



# Pedro Cambón's Asian Objects

## *A Transpacific Approach to Eighteenth-Century California*

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On December 9, 1781, a Franciscan missionary named Pedro Benito Cambón (frontispiece) returned to the Californias after a two-year absence. His arrival in the harbor of San Diego was noted by Francisco Palóu, Cambón's "father companion" in the mission of San Francisco de Asís (fig. 1), who waited with keen anticipation for the Galician to complete the final leg of his voyage.<sup>1</sup> Palóu would have had good reasons to dwell on his colleague's return. There was the worrying matter of Cambón's ill health. Palóu remarked frequently on it in his writings, offering it as the reason his companion had left the mission with the "commander and maritime officers" who had hurriedly shipped down the Pacific coast to San Blas in October 1779 upon hearing that Spain was once again at war with Great Britain. Since the missions were short-handed, the temporary and perhaps permanent loss of any colleague was sure to present difficulties. Moreover, Cambón (1738–1792 or later) was not just any colleague but an especially versatile one who, over the course of his career, took an interest in the architecture and engineering of the missions and the logistics of furnishing them with images and objects as well as the tasks formally associated with his missionary vocation.<sup>2</sup>

Palóu's anticipation must also have been piqued by two other aspects of Cambón's

voyage: the fact that his companion had not merely left the Californias for San Blas but had ultimately traveled across the Pacific to the Philippine Islands (fig. 2) and back; and the arrival of a letter from Cambón saying that he had purchased "a great consignment of vestments, wax, and other special things for the church and sacristy of this mission." Coming from Cambón, this must have been a tantalizing prospect. For, as Palóu knew, his colleague was not the sort to "come with empty hands." Indeed, Cambón had demonstrated a capacity for procuring "special things." Even in 1771, when the missions' founding president, Junípero Serra, insisted on their aesthetic poverty, Cambón and his associate Ángel Somera had managed to give him paintings of Our Lady of Guadalupe and Our Lady of Mount Carmel from a supply "they had procured elsewhere."<sup>3</sup> And even earlier, the pair had been in possession of "a linen cloth with the Image of Our Lady of Sorrows," the display of which reputedly defused a potentially violent conflict with a group of armed Indians.<sup>4</sup> Palóu might have experienced anxiety along with his anticipation, however, when he read Cambón's qualification that, "as everything came under the register of San Blas, nothing could be unloaded, but he hoped the commissary of San Blas would send it on the first bark that came."

*Pedro Benito Cambón.* Mission San Gabriel Arcángel, San Gabriel, California. Photo, J. M. Mancini

As is evident from his long and vehement account of Cambón's earlier effort to transport "vestments and ornaments" and other items to the new California missions from some older missions—an episode during which Cambón and his shipment had been stranded below the Franciscan-Dominican border at Mission San Fernando Velicatá for nearly two years—Palóu knew that the logistics of such "consignments" could go terribly awry.<sup>5</sup>

Palóu need not have worried: the resourceful Cambón returned and was in fact preceded by his cargo. Moreover, as is clear from an inventory made during that brief detour to San Blas, Cambón shipped much more than the "vestments and wax" and "ordinary stuffs" in Palóu's account: twenty-two cases of finished objects from the Philippine Islands and China in wood, fiber, metal, ceramic, and other media were listed as well as materials that could be used in the creation of additional images, objects, and structures and a variety of items for consumption or medicinal use such as tea and other plant products.<sup>6</sup>

Of the finished objects Cambón sent across the Pacific, many were clearly for liturgical use, including new and used vestments made of silk and satin brocade and damask; consecrated and unconsecrated altar stones; "one wrought silver chalice, made in Canton in South China, with its paten and spoon"; carved, gilt, and painted tabernacles; decorated fiber mats for altar covers; painted and lacquered lecterns; candles and tapers; and gilt and painted processional candleholders. In a single instance of a figurative work, these objects also included another image of Our Lady of Sorrows (Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, after whom Mission San Francisco de Asís takes its unofficial name, Mission Dolores)—this time a statue. Other objects were designed for use by both Indians and Franciscans as they went about their daily work, such as "7 rattan hats, of the kind worn by the Reverend Fathers of the Philippines," "50 blue kerchiefs from China," and a hand mill—a labor-saving



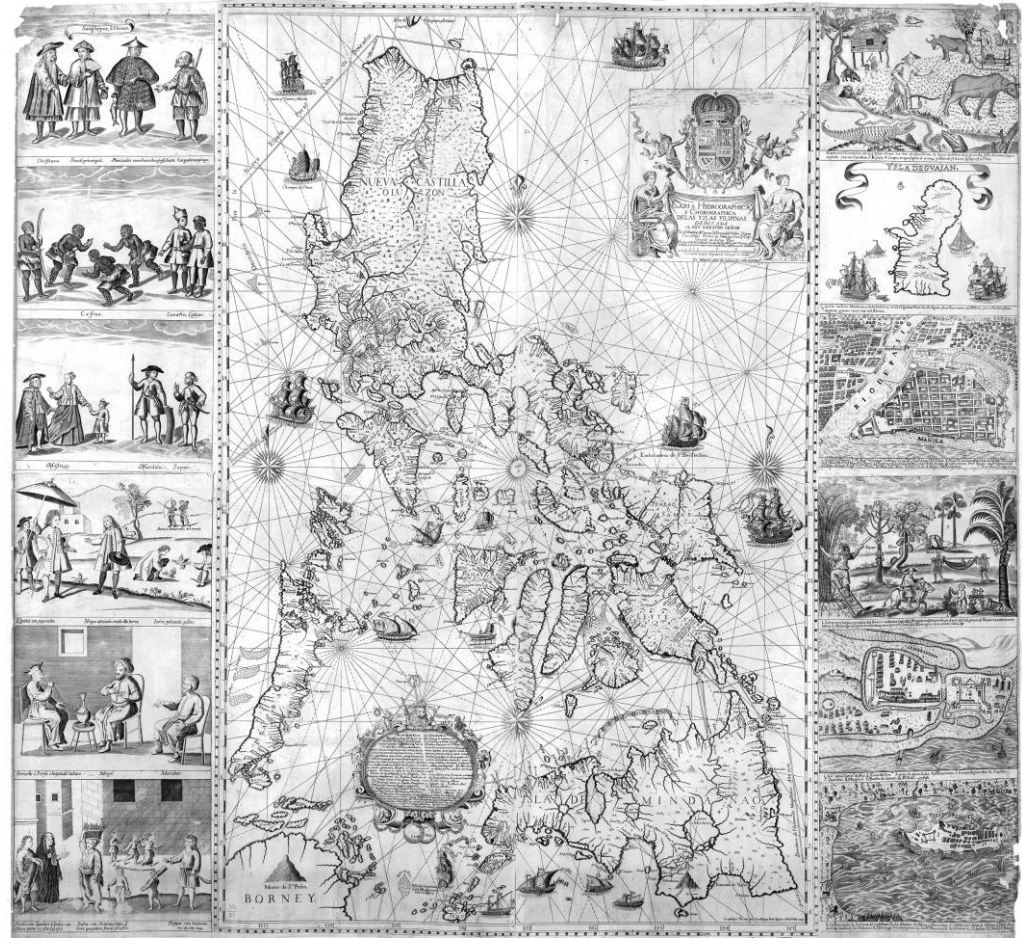
device that historians claim Franciscans deliberately avoided introducing into New California in order to keep Indian women in drudgery. Beyond these two categories, Cambón also shipped a quantity of objects that were purpose-made for neither liturgical use nor the daily work routine, including a parlor clock, 154 red and 82 blue cups for drinking chocolate, 14 large platters, 12 small plates, and 12 dozen "ordinary" plates.<sup>7</sup>

In addition to finished works, Cambón shipped paper and ink, unfinished textiles such as "150 rolls fine denim from Ylocos dyed blue," "leaves used for dy[e]ing material," a case of 350 shells "for church windows labelled for the Mission of our Father St. Francis," and paint in four colors: blue, red, yellow, and eight pounds of Paris green.<sup>8</sup>

As this suggests, it was Cambón's intention not only that Asian objects be introduced to complement an existing visual and material culture but also that Asian materials be built into new forms created through the interaction of Indians and Europeans in California.

Although time has dispersed Cambón's consignment, it is still possible to identify a number of objects that appear to correlate to the inventory in locations associated with him, including textiles in San Gabriel Arcángel and in San Buenaventura. In the mission to which Cambón had the longest

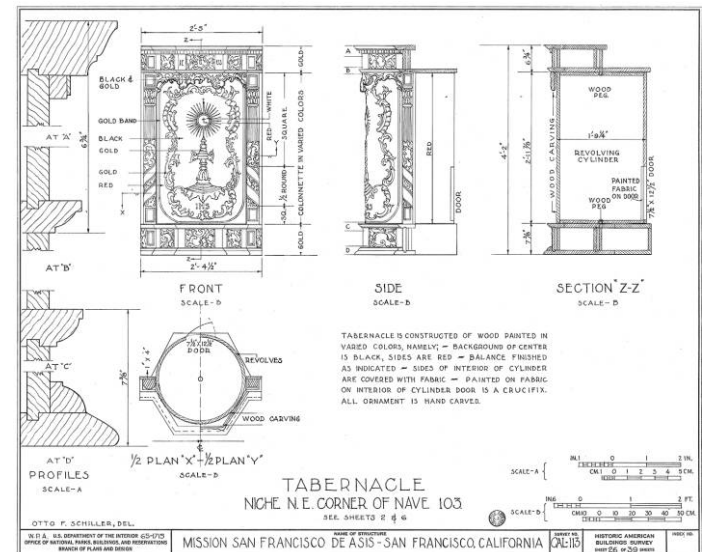
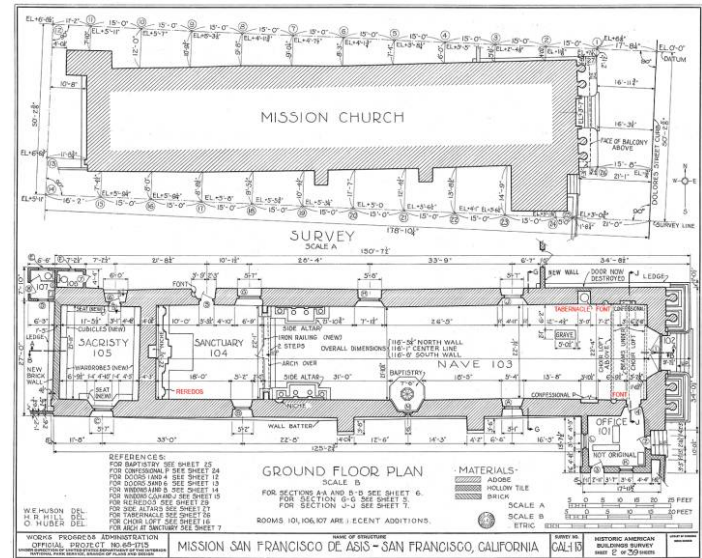
- 1 Sites on the eighteenth-century Pacific Coast of North America. Map by Brian F. Gurrin
- 2 Nicolas de la Cruz Bagay after Pedro Murillo Velarde, *Carta hydrographica y chorographica de las yslas Filipinas* (*Hydrographical and Chorographical Map of the Philippine Islands*), 1734 ©British Library Board (Maps K.Top.116.37)



attachment, Mission Dolores, the array of such objects is more diverse: for example, one of six “painted and gilt bouquet-like holders to serve as candlesticks” and an elaborate gilt and painted tabernacle (fig. 3) that employs the lush vegetal reliefs, decorative pilasters, and ornate framing devices typical of Philippine sacred art. Although now in the mission’s museum, at the time of the 1936 Historic American Buildings Survey this tabernacle was in the large niche in the north wall of the church (figs. 4, 5). It is also possible that a chalice, stolen from the mission in the 1970s, was the Chinese silver chalice obtained by Cambón. Mission Dolores still possesses two shallow, rimless porcelain plates decorated in underglaze blue. Now disused and usually covered by cloths, the plates are built into two irregularly shaped, round-arched niches in the north and south walls

of the mission, where they were installed for use as fonts for holy water (see fig. 4). The plate in the niche in the south wall (figs. 6, 7) is badly broken, and it is difficult to make out the decorative scheme, yet the edges of what appear to be two lotuses and two peonies can be discerned. The dish in the north font (fig. 8) is in better condition and also employs decorative motifs common to Chinese ceramics: two birds nestled among peonies and branches with spring blossoms. In both cases, the plates’ broad brushwork and guileless style suggest they are from the coastal province of Fujian, the home province of many Chinese emigrants and a common source of Chinese ceramics in the Spanish colonial Philippines.<sup>9</sup>

Remaining evidence of the artistic materials Cambón shipped is more elusive than that of the finished objects. Shells



- 3 Tabernacle. Philippine Islands, ca. 18th century. Carved wood with polychrome and gilt decoration. Mission San Francisco de Asis (Mission Dolores), San Francisco. Photo, J. M. Mancini
- 4 *Ground Floor Plan, Mission San Francisco de Asis—San Francisco, California.* Historic American Buildings Survey, CAL-113, sheet 2 of 39. Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
- 5 *Tabernacle. Niche N.E. Corner of Nave 103.* Historic American Buildings Survey, CAL-113, sheet 26 of 39. Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress

that he acquired for use in the windows of Mission Dolores, which were sent separately, seem never to have reached their destination. Tracing the whereabouts of cloth, ink, paper, or paint used in the eighteenth century presents obvious difficulties. Nonetheless, one intriguing possibility is raised by the presence of a mural in the sanctuary of Mission Dolores, painted before the installation of the monumental baroque reredos in 1796 (see fig. 4). Covering the entire west wall of the church, the mural includes two statuary niches that are similar in form to the niches for the holy water fonts that

hold the porcelain plates—one with a shell design, “richly ornamented with scroll motifs and flanked on either side with more scrolling decorative patterns,” and another that “is less decorative and painted in red.” It is assumed that the paints used to create the mural and other interior works were made with local materials—the Historic American Buildings Survey’s color key, for instance, described the red pigment as “Indian Red.” Pigment analysis has never been conducted on the mural, however, and so it is at least possible that the paints Cambón brought across the Pacific to California were also used in its creation.<sup>10</sup>

- 6 Niche for holy water font. South wall, Mission Dolores, San Francisco. Photo, J. M. Mancini
- 7 Holy water font (detail). South wall, Mission Dolores. Photo, J. M. Mancini
- 8 Holy water font. North wall, Mission Dolores. Photo, J. M. Mancini



## Defamiliarizing “Colonial America”

Francisco Palóu’s recording of Pedro Benito Cambón’s voyage, the creation of the inventory, and the survival of objects linked to him all confirm something that is not well recognized in mainstream scholarship on American art: the presence of Asian moveable art and potentially of Asian art materials in colonial California. Therefore, understanding this Asian presence presents a formidable challenge. Should Cambón be understood as an idiosyncratic adventurer, and his objects an accidental presence? Or were they part of larger patterns and processes that brought peoples and polities in colonial America into contact with Asia in a long-term, systemic way? Put differently, could eighteenth-century California be understood not as a place whose visual and material culture happened to have Asian elements but as part of an interactive transpacific world?

The aim of this essay is to reframe the story of Pedro Benito Cambón. A fuller understanding may be gained of his voyage and of the visual and material culture of eighteenth-century California by placing them within three contexts only infrequently applied to the study of colonial American art and history: the “Pacific world” that joined the Spanish Empire to Asia from the fifteenth century until the early nineteenth century; the Franciscan order as a transpacific, global polity; and the turbulent relational context created by rivalry between Spain, the Franciscan order, and other groups in the eighteenth century. It is hoped that this recontextualization will not only illuminate the life of a single person who influenced the visual and material culture of one American region but will also encourage broader

9 Arthur Putnam, *Fr. Junípero Serra*, early 20th century. Mission Dolores, San Francisco. Photo, J. M. Mancini



efforts to reconsider the geographic, temporal, and conceptual frames for the study of American art.

In order to begin such a recontextualization, it will be necessary to leave behind much that is familiar in the prevailing scholarly contexts that have informed the conceptualization of colonial visual and material culture. Generally speaking, historical interpretations of colonial America—and the historical narratives underpinning analyses of visual culture that follow from them—are heavily tilted toward the Anglo-Atlantic. Scholarship on New California also has taken little interest in exploring how Asia might figure in the analysis of the region. If most historical studies note Spain's engagement in the transpacific, they generally neglect a deeper consideration of this dimension in favor of other goals: “taking us into the missions and reimagining them from Indian angles of vision” and reflecting on the “unresolved moral question[s]” raised by European colonialism, often by raking over the already obsessively documented career of Serra (fig. 9) to determine if he was a “Pioneer,

Saint, [or] Villain.”<sup>11</sup> While this essay does not challenge the importance of such goals, an exclusive focus on “accommodations between invaders and indigenes” at the expense of additional contexts risks casting California as an object with only two dimensions instead of one with many sides.<sup>12</sup>

Specialists in the history of the architecture, art, and material culture of California also have focused on other questions. George Kubler's classically structuralist and functionalist effort to characterize the California and New Mexico missions as two distinct “modes of Franciscan architecture” in the borderlands, while groundbreaking for its time, excluded from consideration categories other than “Indian” and “European” and left little room for variation even within those categories. Moreover, neither Kubler's comparative approach nor his pursuit of lines of analysis leading back from the late eighteenth century into the longer duration have been widely emulated within recent scholarship on California culture. The aim of much recent work has been to provide new analyses not of the missions themselves but of the uses to which they have been put: missions as the source of invented U.S. architectural traditions or, more commonly, as the grounds for the creation of powerful myths.<sup>13</sup>

Scholars focused on the United States and its colonial antecedents have also faced difficulty in conceptualizing and contextualizing the Franciscan order in a way that would permit a meaningful interpretation of Cambón's actions. The art and art-world activities of the Catholic religious orders have seldom been recognized as pertinent to “American art.” Historians of New California have studied the religious orders more extensively. But even recent studies tend to see the Franciscans as an entity geographically limited to the California missions or, most extensively, to the locations in Spain and New Spain specifically associated with Serra (such as his birthplace, Mallorca), rather than as

a global polity whose representatives had ventured from Europe to East Asia as early as the thirteenth century. Historians describe “the padres” as passive, homogeneous, and interchangeable, not as individuals who possessed the full range of human motivations. And finally, historians of the Franciscans in California have tended to present them atemporally as an anachronistic “medieval” entity teleported directly to the “Enlightenment,” instead of the subjects and agents of the tumults of the early modern world.<sup>14</sup>

All of these limitations obscure a figure like Pedro Benito Cambón. During his time in California, he seems to have sought roles that differentiated him from those Franciscans whose sole aim was the conversion of Indians. One was that of chaplain to and fellow adventurer among seamen and soldiers, not only on the San Blas and Manila trips but also during an expedition to find the source of San Francisco Bay. Others included the constellation of aesthetic roles he pursued—roles that kept him away from missionary work for years at a time. Although Palóu strained to portray his friend as the hapless pawn of illness, “God[’s] great wisdom,” “his Excellency, the temporary viceroy, Don

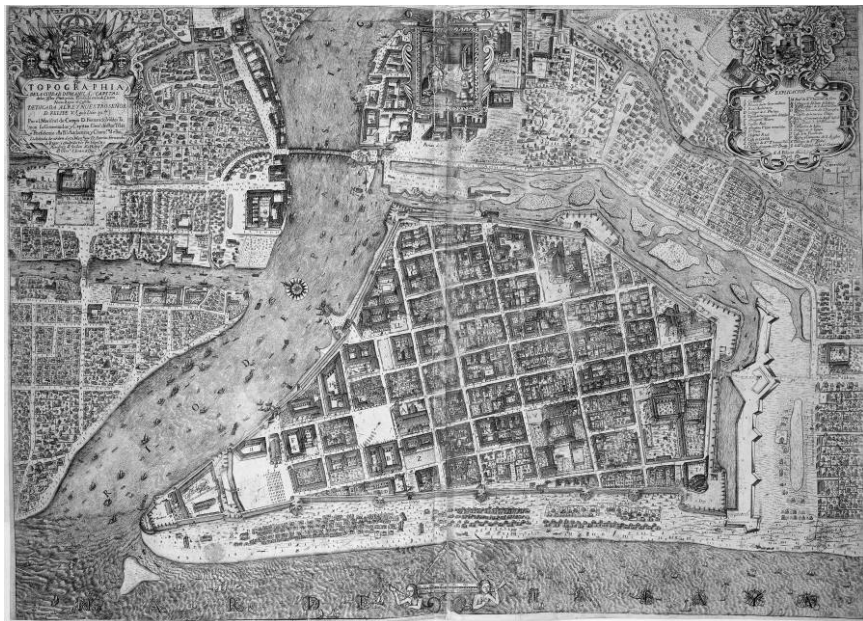
Martín de Mayorga,” and other superior forces, it is extraordinarily unlikely that obedience and passivity alone would have taken Cambón out of Spain, let alone across the Pacific.<sup>15</sup>

## The Pacific World

When Pedro Benito Cambón traversed the Pacific in 1779, it was neither as a saint nor a villain, nor even as a pioneer. In the last third of the eighteenth century, the forbidding frontier of New California was to Spaniards a new place whose geography, people, and things were only just becoming known. But the corridor between Acapulco and Manila was a familiar space that by the 1770s had been part of the Spanish Empire for more than two centuries. It connected Spain’s American possessions to its Asian-Pacific colonies in the Philippine and Mariana Islands; it linked the entire empire of Spain to China and the other states of Asia; and it formed the heart of a Pacific world that, while more loosely joined than the Atlantic, was nonetheless materially, institutionally, and processually interconnected and interactive. This Pacific world was the first context that shaped Cambón’s adventure.

A number of bodies of scholarship outside the study of colonial America provide insight into the contours of this world. The first is economic history, which has sought to untangle the many forms of transregional interaction in the early modern world and which has paid considerable attention to the Pacific as one venue for such interaction. Most notably, Dennis Flynn and Arturo Giráldez (who along with Andre Gunder Frank place Asia, not Europe, at the center of the global economy before 1750) have argued that Spain’s establishment of a Pacific route between Acapulco and the Philippines, and particularly the establishment of Manila (fig. 10) in 1571, was the founding moment of a global economy.<sup>16</sup>

- 10 Hipolito Ximenez after Antonio Fernandez de Roxas, *Topographia de la ciudad de Manila, capital de las yslas Philipinas* (*Topographical Map of the City of Manila, Capital of the Philippine Islands*), ca. 1739 © British Library Board (Maps K.Top.116.40)





The arguments supporting this view are complex and worth outlining in brief. In the sixteenth century China was the world's largest producer of goods—including moveable arts that Europeans desired but did not have the technology to produce (such as porcelain and lacquerware) or that Europeans could produce only to a limited extent (such as silk). Concurrently, Spain controlled the world's largest deposits of silver, in mines established at Potosí and later in New Spain. But there were other factors at play, relating specifically to Chinese policy and sensibility. One, which Kenneth Pomeranz has emphasized, was the massive remonetization effort still ongoing in China when the Pacific link was established, making silver the standard for the payment of taxes and the medium for many commercial transactions. Another was the Ming reluctance to engage in long-distance trade, requiring Europeans to establish footholds within the orbit of regional Chinese trade, for example, in Macao, Manila, and Batavia.<sup>17</sup>

Economic historians attribute profound, systemic results to this forging of a "Pacific link." Most obviously, it accelerated the trade by Europeans of American silver for Chinese goods, but it also set up other global market dynamics. For example, the massive new supplies of silver from the Americas, combined with Chinese demand, greatly affected global exchange rates, particularly between 1540 and 1640 and again between 1700 and 1750. A global market in currency arbitrage was thus born, in which Europeans and others could become rich simply by taking cheap silver to China and exchanging it for gold.<sup>18</sup> Among the systemic social transformations effected by the Pacific link were new migration patterns such as the large-scale Chinese migration to the Philippines—as Pomeranz emphasizes, the "city" of Chinese in Manila was "already larger in 1603 than New York or Philadelphia in 1770, and more than double the size of Boston in 1770."<sup>19</sup>

For their part, historians of Chinese culture and art understand the creation, distribution, and use of Chinese art objects as a global enterprise that encompassed the transpacific from the sixteenth century onward. The scholarship that begins with Asia, rather than the mainstream Anglo-Atlantic context, is different in several regards: first, in revealing just how late direct British contact with China was compared with that of other European empires, particularly Spain and Portugal; second, in underscoring the multidirectionality of Chinese exports across the Pacific and Indian Oceans as well as the Atlantic; and third, in emphasizing how even the arrival of Europeans as large-scale trading partners in East Asia in the sixteenth century was only one step in the development of an export-oriented Chinese moveable art market that preceded the early modern European empires by centuries. For example, scholarship on porcelain indicates that the port of Lisbon received between forty and sixty thousand pieces of Chinese porcelain in the 1530s alone. The first recorded shipment of porcelain from Manila to New Spain took place in 1573, and the single largest early modern collection of porcelain outside China was not in the Atlantic at all, but in the Ottoman Empire. The Anglo-Atlantic powers were virtually the last significant players to enter the late medieval and early modern market for Chinese ceramics: by the eighteenth century, when Britain and then the United States attained this status, Chinese ceramists had been making massive quantities of porcelain for export for four hundred years.<sup>20</sup>

The growing literature by scholars of the Spanish Empire, including scholars of both history and art and material culture, also argues convincingly for the existence of an integrated world linking Spain's Asian and New World colonies. These literatures illuminate the vectors of exchange created and maintained by the



11 Tureen with Cover, 1770–80. Made in China for Mexico. Hard-paste porcelain, enamel, gilt, 11  $\frac{1}{16}$  in. high; 11  $\frac{13}{16}$  in. diameter. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of the Winfield Foundation, The Helena Woolworth McCann Collection. Photo © The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource, New York

initiation of state-sponsored voyages between Acapulco and Manila, undertaken nearly every year until Mexican independence in 1821. Against the backdrop of economic historians' generally large-scale observations, historians of colonial New Spain such as Katharine Bjork, Louisa Schell Hoberman, and Carmen Yuste López demonstrate that silver from the New World paid for a vast diversity of goods from all over East, Southeast, and even South Asia, including aesthetic products such as Chinese, Philippine, and Indian textiles; Chinese, Vietnamese, and Thai ceramics; Philippine jewelry; and even gold-capped alligator teeth as well as forest, agricultural, and mineral products such as camphor, spices, tea, and precious stones. Beyond silver, a small number of New World products also went to Asia, such as the red dye cochineal.<sup>21</sup>

These literatures also shed light on another typical aspect of that exchange:

its tendency to exceed the strict official limits imposed by the Spanish state on both the outflow of silver and the importation of manufactured goods, often by substantial degrees. In some cases, such excesses were sanctioned by the crown itself, notably in permitting private trade arrangements mirroring the “Separate Adventures” that the East India Company later allowed on its China routes. But even sanctioned private trade did not satisfy the seemingly boundless craving for Asian objects in the Americas. Thus, residents there regularly flouted official limits—and even outright prohibitions on coastal trade, notably the 1631 ban on trade between the viceroyalties of Peru and New Spain enacted to stem the influx of Asian objects and the outflow of silver.<sup>22</sup> This culture of transpacific desire and smuggling persisted until the arrival in the 1760s of Visitor General José de Gálvez, who found that even though it was “absolutely prohibited,” whole fleets of boats came to Acapulco from as far away as Peru and Guatemala to obtain as many contraband “efectos de China” as they could carry. Fulminating against “the common and frequent carrying of hidden goods of much value, in boxes covered with blankets . . . in large jars; in crates with seeds, vegetables, and dried fruits . . . in the chests of soldiers or sailors, and in the trunks, pouches, and other quarters of the passengers, officials and merchants,” Gálvez initiated extreme measures to put a stop to the illegal trade.<sup>23</sup>

Objects did not just move across the Pacific; they became part of the fabric of life in New Spain. Gálvez may have clamped down on the smuggling of Asian objects, but, like other elite peninsulars in the New World, including his brother Matías de Gálvez, who became viceroy in 1783, he nonetheless commemorated his acquisition of a new title, *marqués de la Sonora*, by commissioning armorial porcelain (fig. 11). The

creole elite, which controlled the Pacific trade, also embraced Asian objects, furnishing their great houses with Chinese gilt and lacquered screens; walnut beds and writing sets; ivory-inlaid writing desks; lacquer tables, lecterns, and dressing tables; mahogany and cedar boxes and tabernacles; porcelain plates, cups, jars, serving dishes, candlesticks, and bowls; silk bedspreads, pillows, and hangings; hand-painted wallpaper; board games and toys; Philippine ivories; and Japanese painted, inlaid, and gilt lacquer screens as well as boxes inlaid with mother-of-pearl and ebony and ivory side tables.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, creoles patronized local artists who produced new, hybrid, Asian-influenced forms. One important example, *biombos*, derived from the richly decorated folding lacquered screens known in Japanese as “wind walls” or *byōbu*, which featured in both commercial and diplomatic exchanges.<sup>25</sup>

### Religious Orders as Transpacific Polities

When Pedro Benito Cambón crossed the Pacific, it was not only as a Spanish subject born into the world’s only transpacific empire, an empire integrated by institutions and dynamic processes of exchange and integration in which Asian elements were a part of the visual and

material culture. He was also a consenting member of another global polity: the Franciscan order, whose historical roots in East Asia actually preceded those of Spain. Contrary to their representation by Americanists, medieval Franciscans and the world they inhabited were anything but insular and unchanging. In the middle of the thirteenth century, one of the first Europeans to traverse the Eurasian landmass was a contemporary and disciple of Francis of Assisi, Giovanni di Pian di Carpine (1180–1252), who voyaged to Karakorum, in Mongolia, as Pope Innocent IV’s representative to the Great Khan, in reciprocity to delegations sent by the Mongol Empire. Other diplomatic exchanges followed, and along the way, Franciscans and their counterparts participated in an unprecedented process of material, cultural, political, and economic exchange and integration that joined nearly all areas of the Old World.<sup>26</sup>

The Black Death and the collapse of the *Pax Mongolica* brought the thirteenth-century “world system” to an end, including the Franciscan link to East Asia. Reviving this tie in the early modern period presented political as well as practical challenges. The founding of the Society of Jesus in 1540 gave the mendicant orders a new rival on the world stage, and the development of new arrangements between the Holy See and the European empires interposed those empires into relationships that had previously been conducted directly between the religious orders and Asian states. Nonetheless, in this new environment, Spain’s establishment of a transpacific link facilitated a Franciscan return to the region. Along with the Augustinians and a number of other religious orders, they arrived in the Philippine Islands shortly after the founding of Manila, in 1577, and built a substantial complex (fig. 12) in the walled city. From Manila, the Franciscans worked to extend their influence to other parts of



12 Detail showing church and convent of San Francisco and chapel of the Third Order of San Francisco, Manila. Hipolito Ximenez after Antonio Fernandez de Roxas, *Topographia de la ciudad de Manila, capital de las yslas Philipinas*, ca. 1739 © British Library Board (Maps K.Top.116.40)



13 Charger with Symbol of the Order of St. Augustine, ca. 1590–1620. Chinese. Porcelain, 3 15/16 in. high; 20 1/8 in. diameter. Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts, Museum purchase with funds donated anonymously and in memory of Joseph D. Hinkle

Asia, including Japan (1592) and China, where they were finally able to return in 1633.<sup>27</sup>

Even though the many Franciscans who crossed the Pacific in the early modern world did so as religious actors, this did not prevent them from participating in virtually all of the other political, economic, material, and human processes that intersected with the making of a Pacific world, and from having complex motivations for so doing. Consider, for example, the career of the Franciscan Alonso Muñoz, a Galician who went to Japan from the Philippines. In 1609 he took on the role of ambassador—not of Spain, but to Spain, as the emissary of the shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu. In this capacity, Muñoz voyaged to meet “the Marqués de Salina, Spanish Viceroy in New Spain” and “the monarch, Philip III,” with the purpose of securing a

new treaty on trade and shipbuilding. But during the voyage Muñoz also conducted economic negotiations on behalf of the Franciscans, working to obtain a pact with the *consulado*, or merchants’ association of New Spain, for the Franciscan missions of Japan. Such interactions meant that large quantities of the objects and materials that left Asia in European hands were destined for religious environments, including, on some occasions, objects with the symbols of mendicant orders (fig. 13).<sup>28</sup>

### Contexts in Change, Contexts in Relation

Whereas the Pacific world and the global Franciscan order provided long-term contexts for a voyager and mover of objects like Pedro Cambón, his entry into the transpacific was also sparked by transformations in a third context: the mutable sphere of interpolity rivalry. In this turbulent arena, single strokes such as the decision of an empire to go to war could cause shock waves throughout that empire and the polities that interacted with it—as had happened during the Seven Years’ War, when Carlos III, reviving the Family Compact with the Bourbons of France, joined the war against England in 1762. This decision had brought disaster to Spain and to the Catholic Church and orders. The British seized Havana and Manila, exacting a large cash “gift” from the bishop of Havana, D. Pedro Agustín Morell de Santa Cruz, and transporting him by force to Florida in a British warship when he refused to divulge the names of clergy and religious and an account of their goods. In Manila, circumstances were even worse, as regular and East India Company forces destroyed, occupied, and looted churches, chapels, and properties belonging to the religious orders, including one of the oldest churches established by the Franciscans in the Philippines, the sixteenth-century church of San

Fernando de Dilao, which was burned and not rebuilt for decades.<sup>29</sup>

This escalation of interimperial war into global war initiated a period of transformation in Spanish policy, during which Bourbon officials aggressively worked to counter not only Britain but also Spain's other rivals in the global borderlands, such as the Apaches and the newly transpacific Russian Empire. José de Gálvez was perhaps the single most important figure in this process. He oversaw the implementation of administrative reforms in the coastal cities of Acapulco and Veracruz and the establishment of the base at San Blas (paralleled by administrative and military reforms in Havana, New Orleans, and Manila) and developed plans for defending the continental borderlands. Indeed, Gálvez's obsessive pursuit of Spanish geopolitical primacy brought him to the edge of madness: during an expedition to Sonora, a vision of Saint Francis appeared to Gálvez, promising that he would end Apache belligerence "by bringing six hundred apes from Guatemala, which he would put into uniforms and send against the fastnesses of the Cerro Prieto." Yet even temporary insanity did not stop Gálvez from carrying through another project for which he had campaigned vigorously: the establishment of new Franciscan missions in California beginning in 1769. After Gálvez returned to Spain, he participated in the culminating event of this epoch of Spanish geopolitical consolidation: the American Revolution, which Spain joined against Britain as an ally of France. Gálvez supported not only a network of spies but also his nephew Bernardo de Gálvez, governor of Louisiana, whose decisive actions affected the course of the conflict between Britain and the insurgency, and gained Spain control of the entire Gulf of Mexico for the first time.<sup>30</sup>

Without a doubt, the intensification of interpolity rivalry from the Seven Years' War onward directly shaped Cambón's career. Without that global conflict and

Spain's aggressive policies in the ensuing decades, many of the contexts for his actions likely would not have existed. The New California missions probably would not have been established; the naval port at San Blas might not have been built; and Spain might well not have joined the American Revolution and thus not sent ships across the Pacific to protect Manila during that conflict. Historians would have had less textual evidence for Cambón's voyage even if he had gone, for without Gálvez's intensified scrutiny of transpacific shipping, the inventory probably would not have been made.

Complex as they are, however, these relations were not the only ones to have a direct bearing on Cambón's world. Also of direct relevance were shifts in an additional relational context: that of the convoluted relations between the individual religious orders and other polities, including other religious orders. This context is not always rendered legible by prevailing literatures, which in addition to casting individual Franciscans as homogenous and interchangeable sometimes imply a sameness and mutuality among the religious orders as corporate entities.

Recognizing the complexity of these relations can help us better understand the situation faced by Franciscans on both sides of the Pacific in Cambón's time, beginning with the Americas. Here, as is well known, a seismic shift took place in the same decade as Spain's bruising encounter with Britain, when in February 1767 Carlos III issued an order expelling the Jesuit order from the entire Spanish Empire. Historians of New California have tended to see this event as a harbinger of Franciscan demise—one among many reasons for the order to dwell on the "epic struggle" over "state power" and its "failure to win it."<sup>31</sup> Throughout the Americas, however, Franciscans were not the victims of the Jesuit expulsion but, rather, its major beneficiaries. This was particularly so in New Spain, where in all cases in the viceroyalty where Jesuit



## Transpacific Angles of Vision

This account began with the proposition that the story of Pedro Benito Cambón may only be understood by contextualizing it within three milieux that are infrequently applied to the art and history of “colonial America”: the Pacific world anchored by the Spanish Empire; the Franciscan order as a global, transpacific polity; and the volatile world of eighteenth-century interpolity relations, which created and foreclosed opportunities for Spaniards and Franciscans on both sides of the Pacific. At the very least, my purpose in presenting these contexts was to help explain how a missionary to

Indians in eighteenth-century California managed to cross the Pacific and return with twenty-two cases of Asian objects, materials, and products. Cambón went because he could: both long-term practice and immediate circumstances set the stage for such a voyage. Indeed, Cambón, from the recontextualized perspective of the transpacific, was nearly as “ordinary” as his twelve dozen porcelain plates.

But “taking us into the missions and re-imagining them from” transpacific “angles of vision” ought to include an exploration of more interpretative questions raised by Cambón’s acquisition, transport, and use of Asian objects and materials. What were the meanings of his actions? Here recontextualization also provides a possible framework. Once again, the contexts and analysis most frequently applied by scholars—the Franciscan experience in California as exemplified by Serra; the Franciscan-Indigenous relationship in California; and/or “medieval” Catholic doctrine as expressed and reiterated through iconography—only provide partial insight. For example, the floral decoration on the lavishly painted red silk vestments associated with Cambón in Mission San Gabriel (fig. 15) or the lotuses and peonies on the font plates, following existing interpretations, could be said loosely to evoke the image Cambón had earlier successfully given to Serra of Our Lady of Guadalupe, which was “decorated profusely with flowers”; their bright colors could be said to have been desirable to Franciscans for their ability to “catch the Indians’ eyes.”<sup>36</sup> Yet, if these objects’ obvious material association with Asia is treated as more than incidental, then additional interpretations derived from the other contexts that shaped Cambón’s world may be offered, such as the threatened Pacific link itself. As Cambón embarked on the *Princesa* for Manila, he must have reflected gravely on what would happen to the Franciscans in the Philippines if the British returned and took the city for good. After he arrived in Manila, he would have seen with his own

15 Vestments, Mission San Gabriel. San Gabriel, California. Photo, J. M. Mancini



- 16 *Saint Francis and the Pheasant*, 1263. From Bonaventura de Bagnoregio, *Legenda Major*, sec. 1457, miniatura nr. 108. Museo Franciscano dei Cappucini, Rome, Inv. 1266
- 17 Anonymous, *Junípero Serra*, 1787. From Francisco Palóu, *Relacion historica de la vida y apostolicas tareas del venerable padre fray Junípero Serra* (Mexico: Don Felipe de Zúñiga y Ontiveros, 1787). Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library. Photo, Princeton University Library

eyes the destruction the previous war had wrought and heard firsthand accounts of how the religious had resisted British rule. With this in mind, might Cambón's outfitting of the California missions with Philippine and Chinese objects and materials have been designed to embody—materially and aesthetically—the vital transpacific link that had been broken during the Seven Years' War but to whose protection during the War of Independence he himself had successfully contributed?<sup>37</sup>

If the application of new contexts allows for current interpretations to be expanded, it also allows them to be challenged in some cases—as with the common assumption that Franciscans in California resisted syncretism. Steven Hackel, for example, makes this argument, emphasizing that “the padres saw [as] superstition” the Indian worship of birds and use of feathers in the material culture of religion. Yet the central image of one of the Mission Dolores font plates is of a bird, possibly a pheasant, nestled among flora; the San Gabriel vestments are painted with large feather-flowers; and the hidden Mission Dolores mural has a large avian figure, described by Ben Wood as “obviously a rooster, with intricately painted feathers and a heart in the center.” If Cambón sought confluences between Indian and Franciscan iconography, avian motifs would have been an obvious choice. Not only is the rooster a Resurrection symbol, but birds also referred to Franciscan images such as *Saint Francis and the Pheasant* in Bonaventura da Bagnoregio's official life history of the saint, the *Legenda Major* (fig. 16), and *Preaching to the Birds* in the Saint Francis cycle in the Upper Church in Assisi. Such an effort toward material and symbolic hybridity across the lines of culture and orthodoxy, while perhaps atypical in eighteenth-century California, would have linked Cambón to Franciscan practice in other places and epochs, ranging from the first generation of Franciscans in New Spain, to Franciscans in seventeenth-century Bethlehem, to Franciscans in



Bohemia in the tumultuous century before the Reformation.<sup>38</sup>

Similarly, it is often suggested that there was a unitary iconographic program in California, supposedly derived from “medieval” practice and theology. And yet the aesthetic, material, and iconographic preferences Cambón exercised appear to have set him apart from his associates, for example, the maker of the portrait of Serra in Palóu's life history (fig. 17). This widely circulating image casts Serra brandishing a crucifix, towering above a crowd of onlookers. Some of these observers cower before him, including an Indian with a crown of feathers who averts his eyes,



perhaps from the fear of crosses that some scholars attribute to Indians. In contrast, the inventory of Cambón's vast shipment did not include a single crucifix and only one painted and gilt cross. Moreover, Cambón's objects differed from their medieval counterparts in specific ways: unlike his vestments, medieval chasubles often featured figural images, including narrative sequences depicting scenes from the lives of the saints such as Francis receiving the stigmata.<sup>39</sup>

Here, perhaps, another context shaped Cambón's privileging of avian, floral, and Marian imagery over the crucifix, the tools of penitence, or stigmatization: the broken Franciscan link to China (which followed a traumatic rupture with Japan in the early seventeenth century that had resulted in the expulsion of all of the religious orders). As noted, a major precipitant to this heavy loss for the Franciscans was intolerance toward the Jesuits' strategy of cultural accommodation. This dispute over accommodation turned on questions not only

of ritual but also of visual representation. Jesuits were accused of suppressing the crucifix and thus of converting Chinese to something quite other than Christianity. Such an accusation, in turn, had roots in the images and objects the Jesuits circulated in China. As Craig Clunas argues, Crucifixion prints had been one of the barriers to effecting conversion that Jesuits had encountered in the late Ming. These turned away potential converts whose aesthetic sensibilities made them unwilling to accept violence and pain in religious images, and whose more general distaste for didactic images made them skeptical of narrative, picture-and-text art. In response, Jesuits "stress[ed] the image of the Virgin and Child, to the extent that well-informed seventeenth-century Chinese writers 'knew' that the Westerners' God was a woman shown holding a baby." This strategy allowed Jesuits not only to skirt Chinese aversions but also to appeal to the existing material culture of religion. Images of the Virgin Mary had both an aesthetic



and a religious parallel in China in figures of the bodhisattva Guanyin, in whose guise as a female “giver of sons” Chinese makers modeled ivory figures in direct interplay with Christian figures of Mary.<sup>40</sup>

Understanding this context as potentially relevant to Cambón’s actions allows us to ask additional questions about them. Was his choice of open-ended, hybrid iconography and of objects in Chinese materials (whose original function, in some cases, was not even liturgical) a response to the calamitous loss of China—a loss that had been triggered by mendicant inflexibility toward cultural accommodation and jealousy toward the Jesuits? Cambón could not go to China. But he could bring China to California, in the form of beautiful objects in Chinese materials. From their place in the visual and material heart of his mission, these objects could also serve as bridges to Indians. With the Jesuits gone, perhaps Cambón understood his era as another kind of new beginning that might recover something from the Franciscan past: not the imagined purity Serra ascribed to converting a “first generation” of Indians, but Franciscan habits of aesthetic and cultural accommodation that had been lost in the scuffle of interpolity rivalry.<sup>41</sup>

## Reimagining Mission Dolores

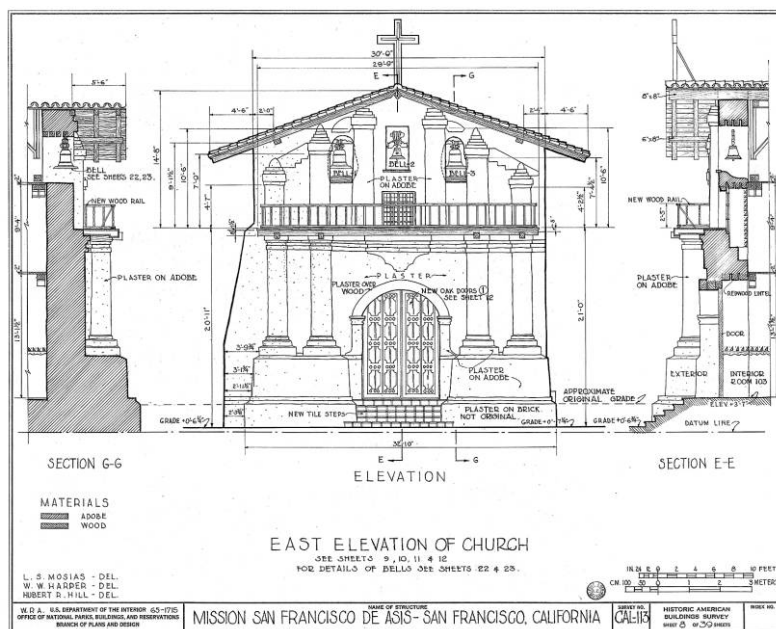
In 1785 Francisco Palóu left the Californias for good. Cambón remained at Mission Dolores (fig. 18), on whose design he and Palóu had worked for many years and through several iterations. In 1787 a furious storm destroyed the temporary church next to the foundations of the permanent structure the two had designed. Cambón had been Palóu’s subordinate: now alone, he redesigned the church, and construction began in 1788. He introduced paired columns on bulky pediments and widened the building’s foundations by  $2\frac{2}{3}$  *varas* (about 2 meters). It is not known to what extent the rest of the design deviated from what he and Palóu had devised, but as Maynard Geiger writes, “The façade . . . is Cambón’s contribution to the mission.”<sup>42</sup>

The structure designed by Cambón, built by Ohlone Indians, and dedicated in 1791 is, after the Presidio, the oldest building in San Francisco. It is rectangular in plan, with a pitched roof. Its facade, which is roughly equal in height and width, has two tiers, the lower with the paired columns mentioned above on either side of a round-arched central door, and the upper with six stepped columns supporting pyramidal finials. Pierced into the upper tier of the facade are three openings, one rectangular and two topped with round arches, which are the niches for the mission’s bells (fig. 19). Unlike so many of the missions, this building has remained substantially intact. Despite the period of neglect following Mexican independence and secularization, despite the 1906 earthquake, and despite a 1916 renovation by Willis Polk in which it was retrofitted with steel and some of its decorations restored, Mission Dolores retains its original foundation, walls, and facade as well as its rawhide-tied timber roof.<sup>43</sup>

In *Lugar: Essays on Philippine Heritage and Architecture*, Augusto Villalón writes that most churches built in the Spanish colonial Philippines were designed not by architects working from plans but by

18 Mission San Francisco de Asís (Mission Dolores), San Francisco. Photo, J. M. Mancini

19 *East Elevation of Church, Mission San Francisco de Asís—San Francisco, California*. Historic American Buildings Survey, CAL-113, sheet 8 of 39. Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.





20 Obradoiro facade, cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, Galicia, Spain. Photo, J. M. Mancini

members of the religious orders working from memory. This also describes the design of Mission Dolores. Pedro Benito Cambón was not a trained architect, and his design necessarily emerged from memory and on-the-spot experimentation. Like his efforts to develop a nexus of images, objects, and materials, this process entailed the making of choices within a framework of possibilities and limitations. But in this case, those limitations were also physical: as Cambón knew, structures in California would have to withstand violent winds

and terrifying earthquakes, such as tremors that were recorded in July 1769.<sup>44</sup>

But which memories did Cambón use? In the course of his life and travels, he had the opportunity to observe many different options. Was his design, following Kubler's characterization of Franciscan architecture in California, "essentially European"? Or does Cambón's Mission Dolores also embody the interactive, interlinked culture of the transpacific world? A better sense of the possibilities open to Cambón may be gauged by looking at the Philippine architectural context in comparison with other architectural contexts he knew. Several elements are typical of early modern Philippine church architecture, including Franciscan churches. One is single-nave, rectangular construction. Another is the use of pitched roofs, often in conjunction with pentagonal facades, frequently divided into tiers that were themselves adorned with columns or pilasters, frequently paired. Another is the tendency to avoid belfries in the form of steeples built above the roofline: as Villalón notes, many early modern churches had detached bell towers. Others had bell niches pierced into rectangular or hexagonal pseudobelfries of the same height as, and essentially integrated into, the front elevation. Finally, most early modern churches in the Philippines exhibit a distinctly horizontal orientation. Along with the treatment of bell placement, this characteristic may be specifically understood as a response to building in a seismically active zone. Taken to a monumental extreme, the style of church architecture in this vein has been described as "earthquake baroque."<sup>45</sup>

The greater heterogeneity of church architecture in early modern New Spain makes it more difficult to describe a single "typical" approach. Nonetheless, several differences may be noted. In contrast to the Philippines, the use of cruciform plans and/or multiple nave bays was common in New Spain. So too was vaulting. Moreover, despite the prevalence of

earthquakes in New Spain (which gave rise to modifications toward horizontality in some places, notably Oaxaca), in many parts of the viceroyalty architects were much less reluctant than their Philippine counterparts to construct churches with soaring bell towers and an extreme vertical orientation. One specific example is the Sanctuary of Our Lady of Ocotlán near Tlaxcala, a site Cambón may have seen owing to its importance to Franciscans and proximity to Mexico City. The most common forms for bell placement in New Spain were towers or parapets with niches known as *espadañas*—even though, as architectural historian Stephen Tobriner argues, both tower belfries and parapets present a significantly higher risk

of collapse during earthquakes than the buildings to which they are attached.<sup>46</sup>

A final architectural context Cambón knew that ought to be compared with Philippine architecture is the Spanish city where he became a Franciscan, Santiago de Compostela. This city in Cambón's home region of Galicia is and was a pilgrimage site of significance to all European Catholics (and, before the Reformation, to all Latin Christians). It is associated with Francis of Assisi, who is known to have embarked on a pilgrimage toward it in 1214: local tradition holds that Saint Francis "was the founder of the convento that carries his name." Moreover, the period of Cambón's youth was an especially dynamic one in the history of the city's sacred architecture, during which it underwent a substantial, durable transformation. In the year of his birth, 1738, work began on Fernando Casas y Novoa's new facade to the city's cathedral, the Obradoiro (fig. 20). Erected between two seventeenth-century bell towers that exceed two hundred feet in height, this "remarkably exuberant" addition is notable for its "accentuated verticality." The Franciscans joined this mid-eighteenth-century building boom, beginning work on a new church on the site of the thirteenth-century convent of San Francisco in 1742 (fig. 21). Although much more austere than the Obradoiro facade, the church's neoclassical design echoed the changes to the cathedral in its new vertical orientation.<sup>47</sup>

In various respects, then, Pedro Cambón's design for Mission Dolores overlapped with typical elements of Philippine church architecture and apparently with Franciscan buildings Cambón definitely saw in the Philippines, in the walled city of Manila. Evidence of this complex is scarce: it was completely destroyed during World War II, and most of the extant images depict a building that had been altered since the eighteenth century. Nonetheless, the 1739 topographical map of Manila reproduced here in figs. 10 and 12 suggests that

21 Church of the convent of San Francisco, Santiago de Compostela, Spain. Photo, J. M. Mancini



in the eighteenth century the Franciscan church had a rectangular plan, a pitched roof with no dome, a pentagonal facade with horizontal tiers, a round-arched door, and integrated facade columns. Mission Dolores deviates, however, from church architecture in the other contexts Cambón knew. With this in mind, is it possible to imagine Mission Dolores as the product of a deliberately transpacific consciousness? To make this argument is not to argue that Mission Dolores was “not European,” “not New Spanish,” or “not Indian.” As Villalón emphasizes, Philippine church architecture was itself a fusion of European and Asian elements: thus, to bring to California a Philippine model necessarily meant adapting an approach that was already hybrid. Cambón’s pyramidal finials, which are used in Galicia and which also feature in Manila architecture, might have embodied such a return.

To argue that Cambón designed from a transpacific consciousness is not merely

to argue that he copied forms he remembered seeing in the Philippines—whether European, Asian, or a combination. Rather, it is to argue that he participated in the creation and transmission of a transpacific architecture whose practitioners shared membership in common institutions and culture; a toleration and even enthusiasm for hybridity; and the desire to respond actively to the problems posed by building in the earthquake-prone Pacific rim. Thus, I would suggest that the most unusual feature of Cambón’s facade—Mission Dolores’s integrated bell niches, which directly emulated neither the New Spanish *espadaña* nor the Philippine pierced pseudobelfry—might be considered not the straightforward appropriation of a form specific to either side of the Pacific but a transpacific form created of transpacific practice. As such, it is a fitting emblem of the complex, interactive transpacific world to which Pedro Benito Cambón’s California belonged.

## Notes

Versions of this paper were presented at the British Group in Early American History, Cambridge University, 2005; College Art Association, Boston; American History Research Seminar, Oxford University; and Religion and Ritual Theme Seminar, Getty Research Institute, 2006; and the Philippine Academic Consortium for Latin American Studies, Manila, 2008. I would like to thank the Getty Research Institute, the School of Social Science of the Institute for Advanced Study, Guire Cleary, and Aaron Olivas.

1 At the time of Cambón’s voyage, the present-day U.S. state of California and the present-day Mexican states of Baja California and Baja California Sur were claimed by Spain. Mainland and peninsular California were administered together as “the Californias” within a larger jurisdiction, the Provincias Internas, but were informally known as “Old California” (the Baja peninsula) and “New California” (the present U.S. state, plus further territory inland).

Scholars frequently call New California “Alta California,” but that designation (along with “Baja California”) did not come into official use until a later period. A border between the two regions did exist, however, from 1773, when Palóu marked the dividing line between the Franciscan settlements of New California and older missions to the south, which had been turned over to the Dominicans.

2 On Cambón, see Francisco Palóu, *Historical Memoirs of New California*, trans. Herbert Eugene Bolton, 4 vols. (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1926); Cambón’s departure and arrival are in 4:186–87, 197. See also Junípero Serra, *Writings*, ed. Antonine Tibesar, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955–66); Guire Cleary, “Pedro Benito Cambón,” in *Encyclopedia of San Francisco*, at [www.sfhistoryencyclopedia.com/articles/c/cambonPedro.html](http://www.sfhistoryencyclopedia.com/articles/c/cambonPedro.html); Maynard Geiger,

*Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California, 1769–1848: A Biographical Dictionary* (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1969), 38–40; and Frank J. Portman, “Pedro Benito Cambón, OFM: Mission Builder Par Excellence,” *Argonaut* 5, no. 2 (Fall 1994): 8–15.

3 For “great consignment” and “empty hands,” see Palóu, *Historical Memoirs*, 4:198, 189. “Procured elsewhere”: Junípero Serra to Rafael Verger, quoted in Kurt Baer, “Spanish Colonial Art in the California Missions,” *Americas* 18, no. 1 (July 1961): 40–41.

4 For “linen cloth,” see Francisco Palóu, *Relación histórica de la vida del Venerable Padre Fray Junípero Serra* (Mexico City, 1787), 130: “Overcome with the sight of such a Beautiful Simulacrum, . . . [they] flung their bows and arrows to the ground, running hastily . . . to put at the feet of the Sovereign Queen the

- valuables they carried at their necks, as gifts of their highest appreciation; manifesting with this action the peace that they wanted with us.”
- 5 For “register of San Blas,” see Palóu, *Historical Memoirs*, 4:198. The complex political situation that delayed Cambón’s departure is discussed in *ibid.*, 1:296–98, 300–301, 3:319, 370–72.
  - 6 John Galvin translated the inventory in “Supplies from Manila for the California Missions, 1781–1783,” *Philippine Studies* 12, no. 3 (1964): 494–510. Administrative documents related to the shipment are in the Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City, but the inventory itself appears to be missing.
  - 7 Galvin, “Supplies from Manila.” On hand mills, see James A. Sandos, *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2004), 101.
  - 8 Galvin, “Supplies from Manila.”
  - 9 *Ibid.* On Fujian ware in the Philippines, see the display in the Ayala Museum, Makati City, Metropolitan Manila; and Rita C. Tan, *Zhangzhou Ware Found in the Philippines: “Sawatow” Export Ceramics from Fujian, 16th–17th Century* ([Manila]: Yuchengco Museum, Oriental Ceramic Society of the Philippines; Artpostasia, 2007).
  - 10 Quotations are from artist Ben Wood, “The Hidden Mural at Mission Dolores,” at [www.foundsf.org/index.php?title=The\\_Hidden\\_Mural\\_at\\_Mission\\_Dolores](http://www.foundsf.org/index.php?title=The_Hidden_Mural_at_Mission_Dolores). Along with archaeologist Eric Blind, Wood conducted the most recent investigation of the mural. I am seeking permission to conduct pigment analysis.
  - 11 “Taking” and “multisided” are from David Weber, “The Spanish Legacy in North America and the Historical Imagination,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 23, no. 1 (February 1992): 5–24, quotes at 22; see also his invaluable *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1992). For “unresolved,” see Amy Turner Bushnell, “Missions and Moral Judgement,” *OAH Magazine of History* 14, no. 4 (Summer 2000): 20–23. “Pioneer”: Steven W. Hackel, “The Competing Legacies of Junípero Serra: Pioneer, Saint, Villain,” *Common-place* 5, no. 2 (January 2005), [www.common-place.org/vol-05/no-02/hackel/index.shtml](http://www.common-place.org/vol-05/no-02/hackel/index.shtml).
  - 12 For “invaders and indigenes,” see Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron, “From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-States, and the Peoples in between in North American History,” *American Historical Review* 104, no. 3 (June 1999): 814–41, quote at 815.
  - 13 George Kubler, “Two Modes of Franciscan Architecture: New Mexico and California,” reprinted in *Franciscan Presence in the Americas*, ed. Francisco Morales (Potomac, Md.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1983), 369–75, quote on 371. See also Baer, “Spanish Colonial Art.” Harold Kirker, *California’s Architectural Frontier: Style and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century* (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1960); James J. Rawls, “The California Mission as Symbol and Myth,” *California History* 71, no. 3 (Fall 1992): 342–61; David Gebhard, “Architectural Imagery, the Mission and California,” *Harvard Architectural Review* 1 (Spring 1980): 137–45; and Weber, “The Spanish Legacy.”
  - 14 Two recent, influential examples of historical work in this vein are Sandos, *Converting California*; and Steven W. Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769–1850* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2005). Sandos explicitly employs different conceptual frames for Indians and Franciscans: ethnohistory and “theoistory,” respectively, and uses “medieval” to describe virtually every Franciscan practice.
  - 15 Palóu, *Historical Memoirs*, 4:189–90, 128.
  - 16 Dennis Flynn and Arturo Giráldez, “Cycles of Silver: Global Economic Unity through the Mid-Eighteenth Century,” *Journal of World History* 13, no. 2 (Fall 2002): 391–427; Andre Gunder Frank, *ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1998); Dennis O. Flynn, Lionel Frost, and A. J. H. Latham, eds., *Pacific Centuries: Pacific and Pacific Rim History since the Sixteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1999); and Flynn and Giráldez, “Silk for Silver: Manila–Macao Trade in the 17th Century,” *Philippine Studies* 44 (First Quarter 1996): 52–68.
  - 17 Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 2000), 159–162 and *passim*. On remonetization, see also Timothy Brook, *The Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1999).
  - 18 Estimates vary on the quantities of silver and goods. Woodrow Borah estimated that 5 million pesos of silver were shipped from Mexico in 1602, and as many as 12 million per year in the 1590s (before 1593, when restrictions were imposed but never observed); Debin Ma calculated from Chinese sources that an export value of 3 or 4 million pesos’ worth of silk products went to the Americas per year in the eighteenth century; and Louisa Schell Hoberman and Flynn and Giráldez set the seventeenth-century volume of trade at between 1.5 million and 2 million pesos per annum. See Borah, *Early Colonial Trade and Navigation between Mexico and Peru* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1954), 116–27; Ma, “The Great Silk Exchange: How the World Was Connected and Developed,” in Flynn, Frost, and Latham, *Pacific Centuries*, 51; Flynn and Giráldez, “Spanish Profitability in the Pacific,” in *ibid.*, 23–37; and Hoberman, “Merchants in Seventeenth-Century Mexico City: A Preliminary Portrait,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 57, no. 3 (August 1977): 479–503.
  - 19 Leslie Bauzon, *Deficit Government: Mexico and the Philippine Situado, 1606–1804* (Tokyo: Center for East Asian Cultural Studies, 1981), 34–37; and Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence*.
  - 20 See Craig Clunas, ed., *Chinese Export Art and Design* (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1987); Clunas, *Art in China* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1997); Robert Finlay, “The Pilgrim Art: The Culture of Porcelain in World History,” *Journal of World History* 9, no. 2 (1998): 141–87; George Kuwayama, *Chinese Ceramics in Colonial México* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1997); Linda Rosenfeld Shulsky, “A Chinese Porcelain Bowl Found in Concepción de la Vega,” *Oriental Art* 47, no. 2 (2001): 62; Shulsky, “Philip II of Spain as Porcelain Collector,” *Oriental Art* 44, no. 2 (Summer 1998): 51–54; and Richard C. Rudolph, “Chinese Armorial Porcelain in Mexico,” *Archives*

- of the Chinese Art Society of America 15 (1961): 13–20.
- 21 Maria Cristina Barrón and Rafael Rodríguez-Ponga, eds., *La presencia Novohispana en el Pacífico insular* (México: Universidad Iberoamericana, 1990); Katharine Bjork, “The Link That Kept the Philippines Spanish: Mexican Merchant Interests and the Manila Trade, 1571–1815,” *Journal of World History* 9, no. 1 (1998): 25–50; Tarsicio García Díaz, “México en la expansión Hispánica hacia el Oriente,” in *La diversidad del siglo XVIII Novohispano: Homenaje a Roberto Moreno de Los Arcos*, ed. Carmen Yuste (México: UNAM, 2000), 199–228; Hoberman, “Merchants in Seventeenth-Century Mexico City”; Carmen Yuste López, *El comercio de la Nueva España con Filipinas, 1590–1785* (México: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1984); and Víctor Sánchez and Cayetano S. Fuertes, eds., *España en Extremo Oriente: Filipinas, China, Japon* (Madrid: Publicaciones Archivo Ibero-Americano, 1979).
  - 22 See “Orders and instructions to . . . Supercargoes of the Haeslingfield and Harrington, bound for Canton,” February 16, 1742, East India Company Letter Book 25, 654 E/3/108, British Library, London. Soon after the introduction of trade quotas, the viceroy of New Spain proposed that Sebastian Rodriguez Cermeño embark from the Philippines to explore the California coast—and be paid “in the way of taking on board merchandise.” Cermeño’s ship wrecked near San Francisco, depositing numerous porcelain sherds; Conde de Santiago to the king of Spain, April 16, 1594, in George Butler Griffin, trans. and ed., *Documents from the Sutro Collection: Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California* (Los Angeles: Franklin Printing Company, 1891), 19. A royal decree, copied by the Philippine governor Benito Carrasco in 1707, required him “to provide . . . good treatment to the sailors who go [in the galleons], and not to open the chests in which they carry their clothing,” apparently countenancing smuggling to facilitate recruitment of transpacific sailors; Philippine Mss, Ms 21534 (2), 68–69, Lilly Library, Indiana University. Hoberman, “Merchants in Seventeenth-Century Mexico City,” 490; and Bjork, “Link That Kept the Philippines Spanish,” 43–48.
  - 23 Gálvez quotations are from “Instrucción reserbada que han de observar los dos ministros de RI Hacienda nombrados por el Exmo Sr Virrey,” December 4, 1766, GA 217, Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.
  - 24 A plate with the arms of Matías de Gálvez is reproduced in Rudolph, “Chinese Armorial Porcelain in Mexico,” fig. 1. For Asian moveable arts in New Spain, see Museo de Monterrey and Museo Franz Mayer, *Los palacios de la Nueva España: Sus tesoros interiores* ([México?]: Ediciones e Impresiones Gant, [1990]), 57–59, 121–22, and passim. See also Gauvin Alexander Bailey, “Asia in the Arts of Colonial Latin America,” in Joseph J. Rishel with Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt, *The Arts in Latin America, 1492–1820* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2006), 57–68, which also discusses the Portuguese Empire as another vector for aesthetic interaction between Asia and the Americas. Another work, which I was able to obtain only after this article was complete, is Donna Pierce and Ronald Osaka, eds., *Asia and Spanish America: Trans-Pacific Artistic and Cultural Exchange, 1500–1850* (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2009).
  - 25 For *biombos*: *Dallas Museum of Art: A Guide to the Collection* (Dallas: Dallas Museum of Art, 1997), 206; catalogue entries by Gustavo Curiel and María Concepción García Sáiz, in Donna Pierce, Rogelio Ruiz Gomar, and Clara Bargellini, *Painting a New World: Mexican Art and Life, 1521–1821* (Denver: Frederick & Jan Mayer Center for Pre-Columbian and Spanish Colonial Art, 2004), 226–29, 150–52; and Alberto Baena Zapatero, “Nueva España a través de sus biombos,” in *Orbis incognitus: Avisos y legajos del Nuevo Mundo*, ed. Fernando Navarro Antolín (Huelva: AEA–Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Huelva, 2007), 441–49.
  - 26 The classic overview is Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System, A.D. 1250–1350* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1989). An account of diplomatic exchanges focusing on objects is Lauren Arnold, *Princely Gifts and Papal Treasures: The Franciscan Mission to China and Its Influence on the Art of the West, 1250–1350* (San Francisco: Desiderata Press, 1999).
  - 27 See Michael Bihl, “Order of Friars Minor,” in Charles G. Herbermann, Edward A. Pace, Condé B. Pallen, et al., *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 15 vols. (New York: Encyclopedia Press, 1909), 6:281–98; Antonio Sisto Rosso, “Caballero, Antonio de,” in *Dictionary of Ming Biography, 1368–1644*, ed. L. Carrington Goodrich, 2 vols. (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1976), 1:24–31; and Donald F. Lach and Edwin J. Van Kley, *Asia in the Making of Europe* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago, 1993), 3:208–12.
  - 28 José M. Pou y Martí, “Letter of Fray Juan del Hierro, Minister General of the Franciscan Order, to the Mexican Consulado (Madrid, May 11, 1613). Regarding the Missions of Japan,” *Americas* 8, no. 3 (January 1952): 353–56; Emilio González López, *Siempre de negro: Galicia en la Contrarreforma* ([Vigo]: Editorial Galaxia, 1970), 275–76; Lach and Van Kley, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, 3:211; and Nicholas Cushner, “Merchants and Missionaries: A Theologian’s View of Clerical Involvement in the Galleon Trade,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 47, no. 3 (August 1967): 360–69. See also the porcelain jar in Kuwayama, *Chinese Ceramics in Colonial México*, 29, with the Augustinian “eagle with two adorsed heads perched on a heart-shaped base with two protruding arrows.”
  - 29 Celia María Parcero Torre, *La pérdida de la Habana y las reformas Borbónicas en Cuba* ([Valladolid]: Junta de Castilla y León, Consejería de Educación y Cultura, 1998), 159; Pedro G. Galende, *Angels in Stone: Augustinian Churches in the Philippines* (Manila: San Agustín Museum, 1996); and J. M. Mancini, “Siege Mentalities,” in “Objects in Motion” special issue, *Winterthur Portfolio* (forthcoming, Summer–Autumn 2011).
  - 30 See Weber, *The Spanish Frontier*, 266; Thomas Weaver, ed., *Handbook of Hispanic Cultures in the United States: Anthropology* (Houston: Arte Público Press, 2004), 171; Parcero Torre, *La pérdida de la Habana*; and Willard B. Robinson, “Maritime Frontier Engineering: The Defense of New Orleans,” *Louisiana History* 18, no. 1 (Winter 1977): 5–62. On the apes, see Herbert Ingram Priestley, *José de Gálvez Visitor General of New Spain (1765–1771)* (1916; Philadelphia: Porcupine Press, 1980), 279. On Bernardo de Gálvez, see Carmen de

- Reparaz, *Yo solo: Bernardo de Gálvez y la toma de Panzacola en 1781* (Barcelona: Ediciones del Serbal; Madrid: Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana, 1986).
- 31 For “epic struggle” and “failure to win,” see Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 130.
- 32 On Franciscan succession, see Olga Merino and Linda A. Newson, “Jesuit Missions in Spanish America: The Aftermath of the Expulsion,” *Revista de Historia de América*, no. 118 (July–December 1994): 7–32, esp. Table 1, 10–11. On Jesuit militarization, see Alberto Armani, *Ciudad de Dios y ciudad del sol: El “estado” jesuita de los guaraníes (1609–1768)* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1982); and Stuart F. Voss, “Societal Competition in Northwest New Spain,” *Americas* 38, no. 2 (October 1981): 185–203. Nuno Senos suggests that Franciscans in Brazil engaged in such a process of reimagination and expression following the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1759. Private conversation, College Art Association, February 2006.
- 33 See Lach and Van Kley, *Asia in the Making of Europe*. James S. Cummins, “Two Missionary Methods in China: Mendicants and Jesuits,” in Sánchez and Fuertes, *España en Extremo Oriente*, 33–108.
- 34 R. Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540–1770*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2005), chap. 13; Benjamin A. Elman, *On Their Own Terms: Science in China, 1550–1900* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 2005), 160–65; Jean-Paul Desroches, “Beijing–Versailles: Relations between Qing Dynasty China and France,” *Oriental Art* 43, no. 2 (Summer 1997): 39; and Marie-Catherine Rey, *Peintres à la cour de Chine* (Paris: Gallimard; Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2006).
- 35 Gregorio de Santa Teresa to Francisco de Zamora, February 17, 1709, Philippine Mss, Ms 21524 (2), Lilly Library.
- 36 “Profusely” quoted in Baer, “Spanish Colonial Art,” 41; “catch” in Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 153.
- 37 East India Company officials lamented, “the Natives of these Islands have been alienated from us . . . through the means of the Augustine Friars and other disaffected Persons, now in actual Rebellion [*sic*].” “Papers concerning the Philippines and Penang 1762–1820,” January 15, 1763, IOR/H/77, British Library, London.
- 38 Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 132; Wood, “The Hidden Mural at Mission Dolores.” On syncretism in the Franciscan artisan school of San José de los Naturales, see Claire Farago, entry for *Mass of Saint Gregory*, in Pierce, Gomar, and Bargellini, *Painting a New World*, 100. Franciscans also trained artisans in Bethlehem; materially and symbolically hybrid works include a painted olive wood and mother-of-pearl cross with lotus design (ca. seventeenth century; Museo de Terra Santa, Santiago de Compostela); Petr Hlaváček, “Bohemian Franciscans between Orthodoxy and Nonconformity at the Turn of the Middle Ages,” in *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice*, vol. 5 (Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, 2003), 167–89.
- 39 On the Serra image, see Kelly Donahue-Wallace, “Picturing Prints in Early Modern New Spain,” *Americas* 64, no. 3 (January 2008): 325–49. On figural vestments, see Nuria Torres Ballesteros, “La casulla de Cisneros del Museo Lazaro Galdiano: Aproximación a San Francisco de Asís,” *Goya* 239 (March–April 1994): 282–88.
- 40 Clunas, *Art in China*, 120–21; Derek Gillman, “Ming and Qing Ivories: Figure Carving,” in *Chinese Ivories from the Shang to the Qing*, ed. William Watson (London: Oriental Ceramic Society and the British Museum, 1984), 35–52.
- 41 Serra’s enthusiasm for encountering Indians who had not previously been evangelized was discussed by Robert M. Senkewicz and Rose Marie Beebe, “What They Brought: The Alta California Franciscans before 1769” (paper, in “Alta California: Peoples in Motion, Identities in Formation,” Huntington Library, September 29, 2006).
- 42 Maynard Geiger, “New Data on the Buildings of Mission San Francisco,” *California Historical Society Quarterly* 46, no. 3 (September 1967): 195–205.
- 43 *Ibid.*; James Beach Alexander and James Lee Heig, *San Francisco: Building the Dream City* (San Francisco: Scottwall Associates, Publishers, 2002), 17–23; and Guire Cleary, *Mission Dolores: The Gift of St. Francis* (Orange, Calif.: Paragon Agency, 2004).
- 44 Augusto Villalón, *Lugar: Essays on Philippine Heritage and Architecture* (Makati City: Bookmark, 2001). Palóu, *Historical Memoirs*, 2:129.
- 45 Alicia M. L. Coseteng, *Spanish Churches in the Philippines* (Manila: UNESCO National Commission of the Philippines, 1972); Pedro G. Galende and Rene B. Javellana, *Great Churches of the Philippines* (Makati, Metro Manila: Bookmark, 1993), including “typical church plan,” 10–11; Villalón, *Lugar*; and Galende, *Angels in Stone*.
- 46 Robert J. Mullen, *Architecture and Its Sculpture in Viceregal Mexico* (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1997); and John McAndrew, *The Open-Air Churches of Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1965). Stephen Tobriner, “The Quest for Earthquake-Resistant Construction in Europe and the Americas, 1726–1908” (lecture, J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, September 14, 2006); for a figure representing the earthquake dangers posed by parapets and a list of belfries that collapsed in 1906, see Tobriner, *Bracing for Disaster: Earthquake-Resistant Architecture and Engineering in San Francisco, 1838–1933* (Berkeley: Bancroft Library and Heyday Books, 2006), 64, 163.
- 47 Alejandro Lapunzina, *Architecture of Spain* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2005), 36. Francisco J. Castro Miramontes, *El mensaje de la piedra: Convento de San Francisco de Santiago de Compostela; Historia, arte y espiritualidad* (Santiago de Compostela: Convento de San Francisco, n.d.), 8.