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Spanish Mission Music from California Past, Present and Future Research

Introduction

In the early-1970's Sister Mary Dominic Ray, founder of the American Music Research Center (AMRC), then at Dominican College, San Rafael, California, began serious study of the music composed, arranged, copied and performed in the twenty-one Franciscan missions established in Spanish and Mexican California between 1769 and 1823. Her research culminated in the publication in 1974 of *Gloria Dei: The Story of California Mission Music* (reprinted 1975), a well researched and written booklet of twenty-four pages, with an appropriate selection of photographs of musical manuscripts and instruments, as well as illustrations relating to musical life in early California. Sister Dominic presented a good synthesis of what was then known about mission music. But because of the intentionally limited length and scope—she was aiming at a general audience for her publication—*Gloria Dei* did not include all of the information she collected in her research trips throughout the state over a period of several years. Most fruitful for her work were the archives at Mission Santa Barbara and the Bancroft Library, with their extensive holdings of California mission music. She also visited museums and archives in San Diego, Ventura and Stanford, and even conducted fieldwork at the mission *asistencias* of San Antonio de Pala and Santa Ysabel.¹ Since the time of her research trips in the 1970s the location of at least one manuscript has changed,² one group of very important manuscripts has been misplaced³ and has subsequently reappeared in the form of photostats,⁴ and three highly significant eighteenth-century concerted masses possibly performed in California have surfaced.⁵ Therefore, it will be of interest to detail here Sister Dominic's work, including her collection of photographs of California mission music, related to the research conducted by others with the idea of presenting additional possibilities for future research projects. The principal benefit of Sister Dominic's photograph collection is that a large and representative group of mission music manuscripts can be viewed in facsimile in one location. This study does not describe in detail all of the presently-known musical manuscripts from the California missions,⁶ nor will it discuss in depth all of the mission music photographs in the AMRC, now located at the College of Music, University of Colorado at Boulder. Its purpose is to point out the significant examples of mission music existing in photographic form at the Center (and in other little-known collections) which still remain to be studied. It is hoped that a complete inventory of the AMRC's photographic holdings prepared by the author will appear in a future issue of this journal.

Research Accomplished and New Discoveries

In 1975 Sister Dominic borrowed the negatives to a number of photographs of mission music manuscripts from the Santa Barbara Mission Archives, with the permission of the archivist and director Father Maynard Geiger, O.F.M.,⁷ intending to make prints for the AMRC. Originally made at Missions Santa Inez and San Juan Bautista (see Figure 1), and at the Bancroft Library and the Stanford University Library in May and June 1935 by Owen Frances da Silva, O.F.M. (1906-1967), for his research, these sets of negatives (presently at Mission Santa Barbara) were not complete, because Father Owen apparently intended to photograph only a representative sampling of each of the manuscripts known to him. Sister Dominic had two sets of photographs made in 1975 of da Silva's negatives (one set with a glossy finish, now at the AMRC; another set with a matte finish, sent to Santa Barbara). These photographs of selected portions of the San Juan Bautista, Santa Inez, Stanford, and Bancroft manuscripts presently in the AMRC are not yet placed in the page number order.⁸ When this task is completed, scholars can make better use of these (usually) high-quality facsimiles.

Sometime earlier, at the instigation of Theodor Göllner,⁹ a color microfilm was made of the manuscripts at the Santa Barbara Mission Archive.¹⁰ Sister Dominic subsequently had a copy of this microfilm reel made for the AMRC; however, because the second generation black and white microfilm reel at the AMRC is a copy of the original color microfilm in Santa Barbara, its fidelity is poor and its images cloudy.¹¹ Despite its darkness, the film can be a useful tool, because it contains most (but not all)¹² of the musical manuscripts at Mission Santa Barbara.¹³

The Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley holds one of the best known manuscripts of California mission music, the *Libro de Coro* or Choir Book,¹⁴ copied by Father Narciso Durán at Mission San José in 1813.¹⁵ While this important source (with its extensive *Prologo* to the reader outlining Durán's didactic method) has been described in a number of publications, including those of William Summers and Owen da Silva, an accompanying group of three manuscripts at the Bancroft Library, containing chant and polyphony in at least two different scribal hands, has gone unnoticed by musicologists.¹⁶ This manuscript, probably copied by an Indian scribe under the tutelage of one of the musical missionaries (Narciso Durán?), is an important addition to the growing repertory of Masses, Proper settings, hymns, and music for the Office.¹⁷ Among other items, one of the devotional songs (followed by a versicle and response), intended to be sung at Benediction (*¡Oh, qué suave y dulce estáis!*), is of special interest.¹⁸

In San Diego Sister Dominic discovered an oblong-shaped¹⁹ manuscript of Catholic sacred music with English and Latin texts, located in the museum at Mission San Diego, which she subsequently obtained permission to have photographed.²⁰ As a result, the AMRC presently holds 8" x 10" enlargements of the manuscript, which is almost entirely complete (lacking only a few pages



Figure 1. Sister Mary Dominic Ray and unidentified man at the Mission San Juan Bautista.

through loss or mispagination). Though certainly of interest, this single-voice manuscript (apparently one vocal part of a set) is clearly not of mission origin because of the heavy preponderance of English hymn texts. The calligraphic style of the manuscript and its large number of Marian hymns suggests its creation in a convent, possibly in the midwestern or eastern United States. Neither the manner in which this manuscript came to Mission San Diego nor anything about its intended use in church services there are presently known. A fruitful comparison could be made between the hymns in the San Diego collection and those in the Catholic hymnbooks published in New York, Cincinnati, Baltimore and elsewhere in the East and Midwest during the first half of the nineteenth century to determine repertorial concordances, and the extent of European influences.²¹ A study of the several examples of chant settings for the Mass and Office might bring to light new information about the use of chant in the nineteenth century in the United States.

In Berkeley, from the Bancroft Library, Sister Dominic obtained copies of the musical portions of the small manuscript book copied by the musical Franciscan missionary Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta entitled *Oro molido*.²² This manuscript is significant because it includes de Arroyo de la Cuesta's notation of hymns in the Mutsun language and indigenous music of the peoples inhabiting the area around Mission San Juan Bautista. In addition to these pieces copied by Arroyo de la Cuesta (and perhaps composed by him), there exist in the Bancroft Library a number of other manuscripts copied (some by Arroyo de la Cuesta) during the mission period and later in the previous century, containing musical notations of Indian music. Robert Stevenson studied several of these manuscripts and published the results of his findings in an important article, "Written Sources for Indian Music until 1882."²³ Recently, William Summers²⁴ studied at the Bancroft Library a number of other manuscripts of notated mission and non-Catholic Indian music of related interest, one of which was previously unknown. Manuscripts bearing the call numbers C-C 75 (*Prayers and Hymns Translated into the Languages of the Indians of California*),²⁵ C-C 63, C-C 63a, C-C 63b (*Lengua de California*), and²⁶ C-C 19 (*Alphab.s Rivulus obeundus...*)²⁷ give information about non-mission Indian music and musical practices. Several of the manuscripts bear details about performance which will be of interest to scholars studying contemporary Indian ritual and dance music.

On Holy Saturday (March 29) 1975, Sister Dominic traveled to the chapel at Santa Ysabel on the site of the former asistencia of Santa Ysabel (founded 1818, dependent upon Mission San Diego de Alcalá) in San Diego County. Her field notes vividly describe a visit with Steve Ponchetti (died circa 1985),²⁸ an Indian singer and political leader known for preserving the Spanish and Mexican hymn tradition.

Through Sister Mary Yarger (San Luis Academy Convent) we found Rosinda, [an] old Indian woman who told us we should see Father Dominic and Steve Ponchetti (Indian who sings at many Indian funerals today). So, on further to

Santa Ysabel where we found Father Dominic who phoned Steve Ponchetti and asked if we could come on over to see him about music, funerals, etc. Steve said to come right on over—a short drive from the Mission. A handsome, stocky almost white-haired Indian with a beautiful (natural) set of white teeth and a ready smile. Entering the small house, we met his wife Florence (all in curlers) and her sister. As Steve talked to us, they both kept “footnoting” for our benefit, warning us that he will go on for hours if we don’t hold him in check! Steve finally got out his (very nice) tape recorder and played us (till we stopped him) some of Florence’s [and] his recordings of the religious hymns they had sung (and still sing) so many times at funerals. Steve showed me the Spanish words he was singing.

I. *Adórote Santa Cruz* (slow, languorous, a bit sliding style, sentimental I V I Mexican-sounding sounding tunes). The refrain (*Adoro . . .*) was sung after every two lines of verse.

II. *Salve virgen pura* (there are four different versions of this hymn but Steve sings only the Diegueño version—tune varies in the other three versions. Slow, languorous.) [See Example 1]

Salve virgen pura,
salve virgen madre,
salve virgen bella,
reina virgen salve,

III. *Perdon o Dios mío* (moderato tempo, sentimental Mexican sounding tune) What interested me most was Steve’s total immersion in the meaning of the words—deep concentration—and when he told me some business commercial men from Brazil had come to him and begged him to let them record them for sale (“he would become rich” etc. etc.). Steve became infuriated—even telling us about it! This, then, was the most meaningful part of our visit, for it brought to mind, almost as in a sudden flash, all that I had read about the Indian’s deep devotion and how it was so evident “from their faces as they sang” (Robert Louis Stevenson²⁹ and other impressions too), and Mayme Aorta’s remarks that she could never even think that any one of them [Indian worshippers] would have been mischievous in church, because their comportment always indicated “their deep faith and reverence always.” This was a valuable moment, I felt, coupled with the previous concentration and dedication we have seen as he and Florence sang together.³⁰

Perhaps without fully realizing it, Sister Dominic had documented a living example of one of the important musical traditions of the California missions.³¹ Whereas the practice of performing the larger polyphonic masses in the California mission repertory probably died out after the end of the mission period, hymn singing in the vernacular has survived among Indian congregations to the present day. As Robert Louis Stevenson, the author, noticed, during his visit to Northern California in 1879, the performance of chant also survived the secularization of the California missions of a century before.

Helen Hunt Jackson, author of the novel *Ramona* and a champion of Indian rights, documented the continuance of the mission music tradition on

Salve Virgen pura, salve Virgen Madre: salve Virgen bella, Reyna
 Virgen salve. Otra id de 1a Salve Virgen pura, salve Virgen Madre
 salve Virgen bella, Reyna Virgen salve. Otra id de 3a Salve Virgen
 pura salve Virgen Madre: salve Virgen bella Reyna
 Virgen salve. Otra id de 2a Salve Virgen pura: salve
 Virgen Madre: salve Virgen bella, Reyna Virgen salve.
 Santo Dios, Santo Fuerte, Santa immortal: Libra nos Se
 nor de to do mal
 esta sagrada Hostia, con fe viva te a lo ramos.
 en este cañal en do to do ramos con fe vi va.

Example 1. Four-voice mission-era version of *Salve virgen pura*, Durán Choirbook (1813), Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California—Berkeley.

Indian singers at the end of the nineteenth century. In her book *Glimpses of California and the Missions* she gives a brief view of Catholic musical practice among Indian musicians.

[Regarding the Indian woman Laura (52 years old) at Mission San Gabriel]: She was a singer, too, in the choir. Coaxing her up on her feet, patting her shoulders, entreating her and caressing her as one would a child, he [a Mexican friend] succeeded in persuading her to chant for us the Lord's Prayer and part of the litanies as she had been wont to do it in the old days.³²

[At San Antonio de Pala]: On the day we were there, a memorial service for the dead was going on in the chapel...two old Indians were chanting a Latin mass from a tattered missal bound in rawhide.³³

The famous Peruvian singer of Mission Santa Inés, Fernando Cárdenas (1837-1919; known as "Fernandito" because of his small stature), was brought to California in 1850 and, lived from 1868 until his death in and around the Santa Inés valley.³⁴ From local Indian and Mexican musicians he absorbed much of the traditional mission musical traditions, as well as the non-European music performed by local Indian population. Some of the hymns he, along with Indian and Mexican singers, sang at Mass, the Office (especially Vespers and the Office for the Dead), the saying of the Rosary, wakes, and private devotional services can certainly be traced back to the many examples of Spanish-language hymnody in the California mission repertory (and can be extended forward in time as well). In 1917, Father Zephyrin Englehardt, O.F.M., Maynard Geiger's predecessor as archivist at Mission Santa Barbara and the first twentieth-century historian of the California missions, obtained from Fernandito the words to quite a number of hymns.³⁵ Among the most famous of these hymns were *El cántico del alba* ("Dawn Song") and the *Alabado* ("Hymn of Praise"). Cárdenas Englehardt also obtained from him the melodies of these two hymns (transcribed by Father Alexander Buckler, pastor of Mission Santa Inés, and an excellent amateur musician)³⁶ which Englehardt then published in many of his individual histories of the California missions.³⁷ Owen da Silva also published these two hymns in his *Mission Music of California*. As a result of these publications, the *Alabado* and *Cántico del alba* have been adopted as the most representative examples of California mission hymns in performance and on recordings. In 1914 Fernandito recorded four hymns (the *Alabado*, *Santa Inés hermosa*, [*Adórote?*] *Santa Cruz*, and *San Francisco*) on Edison wax cylinders for Father Buckler.³⁸

In the 1930s as part of her California Folk Music Project for the WPA, Sidney Robertson Cowell traveled to San Antonio de Pala, where she recorded several Indian consultants singing Spanish-language hymns, including the *Alabado*. A useful comparison could be made between the versions of the *Alabado* sung by Fernandito in 1914 and by these Indian women some twenty-five years later.³⁹

During a visit to the museum at Mission San Buenaventura, in present-day Ventura, California,⁴⁰ Sister Dominic encountered a small book containing musical (and other) notations, in the hand of Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta. She obtained approval to take photographs for the AMRC of the musical portions of the book from the mission authorities. For unknown reasons not all the pages with music were photographed. "Section One" with the *Novena de San José* (Novena to Saint Joseph) and the *Dolores y Gozos en versos* (Sorrows and Joys [of the Blessed Virgin Mary] in Verses) are not included among the present AMRC's photographs. The Arroyo de la Cuesta manuscript was taken by Msgr. Francis J. Weber from Mission San Buenaventura to Mission San Fernando before or at the conclusion of his duties as pastor of the mission in Ventura in the 1970s and his removal to Los Angeles,⁴¹ where the book can be found today.⁴² Copied at Mission San Miguel Arcángel, the manuscript was begun on March 9, 1834, and finished April 7, 1834. It apparently accompanied Fray Felipe to Mission San Luis Obispo, on or around February 17, 1835 (the date of his transference to the latter mission, as indicated at the end of the musical portion).⁴³ Copied at a time in his life when writing was becoming increasingly difficult for him, Arroyo de la Cuesta's book is a personal collection of chants for the Mass and Office, Spanish hymns, and one and two-voice Mass settings such as the *Misa vicaína*.⁴⁴ He may have used the manuscript in teaching music to the neophytes; although its small size would have been limited its use to no more than two or three musicians at a time. As William Summers points out, the reuse of a printed Roman martyrology as a music book reflects the need to obtain the most service possible out of any and every bit of paper available to the Franciscan missionaries at a time when mission finances were decreasing.

Scrawled marginal notations by Arroyo de la Cuesta in the manuscript attest to his somewhat resigned attitude towards life, due perhaps to recurring illness, and bits of information in his jottings reveal the sources of some of his musical examples to be the Franciscan convent in Palma de Mallorca. Arroyo de la Cuesta includes this poem at the end of the musical section of his music book:

Hoy con gusto tamaño
siete de abril acabé
este libro que empecé
en nueve de marzo este año.
El papel mal ha servido
por escribir tanta cosa
excelente y trabajosa
mas todo se ha concluido.

Today with considerable pleasure
On the seventh of April I finished
This book which I began
This year on the ninth of March.
This bad paper has served
To write such a thing
So excellent and laborious.
Yet everything has been finished.⁴⁵

In the mid-1970's, Sister Dominic was alerted by UC Berkeley music librarian John Emerson to the existence of photostats of the Juan Sancho manuscript in the WPA California Folk Music Project files in the Music Library

there (Sidney Cowell had commissioned the copies to be made from the Stanford University originals). Perhaps because she had seen the Sancho manuscripts at Stanford, and had certainly obtained photographic enlargements of the negatives of selected portions of the original manuscripts at the Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library, she did not pursue this lead further. The Stanford originals have since been lost or misplaced and because of Cowell's fortuitous decision to have photostats made of the manuscripts and their resultant preservation in the California Folk Music Project files, William Summers has been able to put together the missing pieces of the musical puzzle revealing the relative importance of Juan Sancho's contribution to musical life in the California missions. Indeed it may overshadow the predominant musical role formerly given by da Silva and others to the better-known musician/priest/administrator Narciso Durán. Summers has established the importance of the Mallorcan influence in Father Juan Sancho's musical training—he had served as *vicario de coro* in the apostolic College of San Francisco in Mexico City and Mallorca prior to his arrival in California—as well as the repertory he brought with him from Spain for use in the northernmost Spanish missions in North America. Summers has also shown that Sancho should, without detracting from the formidable musical contribution of other Franciscan musical missionaries such as Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta, Estevan Tapís, Florencio Ibañez, and Narciso Durán, be given pride of place as the Franciscan with the most advanced knowledge of and interest in music.

Msgr. Francis J. Weber, at the Archival Center of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles at Mission San Fernando, brought to the attention of the author three sets of concerted Masses, with vocal and instrumental parts (besides the already identified Misa de Cataluña), knowing that these had not been described by any modern writer on California mission music.⁴⁶ He also mentioned them to William Summers and Craig Russell, Professor of Music at California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo. Russell very soon thereafter was granted access to the manuscripts and photographed them. By establishing concordances with Masses from Mexican cathedral archives existing on microfilm at the University of Texas, Russell was able to verify that at least two of the three Masses were composed by Ignacio Jerusalem (died 1769), chapel master at Mexico City Cathedral. Some of the parts for another Jerusalem mass, the "Mass in G," can be found in California, at Mission Santa Barbara.⁴⁷

Along with the Jerusalem Masses brought to light early in 1992 at Mission San Fernando were a group of manuscripts perfunctorily described by Owen da Silva as "a few old pages of choir books, poorly written, with a Responsory to St. Anthony, March Suiza (see Example 2), incomplete masses and hymns."⁴⁸ The apparent insignificance of these manuscripts is challenged by the existence among them of many pages either completely in the hand of Juan Sancho or compositions copied by others and containing Sancho's marginal notations. These leaves include a trilingual cantata/villancico disbound



Figure 2. San Benaventura Mission Choir Orchestra.
Photo from SMDR Collection, AMRC.

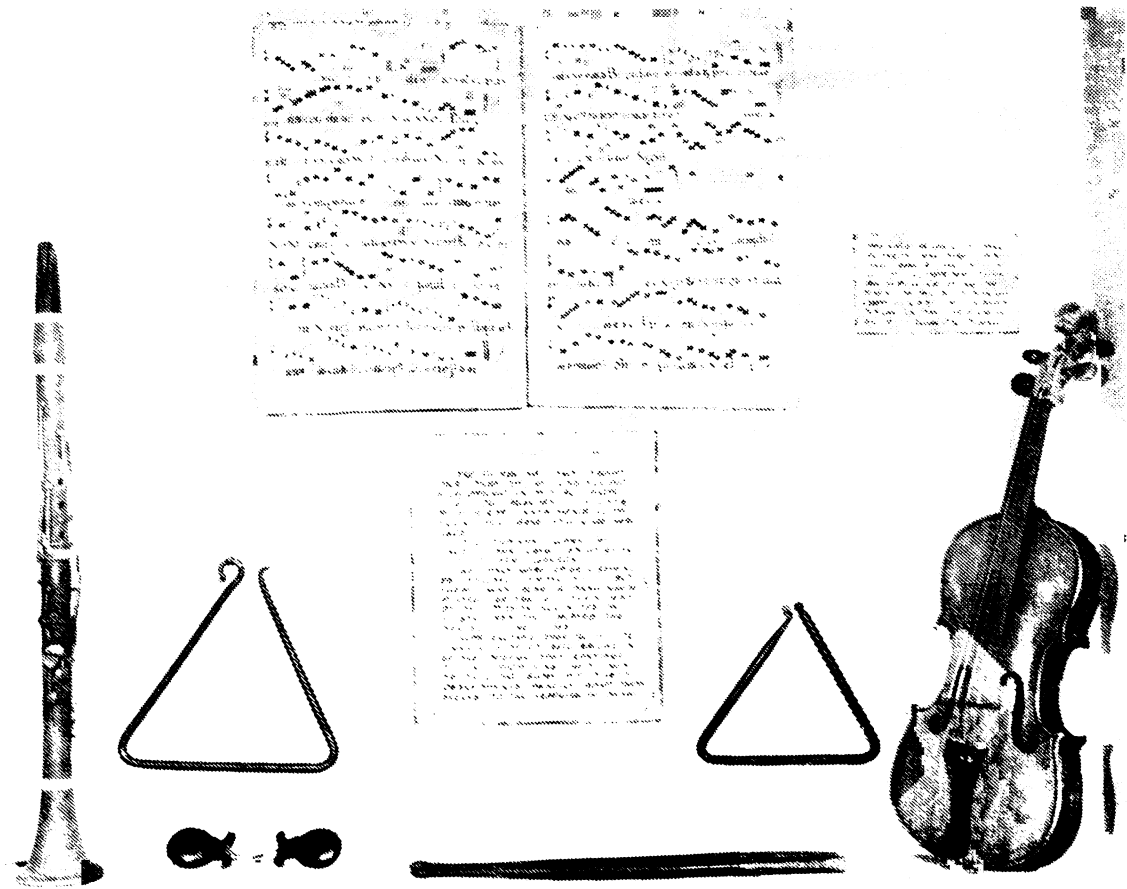


Figure 3. Manuscript of Mass written by Padre Esteban Tapis with instruments typically found in mission bands.
Photo from SMDR Collection, AMRC.



Figure 4. Denied the use of a violin belonging to Mission Carmel, Jose Carabajal, son of a mission Indian woman and her Spaniard husband, constructed this violin out of native California woods.

Photo from SMDR Collection, AMRC.



Example 2. *Marcha Suiza*, Sancho Manuscripts, Mission San Fernando. Courtesy of the Archival Center, Archdiocese of Los Angeles.

with pages out of the original order (though apparently complete or nearly so), as well as the only known examples of secular instrumental music with a probable mission provenance, and several patriotic Spanish secular songs from the Napoleonic conflict (see Examples 3 and 4). The future research of Summers and Russell will detail findings about Sancho's compositional and musical development and the most interesting villancico/cantata with its three possible languages for performance (Latin, Italian and Spanish). The author hopes to include editions of the secular vocal music in his study of folk and popular song in early California.⁴⁹

¡Vi va Fer nan do! ¡Na po león mue ra!

¡Tri un fe Es - pa ña, y ce se al gue rra!

¡Vi va Fer nan do! ¡Na po león mue ra!

¡Tri un fe Es - pa ña y ce se la gue rra!

Long live Fernando!/Die, Napoleon!/Let Spain triumph,/and the war stop!
(Translation by the author)

Example 3. *¡Viva Fernando!*, Sancho Manuscripts, Mission San Fernando. Courtesy of the Archival Center, Archdiocese of Los Angeles.

¡Es pa-ña a la gue-rra, tre mó-la su pen-dón con-
tra el po-der in fa-me del vil Na-po le ón. Sus
cri me-nes o íd, es cu chad la trai-ción, sus
cri me nes o íd, es-cu - chad la trai-ción, sí, la tra-ción, sí,
la tra-ción. Con que a la faz del mun-do se ha cu-bier to de ho-nor.
A la gue-rra, a la gue-rra es - pa ño les, A la
gue-rra, a la gue-rra es pa ño les. ¡Mue-ra Na-po león!
¡Y vi-va el rey Fer-nan-do! la pa-tria y re li-gión!

(Insofar as possible the beaming and barring of the transcriptions conform to the somewhat unclear indications in the manuscripts.)

Spain, to war!/Her flag waves/Against infamous power/Of vile Napoleon.
Hear of France's crimes,/Listen to the news of her treachery./And so in front
of the world/Spain has been showered with honor.
To war, Spaniards./Die, Napoleon!/And long live King Fernando/Our
homeland and the true religion!

(Translation by the author)

Example 4. *¡España a la guerra!*, Sancho Manuscripts, Mission San Fernando.
Courtesy of the Archival Center, Archdiocese of Los Angeles.

Very little information about the provenance of the instruments used in the missions has been found. Thus, Sister Dominic's uncovering of a letter about instruments dated September 18, 1823, is especially significant. From Father Antonio Ripoll (1785-after 1832) at Mission Santa Barbara to Governor Luis Argüello⁵⁰ in Monterey, it requests the loan of an artilleryman from the Monterey Presidio said to be proficient on the clarinet so that he might instruct the Indian musicians on the six clarinets Ripoll had recently received from Mexico. Apparently no one in Santa Barbara knew how to play the clarinet.⁵¹

Documents relating to Spanish and Mexican California, while often escaping the attention of music scholars, yield important information about the use of instruments in the missions, as with the group of letters which Father Narciso Durán wrote over a period of several years to the procuring agent for the College of San Fernando in Mexico City. In these letters, brought to light and published separately by three different writers only one of whom was a musicologist,⁵² Narciso Durán's orders for the construction of an organ for Mission San José detail the exact specifications for the organ he intended to purchase (and indeed may have done) from profits of the various mission endeavors.⁵³

New Avenues for Investigation

California was not the only area in the present-day United States in which Spanish sacred (and secular) music was performed before the American annexation. From the very beginning of Spanish settlement in the late sixteenth century in what is now the southwestern part of the United States, musical instruments and music were used by the Franciscans in New Mexico and Texas, in addition to California, and the Jesuits in the Pimería Alta (the upper Pima lands), present-day Arizona, as a tool in the conversion of the local indigenous peoples. Indian musicians, originally taught by the missionaries, played instruments in church services in many of the southwestern missions, which by 1823 had spread in slow increments from San Francisco Solano de Sonoma in present-day Sonoma (the only California mission established in Mexican California) in the north to Mission San Miguel (flourished 1717-1773) in Spanish Texas (present-day Robeline, Louisiana) in the east.

Likewise, the Spanish soldiers who accompanied and guarded the early Spanish missionaries also imported or constructed and played musical instruments. Most of the Spanish presidios in the present-day southwestern United States (Monterey, San Francisco, Santa Barbara, and San Diego in California; Tubac and Tucson in Arizona; Santa Fe in New Mexico [and El Paso del Norte—now Ciudad Juarez, considered part of New Mexico before the American occupation, but now in Mexico]; and San Antonio, La Bahía [Goliad] and Los Adaes in Texas) had musicians—at the very least players of the *corneta* and *tambor*—assigned as part of their regular companies.⁵⁴ Oboes, bassoons, and horns⁵⁵ may have made up the wind bands in some of these presidial

companies, because during the Mexican period in the Southwest, military regulations⁵⁶ called for these instruments to be used, depending upon the size of the garrison troops. In some of the *presidio* chapels organs and other instruments were found.

Unlike the California missions, which have preserved a remarkable quantity of music from the Spanish colonial and the Mexican periods, musical manuscripts from the Arizona, New Mexico⁵⁷ and Texas missions appear not to have survived in any great numbers, though it is probable that music, musical instruments and musical manuscripts were used in the instruction offered the local neophytes, to enable them to perform in the liturgy and during private devotions.⁵⁸ Among several reputedly Spanish mission manuscripts from Texas⁵⁹ is the so-called *Misa de San Antonio*, is a simple, folk-like setting of the Mass Ordinary (from San Antonio)⁶⁰ which has been performed in recent concerts by the group Hesperus.⁶¹ The possibility exists that musical manuscripts from the Spanish missions in Texas were sent to Guadalajara Cathedral, after the secularization of the Texas missions (beginning in the 1790s), and may reside there today. Many musical manuscripts used in the missions in New Mexico were probably destroyed during the Pueblo Indian revolt of 1680 and manuscripts copied or brought to New Mexico after the reconquest by the Spanish in 1692-1693 seem to have been scattered with the passage of time. But a small number of printed service books with music (and some musical manuscripts) are documented in a number of inventories⁶² from non-California missions, particularly in New Mexico. A number of these printed books can be found in southwestern churches and archives.⁶³

Despite this situation, documentation of the music and musical life of the Spanish missions in Arizona, New Mexico and Texas, though harder to arrive at than that of the California missions, is certainly worthy of scholarly attention. What documents there are can yield substantial bits of information about musical practices in the Spanish missions in the Southwest to those researchers willing to take the time to travel to archives and libraries in Santa Fe, Albuquerque, San Antonio, Austin, Tucson and elsewhere, as well as to the important archives in Spain, the Archivo de Simancas and the Archivo de Indias, and in Mexico, particularly the Archivo General de la Nación and the Biblioteca Nacional.

The particularly rich field of California mission music, though well studied, has not yet been exhausted. Many areas of investigation remain to be undertaken. William Summers is studying the important role of Father Juan Sancho in the musical life of the missions, particularly at his home mission of San Antonio de Padua. Grayson Wagstaff, a doctoral candidate in musicology at the University of Texas at Austin, is investigating the Requiem Masses performed in California as representative of the Spanish liturgical tradition, part of a larger study of Mexican and Spanish music for the Office for the Dead. Craig Russell, as indicated above, has worked on the repertory of orchestral-accompanied Masses from California. Alfred Lemmon, of the His-

toric New Orleans Collection, has studied the music of the missions in Baja California (important for the history of the Alta California missions).⁶⁴ The author of this overview of research into mission music is looking at the use of musical instruments in southwestern Spanish missions and presidios, and Hispanic civilian settlements from the early seventeenth century to the end of the nineteenth century.

Several important research projects presently underway promise to aid in our understanding of California's musical life. William Summers, who has collected photographs and other facsimiles of a large portion of the extant California mission repertory over the past two decades, has received a grant from Dartmouth College to produce a CD ROM containing photographic reproductions of the manuscripts in his collection. When made available to scholars and libraries, the digital, on-line version of this CD ROM will facilitate many future research projects. Summers is also at work on an inventory of extant California mission music manuscripts for the *Repertoire International des Sources Musicales*. The completion of these two long-term projects will help to make possible the preparation of scholarly musical editions of the more important examples in the mission repertory.⁶⁵ When this is accomplished we will be able to examine the musical significance of this repertory more closely. The several examples of California mission music that have been published in modern editions, some only in part, suggest a rich body of music literature. Excellent scholarly and performing editions will certainly stimulate further performances.

Taking merely the California manuscripts and imprints alone, there exists material sufficient to provide the focus for several doctoral dissertations and masters theses.⁶⁶ Worthy topics for investigation include the several notational practices used in the missions;⁶⁷ the influence of Franciscan musical traditions from Mallorca on California musical life; music in the College of San Fernando in Mexico City that influenced musical performance in the California missions; the daily use of chant, both in printed and manuscript form;⁶⁸ the music performed with the Christmas shepherd's play of *Los pastores* in the California missions; the polyphonic Passions sung in the missions; the many polyphonic Masses composed, copied and performed in early California, some with written instrumental parts; the use of barrel organs in church services, and the use of secular tunes found on these barrel organs;⁶⁹ the use of instruments in the Southwest with plainsong⁷⁰ and polyphony; the importance of printed Spanish and Mexican plainchant tutors on the performance of chant in the missions;⁷¹ the place of secular music in the missions; the accepting reaction of the Indian and Hispanic populations to the performance of Catholic sacred music; the amazement and admiration (but also disapproval) with which nineteenth-century Protestant (and non-Hispanic Catholic) visitors to California and New Mexico viewed Catholic music performance; the importance of Spanish-language hymn singing among Hispanic settlers and Indian neophytes; aspects of music education in California and

the Southwest; and the continuation of the mission musical tradition after the close of the mission period. Likewise, these same areas of investigation can be pursued with respect to colonial music in the Southwest, as well as to the corresponding areas across the present-day border in northern Mexico (especially in Sonora) which, with the permission of the Spanish kings and viceregal government in New Spain, also came under the domain of Franciscan and Jesuit missionaries.

Crucial to our understanding of this topic is the realization that the music composed and performed in the California missions (and the Southwest in general) is part of a larger tradition, which has been modified and adopted to a certain degree by local indigenous North American musical practices, but was principally influenced by Spanish music and by mestizo music of New Spain (and Mexico). Not all New World influences are discernable in each individual musical example preserved; however, when this repertory is taken as a whole, New World elements stand out.

Scholars of Indian music in the Southwest, frequently concerned with the musical traditions of the present and immediate past, would do well to look into the European music performed by the indigenous peoples of the Southwest during the colonial period and afterwards. It is impossible to believe that the Spanish Catholic sacred music performed by and for Indian congregations in California, Arizona, New Mexico and Texas for more than two hundred years failed to make a lasting impression on indigenous peoples even after the gradual demise of the mission system during the late eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. The evidence suggests that Catholic musical influences have never ceased to be felt by Indian congregants in the Southwest. Hitherto, ethnomusicologists in the United States have shied away from serious study of this aspect of Indian musical life, whereas their colleagues in the fields of ethnohistory, history, art history and folklore have addressed the continuing importance of Catholicism on the Indian peoples of the Southwest. Musical and cultural scholars should work together in the future to better understand this important aspect of Indian culture in the Southwest.

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NOTES

1. The asistencia (or sub-mission) of San Antonio de Pala was a dependent of Mission San Luis Rey de Francia; it is the only surviving asistencia and the only mission-era foundation in California still possessing an Indian congregation, still fulfilling its original function. Mission Santa Ysabel, an asistencia of Mission San Diego, no longer exists in its original form, though in 1924 a modified mission-style church was erected near the original site.

2. The manuscript copied by Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta (described later in this study), then at the museum at Mission San Buenaventura, is now at the Archival Center at Mission San Fernando.

3. The Sancho manuscripts were, before the mid-1970's, readily available in the Bender Room in the Stanford University Library. See "Music of the Missions—A New Resource," *Stanford Observer*, October 1974; and, Robert Commanday, "Musical Life at the Early California Missions," *This World*, 14 July 1974, p. 23.

4. Photostats of the Sancho manuscripts are now in the California Folk Music Project files in the Works Progress Administration (WPA) collection in the Music Library at the University of California, Berkeley.

5. The Jerusalem Masses at Mission San Fernando are described below.

6. See the many publications of William Summers, given in the accompanying bibliography, for inventories of California mission music.

7 Father Maynard (died May 13, 1977) was himself one of the most distinguished historians of the California and Florida missions. His interest in all aspects of mission life led to the publication of his "Harmonious Notes in Spanish California," *Southern California Quarterly*, 57 (Fall 1975): 243-250. After Maynard Geiger's death, Virgilio Biasiol, O.F.M. assumed the duties of director at Mission Santa Barbara, a post he still holds in 1993.

8. This will be accomplished in the near future.

9. See his article "Two Polyphonic Passions from California's Mission Period," *Anuario (Yearbook of the Interamerican Institute for Musical Research)* 6 (1970): 67-76.

10. Father Virgilio Biasiol, O.F.M., Director, Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library, Old Mission 2201 Laguna Street Santa Barbara, California 93105. Telephone: (805) 682-4713.

11. A color copy was held in the 1970s by the Music Department at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Though another copy of this color microfilm is probably at the Santa Barbara Mission Archive, it eluded the author during his visit to the archive in the summer of 1993.

12. An exception, a bound volume of nineteenth-century manuscript music (*Música Religiosa*) at Mission Santa Barbara (composed and copied in Mexico) contains many different compositions in honor of the Virgin Mary for use during May. Several sets of these *Misterios* ("Mysteries") bear composer attributions. The most significant composer identified in this collection is Luis G. Araujo, author of the famous schottische *Salamanca (Un recuerdo a Salamanca)*. He is represented by at least five religious compositions: *Mes de María [Misterios 1-21]*, *Salve, Regina sin lave*, *Letania*, and *Himno al Santísimo Sacramento*. This book was brought by members of the Franciscan College in Zacatecas to Mission San Luis Rey when they assumed pastoral control of the California mission in the 1890s. The manuscript volume was brought to Mission Santa Barbara in the 1937 by Father Owen da Silva with the permission of the Franciscan superior at Mission San Luis Rey. This volume, because of its non-mission provenance, was not included in the microfilm copy of the musical manuscripts at Santa Barbara. However, it is indeed worthy of investigation.

13. These have been described by Owen da Silva and William Summers. The manuscripts included on this microfilm reel were filmed out of order, and, in some instances, upside down.

14. Call Number C-C 59, olim C-C 62. Among all candidates of California mission music manuscripts for publication in facsimile, the Durán choirbook, because of its length, the generally excellent state of preservation, the clarity of the scribal hand, and the significance of the music contained therein, is most worthy.

15. Photographs of selected pages are in the Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library (prints made from Owen da Silva's negatives); copies of these photographs are also at the AMRC. A microfilm copy is available at the Bancroft Library, which may also possess a microfilm copy of the San Rafael manuscript at the Santa Barbara Mission-Archive.

16. Call Number C-C 68: *California Mission Music*. It eluded detection by both Father Owen da Silva and Sister Mary Dominic Ray.

17. In this writer's opinion, if the holdings at the magnificent Bancroft Library were to be searched systematically and with a degree of diligence, more mission manuscripts and information about music in early California would be found.

18. This also appears in several of the other mission manuscripts.

19. Approximately 5 3/4" x 7" in size, this manuscript, lacking a title page and several interior pages, contains about 235 leaves.

20. The manuscript is now apparently in the vault, or is in storage at Mission San Diego, since, as of summer 1993, it was not on display in the newly-refurbished museum there.

21. *The New Grove Dictionary of American Music*, s.v. "Roman Catholic Church, Music of the," by John Grady; M. C. Verrett, *A Preliminary Survey of Roman Catholic Hymnals Published in the United States of America* (Washington, D.C., 1964).

22. Call number CC 60; photocopies in the AMRC. The entire manuscript is available on microfilm from the Bancroft Library.

23. Robert Stevenson was the first musicologist to look at the mission manuscripts at the Bancroft Library when, in 1950, he made notes about several of the manuscripts there. They were subsequently placed by the library staff in the portfolio along with the music. Stevenson, during more than forty years of research, time after time has been the first to recover systematically the Spanish musical patrimony in many regions in the Americas.

24. The author would like to thank William Summers for his continued assistance with various aspects of mission music. See *Southwestern Mission Research Center Newsletter*, 27 (September 1993): 18, 30-31, for a notice about Summers's work on mission music. (Contact Thomas Bleser, Southwestern Mission Research Center, Post Office Box 213 Tumacácori, Arizona 85640, for information about the valuable work of the SMRC.)

25. A forty-eight page manuscript evidently copied by Alphonse L. Pinart after 1850, perhaps on behalf of Hubert Howe Bancroft, from several earlier sources. Available on microfilm from the Bancroft Library.

26. A grammar and vocabulary in several Indian languages copied by Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta, 1821-1837; the second part of this manuscript contains music copied much later by Alphonse L. Pinart (transcript by E. F. Murray). Available on microfilm from the Bancroft Library.

27. C-C 19 contains music of Indian songs and dances (described by Stevenson); available on microfilm from the Bancroft Library.

28. Steve Sorensen, "The Spirit of Steve Ponchetti: An Indian Leader Leaves the Earth," *The Reader* (San Diego). 7 November 1985. I wish to acknowledge Steve Elster's assistance with information about Steve Ponchetti.

29. Robert Louis Stevenson, visiting Mission San Carlos de Borromeo in Carmel on the feast of Saint Charles of Borromeo on November 4, 1879 wrote the following: "An Indian, stone blind and about eighty years of age, conducts the singing; other Indians compose the choir; yet they have the Gregorian music at their finger ends, and pronounce the Latin so correctly that I could follow the meaning as they sang. The pronunciation was odd and nasal, the singing hurried and staccato. 'In saeculo-ho-horum,' they went, with a vigorous aspirate to every additional syllable. I have never seen faces more lit up with joy than the faces of these Indian singers. It was to them not only the worship of God, nor an act by which they recalled and commemorated better days, but was besides an exercise of culture, where all they knew of art and letters was united and expressed. And it made a man's heart sorry for the good fathers of yore, who had taught them to dig and to reap, to read and to sing, who had given them European mass-books, which they still preserve and study in their cottages, and who had now passed away from all authority and influence in that land—to be succeeded by greedy land thieves and sacrilegious pistol shots. So ugly a thing our Anglo-Saxon Protestantism may appear beside the doings of the Society of Jesus [sic]. Robert Louis Stevenson, "Across the Plains," *The Works of Robert Louis Stevenson* (New York: The Davis Press, 1906), 9, p. 83. This famous comment regarding music at the Carmel Mission first appeared in *Fraser's Magazine*, n. s. 131 (November 1880): 646-657; and later in *Robert Louis Stevenson's Story of Monterey: The Old Pacific Capital* (San Francisco: Colt Press, 1944).

30. Sister Mary Dominic Ray, research/field notes, American Music Research Center.

31. Steve Elster, a doctoral student in music at the University of California, San Diego, is currently conducting a study of the music of the Diegueño peoples of San Diego County, the results of which will appear in his forthcoming Ph.D. dissertation. Along with his study of indigenous musical practices, both sacred and secular, he is also investigating the lingering tradition of Spanish-language hymn singing, especially during funerals and wakes. He has interviewed Florence Ponchetti on many occasions and has had the privilege to hear the tape recordings made by her late husband Steve Ponchetti and to study the *cancioneros* (songbooks) prepared by Ponchetti of Spanish-language hymn texts.

32. Helen Hunt Jackson, *Glimpses of California and the Missions*. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1902: 96-97.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 98.

34. See Mamie Goulet Abbott, *Santa Inés Hermosa: The Journal of the Padre's Niece* (Santa Barbara: Sunwise Press, 1951): 223-235. See also Charles Francis Saunders and J. Smeaton Chase, *The California Padres and Their Missions* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1915), pp. 184-189.

35. These are presently in the Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library.

36. For which on November 26, 1917, in his frugal Franciscan way, Englehardt offered Fernandito, *muy estimado señor y amigo venerable* ("My Esteemed Sir and Venerable Friend"), the sum of \$1.00 (Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library). The texts copied by Fernandito also include one very interesting secular song about the French intervention in Mexico, the Empress Carlota, and General Miramón.

37 See the bibliography.

38. These were in the possession of Father Buckler's niece, Mamie Goulet Abbott, as late as 1951. Their present location is not known. See Mamie Goulet Abbott, *op. cit.*, p. 226. Father Owen da Silva heard these recordings at Abbott's house in Santa Barbara sometime in the 1930s.

39. Sidney Robertson Cowell's acetate discs of the hymns recorded at Pala, previously in the California Folk Music Collection at Berkeley, are currently located at the Archive of Recorded Sound at Stanford University. Robertson also recorded several examples of mission music as performed by the seminary choir at Mission Santa Barbara. For information about the alabado, see José de J. Núñez y Domínguez, "The Alabado and Alabanza," *Mexican Folkways* 1 (December 1926): 12-22.

40. The city was also known as San Buenaventura before incorporation in the nineteenth century.

41. Msgr. Francis J. Weber, Archivist, Archival Center, Archdiocese of Los Angeles, San Fernando Mission, 15151 San Fernando Mission Blvd. Mission Hills, California 91345. Telephone: (818) 365-1501. Mission San Fernando is located in Mission Hills, part of the city of Los Angeles; it lies outside the boundaries of the city of San Fernando, which takes its name from the mission.

42. Msgr. Weber has graciously allowed both William Summers and the author access to the manuscript.

43. For a description of this manuscript, see William John Summers, "New and Little Known Sources of Hispanic Music from California," *Inter-American Music Review* 11 (Spring-Summer 1991): 13-24, especially pp. 17-18, 23-24. Note: the inventory of Arroyo de la Cuesta manuscript on page 18 of Summers' article was inadvertently printed incorrectly in reference to pages 57-132; these pages do not appear in the manuscript. The non-musical part of this manuscript contains a Roman martyrology and an almanac. For information on Arroyo de la Cuesta, see Maynard Geiger, O.F.M. *Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California 1769-1848* (San Marino: the Huntington Library, 1969) pp. 19-24.

44. For information about the *Misa viscaína* see Robert Stevenson's review of *Ilustración musical en el país vasco* in *Inter-American Music Review* 12 (Fall-Winter 1992): 117-119.

45. Translation by the author.

46. For a description of a work by Jerusalém in California, see J. Adam, "Rare Old Books in the Bishop's Library," *Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California* 5 (1897): 154-156.

47. See George Harshbarger, *The Mass in G by Ignacio Jerusalem and its Place in the California Mission Music Repertory* (D.M.A. thesis, University of Washington, 1985). Photocopies of the vocal parts at Mission Santa Barbara are in the American Music Research Center. Harshbarger, through the encouragement of William Summers, was convinced of the worthiness of reconstructing and studying this mass for his doctoral thesis. Missing parts were supplied from the Mexico City Cathedral Archive (then at the Museo del Virreinato in Tepotzotlán. Microfilm copies may exist at the University of Texas).

48. Owen da Silva. *op. cit.*, p. 128.

49. John Koegel, *Hispanic-American Music in Nineteenth-Century California: The Lummis Wax Cylinder Collection at the Southwest Museum* (Ph.D. diss. in progress, The Claremont Graduate School, Claremont, CA).

50. Governor of Alta California, November 1822-November 1825.

51. Sister Mary Dominic Ray, California mission music research notes, AMRC; original letter in Taylor Collection, Chancery Archives, Archdiocese of San Francisco; copy in Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library.

52. See Gabriel Saldívar, *Historia de la música en México: Épocas precortesiana y colonial* (Mexico: Secretaría de Educación Pública, Departamento de Bellas Artes, 1934): 191-193; Francis Price, trans. and ed., "Letters of Narciso Durán," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 37 (June 1958): 97-128; 37 (September 1958): 241-265; and Maynard Geiger, O.F.M. "Harmonious Notes in Spanish California," *Southern California Quarterly* 57 (Fall 1975): 243-250. Lawrence Moe and Sister Dominic helped Geiger with musical details related to his article.

53. The specifications for Durán's organ as published in Geiger's article were used in the construction a few years ago by the Rosales Organ Company of Los Angeles of a pipe organ for the reconstructed church at Mission San José (the original church having been destroyed in the nineteenth century). The organ builders were apparently unaware of Price's edition of Durán's letters or Saldívar's reference to Durán order for an organ.

54. Richard Henry Dana, the well-known chronicler of seafaring and hide-and-tallow-trading by the Boston ships up and down the California coast in the 1830s, mentioned having heard trumpeters and drummers at the Monterey Presidio. (*Two Years Before the Mast: A Personal Narrative of Life at Sea*. [London: The Folio Society, 1986], p. 57; reprinted from the first edition of 1840, published in New York by Harper and Brothers). Trumpets were also to be found in the mission in New Mexico (in addition to those in California), for *dos clarines mui sonoros en voz* ("two trumpets/bugles, very sonorous sounding") were listed in an inventory made at Santo Domingo Pueblo, New Mexico on September 20, 1789 (Huntington Library, Ritch Collection, RI 1842).

55. José de la Guerra y Noriega, patriarch of the patrician de la Guerra family of Santa Barbara (and Ventura), owned a copy of: *Instrucción provisional para los comisarios generales que han de administrar los ramos de la hacienda pública del gobierno general de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos* (Mexico: Imprenta del Supremo Gobierno de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos en Palacio, 1824) Huntington Library. De la Guerra Collection. Folder 1101; original at Santa Barbara Mission Archive. The following pay schedule extracted from this directive indicates the presence of military musicians in Mexican garrisons and also points to the possibility of these musicians also being employed in the California presidios. A pay list in The Huntington Library (Ritch Collection, RI 168) documents the employment of a military musician in New Mexico in the Mexican period. *Compañía permanente de Santa Fe. Número 11. Departamento de la Nueva Méjico. Enero-Diciembre 1838* (Permanent [Military] Company of Santa Fe. Number 11. Department of New Mexico. January-December 1838) 1 Clarín 144 pesos [yearly].

56. See musical entries in the index to Eleanor B. Adams and Fray Angelico Chávez, *The Missions of New Mexico, 1776: A Description by Fray Francisco Atanasio Dominguez with Other Contemporary Documents* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1956).

57. See Lincoln B. Spiess's three articles: "Benavides and Church Music in New Mexico in the Early Seventeenth Century," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 17 (Summer 1964): 144-156; "Church Music in Seventeenth-Century New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review* 40 (January 1965): 5-21; "Instruments in the Missions of New Mexico," in *Essays in Musicology, a Birthday Offering for Willi Apel* (Bloomington: Indiana University School of Music, 1968): 131-136.

58. Nick Papas, an enterprising high school student and conductor from Hudson, Ohio, in search of California and Southwest mission music to perform in concert, contacted Delmer Rogers of the University of Texas, Austin, regarding music in the Texas missions. Rogers alerted Papas to music with an apparent mission connection in his extensive personal collection and in the archives at Our Lady of the Lake College in San Antonio, Texas. The works reputedly at Our Lady of the Lake College may have been collected by Sister Joan of Arc, C.D.P., author of "Mission Music of the Southwest," *Catholic Choirmaster* 26/3 (13 September 1940): 102-104; and *Catholic Musicians in Texas* (San Antonio: Our Lady of the Lake College, 1936).

59. There may be a correspondence between the Texas *Misa de San Antonio* and the Mass from the California missions with the same title.

60. See the CD recording by Hesperus, *Spain in the New World* (Golden Apple, 1990), which includes works by Antonio de Salazar, and Manuel de Zumaya, chapelmasters in colonial Mexico (New Spain).

61. See Eleanor B. Adams and Fray Angélico Chávez, *op. cit.*

62. See E. Boyd, "A Roman Missal from Santa Cruz Mission," *El Palacio* 64 (July/August 1957): 233-237; and Lincoln B. Spiess, "A Group of Books from Colonial New Mexico," in *Hispanic Arts and Ethnohistory in the Southwest: New Papers Inspired by the Work of E. Boyd*, eds. Marta Weigle and Claudia Larcombe (Santa Fe: Ancient City Press, 1983): 358-377.

63. See Alfred E. Lemmon, "Los jesuitas y la música de Baja California," *Heterofonía*, 10/4 (1977): 13-17; 10/5 (1977): 14-18; and "Preliminary Investigation: Music in the Jesuit Missions of Baja California (1698-1767)," *The Journal of San Diego History* 25/4 (Fall 1979): 287-297. In addition to his work on Jesuit music, as well as with music in Guatemala and Mexico, Lemmon is interested in the sacred music traditions of Spanish Louisiana.

64. The need for musical editions of this music is great indeed. An edition of California mission music would fit in well with the objectives of the soon-to-commence publishing program of the "monuments" series *Music in the United States*, based at the University of Michigan, and supported by various scholarly groups (especially the American Musicological Society) and by government grants.

65. While a number of theses have been written on California mission music for the degrees of Master of Arts and Doctor of Musical Arts, to the best of my knowledge, no musicologist has submitted to a university in the United States a dissertation on California mission music for the Ph.D.

66. For information about the transcription of Spanish colonial music, see Lauro Ayestarán, "El barroco musical hispano-americano: Los manuscritos de la iglesia de San Felipe Neri (Sucre, Bolivia) existentes en el Museo Histórico Nacional del Uruguay," *Anuario (Yearbook for Inter-American Music Research)* 1 (1965): 55-93.

67. The performance of chant in the missions—really the most common form of Catholic sacred music heard there since polyphony was a special addition to the liturgy—would be a worthy topic for investigation. Many colonial chant manuscripts (especially graduals and antiphonals), as yet undescribed in the literature, exist in missions and archives throughout California. These chant books are known to have been copied in California and contain both polyphony and chant. The museum at Mission San Diego has on display several manuscripts and fragments of chant which may have a California connection. Mission San Carlos de Borromeo in Carmel possesses an eight-page manuscript of a *Messa in quinto Tuono* which was attributed to Esteban Tapis, but was probably a manuscript deposited in the museum by Carmel Mission archivist and historian Harry Downie (a copy is in the AMRC). Besides this, Mission San Carlos de Borromeo possesses other chant fragments and books. Archivist Richard Menn (Mission San Carlos de Borromeo Post Office Box 2235 Carmel, California 93921 Telephone: (408) 624-1271) can provide further information about these materials. According to da Silva, Mission San Luis Rey owned at one time seven large antiphonals which were brought to the mission in 1893 with the arrival of Franciscans from the Mexican province of Zacatecas. Most of these were later sold. Mission San Gabriel, closed for a number of years because of earthquake damage, and due to reopen in the fall of 1993, may possess chant manuscripts and books. Mission Santa Inéz holds a number of chant books, as does Mission San Antonio de Padua, and as may Missions San Juan Bautista and San Miguel

Arcángel. Other colonial period chant manuscripts and imprints can be found at Stanford University Library, the Antonio Coronel Collection at the Seaver Center for Western History Research at the Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History, the Latin American Library at Tulane University in New Orleans, the library at the University of the Pacific in Stockton, California, the libraries at Connecticut College, Washington University, St. Louis, and possibly at the University of Texas and the University of New Mexico. Thorough investigation will undoubtedly turn up a number of other sources of plainsong. For addresses of the many mission and ecclesiastical archives in California see Msgr. Francis J. Weber's important guide to California's Catholic archives, "Archival Sources for the History of Religion in California" in the bibliography.

68. Sister Mary Dominic collected some of the melodies of the tunes on the barrels of the San Juan Bautista barrel organ (*Speed Plough, Money Musk, College Hornpipe*). For the best discussion of the San Juan Bautista barrel organ, see Norman Benson, "Mission Music in the California Missions: 1602-1848," in the bibliography.

69. At least one plainchant tutor explicitly mentions in its title the two ubiquitous instruments in the Spanish dominions, the guitar and the violin, and therefore may provide a key to the understanding of how chant was accompanied by them. P. Manuel de Paz, *Medula del Canto Llanolen que se explican con toda claridad/sus esenciales reglas, con una breve instrucción para/cantar con facilidad por las Claves que tuvieron uno, dos/tres y cuatro sostenidos y B moles; y se explica el Diapasón del Violín para los aficionados a este instrumento, y modo de templarle con la Guitarra: y se añade una breve práctica del Canto Llano para los días/más festivos del año, arreglada del modo posible/a los acentos gramaticales*. (Madrid: Joachin Ibarra, 1767).

70. See Lincoln B. Spiess, "A Group of Books from Colonial New Mexico," *Hispanic Arts and Ethnohistory in the Southwest. New Papers Inspired by the Work of E. Boyd*, ed. Marta Weigle and Claudia Larcombe (Santa Fe: Ancient City Press, 1983), p. 376; William John Summers, "Spanish Music in California, 1769-1840: A Reassessment," in *Report of the Twelfth Congress Berkeley 1977, International Musicological Society* (Kassel: Barenreiter, 1981): 360-380; and "The Spanish Origins of California Mission Music," *Transplanted European Music Cultures* (Adelaide Studies in Musicology, Vol. 12) (n. p., 1987): 109-126.