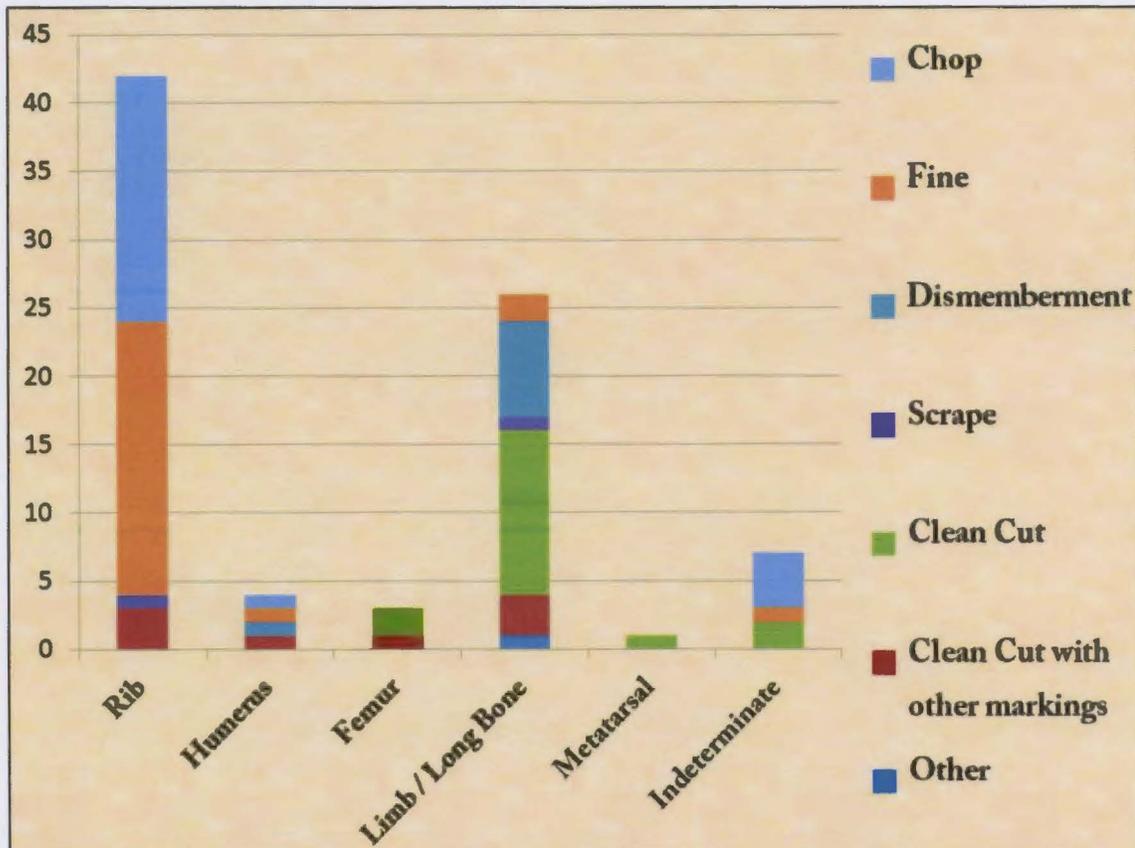


Figure 34. Comparative bar graph of faunal remains and cutmark type (see Figure 7 from Lucido 2013: 67). The numbers on the y-axis constitute raw counts.

In my study, I concluded that rib bone elements consisted primarily of chop and fine cutmarks, and thereby demonstrated an 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century dietary preference for torso-related meat cuts at the Presidio of Monterey (Lucido 2013: 67).

### Summary of the Royal Presidio of Monterey Artifact Collections

Archaeological investigations at the Presidio have recovered large quantities of material culture, including a distinctive collection of ceramics fragments, beads, buttons, metal, stone, and glass from earliest settlement through to the Mexican and American periods. The diversity of the collection, particularly the ceramics, is attributed to the Presidio's role as both a defensive outpost and a customs house (Edwards, Simpson-

Smith, and Lönnberg 1994: 22). Supplies were transported annually by way of ship from San Blas, Mexico, to the four presidio ports of Alta California until circa 1810 (Chapman 1915: 184; Voss 2008: 58, 204). Prior to 1790, goods were transshipped via the Presidio ports and warehouses (Edwards, Simpson-Smith, and Lönnberg 1994: 22). The Presidio functioned as the major point of sale for commodities required by the soldiers, settlers, and missionaries until an offsite custom house was established after 1790 (Edwards, Simpson-Smith, and Lönnberg 1994: 22). Therefore, the Presidio of Monterey served as a primary port of entry, and therefore was vital to the development of the frontier as a colonial enterprise (Edwards, Simpson-Smith, and Lönnberg 1994: 22)

*Ceramics.* Excavations at the Presidio of Monterey produced a diverse collection of ceramics. Studies of this collection will assist with determining trade patterns, identity formation, and other important information identified with life at the Presidio, and colonial Monterey more generally. According to Howard, the Presidio demonstrated a “ceramic potpourri,” particularly given the great variety of ceramics that were recovered at that time (1971: 7).

Howard identified five categories of ceramics: 1) Mexican folk pottery, 2) Chinese ware, 3) Japanese ware, 4) Staffordshires (English ware), and 5), Neophyte Plainware (1971: 7). Stem fragments from 18<sup>th</sup> century Kaolin clay pipes (sic) from Glasgow, Scotland were also recovered (Howard 1971: 7). Howard divided the Mexican folk pottery into two subcategories, Talavera-Puebla earthenwares and Tláquepaque-Tonalá earthenwares (1971: 7). This type of *majolica* has floral designs and is varied in color, including yellow, green, brown and black. *Majolica* was brought to the Presidio between 1770-1810 and 1823-1846 via supply ships (Howard 1971: 7). As no supply

ships were sent to Alta California during the Mexican Independence movement of 1810-1821, the period produced a paucity of Mexican wares (Howard 1971: 7-8). Other varieties of *majolica* commonly recovered at the Presidio originated from Tonalá, Jalisco, and were created in 1780 (Howard 1971: 7). This tableware is characterized by a cream colored glaze with green and light brown decorations (Howard 1971: 7).

The Japanese, Chinese, and English wares date to the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century (Howard 1971: 7-8). The collection included Canton sherds (1850-1900) which were traded in China in exchange for sea otters pelts, while wares such as “Leed’s” Feather Edge and Transferprint earthenwares were introduced by way of the influx of Anglo American settlers in California (Howard 1971: 7-8).

Neophyte Plainwares consist of unglazed earthenwares typically used for cooking and likely introduced by Baja California Indians (Howard 1971: 8). Howard also noted that these pieces may also have affinity with Tizon Brown types at the Royal Presidio of San Diego (1971: 8). He identified these as the least common type of ware in the Presidio of Monterey collection (Howard 1971: 8).

*Beads.* Sixteen beads were recovered during the 1971 Howard investigations (Payne 1971: 10). Eight were identified as glass beads (Payne 1971: 10). Glass beads were introduced into California during the late 18<sup>th</sup> century and used for trade with Native California populations (Payne 1971: 10-11). According to June Payne, glass beads were manufactured in a glass-making factory on the island of Murano, near Venice, Italy (1971: 10). The factory produced pound beads, molded beads, and blown beads (Payne 1971: 10-11). Blown beads were recovered at the Presidio (Payne 1971: 11). Payne does

not identify the eight remaining beads from the 1971 investigation, but it is possible that these were native-produced beads of marine snail shell, or *Olivella biplicata* (1971: 11).

*Buttons.* The 1971 Howard investigations recovered a variety of buttons, including plain brass and bronze buttons used during the 1800s, trouser buttons from the 1700s, and handmade bone and wood buttons (Kernohan 1971: 6). One button is of particular significance: the Phoenix button (Kernohan 1971: 6). Phoenix buttons are a type of military button bearing the image of a phoenix bird and bear the inscription of “*Je renais de mes cendres*” or “I am born again from my ashes” (Kernohan 1971: 6). The Phoenix buttons were originally produced for a Haitian military uniform during the reign of Emperor Henry Christophe I from 1811 to 1820 (Kernohan 1971: 6; Sprague 1998: 56). According to Sprague, a surplus of Phoenix buttons arose when Christophe committed suicide in 1820 (1998: 56). As a result, the buttons were traded in Hawaii, California, and the Sauvies Island (Nathaniel Wyeth’s fur trading post) of Oregon well into the 1840s (Kernohan 1971: 6; Sprague 1998: 56). These buttons have been recovered from several of the Spanish colonial missions and presidios of California (Sprague 1998: 58).

*Metal.* Many metal artifacts were recovered during the 1971 Howard investigations. However, dating some of these objects proved challenging. However, metal artifacts such as forged iron nails, copper spoons, copper seals, and hand-crafted copper pendants dating to the Spanish colonial period were recovered (Breschini 1971: 11). Breschini identified other metal artifacts, including a spur shank or bracket, but was unable to determine the age of the object (1971: 11). In addition, three musket balls were recovered; two measuring between 0.60 to 0.65 caliber while the third is 0.65 to 0.69

caliber (Breschini 1971: 11). According to Breschini, “the regular *escopetas* of the Presidio soldiers and the later carbines and muskets of the Mexican soldiers were supposed to be .69 caliber” (1971: 11).

*Stone.* Howard did not recover many stone artifacts (Graham 1971: 6). Several flint and chalcedony pieces from flintlock muskets or rifles were recovered (Graham 1971: 6-7). The investigation also found Native California Indian lithic and groundstone artifacts (Graham 1971: 6). For example, one multifaceted Monterey shale mano (pestle) measuring 4 inches in length and 2.5 inches in width was found (Graham 1971: 6).

Mendoza (personal communication, 2014) noted that similar stone tools were encountered during the archaeological investigations of the Chapel in 2006-2008.

Mendoza however, suggests an alternative function of the shale tools, which he surmised their use to smooth lime plaster for architectural application or to burnish ceramics. In addition, two steatite pieces were recovered, possibly from a bowl (Graham 1971: 6). The steatite may have originated from Chalk Peak or Pacific Valley, although Graham also suggests that the steatite may have been traded from the Chumash (Graham 1971: 6). Other stone tools include a bifaced projectile flake of chert, an obsidian flake identified with a prehistoric site, CA-MNT-000101, and a second chert flake (Graham 1971: 6-7).

*Glass.* The 1971 Howard investigations recovered some 2,407 glass fragments dated from two broad periods, including 1770-1840 and 1897-1970 (Cope 1971: 10). Of the 2,407 glass fragments, Cope identified 297 pieces with the first period (1971: 10). Many of these pieces were thin and colorless, albeit with a heavy hydration patina, many from green glass bottles (Cope 1971: 10). Of particular interest was a black glass wine bottle (Cope 1971: 10). The actual color of the glass varies from green, to brown, and

amber, depending on the iron content (Cope 1971: 10). According to Cope, darker colored glass was preferable to consumers during the 19<sup>th</sup> century (1971: 10). The base of the wine bottle measures 3.5 inches in diameter, and varies in thickness to 0.125 to 0.25 of an inch (Cope 1971: 10). Cope dated the bottle to circa 1840 given that the lip of the bottle has a laid-on ring similar to those on bottles in 1820 (1971: 10).

Extant Presidio artifact collections require further research. Additional studies have the potential to contribute important information about life at the Presidio. Further studies might address the relationship between objects and socioeconomic status within the Presidio. For example, additional research of the Presidio's ceramic collections would contribute to understanding the sources and acquisitions of particular types, and thereby offer insights into the relative value of the object to soldiers and their families. Ceramics constitute an "expressive as well as a functional medium" (Voss 2008: 203). As a result, the variety of ceramics at the Presidio reflects patterns of practice and preference that relate to social identity (Voss 2008: 203-204). Any cursory review of requisitions and invoices of shipments from San Blas to Monterey would provide a basis for establishing what types of ceramics were available to soldiers and settlers, their relative costs, and quantities available at a given time. Imported ceramics might then be compared with locally-produced ceramics.

At the Presidio of San Francisco, for example, soldiers and settlers preferred imported ceramics for tableware rather than locally-produced ceramics (Voss 2008: 220). Despite this preference, households of the 1790s produced their own earthenwares for cooking and food preparation in order to lessen their dependence on imported ceramics to serve those functions (Voss 2008: 222). These locally produced ceramics varied in

glazing and quality by the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Higher quality ceramics were created by Native Californians in pottery workshops, and distributed commercially through the Presidio storehouse, while lower quality wares were created by the settlers for their individual household consumption (Voss 2008: 230). A systematic analysis of the ceramic assemblage at Monterey could thereby result in furthering similar interpretations.

## CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSIONS

The objective of this thesis has been to produce a Historic Resource Study (HRS) of the Royal Presidio of Monterey spanning the period from 1770 to 1840. The study provides a detailed historical and archaeological overview of the Presidio in order to inform future legal compliance and preservation efforts. Furthermore, this thesis has sought to contribute to current scholarship on the Presidio's formation as a frontier settlement by way of a historic landscape perspective. This chapter concludes with a summary of findings addressed. In addition, this chapter presents recommendations for the management and preservation, and considerations for future research of the Presidio and the people who contributed to its formation.

### **Findings and Recommendations, Part I: Management and Future Planning**

Based on the results of the historical and archaeological research, it is clear that the study area retains a high level of archaeological sensitivity despite substantial urban modification and disturbance. Previously identified archaeological deposits within the study area span the earliest development of the Presidio in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century through to the American period of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Archaeological and historical documentation of the Presidio defensive wall (see Appendix B) provide a sense of the configuration of the site plan, and where related features are likely to be encountered as a result of future ground disturbance (e.g., road improvement, pipeline installment and other subsurface utilities). In the event that new construction or development is proposed within the study area, the following actions should be conducted on the basis of previous recommendations by archaeologists Dole and

Swernoff (1982) and Edwards, Simpson-Smith, and Lönnberg (1994) as well as local, state, and federal regulations of cultural resources:

- 1) The exclusion of all Categorical Exemptions (CATEX) for subsurface work within the study area's boundary, including undergrounding of utilities, grading and paving of roads, walkways and curbs, landscaping, etc. (Edwards, Simpson-Smith, and Lönnberg 1994: 23). CATEX "are made up of classes of projects that generally are considered not to have potential impacts on the environment... [that are] identified by the State Resources Agency and are defined in the CEQA Guidelines (14 CCR Section 15300-15331)" (OHP 2015).
- 2) Given the demonstrated archaeological sensitivity of the site, a qualified archaeologist should be present at all times to monitor ground disturbing activities within the study area (Dole and Swernoff 1982: 8-3).
  - a. A mitigation plan shall be prepared for known areas containing archaeological deposits that may be impacted by proposed development (RMA 2015a).
  - b. Existing artifacts recovered should be evaluated for research potential and curated by the Diocese of Monterey or appropriate research institutions. Curation of the Presidio artifact collection would serve two primary functions: first, to further research projects such as theses and dissertations; and second, to enhance educational and public programming at the Royal Presidio Chapel Heritage Center.
  - c. In the event that human remains are encountered during project activities, all work must be halted within 50 feet of the discovery and the Monterey County Coroner must be contacted (Health & Safety Code § 7050.5 (b); RMA 2015b).
- 3) In the event that federal funds or permits are required for an undertaking at the Presidio, the lead agency must comply with the review process under Section 106 of NHPA and consult with any Indian tribe that attaches religious and cultural significance to historic properties that may be affected by the undertaking. Native American groups of the region include the Ohlone Costanoan Esselen Nation (Monterey County Most Likely Descendant), Costanoan Rumsen Carmel Tribe, and Amah Mutsun Tribal Band.
- 4) Any buildings or structures within the study area 45 years or older may be of historical value. The County of Monterey may require that a qualified historian or architectural historian consultant a professional conduct a Phase I and/or Phase II Historic Assessment of the property prior to the commencement of project activities (RMA 2015c; OHP 2014). A Phase I Historic Assessment determines if a resource is historic by using criteria from the NRHP, the CRHP, and Monterey

County's Register of Historic Resources (RMA 2015c). If a resource is determined eligible for listing on one or more of these registers, then a Phase II Assessment is required. A Phase II Historic Assessment provides a more detailed evaluation of the resource, examines how a project will affect its significance, and provides potential mitigation measures for consideration by the County (RMA 2015c).

The following recommendations are suggested for the built environment and archaeological resources based on previous archaeological studies:

- 1) The Royal Presidio chapels (1770, 1772, 1794)
  - a. Prepare a building, structure, and object record (DPR 523b) for the Chapel of 1794 to add to the historical resource record P-27-000376 (CA-MNT-00271H)
  - b. Update the archaeological site record (DPR 523c) from the historical resource record P-27-000376 (CA-MNT-00271H) to include the archaeological foundations of the chapels of 1770 and 1772, sacristies of 1778 and 1810, and Baptistry of 1810
  - c. Create a geographic information system (GIS) layer for the Presidio that documents the location of wall footings and other archaeological features, geo-references historic maps, historic and aerial photographs, and other spatial data.
  - d. Install additional interpretative "windows" that reveal the original historic fabric of the interior of the Chapel of 1794, the foundations of the Chapels of 1770 and 1772
  - e. Fabricate new marble pavers that actually demarcate the corners of Chapel of 1772. The present pavers are inaccurate because they are parallel to the Chapel of 1794 in order to appear more aesthetic. The pavers should be corrected to reflect the actual archaeological footings of the Chapel of 1772 (see Appendix B).
  
- 2) Additional Presidio building / structure foundations
  - a. Update the archaeological site record (DPR 523c) from the historical resource record P-27-000376 (CA-MNT-00271H) to include the archaeological foundations of the Soldiers Quarters of 1778, Padres' Quarters of 1778, and the 1778 southern defensive curtain (wall), which also served as the south wall of the Soldiers' Barracks and Padres' Quarters.

- b. Update the archaeological site record (DPR 523c) from the historical resource record P-27-000376 (CA-MNT-00271H) to include the 4.10 foot wide Terrace 1 feature
- 3) The eastern wall foundations
- a. Create a linear feature record (DPR 523e) of the eastern wall footing to add to the historical resource record P-27-000376 (CA-MNT-00271H)
  - b. Maintain the roof structure that covers the footings to prevent further environmental exposure that hasten damage to the resource. Neglect of the resource will cause additional damage (Dole and Swernoff 1982: 6-1, 6-2).
  - c. Install and maintain a protective barrier around footings in order to reduce deterioration (Dole and Swernoff 1982: 8-3)
  - d. Prohibit development of the land around the resource in order to avoid additional disturbance (Dole and Swernoff 1982: 6-1)
- 4) The Presidio was nominated to National Register of Historic Places in 1994 by Edwards and Simpson-Smith as a district but was not listed (Edwards, Simpson-Smith, and Lönnberg 1994: 22). The Presidio should be reevaluated to reflect archaeological discoveries and historical research since 1994, and should thereby be renominated to the National Register.

### **Findings and Recommendations, Part II: Future Research**

Based on this review of the documentary and archaeological records, this thesis finds that the colonial landscape of the Royal Presidio of Monterey was formed through a diverse array of physical and cultural processes during the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. These processes subsume various physical modifications and environmental impacts as well as significant changes in colonial social and ethnic structures that further altered the landscape.

Historical research demonstrates that military regulations, and individuals, influenced the evolution of the Presidio's general layout, built environment, and land use. Military leaders such as Pedro Fages, Felipe de Neve, and Pablo Vicente de Solá

contributed to the construction and reconfiguration of the Presidio over time. Changes to the built environment of the Presidio have also been chronicled archaeologically. The history of previous archaeological investigations has produced a significant record documenting the formation and modification of the Presidio's main quadrangle, defensive walls, and chapels.

The historical dimensions of this study have also addressed the social and cultural factors that prompted prospective soldiers and settlers to relocate to the frontier. Push-pull factors include incentives offered under royal regulations, declining economic conditions within source communities, and the opportunity to start anew. Such factors created a setting for the ethnogenesis of the soldiers and settlers associated with the Presidio of Monterey. Transitioning away from the *sistema de castas* into a more uniform identity with *gente de razón* are documented in the census, mission records, and other primary sources. As a result, lower-*casta* soldiers and settlers participated in a system with greater opportunities for social and ethnic identification, even if by default. Documentary research undertaken also indicates that Franciscan friars played a pivotal role in the manipulation and reduction or leveling of social and ethnic identities.

The Royal Presidio of Monterey has significant research potential. Most of the artifact collections remain unexamined. As noted in Chapter 6, future studies of the Presidio's diverse material culture may yet identify relationships obtaining between imported goods and socioeconomic status among the soldiers and settlers. Given that supply ships only visited the port of Monterey once a year, the extent to which consumer behavior influenced the colonial marketplace would offer insights into the Presidio's economic relationships with the global market of the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Analysis of the ceramic assemblage, for example, would generate important information regarding life at the Presidio of Monterey. Studies of the ceramic assemblage could contribute to understanding changing consumer practices. Identifying the origin and acquisition of certain ceramic types may well provide insights into the relationship of objects with that of soldiers and their families. In addition, ceramic analysis could illuminate those practices of production and consumption that shaped the construction of new identities and values within the colonial landscape.

### **(Re)Interpreting the Presidio Landscape: Past, Present, and Future**

The application of a historic landscape approach in archaeology helps deconstruct the processes that formed it. Understanding the historic landscape of the Royal Presidio of Monterey not only serves to contextualize human and environmental relationships but also their sociocultural dynamics. By examining how it was that space was created and reconfigured by virtue of sociocultural processes such as those identified with ethnogenesis, archaeologists can better understand and interpret the ways in which colonial subjects perceived and shaped their experiences within the landscape.

It is important to recognize that none of the interpretations or models discussed in this thesis act as an apologia for or condemnation of colonialism, but rather seeks to demonstrate that colonial processes are diverse and variable. Colonialism draws on complex and entangled processes that shape and reshape the historic landscape. Given this complexity, attempting to analyze the historic landscape of the Presidio of Monterey through a single interpretative framework greatly hinders its analysis and interpretation. Monolithic and reductionist frameworks of analysis conflate and obscure the vast range of experiences and interactions shared by both colonial powers and those subjected to

such powers.

Findings from this thesis, and future studies, hold the potential to bring the experiences of the people who contributed to the formation of the historic landscape, or landscapes, into a broader public discourse. The descendant communities of the Presidio of Monterey greatly value their history and their ancestors. Collaboration with these groups will benefit the ongoing interpretation of the Presidio by way of integrating descendant community perspectives into the historical narrative. Moreover, creating a dialogue between archaeologists, researchers, cultural resource professionals with descendants and other stakeholders will enhance the interpretative potential and history of the Presidio as these groups challenge misconceptions and engage with the past in ways not previously acknowledged as a dimension of the historic landscape. The collective efforts of descendant community collaborations, scholarship and publication, and public displays and outreach can only further the understandings of the Royal Presidio of Monterey and its diverse history, thereby connecting the historic landscape to that of the present day.

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**Appendix A:**  
**Chronology of Presidio Buildings Measurements**

## 1773: Fages Description

| Building / Structure                   | Unit Measurements  | Material                                       | Notes  | Source               |
|--|--|--|--|----------------------|
| Church                                 | 15 <i>varas</i> long, 7 <i>varas</i> wide, 7 <i>varas</i> high, wall thickness is 0.8 <i>varas</i> | adobe, lime plaster                            | South wing, flat roof, 4 drains for rainwater, South side  | Geiger 1967: 328     |
| Tower                                  | 6 <i>varas</i> square, 15 <i>varas</i> high  | adobe, lime plaster, foundation stone mortared | Cupola in the shape of a half orange, with an iron cross, the right of the church                                      | Geiger 1967: 328     |
| Missionary's Quarters                  | 12 <i>varas</i> long, 6 <i>varas</i> wide  | lime plaster                                   | South wing, left of the church   | Geiger 1967: 330     |
| Missionary's Quarters Corridor         | 10 <i>varas</i> long   | lime plaster, wooden corbels                   | Outside corridor, supported with pillars and wooden corbels that support the flat roof, "communicates with the church" | Geiger 1967: 330     |
| Storerooms (2)                         | N/A  | likely adobe                                   | North wing, storage for food and royal property  | Geiger 1967: 330     |
| Rooms (2)                              | 4 <i>varas</i> wide, 6 <i>varas</i> long, each, wall thickness is 0.75 <i>varas</i>                | likely adobe                                   | North wing, attached to the storerooms<br>1. Prison<br>2. Guardhouse with firearms                                     | Geiger 1967: 330     |
| Entrance                               | 4 <i>varas</i> wide  | N/A  | North wing   | Geiger 1967: 330     |
| Store and Sales Room (Royal Warehouse) | 6 <i>varas</i> long, 8 <i>varas</i> wide, wall thickness is 0.75 <i>varas</i>                      | likely adobe                                   | North wing, display table of goods, i.e., clothing   | Geiger 1967: 330-331 |
| Store and Sales Room Corridor          | 6 <i>varas</i> long, 3 <i>varas</i> wide, wall thickness is 0.75 <i>varas</i>                      | likely adobe                                   | North wing, supported with 2 pillars and cypress corbels   | Geiger 1967: 331     |
| Kitchen                                | 4 <i>varas</i> square  | N/A  | North wing, behind corridor  | Geiger 1967: 331     |
| Store room                             | 10 <i>varas</i> long, 8 <i>varas</i> wide, wall thickness is 0.75 <i>varas</i>                     | N/A  | North wing, with storage bin 5 <i>varas</i> square   | Geiger 1967: 331     |
|  |  |  |  |                      |

| <b>Building / Structure</b>    | <b>Unit Measurements</b>                  | <b>Material</b>                          | <b>Notes</b>  | <b>Source</b>    |
|--------------------------------|---|--|---|------------------|
| Rooms (5)                      | 8 <i>varas</i> square each                | poles of pine, lime plaster, earth roofs | East wing<br>1. Mail courier and blacksmith<br>2. carpenter shop<br>3. gear for muleteers<br>4. servants dwelling<br>5. Indian laborers | Geiger 1967: 330 |
| Room (1)                       | 8 <i>varas</i> by 5 <i>varas</i>          | poles of pine, lime plaster, earth roofs | East wing, Storage building for building tools and field implements   | Geiger 1967: 330 |
| Kitchen                        | 8 <i>varas</i> square                     | poles of pine, lime plaster, earth roofs | East wing, Behind servants dwelling and has an inside connection  | Geiger 1967: 330 |
| Soldiers Quarters              | 20 <i>varas</i> long, 8 <i>varas</i> wide | poles of pine, lime plaster, earth roofs | West wing, leather jacket soldiers  | Geiger 1967: 330 |
| Catalonian Volunteers Quarters | 15 <i>varas</i> long, 8 <i>varas</i> wide | poles of pine, lime plaster, earth roofs | West wing, garrison entrances face the plaza of the presidio  | Geiger 1967: 330 |
| Kitchens (2)                   | 4 <i>varas</i> square each                | poles of pine, lime plaster, earth roofs | West wing, behind the Soldiers and Catalonian Volunteers Quarters have inside connections   | Geiger 1967: 330 |
| Pharmacy                       | 8 <i>varas</i> square                     | poles of pine, lime plaster, earth roofs | West wing, facing the south   | Geiger 1967: 330 |

## 1776-1778

| Building / Structure                         | Unit Measurements | Material            | Notes                       | Source  |
|--|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|---|
| Storehouse with residence for supply officer | N/A               | adobe               | N/A                         | Font 1776; Web de Anza 2000; Palou 1776; Williams 1993: 130 |
| Huts   | N/A               | likely <i>jacal</i> | located along the west wing | Palou 1776; Williams 1993: 130                              |
| Huts   | N/A               | likely <i>jacal</i> | located along the east wing | Palou 1776; Williams 1993: 130                              |
| Houses (10)                                  | 21 by 24 ft. each | adobe               | East wing, thatched         | Neve 1778; Howard 1978: 11; Neve 1778; Howard 1971: 4       |
| Soldiers Barracks                            | 18 by 136 ft.     | adobe               | East wing                   | Neve 1778; Howard 1971: 4                                   |

## 1800

| Building / Structure | Unit Measurements | Material                       | Notes  | Source            |
|----------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|--|-------------------|
| Main gate            | N/A               | stone, adobe, and tile (roofs) | Carrillo description; located in the north wing  | Williams 1993: 75 |
| Guardhouse           | N/A               | N/A                            | Carrillo description; located in the north wing  | Williams 1993: 75 |
| Rooms (3)            | N/A               | adobe                          | Carrillo description; "small" and "stand on one side of the gate" ; located in the north wing                  | Williams 1993: 75 |
| Warehouses (2)       | N/A               | adobe                          | Carrillo description; "large" and "stand on the other [side of the gate]"; in ruins; located in the north wing | Williams 1993: 75 |
| Room                 | N/A               | adobe                          | Carrillo description; "small" and "stand on the other [side of the gate]"; located in the north wing           | Williams 1993: 75 |
|                      |                   |                                |  |                   |

| <b>Building / Structure</b> | <b>Unit Measurements</b> | <b>Material</b> | <b>Notes</b>  | <b>Source</b>     |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|---|-------------------|
| Governor's house            | N/A                      | adobe           | Carrillo description; "with a main hall"; located in the west wing; damaged by 1789 fire          | Williams 1993: 75 |
| Rooms (8)                   | N/A                      | adobe           | Carrillo description; located in the west wing; damaged by 1789                                   | Williams 1993: 75 |
| Kitchen                     | N/A                      | adobe           | Carrillo description; located in the west wing; damaged by 1789                                   | Williams 1993: 75 |
| Rooms (5)                   | N/A                      | adobe           | Carrillo description; "with platform beds"; located in the west wing; damaged by 1789             | Williams 1993: 75 |
| Barracks                    | N/A                      | adobe           | Carrillo description; located in the west wing; damaged by 1789                                   | Williams 1993: 75 |
| Officer houses (2)          | N/A                      | adobe           | Carrillo description; located in the west wing; damaged by 1789                                   | Williams 1993: 75 |
| Surgeon's house             | N/A                      | adobe           | Carrillo description; located in the west wing; damaged by 1789                                   | Williams 1993: 75 |
| Rooms (9)                   | N/A                      | adobe           | Carrillo description; "for the families of the troops, and...the forge"; located in the east wing | Williams 1993: 75 |
| Rooms (9)                   | N/A                      | adobe           | Carrillo description; "[for] the families of the troops"; located in the south wing               | Williams 1993: 75 |
| Church                      | N/A                      | adobe           | Carrillo description; located in the middle of the south wing                                     | Williams 1993: 75 |
| Enclosures of backyards (2) | 8 varas square           | N/A             | Carrillo description; located in the east and south wings   | Williams 1993: 75 |

## 1816

| Building / Structure | Unit Measurements   | Material                       | Notes  | Source            |
|----------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|--|-------------------|
| Main gate            | N/A                 | stone, adobe, and tile (roofs) | Estrada description; located in the north wing | Williams 1993: 95 |
| Guardhouse           | N/A                 | N/A                            | Estrada description; located in the north wing | Williams 1993: 95 |
| Jail                 | N/A                 | adobe                          | Estrada description; located in the north wing | Williams 1993: 95 |
| Barracks             | N/A                 | adobe                          | Estrada description; located in the north wing | Williams 1993: 95 |
| Corporal houses (4)  | N/A                 | adobe                          | Estrada description; located in the north wing | Williams 1993: 95 |
| Infirmary            | N/A                 | adobe                          | Estrada description; located in the north wing | Williams 1993: 95 |
| Sergeant house       | N/A                 | adobe                          | Estrada description; located in the north wing | Williams 1993: 95 |
| Governor's house     | N/A                 | adobe                          | Estrada description; located in the west wing  | Williams 1993: 95 |
| Lieutenant's house   | N/A                 | adobe                          | Estrada description; located in the west wing  | Williams 1993: 95 |
| Alferez's house      | N/A                 | adobe                          | Estrada description; located in the west wing  | Williams 1993: 95 |
| Surgeon's house      | N/A                 | adobe                          | Estrada description; located in the west wing  | Williams 1993: 95 |
| Cadet's house        | N/A                 | adobe                          | Estrada description; located in the west wing  | Williams 1993: 95 |
| Warehouses (2)       | 8 varas square each | adobe                          | Estrada description; located in the west wing  | Williams 1993: 95 |
| Houses (14)          | N/A                 | adobe                          | Estrada description; located in the east wing  | Williams 1993: 95 |
| Forge                | N/A                 | adobe                          | Estrada description; located in the east wing  | Williams 1993: 95 |
| Main gate            | N/A                 | adobe                          | Estrada description; located in the east wing  | Williams 1993: 95 |

| <b>Building / Structure</b> | <b>Unit Measurements</b>                     | <b>Material</b> | <b>Notes</b>   | <b>Source</b>     |
|-----------------------------|--|-----------------|--|-------------------|
| Church                      | N/A  | adobe           | Estrada description; located in the south wing   | Williams 1993: 95 |
| Houses (8)                  | N/A  | adobe           | Estrada description; located in the south wing; One house has two rooms, a kitchen, and a room for storage | Williams 1993: 95 |
| Sally port                  | N/A  | adobe           | Estrada description; located in the south wing   | Williams 1993: 95 |
| Granary                     | 15 <i>varas</i> long by 10 <i>varas</i> wide | adobe           | Estrada description; located outside the north wing  | Williams 1993: 95 |

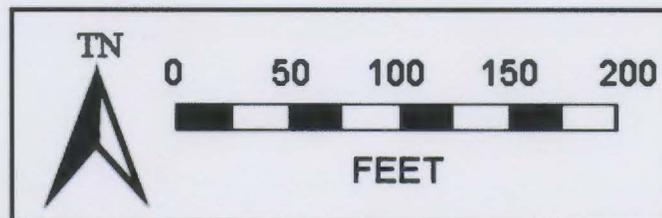
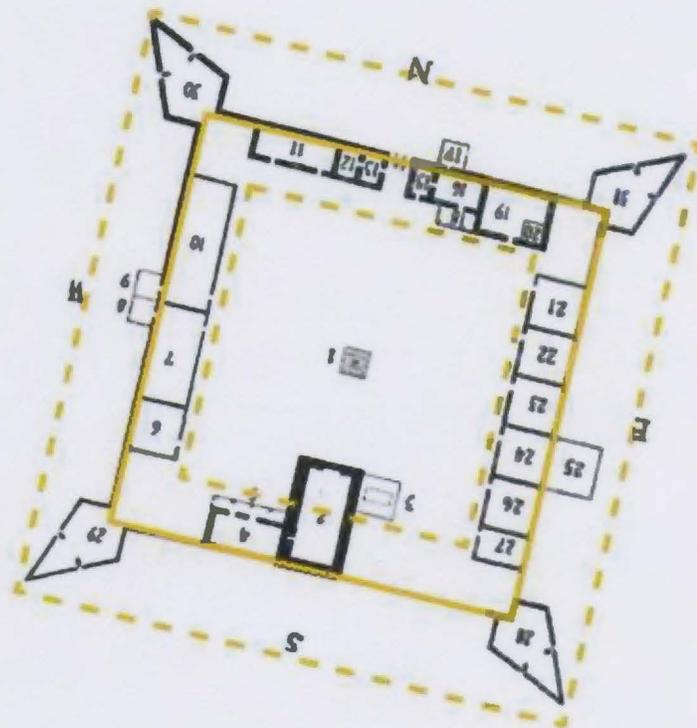
**Appendix B:**  
**Evolution of the Presidio Quadrangle, 1770-1820**

### **Evolution of the Presidio Quadrangle, 1770-1820**

The following scaled, conjectural representations of the Presidio quadrangle are based on the author's assessment of available archaeological and documentary resources. Measurements were derived from primary sources created by military leaders identified with the Presidio. These measurements were compared with wall footings recovered archaeologically. There was no explicit identification of whether the measurements represent the exterior or defensive walls, the perimeter of the compound based on ravelin point-to-point measurements, or the interior *plaza*. Therefore, larger measurements were assumed to represent exterior walls and smaller measurements for the *plaza*. Wall heights and thickness were not taken into account as the information was not always described in the documentary record. The Royal Presidio Chapels of 1772 and 1794 (represented by black rectangles) function as points of reference.

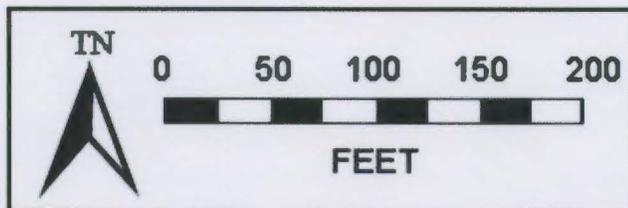
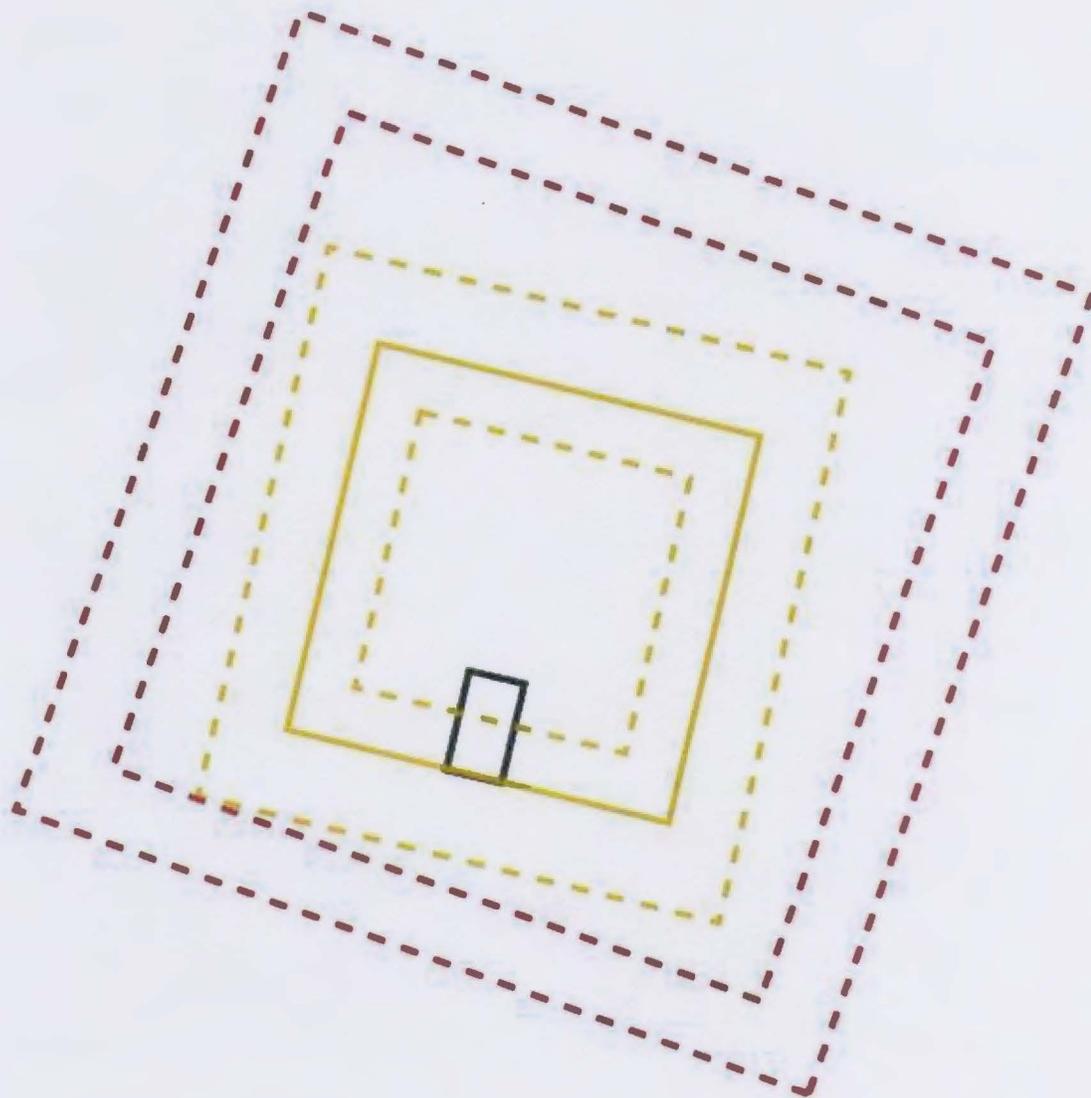
### Phase 1: 1770-1777

Footprint of the Royal Presidio of Monterey based on Pedro Fages' 1773 report by Alan K. Brown reoriented to trend north to south rather than south to north as depicted in Chapter 5 (Whitehead 1985: 82). The outside gold dashed lines represent the measurement of about 248 feet square. This is based on the length in between the points or tips of the ravelins rather than the actual defensive wall length measured from the base of the ravelin (Williams 1993: 128). The exterior defensive wall is depicted with the solid line. And finally, the interior *plaza* measured 50 *varas* square, which is depicted by the interior gold dashed line and is in accordance with Miguel Costansó's provisional plan for the Presidio in 1770 (Williams 1993: 12).



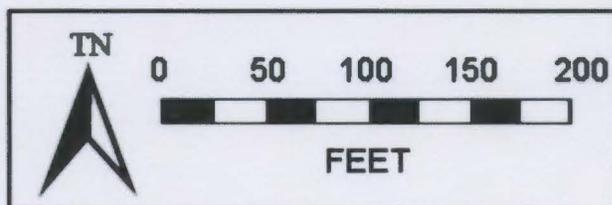
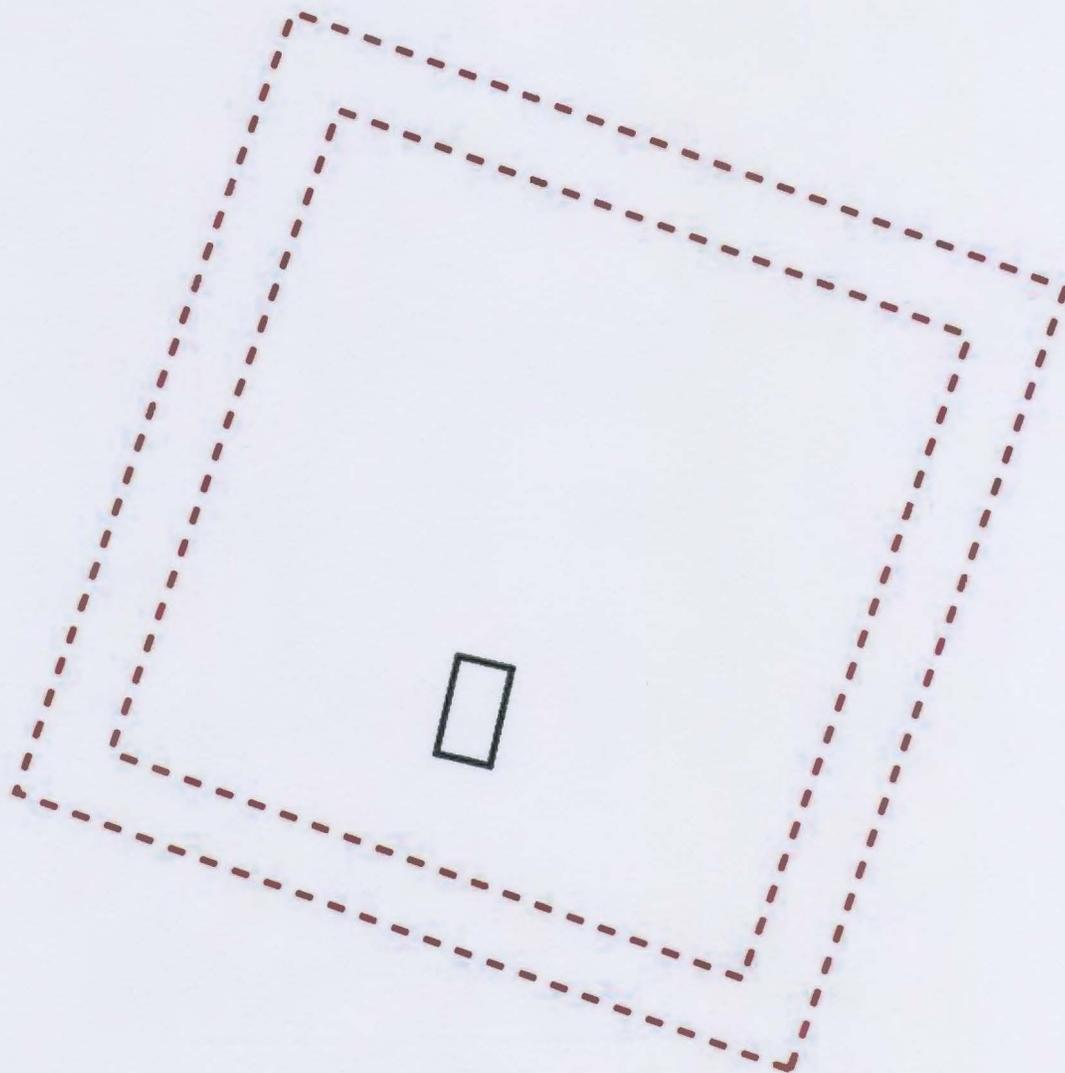
### Reconstruction of Quadrangle

Felipe Neve's expansion of the Presidio in 1778 is represented in the red dashed lines.



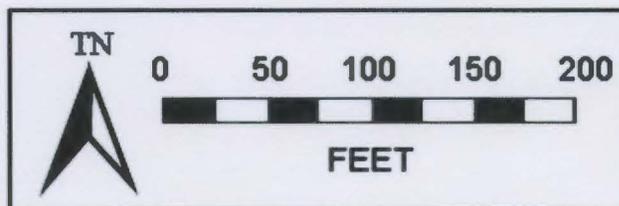
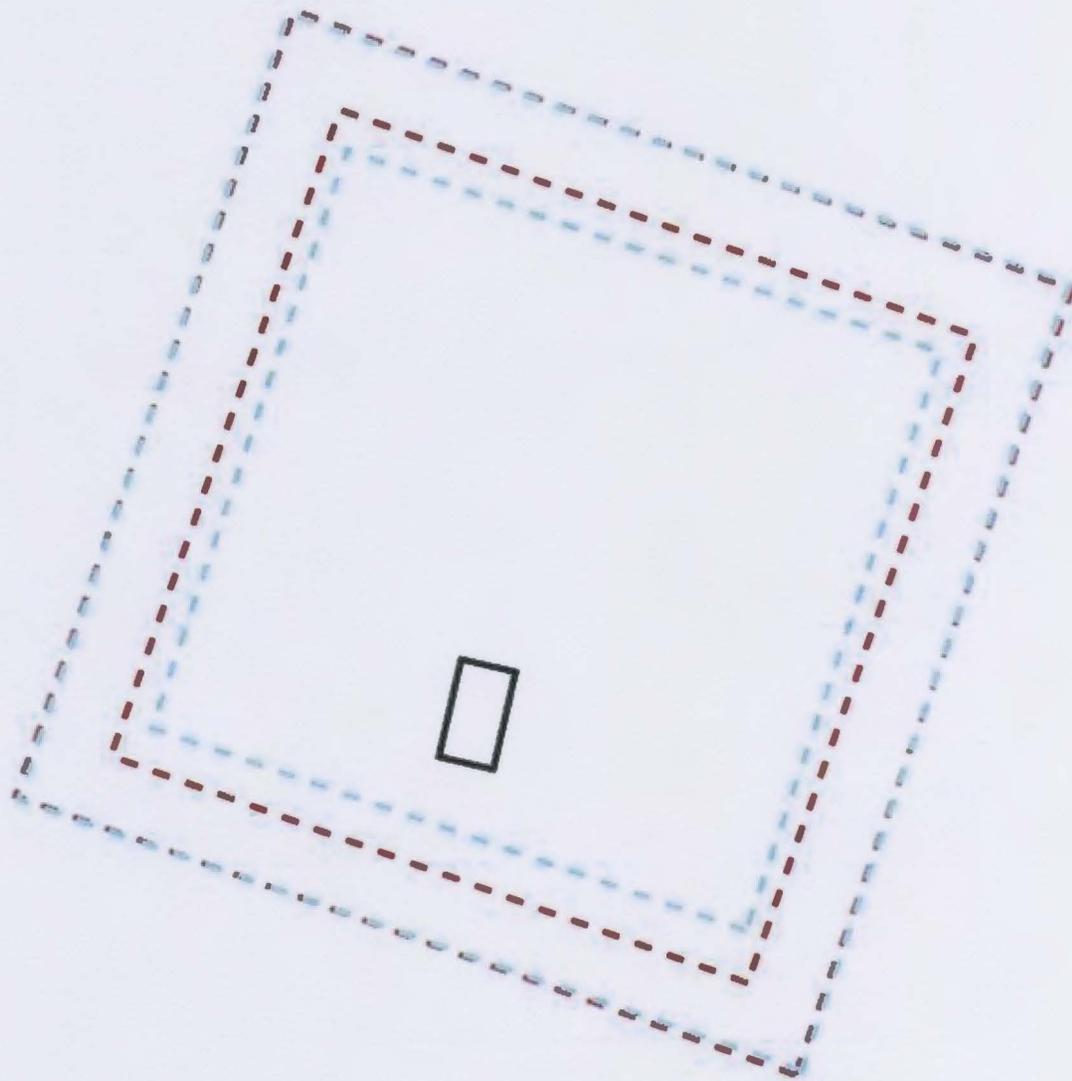
**Phase 2: 1778-1789**

The new interior quadrangle measured approximately 330 feet on a side while the exterior measured about 402 feet on a side. Unlike the earlier version of the quadrangle, it is not clear if the ravelins were open (measurement based on the length between the points of the ravelins) or enclosed (measurement inclusive of the ravelins). In addition, archaeological findings of the 1778 southern defensive wall indicate that the Presidio quadrangle was reoriented to trend northeast (Mendoza 2013: 38).



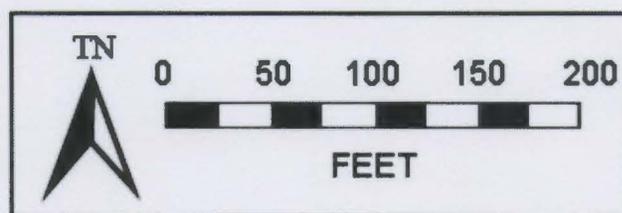
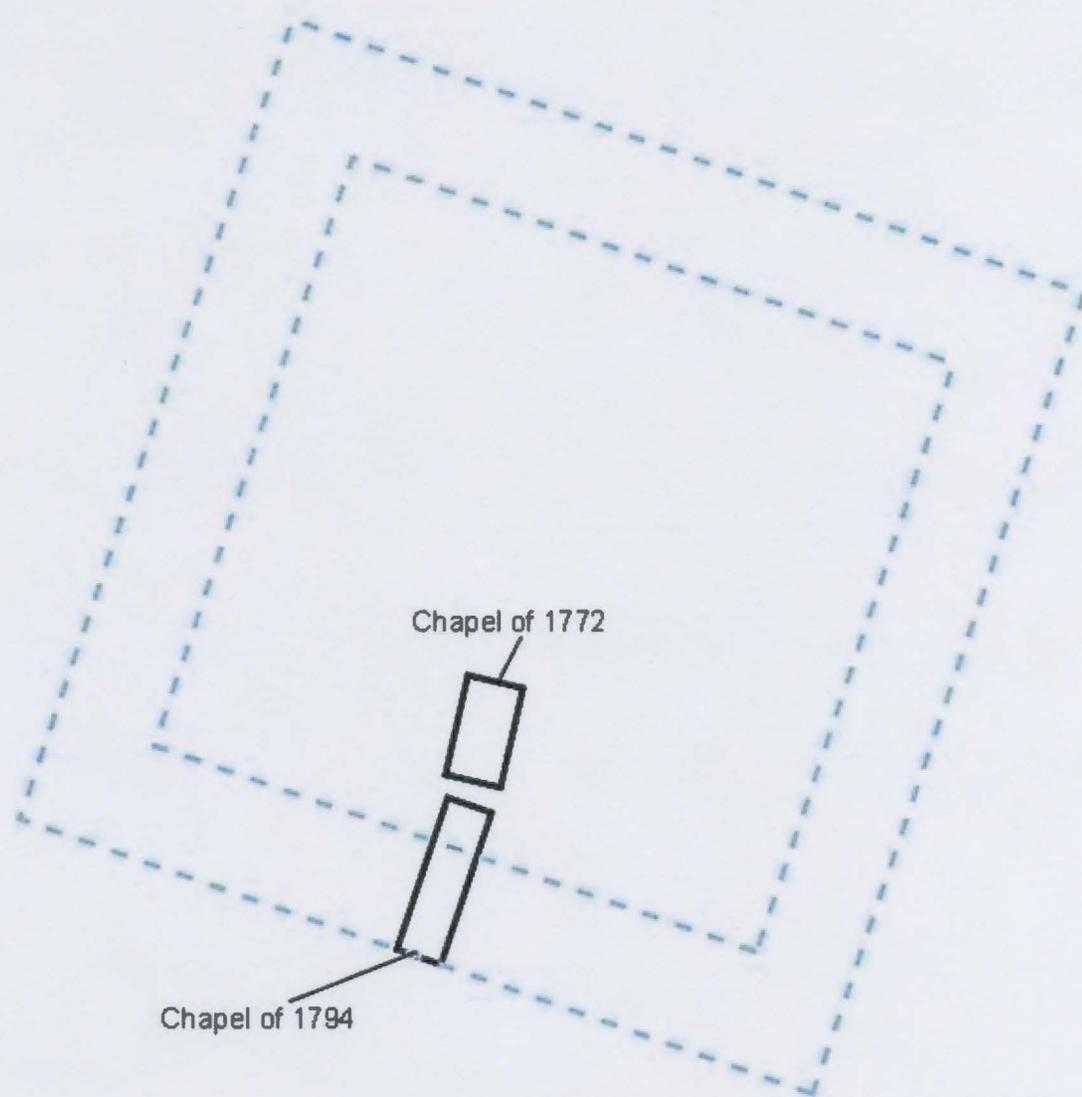
### Reconstruction of Quadrangle

The successful reconstruction of the Presidio was short lived. The sparks from a standard salute to the *San Carlos* in the Monterey Bay caused a massive fire at the Presidio in 1789 (Bancroft 1886a: 468; Howard 1978: 56; Williams 1993: 52). The second reconstruction of the defensive walls was completed in 1790, represented by the blue dashed lines (Howard 1976: 39; Williams 1993: 54).



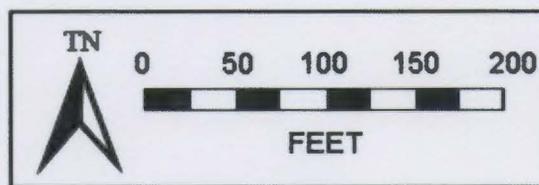
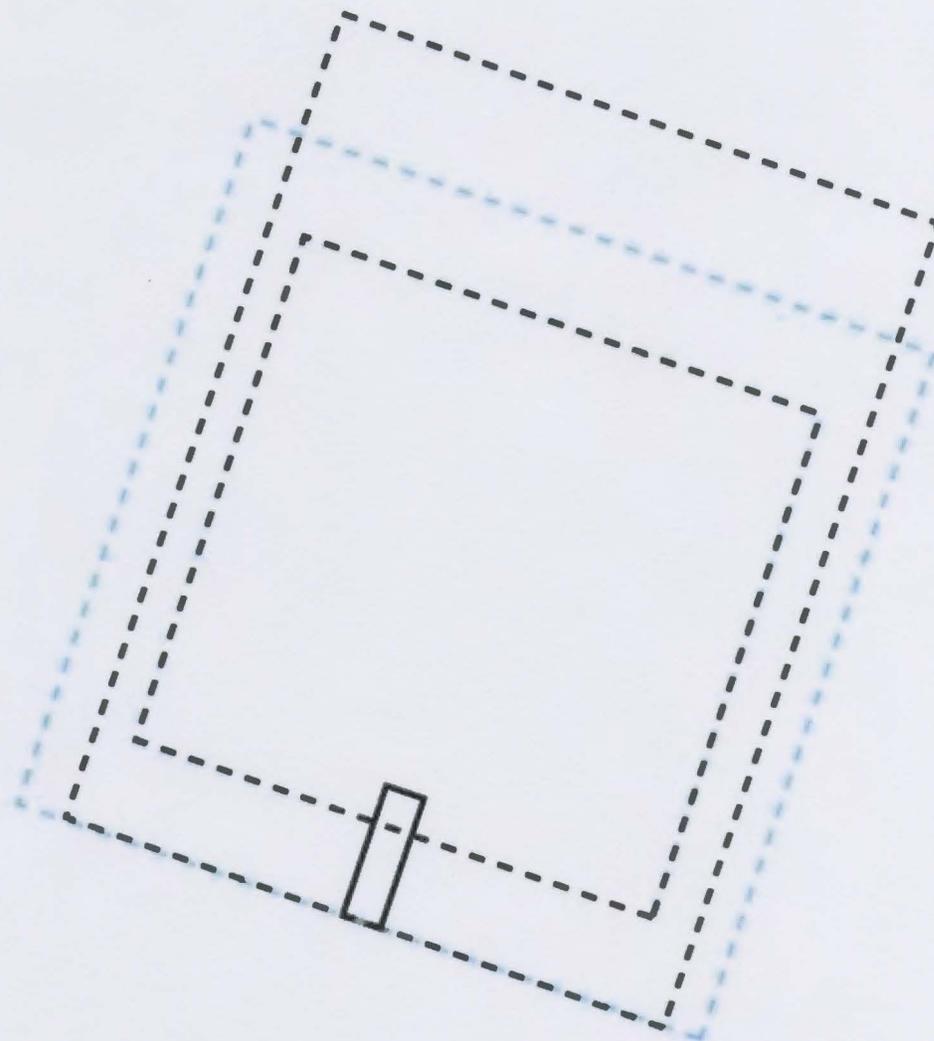
### Phase 3: 1790-1815

The interior quadrangle was reduced from approximately 330 feet to 110 *varas* or 302 feet square (Williams 1993: 73, 75-76). The Presidio was visited by the Malaspina-Bustamante expedition in 1791. Jose Cardero's sketch depicts the Presidio, the Chapel of 1772, and the construction of the third chapel, or Chapel of 1794 (see Figure 14). Cardero also depicts the enclosed ravelins.



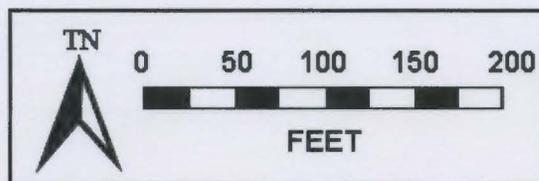
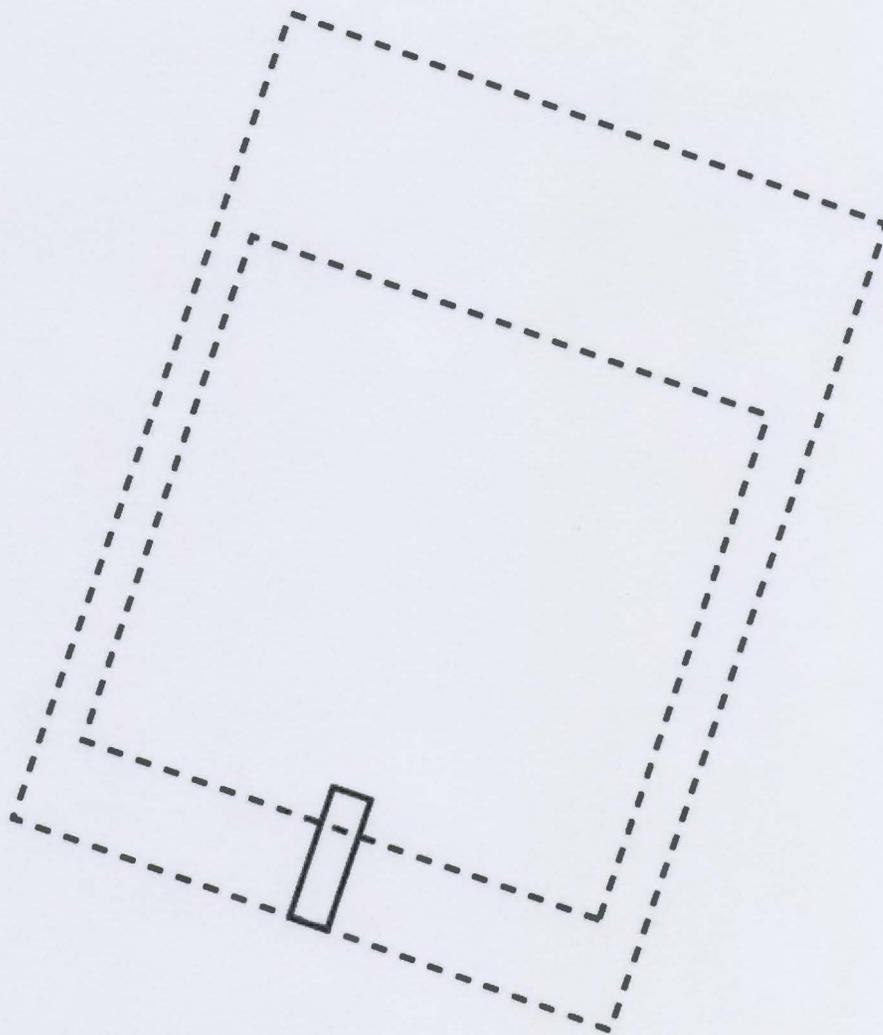
### Reconstruction of Quadrangle

Raymundo Carrillo, the post commandant of Monterey at that time, requested funding for rebuilding parts of the Presidio following the completion of the Chapel of 1794 (Williams 1993: 73, 75-76). Before receiving a reply, a natural disaster hit Monterey in 1801 (Williams 1993: 76). Governor Pablo Vicente de Solá's reconstruction of the Presidio is depicted by the black dashed lines.



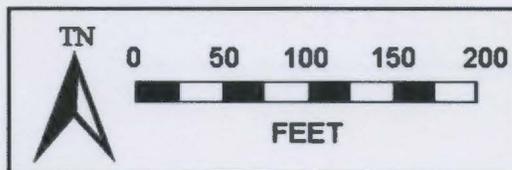
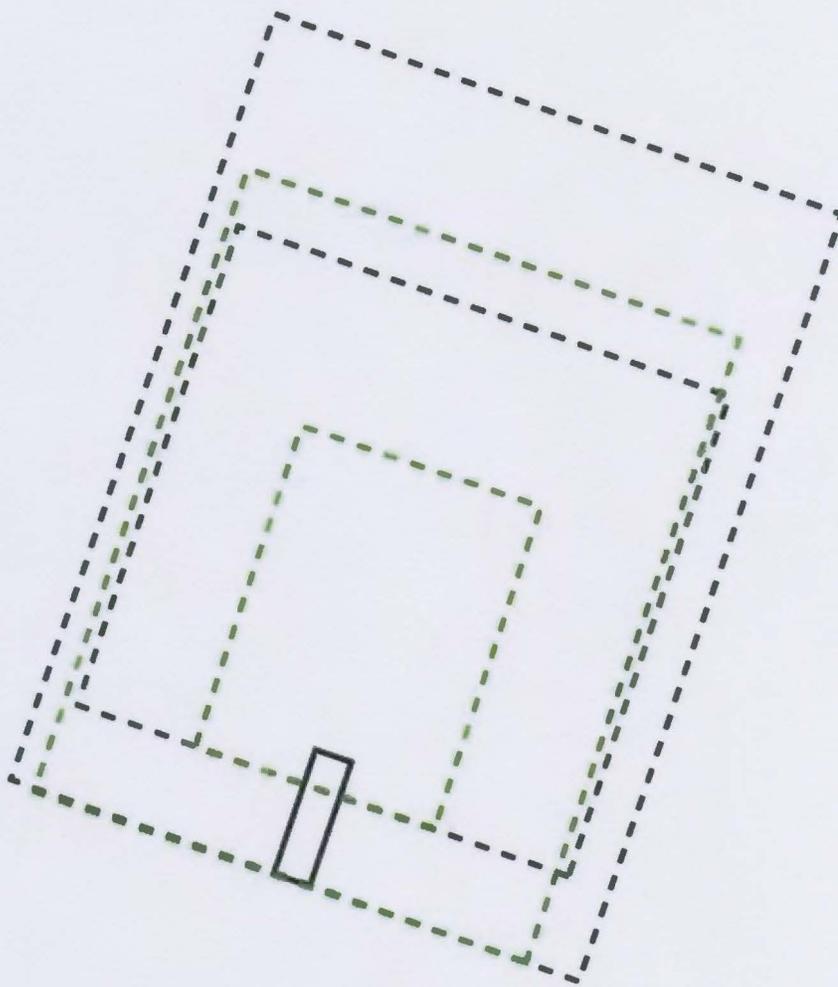
**Phase 4: 1816-1818**

Solá expanded the Presidio to 175 *varas* in length, and 128 *varas* in width, or 481 by 352 feet (Williams 1993: 94-95).



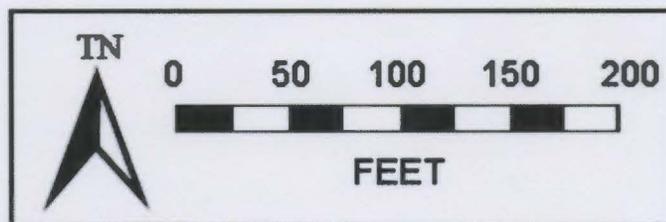
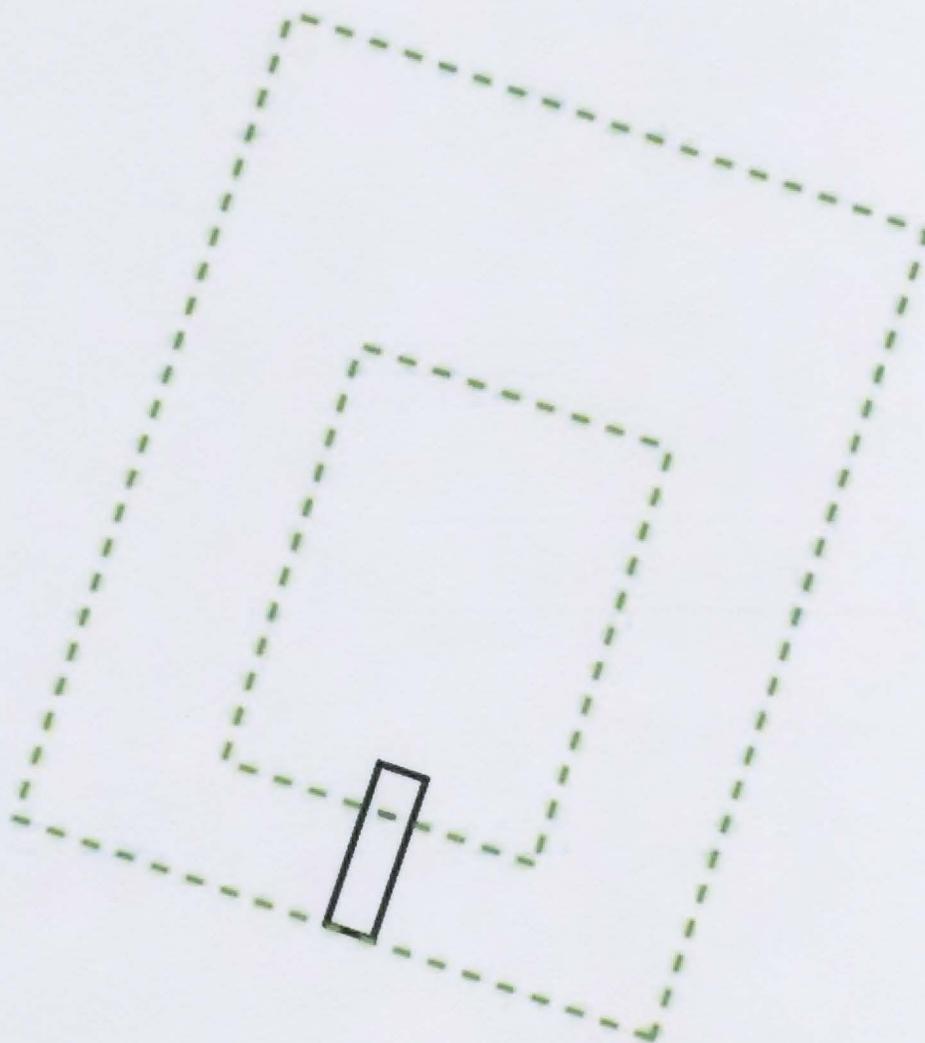
### Reconstruction of Quadrangle

The progress of the reconstructing the Presidio was hindered in 1818. Argentine Captain Bouchard attacked Monterey (Walton 2001: 75). As a result, the portions of the Presidio of Monterey required rebuilding yet again. Repairs of damaged structures and buildings continued until 1821 (Williams 1993: 99). The emergence of another quadrangle is depicted by the green dashed lines, smaller than the previous.



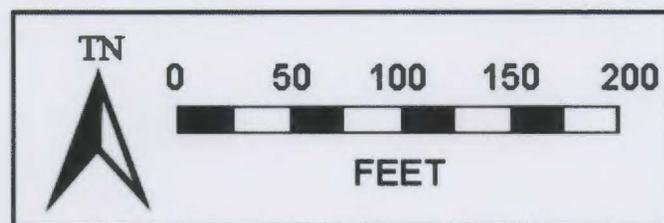
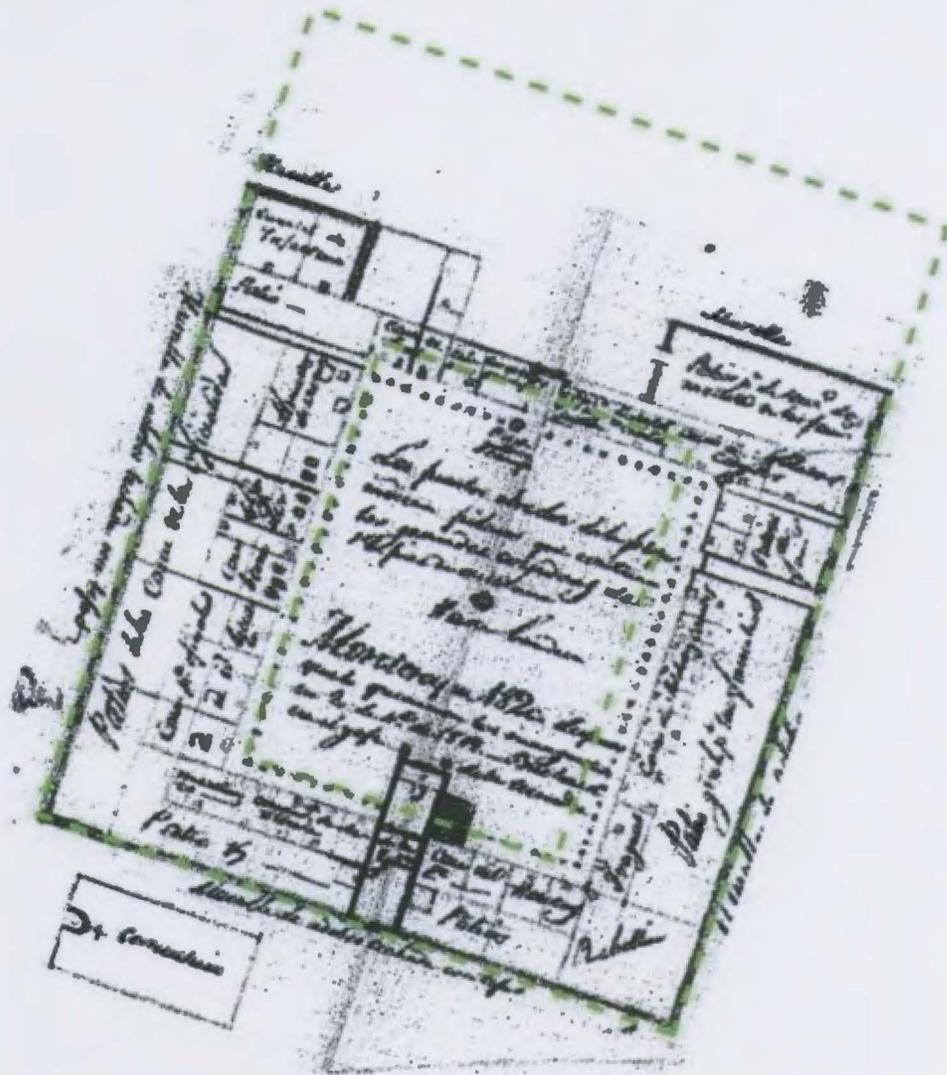
**Phase 5: 1819-1820**

Measurements for this new quadrangle varied according to the source, but all measurements indicated that the overall size was reduced. This plan measures 333 by 372 feet (defensive walls) and 229 by 172 feet (*plaza*). A smaller quadrangle was likely more manageable given the constant reconstruction.

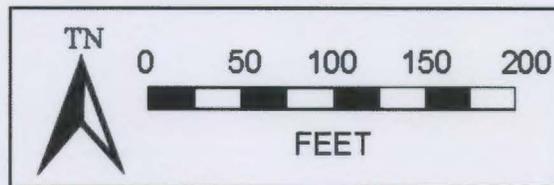
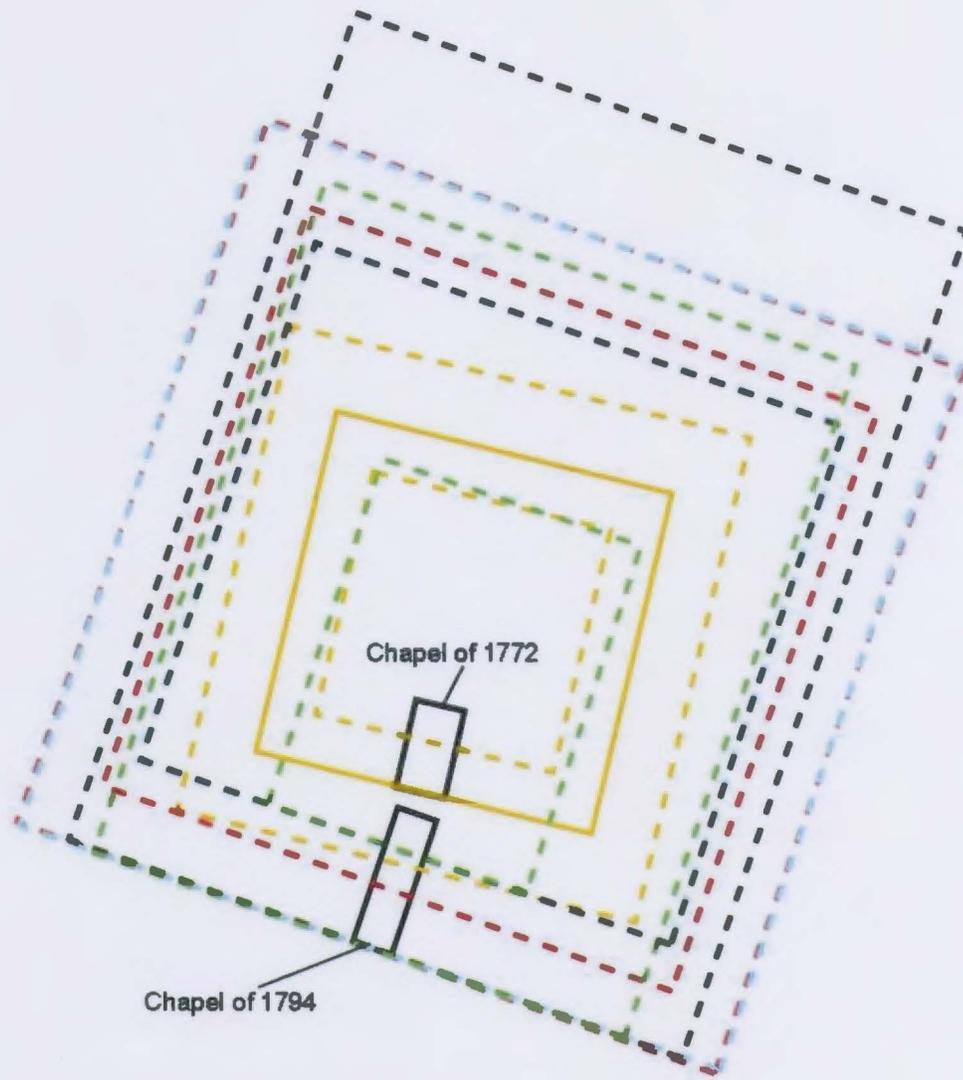


### Vallejo Map Overlay

This is an overlay with a map attributed to General Mariano Vallejo (Ruhge 2009: 79; Williams 1993: 99). Another measurement of the Presidio in 1820 indicated that the defensive walls were 330 by 330 feet, which more accurately fits the Vallejo map. However, this source could be verified by the author, therefore there appears to be an empty space to the north. In addition, this map identifies one ravelin in the southeast corner.

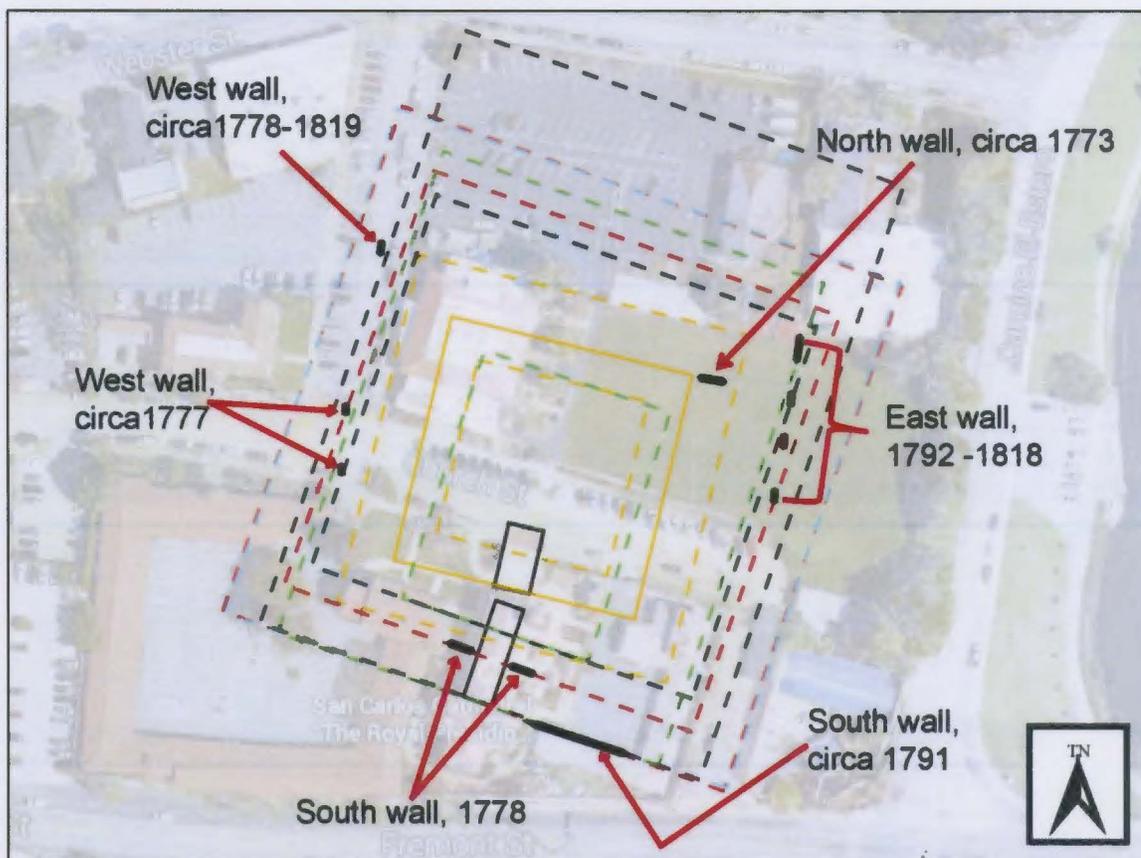


### Presidio Evolution, 1770-1820



### Approximate Location of Wall Footings

On the western side of the compound, archaeological investigations have identified portions of the west wall identified to circa 1777-1819 (Howard 1981: 54, 56; Edwards, Simpson-Smith, and Lönnberg 1994: 17). On the eastern side of the compound, archaeological excavations identified portions of an eastern wall identified to circa 1792 to 1818 (Howard 1971: 5). Portions of the 1773 north wall and the 1778 and 1791 south walls were also identified (Howard 1971: 5, 1981: 49; Mendoza 2013: 38).



**Appendix C:**

**Royal Presidio of Monterey Census**

**Census of 1775<sup>5</sup>**  
**(Mason 1998: 22-26)<sup>6</sup>**

| Surname   | First Name       | Occupation or Rank      | Casta           | Spouse                    | Casta      | Children  |
|-----------|------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|------------|---|
| Acevedo   | José Francisco   | Soldier                 | N/A             | Juana Gertrudis Serna     | N/A        | Valvanera                                       |
| Antonio   | Manuel           | Sailor                  | N/A             | N/A                       | N/A        | N/A   |
| Antuna    | Manuel           | Soldier                 | N/A             | N/A                       | N/A        | N/A   |
| Aruz      | Domingo          | Soldier, SC             | N/A             | Serafina                  | india, SC  | Francisco José                                  |
| Basilio   | Marfano          | Sailor                  | N/A             | N/A                       | N/A        | N/A   |
| Beltrán   | Xavier           | Soldier                 | N/A             | Gertrudis de Lugo         | N/A        | (adopted) María Valencia and Gertrudis Valencia |
| Bravo     | Marcelino        | Corporal, SC            | N/A             | María del Carmen Chamorro | N/A        | N/A   |
| Briones   | Vincente         | Soldier, SLO            | N/A             | Mariana                   | india, SLO | N/A   |
| Buelna    | Antonio          | Soldier                 | N/A             | N/A                       | N/A        | N/A   |
| Buelna    | Josefa Dominguez | Widow                   | N/A             | N/A                       | N/A        | Antonio (see above)                             |
| Butrón    | Manuel           | Catalonian Soldier, SC  | español [Spain] | Margarita Dominguez       | india, SC  | N/A   |
| Cayuelas  | Francisco        | Catalonian Soldier, SLO | español [Spain] | Dolores                   | india, SLO | N/A   |
| Cervantes | Pablo Victoriano | Soldier                 | N/A             | N/A                       | N/A        | N/A   |
| Chamorro  | Fernando         | Blacksmith              | N/A             | Ana María Hurtado         | N/A        | María Cipriana                                  |
| Cortés    | Alexo            | Sailor                  | N/A             | N/A                       | N/A        | N/A   |

<sup>5</sup> *Castas*, women, and children based on mission records from 1769-1775 obtained from Huntington Library ECCP.

<sup>6</sup> SC denotes association with Mission San Carlos, SLO denotes association with Mission San Luis Obispo escolta, and SAP denotes association with Mission San Antonio de Padua.

| <b>Surname</b>      | <b>First Name</b> | <b>Occupation or Rank</b> | <b>Casta</b> | <b>Spouse</b>           | <b>Casta</b> | <b>Children</b>   |
|---------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|--------------|-------------------------|--------------|---|
| Cota                | Pablo Antonio     | Corporal, SLO             | N/A          | N/A                     | N/A          | N/A   |
| Dávila              | José              | Surgeon                   | N/A          | Josefa Carbajal         | N/A          | Fabián Sebastián  |
| Dávila              | Manuel            | Carpenter                 | N/A          | Gerónima Montaña        | N/A          | José Estanislao, José Antonio, María Josefa, and José Mariano |
| de la Cruz Verdugo  | Juan María        | Soldier                   | N/A          | N/A                     | N/A          | N/A   |
| de Rivera y Moncada | Fernando          | Captain                   | N/A          | N/A                     | N/A          | N/A   |
| Duarte              | Alexo             | Corporal, SAP             | N/A          | Gertrudis               | N/A          | N/A   |
| Espinosa            | Joaquín           | Soldier                   | N/A          | N/A                     | N/A          | N/A   |
| Espinosa            | Antonio           | Soldier                   | N/A          | N/A                     | N/A          | N/A   |
| Espinosa            | Serafina Lugo     | Widow                     | N/A          | N/A                     | N/A          | Salvador, Tomás, and Cayetano                                 |
| Esteban             | Antonio           | Employee of SAP           | N/A          | N/A                     | N/A          | N/A   |
| Félix               | Anastacio         | Soldier, SAP              | N/A          | N/A                     | N/A          | N/A   |
| Flores              | Hermenegildo      | Soldier, SC               | N/A          | N/A                     | N/A          | N/A   |
| García              | Felipe            | Soldier                   | N/A          | Petra Alcántara de Lugo | N/A          | Juan José   |
| Gloria              | Jacinto           | Employee                  | N/A          | N/A                     | N/A          | N/A   |
| Góngora             | José María        | Sergeant                  | N/A          | N/A                     | N/A          | N/A   |
| Gonzales            | José María        | Employee                  | N/A          | N/A                     | N/A          | N/A   |
| Gonzales            | Rafael Gerardo    | Soldier                   | N/A          | N/A                     | N/A          | N/A   |
| Gonzales            | Inocente          | Employee of SAP           | N/A          | N/A                     | N/A          | N/A   |
| Guerrero            | José              | Employee                  | N/A          | N/A                     | N/A          | N/A   |

| Surname              | First Name    | Occupation or Rank         | Casta                     | Spouse                      | Casta                 | Children  |
|----------------------|---------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|---|
| Gutiérrez            | Miguel        | Sailor                     | N/A                       | N/A                         | N/A                   | N/A   |
| Heredia              | Bernardo      | Soldier                    | N/A                       | Nicolasa<br>Elisalde        | N/A                   | N/A   |
| Higuera              | Manuel        | Soldier                    | N/A                       | María<br>Antonia<br>Redondo | N/A                   | Juan José and<br>José Fausín                          |
| Labra                | San Antonio   | Soldier, SLO               | N/A                       | N/A                         | N/A                   | N/A   |
| Lugo                 | Francisco     | Corporal                   | N/A                       | Juana<br>Vianazul           | N/A                   | Tomasa,<br>Rosa, José<br>Antonio, and<br>José Ignacio |
| Lugo                 | Seferino      | Soldier                    | N/A                       | Gertrudis<br>Pacheco        | N/A                   | N/A   |
| Montaño              | Antonio       | Catalonian<br>Soldier, SLO | <i>español</i><br>[Spain] | Pilar                       | <i>india</i> ,<br>SLO | N/A   |
| Muñoz y<br>Camacho   | Tómas         | Employee of<br>Carmel      | N/A                       | Tecla<br>María              | N/A                   | Serafina  |
| Olivera<br>[Narciso] | Ignacio       | Employee of<br>Carmel      | N/A                       | N/A                         | N/A                   | N/A   |
| Olivera              | Juan María    | Soldier                    | N/A                       | N/A                         | N/A                   | N/A   |
| Ontiveros            | José Antonio  | Soldier                    | N/A                       | N/A                         | N/A                   | N/A   |
| Peña                 | Francisco     | Soldier                    | N/A                       | N/A                         | N/A                   | N/A   |
| Peña                 | José Antonio  | Soldier                    | N/A                       | N/A                         | N/A                   | N/A   |
| Peña                 | Luis          | Soldier                    | N/A                       | N/A                         | N/A                   | N/A   |
| Phelipe              | Miguel        | Sailor                     | N/A                       | N/A                         | N/A                   | N/A   |
| Resa                 | Lorenzo       | Sailor                     | N/A                       | María<br>Teresa<br>Ochoa    | N/A                   | N/A   |
| Rivera               | Tadeo         | Employee                   | N/A                       | N/A                         | N/A                   | N/A   |
| Robles               | Juan José     | Corporal                   | N/A                       | N/A                         | N/A                   | N/A   |
| Rosales              | José Bernardo | Employee of<br>SLO         | N/A                       | Mónica                      | N/A                   | N/A   |
|                      |               |                            |                           |                             |                       |   |

| <b>Surname</b>          | <b>First Name</b> | <b>Occupation or Rank</b> | <b>Casta</b>    | <b>Spouse</b>        | <b>Casta</b> | <b>Children</b>                    |
|-------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|--------------|------------------------------------|
| Rosario [Villavicencio] | Eugenio           | Sailor                    | N/A             | N/A                  | N/A          | N/A                                |
| Ruelas                  | Fernando          | Soldier, SAP              | N/A             | N/A                  | N/A          | N/A                                |
| Ruiz                    | Diego             | Soldier                   | N/A             | N/A                  | N/A          | N/A                                |
| Ruiz                    | Juan María        | Soldier, SAP              | N/A             | Margarita de Cortona | india, SAP   | N/A                                |
| Saez                    | Nazario           | Soldier                   | N/A             | Micaela Sotelo       | N/A          | N/A                                |
| Sal                     | Hermenegildo      | Soldier                   | N/A             | N/A                  | N/A          | N/A                                |
| Salazar                 | Bonifacio         | Sailor                    | N/A             | N/A                  | N/A          | N/A                                |
| Sánchez                 | Juan              | Soldier                   | N/A             | N/A                  | N/A          | N/A                                |
| Santiago                | Feliciano         | Sailor                    | N/A             | N/A                  | N/A          | N/A                                |
| Segura                  | José Gregorio     | Blacksmith                | N/A             | N/A                  | N/A          | N/A                                |
| Sinova                  | Francisco         | Soldier, SC               | N/A             | N/A                  | N/A          | N/A                                |
| Tiburcio                | José              | Sailor                    | N/A             | N/A                  | N/A          | N/A                                |
| Urcellino               | José              | Carpenter                 | N/A             | N/A                  | N/A          | N/A                                |
| Verdugo                 | José María        | Soldier, SAP              | N/A             | N/A                  | N/A          | N/A                                |
| Villavicencio           | Rafael            | Soldier, SAP              | N/A             | Ildefonsa            | india, SAP   | María Josefa and Francisco Pasqual |
| Yorba                   | Antonio           | Catalonian Soldier, SC    | español [Spain] | María Garcia         | india, SC    | Pedro Antonio                      |

**Census of 1782<sup>7</sup>**  
**(Huntington Library 2006; Mason 1998: 92-98; MCGS 2000: 4)<sup>8</sup>**

| Surname             | First Name | Occupation or Rank     | Casta                  | Spouse                    | Casta              | Children  |
|---------------------|------------|------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|---|
| Alegre              | Atemio     | Soldier                | N/A                    | Cathalina Maria Islas     | <i>india</i>       | N/A   |
| Antuna              | Manuel     | Soldier                | N/A                    | Juana Serna               | N/A                | N/A   |
| Aruz                | Domingo    | Soldier                | <i>razón</i>           | Maria Gertrudis           | <i>razón</i>       | Francisco Jose and Domingo Jose Manuel [from previous marriage] |
| Beltran             | Javier     | Soldier                | N/A                    | N/A                       | N/A                | N/A   |
| Beltran             | Joaquin    | Soldier                | N/A                    | N/A                       | N/A                | N/A   |
| Bernal              | Dionisio   | Soldier                | N/A                    | N/A                       | N/A                | N/A   |
| Bravo               | Marcelino  | Soldier                | N/A                    | María del Carmen Chamorro | N/A                | N/A   |
| Briones             | Marcus     | Soldier                | N/A                    | N/A                       | N/A                | N/A   |
| Briones             | Vicente    | Corporal               | N/A                    | Mariana                   | <i>india</i> , SLO | Nicolas   |
| Buelna              | Antonio    | Soldier                | N/A                    | Antonia Tapia             | <i>india</i>       | N/A   |
| Butrón              | Manuel     | Catalonian Soldier, SC | <i>español</i> [Spain] | Margarita Dominguez       | <i>india</i> , SC  | N/A   |
| Caguellas           | Francisco  | Soldier                | N/A                    | N/A                       | N/A                | N/A   |
| Cantua              | Ignacio    | Soldier                | N/A                    | N/A                       | N/A                | N/A   |
| Carrillo            | Raymundo   | Corporal               | N/A                    | Thomasa Ygnacia           | N/A                | N/A   |
| de Vargas [Varquez] | Manuel     | Soldier                | N/A                    | N/A                       | N/A                | N/A   |
| Dominguez           | Jose       | Corporal               | N/A                    | N/A                       | N/A                | N/A   |

<sup>7</sup> *Castas*, women, and children based on mission records from 1769-1782 obtained from Huntington Library ECCP.

<sup>8</sup> SC denotes association with Mission San Carlos, SLO denotes association with Mission San Luis Obispo *escolta*, and SAP denotes association with Mission San Antonio de Padua.

| Surname           | First Name     | Occupation or Rank      | Casta                  | Spouse                    | Casta              | Children   |
|-------------------|----------------|-------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|--|
| Espinosa          | Miguel         | Soldier                 | N/A                    | N/A                       | N/A                | N/A  |
| Estrada           | Jose Bonifacio | Soldier                 | N/A                    | N/A                       | N/A                | N/A  |
| Feliz             | Doreteo        | Soldier                 | N/A                    | N/A                       | N/A                | N/A  |
| Garcia            | Felipe         | Soldier                 | N/A                    | Petra Alcántara de Lugo   | N/A                | Juan José  |
| Gongora           | Jose Maria     | Sargent                 | N/A                    | Rosalia Maximiana Verdugo | N/A                | Joseph Antonio and Joseph Maria Francisco de Paula |
| Gonzales          | Diego          | Lieutenant              | N/A                    | N/A                       | N/A                | N/A  |
| Guzman [Martinez] | Torbido        | Soldier                 | N/A                    | N/A                       | N/A                | N/A  |
| Heredia           | Bernado        | Soldier                 | N/A                    | Maria Nicolasa            | N/A                | Maria Josepha de la Luz                            |
| Higuera           | Manuel         | Soldier                 | N/A                    | N/A                       | N/A                | N/A  |
| Ibarra            | Ramon          | Soldier                 | N/A                    | N/A                       | N/A                | N/A  |
| Lopez             | Sebastian      | Soldier                 | <i>razón</i>           | Maria Rosa Tapia          | <i>razón</i>       | Sebastian Antonio                                  |
| Lugo              | Seferino       | Soldier                 | N/A                    | N/A                       | N/A                | N/A  |
| Martinez          | Jose Maria     | Soldier                 | N/A                    | N/A                       | N/A                | N/A  |
| Mejias            | Juan           | Soldier                 | N/A                    | N/A                       | N/A                | N/A  |
| Montaño           | Antonio        | Catalonian Soldier, SLO | <i>español</i> [Spain] | Pilar                     | <i>india</i> , SLO | N/A  |
| Peralta           | Luis Maria     | Soldier                 | N/A                    | N/A                       | N/A                | N/A  |
| Pinto             | Juan Maria     | Soldier                 | N/A                    | N/A                       | N/A                | N/A  |
| Reyes             | Francisco      | Soldier                 | <i>razón</i>           | Maria Luisa del Carmen    | <i>razón</i>       | N/A  |
| Rios              | Julian         | Soldier                 | N/A                    | N/A                       | N/A                | N/A  |
| Rodriguez         | Jose Antonio   | Soldier                 | <i>razón</i>           | Trinidad Vicenta de Leon  | <i>razón</i>       | N/A  |

| Surname                               | First Name       | Occupation or Rank | Casta               | Spouse                    | Casta      | Children   |
|---------------------------------------|------------------|--------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|------------|--|
| Rosalio<br>[Rosario or Villavicencio] | Eugenio          | Soldier            | N/A                 | N/A                       | N/A        | N/A  |
| Ruiz                                  | Diego            | Soldier            | N/A                 | N/A                       | N/A        | N/A  |
| Ruiz                                  | Juan Maria       | Soldier            | N/A                 | Margarita de Cortona      | india, SAP | N/A  |
| Saens                                 | Justo            | Soldier            | N/A                 | N/A                       | N/A        | N/A  |
| Sanchez                               | Francisco        | Soldier            | N/A                 | N/A                       | N/A        | N/A  |
| Sanchez                               | JoseTadeo        | Soldier            | N/A                 | N/A                       | N/A        | N/A  |
| Soberanes                             | Jose             | Soldier            | N/A                 | Ana Josepha de Castro     | N/A        | Maria Apolonia, Maria Rita Ygina, and Maria Ignacia        |
| Soto                                  | Jose Maria       | Soldier            | N/A                 | N/A                       | N/A        | N/A  |
| Vareles                               | Casimiro         | Soldier            | N/A                 | N/A                       | N/A        | N/A  |
| Verdugo                               | Juan             | Soldier            | N/A                 | N/A                       | N/A        | N/A  |
| Verdugo                               | Juan Maria       | Soldier            | N/A                 | N/A                       | N/A        | N/A  |
| Verdugo                               | Leonardo         | Soldier            | N/A                 | N/A                       | N/A        | N/A  |
| Verdugo                               | Mariano          | Sergeant           | N/A                 | N/A                       | N/A        | N/A  |
| Villagomez                            | Francisco        | Soldier            | N/A                 | N/A                       | N/A        | N/A  |
| Villavicencio                         | Rafael           | Corporal           | N/A                 | Ildefonsa                 | india, SLO | Maria Josefa   |
| Villela                               | Juan<br>[Marcos] | Soldier            | N/A                 | N/A                       | N/A        | N/A  |
| Yorba                                 | Antonio          | Corporal           | europ <sup>eo</sup> | Maria Josepha de Grijalva | razón      | From previous marriage: Pedro Antonio and Francisco Xavier |

**Census of 1790<sup>9</sup>**  
**(Mason 1998: 92-98)<sup>10</sup>**

| <b>Surname</b> | <b>First Name</b> | <b>Occupation or Rank</b> | <b>Casta</b>   | <b>Spouse</b>             | <b>Casta</b>      | <b>Children</b>                                   |
|----------------|-------------------|---------------------------|----------------|---------------------------|-------------------|---|
| Altamirano     | Tiburcio          | Settler                   | <i>mestizo</i> | N/A                       | N/A               | N/A   |
| Alviso         | Juan Francisco    | Soldier                   | <i>mulato</i>  | N/A                       | N/A               | N/A   |
| Alviso         | Francisco         | Soldier                   | <i>español</i> | N/A                       | N/A               | N/A   |
| Alviso         | Xavier            | Soldier                   | <i>español</i> | Agustina Bojorques        | <i>mulata</i>     | N/A   |
| Amesquita      | Juan Antonio      | Widower                   | <i>mestizo</i> | N/A                       | N/A               | Francisco   |
| Armenta        | Jose Maria        | Soldier                   | <i>mulato</i>  | N/A                       | N/A               | N/A   |
| Arroyo         | Vincente          | Soldier                   | <i>mulato</i>  | Maria Dolores Amesquita   | <i>mestiza</i>    | Juan and Victor José                              |
| Ballesteros    | Juan              | Corporal                  | <i>español</i> | Teresa Sepulveda          | <i>española</i>   | Juan Antonio, Francisco Sepulveda, and Jose Maria |
| Bernal         | Dionisio          | Soldier                   | <i>mulato</i>  | Manuela Mesa              | <i>española</i>   | N/A   |
| Bravo          | Jose Marcelino    | Soldier                   | <i>mestizo</i> | María del Carmen Chamorro | <i>mestiza</i>    | Two adopted children                              |
| Briones        | Vicente           | Retired                   | <i>mulato</i>  | Mariana                   | <i>india, SLO</i> | Nicolas   |
| Briones        | Manuel            | Soldier                   | <i>mulato</i>  | N/A                       | N/A               | N/A   |
| Briones        | Marcos            | Soldier                   | <i>mulato</i>  | Isidora Tapia             | <i>mulata</i>     | Jose Maria, Ignacio Vicente, and Felipe Santiago  |
|                |                   |                           |                |                           |                   |   |

<sup>9</sup> Women, and children based on mission records from 1769-1790 obtained from Huntington Library ECCP.

<sup>10</sup> SC denotes association with Mission San Carlos, SLO denotes association with Mission San Luis Obispo escolta, SAP denotes association with Mission San Antonio de Padua, and SG denotes association with Mission San Gabriel.

| Surname               | First Name | Occupation or Rank | Casta           | Spouse              | Casta           | Children   |
|-----------------------|------------|--------------------|-----------------|---------------------|-----------------|--|
| Buelna                | Antonio    | Soldier            | <i>español</i>  | Antonia Tapia       | <i>india</i>    | Bernabela, Joaquin, Raymunda, Antonio, and Manuel Duarte (orphan)    |
| Cantua                | Ignacio    | Soldier            | <i>coyote</i>   | Gertrudis Castello  | <i>coyota</i>   | Juan Bautista, Jose Guadalupe, Jose Julian, and Vicente              |
| Castro                | Joaquin    | Soldier            | <i>mestizo</i>  | N/A                 | N/A             | N/A  |
| Castro                | Mariano    | Soldier            | <i>mestizo</i>  | N/A                 | N/A             | N/A  |
| Castro                | Ignacio    | Soldier            | <i>mestizo</i>  | Barbara Pacheco     | <i>española</i> | Jose Maria Guadalupe and Mariano                                     |
| Castro                | Macario    | Corporal           | <i>morizco</i>  | Pretenciana Ramirez | <i>coyota</i>   | Jose Tiburcio, Agapito, Simeon, Maria de Jesus, Dolores, and Mariano |
| Cervantes             | Guadalupe  | Soldier            | <i>mulato</i>   | N/A                 | N/A             | N/A  |
| Cibrian               | Leocadio   | Soldier            | <i>mulato</i>   | N/A                 | N/A             | N/A  |
| de Leon               | Maria      | Widow              | <i>española</i> | Jose Joaquin Moraga | N/A             | Marcos Altamirano [adopted]  |
| Espinosa              | Miguel     | Soldier            | <i>español</i>  | N/A                 | N/A             | N/A  |
| Espinosa              | Miguel     | Soldier            | <i>mestizo</i>  | N/A                 | N/A             | N/A  |
| Espinosa              | Cayetano   | Soldier            | <i>mestizo</i>  | N/A                 | N/A             | N/A  |
| Espinosa              | Salvador   | Soldier            | <i>mestizo</i>  | Gertrudis Valencia  | <i>mestiza</i>  | Serafina   |
| Estrella              | Jose       | Soldier            | <i>español</i>  | N/A                 | N/A             | N/A  |
| Fernandez [Hernandez] | Juan Maria | Settler            | <i>mestizo</i>  | N/A                 | N/A             | N/A  |
| Garcia                | Luz        | Soldier            | <i>español</i>  | Juana Nepomucena    | <i>mestiza</i>  | N/A  |

| Surname           | First Name      | Occupation or Rank      | Casta                  | Spouse               | Casta               | Children   |
|-------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|--|
| Garcia            | Francisco       | Soldier                 | <i>mulato</i>          | N/A                  | N/A                 | N/A  |
| Gonzales          | Jose Vicente    | Soldier                 | <i>mulato</i>          | Beatriz              | <i>india</i> , SC   | N/A  |
| Gonzales          | Juan            | Soldier                 | <i>indio</i>           | N/A                  | N/A                 | N/A  |
| Higuera           | Manuel          | Soldier                 | <i>español</i>         | Antonia Redonda      | <i>española</i>     | Jose, Maria Gertrudis, Ana Maria Antonia, Gabriela Maria, Joaquin Valentin, and Jose Antonio Secundino |
| Larios            | Jose Maria      | Soldier                 | <i>español</i>         | N/A                  | N/A                 | N/A  |
| Lopez             | Sebastian       | Soldier                 | <i>español</i>         | Rosa Tapia           | <i>mulata</i>       | Juan and Tiburcio  |
| Martinez [Guzman] | Toribio         | Soldier                 | <i>mulato</i>          | Isabel Talamantes    | <i>mulata</i>       | Leocadio, Ramon, Noberto, and Eulogia  |
| Martinez          | Antonio         | Soldier                 | <i>mulato</i>          | N/A                  | N/A                 | N/A  |
| Mendoza           | Manuel          | Soldier                 | <i>coyote</i>          | Gregoria Gonzales    | <i>india</i>        | Ignacia, Manuela, and Marcos   |
| Mesa              | Jose Ignacio    | Soldier                 | <i>español</i>         | N/A                  | N/A                 | N/A  |
| Mesa              | Ignacio Dolores | Soldier                 | <i>español</i>         | Josefa Villavicencio | <i>coyote</i> , SAP | Feliz  |
| Mesa              | Joaquin         | Soldier                 | <i>español</i>         | N/A                  | N/A                 | N/A  |
| Mesa              | Jose Antonio    | Soldier                 | <i>español</i>         | N/A                  | N/A                 | N/A  |
| Mexia             | Juan            | Soldier                 | <i>mulato</i>          | Viridiana [Sobredia] | <i>india</i> , SAP  | N/A  |
| Montaño           | Antonio         | Catalonian Soldier, SLO | <i>español</i> [Spain] | Pilar Maria          | <i>india</i> , SLO  | N/A  |
| Montero           | Manuel          | Soldier                 | <i>español</i>         | Regina [Toypurina]   | <i>india</i> , SG   | Cesario  |
|                   |                 |                         |                        |                      |                     |  |

| Surname                            | First Name     | Occupation or Rank | Casta          | Spouse           | Casta             | Children  |
|------------------------------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------|------------------|-------------------|---|
| Moraga                             | Gabriel        | Corporal           | <i>mestizo</i> | Ana Maria Bernal | N/A               | Antonia Rafaela, Jose Ignacio, and Vicente  |
| Ortega                             | Jose Francisco | Lt. Commander      | <i>español</i> | Antonia Carrillo | <i>española</i>   | Jose Francisco Maria, Maria Antonia de Jesus, and a male ward                                 |
| Pedraza                            | Jose Antonio   | Soldier            | <i>mestizo</i> | N/A              | N/A               | N/A   |
| Peralta                            | Juan Jose      | Soldier            | <i>español</i> | Isabel Berreyesa | <i>coyota</i>     | N/A   |
| Perez                              | Luis Gonzaga   | Soldier            | <i>mulato</i>  | Manuela Castro   | <i>morizca</i>    | N/A   |
| Pinto                              | Juan Maria     | Soldier            | <i>mestizo</i> | Manuela Tapia    | <i>mulata</i>     | Serafin, Eusebia, Salvador, and two unnamed sons  |
| Pinto                              | Marcelo        | Soldier            | <i>mestizo</i> | N/A              | N/A               | N/A   |
| Rios                               | Julian         | Soldier            | <i>mulato</i>  | Irene            | <i>india, SLO</i> | Cayetano and Margarita  |
| Rodriguez                          | Jose Antonio   | Corporal           | <i>español</i> | Vicente Leon     | <i>mulata</i>     | Francisco Juarez and Joaquin Juarez [previous marriage], Sebastian, Jose Maria, and Margarita |
| Rodriguez                          | Manuel         | Soldier            | <i>mestizo</i> | Barbara Pacheco  | <i>española</i>   | Jose Maria Guadalupe and Mariano  |
| Rodriguez                          | Jose Maria     | Soldier            | <i>mulato</i>  | N/A              | N/A               | N/A   |
| Rosalio [Rosario or Villavicencio] | Eugenio        | Soldier            | <i>mulato</i>  | Maria Ruiz       | <i>mulata</i>     | Isadora and Pascuala  |
| Ruelas                             | Fransica       | Widow              | <i>morizca</i> | Pablo Pinta      | N/A               | N/A   |
|                                    |                |                    |                |                  |                   |   |

| Surname             | First Name    | Occupation or Rank | Casta                  | Spouse               | Casta              | Children  |
|---------------------|---------------|--------------------|------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|---|
| Ruiz                | Diego         | Soldier            | <i>coyote</i>          | N/A                  | N/A                | N/A   |
| Ruiz                | Juan Maria    | Soldier            | N/A                    | Margarita de Cortona | <i>india</i> , SAP | Juan Antonio, Maria, and Raymundo Carlos                                  |
| Sal                 | Hermenegildo  | Ensign             | <i>español</i> [Spain] | Josefa Amesquita     |                    | Rafaela, Josefa, Manuel, and Joaquin Gabriel Amezquita [ <i>mestizo</i> ] |
| Serna               | Juana         | Widow              | <i>mestiza</i>         | Jose Manuel Antuna   | N/A                | N/A   |
| Sobranes            | Jose          | Soldier            | N/A                    | Josefa Castro        | N/A                | Feliciano, Josefa Maria, Jose, Ignacia, and Apolonia                      |
| Soler               | Pablo         | Surgeon            | <i>español</i>         | N/A                  | N/A                | N/A   |
| Tapia               | Juan Jose     | Soldier            | <i>mulato</i>          | N/A                  | N/A                | N/A   |
| Vallejo             | Ignacio       | Soldier            | <i>español</i>         | N/A                  | N/A                | N/A   |
| Varquez [de Vargas] | Manuel        | Sargent            | <i>español</i>         | Gertudis Linares     | <i>española</i>    | Manuel  |
| Velarde             | Jose          | Soldier            | <i>español</i>         | N/A                  | N/A                | N/A   |
| Villela             | Juan [Marcos] | Soldier            | <i>coyote</i>          | Viridiana            | <i>india</i> , SC  | One unnamed son and Maria de Jesus  |

**Soldiers that Appear on Multiple Censuses**

| 1775 and 1782                       | 1775 and 1790     | 1782 and 1790                  | 1775, 1782, and 1790                |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Antuna, Manuel                      | Sal, Hermenegildo | Bernal, Dionisio               | Bravo, Marcelino                    |
| Aruz, Domingo                       |                   | Briones, Marcos                | Briones, Vicente                    |
| Beltrán, Xavier                     |                   | Cantua, Ignacio                | Buelna, Antonio                     |
| Butrón, Manuel                      |                   | Espinosa, Miguel               | Higuera, Manuel                     |
| Cayuelas, Francisco                 |                   | Guzman [Martinez],<br>Toribio  | Montaño, Antonio                    |
| de la Cruz Verdugo, Juan<br>María   |                   | Lopez, Sebastian               | Rosario [Villavicencio],<br>Eugenio |
| García, Felipe                      |                   | Mexia [Mejias], Juan           | Ruiz, Diego                         |
| Góngora, José María                 |                   | Pinto, Juan Maria              | Ruiz, Juan Maria                    |
| Heredía, Bernardo                   |                   | Rios, Julian                   |                                     |
| Lugo, Seferino                      |                   | Rodriguez, Jose Antonio        |                                     |
| Verdugo [de la Cruz], Juan<br>Maria |                   | Sobranes, Jose                 |                                     |
| Villavicencio, Rafael               |                   | Varquez [de Vargas],<br>Manuel |                                     |
| Yorba, Antonio                      |                   | Villela, Juan [Marcos]         |                                     |

**Appendix D:**

**Table of Previous Historic Studies in and within 0.25 mile of the Study Area**

**Table of Previous Historic Studies in and within 0.25 mile of the Study Area**

| <b>Study Number</b> | <b>Author</b>  | <b>Date</b> | <b>Title</b>  |
|---------------------|--|-------------|---|
| S-003525            | E. B. Parkman  | 1979        | Unit Records for CA-MNT-271   |
| S-003578            | James Dillon   | 1976        | Royal Presidio Chapel (National Register Nomination Form)   |
| S-005211            | Philip Dole and Michael Swernoff   | 1982        | Intensive Cultural Resources Survey Armed Forces YMCA, Monterey, California   |
| S-005529            | Toni Carrell   | 1974        | Preliminary Report to the Central Coast Regional Zone Conservation Commission Regarding the Filipino Community Hall   |
| S-005544            | Greenwood & Associates   | 1979        | Archaeological testing at the future site of the San Carlos Social Hall, Monterey, California   |
| S-005580            | Gary S. Breschini  | 1979        | Examination of the Interim and Master Architectural Site Plans for the Grounds of the San Carlos Cathedral in Monterey  |
| S-005580a           | Trudy Haversat and Gary S. Breschini   | 1979        | Preliminary Archaeological Monitoring Plan for the Royal Presidio of Monterey   |
| S-005586            | Donald H. Howard, Toni Graham, Vivian Kernohan, June Payne, Dawn Cope, and Gary S. Breschini | 1971        | Archaeological Investigation of the Royal Presidio of Monterey  |
| S-005616            | Ronald V. May  | 1974        | Mexican Majolica at the Presidio of Monterey, a Tool for Dating Certain Stratigraphy  |
| S-016375            | Rob Edwards, Charlotte A. Simpson-Smith, and Allan Lonnberg                                  | 1994        | Final Report: The Profiling and Monitoring of a California American Water Company Trench Through a Portion of the Historic Spanish Presidio and Adjacent to the Thomas O. Larkin House in Monterey, California. |
| S-17103             | Rob Edwards and Charlotte A. Simpson-Smith   | 1995        | Archaeological Test Excavation Adjacent to the Eastern Exterior Foundation, San Carlos Cathedral, Royal Presidio Chapel, Monterey, California   |

| <b>Study Number</b> | <b>Author</b>                 | <b>Date</b> | <b>Title</b>  |
|---------------------|-------------------------------|-------------|---|
| S-024541            | Mary Doane                    | 2001        | Project AC 3101   |
| S-025832            | Mary Doane and Trudy Haversat | 2002        | Preliminary Archaeological Reconnaissance of Assessor's Parcels 001-729-002, -003 & -004, in Monterey, Monterey, Monterey County, California                      |
| S-029122            | Mary Doane                    | 2004        | APNs 001-729-002, -003 and -004   |
| S-030517            | Heather Blind                 | 2005        | Archaeological Monitoring of Construction Activities at Church Street, Monterey, California   |
| S-034216            | Colin I. Busby                | 2005        | Cultural Resources Assessment: Technical Report for Proponent's Environmental Assessment (PEA), California American Water, Monterey County, Coastal Water Project |
| S-034216a           | Kari Jones and John Holson    | 2009        | Archaeological Survey for the Cal-Am Coastal Water Project, Monterey County, California   |
| S-036699            | Elena Reese                   | 2009        | Archaeological Literature Review of the City of Monterey 2009 Sewer Rehabilitation Project in the City of Monterey, California                                    |