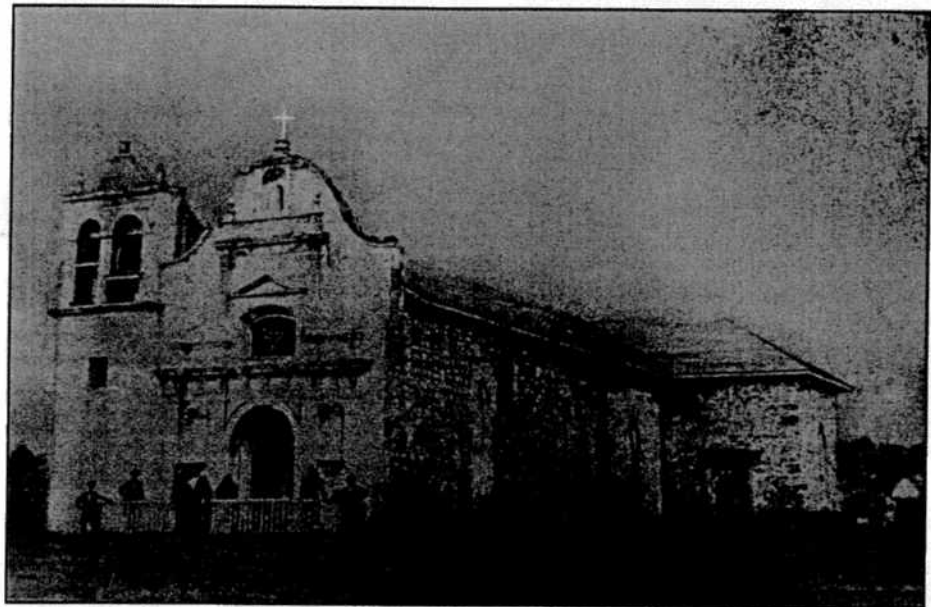


Royal Presidio Chapel, Monterey, California

Historic Structure Report

Volume 2: Appendices



March 1999

Edna E. Kimbro
Historical:Architectural:Conservation Research

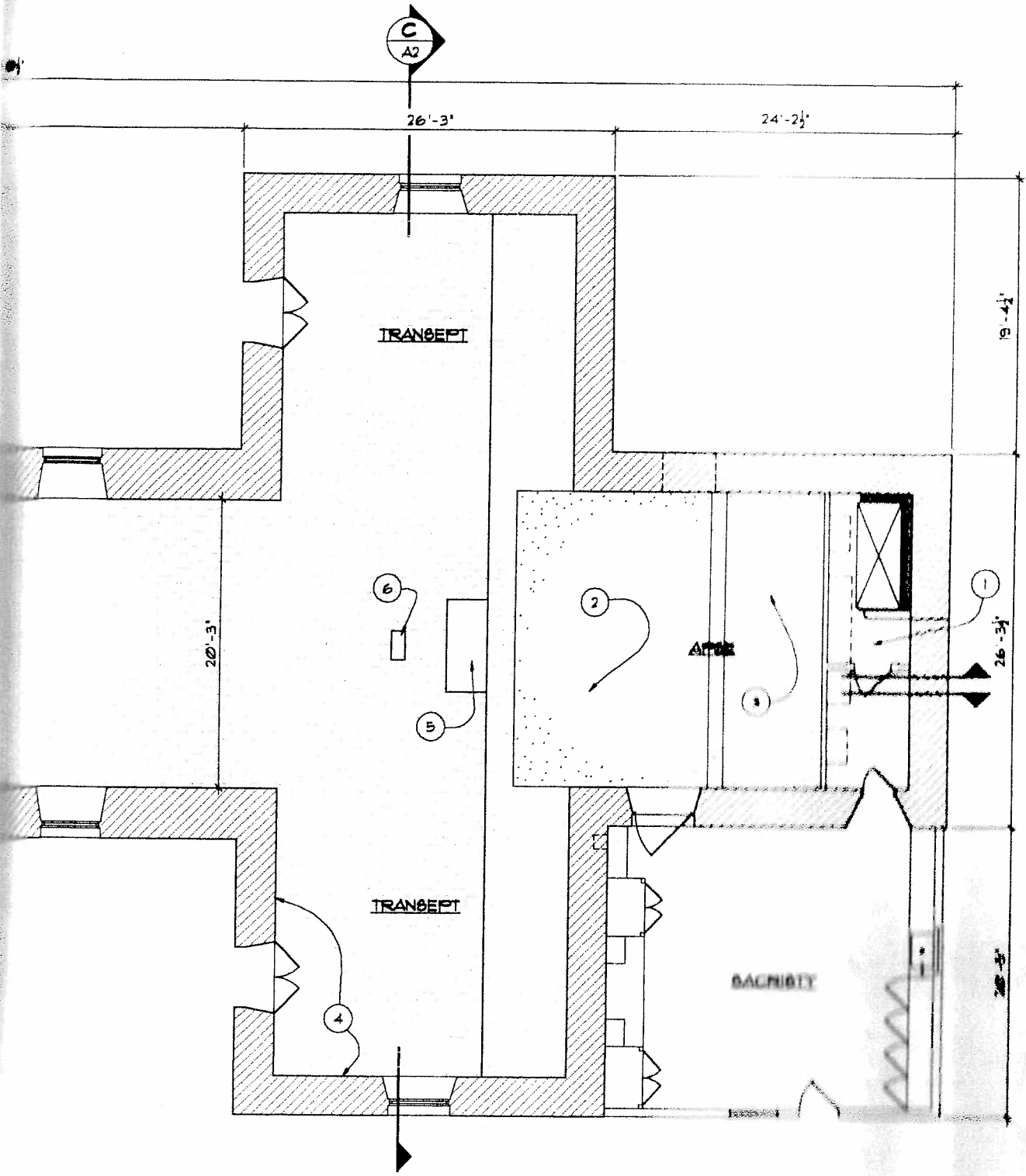
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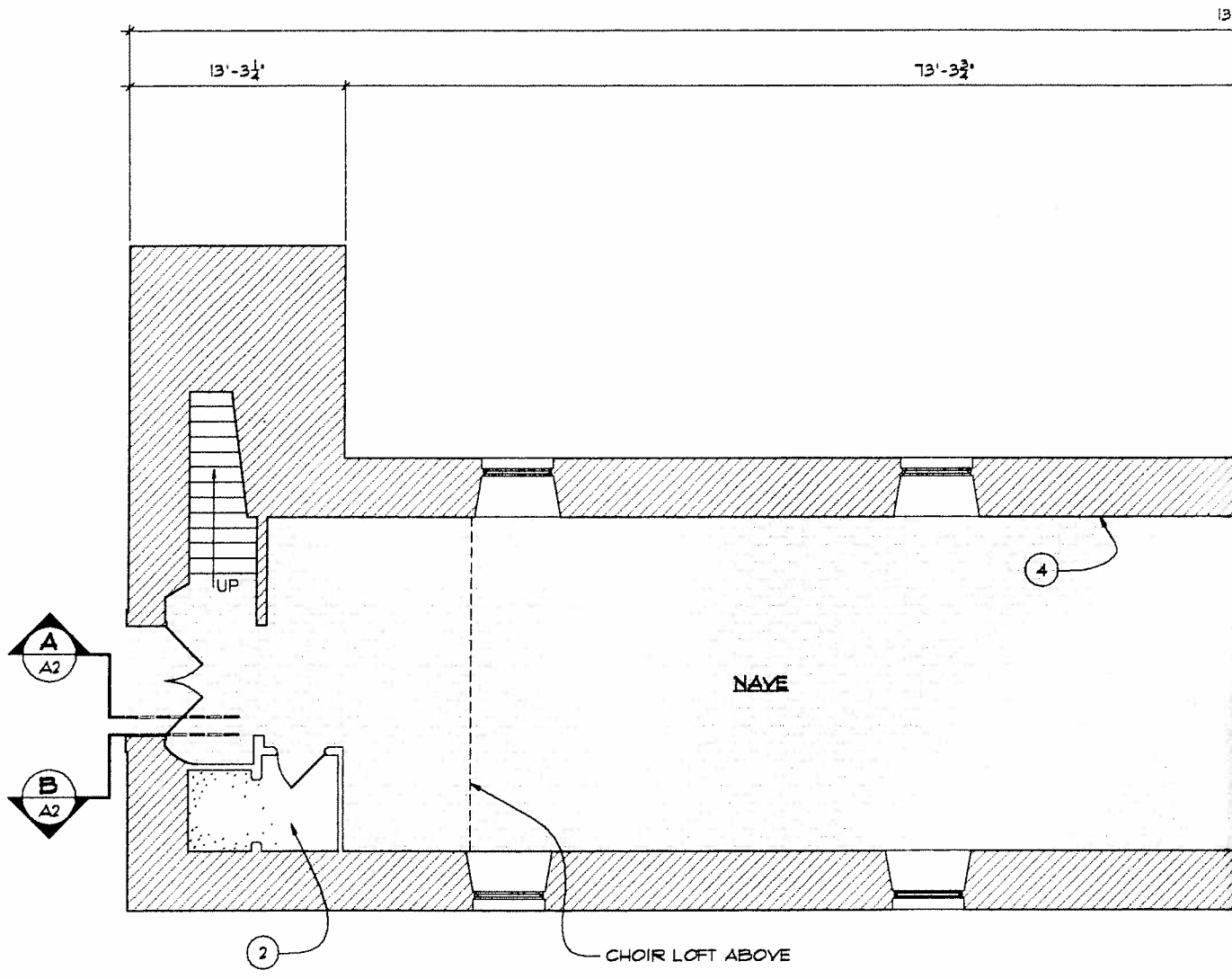


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NOTES

1. MECHANICAL ROOM
2. CARPET ON CONCRETE
3. CARPET ON QUARRY TILE
4. HARD PLASTER ON ALL INTERIOR WALLS, TYP.
5. BURIAL MARKER- 'FRANCISCO I. PACHECO Y FAMILIA. 1858'
6. BURIAL MARKER- VERY REVEREND ANGELO CASANOVA, 'PLACED IN THE PACHECO CRYPT, MARCH 15, 1893.'

*Building and Builders
in Hispanic California
1769-1850*



Mardith K. Schuetz-Miller

Southwestern Mission Research Center
Tucson, Arizona

A Santa Barbara Trust for Historic Preservation,
Presidio Research Publication
Santa Barbara, California



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the church and nearly all the apartments occupied for dwellings [were] still habitable" (Bartlett, *Personal Narrative* II 89-90).

Although the property was returned to the Church in 1865, it was not used for services until 1893 when it was rededicated. By then the years of neglect had taken a heavy toll. Adam Clark Vroman's 1897 photograph of the facade shows much of the plaster gone, especially on the brick tower, and the statuary gone from the niches. It was during this decade of reconstruction that the original octagonal lantern, unique to California's mission churches, was altered. However, it was returned to its proper form in a subsequent restoration.

Jurisdiction of Monterey

Presidio de Monterey

By the first of July 1769 the two land expeditions, under Captains Rivera y Moncada and Gaspar de Portolá, had arrived in San Diego to establish the first Spanish outposts in Alta California. Of the approximately 126 people who arrived, about forty were left in San Diego to begin the presidio and mission here. The rest left for the bay of Monterey on July 14 under the command of Portolá. The weary group arrived at its destination on October 1, but failed to recognize the harbored port described by earlier sea expeditions. A small party that was dispatched northward arrived at Point Reyes and recognized the port of San Francisco, thereby realizing they had overshoot their mark. A small reconnoitering party from that group were the first Europeans to espy the great bay that lay hidden behind the port. Having failed to find Monterey, the party retreated to San Diego, but returned the following spring to occupy Monterey in May. The company took formal possession of the sites selected for the presidio and mission on June 3, 1770 with the title of San Carlos Borromeo de Monterey and under the patronage of Saint Joseph.

With the new settlement under way, Portolá relinquished his command to Captain Pedro Fages as military commandant and sailed for Mexico. The new settlement prepared to build a proper center for regional administration (the capital of "The Californias" was at the Presidio de Loreto in Baja California). By July 1 the master blacksmith [Juan José] Chacón was making fittings for use in the presidio (AGNa 5: 46, SBRL). In April 1772 a shipment of carpenters' tools destined for Monterey was sent from San Blas. It included planes, saws of various types, hammers, chisels, jack and joining planes, files, and a compass (April 2, 1772, CA 15 Prov. St. Papers. Ben. Mil.: 18, SBPRL).

A report by its commandant written on November 29, 1773 describes the progress that had been made. The compound was fifty-*varas* square with guard towers in each cor-

ner. The entrance was on the north wall with two storerooms for food and royal property, a jail, and guardhouse on one side; a company store, commandant's quarters with its kitchen to the rear, and another storeroom was on the other side. Most of this wing was built of adobe walls atop stone foundations. The walls were five-*varas* high and three-quarters wide.

In the center of the south wall was an adobe chapel and belfry built upon a stone and mortar foundation. A flat *viga* roof ceiled with canes and waterproofed with lime [mortar] was drained by four rain spouts. The church proper measured 15-*varas* long, 7-*varas* wide, and 7-*varas* high. The belfry was 6-*varas* square and 15 high, with two stepped courses for the bells and surmounted by a cupola topped with an iron cross and a weathervane [probably made by either Chacón or Gregorio Segura]. The church was plastered both inside and out. Attached to one side was the father's house with a flat, lime-sealed roof, and a corridor along the front of beams and corbels.

In the east wing were rooms for the mail couriers, smithy, carpentry, storeroom for the muleteers, a servants' dwelling with attached kitchen, guest room for visiting Indians, and a storeroom for tools and field implements. This wing was constructed of pine *palisados*, plastered [with mud?], and with earthen roofs.

The west wing, built in the same fashion, contained two barracks, one for the Catalonian Volunteers and one for the leather jacket soldiers, each with its own connected kitchen. A pharmacy was located in a corner of the wing.

Doors throughout the compound were constructed of pine, redwood, or cypress. The center of the plaza was dominated by a large wooden cross erected on a stepped platform (Fages 327-336). Some of the construction undertaken in 1773 was under the direction of the master carpenter Urselino who was there at the time before being sent to San Diego.

In July 1778 a sizeable barrack was under construction (Bancroft 1884: 331). From January 1, 1781 to the end of 1788 some 786 pesos had been spent on the construction of the presidio (January 8, 1794, Arillaga to viceroy, AGNb 338-339, SBPRL).

In spite of the earth and lime-plastered roofs, the original buildings were not fireproof and about half the buildings were lost to a conflagration in August 1789 that was started by a wad of the cannon saluting the arrival of the supply ship *San Carlos*. The soldiers began rebuilding with more fire-resistant materials and repairs were well advanced by the end of the following year. Some damage was suffered from a second fire in October 1792 (Bancroft 1884: 468, 680). Nevertheless, a report of 1794 listed as rebuilt new government houses, two guard towers, an casemate, warehouse, barracks, *granaries*, and a guardhouse at Mission San Carlos. Only 2,362 pesos had been used on rebuilding. What should have cost thou-

sands had been built at small expense to the royal treasury—thanks to the management of Governor Fages—the details of which were given in Chapter 3, Organization of the Work Force (Jan. 8, 1794, Arillaga to viceroy and Sept. 10, 1795, Beltrán to Contadores mayores, AGNb 338–339, 342–344, SBPRL).

Captain George Vancouver of the British navy visited the presidio in November 1792, just after it had been rebuilt following the fire. He reported the compound to be in the form of a parallelogram with bastions on the four corners. The main gate framed the chapel “which was rebuilding with stone, like that at San Carlos.” Rooms were along the walls and constructed like those of the San Francisco presidio, except that the officers’ houses were roofed with tiles. Side gates were located in the center of the lateral curtains. The commandant’s quarters had boarded floors, but its windows were unglazed. The artillery was placed on open ground, lacking breastworks or any protection from the weather, although timber was on hand to construct a small fort on an eminence commanding the anchorage. Four dismantled cannon were on hand awaiting construction of the battery (Vancouver 81–83).

In 1793 Fages wrote that a small, poorly built chapel had stood as a detached structure in the center of the plaza, obscuring the view of the *casas reales*, or government houses from the main entrance. This seems to suggest some changes made since his 1773 report that made no mention of *casas reales* and placed the church, belfry, and priest’s house in the center of the south wall. This detached chapel was presumably lost to the 1789 fire. Yet José Cordero, an artist with the Malaspina expedition sketched the chapel in 1791 in the center of a wall with an attached apartment to one side, suggesting its original locale. Was this a third adobe church, or had the original building been converted back to its initial use as a chapel? Whatever the case may be, Fages most likely had postponed construction of a permanent chapel until last with the hope that a structure suitable for the seat of government might be realized. The resident soldier-mason Eugenio Rosalio (there from at least 1780 to 1791) seems not to have been thought capable of such an undertaking. Fortuitously a master mason and stonecutter, Manuel Esteban Ruiz disembarked from the *Aránzazu* in March 1791. Accompanying him from Guadalajara were his two journeymen, Salvador and Joaquín Rivera. Ruiz and Joaquín Rivera had contracted with the royal treasury to teach stone-cutting to mission neophytes for a period of four years for 18 and 10 reales per working day, respectively.²

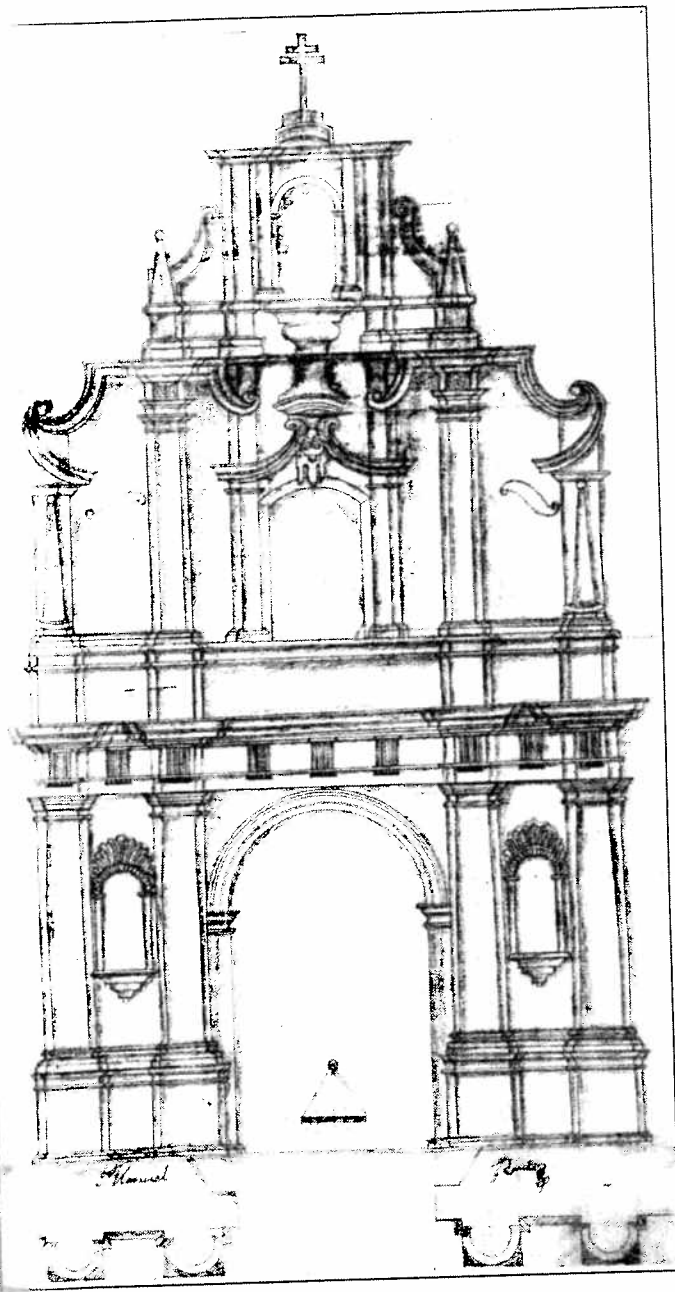
Fages recognized his windfall and put the masons to work immediately on a new chapel.³ He had actually ordered the rebuilding of the presidio without approval from the commandant general of the Provincias Internas, who had failed to re-

spond to his inquiries regarding the same. Since the province could supply the raw materials and manpower, it would cost the royal treasury very little. For one year he had made use of some *sirvientes* (servants) that the supply ships had left behind [for that purpose] and had recruited gentiles from the *rancherías* around the Pueblo de San José. Now fortune had put three stonecutters at his disposal (Aug. 12, 1793, Fages to viceroy, AGNb 335–338, SBPRL).

Ruiz and Rivera were actually on the site until December 1792 when they were transferred to the mission to begin construction of the church there. The day to day work at the presidio was taken over by another master mason (and probably brother of Manuel Esteban), Santiago Ruiz, who had arrived in February that year. Santiago had come with his own journeyman Manuel Doroteo and Pedro Alcántara Ruiz, who perhaps were his sons. Manuel Doroteo was retired home the same year because of an injury. Pedro Alcántara worked at the presidio until 1794 when he was transferred to the mission to teach neophytes there. Manuel Esteban Ruiz continued to supervise the construction of the chapel he had designed until its completion in 1794, however, because Father Lasuén complained of the time he spent there (see San Carlos Borroneo, this chapter).

The Ruizes and their neophytes actually had the chapel walls up to the first story when Fages returned to Mexico in August 1791. An order to suspend the work went out from Mexico on March 1, 1792 while Ruiz’s design for the frontispiece was sent to the Director of Architecture at the Academy of San Carlos, Don Antonio Gonzales Velásquez, for simplification. Velásquez returned his design (now lost) with a cover letter on March 26, explaining he had modified only the niches and the impost (*inovando solo en él los nichos, variando la imposta del arco para su mayor armonía*) of the front register and that he had simplified the upper registers as much as possible to maintain the proper proportions to the lower. Word to resume construction following Velásquez’s plan was sent to California on April 7, 1792 (Plan of Ruiz, letters of Fages, Velásquez, Revilla Gigedo, Feb. 28, 1792–Aug. 12, 1793, AGNb 335–337, 451–452, 461–462, 464–565, SBPRL). In December of the following year the construction crew was roofing the chapel and finishing the facade in accordance with Velásquez’s design. Some 834 pesos had been expended on the construction by September 1793 (Sept. 10, 1795, Report of Beltrán; Nov. 2, 1795, Report of treasury, AGNb 478, 481, SBPRL). The chapel was finished and dedicated in 1794.

Since the design of Velásquez has been lost, it is impossible to determine how much of the facade design of the chapel is owed to him and how much to Ruiz. Ruiz’s design is only for the frontispiece. Velásquez’s design included the facade and tower, according to a report of Fages (Aug. 12, 1793, AGNb 335–338, SBPRL). The tower was originally in the form of an



Manuel Ruiz's drawing of the frontispiece of the Monterey presidial chapel. Courtesy of the Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City.

espadaña with twin bell arches on the same level. Was it the design of Ruiz or Velásquez? The upper registers of the frontispiece must reflect Velásquez's simplification for there is a noticeable difference from the drawing of Ruiz. But the bottom register must be entirely Ruiz's inspiration. Velásquez wrote that he had modified the niches and the impost, but there appears to be no difference in those features between Ruiz's design and what was built. What is changed from the design are the columns which lack the pedestals of the drawing. Furthermore, the columns, instead of tapering, are straight

and decorated with a grooved design. But Velásquez made no mention of modifying the columns. We, therefore, assume that Ruiz made those changes and perhaps had finished the facade up to the cornice before he received Velásquez's design. At this point it is wise to remind ourselves that a building is more than its facade, or more than its style. When a building is pleasing to the eye, it is because its various parts are in the proper ratio, or proportion, to one another, and that has to work three-dimensionally. In other words, what applies to the vertical plane must also apply to the horizontal. Velásquez's modifications had to conform to the parameters set by Ruiz and this is what he meant by "arranged as far as possible to the precise proportions" established on the first story. This was no problem to masters trained in the same canons of design taught in the guild of architects, masons, and stonecutters (for further analysis of this structure, see Schuetz-Miller, book in progress).

Before leaving the subject of the design of the chapel, it is timely to question why the change was thought necessary in the first place. Ruiz's design was forwarded to Velásquez to effect a greater simplicity and proper order (*sencillez y orden debido*). Ruiz's frontispiece is a perfectly acceptable baroque concept. Therein, perhaps, lay the objection: an outmoded style in an age rediscovering classicism. Another possible objection may have been the greater expenditure of time—and cost to the royal treasury—that Ruiz's more elaborate design would entail.

In addition to the artisans enumerated so far there are others connected with the presidio's building activities prior to its destruction in 1818 who should be noted. The master carpenter Manuel Rodríguez was one of the artisans recruited in Guadalajara who arrived with Father Serra aboard the *Santiago* in March 1774. He appears to have been at the presidio off and on from the time of his arrival through 1796, except for stints at San Luis Obispo in 1774, Mission San Francisco in 1777, Mission Santa Clara in 1783, and the Presidio de Santa Bárbara in 1785. He was the carpenter at Monterey in 1795 who was drawing a salary of 15 pesos per month (P.I. 1: 408–410). He was once again in Monterey 1815–1816 and, finally, from 1827 until his death in 1846. The master carpenter from Tepic Salvador Carabantes seems to have been in Monterey in 1787. Another master carpenter from Tepic, Salvador Béjar, was at the presidio in 1796 and 1797. Tepic also sent the soldier-carpenter Leocadio Martínez who was at Monterey as a member of the company from 1790 until about 1810, except for stints at Soledad (1791–1792), Santa Clara and San José (1797–1799), Santa Clara (1808), and San Juan Bautista (1809). By 1810 he was retired, but seems to have settled in Monterey, except for the years 1813 when he was employed by Soledad and 1820 when he was at San Juan Bautista. He died in Monterey in 1829. The soldier-carpenter from Sonora

Joaquín Mesa was presumably assigned to the presidio in 1790–1791. There was also Juan María Hernández, a soldier from the Real de Cozolás, Sinaloa, who was stationed at Monterey from 1798 to sometime after 1804. He was identified as a carpenter in 1833 and may not have taken up his trade until after his retirement.

Monterey was also visited by several ship's carpenters in the 1790s from the Department of San Blas. The most important was Francisco Gómez, First Carpenter of the Arsenal (Aug. 5, 1790); Antonio Martínez, First Carpenter of the *San Carlos* (Oct. 4, 1790); Antonio de los Ríos, First Carpenter of the *San Carlos* (Nov. 14, 1791), and, probably, Jacinto González (Nov. 10, 1792).

Numerous blacksmiths were stationed at the presidio. Most were recorded as masters of their trade. José Chacón (1770–1771) was mentioned above. Gregorio Segura, from Guadalajara, was at Monterey from 1773 to 1784. Joseph Manuel Arroyo, a native of Tepic, arrived with Father Serra in 1774 and was in Monterey that year before being transferred to San Diego, where he was killed in the 1775 attack on the mission. Francisco Sinova, from Mexico City, was in Monterey in 1775. José María Larios, a soldier-blacksmith from Guadalajara, was attached to Monterey from 1785 until about 1795, but was on assignment elsewhere through much of the '90s. José Santos Ulloa, from Guadalajara, probably arrived in 1787 and was making, repairing, and sharpening tools for the workmen engaged in rebuilding the chapel in 1791. Others were Rafael Arriola of Tepic from 1796 to 1806; Josef Antonio Dávila in 1798; Antonio Ygnacio Avila, a Sinaloan, from 1783 into 1799; José Faustino Arreola in 1797; Matías Higuera in 1798–1799; and Juan Blanco in 1798–1799. The latter was listed among the convicts and vagrants sent from Mexico to serve out their sentences in California (see Chapter 2, Other Sources of Artisans). Pablo Antonio Ciprián was attached to the presidio from 1797 to 1802 when he died. His time appears to have been spent with mission escorts, however. The old survivor of the 1775 massacre at San Diego, Felipe García y Romero, was stationed at Monterey in 1816–1817. He died there in the latter year.

To take up the building sequence, other than the chapel, from the period of Vancouver's visit in November 1792, the reader will recall that the Englishman reported that the materials were on hand to build a battery. It was probably not built until 1796 when 381 pesos were expended for the purpose. It appears to have been a stop-gap effort, lacking long-lasting building materials, because the merlons consisted only of fascines (const. of merlons, CA 73: unnumbered). Certainly it must have been improved the following year by Engineer Alberto de Córdoba when he was busily strengthening other coastal defenses, but just what was done is unknown. An 1800 report describes the physical appearance of the presidio. On

the north wall were the main gate, guardhouse, and warehouses. Opposite those on the south wall were the chapel flanked by nine houses for the soldiers. On the west wall were the *casas reales*, commandant's and officers' quarters—fifteen in all. On the east wall were nine houses for soldiers and the smithy. All the walls were built of adobes on stone foundations; all the roofs were tile. Everything was in bad condition: the walls were cracked for being constructed on inadequate foundations following the fire (Bancroft 1884: 680–682). On March 11, 1801 Governor Arillaga wrote to the viceroy that the church and other buildings were in ruins after twenty years of building and repairing, due to the fragility of the building materials and precipitation. He thought it would be necessary to rebuild the structures at Monterey and San Diego more solidly (Engelhardt 1934: 118–119).

It would be interesting to know how the stone chapel, finished just six years before, could be in such bad shape. Perhaps there were continuing problems with the roof, for we know that from June 16 through December 31, 1797 Tomás Ruiz, an artisan from the Presidio de San Diego, had been contracted to repair the roof of the chapel, as well as to dig trenches and lay foundations for new barracks (Engelhardt 1934: 117–118). Wherever tile roofs were used, the problem seemed to be in finding the right pitch to shed rain quickly enough to prevent leaking. Ruiz was a journeyman mason and stonemason who had arrived in California in 1792 and had worked on fortifications at San Diego, and, presumably, the church at San Gabriel from 1794 into 1797. We know that a modification to the church was accomplished in 1811 when a "new baptistry" was used for the first time on October 22 (San Carlos Baptisms).

It is apparent from an 1816 report that instead of rebuilding deteriorating structures with stone, they kept repairing the old adobe and tile ones. This probably had more to do with the scarcity of masons in Alta California than anything else. The report stated that the main entrance, guardhouse, jail, barracks, and four corporals' houses were on the north wall. In the middle of the opposite wall was the chapel with a house and small gate to one side flanked by five recently reroofed rooms on one side and another jail, sickroom, and sergeant's house on the other. On the east curtain was a gateway for horses, fourteen houses, and smithy. The west curtain contained officers' houses and two warehouses. Outside the north wall was located the granary (Bancroft 1886a: 100, n. 25).

The buildings were still being repaired in 1818 when Bouchard's insurgents captured the presidio on November 22 (Bancroft 1886a: 380; Engelhardt 1934: 141–142). Apparently the presidio suffered extensive damage in the initial exchange of gunfire that occurred on the previous day between the presidio's battery and the smaller of Bouchard's ships that could

maneuver in closer. Upon sighting the vessels, the families had been evacuated to various missions, while Governor Solá, his men outnumbered by more than six to one, put up a token resistance before retreating to the Salinas Valley. The Spanish troops engaged in harrassing forays against the invaders as they lingered in the town looting, while the ship, damaged in the initial battle, was being repaired. After four or five days, the raiders set fire to the presidio and sailed down the coast (Bancroft 1886a: 220-241, 380; Engelhardt 1934: 141-142).

The presidial soldiers themselves must have been put to work immediately at erecting temporary shelters. But damage to the presidio was so great that it could only be rebuilt with the cooperation of every community within the province.⁴ Governor Solá quickly asked for help from trained neophytes. On August 18, 1819 San Juan Bautista was sending two carpenters and two masons. Two months later San Antonio was sending the masons Pedro Antonio Mendoza, Mathías Mendoza, and Simeón Figuerola, while a fourth mason, Simón Cárít was responding from Soledad. All were bringing their own tools (CMD 1762, CMD 1798, CMD 1808, SBMRL). Artisans had also responded from father afield. The carpenters Pacomio Poqui and Tomás of La Purísima were working at the presidio from November 3, 1819 until January 24, 1820, using iron [fittings and/or tools] from the mission (La Purísima Account Book 1806-1834, SBMAL).

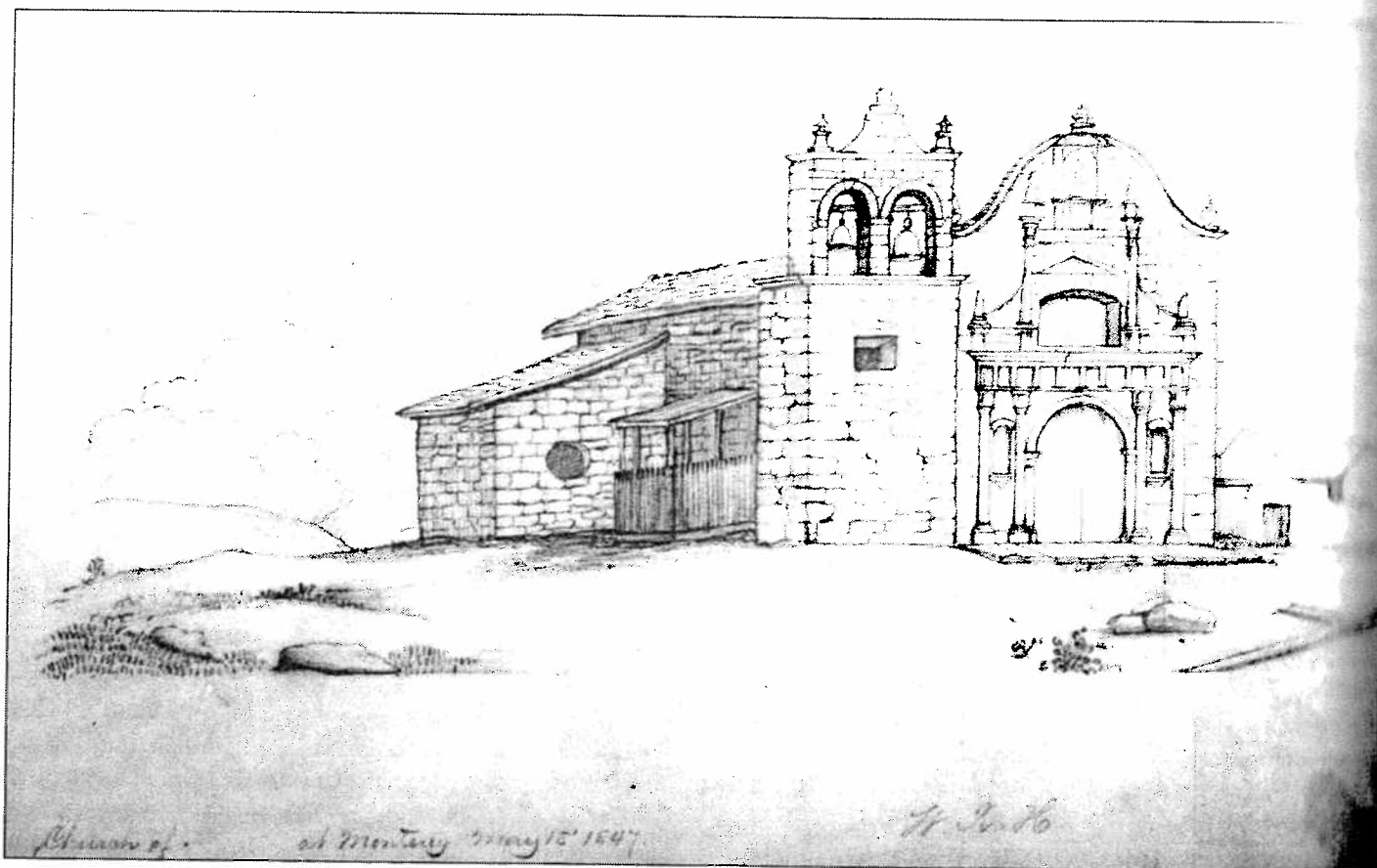
But these initial efforts were not sufficient and the rebuilding program was quickened in 1821. In response to a request for sixty laborers, including specified numbers of skilled artisans from the missions within the jurisdiction of Monterey, Father President Mariano Payeras wrote to his missionaries on March 3, 1821. He noted that three carpenters from San Antonio and three from San Carlos had been working at the presidio since the first part of January. He asked that these be augmented by the following: one carpenter and three woodcutters from San Juan Bautista, two carpenters and two woodcutters from San Luis Obispo, one carpenter and two woodcutters from Soledad, two masons and one woodcutter from San Antonio, and two carpenters and four woodcutters from San Miguel (CMD 2088, SBMAL). One of the carpenters from San Luis Obispo we can identify as "Manuel."

A month and a half later, the governor was requesting sixty-six workers. Carpenters, masons, and smiths were to be paid 4 reales a day, woodcutters and sawyers 3 reales, and common laborers (*peones*) 1-1/2 reales. Carpenters and woodcutters were requested to come with their own tools. On April 28 Father Payeras mailed out an amended list. San Juan Bautista, San Antonio, and San Miguel were each to add a *peón* to their crews. San Luis Obispo was to add a *gañan* (in this case probably a shepherd to relieve soldiers of this duty). The help of other missions was now requested: Santa Cruz was to provide three *gañanes* and one *peón*, Santa Inés two

masons and two *peones*, and La Purísima two masons and four *gañanes*. Santa Clara was to send six weavers and four adobe-makers; San José another six weavers and six adobe-makers (CMD 2122, SBMAL). The weavers were doubtlessly needed to make *mantas*, or lengths of fabric, that were used for carrying sand (see Chapter 3, Organization of the Work Force). Payera's list indicates that the three carpenters from San Antonio and the three from San Carlos were still on the job. One of the two masons sent from Santa Inés was probably Gregorio, who was still residing in Monterey in 1836. Of the three carpenters from San Antonio, only Oton can be identified, while two of the three carpenters from San Carlos were likely Gaspar and José Gersu.

This impressive work force was divided into two parties under the direction of the soldiers Sgt. Ignacio Vallejo and Lt. José Estrada (Bancroft 1886a: 231, n. 19). The aging Vallejo was a natural choice for the job, for not only was he a carpenter, but he had proven his managerial abilities as majordomo of San Carlos in 1781-1782, as *comisionado* of the Pueblo de San José from 1785 to 1792 and again from 1795 to 1799, and as *comisionado* of Branciforte from 1799 until 1805. Professional carpenters other than Vallejo were on hand to help direct the rebuilding program. The retired soldier and master carpenter Manuel Boronda was living there at the time. Two other carpenter-soldiers were sent to Monterey with the auxiliary troops in 1819: Corporal Marcelino Escobar and Francisco Pérez Pacheco, who was to be breveted *alférez* in 1824 for his bravery in helping quell the Chumash Revolt. Also in Monterey at the time was the painter Matéo Chaves, but we are in the dark so far as to his work.

A plat drawn of the presidio in 1820 must have been based largely upon the plan drawn up by the commandant(?) for rebuilding the site, since the documents used above indicate it was not a *fait accompli*. The plat conforms to the new concept of presidial construction, followed at Santa Bárbara and San Francisco, of separating the rows of buildings from the outer walls, rather than incorporated into them. At this time the north walls protruded beyond the main gate. To one side of the entry were the office of the guard and soldiers' quarters with a service yard protruding to the north. On the other side was the guard room, jail, and barracks for infantrymen with its own patio. The church was depicted in the middle of the south wall, but showed it with transepts and a colored square where the *espadaña* was located, perhaps indicating the intent at that date to convert it to a tower. Abutting the church on the east was the father's house and those of two blacksmiths with their private patios. In the corner adjoining the east wall was a guard tower. To the west of the chapel was the house of the commandant of artillery and the *maestranza*, or arsenal. On the west wall, adjacent to the residences for the smiths were their forges and houses for married soldiers with a com-



Presidial chapel at Monterey by William Rich Hutton, 1847. Courtesy of the Huntington Library.

mon patio. Toward the north of this row was a breezeway separating two of the houses from the other eight. On the west wing were houses for the officers and the governor. The four wings were connected by a twelve-foot wide corridor. The west and south ramparts were of adobes capped with tiles. The east wall, and presumably the north, was made of adobes without capping. In front of the presidio, between it and the bay, was a corral, while the battery and casemate were northwest of the compound. The plat also locates a cemetery behind the south wall and several private residences near the presidial walls (Whitehead 1983: 15).

The names of a number of artisans associated with the presidio are known from the period of post-reconstruction. The painter José Aguila was resident from 1829 into 1836 and the carpenter José María Carrasco was listed in the barracks in 1836. Named in general censuses of Monterey were the smith Nicanor Estrada (1836), the carpenter José María Maldonado (1829), and the smith Luis Placencia (1829 and 1836). The engineer Agustín Zamorano was there in 1827 and returned as captain and commandant from 1831 to 1835(?). An interesting group of exiles from the channel missions were the Pacomio family. Carlos Pacomio and (José) Pacomio Poqui were carpenters. Their relationship remains undetermined. The

mason Gregorio was married to the daughter of Pacomio Poqui, who had been exiled to Monterey as one of the ringleaders of the 1824 revolt at Santa Inés and La Purísima.

By the early 1830s there were foreigners attracted to the presidio. Residing in barracks number 2 in 1833 was the family of the Scots carpenter George Kinlock. Also in his household were the carpenter William Brander and the smith Guy "Fleming" [Freeman]. An unidentified French mason known only as "Pierre" was resident in barracks number 1 and the American Thomas Doak was in barracks number 2.

Modifications were made to the royal chapel in the last half of the century. Baer writes that the church was enlarged and transepts added in 1858, but he fails to give his source. Three drawings from the middle of the century—two done in 1847 by William Rich Hutton and Charles F. B. Gillou and one in 1856 by Henry Miller—do indicate the change was made after they were executed. Strangely enough, all three are drawn from the same angle and depict the facade and east wall. All agree on the form of the *espadaña*. All show a shed at the back with round windows that must have been the sacristy that had been added in 1811. And all depict another, lower shed between the *espadaña* and sacristy with picket walls enclosing the lower half of the structure. This suggests that the 1800

plat of the presidio was drawn largely from a master plan since the presidio was still being built. It would seem that the church shown with transepts and tower(?) at the time was projected then as a future alteration.

Webb reports, without giving her source, that the *espadaña* was converted into a tower in the 1890s. Baer provides the date 1893, but again without indicating his source (Baer 59; Webb 127). The change was not a drastic one. The form of the *espadaña* was retained by repeating its structure on the other three sides and placing a steeply-pitched tile roof over the whole. It may have been during this period that two additional windows were opened up along the nave and the original one behind the *espadaña* was altered on the outside to a Gothic form in conformity with the new ones.

San Carlos Borromeo

The mission of San Carlos Borromeo was founded on June 3, 1770 by Fathers Junipero Serra and Juan Crespí alongside the presidio at Point Pinos. It was moved about one league the following year to the Carmelo River where there was more arable land and running water for irrigation. During its first year on the Carmelo a small chapel, living quarters for the padres, a large room for a granary, a combined kitchen and dormitory, a house for the soldiers, and corrals, all enclosed within a stockade, were erected. The wood structures with flat, mud roofs were constructed by a team of three sailors, four Indians from Baja California, and five soldiers, with Father Serra acting as "engineer and overseer," according to his close associate Father Francisco Palou (Palou 93, 179). Pedro Fages described the mission in 1773:

The new church, the dwelling [of the ministers], and the offices within the stockade, were built of good cedar and cypress, with earthen roofs. But, it having been found that this kind of roof does not last, and that the rain leaks through, they were finishing by the end of November, 1773, another and larger church. It was forty *varas* long and correspondingly wide and was to be roofed with grass. (Fages 63)

Father Serra already had on hand for the structure four bells from the foundry at the Department of San Blas. He requested seven more: one for the presidio and the others for missions San Gabriel, Santa Clara, and San Francisco (CA 66: 334-342).

An Indian village of neophytes had already built up outside the stockade. Crops were dependent upon natural rainfall, "since there is no means of taking irrigating water out of the river because the water flows deep in it and confined within a narrow bed" (Fages 64-65).

Several structures were added in 1774. A granary—part

adobe and part *palisado* with a straw roof—measured 30 by 7 *varas*. *Palisados* with *terrado* or *azotea* roofs were divided into a living room and a bedroom for the surgeon and his family and another for the blacksmith and his family. *Palisados* with straw roofs had been erected for servants and the corporal of the guard and his family. There was now an adobe oven for baking bread and several small ones for the use of the Indians (P.I. 166: 112-119).

It was in this year that building construction was under the direction of professional artisans for the first time. One of the servants was the master carpenter Manuel Dávila, who was so identified in several baptismal entries for that year. The smith was the master blacksmith Fernando Chamorro, who appears to have been at the mission from this year into 1784, with the exception of his appearance in 1783 at San Gabriel. The San Carlos Book of Baptisms records sailors from San Blas working as *servientes* up to 1782 and some of them were likely involved in the building program. Also there in 1781-1782 was the soldier-carpenter Ygnacio Vallejo who was serving in the capacity of majordomo.

Captain Juan Bautista de Anza and Father Pedro Font visited San Carlos in 1776. Font made note of the new spacious and well-made church of *palisados* and tules, adorned with paintings. He also made mention of an adobe dwelling for the fathers, kitchen, and forge. Sometime between 1776 and 1783 an adobe church had replaced the 1773 structure. A three-room residence for the ministers, two "barns" (granaries?), and thirty "workshops" built around a square were reported. An interesting note was a fish pool fed by a ditch from the river (S. Temple 27-28, 33-35).

Father Crespí died early in 1783 and his long-time companion and superior Father Serra followed him to the grave on August 27 of the following year. Both were buried in the sanctuary of the new adobe church on the gospel side of the altar. Father Palou, who buried Serra, stayed on as president of the missions until Father Francisco de Lasuén arrived in November 1785.

San Carlos was visited by the Lapérouse scientific and geographic expedition in September 1786. The Frenchman noted the neatness of the church and its thatched roof, as well as the Indian village which consisted of about fifty "miserable" round, thatched huts. Of more interest to us is the fact that buildings of more durable materials had been constructed: storehouses of "brick [adobe] and mortar" (Pérouse in Smith 22-23). It is possible that the master carpenter Salvador Manuel Carabantes may have been stationed at the mission during the 1780s, since his wife was recorded as a godmother to a baptism there in 1787. If so, he may have been the builder of the adobe church.

By late 1791 several artisans, recruited and carefully screened for their moral character as well as technical ability,

had arrived in California and awaited assignment to various sites where they were to instruct mission neophytes in their various trades. In November 1792 Father Lasuén was handed the task by the viceroy of deploying these artisans. The master mason and stonecutter Manuel Esteban Ruiz and one of his two journeymen, Joaquín Rivera, who were currently in the final stages of building the presidial chapel, he assigned to the mission of San Carlos. The priest reported on December 21 that the men had arrived on the two preceding days, the delay in the deployment of the men being due to excessive rains (Lasuén I: 258–260, 262). During the first few months of his arrival, Ruiz must have been engaged in designing the new church and stockpiling materials.

The cornerstone of the new church was not laid until July 7, 1793, because there was no supply of building materials on hand and the season of heavy rains had set in by the time Ruiz and Rivera arrived. In addition, there was a shortage of tools. Some had been sent to the mission at the expense of the royal treasury and more were awaited, but none of the artisans, including the carpenter (who had been at the mission since the beginning of 1792), the blacksmith, and Ruiz had arrived with their own tools as expected (Lasuén I: 258–260, 360).

From the beginning of construction in the summer of 1793, the work on the church met with delays which frustrated Lasuén. Although many oxen and wagons had been employed to haul materials and much labor and iron had already gone into construction, demands were made on Ruiz's time at the presidio (undoubtedly in overseeing the construction of the chapel which he had designed and begun). Mishaps had occurred, such as the loss of thirteen or fourteen yoke of oxen needed to haul materials. They had trouble finding a first-rate quarry. And poor crop harvests apparently made it difficult to pay an adequate number of laborers. By November of 1795 it was obvious to the minister that the proposed date of mid-June of 1796 for completion could not be met and that a year's extension was needed on Ruiz's contract. He softened his request to the viceroy by pointing out that the extension would afford greater opportunity for more thorough training of the apprenticed neophytes (Lasuén I: 360–362). Governor Borica wrote to the viceroy on December 3, 1795 that the stone and mortar church was two-thirds finished, including "various carved details." Chests for the sacristry, a pulpit, three altar tables, doors for the baptistry, and "other pieces for the church and mission" had been constructed. The main doors of the church were "lavishly carved and costly" (CA 49: 265–267).

The requested extension came through seven months later. Father Lasuén wrote on July 21, 1796 to Father Antonio Nogueryra that the governor had already closed the account of the master mason at the beginning of the month, thus terminating his salary, but on the ninth, he received notice from

the viceroy of the granted extension. In the same letter, he revealed Ruiz's intention to leave the province upon conclusion of the work (Lasuén I: 387).

With the completion and dedication of the presidial chapel in 1794, work on the mission church proceeded apace. At the end of 1795 the church had been roofed and covered with tiles; interior whitewashing was nearing completion. The top of the tower and the vestry remained to be built and the floor had not been laid. Almost two years later the mission church of San Carlos was finished and dedicated in September 1797 (Engelhardt 1934: 116).

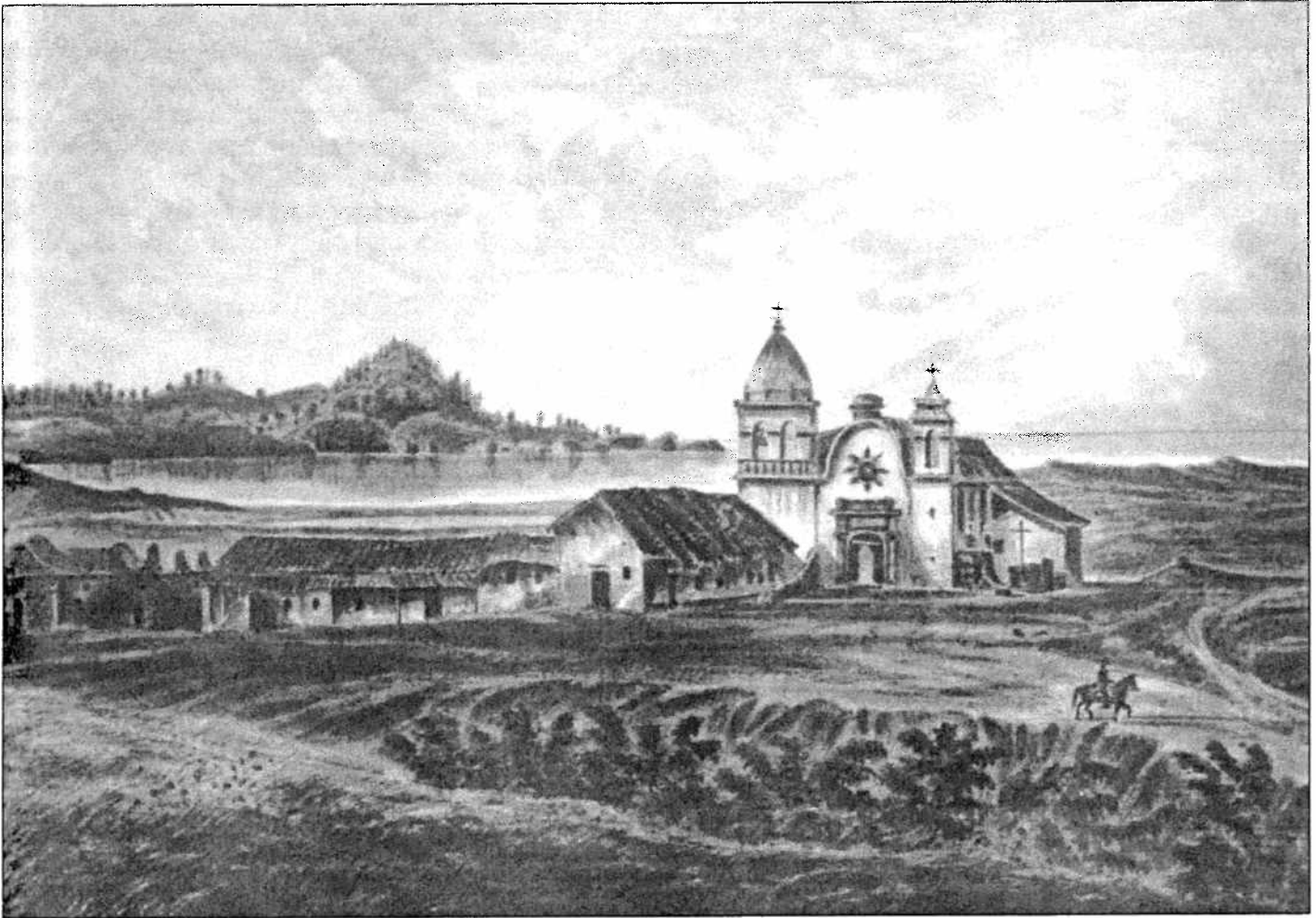
In addition to the master mason and stonecutter Manuel Esteban Ruiz and his journeyman Joaquín Rivera, another of the craft should be recognized for his role in the construction. Pedro de Alcántara Ruiz, another journeyman, joined them in 1794. Unfortunately, we have recovered so far the name of only one Indian neophyte who was being taught by these three and would have had a hand in the building of their church. He was Honorio Matgesh who was active at least from 1793 until his death in 1819.

The master carpenter, who had preceded Manuel Esteban Ruiz in 1792, was José Antonio Ramírez. He apparently stayed on at the mission into the fall of 1798. Two native carpenters have been identified who were working during this decade: Guido Omtere and Gaspar Talatis.

The blacksmith, or blacksmiths, assigned to the mission during the 1790s is not directly identified so far. Any of those named on the presidial roster of Monterey could have been attached to the mission: Matías Higuera, Juan Blanco, José Antonio Dávila, or Antonio Avila, all of whom appear on the lists for 1798 or 1799. The master blacksmith from the arsenal at San Blas José María Gallardo served as a godparent to a baptism at the mission on May 6, 1795. His name has not been included in the list of California artisans in Chapter 4 because there is no other record of him in the state that I could find. Someone, either at the presidio or the mission, was responsible for training a whole generation of neophyte smiths: José Antonio Guilcal, Donato, Pastor Eusom, Bernardo de Carleone Sujay, Eleuterio, and Eleazaro Jatchelpath, who was recognized as a *maestro* in his own right.

A contemporary official report described the church as being constructed of cut stone, roofed with tiles, and being beautiful and harmonious (Sal in Smith 24). The design and cut-stone work of the church's portal, interior arches, and side doors attest to the skill of Manuel Esteban Ruiz, Joaquín Rivera, Pedro Alcántara Ruiz, and the neophytes they trained. The painted decorations possibly date to its initial construction (Neuerburg 1987a: 50).

Vancouver paid visits to San Carlos in December 1792 and November and December 1794. A drawing made by his artist Sykes depicts the mission at the time, with the church in the



San Carlos Borromeo Mission by James Madison Alden, 1855. Private collection.

left foreground and the new one under construction beyond. The sketch is supposed to date from his first visit, but is an obvious error, since it predates the arrival of the masons. It therefore must have been drawn on the second visit. Harry Downie, the restorer of San Carlos, unearthed the foundations of the provisional church that was in use while the new one was under construction. The new church encompassed the older structure, leaving the graves of Serra and Crespí undisturbed, a fact that was verified in 1856 and again in 1882. It seems fitting that the remains of the two founding fathers and visionaries of California mission development be thus poignantly linked between the two.

Vancouver's description of the mission provides us with information on the stone used in the construction of the new church. He wrote that it:

appeared to be of a very tender friable nature,⁹ scarcely more hard than indurated clay, but I was told, that in its being exposed to the air, it soon becomes hardened,

and is an excellent stone for the purpose of building. It is of light straw colour and presents a rich and elegant appearance, in proportion to the labour that is bestowed upon it. It is found in abundance at no great depth from the surface of the earth; the quarries are easily worked, and it is I believe the only stone the Spaniards have hitherto made use of in building. (Vancouver I: 65)

The Englishman further reported that the lime was being made from sea shells, principally the ear shell (Vancouver I: 66).

Four years after its dedication, or in 1801, the walls of the church were raised one *vara*, necessitating the addition of a sizeable stone buttress to the altar wall (Engelhardt 1934: 16). No masons or stonecutters needed to quarry the sandstone for use in the improvement can be identified. The entire project may have been done under the direction of the carpenter José María Leocadio Martínez, who appears to have returned

to Monterey in 1799 after a few years at Santa Clara and San José, and he seems to have stayed in Monterey through 1806. His name appears in the mission registers in 1803 and 1806 and in the last-named year he was identified as the “carpenter in this mission.”

During the second decade of the nineteenth century, other changes took place at San Carlos. In 1814 the vaulted stone(?) ceiling of the church was removed and replaced by a ceiling of planks (Engelhardt 1934: 139). The following year the construction of additional buildings finally enclosed the quadrangle of the mission. A small chapel dedicated to the passion of the savior was added to the church in 1818 (Smith 31). Fortunately, the mission was spared during the Bouchard raid in the same year (Engelhardt 1934: 141). According to Webb, modifications were made to the belfries by shortening the arches, although when this was done is apparently not known. She further states that the bell arches originally had wooden grills (Webb 128).

Construction during this period might have been under the direction of the master carpenter José Manuel Rodríguez, who was back in Monterey from about 1815, perhaps to 1817. The native carpenters Guido Omtere and Gaspar Talatis were still active and a third, José Gersu, is found in the 1818 record. In addition, the same neophyte blacksmiths named above were handling that end of the construction: Pastor Eusom, Master Eleazaro Jatchalpans, Bernardo Sujay, and Eleuterio (until 1816 when he was at San Juan Bautista).

The mission of San Carlos was secularized late in 1834. When the U.S. ship *Peacock* stopped in Monterey two years later, the special government agent Edmund Roberts reported the property “in ruins and almost abandoned” (in Smith 32). Two years later, a few resident Indians, living on shell fish and acorns, were repairing a roof there (Bancroft 1886a: 680, n. 7). John Russell Bartlett, who visited the site in 1852, left a description of it:

The mission establishment, which consists of a church and the usual accompaniments of a large enclosure with ranges of small buildings, stands upon a little elevation between the hills and the sea, from which it is distant only a few hundred yards. The church which is built of stone, had two towers, containing six bells; its walls are very thick, with an arched roof, and supported by heavy buttresses. The towers, as usual, differ. The adobe buildings near, were all in a state of ruin, and tenantless. . . . One corner of the church began to show the ravages of time: its cornice had fallen and weeds had already taken root among its opening crevices. . . .” (Bartlett II: 77)

The roof of the church was replaced with a shingled one in 1884. The last restoration was undertaken in 1936 at which

time the roof was returned to its mission era form.

Judged by many as the most beautiful of California mission churches, San Carlos is unique with its asymmetrical facade with belfries of differing widths and heights and its star-shaped choir window above the carved stone portal. In spite of its asymmetry, the structure is harmonious, because its parts are geometrically commensurable (Schuetz-Miller, book in progress). As unusual as the exterior is the interior with its soaring parabolic stone arches and planked ceiling that reminds us of a boat keel. It is one-of-a-kind among colonial churches and one cannot help but wonder whether Ruiz was inspired by the ship-building activities of the arsenal at San Blas that hired him. The symbolism of the boat as the vessel for the “fishers of souls” would have been appropriate.

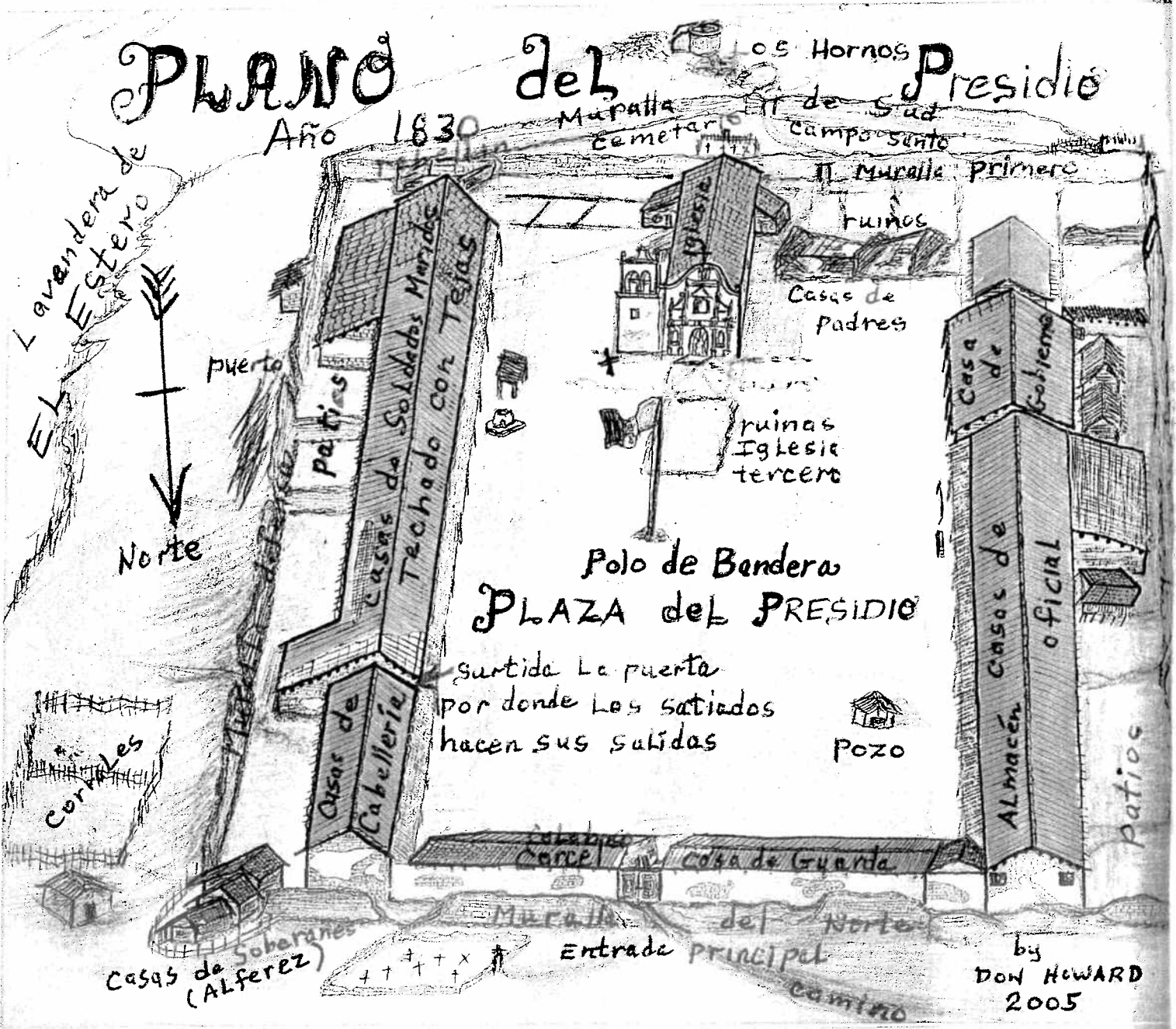
San Antonio de Padua

As soon as Father Serra had moved his own mission of San Carlos to the Carmelo River in 1771, he was off to the Santa Lucía Mountains where, in a pleasantly wooded basin called Los Robles (the oaks), he founded his third mission on July 14. The site of San Antonio was moved two years later a half league distant where a better flow of water was available for irrigation. Pedro Fages noted: “At the beginning of '73, I found that the reverend fathers had their little church and all the living quarters completed of good adobe, and the roofs covered with slabs of mortar plastered with lime.” They had already harvested corn and had planted wheat, thanks to irrigation ditches and a temporary dam constructed of loose stones, poles, and brushwood (Fages 56–57).

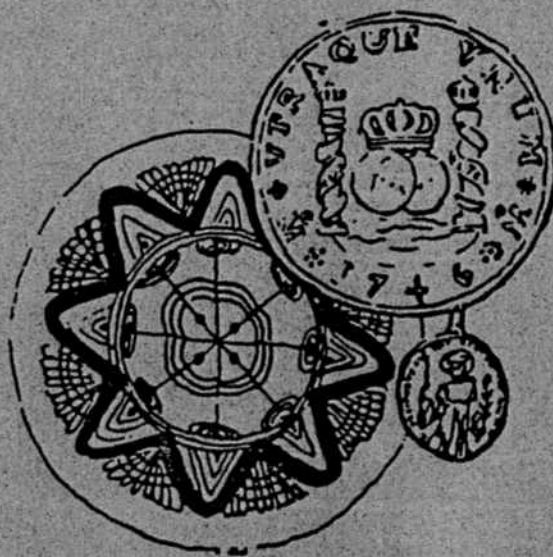
From other sources we learn that several small *palisados* with mud chinking were provided for the married soldiers of the escort (Engelhardt 1929b: 10). In 1774 a 16 by 7 *rancho* adobe granary was erected and an irrigation ditch of about one league in length had been dug to bring water to the mission (P.I. 166: 112–119). The church was enlarged in 1776 and roofed with tiles, the first church in Alta California to have them. A storeroom with a flat, mud roof was added about the same time (Engelhardt 1929b: 17–20). The construction in this year, if not before, can be attributed to the soldier-mason Eugenio Rosalio who was there in 1776 and may well have been stationed there with the escort for several years.

A larger adobe church and sacristy with a tile roof and a commodious apartment to house eighteen to twenty Indian families appeared in 1779 and 1780, respectively. Additional improvements continued to be built until the end of the century: a 40-foot building with a corridor and kitchen in 1794 three more granaries, guest room, a storeroom in 1799 (Engelhardt 1929b: 20–25). The master blacksmith Gregorio Sanguera was at San Antonio in 1785 as the “master smith of this mission” where he was teaching his trade to the neophytes. Two other blacksmiths were there in 1797. On May 20 Pablo

THE GREAT QUADRANGLE EL PRESIDIO DE MONTEREY 1770 2010



*THE PRESIDIO OF
SAN CARLOS DE MONTEREY:
THE EVOLUTION OF THE FORTRESS
-CAPITAL OF ALTA CALIFORNIA*



Jack S. Williams

The Center for Spanish Colonial Archaeology

Technical Publication Series

Number 1

1993

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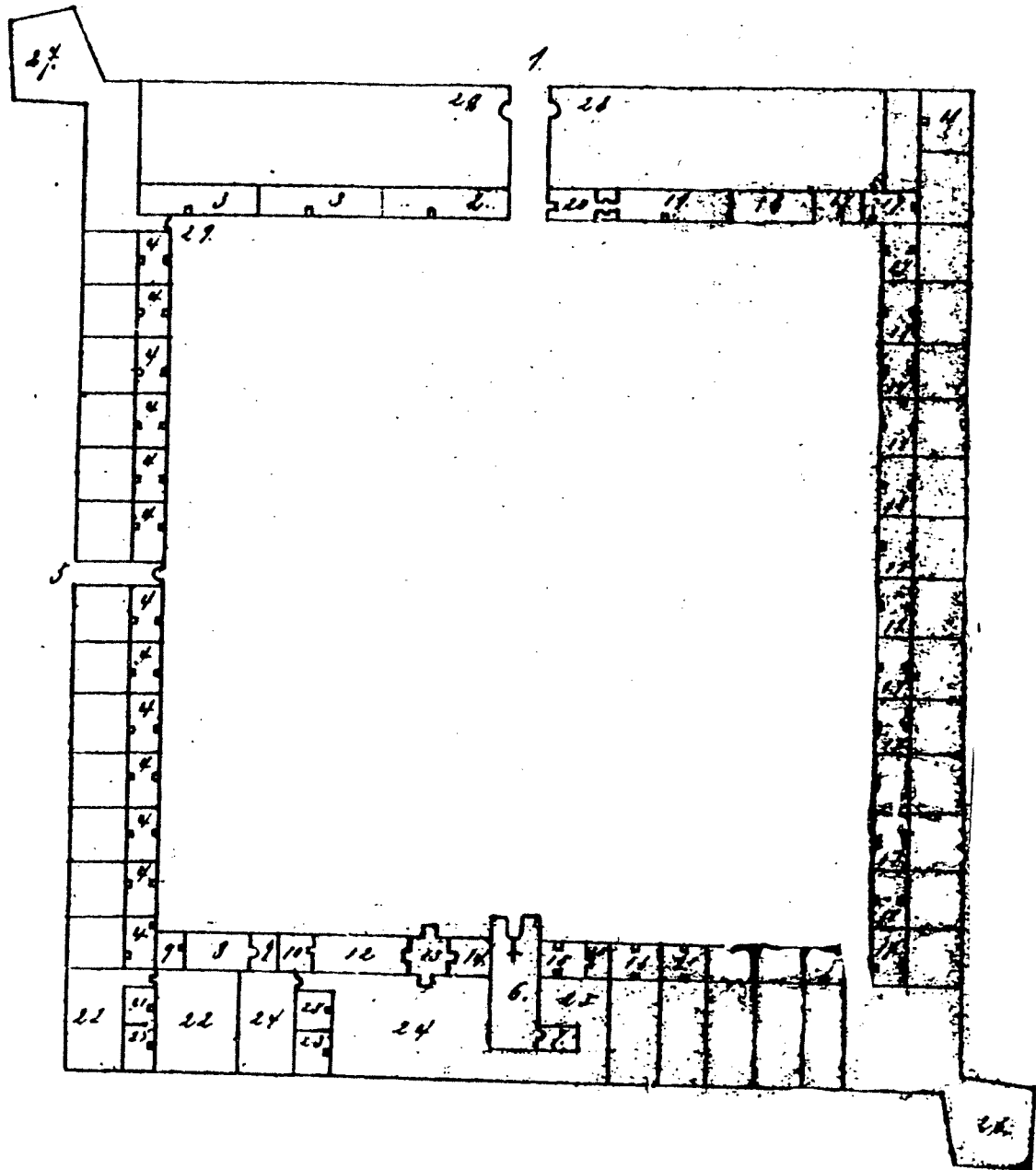
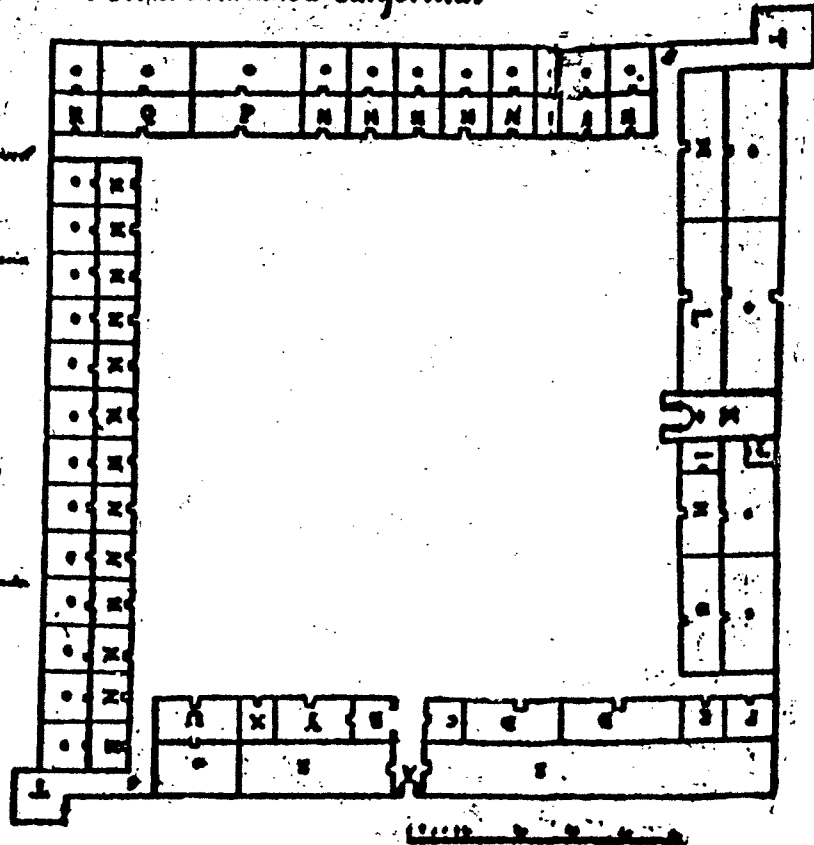


Figure 12. Goycochea's plan of the Presidio of Santa Bárbara - 1788

Plan del Presidio que se propone para alojar la Compañia de Camiseros del Presidio S.^o Fran.^{co} en la nueva California.

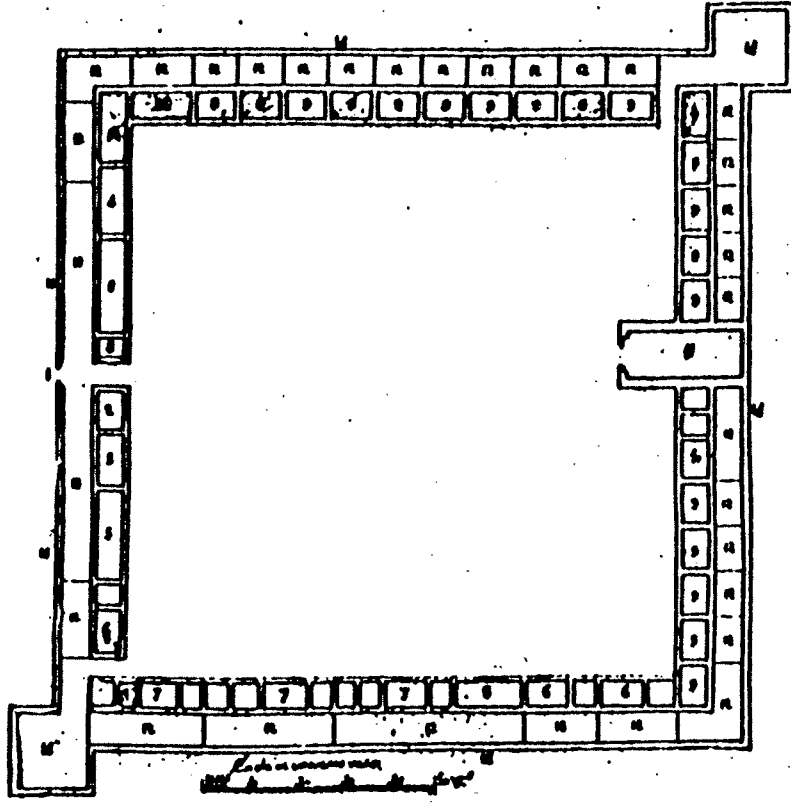
- A. Puerta Principal.
- B. Campo de Puercillos.
- C. Calabozo.
- D. dos Almacenes para el Alimento.
- E. Almacén para el Alimento.
- F. Almacén para el Alimento.
- G. Casa del Almirante.
- H. Casa de los Capitanes.
- I. Almacén para provisiones de Medicina.
- J. Almacén.
- K. Almacén.
- L. Casa del Comandante.
- M. Almacén para oficiales.
- N. 21 Almacén para la Arma.
- O. Almacén y Almacén de Almacén.
- P. Capitanía.
- Q. Herrería.
- R. Almacén para Almacén.
- S. Almacén de los Almacén.
- T. Los Almacén.
- U. Casa del Almacén.
- V. Almacén para los Almacén.
- W. Almacén.
- X. Almacén para el Almacén.



Antonio de Borica
Antonio de Borica
B

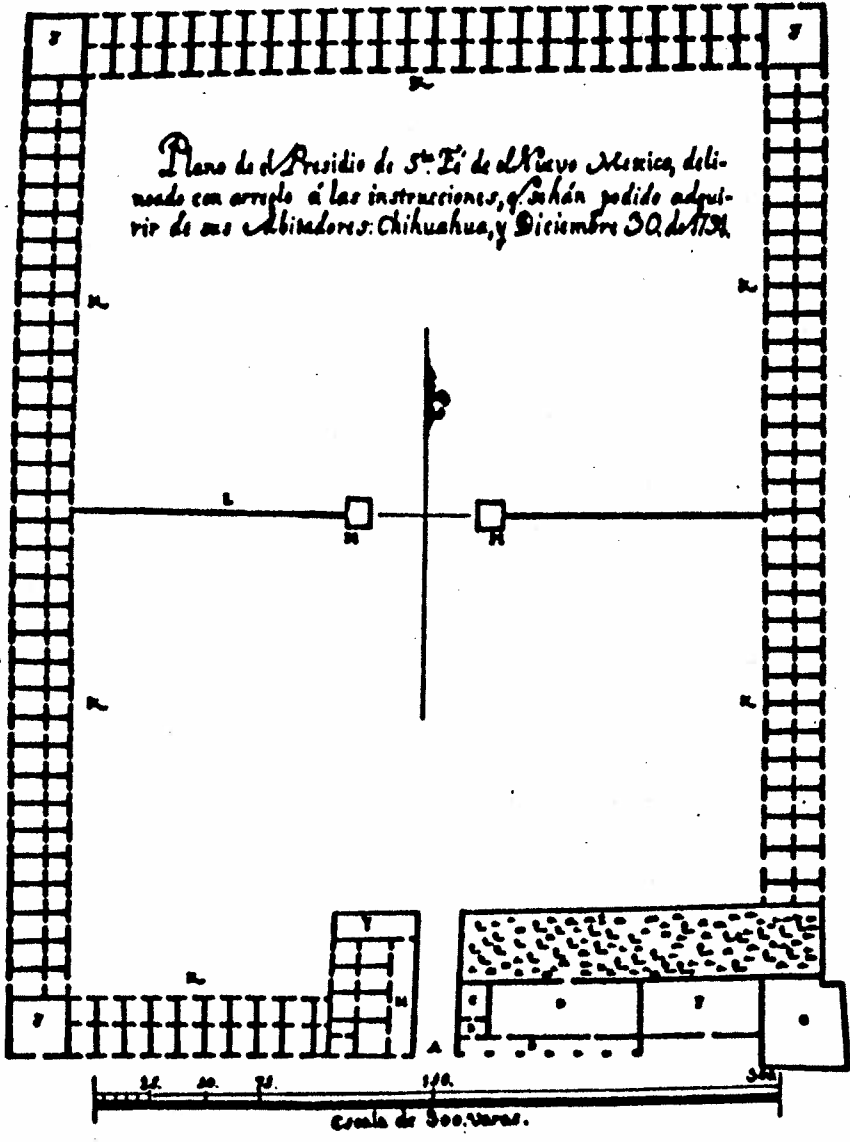
Figure 13. Borica's plan of the proposed new Presidio of San Francisco - 1795

1796 *Plano que muestra el nuevo presidio del Reino de S. Francisco para el Rey de España*



- Legenda*
1. Barraca principal
 2. Caserío de Guardias
 3. Calles
 4. Puercos
 5. Almacenes
 6. Casa para el Jefe
 7. Casa para el Jefe
 8. Almacén de Algodón
 9. Casa para el Jefe de la Compañía
 10. Casa del Capitan
 11. Iglesia
 12. Comedor de los soldados
 13. Casa para Guardias y Comedores
 14. Casa y Almacén para el Jefe del Reino
- Este es el plano de un Presidio que se proyecta en el lugar de San Francisco para el Rey de España en el año de 1796*
- Antonio de S. Francisco 23 de Mayo de 1796*
- Antonio de S. Francisco*

Figure 14. Córdoba's plan of the proposed new Presidio of San Francisco - 1796



Explicacion.

- A..... Encerda del Presidio.
- B..... Cerco de Guardia.
- C..... Carcel.
- D..... Casa para el Governador.
- E..... Se Murta.
- F..... Albitacion.
- G..... Delantico.
- H..... Encerda á las Casas.
- I..... Casa p.^o Alcaide.
- J..... Casas p.^o los Sargentos.
- K..... Aleng. y Estroja con sus respectivos Corrales.
- L..... Conductos de agua.
- M..... Sabaderos.

José Pagazuartundúa

Figure 15. The Pagazuartundúa's plan of Santa Fe, New Mexico - 1791

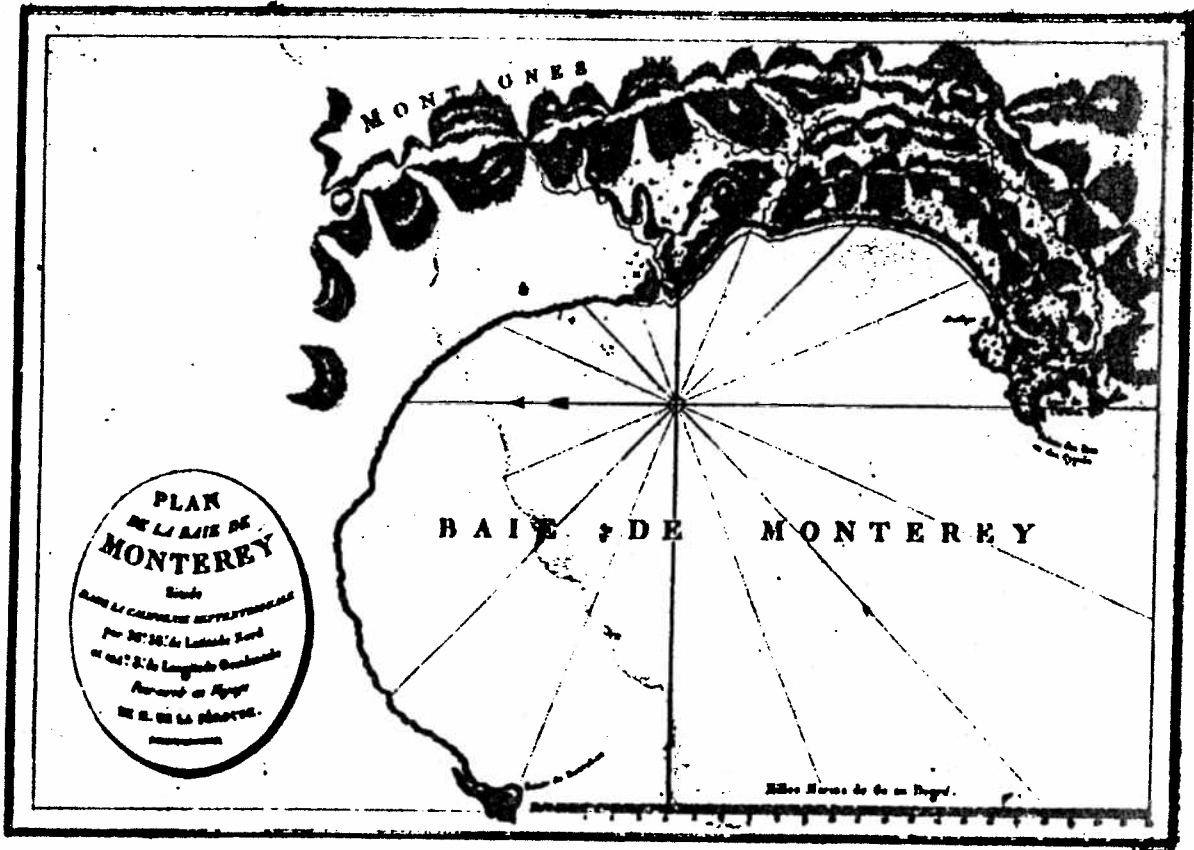


Figure 16. La Pérouse's map of Monterey Bay - 1786

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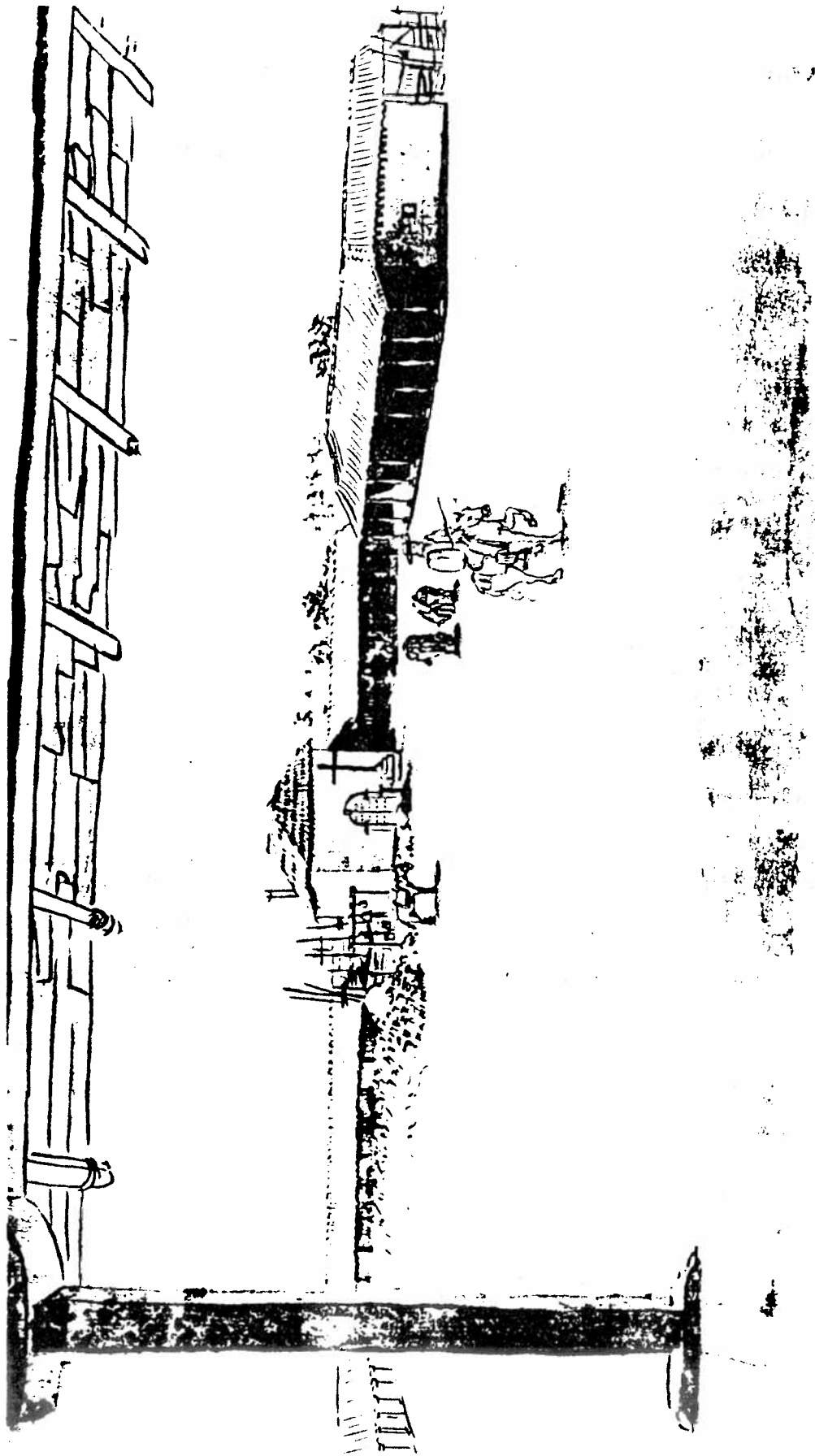


Figure 17. Cardero's view of the presidio plaza at Monterey - 1791

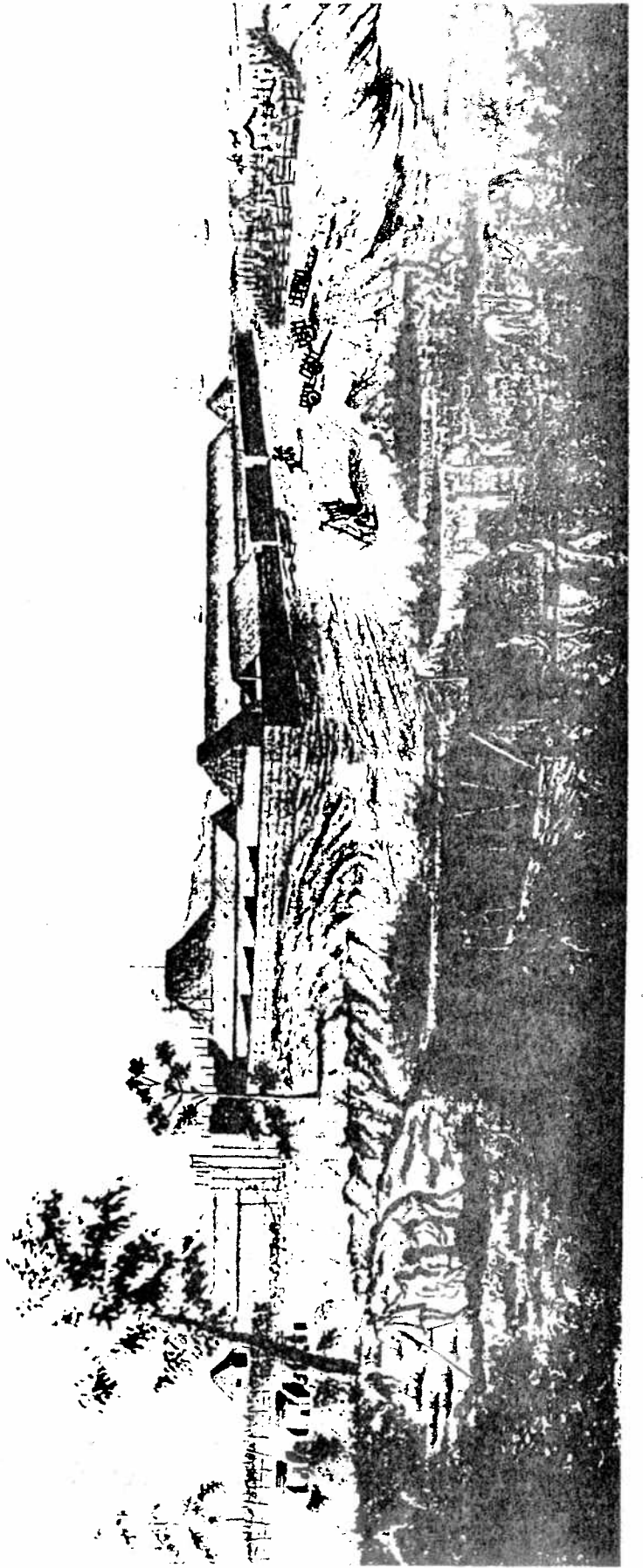


Figure 18. Cardero's view of the presidio defenses from the southeast (1791)



Figure 19. Cardero or Surfia's view of the presidio defenses from the southeast - 1791

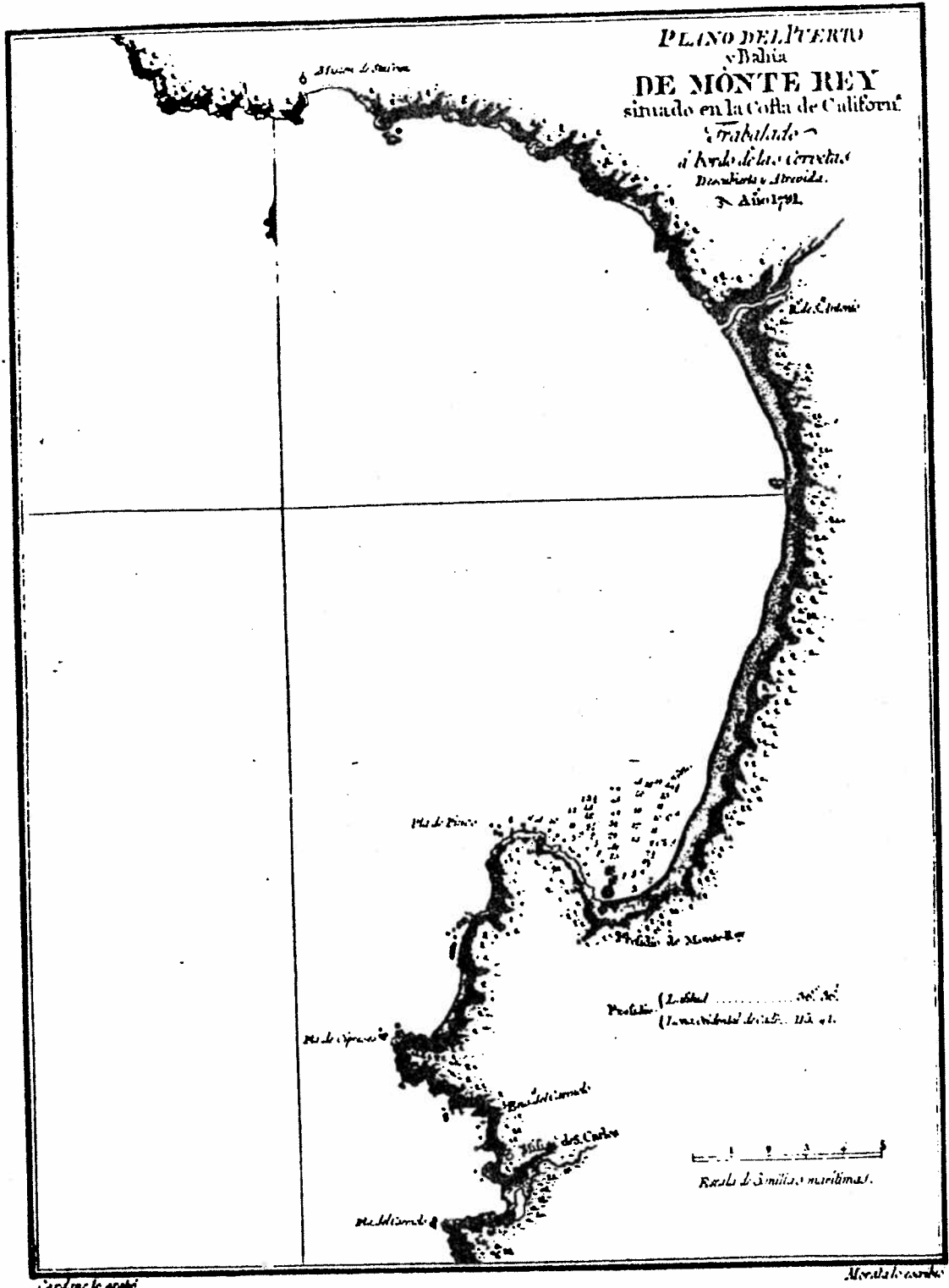


Figure 20. Malaspina's map of Monterey Bay, 1791

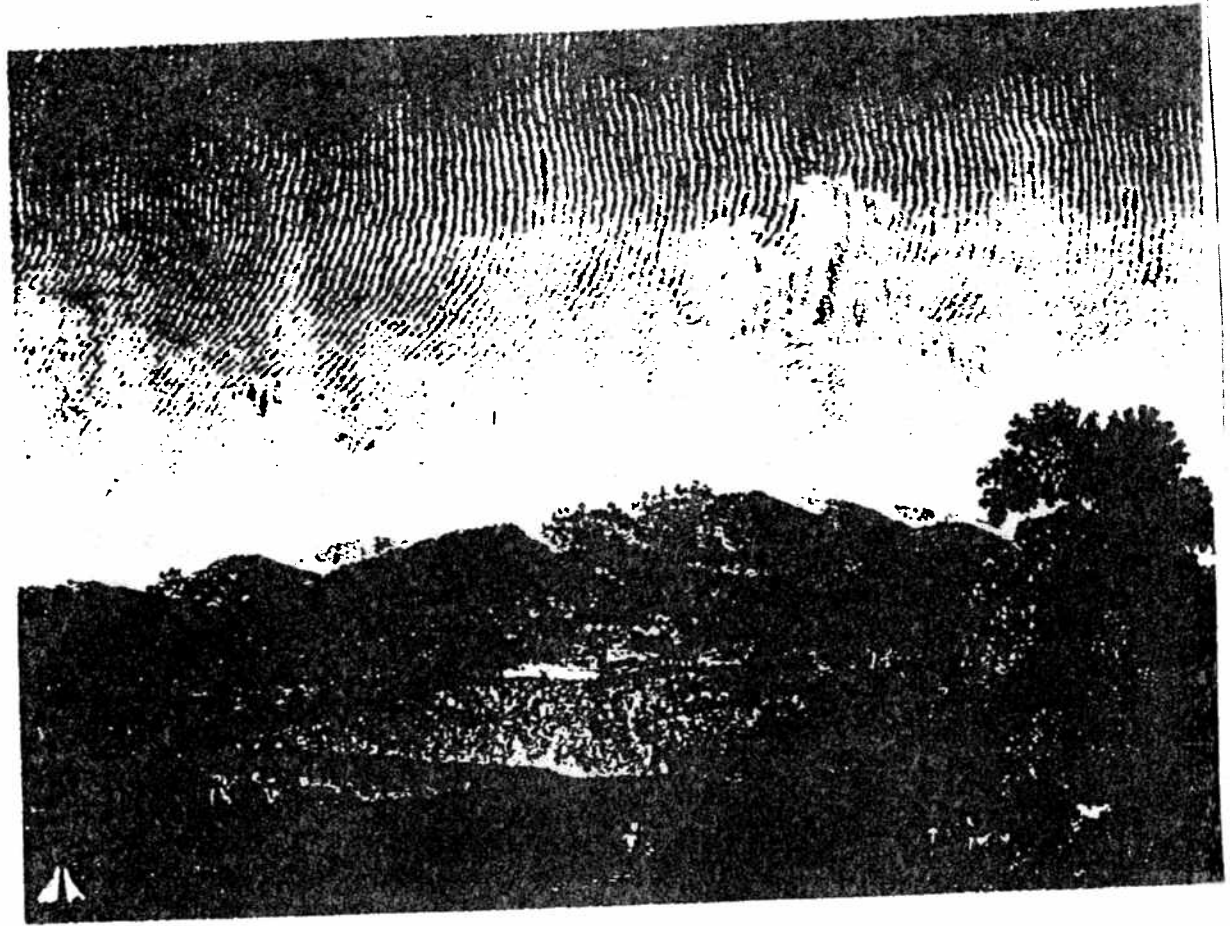


Figure 21. Sykes' view of the Presidio of Monterey from the Harbor (detail) - 1792

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*Figure 22. Sykes' view of the Presidio of Monterey from Fort Hill
- 1792*

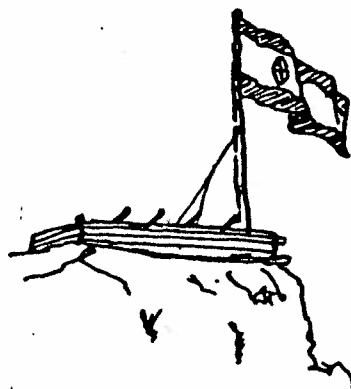
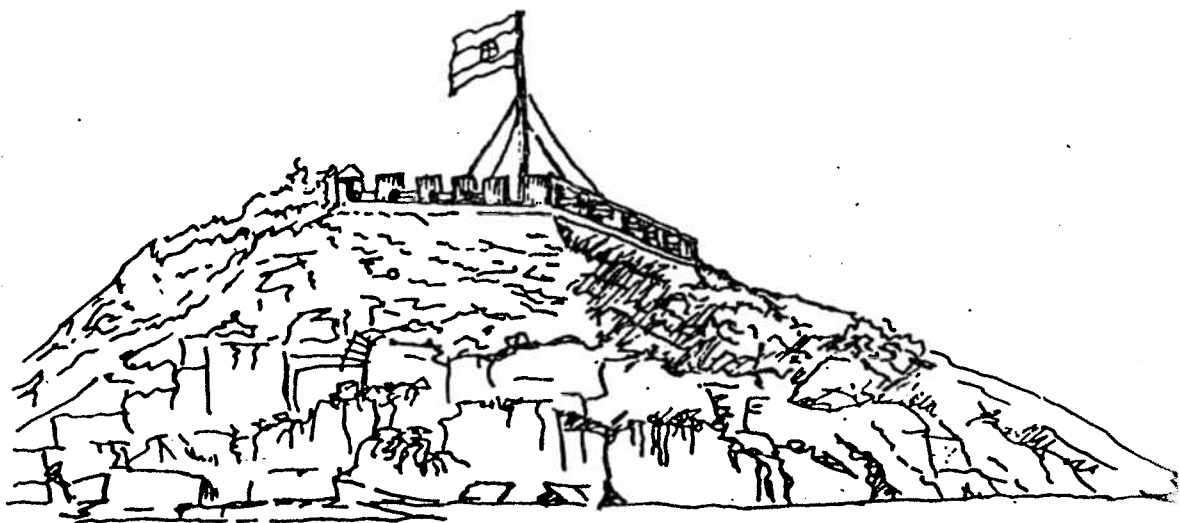


Figure 23. Two views of the Fuerte at San Miguel de Nootka, British Colum.
- circa 1792 (later defenses above; initial constructions below)

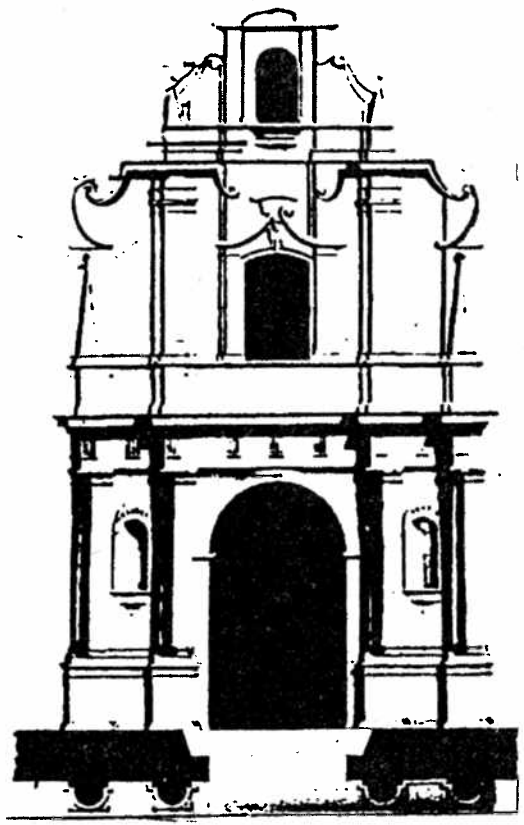
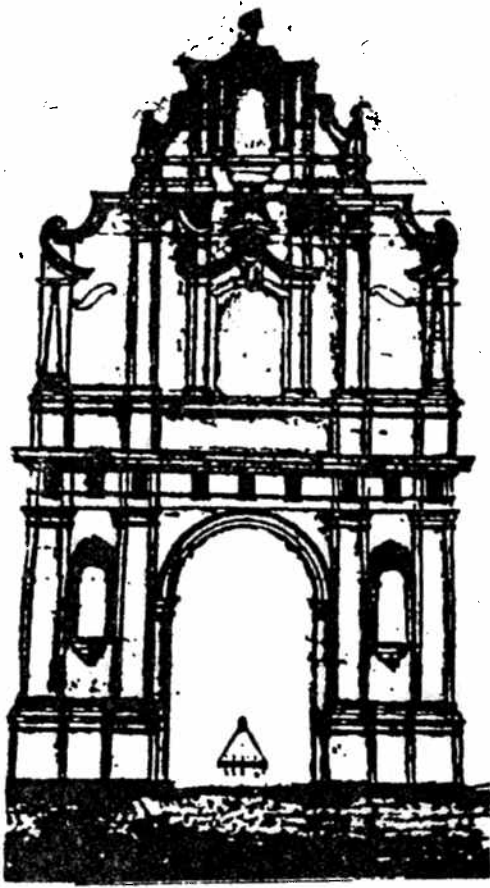


Figure 24. The Ruiz (left) and Velásquez (right) proposals for the church facade - circa 1792

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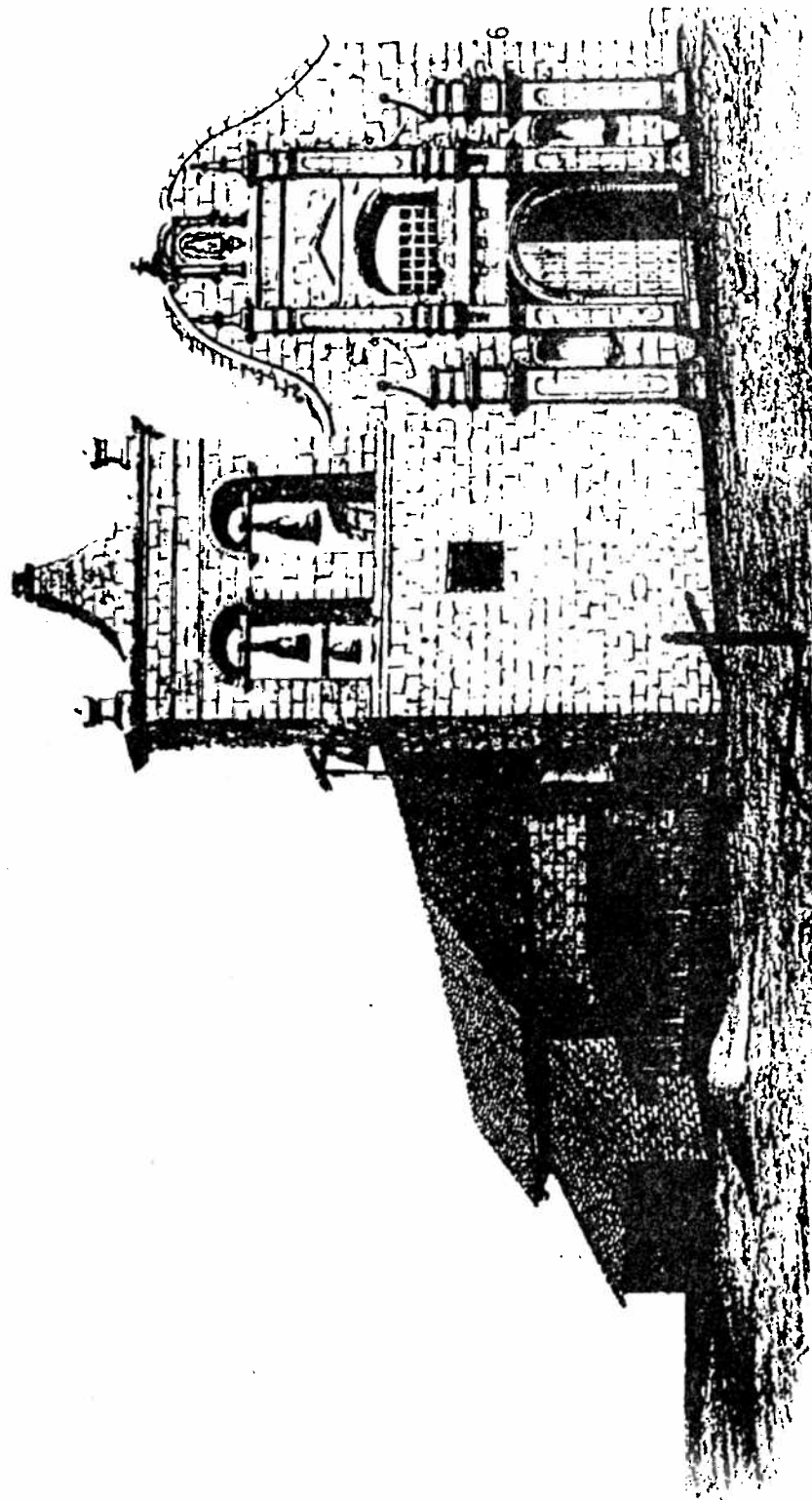


Figure 25. Miller's sketch of the presidio chapel - 1856.

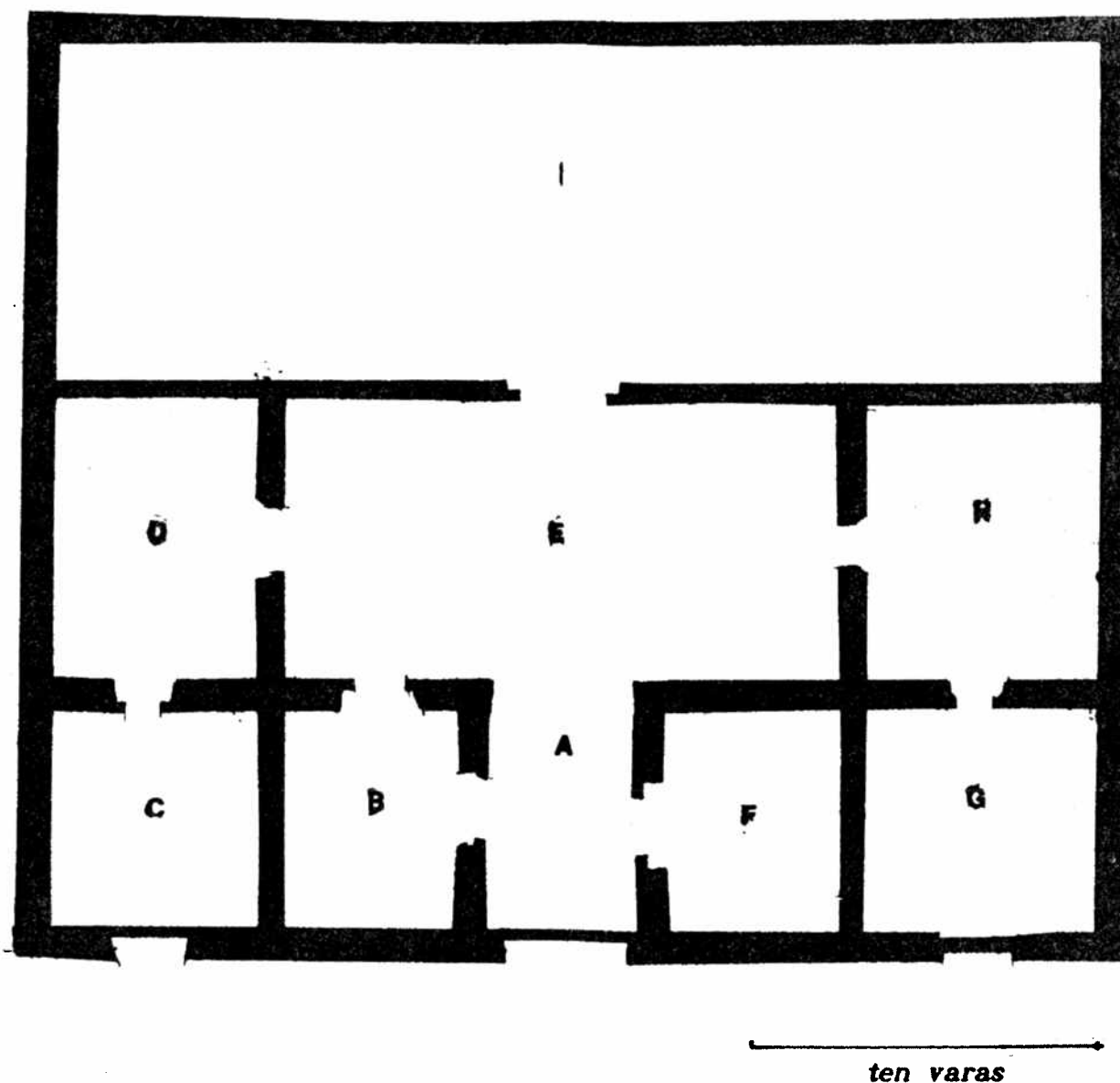


Figure 26. Proposed plan for a new barracks complex in Nuevo Santander - (after Calleja 1802)

Key: A) zaguán; B) guardhouse; C) warehouse for arms and horse gear; D) barracks; E) patio; F) jail; G) supply officer's dispatch; H) supply officer's warehouse; I) corral for horses

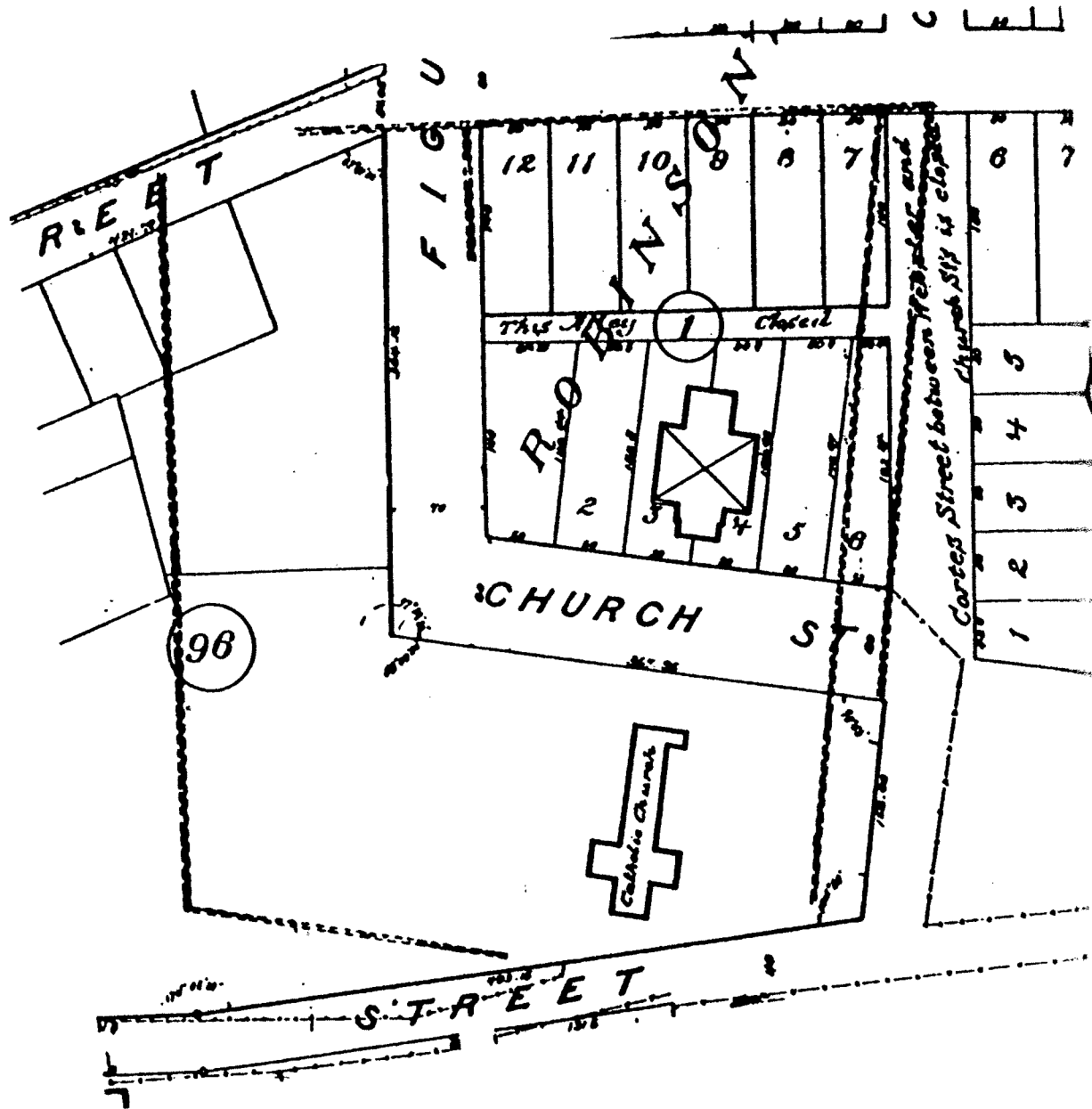


Figure 27. Little's Map showing presidio foundations - 1901

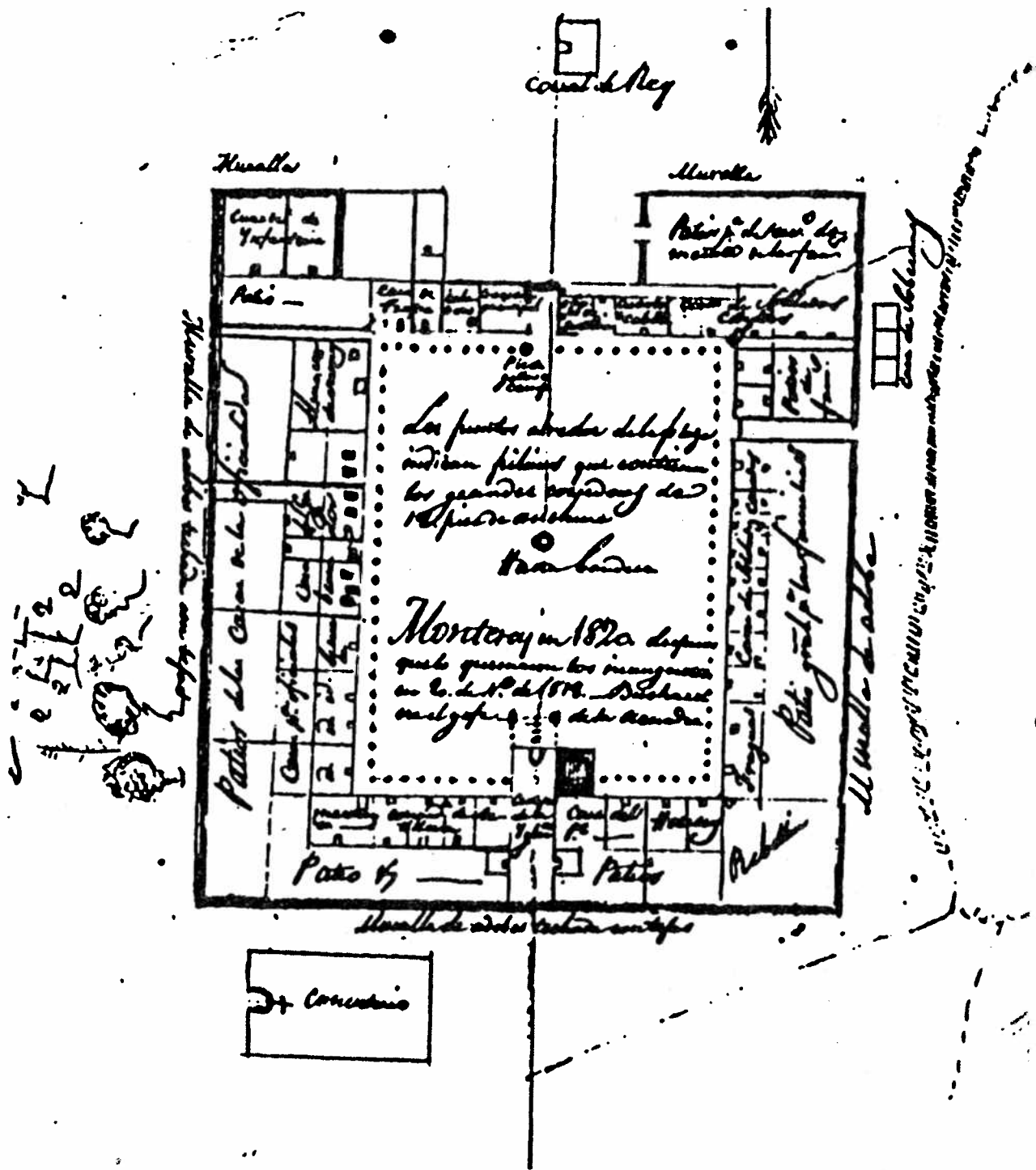


Figure 28. Vallejo's plan to the Presidio of Monterey

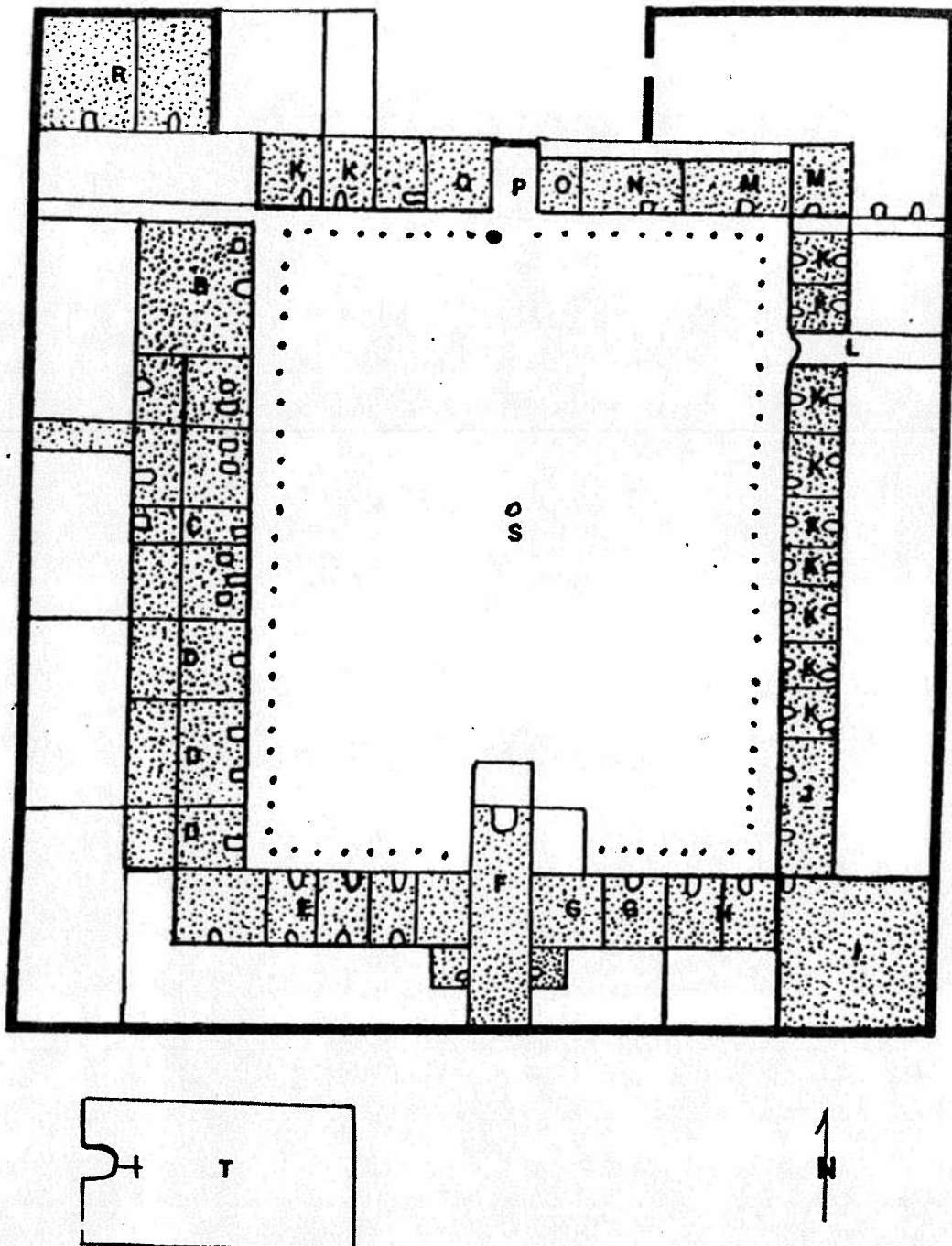


Figure 29. Vallejo's plan of Monterey enlarged and redrawn for clarity

Key: A) barracks; B) warehouse; C) governor's house; D) officer's houses; E) not legible on original; F) Chapel; G) Padres' quarters; H) black smiths' houses or smithy; I) bastion; 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

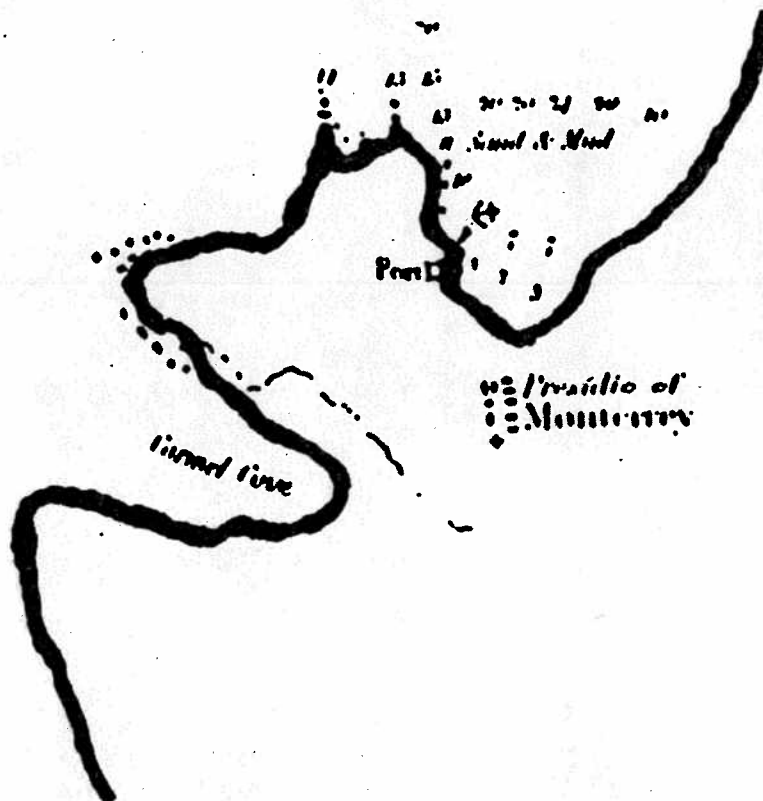


Figure 30. Hall's plan of the Monterey Bay area (detail) - 1822

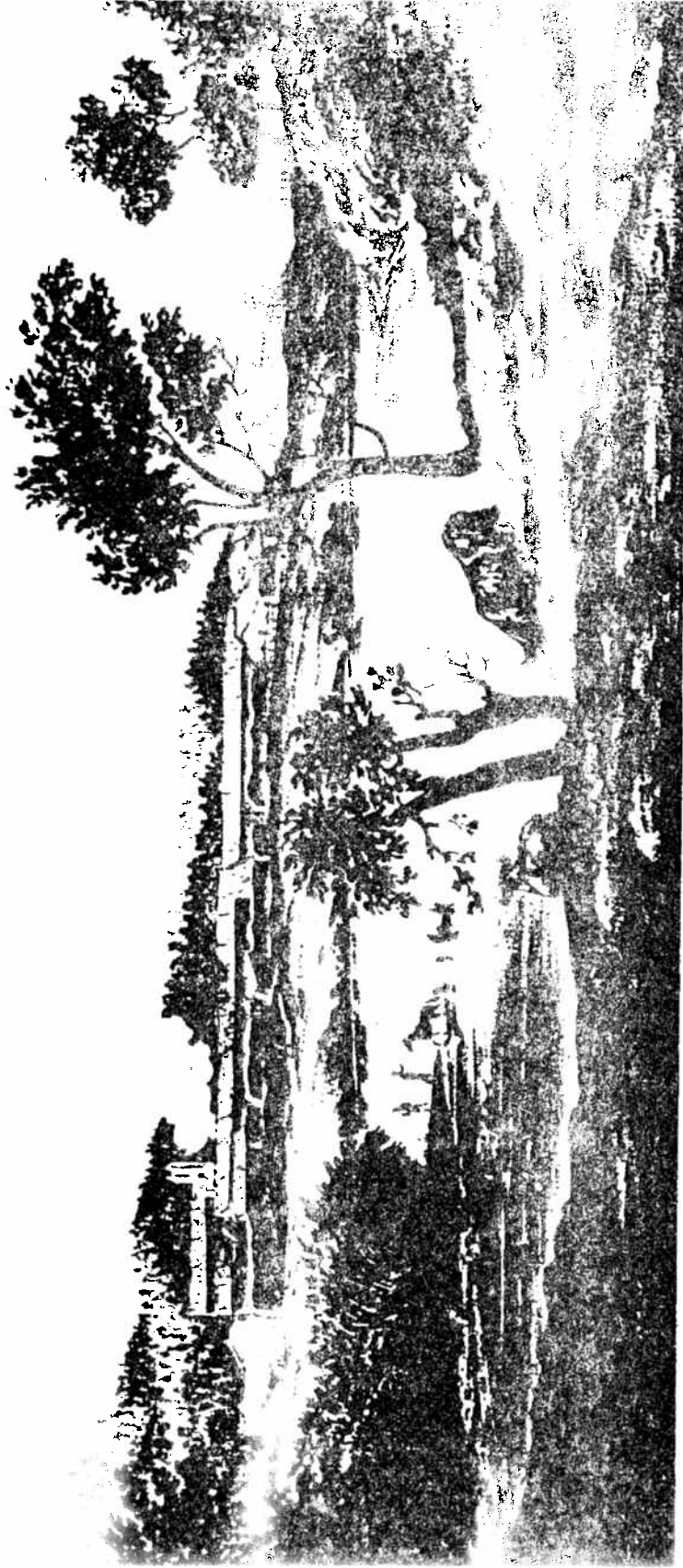


Figure 31. Beechey's watercolor of the Presidio of Monterey - 1827

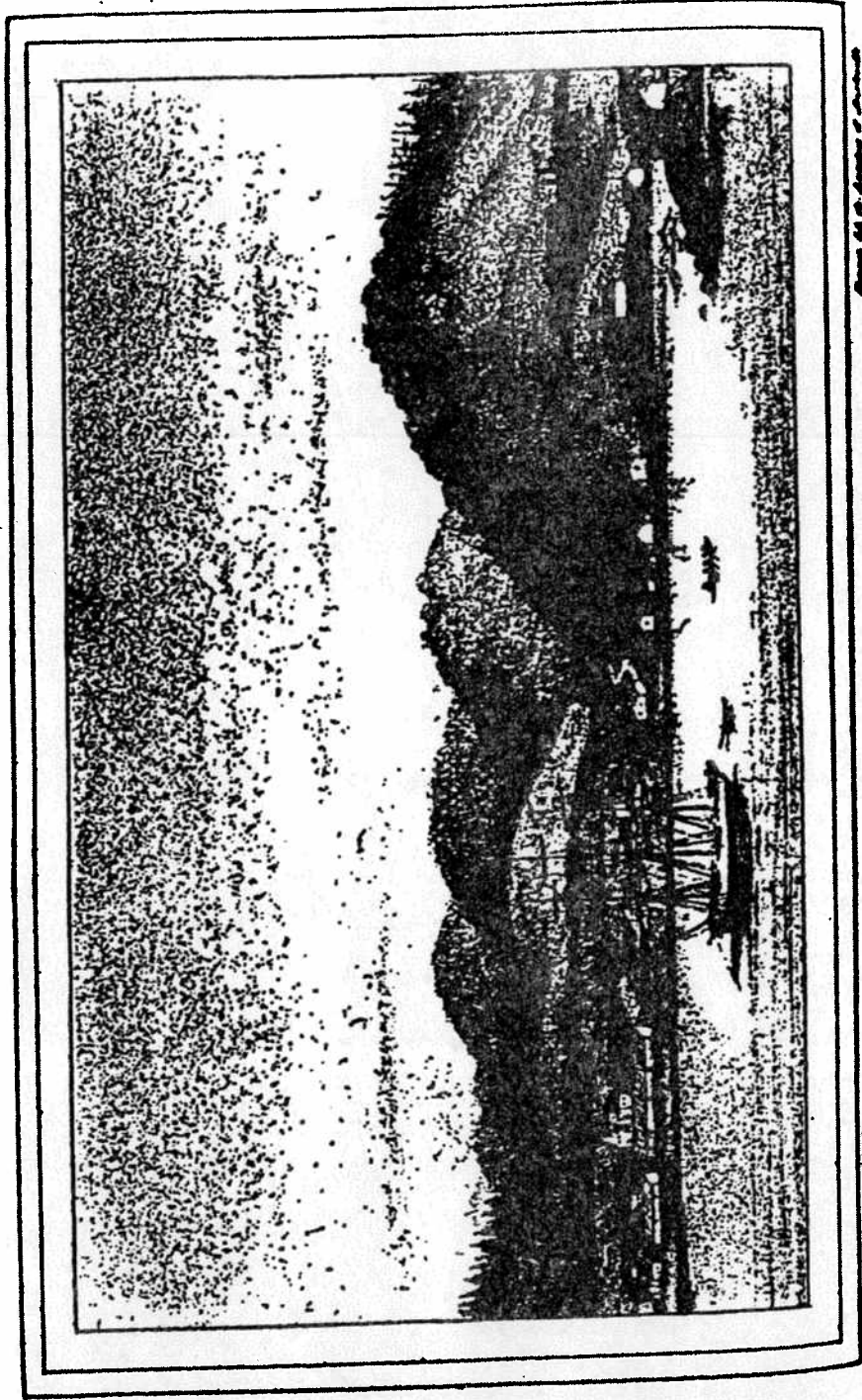


Figure 33. Duhaut-Cilly's view of Monterey - 1827

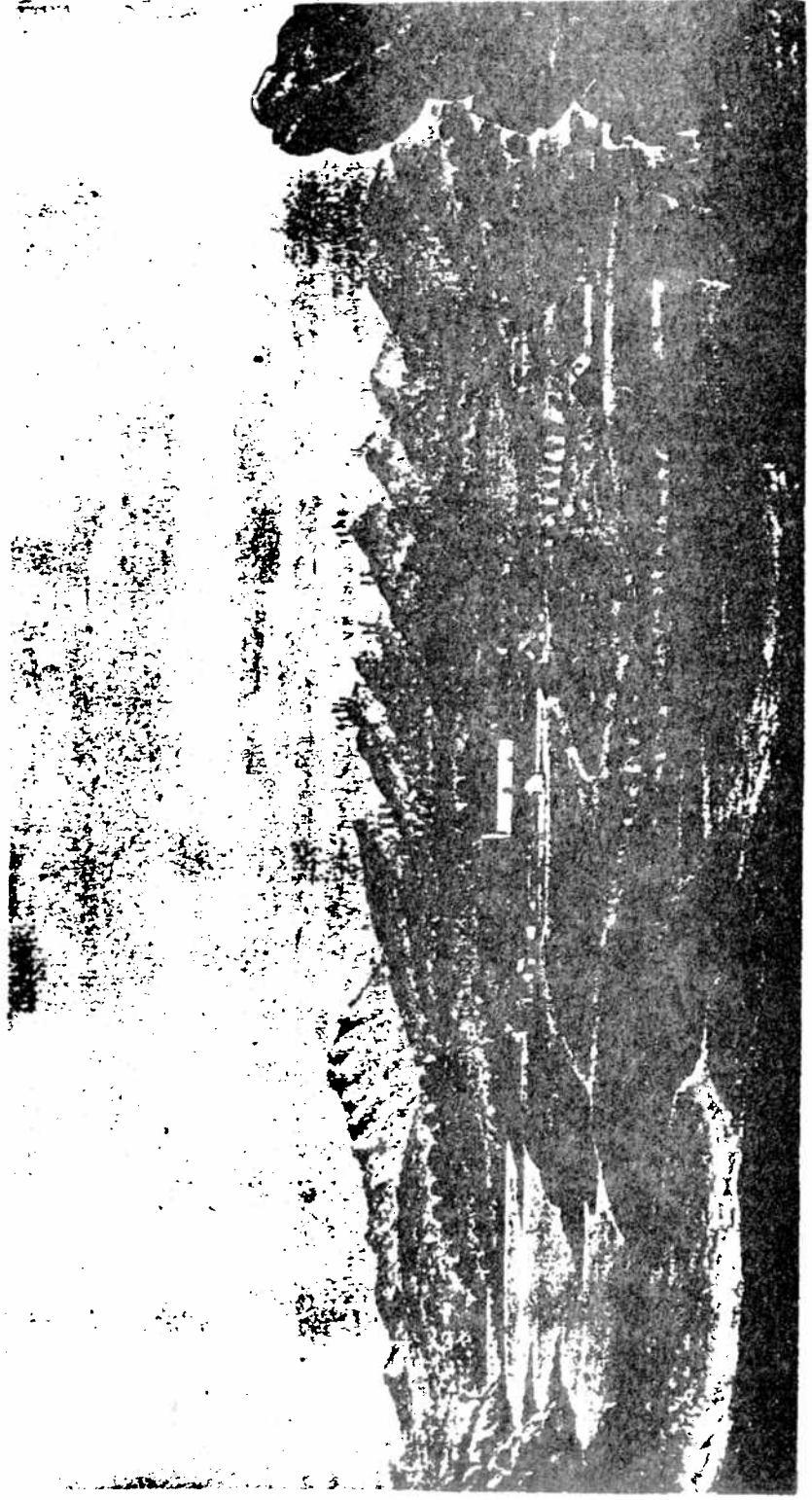
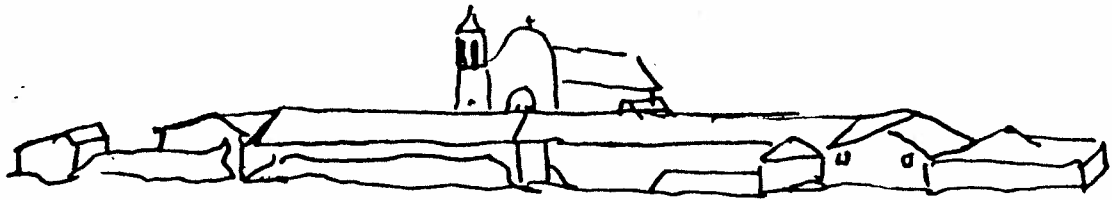
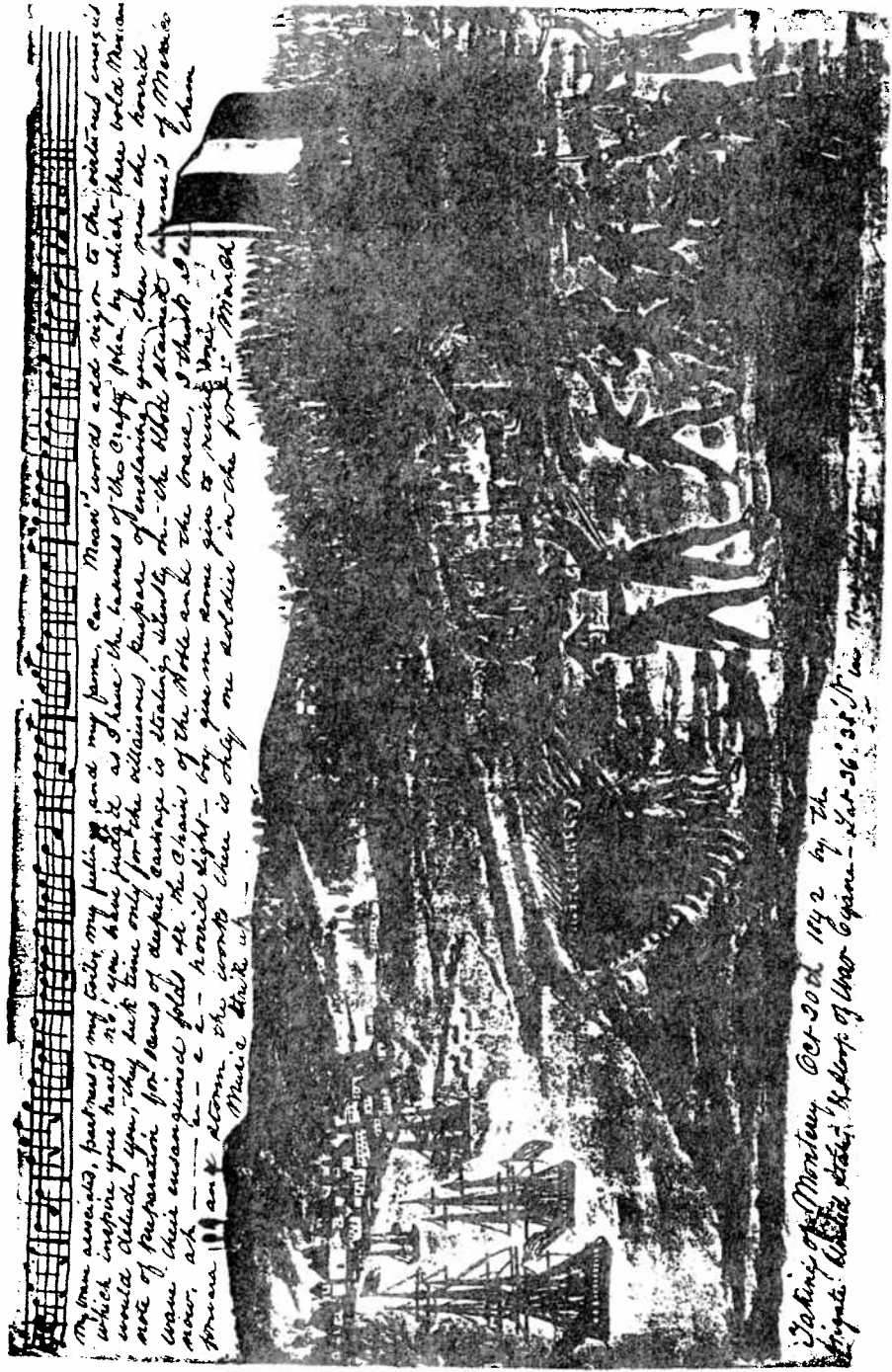


Figure 32. Smythe's watercolor of the Presidio of Monterey - 1827



**Figure 34. Robinson's sketch of the Presidio of Monterey - 1829
(redrawn from an enlargement of the original)**



The men around, but not of my color, my feelings and my form, can mean, would add vigor to the redoubt charges which inspire your heart. It's ever true, judge it as I have, the beams of the bright light, by which these bold Mexican would delude you, they look true only for the villainous purpose of enslaving you. Then come the horrid note of preparation for news of defeat, savage is stealing, stately he - the blood stained banners of Mexico wave over, ah - e - e - e - how'd light - by you men some give to rising smoke. You'll find an alarm the count there is only one soldier in the fort. March March March.

Torres of Monterey Oct 20th 1842 by the
Meyers' United States Military of War Exposed - Mar 26 1843

Figure 35. Meyers' watercolor of the assault on El Castillo - 1842

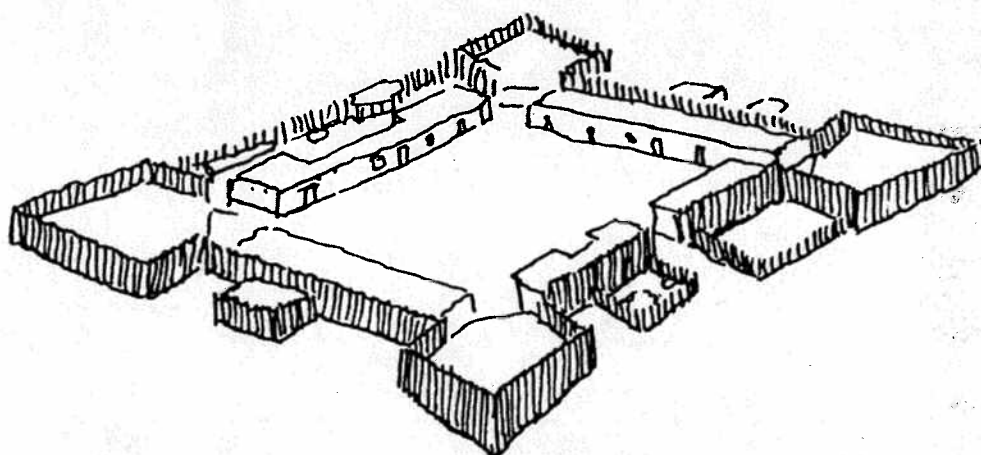


Figure 36. Conjectural view of the Presidio of Monterey - July 1770

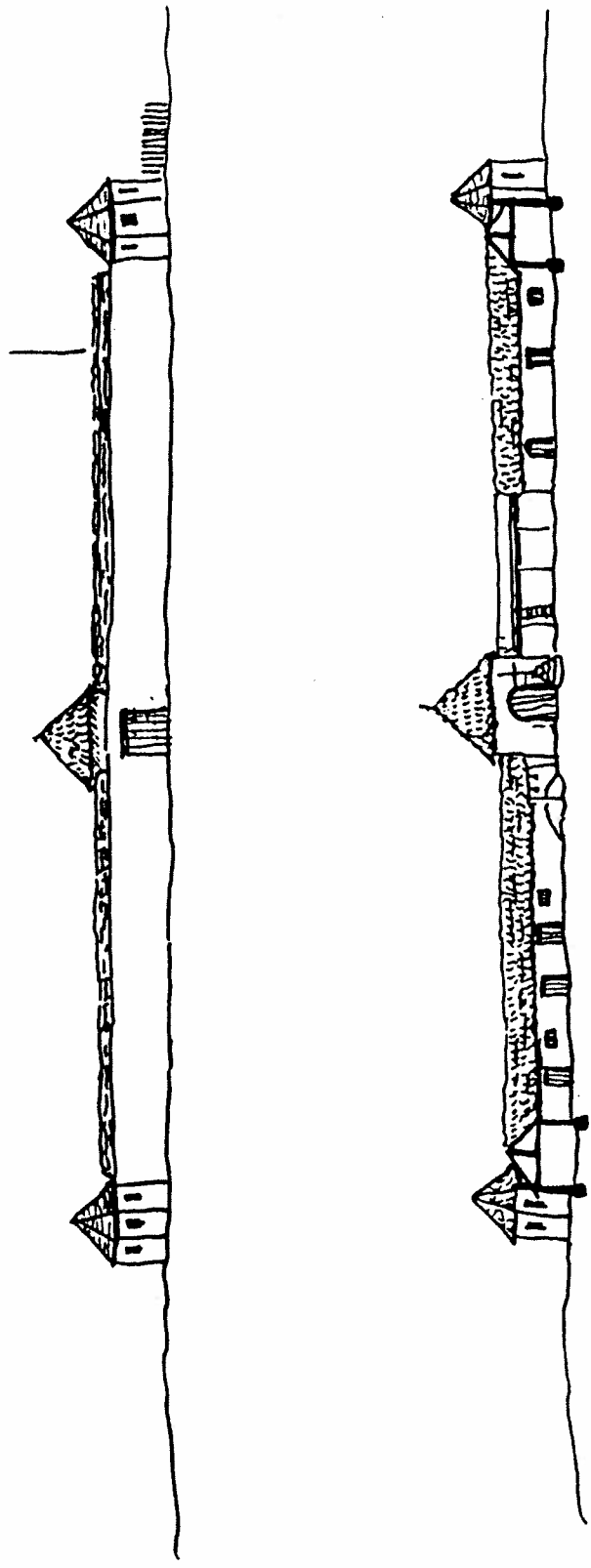


Figure 38. Conjectural profiles of the exterior (above) and interior (below) of the presidio, circa 1785.

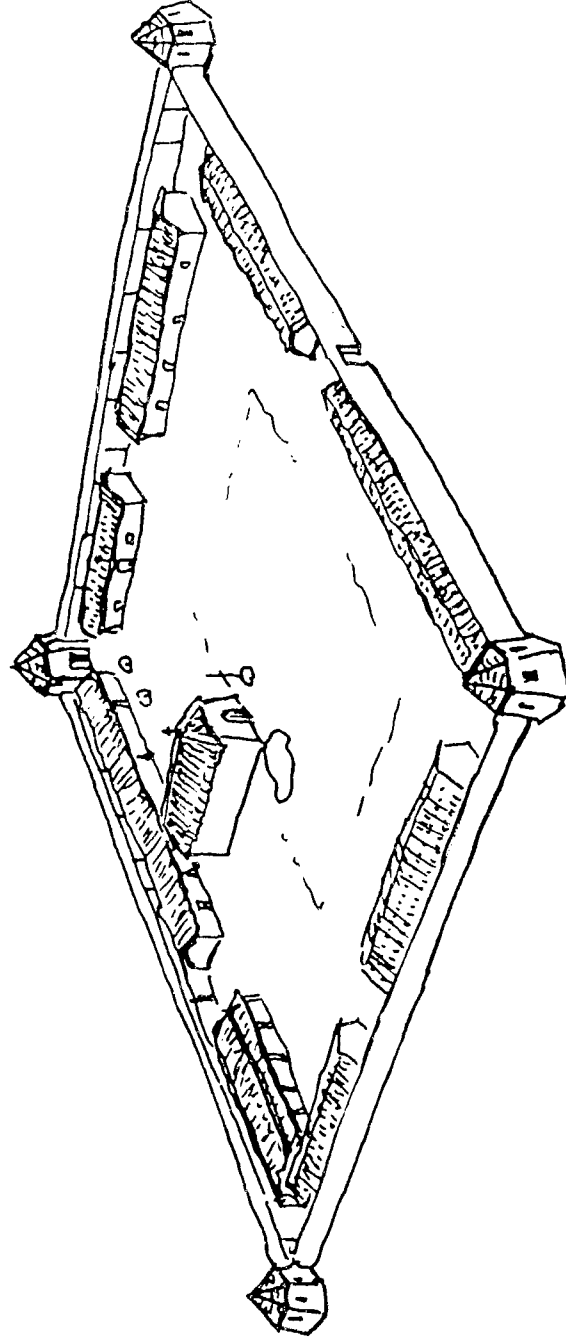


Figure 37. Conjectural view of the Presidio of Monterey - circa 1785

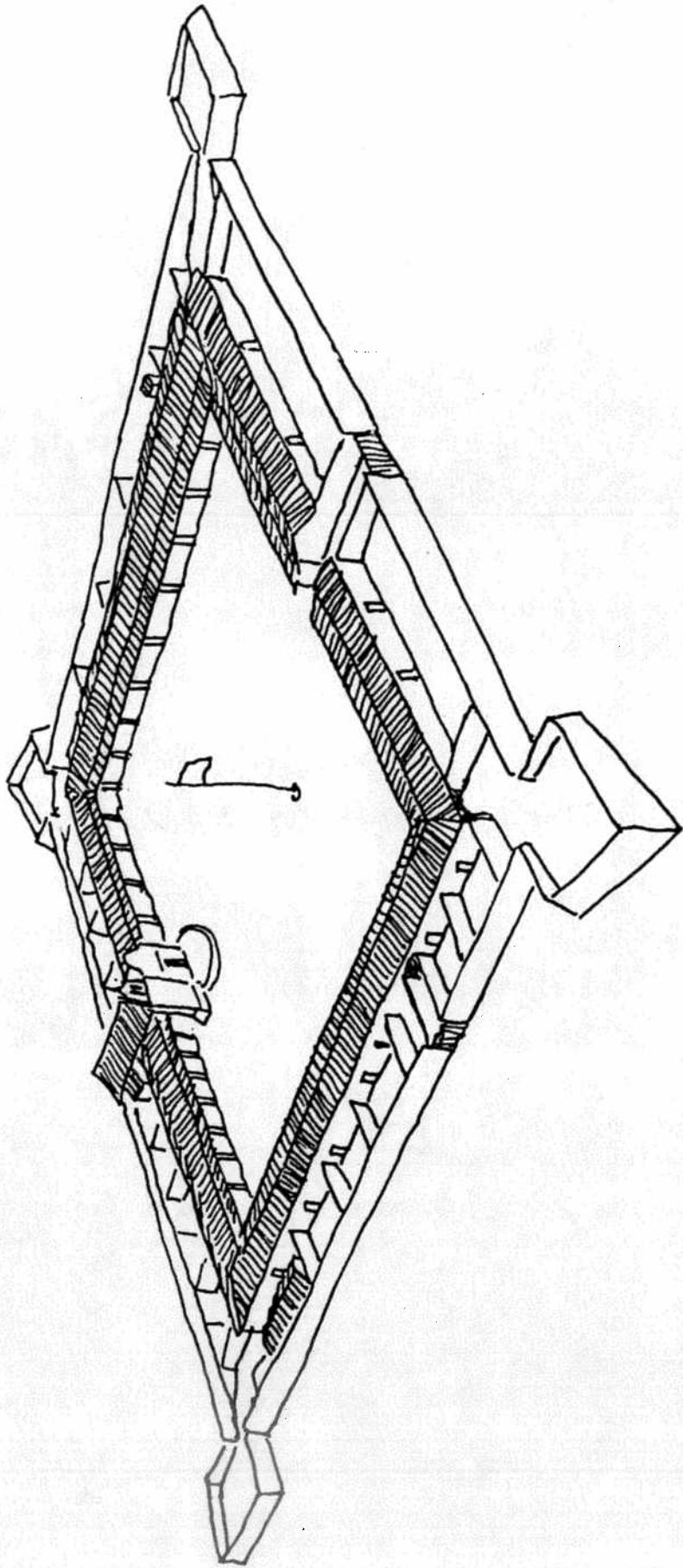


Figure 39. Conjectural view of the Presidio of Monterey - circa 1800

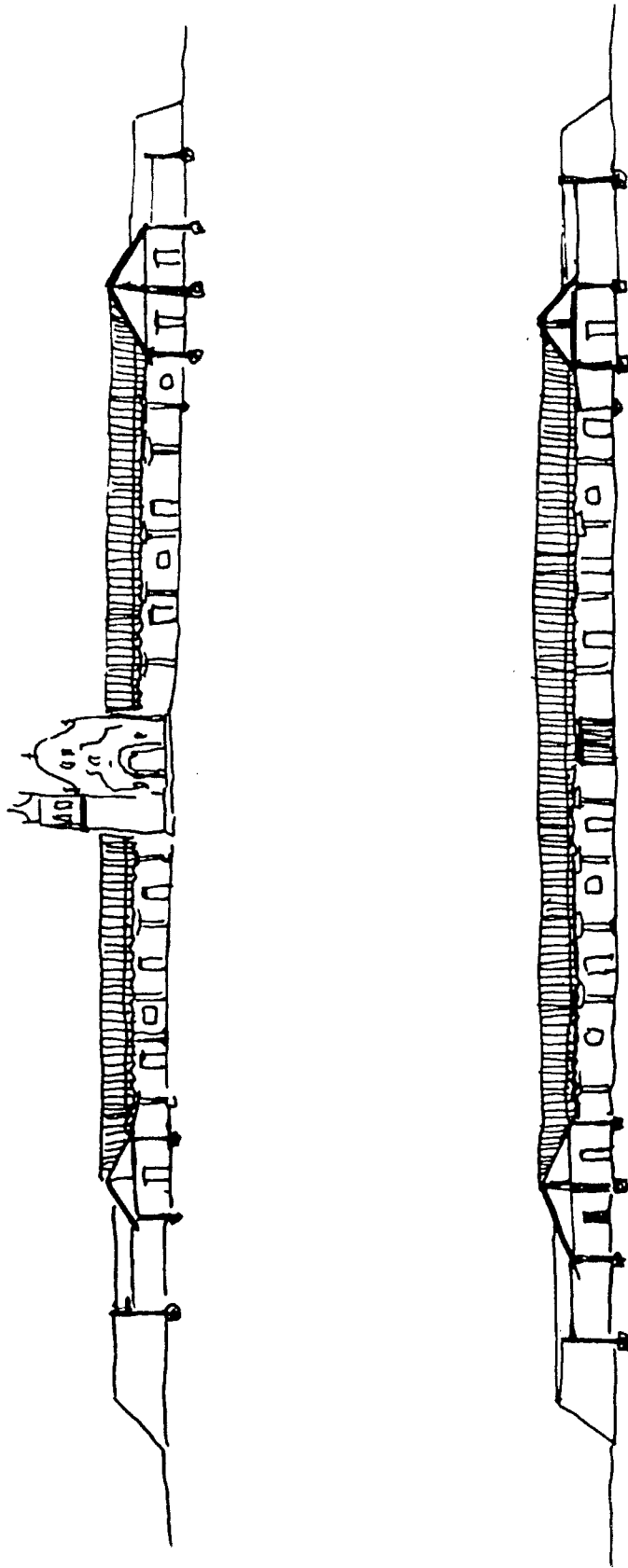


Figure 41. Conjectural profiles of the interior of the presidio [looking south above, and looking north, below], circa 1800.

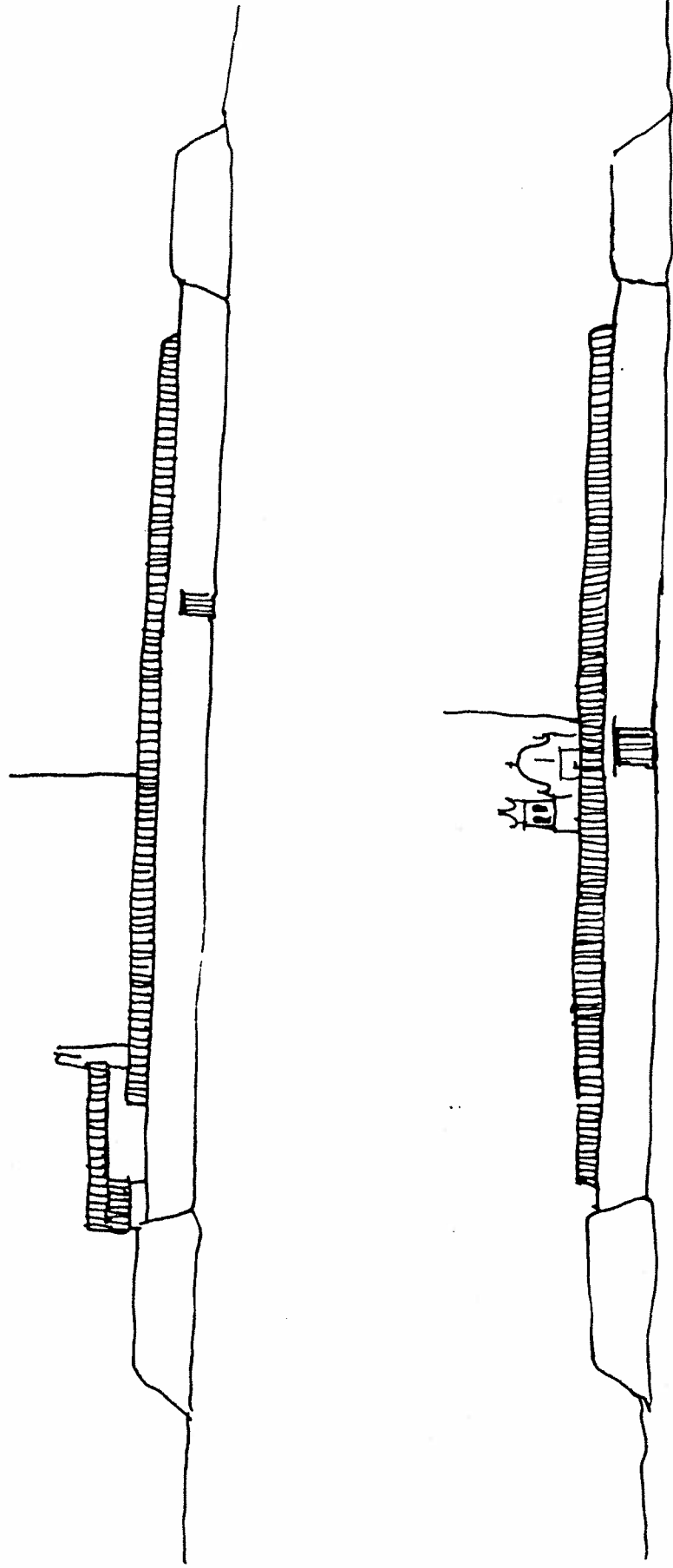


Figure 40. Conjectural profiles of the exterior of the presidio [from the east above, and from the north, below], circa 1800.

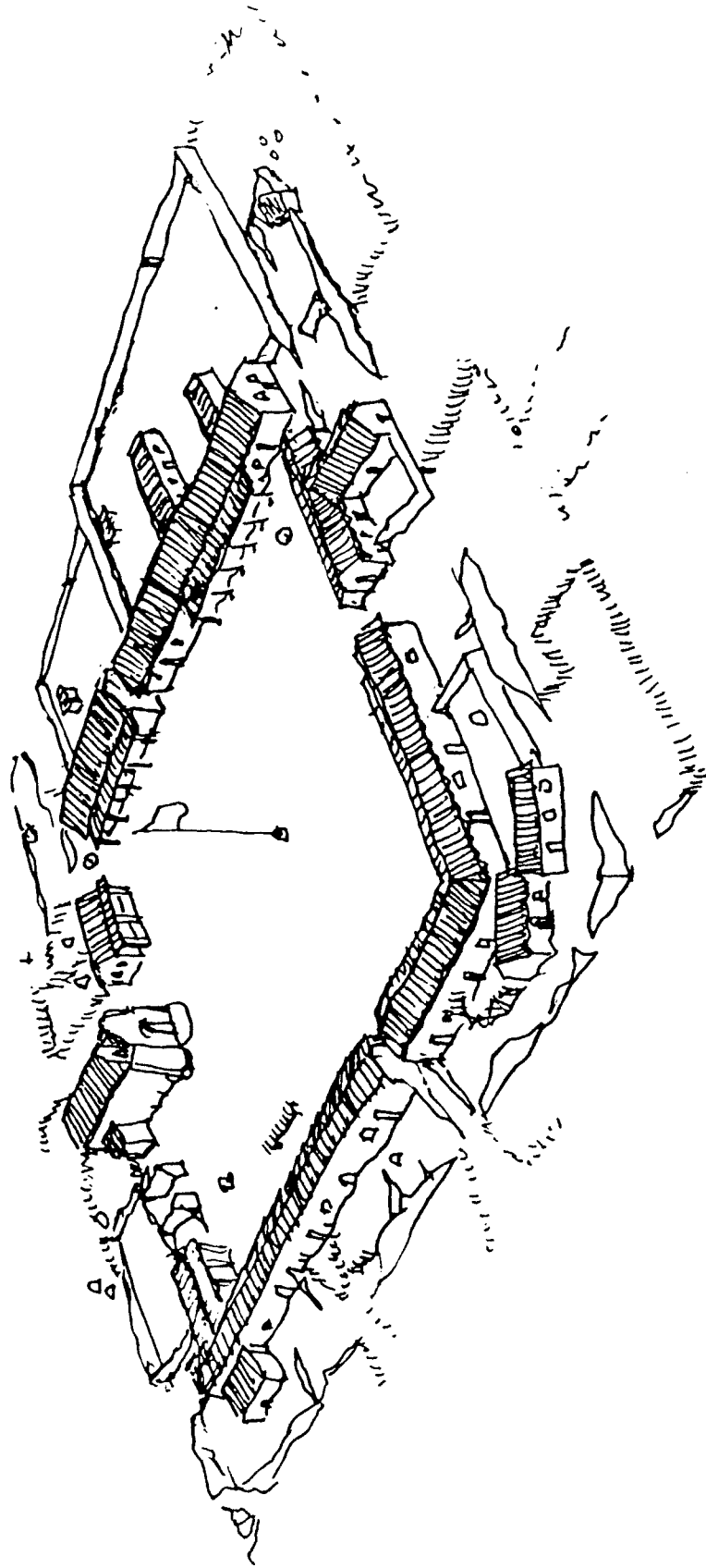


Figure 43. Conjectural view of the Presidio of Monterey - circa 1830

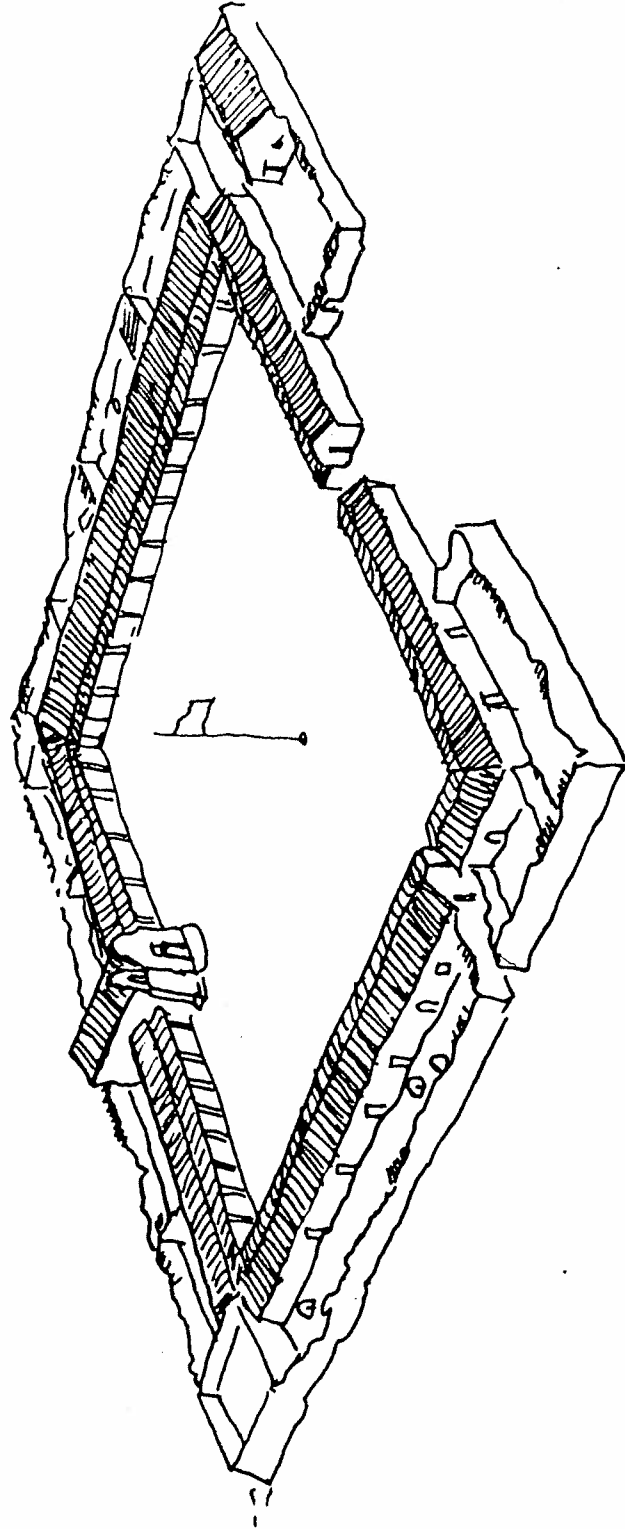


Figure 42. Conjectural view of the Presidio of Monterey - circa 1820
[based on the Vallejo plan (1820?)].