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San Diego Presidio: A Vanished Military Community of Upper California

ABSTRACT

Popular views of San Diego Presidio portray it as a fortified community, inhabited largely by Spanish soldiers, who followed customs that were predominantly European. Ongoing documentary and archaeological research suggest that these views represent an inaccurate picture of the settlement and its people. For more than a third of its years of existence (1769–1835), the presidio was not protected by any fortifications. Throughout its history, the population of the base included large numbers of civilians. The people of the presidio represented a racially mixed community. The way of life that they pursued included elements that drew heavily on local Native American, and Mesoamerican, cultural roots.

Introduction

In 1769, San Diego Presidio was established as the first of four military colonies (San Diego, Monterey, San Francisco, and Santa Bárbara) that would be created in the province of Alta (upper) California (Figure 1). During the decades that followed, it became one of the most important settlements in the region. San Diego Presidio served as a major center of food production as well as military, administrative, and commercial activities. Between 1830 and 1835, the military colony was slowly abandoned as its population moved into a nearby civilian settlement.

Unlike the other three military bases in Alta California, the San Diego Presidio site has remained largely untouched by subsequent urban development. In 1929 the ruins of the settlement were incorporated into a city park. Although the location continues to be threatened by erosion, recent archaeological investigations demonstrate that much of the central core of the presidio remains intact (Williams 1997a; Crosby et al. 1999). Some portions of the presidio's adobe walls are more than 6 ft. tall, and many of the more fragile kinds of architectural features that have been lost at other locations, still exist.

San Diego Presidio has attracted the attention of a number of local archaeologists and amateur investigators. During the first half of the 20th century, Percy Broell, a civil engineer, conducted informal excavations in many parts of the outpost (Broell 1938, 1939a, 1939b). Between 1965 and 1976, Paul Ezell directed work in the south wing of the base (Brockington and Brandes 1965; Ezell 1968, 1970, 1976, 1983; Ezell and Broadbent 1968; Ezell and Ezell 1980). His investigations were followed by those of Diane Barbolla in the west wing and adjacent gun battery (Barbolla 1983, 1992). Between 1987 and 1990, Brad Bartel tested portions of the north wing (Bartel 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991). A detailed summary of these projects and some of their preliminary findings is provided in Williams (1997b:57–93) (Figure 2). Unfortunately, although a significant amount of the ruins was unearthed, the results of these investigations have never been comprehensively reported.

The San Diego Presidio Archaeology Project was brought into existence in 1992 in an attempt to study those areas of the site that were being threatened, or destroyed, by erosion. During the next six years various areas of the presidio were investigated, including much of the north wing. Since 1998, work has continued on the

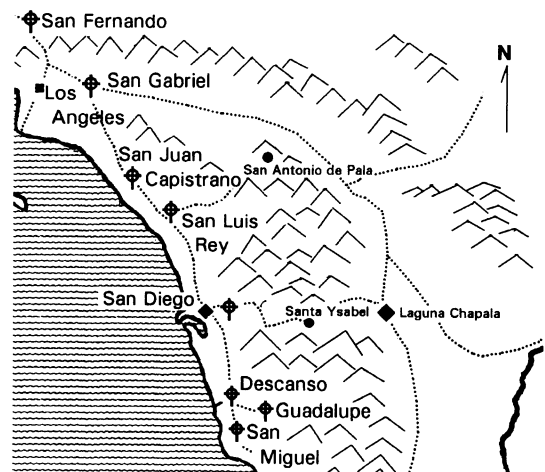


Figure 1. San Diego Presidio District, ca. 1830.

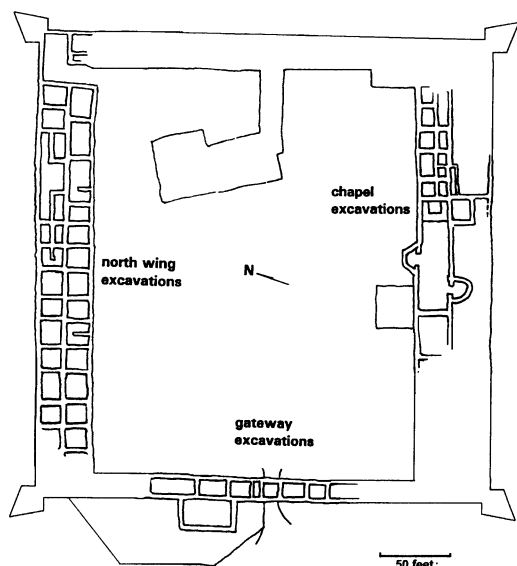


Figure 2. Archaeological plan of San Diego Presidio.

laboratory analysis of materials recovered from the site during the last four decades. This essay presents some of the preliminary findings about the people, the buildings, and the artifacts of the presidio.

People of the Presidio

Popular views of the early California presidios have often presented them as having a population made up primarily of European soldiers (Armento et al. 1991:58–75). A careful examination of the available evidence suggests that this view is fundamentally inaccurate in regards to San Diego. The following section is based on more detailed studies of the presidio population provided by William Mason (1978, 1998) and Jack Williams (1996, 2001a).

Throughout its history, the Presidio of San Diego was inhabited by a large percentage of civilians. In 1769, the outpost was established as a combined mission and presidio. The first residents counted 21 males, including soldiers, Franciscan missionaries, Indian servants, and Christian Indian laborers from Baja (lower) California. A large portion of the enlisted men who were stationed in San Diego had families in the south in 1772. Government officials firmly established the right of these individu-

als, and other civilians who might desire it, to live inside the presidio (Carlos III 1772). The soldiers undoubtedly expected the eventual transfer of their families to the new outpost, as such relocations were a common practice throughout the northern frontier. A lack of transportation resources prevented the immediate implementation of plans to bring these people to Alta California. The government did manage to install some other essential civilians in San Diego before 1773, including a number of muleteers, carpenters, blacksmiths, and a post sutler. The official garrison size grew to 56, although 30 of the men resided at the missions in the surrounding presidio district. The non-Indian population living at the site did not exceed 30 people between 1769 and 1774. An Indian village with as many as 100 residents stood adjacent to the presidio/mission complex. In August 1774, the mission and presidio were formally separated. The Franciscan outpost and its Christian Indians moved to a new site more than 4 miles away.

Between 1774 and 1781, more than 100 fresh military recruits and civilians headed for Alta California. A significant number of these settlers ended up at the Presidio of San Diego. They included children, wives, and other members of colonists' extended families. A small number of local Indian women joined the presidio population through marriage. Between 1774 and 1780, the permanent population of San Diego grew to more than 100 people. Most of the colonists were members of military families who also engaged in part-time ranching and farming, activities that were encouraged under the Regulation of 1772. In 1781, San Diego's population represented about 16% of Alta California's 600 Latinos.

After 1781, the supply of new colonists from other regions sharply declined. By 1790, the number of marriages between Latino men and California Indians had also decreased dramatically. The non-Indian population of Alta California continued to increase largely through new births. Between 1781 and 1796, the garrison generally included about 55 soldiers. More than half of the men resided with their families at the outlying missions of the district. By 1790, 190 people, mostly representing civilian dependents and retirees, lived at the presidio. Besides farming and ranching, the soldiers were allowed to engage in part-time wage

work as blacksmiths, carpenters, pottery and tile manufacturers, tailors, and even schoolteachers. Male civilians worked as laborers, woodcutters, muleteers, farmers, and ranchers. Females informally made money through work as laundresses, cooks, midwives, *curanderas* (folk medicine specialists), and perhaps as prostitutes (Williams 2003). During the next decade, a number of civilian artisans were hired by the Crown and sent to the presidios to introduce additional trades, including weaving, cobbling, the arts of the millwright, saddle making, and other leather-working crafts (Williams 2001a). A report issued in 1791 lists 117 males and 95 females living at the outpost. About half of these people were children. The number of colonists in Alta California had grown to a little more than 1,000, and San Diego Presidio now housed around 20% of this figure.

The year 1796 witnessed a temporary influx of soldiers without dependents, including men from the First Company of Catalonian Volunteers as well as the Corps of Royal Artillery. These men had no right to engage in farming or ranching at the presidios. After their arrival, the number of San Diego colonists officially increased to 231. During the next 25 years (1796–1821), the regular presidio garrison was increased, and a number of other troop transfers were made. In contrast with earlier groups, many of the new soldiers were not allowed to marry or to bring dependents to their new assignments. By 1821, the garrison of San Diego exceeded 100 soldiers. Forty-one of the enlisted men had wives and families. The influx of new troops seems to have had only superficial effects on the permanent population. At the end of the colonial period, the settlement seems to have still had about 200 permanent inhabitants. The stabilization of San Diego's population stood in sharp contrast with the overall growth experienced by Alta California during the same era (1796–1821). By the end of the colonial period, the province's colonists numbered a little more than 3,000, with San Diego Presidio's population representing only slightly less than 7% of this group.

Following Mexican independence, the outpost experienced a period of rapid growth. A small number of *presidarios* (convict laborers) were sent to the base from the south between 1822 and 1824. New waves of soldiers and civilians

arrived in San Diego after Governor José María Echeandía made the presidio his residence, and de facto capital, in 1825. The Latino population expanded to between 400 and 520 people. An additional 150 Native Americans were also associated with the base and probably worked there as paid domestics, farm hands, cowboys, and construction workers. These Indians may have lived on the presidio's outskirts. By 1830, the community included soldiers, bureaucrats, ranchers, farmers, servants, peddlers, laborers, convicts, thieves, saloonkeepers, prostitutes, beggars, and a number of foreign merchants.

During the first two decades of the 19th century, some of the presidio families had begun to live on small plots of land in the adjacent flood plain of the San Diego River. These properties had been granted for use as farms under the Regulation of 1772. Other families had built new homes outside the old ramparts, close to the original presidio compound. After 1825, it is clear that these areas had become informal *barrios* (neighborhoods) of the settlement. In 1833, Governor Echeandía formalized the division between the civilian and military areas of the community by granting a charter to the Pueblo of San Diego (this settlement had no connection with San Diego Mission or the neophyte pueblo that existed there). By 1835, the combined population of the two settlements included 625 people. Before the end of the year, the presidio complex, which had fallen into severe disrepair, is described as being abandoned, and the garrison headquarters relocated to the new town plaza.

The foregoing description is based largely on information contained in government reports and correspondence (considered at length in Williams 1996). Several other lines of evidence independently confirm the presence of large numbers (as many as 400) of civilians at San Diego Presidio. Fragmentary parish records, including the books of the dead and baptisms, provide the names and biographical information about hundreds of individual civilian colonists (Griffen 1994; Griffen and La Coste 1996). Archaeological investigations of the chapel and adjacent cemetery also provide dramatic physical evidence of the presence of civilians at the outpost (Howard 1975). Clearly, the popular view that soldiers represented most of the people that lived in the presidio cannot be supported.

As noted previously, the authors of popular studies have also emphasized the European character of San Diego Presidio's inhabitants. Although data about the ethnic origins and place of birth of the settlers who came to the base is somewhat fragmentary, enough information has survived to demonstrate that very few of the colonists were born in Spain and less than half were of pure Spanish, or European, descent. Instead, most of the civilian immigrants and soldiers were *castas* (racially mixed people).

From the start, the settlement of Alta California depended on soldiers from Northwestern New Spain. The colonists of this region represented a racially mixed population. One Jesuit missionary bluntly insisted

there is scarcely one who could trace his origin to a Spanish family of pure blood. Practically all those who wish to be considered Spaniards are people of mixed blood. Miscegenation has resulted in the existence of four classes of people, each bearing its particular name. ... the four classes are called respectively *coyotes*, *mulattos*, *lobos* and *castizos*. The *coyotes* (elsewhere called *mestizos*) are the most numerous group. This name means offspring of a European and an Indian. ... The *mulattos* are those of Spanish father and negro mother... *Lobos* are offspring of mulatto on one side and negro on the other. ... In the first place among the four groups named stand the *castizos* ... the offspring resulting from the mating of a Spaniard and a *coyote*. ... In color and custom, they are so like the Spaniards that one cannot tell them from Spaniards (Pfefferkorn 1989:284–285).

In general, the frontier population that filled the towns and presidios of Northern New Spain

was recognized as both racially diverse, and to a considerable extent, culturally unified. The northerners (*Norteños*) participated in colonial society through a common religion, language, and other customs. Collectively, they were called "*gente de razón*" (people of reason) in contrast with the non-Christian Indians, who were usually called "*gente sin razón*" (people without the ability to reason) or, less kindly, "*indios barbaros*" (barbarian Indians) (Hastings 1962; Dobyns 1976, 1980; Campa 1979; Jones 1979; Williams 2001a).

Detailed information about the ethnic composition and place of birth of the presidio's population is available for the years 1782 and 1790. The information is summarized in tables 1 and 2. The reported figures in regards to ethnicity need to take into account the willingness and ability of people during the later colonial period to exaggerate their European blood (so-called caste drift). The preferred status of *criollo* (person of pure Spanish blood born in the Americas) was often applied to individuals who under other circumstances might be recognized as being racially mixed. The less-prestigious categories should probably be increased on a magnitude of 10–50% (Mason 1978:419, 1998:45–64; Jones 1979:13–14; Williams 1996). The last direct reference to ethnicity at the Presidio of San Diego was provided in 1818 when the base commander noted that the population was about one-third Spanish, one-third mestizo, and one-third Afro-Hispanic. Despite their diverse origins, the presidio colonists of the early Mexican Republic era (1821–1835) adopted the idea

TABLE 1
ETHNICITY OF SAN DIEGO PRESIDIO RESIDENTS

	1782	1790 ^a	Comments
Españoles	59.6%	52.1%	Spaniards (including those born in America)
Europeos	–	3.1%	European (non-Spaniards)
Mestizos	32.7%	2.1%	Indian/Spanish descent
Quebrados	–	10.4%	Racially mixed
Coyotes (Lobos?)	3.8%	7.3%	Racially mixed
Mulattos	1.9%	15.6%	African/Spanish descent
Indios	1.9%	9.4%	Native Americans
Counts	57	190	1782 count only includes garrison

Note: Based on information presented in Mason (1978).

^a In a separate count of adults done in 1790, San Diego's 94 adults were listed as 55% of European descent; 10% of mixed European and Indian descent; 27% of mixed European and African descent; and 9% of Indian descent (Mason 1998:50).

TABLE 2
PLACE OF BIRTH OF SAN DIEGO PRESIDIO RESIDENTS

	1782	1790	Comments
Sonora	49.0%	53.8%	
Baja California	20.4%	24.2%	
Other parts of New Spain	18.4%	15.4%	
Other American colonies	2.0%	1.1%	
Europe	6.1%	3.1%	
Unclear	4.1%	2.2%	
Counts	57	190	1782 count only includes garrison

Note: Based on information presented in Mason (1978).

that they were *Californios* (Californians) who were racially homogenous, white Spaniards who happened to live in a specific region. As a result of changes in census-keeping rules, no government officials challenged this view.

Surviving parish records independently confirm the presence of many different ethnic groups at the presidio (Griffen 1994; Griffen and La Coste 1996). Other documents provide evidence of a small number of United States citizens, Britains, Italians, Belgians, Peruvians, Filipinos, and Polynesians (Mason 1978, 1998; Williams 1996, 2001a). Archaeological investigations of the chapel and adjacent cemetery also provided dramatic physical evidence of the presence of many ethnic groups, including Europeans, mestizos, Indians, and other racially mixed peoples (Howard 1975:97–107). In regards to their status as colonists, it is clear that the presidio population was far more closely linked to colonial northwestern Mexico and its racially mixed society of *gente de razón*, than it was to anything in Spain.

Buildings of the Presidio

Popular interpretations of the Alta California presidios have often emphasized that the settlements were protected by positional defenses and that they represented little more than forts equipped with facilities to house soldiers and military equipment (Armento et al. 1991:58–75). Archaeological and documentary evidence from San Diego and other presidio sites suggest that this view represents a significant distortion.

Since no contemporary maps, drawings, or detailed descriptions of San Diego Presidio exist, archaeology has played a particularly

important part in establishing the appearance of the base. As a result of the irregular character of the hillside and the multiple episodes of rebuilding, early efforts to make sense of the ruins based on surface surveys were not successful. Since 1965, a significant portion of the ground plan has been unearthed. Computer software designed to facilitate architectural planning has allowed us to link various areas of the site together to create a comprehensive picture of the structures that combines the available archaeological and historical evidence into a single database. The following account of the presidio’s development is based on this research, which is more thoroughly described in Williams (1997a, 2001b).

The first constructions built for the army on San Diego’s Presidio Hill consisted of a temporary military *real* (an encampment) established on 14 May 1769. Popular tradition suggests that this complex was laid out at the base of the slope near the so-called Serra Palms. The military engineer, Miguel Costansó, designed the facility, which included fortifications, tents, and huts. The camp was apparently relocated to the upper hillside on 16 July after the main party of the expedition had continued north in search of Monterey Bay. An Indian attack on 15 August prompted the construction of a small log stockade.

The first wooden compound included a small chapel, some huts, and an informal hospital. These buildings apparently fell into disuse between 1770 and 1774. A more spacious presidio/mission complex, probably similar to the one created at Monterey, was planned and laid out at the site. A large number (more than 1,000) of earthen blocks (adobes) were created,

and several tons of cobbles were collected for building foundations. During the construction of the new complex, the colonists continued to live in huts and tents. Disputes between government and church officials lead to the relocation of the mission in January 1774. Henceforth, the army had exclusive control of Presidio Hill.

By November 1775, the base still consisted of an open cluster of huts and thatched wooden buildings. These structures included a dilapidated chapel, a barracks/storeroom, and a house for the use of visiting padres. Some of the buildings were surrounded by a partially completed log stockade measuring 218 ft. on a side (Figure 3).

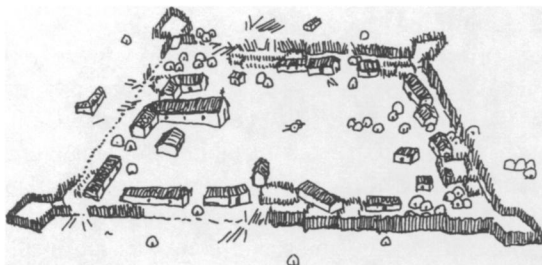


Figure 3. San Diego Presidio, ca. 1775.

During the first major native uprising to take place in San Diego (the Kumyaay rebellion of 1775–1776), a series of emergency renovations were made. The huts that obstructed movement in the main plaza were torn down. *Azoteas* (flat earthen roofs) replaced the grass and brush coverings. A new defensive enclosure (109 × 218 ft.) was created using logs and adobes with bastions at opposite corners. The buildings at the base now included a barracks, storehouses, and a guardhouse.

As large numbers of troops massed in San Diego (more than 250 men) to deal with the revolt, the military commander of Alta California, Fernando Rivera y Moncada, directed the construction of a new adobe complex in keeping with the Regulation of 1772 (Carlos III; Williams, this volume). In 1778 and 1779, visiting naval officers described the project as being nearly finished. The presidio was built as a fortified adobe quadrangle, with areas assigned to soldiers' barracks, a commander's

house, a guardhouse, homes for civilians and troopers with dependents, a residential area for visiting padres, storehouses for the missionaries and the crown, a blacksmith, and a carpenters' shop. Plans called for the outer wall to be protected by bastions. As late as 1779, only one of these corner defenses had been completed. The original brush chapel, which was still in use, lay outside the presidio compound, some 30 ft. away. In keeping with the Lafora master plan, the complex measured approximately 300 ft. on each side (Figure 4).

In 1781, the arrival of the new post commander, José de Zúñiga, helped to facilitate a series of major renovations at San Diego. These changes were based in part on the new master plan for presidios that had been created by the engineer, Gerónimo de la Rocha y Figueroa (Williams, this volume). The new construction projects included the creation of a freestanding outer defense wall equipped with triangular bastions. The space between the defense wall and the original constructions was divided into a series of rear yards and corrals. Zúñiga also oversaw the creation of a new chapel and the replacement of the base's flat earthen roofs with those made out of tiles.

The period between 1791 and 1810 saw the creation of a number of other structures. The building projects included a new commander's house, a second communal barracks complex, and a gun battery. Other emergency repair efforts were made necessary by erosion, wood decay, structural fires, and earthquakes. Archaeological evidence suggests that many of the rear yards that had been created by Zúñiga were eventually roofed. This modification produced

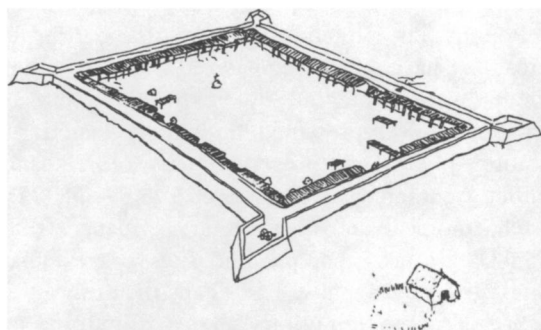


Figure 4. San Diego Presidio, ca. 1779.

new rooms that could be used for storage or residences. By 1810, the second version of the adobe citadel was at its most elaborate stage of development (Figure 5).

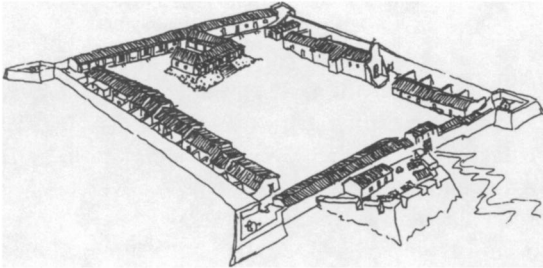


Figure 5. San Diego Presidio, ca. 1799.

During the War of Independence (1810–1821), financial problems blocked the completion of most maintenance activities and new construction projects. By the end of the conflict, the base was no longer protected by bastions. Portions of the outer defense wall soon collapsed. Other complications were created by the system of property ownership introduced by the Regulation of 1772. The titles of individual house lots had been assigned to married soldiers and civilians that lived at the base. The power of military officials to control the building activities of property owners was not made clear in the royal ordinances. The only way that the government could repossess a house lot was for its inhabitants to move away. Any major changes to the overall size, or configuration, of the presidio at its original location would inevitably result in conflicts with civilians. The general situation was made worse at San Diego by the fact that the Franciscans also held legal title to a warehouse and apartment complex in the south wing. Governor Pablo Solá became so dissatisfied with the situation that he ordered the presidio be rebuilt 822 ft. to the north. The government's lack of funds, and perhaps public pressure, prevented anyone from carrying out the project.

After 1821, the financial problems of the new nation of Mexico undermined efforts to maintain or repair the outpost. Prior to 1826, the remnants of the presidio enclosure

continued to protect the base. The population of approximately 200 inhabitants was mostly housed in the same decaying buildings that had existed on Presidio Hill since the turn of the century. After the arrival of Governor Echeandía, the number of people living in the presidio rapidly increased. New housing had to be created. The room blocks that corresponded to the western and northern sides of the presidios were expanded into adjacent areas. Some portions of the decayed ramparts were demolished. Many of the new housing areas developed into small plazas, located along the edge of the old adobe compound (Figure 6).

Other buildings were created on the nearby flood plain of the San Diego River. By 1830, the older presidio complex continued to exist as part of a larger open settlement. The cluster of dispersed houses stretched for several thousand feet from the original presidio site to the area that would later become the main plaza of the Pueblo of San Diego. The chaotic character of the base did not impress the governor, who was a military engineer, or the members of his staff, which included a second engineer, Romualdo Pacheco. These men developed plans for a new fortified military base to be constructed to the west, on the banks of the San Diego River. Prior to the completion of the rebuilt presidio, a flood moved the river channel, leaving the site without access to fresh water. Subsequently the project was abandoned.

After the formal establishment of a town, the decrepit presidio structures were gradually abandoned in favor of buildings located closer to the pueblo's main plaza. After 1835, portions

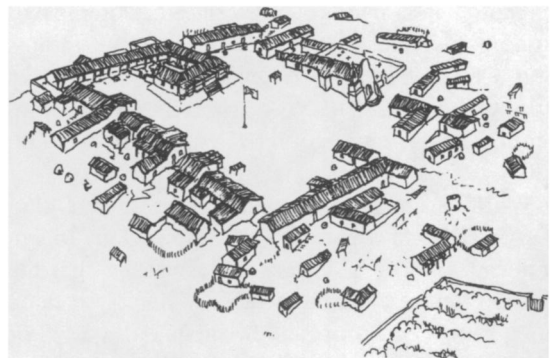


Figure 6. San Diego Presidio, ca. 1830.

of the presidio's tile roofs and building timbers were sold and dismantled for reuse in the town. San Diego Presidio officially existed on paper for another seven years. Without funds for facilities or salaries, the government did nothing to rebuild or staff the base.

Between 1769 and 1842, the buildings of San Diego Presidio had passed through a number of distinct stages of development. From 1776 to 1821 the settlement can be accurately described as a fort, although it included facilities that reflected many activities that had no obvious connection with the army. After 1821, the last vestiges of fortifications disappeared, and San Diego Presidio became an open cluster of buildings surrounding a large plaza. Although a garrison resided in the settlement, it was otherwise similar to Alta California's pueblos. For 27 of its 73 years, San Diego Presidio had no fortifications. In light of the architectural and demographic evidence at hand, it appears that the suggestions that San Diego Presidio was simply a military fort, housing soldiers and army equipment, is less than accurate.

Artifacts from the Presidio

Some of the general characteristics of the artifacts recovered from San Diego Presidio since 1976 have been summarized in tables 3 and 4. One of the major research questions that is now being pursued through the analysis of the collections, involves the origins of the material culture found at the site. The documentary record indicates that presidio settlers were systematically exposed to Native Americans. In similar circumstances, in other regions, Latinos adopted Indian characteristics. Analyses showing evidence for Indian cultural influence on colonists includes archaeological studies of Sonora (Williams 1991, 1992, 1999; Williams and Cohen 1993), Alta California (Williams and Cohen 1985), New Mexico (Snow and Stoller 1987), and Florida (Deagan 1973, 1974, 1980, 1983).

While archaeologists have emphasized that native artifacts are evidence of important Indian influences, most historians have insisted that the frontier settlers, although racially diverse, shared an essentially European, Spanish culture. For example, David Weber has stated:

Although they effected remarkable changes in the natural and native worlds, Spaniards had come to the frontiers of North America hoping to change little in their own lives except to enhance their wealth and status. Like other Europeans in America, they succeeded remarkably well. ... material culture, institutions, social structure, and family underwent modest transformations.... Hispanic frontier culture and society did not represent a true synthesis of elements from the native and Iberian Worlds (Weber 1992:313).

If claims that the settlers shared an essentially European, Spanish culture are valid, then the artifacts present should reflect such origins. If significant numbers of the items recovered were produced by Indians, or if they imitate native forms or methods of production, then they can be said to suggest the alternative idea that the culture reflected a synthesis of native and Iberian lifeways.

Locally produced Indian plainware pottery represents the most abundant kind of ceramics found at the site. Such Kumyaay wares represents more than 75% of the ceramics recovered from the presidio. Other Native American pottery collected from San Diego includes decorated serving wares created by the Quechan and Kamia peoples that live to the east in the coastal ranges (Kamia) and along the Colorado River (Quechan). Steatite *comales* and bowls represent another class of native tradition wares that were acquired from Indians living near the Santa Bárbara Channel to the north. Chipped stone and ground-stone items associated with Indian technology, such as utilized flakes, projectile points, scrapers, *manos*, pestles, hopper mortars, and *metates*, are also distributed throughout the site. Many of these items have forms that are consistent with those used by Southern California aboriginal peoples. Thousands of pieces of native tradition shell jewelry, in the form of disk beads and pendants, have also been recovered.

Items that have clear ties to Mesoamerica include ground-stone objects and ceramics. The rectangular *manos* and tripod *metates* imported to the site have some of the most obvious links to this tradition. Some of the chipped-stone items that have been recovered may also have ties to ancient Mexico. Chipped-stone and chipped-glass cutting tools with similar basic forms have continued to be used in remote regions of Mesoamerica into the later 20th

TABLE 3
MAJOR CLASSES OF ARTIFACTS FROM SAN DIEGO PRESIDIO

General Category	Specific Items	Notes
Construction materials	Cobbles, adobe bricks, roof tiles, fired bricks, cement, roof beams, plaster, white wash, and undressed sandstone	
Ceramics	Imported serving wares and chamber pots, including maiolica, pearlware, cream ware, Chinese porcelain, Bruñida de Tonalá ware, Colorado River Buff Ware, stoneware, and ironstone ware	Maiolica predominates in early deposits; British-produced wares predominate during the later period.
	Cooking and storage wares, including Tizon Brown Ware (Southern California Brown Ware), Presidio Redware, Presidio Plainware, lead-glazed wares (galeraware)	Presidio-tradition wares reflect European forms; some early plainware vessels may have originated in Nayarit.
	Other ceramic objects, including olive jars, smoking pipes, gaming pieces, spindle whorls, marbles, dolls, and beads	Pipes include both kaolin European and Kumyaay examples.
Stone	Chipped stone objects, including flakes, projectile points, drills, burins, cores, and scrapers	Raw materials for points and drills include bottle glass.
	Ground stone objects, including <i>manos</i> , <i>metates</i> , bowls, shaft straighteners, pestles, whetstones, hammerstones, beads, and comales	Includes both Mesoamerican and local style <i>manos</i> and <i>metates</i> .
Glass	Bottles and serving ware fragments, tumblers and bottles Glass jewelry includes beads, earrings, and false pearls	
Metal ^a	Hardware, including nails, spikes, hinges, and lock parts Cooking-related items, including brass or copper vessel fragments, forks, knives	Most items are iron.
	Clothing and jewelry items, including buttons, buckles, hook-and-eye fasteners, jewelry (finger rings, earrings, bracelets, sequins, cuff links), and copper braid	One ring had a Chinese inscription.
	Maritime related items, including copper nails, patches of hull sheathing	
	Weapons fragments, including musket parts, pistol parts, artillery munitions, gunners' tools, scabbard parts, lead munitions for pistols and muskets, waste lead	Some evidence of casting at the site.
	Other tools, including chisels, razors, utility knives, sewing needles, thimbles and keys	
	Other metal items, including tinklers, jangles, coins, bailing seals, barrel hoops, crucifixes, saints' medals, and watch parts.	
Plant remains	Corncobs, beans, peach pits, olive pits, and pinecone bracts	All the recovered examples were carbonized.

^a Note: Many corroded iron objects could not be identified.

TABLE 4
MAJOR CLASSES OF ANIMAL REMAINS FROM SAN DIEGO PRESIDIO

General Category	Specific Items	Notes
Domesticated animals	Food sources, including cows, ^a horses, caprines, ^a pigs, chickens, and turkeys Pets and working animals, including horses, cattle, mules, domestic dogs and domestic cats	Carpines include both sheep and goats; finds include egg shells probably related to chickens.
Wild terrestrial animals	Food sources, including rabbits, deer, black bears, grizzly bears, and bobcats Pests, including rats, mice, gophers, skunks, bobcats, cacomistles, foxes, and coyotes	Many species are butchered in a manner similar to domesticated animals.
Sea mammals	Otters, whales, sea lions, and elephant seals	Whale remains are probably scavenged.
Fish	Sheep head, sea bass, and sardines	Many species are not associated with areas close to the shore.
Shell fish ^b	Mussels, clams, oysters, abalones, and scallops	Rocky coastal and bay areas appear to be the source of these creatures.

Note: Bone artifacts include buttons, awls, pins, combs, dice, gaming pieces, printing type face, and knife and fork handles; a single ivory finger ring and die were recovered from the site.

^aA detailed examination of the butchering techniques is described by Cheever (1983).

^bShell artifacts include beads, pendants, and buttons.

century. The decorated serving wares include hundred of examples of the Bruñida de Tonalá tradition of the Guadalajara region. These items are decorated in a number of different styles. Many of these vessels display a combination of Old World and Mesoamerican features. These characteristics include ring-foot bases (from the Old World), loop handles (from both the Old and New worlds), and tripod supports (from Mesoamerica). Among the Bruñida de Tonalá specimens are also pieces of smoking pipes, a whistle, and a fragment of a figurine that probably represents a doll.

The fusion of Old and New World technologies is reflected in other categories of artifacts. One of the most important of these are the Hispano-Indian wares. These ceramics include

Presidio Plainware and Presidio Redware. Based on our study of paste characteristics, it appears that both of these pottery types were manufactured at the site. The second group of vessels strongly resembles similar ceramics that are associated with native peoples in colonial Sonora. Some of the redware vessels were made with manure tempering, a technique associated with historic-era ceramics produced in the Pimería of Sonora and Central Mexico. Both groups of vessels include examples of *comales*, loop-handled bowls and jars, vessels with spouts, and bowls and jars with ring foot bases. Some vessels from each group show indications of manufacture using a potters' wheel. Most appear to have been made using the paddle and anvil technique. Some vessels

were apparently molded inside of Native American baskets. Small, crude oil lamps with spouts were molded by hand. A tiny plainware toy cannon, complete with miniature ammunition, has also been recovered.

In regards to food resources, it is clear that European domesticated animals, and especially cattle, were a mainstay of the presidio diet. Larger wild animals, sea mammals, fish, and smaller domesticated European varieties were also significant sources of protein. Shellfish represented another important element of the colonists' diet, a fact that is not mentioned in any contemporary colonial descriptions. Site formation processes have limited the amount of plant remains that has survived. The small amounts of carbonized materials that have been recovered are of both European and Mesoamerican origins.

The architecture of the site generally reflects Old World customs and technologies. Some Native American influences can be seen. A number of the presidio houses are equipped with simple central or corner hearths. Other small, low *estufas* (stoves), found throughout the presidio residential areas, closely resemble those of ancient Mexico. Another native cooking feature encountered in the south wing consisted of a kind of stone-lined pit, similar to those employed by desert-dwelling natives of Southern California and adjacent arid regions of northwestern New Spain.

Many of the artifacts from San Diego do have clear roots in the Old World. Stone tools and weapons coexisted with those made from iron, steel, and copper. In some areas of technology, such as those that involved horses, the artifact assemblage is entirely European. Many of the items associated with clothing and body decoration, such as glass beads and metal jewelry, reflect European taste and customs. Small concentrations of bottles and glass serving ware fragments that are found throughout the site also echo Old World traditions. Settlers paid for labor and goods with silver coins and trade beads as well as native-tradition shell bead money. Nearly all the surviving religious paraphernalia can be tied to Roman Catholicism. Most serving wares, some cooking wares, and even a small percentage of the storage wares and wooden containers (represented by barrel hoops) have no connections with Indians.

Data from San Diego Presidio, as well as that collected from the outposts of Tubac, Tucson, and Santa Cruz de Terrenate (in Arizona), suggest some important differences with the artifact patterns reported by Kathleen Deagan (1973, 1974, 1980) and others at the Presidio of San Agustín. The data from the four western sites suggest strikingly similar overall patterns and characteristics in relationship to material culture. In contrast with eastern Florida, the native artifacts found in use by the colonists of northwestern New Spain point to both important male and female activities. Whereas native traditions are often most obvious in regards to East Florida in terms of women's lives, many areas of behavior associated with males in the west show strong native connections. For example, the presidio soldiers and settlers of Sonora and Alta California understood the use of bows and arrows, as well as firearms. Chipped-stone technology remained an important part of the tools used by males to complete many jobs. A few of the Indian-produced objects, such as smoking pipes, suggest other native adoptions. Smoking paraphernalia of this sort is closely linked to native healing rituals. The presidio inhabitants, and more specifically folk healers, may have been conducting native religious activities. Similar smoking equipment, and even stone animal fetishes associated with hunting magic, has been recovered from the Presidio of Tubac. Other Native American objects that were probably used by both men and women include shell jewelry and bone pins.

Information about the population of the presidio that is included in a preceding section suggests that the abundant presence of native-tradition artifacts cannot easily be accounted for by the emigration of local Indian women. While the presence of Mesoamerican and some native tradition technologies may well be a product of the colonists' ancestors' *mestizaje* (racial mixing), the locally produced Indian objects found at San Diego also point to the willingness of the colonists to use aboriginal objects that were acquired through trade (Cohen and Williams 1993). The lack of documentary references to this commerce cannot conceal the fact that an underground market for native products flourished in the presidios. Not all the native tradition objects at the presidio represented imports. Some artifacts, such as pro-

jectile points, were made from bottle glass in imitation of Indian models. Presidio Plainware and Presidio Redware, which were created using methods from both the Old World and the New World, were also manufactured at the site.

The San Diego collections also suggest the willingness of the colonists to create European-tradition items. Some raw materials came from the frontier. The bones of cattle and other large domesticated animals became buttons, awls, dice, and gaming pieces. Whale vertebrae were transformed into low stools. Gunflints were formed from California cherts. The colonists also managed to produce many objects from materials that were imported to the province. Copper ingots and lead bars became musket balls, buckshot, buckles, horse jangles, and maritime supplies such as copper nails and patches. Documentary records also suggest that most of the iron objects seen at the site were produced by the post smithy from imported rods and bars. Sewing equipment testifies to the manufacture of garments and other cloth items. Fragments of worn-out copper vessels were even formed into cone-shaped tinklers, copper tube beads, and strainers.

The careful examination of tables 3 and 4 identifies many technologies and areas of behavior that are tied to Europe and Spain. There are also many items that reflect Native American origins and customs. These artifacts can be divided into those of local, and those of more distant, Indian groups. Most of the items that are not linked to California Indians can be traced to Mesoamerica. Some artifacts clearly represent a combination of Old World and New World methods of production and materials.

Conclusions

The investigations that were initiated at San Diego Presidio in 1992 have not been completed. The preliminary analysis offered here points to a number of the most obvious characteristics of the site and its artifacts. Popular views that the base was fundamentally a fortified complex with a community made up of European soldiers can be challenged. Most of the settlement's residents were not born in Spain. Perhaps in a more significant way, suggestions that the people of the presidio followed an exclusively or predominantly European way

of life can also be brought into question. The evidence from San Diego becomes more significant when it is combined with data from presidio sites such as Tucson, Tubac, and Santa Cruz de Terrenate (in Arizona) and mission *escolta* (guard) complexes, such as the one found at San Antonio Mission in the Monterey Presidio District (Williams and Cohen 1985; Williams 1991, 1992, 1999). Here, similar material culture patterns suggest a broader tradition of cultural synthesis of Old World and New World ways. When carefully examined in combination with historical data, such as that presented by Carlos Fuentes (1992), a *Norteño* variant of Latino culture emerges. This social construct was neither completely Indian nor European but was, rather, a new combination of characteristics that were linked to a people who were both biologically and behaviorally a product of their frontier experience.

The artifacts recovered from San Diego Presidio also point to a broader colonial military reality. Located far beyond the effective range of supply, the Spanish presence in Alta California could only endure if the colonists were self-sufficient. Surrounded by powerful, unconquered, Indian nations, the presidio's survival was made possible through a combination of missionary diplomacy and a show of military force. *Norteño* culture, which eclectically and pragmatically fused Native American and Old World adaptive strategies, enabled the colonists to produce the food and most of the other commodities they needed to cope with an often-hostile environment. Once the tiny community of *Norteños* had taken up residences at San Diego, they prospered. Armed resistance by Native Americans and the virtual elimination of supplies from the south could not prevent the colony from growing.

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