As the storm clouds of revolutionary war were building on the East Coast of North America in the 1770s, another revolution was brewing in the west (albeit a more peaceful one)—for at the very moment when Jefferson, Madison, Washington and Adams were mapping out a plan for a newly conceived “United States of America,” the Franciscan friars Serra, Palou and Lasuén on the Pacific were simultaneously mapping out a plan to connect all of Alta California through a chain of missions that eventually would stretch from Mission San Diego in the south to Mission San Francisco Solano in the north. California was forever transformed—and there are few aspects where that radical transformation is more evident than in music.

At the focal point of the California mission music tradition stood Juan Bautista Sancho y Literes. Upon his arrival at Mission San Antonio de Padua in 1804, he established a magnificent choir and orchestra capable of mastering elaborate and complex compositions. More than any other individual, Sancho is responsible for bringing the “modern” sounds of Classicism to California’s shores. For no other friar do we have such an abundance of extant parts that were used by the neophyte musicians in actual performance. Sancho also left behind stacks of separate sheets that provide invaluable clues as to the repertoire, styles, and sonorities of California mission music. They provide a specificity that is lacking in the generalized statements made by nineteenth-century visitors to the missions in their diaries and letters. Sancho’s habit of signing and dating manuscripts helps to establish the origins of certain works in the mission repertoire—and that information in turn sheds light on the cultural relationships between the missions and the mother country, Spain. His text writings reveal a real expertise and fascination with Native American music, a depth of knowledge made possible by his fluency in several indigenous languages. He composed, and rather well! His extant compositions—particularly the Misa en sol, now at Stanford—show as much or more sophistication and craftsmanship than anything coming out of Boston, New York or Philadelphia at the time. He was, in a sense, a sort of Colonial “Leonard Bernstein” or “Bela Bartok.”

Although Sancho’s role in California history is hard to overstate, it is only recently that he has begun to garner the attention that he deserves in the scholarly community. The pioneer of Califor-
nia music research, William John Summers, has authored a dozen groundbreaking articles on mission music emphasizing Sancho’s contributions.¹


Latin American scholarship (including the American Southwest) has been a pillar of support, in spirit and deed.\(^1\) And the Mallorcan priest and researcher, Mosen Antoni Gili y Ferrer, has unearthed a wealth of biographical documents of the Sancho family in the parish archives of Sancho's hometown of Artà. "To each I owe an enormous "thank you"—and a mere footnote is too small a gesture. In case after case, Bill and John have shared their best ideas and most recent discoveries, and for years they have served as a sounding board for my own hypotheses and research. In the case of Mosen Gili, he took me (a complete stranger) under his wing during my two research trips to Mallorca, hosted me as his personal house guest in Palma and Artà, and provided me with a grand tour of Artà, showing me the sites and records that he had linked to Sancho and his life. Although the photographs of Mallorca in this article are mine, it was Mosen Gili who knew where to point me, and in effect "guided" my camera.

**BIOGRAPHY OF JUAN BAUTISTA SANCHO**

**SANCHO I LITERES**

*Family History and Life in Artà*

For centuries, the Sancho family flourished on their family ranch and fertile lands of "Sos Sanchos" adjacent to the charming Spanish village Artà in Mallorca. One gets a spectacular view of Sos Sanchos, gazing north from the castle-like church of Sant Salvador that is perched atop the high hill upon which Artà is built (see photo A). The stone parish church of Artà (the Eglesia parroquial de Artà) is a sturdy yet inviting building, tucked into the fold of the hill immediately below Sant Salvador (see photo B). One who enters the church today can see the baptismal font of 1672 where one hundred years later Juan Sancho was initiated into the faith. Looking down the hill to the southwest, the beautiful Convent Franciscà de Sant Antoni de Pàdua can be seen, and it was there, according to Mosen Gili, that Juan Bautista Sancho almost certainly received his grammar school education (see photo C).

The parish archive in Artà makes possible the reconstruction of Juan Sancho's family tree; Antoni Gili has traced his lineage back at least five generations (please consult Figure 1). The marriage records in the parish of Artà tell us that Juan's parents, Pere Josep Sancho i Nicolau and Margarida Lliteres Llinas, were married in Artà on September 28, 1768 (see photo D).\(^2\) Four years after

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their marriage, Margarida gave birth to a son, Joan Baptista Sancho i Lliteres who was baptized in the Artà parish church on December 1, 1772 (see photo E). Later in life, as Sancho moved from Mallorca to the wider Spanish world, he used the Castilian equivalent of his name, “Juan Bautista Sancho y Lliteres” and it is in this form that we recognize him in California documents. Sancho’s baptismal registration clarifies the contradictory and erroneous statements in the literature concerning Sancho’s birth date: Hubert H. Bancroft mistakenly places the date a month later on January 1, 1773, and Maynard Geiger muddies the issue further by stating Sancho was born in 1791—an impossibility for that would mean that Sancho would have been six years old when he took his vows as a Franciscan in 1797, and would have been a mere thirteen-year-old in 1804 upon his arrival in California as a missionary. In another publication, however, Geiger gives the correct date of December 1, 1772, as does Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt in his book on Mission San Antonio.

*Based on newly uncovered documentation by Mosen Antoni Gili y Ferrer*

![Family Tree for Joan Baptista Sanxo i Lliteres, O.F.M.*](image)

Just as the Bach family spanned several generations of accomplished musicians in northern Germany, so the Sancho family seems to have engendered many professional musicians in Mallorca, beginning in the Renaissance and continuing to the present day. One of the first names in this distinguished line is Esteve Sanxo, a prominent organist in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. In the early 1700s, a “Pere Sanxo” appears in records for the Royal Palace.
Photo A (above): Sos Sanchos.
Photo B (left): Iglesia parroquial de Artà.
Photos by author.
(Palau Reial) as a musician who was paid 10 lliures, both in 1736 and again in 1737, for serving in the Music Chapel of the Confraternity of Saint Cecilia in the Royal Palace. One might wonder if this “Pere Sanxo” is the same “Pere Sanxo i Sard” whom Mosen Gili identifies as the great-grandfather of our California missionary, Juan Bautista Sancho. The dates certainly match, for the employment dates at the Palau Reial of 1736 and 1737 would be reasonable for a person who was born sometime after 1684 (which is the year that Pere Sanxo i Sard’s parents were married), and who died in 1755.

Four other distinguished musicians with the last name “Sancho” surface in payment records in Palma during Juan Sancho’s lifetime. Antoni Sancho Sacrer was on the musician’s roster in 1776 and 1781. Jaume Sancho Melis was born in Arta (as was Juan Bautista Sancho) in 1743 and was arguably the most important musician in the entire kingdom in the last decade of the eighteenth century. Acclaimed as a violinist, professor of music,
composer, and orchestra director, he rose to be appointed the Chapel Master for the See of Mallorca (substituting for Mestre Llorens), from 1793-1803—the very years when Juan Bautista Sancho was in the same city of Palma at the Convent de Sant Francesc. Before ascending to the top post at the Cathedral, Jaume was a major musician in Palma as far back as 1768, where his name surfaces in conjunction with the Royal Chapel and with the Convent of San Francisco in Palma.\(^{13}\)
Although the exact family relationship between Juan Bautista and Jaume is still not clear, it is unquestionable that they were at least cousins in an extended family from the same small hometown. Not only do they share the last name “Sancho,” but Jaume’s other last name, “Melis,” surfaces as one of the names used by Juan Bautista’s great-great-grandfather, Jaime Sanxo i Melis; and the first name “Jaime” (which is a variant of “Jaume”) is on almost every branch and twig of the family tree going back for generations. 14

The successor to Jaume Sanxo at the Cathedral was yet another Sancho. Miquel Sancho i Vicens (1767–1840) held the highest post in the island, serving as interim Chapel Master for the Mallorca Cathedral in 1803 and early 1804: he was then awarded the post permanently in 1804, serving as “Master and Director of Music for the Music Chapel for the See of Mallorca” until his death in 1840.15 As with Jaume Sanxo before him, Miquel had established himself as a reputable musician (between 1793–1803) at the See of Mallorca before his ascent to the top post. The similarities between Miquel and Juan Bautista Sancho are striking; both were born in Artà within a few years of each other (1767 and 1772, respectively), both served as accomplished musicians in Palma in the late 1790s, both rose to the top of the musical pinnacle in their respective musical worlds (albeit on opposite sides of the globe), and they both died at about the same time, Miquel surviving his younger cousin by ten years (dying in 1840). The family line of music stars continues with Miquel’s son, Joaquim Sancho i Canyellas (1798–1886). He was a professor of piano and an acclaimed composer, garnering the nickname of “the Mallorcan Haydn.”16 With the highly respected Antoni Sancho i Nebot, the Sancho musical tradition continues well into the twentieth century.17

Two patrimonies of Mallorca shaped Sancho’s early years—the musical and the monastic. Mallorca historically supplied many of the Spanish missionaries who left for both North and South America. Nearly one hundred years before Sancho’s birth, his countryman Friar Antoni Llinàs i Massanet established the Colegio Apostólico de Santa Cruz (Apostolic College of the Holy Cross) in Querétaro, Mexico, in 1683, with the purpose of Christianizing the Native Americans of the Sierra Gorda. This institution in turn became the casa matriz or “mother house” of its offspring, the Colegio Apostólico de San Fernando (Apostolic College of San Fernando) near Mexico City, which in turn became the governing body and casa matriz for the 21 missions in Alta California.18

14 Geiger clal;fies the relationship in Mallorca of the two names going back for generations. 14
15 The following entries are found in the ARM. “Llibre de recibos del Sr. Sindic de Sacristía y Músicos començant 1737 fins 1781,” book C-1015; “Jaume Sancho, Resp’ de la Capella a Rª errebut del sobrepasat de la purissima Concep’ del Rª Conv vent de Sª de Sª Francc, 1768,” fol. 163v; “Jo Jaume Sancho Resp’ de la Capella Rª errebut del sobrepasat de la purissima Concep’ del Rª Conv vent de Sª Francc” deixit lliuras y sinc sous ço es 2 per la Musica & t de ress dias 2LS€ per la Musica del Bon Pastor 6 Ll per la Musica del 3 Maig y 3 Ll per la Musica intro 8° del P P; Antoni 2 Ll per la Musica dels 8 Crio y 3 Ll per la Musica als 2 aqost 1768 x comp’ fins als 21 p° 1768 son __ _18L,5,” fol. 163v; and “Jaume Sancho, Resp’ de la Capella Rª, 1769,” fol. 166v.
16 Geiger clarifies the relationship in Mallorca of the two names stating that “Jayme” is the same as “Jaume in the local dialect.”
17 Geiger, Franciscan Missionaries, 128.
The Colegio Apostólico de San Fernando was established on October 15, 1733, and soon after its inception, became the home of dozens of friars from Mallorca who—like the modern-day astronauts—were prepared to be launched into the farthest regions of the known world with very little to support them beyond a subsistence survival kit, a brave sense of adventure, and a conviction that their lives had purpose.

Understandably, the young Juan Sancho eagerly followed the path that had been blazed by Linís, Serra, and the other Franciscans from his island home. Sancho was confirmed in the Christian faith on May 17, 1779 at age eight and at age nineteen entered the novitiate at the Convent de Sant Francesc in Palma on February 9, 1791.

One year later, he professed his solemn vows.

Until recently, the only primary source supplying this information has been the eloquent obituary written by Sancho’s life-long friend, Pedro Cabot. In summarizing his friend’s life, Cabot states,

he was the son of Pedro Sancho and his wife Margarita Lliteras, and was baptized in the Villa de Artá, Isle and Diocese of Mallorca, on December 1, 1772. He received the habit of our Fr. Saint Francis in the royal convent of the City of Palma, on February 9, 1791, and on concluding the year of the novitiate, made the solemn profession in the said convent.

Cabot then continues to elaborate on Sancho’s life during his formative years at the Convent de Sant Francesc:

On being ordained a priest, and having the faculties of a confessor and preacher, he exercised said ministries for some years in the Province. He would, on account of the lack of a Vicario de Coro, direct the chant by his strong and agreeable voice, and gave complete instruction in plain chant as well as in figured music.

Sancho’s Diary and his Life in Palma

These cursory statements can now be filled in with greater detail with my recent discovery of Sancho’s “diary” at The Bancroft Library in Berkeley. When I was rummaging through the various hodge-podge of folders in the “mission miscellany” at The Bancroft Library under the call number C-C 73, I pulled out a minuscule pamphlet of only four sheets, the first of which is a printed folio of papal bulls in microscopic type,
and it is under the somewhat misleading title "Fragment from printed book of Papal Bulls, 1631 with mss. notes, 1772-1804" that the Library has registered this curious but invaluable document. The first sheet has a torn fragment ripped away from its upper edge, so the heading is not quite complete. Nevertheless, the title is more or less decipherable as "SUM[ ]A BULLÆ SS. D. N. Urbani VIII ... data Romæ die 25. Januari i anno 1631," hence the dating "1631" in the library’s computerized card catalogue. The flip side of the sheet has yet another papal bull, "CONSTIT[ ]IO SS. D. N. INNOCENTI PAPÆ XII. . . ." What struck me, however, was the annotation scrawled at the bottom of that first page: "y à la Nueva Calî llegue dia 15 de Ag[ø] de 1804 (and I arrived in New California the 15th day of August, 1804)." (See photo E) My pulse quickened; this looked suspiciously like Sancho's writing! What ecstatic joy to find handwriting on the remaining three folios, much of it in Sancho’s distinctive script, and with the indisputable ex libris of our friar on fol. 3v: "Este Diurno es del simple uso del P. Fr. Juan Bautista Sancho Relig. Obs. (This Diary is for the sole use of Fr. Friar Juan Bautista Sancho, Religious Observant)." (See photo G.) This confirmed my hope—the small booklet served as a sort of diary for Sancho, beginning with his novitiate in 1791 in the Franciscan order in Palma, and continuing up through the last entry of 1815 during his time at Mission San Antonio in California.  

Some explanation of the manuscript’s dates is called for, especially with respect to The Bancroft Library’s catalogue description: "Fragment from printed book of Papal Bulls, 1631 with mss. notes, 1772-1804." All three years—1631, 1772, and 1804—are incorrect. The text for Urban VIII’s papal bull was publicly disseminated in 1631, but this document is unmistakably a later reissue, as can be gathered by the flip side of the same sheet: there we find printed yet another papal bull by a different pope altogether, Pope Innocent XII, who served as pope from 1691-1700. The bottom of that papal bull has the identifying phrase: "Ex debito: Die 28 Augusti 1694." The booklet, therefore, cannot be any earlier than 1694. It seems likely that this small sheet was printed even later in the early or mid-1700s, given the fact that the first handwritten entry in this booklet is dated 1771. The Bancroft Library catalogue asserts the earliest "manuscript note"
The pages have a smattering of different entries in several hands on many different topics (although most within the sacred realm). It is clear that the book was a hand-me-down, probably from someone in the Convent de Jesús or Convent de Sant Francesc in Palma, and that Sancho was not the initial owner. It is not so much a day-to-day accounting of mundane happenings, as it is a memory booklet where Sancho jotted down brief entries for those seminal events that he knew would change his life. Psychologically, it is a fascinating peek into the man's instincts and concerns. He knew when something critical was occurring, and he felt a com-

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The first sheet after the printed papal bulls has entries in a hand other than Juan Sancho's. The bottom of fol. 2 reads as follows: "En el Convent de Jesús extra muro? Dia 3 [?] de Maig, Lo Anu 1776 . . . (In the Convent de Jesús, outside the walls, the 3 day of May in the year 1776, . . .)" The entry continues to describe some sort of dinner with priests, novices, and brothers of the Franciscan order, 53 in all—and they had some herbs and bacon. Of course, this casual entry is helpful in identifying the provenance of this booklet as being from the Convent de Jesús. Given the early date of 1776 (when Sancho was only four years old) and the fact that this is the first "free" page after the bulls, we can safely assume that these early entries were made by the booklet's first owner, and that the friar later passed it on to a successor (either Sancho or the other writer who makes entries in the volume). Beginning on folio 2v, there are entries in both Sancho's hand and yet another friar whose graceful cursive writing is easily recognized—with its fluid penmanship and gentle slope to the angle of his letters.

Photo G: "This diary is for the sole use of Juan Bautista Sancho." Entry in Juan Sancho diary, fol. 3v. Courtesy of The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
### Figure 2: Comparison of Handwriting in Various “Sancho” Sources.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letter</th>
<th>“Diary” C-C-73:16</th>
<th>“Last Rites” C-C-73:17</th>
<th>Stanford-Berkeley (Folder No. in WPA, at UCB)</th>
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<td>Sancho</td>
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<td>Baut.</td>
<td>Benedicite № 1 67</td>
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Sancho’s first entries into his journal begin on the bottom half of the very last page, which is a strong indication that much of the previous space had been filled by the booklet’s previous two owners. (See photo H.) Each entry is brief, stating only the event and its date—and to this day, if one looks carefully at those entries in the manuscript (or even in a photo) one can perceive the different widths of the pen nibs and detect the different hues of ink. So Sancho begins on fol. 4v, and in the ensuing two inches of “blank” space squeezes in four other entries that take us from 1791 all the way to his arrival in Mexico in 1803. The page reads as follows:
Note:

Day 9 of February of the year 1791, I took the [Franciscan] habit [as a novice], I, Friar Juan Bautista Sancho.

And I took the Order of Presbytery on the 17th day of December of 1796, and I said my first mass on the 27th of this same month.

And on the 20th of July of the year 1798 I was examined to become a Confessor for the first time by Bishop Bernat Aodat y Crespi.

Another Note:

I departed from Arta for the Colegio de San Fernando on the 23rd of February of 1803, the first day of Lent.

And having left the Port of Cadiz, on the 20th of June, 1803, I arrived at the said Colegio de San Fernando [near Mexico City] on the 9th of September of the same year.27

Sancho’s diary entries shift around a bit in location, as he utilizes any “free space” that had been left on previous folios. One cannot read from front to back in this booklet as if it were a novel and get a sequential chronology of events; instead, it is more like a roadmap that reads up-and-down and back-and-forth, where the desired information

27Nota. Dia 9 de Febrer de lo Añy 1791 vaix pendrer lo habit y Fr. Juan Bap’t Sancho, y vaix pendrer el Orde de Presbiterad Dia 17 de Dezembre de 1796 y vaix dir la 1ª Missa. Dia 27 del matex Mes. Y Dia 20 de juliol del Añy 1798 vaix ser examine[n]t per el Bisba Bernat Aodat y Crespi. Altre nota. Me vaig partir de Arta per el Colegi de S. Femôdo dia 23 de Fabrer [sic] de 1803, 1ª dia de Quaresma. Y havendome par-tido del puerto de Cadiz dia 20 junio de 1803; llegue al dicho Colegio de St Fernando dia 9 septer de lo mismo anno.” Fol. 4v, about halfway down the sheet continuing to the end. Notice the gradual shift from Catalán to Castilian.
can be scrambled in its position. So, if we are to fill in more details of Sancho's life in Palma, we must turn to folio 3, where he itemizes a list of the Offices that he recited there in 1797. On the right he explains:

In the year 1797, in the Convent de Jesús, outside the cloister walls, [the friars] sang 29 Offices or Requiem Masses on the Day of the Dead, which is the 2nd day of November, and they were sung in succession.28

Interestingly, we see part of the tally of the honored dead in a list of saints in the left column and each name is crossed off, presumably as his litany has been sung, much like the names on a grocery list are penciled off as each item is thrown into the shopping cart.29 Immediately after this 1797 list of Offices and Requiem at the Convent de Jesús, he jots down two more brief entries, which take us from Palma back to his hometown of Arta.

And in Arta in the year 1801, a quantity[?] of 27 of them
And for the year 1802, 21 Offices.30

Several details from the passages cited above shed light on Sancho's activities before he departed for the New World. We see him maintaining active priestly ties to his hometown in 1801 and 1802, officiating at church functions. The reference to the Convent de Jesús in 1797 is revelatory, as well, for until now there was no suggestion that Sancho and this convent were in any way related. In truth, Sancho was but another link in the chain that connected this Mallorcan convent (that is situated just outside the ancient city wall of Palma) and the California missions.31 The main founders of modern California, Junipero Serra and Francisco Palou, both entered the Franciscan order at the Convent de Jesús, in 1730 and 1739 respectively.32 One of the first friars to Alta California, Francisco Dumetz, took his vows there in 1751, twenty years before Sancho's birth.33 Two other friars from this early generation of Mallorcan emigrants to California were Buenaventura Sitjar (baptized "Antonio" Sitjar) and Luis Jayme (baptized as "Melchor" Jayme), who similarly joined the Franciscan Order at the Convent de Jesús in 1758 and 1760 respectively.34 Antonio Jayme was the next in the chain of friars to join the Franciscan convent there (December 7, 1774), followed closely by Bartolomé Gili (June 4, 1776).35 Jerónimo Boscana was born only three years after Sancho, and with his entrance into the Franciscan Order at the Convent de Jesús on August 4, 1792, his path surely crossed with Juan Sancho's often during the next decade. Boscana left Cádiz in the summer of 1803 for the Colegio de San Fernando in Mexico, only a few months after Sancho's identical journey. They spent their ensuing years in the missions of Alta California, the two dying within a year of each other. Both shared a fascination with the indigenous culture of the California Indians who populated their communities; Boscana authored the Chichigchinich, which delved into the customs and observances of the Acjachemén Nation who became the res

30 Geiger gives the full title of the convent as being Convento de Santa María de los Ángeles de Jesús (p. 175), and gives the geographic location of the Convent de Jesús as being outside the walls of Palma. See Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries*, 126, 128, 175.
31 Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries*, 175, 239.
idents of Mission San Juan Capistrano, and Sancho (along with friar Pedro Cabot) authored an ethno-musicological essay on Native American music practices in the *Interrogatorio* of 1814. Sancho also devoted much attention to the translation of catechisms and other sacred texts into the local Indian dialects near Mission San Antonio.36

Of course, the institution that most clearly shaped Sancho's life in Palma was the Convent de Sant Francesc where he became a novice and then took his vows as a Franciscan friar. Nearly every one of the Mallorcan padres who made it to California at one time or another graced the halls of this important monastery.37 If one makes the brief five-minute walk from the Cathedral to the Convent, one squeezes through the narrow curving streets until the constricted space suddenly opens up into a small plaza, presenting a clear, unobstructed view of the convent. (See photo I.) Its stolid façade is simple with a single large circular window over the sanctuary entrance (a design greatly resembling the Franciscan convent Sant Antoni de Pàdua in Artà where Sancho earlier received his elementary-school education). The


37 Some of the California padres who spent time in the Convent de Sant Francesc include: Juan Vicente Cabot, Pedro Cabot, Juan Caspi, Bartolomé Gili (who was to become the organist at the Convent de Sant Francesc), Luis Jayme (who studied for the priesthood at the Convent de Sant Francesc), Francisco Palou (who became a Franciscan at the Convent de Jesús but who then studied with Serra at the Convent de Sant Francesc), Miguel Pieras; Antonio Ripoll; Mariano Rubio, Juan Bautista Sancho, Junipero Serra (who joined the Franciscan order at the Convent de Jesús but later became a major figure at the Convent de Sant Francesc), Buenaventura Sitjar (who became a Franciscan at the Convent de Jesús, but who left for Cádiz and then the New World from the Convent de Sant Francesc). For the connections between the Convent de Sant Francesc and the above-mentioned friars, consult Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries*, 32, 34, 51, 116, 128, 175, 196, 207, 210, 223, 239, 245.

interior captures both the tender and the magnificent with its exquisitely detailed ornamentation. The church organ on the left side of the nave predates Sancho's residency, and it is plausible (even likely) that Sancho directed his choir from this organ, seated at the bench we see there today. To the right of the sanctuary is the cloister with its slender columns and lush vegetation in the interior garden. (See photos J, K, and L.) His diary and obituary both mention the growth in his sacred aspirations, Sancho assuming the official roles of priest, preacher, confessor, and even music director.

Sancho's diary entries at the Convent de Sant Francesc are complemented by some extant music manuscripts in Sancho's handwriting, and by Pedro Cabot's moving memorial to his deceased friend Juan Sancho, where he relates: "He would, on account of the lack of a Vicario de Coro, direct the chant by his strong and agreeable voice, and [he] gave complete instruction in plain chant (canto llano) as well as in figured music (canto figurado)." The passage is intriguing; we discover that there was no official choir director at the Convent de Sant Francesc, but it appears Sancho served as its de facto Chapel Master.38 Surely, that
decade in the 1790s prepared him for his role as the director of music activities at Mission San Antonio; he had learned his craft through musical experience that was unmatched by the other California friars, with the possible exception of Fr. Florencio Ibáñez whose musical credentials are impeccable. The level of music making in Palma during the Baroque and Classic eras similarly had been spectacular, as can be judged by such musicians as the phenomenal guitarist and composer Francisco Gueráu, his brother Gabriel Gueráu, and Antonio Lliteres, all of whom ascended to the

William Summers' outstanding and detailed discussions of Sancho's musical prowess. In one article ("Opera seria in Spanish California," 282) he credits Sancho as being the Chapel Master at Sant Francesc during the years 1794-1797 and in another ("Recently Recovered Manuscript Sources," NLSM Den­ver, 14), he supplies a starting date of 1795 instead of 1794. That Sancho was at Sant Francesc in 1796 and 1797 can be gathered from several signed sheets by Sancho, but I have found no primary documentation for the earlier dates of 1794 or of 1795. Nevertheless, Summers' dating has to be either on the mark or extremely close, since we do know Sancho professed at the institution in 1792.

Ibáñez earned the post of Chapel Master at the Convento de Nuestra Señora de Jesús in Zaragoza, and later at the Franciscan Convent de Calatayud, both of which had music making of the first rank. With Ibáñez's move to Mexico, he became the Chapel Master at the Colegio de San Fernando—the very institution that served as the Mother House for all of the California missions and their missionaries. See Geiger, Franciscan Missionaries, 124-25, 223-25; Summers, "Fray Juan Bautista Sancho," Foundation Monograph Publication No. 1, fn 27; Summers, "New and Little Known Sources," IAMR, 21; Summers, "Orígenes hispanos," Revista musical clásica, fn 27, p. 46; Owen da Silva, O.F.M., Mission Music of California: A Collection of Old California Mission Hymns and Masses (Los Angeles: Warren F. Lewis, 1941), rpt in 1954, 22. Other friars such as Durán, Tapi, and Arroyo de la Cuesta were clearly musically inclined, but there is no evidence of comparable professional training in the musical arts.

most important posts at the Royal Chapel in Madrid. One can only assume that the musi-
Photo K (right): Interior of the Convent de Sant Francesc, Palma.

Photo L (below): Cloister in the Convent de Sant Francesc, Palma. Photos by author.
cians at Sancho’s disposal were professional-level. In fact, when one considers that Juan Bautista Sancho was in charge at the Convent de Sant Francesc during the same years that his cousin


Jaume Sancho Melis was directing the music activities for the See of Mallorca (and when Miquel Sancho Vicens was rapidly ascending toward the top in his musical career), one could imagine a comparable situation if Leonard Bernstein, Aaron Copland, and Samuel Barber were all related by family ties and were all together in the same city directing the activities at Lincoln Center, Juilliard, and the Manhattan School of Music. Not too shabby. Sancho copied many manuscripts.
in the 1790s while in Palma and carried them in his travels all the way to Mission San Antonio in California. The University of California at Berkeley has photographs of many of these papers (the original documents now lost) that were signed and dated by Sancho while he was at the Convent de Sant Francesc. Several pages from Sancho’s collection are also found today at Stanford University, Mission San Fernando and Mission Santa Bárbara. This music repertoire and their attendant clues to the sacred practice at the convent will be addressed shortly.

Sometime during Sancho’s years in Palma, he made a brief chart in his “diary” of the various times that a Matins service should begin, depending on the season of the year. In mid-winter he states that Matins should begin at 2:30 a.m., but as the days get longer, that starting time gradually shifts later and later until eventually arriving at the late-start of 3:45 a.m. during the months of June and July. He subsequently advises against this music repertoire and their attendant clues to the sacred practice at the convent will be addressed shortly.

Sancho’s Music Manuscripts at the Convent de Sant Francesc

Sadly, the music holdings at the Convent de Sant Francesc were destroyed or lost in Spain’s tragic Civil War in the early twentieth century. We would be unable to ascertain even the vaguest impression of the music repertoire there during the last decades of the eighteenth century while Sancho and Cabot were in attendance were it not for a few curious and serendipitous twists of fate. As luck would have it, Juan Sancho brought with him to the New World a huge stack of manuscripts (many of which are dated and bear his signature, and many others are unmistakably in his hand). The odyssey of these sources and the bizarre circumstances surrounding their disappearance and rediscovery is worth retelling. In 1888, Fr. Angelo Casanova of Mission San Carlos Borromeo gave a stack of mission manuscripts to Jane Lathrop Stanford as a token of appreciation. The mission had fallen into a pile of rubble through years of neglect, and her exceedingly
generous financial donation enabled them to completely rebuild and restore it to its former splendor. Among those papers were at least 40 works in Sancho's hand that Fr. Owen da Silva saw and catalogued in his 1941 study *Mission Music of California.* Sadly, they have not been seen since (with the exception of the *Misa en sol* and the Serra choirbook). Bill Summers first noted their absence in 1977, but the clever detective work of our colleague John Koegel (at Cal State Fullerton) has uncovered photographic copies of the Stanford treasures at UC Berkeley. It seems that

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47 The *Misa en sol* is presently found at the Cecil H. Green Library at Stanford University, filed under the author “Juan Sancho” and the citation “Mass in G (Mission Music), ca. 1795,” M0573 in Special Collections. The Green Library at Stanford has one other extant source mentioned by da Silva, although not in the context of the Sancho collection. It is the oversized and elegant choirbook brought to California by Father Junípero Serra, under the citation “Mission Music: Choirbook, 1770–1784,” San Carlos Borromeo Basilica (Carmel, California), M.0612 in Special Collections. Mention should be made of photographic copies (of poor quality) of both sources that are available at the Music Department of the University of California, Berkeley as part of the collection made for the Works Project Administration in 1937 and catalogued under the citation, “California Folk Music Project Records, ARCHIVES WPA CAL 1; vols. 1–12” (henceforth abbreviated as “WPA collection”). The photos of California mission music are stored in box 2. Folder 65 contains the Sancho *Misa en sol* and folder 47 contains the Serra choirbook. For consultation of these sources, prior notice should be sent to the Music Library since they normally store the WPA collection at the Northern Research Library Facility in Richmond.

48 See the previous footnote for a complete citation of the California Folk Music Project that took place as part of the WPA. Except for the two sources already cited (Sancho’s *Misa en sol* and Serra’s choirbook), the materials at Stanford described by da Silva have not been seen since he authored his book *Mission Music of California* in 1941. Bill Summers first discovered they were missing in 1977, and subsequent trips to Stanford by Summers, Koegel, John Warren, and me have failed to resurrect the missing items. In 1990, however, John Koegel discovered that there were photographic copies of these resources made as part of the California Folk Music Project operated by the Works Project Administration in the 1930s. He informed me of his exciting discovery in a letter dated January 1, 1991. Koegel also notified Bill Summers who has summarized the history of these manuscripts and the details of Koegel’s work and contributions. For a discussion of Koegel’s discovery of these photos, consult the following articles by Summers: “Fray photographers working for the Works Project Administration in the 1930s had been hired to photograph every shred of folk music they could find. When they came across the Sancho manuscripts their cameras clicked away because they were thinking—incorrectly—that this was folk music. What a wonderful error, for now those photographs (in their deteriorating condition) have saved for us most of Sancho’s “lost works.”

Juan Bautista Sancho,” Foundation Monograph Publication No. 1, p. 6; “Opera seria in Spanish California,” 270; “Orígenes hispanos,” *Revista musical chilena,* 43; “Recently Recovered Manuscript Sources,” *Ars Missioni Dever,* fn 9, p. 14; “Recently Recovered Manuscript Sources,” *Revista de musicología,* 284–46, esp. fn 13; “The Spanish Origins of California Mission Music,” *Transplanted Europeans,* 116. Also, Summers provides an invaluable description and catalogue of the contents in this collection in the aforementioned works; he provides the cursory list as presented by da Silva and then immediately supplies a much more detailed breakdown of the individual works found in the various folders.

In 1937, Sidney Robertson wrote an explanatory letter explaining the WPA photography project. The letter is preserved in folder 46 of the WPA collection along with many pages of handwritten annotations relating to the photography sessions. Ms. Robertson’s letter merits reproduction in its entirety here, since it describes the conditions surrounding this repertoire’s “discovery” by Carleton Sprague Smith in 1937, the subsequent photographing of these treasures, and the assignment of identifying letters to each of the photos—a system that I will utilize in the remainder of this publication. The cover to folder 46 has a statement explaining that the trip to the Stanford Museum by Dr. Smith and Sidney Robertson took place in the summer of 1937. She wrote:

“The thirty manuscripts which are described collectively as the *Stanford Mission Music* are to be found in the Stanford University Museum at Palo Alto. In the summer of 1937 Dr. Carleton Sprague Smith, head of the Music Division of the New York Public Library, “discovered” this deposit. Later, Sidney Robertson, who by accident accompanied Dr. Smith on his visit of inquiry to the Museum, obtained permission on Dr. Smith’s behalf from the Curator, Pedro de Lemos, for microcopying of this set of manuscripts. This was done on 35 mm. film belonging to Dr. Smith by Mr. Rothwell, a member of the Stanford University Department of History. Three sets of prints were made by the California Folk Music Project of the Work Projects Administration: one for Dr. Smith, one for the Department of Music at Stanford University, and a third, by courtesy of Dr. Smith and Stanford University, for the Archive of California Folk Music, to be deposited in the Bancroft Library at the University of California. The paper on which all

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"Due to an accident between Mrs. Robertson's arrangement of the manuscripts for copying and the actual photography, the pages of the manuscripts were photographed out of order, so that pages which belong to a single manuscript were in many cases widely separated on the film. The figures which run from 1 to 230-odd on the prints refer to the location of the page on the film. In addition, each manuscript has been given a letter to identify it (running from A through Z to Ad); and the page number of each sheet within its own manuscript is set beside this letter. Therefore, if through any accident the prints are thrown out of sequence, the letters and their circled page numbers will suffice as a key to their rearrangement; the figures which run from 1 to 230-odd will not, and should be ignored."

"These works are found in the following folders of the WPA collection at Berkeley: Missa de los Ángeles, folder 69; Lamentations, folder 61; Te Deum, folder 72.

"Once again, John Koegel discovered a huge stack of uncatalogued mission music, this time at the Archival Center of the Los Angeles Diocese at Mission San Fernando in 1991. He generously shared his discovery with William Summers and with me; we both have published studies on these manuscripts. For a thorough catalogue of the contents in this collection, consult Summers' "Operas serias in Spanish California," Table 14.1, pp. 88

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Friar Juan Bautista Sancho, Religious Observer, 1797.) Modern notation. (See photo M.)
Folder 52. “Credo Artanense (Credo from Artà).” Obviously, this selection is related to Sancho’s birthplace of Artà. The bottom of sheet Aa2 has the annotation, “Día 21 de Maió cerca las once de la noche acabó de escribirla (The 21st of May, at about eleven o’clock at night, I have just finished writing this).” Mensural black notation, i.e., canto figurado. (See photos N and O.)


Folder 58. “Invitatorium, Admirabile nomen Jesu, tono 6 (Invitatory in mode 6, “Admirable name of Jesus).” Has as title page, “Este pliego es del/ uso de Fr. Juan/ Sancho (This sheet is for the sole use of Friar Juan Sancho).” Bottom of sheet Y-3 has “Jesus, Maria, y Joseph. 1796. Esto es del uso de Fr. Juan Sacho (Jesus, Mary and Joseph, 1796. This is for the sole use of Friar Juan Sancho).” Mensural black notation, i.e., canto figurado.

Folder 61. “Lamentatio a duo (Lamentation duet),” and the “Entierro a duo tono 2do (Burial duet in mode 2).” Modern notation.
Folder 64. “Kyrie a2” “Gloria a2” and “Credo a2” in “tono 5do.” Modern notation.
Folder 66. “Credo Italiano, a duo con el coro (1796) (Italian Credo, alternating duet sections with choral ones, 1796).” The “duo” sections in this folder are in modern notation. The “coro”
sections are to be performed in metric homophony, i.e., "canto fregado." "Kyris [sic] [tono] 2.," "Gloria," "Sanctus," "Agnus Dei," plus "O que suave y dulce estais (Oh how smooth and sweet you are!)" on sheets J-7 and J-8. There also is a "Stabat mater" on sheet J-8 plus some fragmentary parts for "Para dar luz (In order to give light)" and "Ave sois eva trocada (Bird, you are Eve transformed)" on sheet J-8.

Folder 69. "Missa de los Angeles a 4 voces, 5to tono; y/ Credo Dominical 6to tono del/ simple uso de Fr. Juan Bautista Sancho/ Religi­sus Observante i Diacon/ 1796. (Mass of the Angels for 4 voices, in mode 5, and the Credo for Sundays in mode 6, for the sole use of Friar Juan Bautista Sancho, Religious Observant and Deacon, 1796)." Modern notation. (See photo P)
Folder 70. “Misa de 5to tono a 4 voces del Padre./ Fr. Juan Bautista Sancho (Mass in mode 5 for 4 voices by Fr. Friar Juan Bautista Sancho).” This is the *acompañamiento* part (only the Gloria and the Credo movements) that is missing from Folder 65, the *Misa en sol.* Modern notation.

Folder 72. “Missa de Requiem, a 3 voces, 1796.” Has title page: “Missa de Requiem a 3 voces/ et Laboravi a 3./ Es del uso de Fray Juan Bautista Sancho Diaconos y Religioso/ Observante./ Año 1796.”

Several new snippets of information appear in these ascriptions. We find that Sancho was made a Deacon before his ordination to the priesthood in 1796, given the reference in folder 69 “...del simple uso de Fr. Juan Bautista Sancho, Religioso Observante i Diacono, 1796 (...for the sole use of Friar Juan Bautista Sancho, Religious Observant and *Deacon*, 1796)” and a similar reference in Folder 72 where Sancho is identified as “Diaconos [sic] y Religioso Observante.” Sancho scribbles down the Credo from his hometown of Artà in folder 52 (the “Credo Artanense”). Even the folders in this collection in others’ handwriting have explicit ties to Mallorca and his life at the Convent de Sant Francesc. A passing reference is made to the “Credo Artanense” on sheet A-4 in folder 65: “Credo 5to tono, a 4 voces, alternando con el Credo Artanense (Credo in the 5th tone for 4 voices, alternating with phrases from the Credo Artanense).” In many folders, the Catalan words “regulat” (regular), “segona” (second), “veu” (voice), “tible” (soprano), and “baix” (bass) occur repeatedly, an indication that Sancho had collected these folios while still in Mallorca as opposed to drawing on sources in either Mexico or Cali-
fornia where Castilian would have been the norm.\(^5\)

There are two other friars mentioned by name in these folders in the WPA collection, and at least one of them—and maybe both—can be identified as Franciscans active in Palma during Sancho's tenure there. Folder 77 contains a setting of the *Te Deum* that alternates polyphonic phrases in metric 4-part polyphony with phrases of plainchant. Although the composer of the setting is uncertain, we can ascertain from the title page that this particular possession belonged at one time to Friar Jayme Pou and then later was handed down to Juan Jamne Pou. It passed into the possession of Fr. Friar Juan Bautista Sancho.\(^5\) (See photo Q.) While scouring the records in the Arxiu del Regne de Mallorca for any clues regarding Sancho's life, I came across an interment record for a "Jayme Ignaci Pou" of the Convent de Sant Francesc.\(^5\) (See photo Q.) While scouring the records in the Arxiu del Regne de Mallorca for any clues regarding Sancho's life, I came across an interment record for a "Jayme Ignaci Pou" of the Convent de Sant Francesc.

The burial record reads "Dia 21 9bre de 1797 mura es torn del R. P. Fr. Jaume Ginard Pred' Jub' y Ex-Guardia de los Convents de Artà y de Llummajor. Finit als 13 Juliol 1801." The connection to Fray Jaume Ginard is made evident by the title:

- *Llibre de enteros de Albats, contenant Sancho's "Misa de 5to tono (Mass in Mode 5)."\(^5\) The top of the soprano part, sheet L-3, has the instruction "Tono 5° interpolando, digo, alternando con los Kyries a 4, voces del PVic. Torres (Mass in mode 5, interpolating—that is to say—alternating with the Kyries for 4 voices, by Fr. Vic. Torres)." In spite of a painstaking search to locate a reference to "Victor Torres," I have nothing that is definitive. Another possibility presents itself, however, that is quite likely. I suspect that "Vic" is not an abbreviation of "Victor" but is instead a variant of the rather common Catalan last name of "Vich." The name "Vic Torres" then is the double *apellido* where "Vic" was the father's last name and "Torres" was drawn from the mother's side. There are three abbots with the last name "Vich" in the same burial registry as "Vic Torres."\(^5\) And yet another possibility arises.

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\(^{51}\) For example, the "Credo a duo" in folder 51 is written for a "bass" and a "tiple," the Catalan words for a bass voice and a soprano. In addition, the soprano part has on its first page the title and instruction "Tiple, Credo a duo 5 tono, alternando con el Credo Regulat." In Folder 61 we find the terms "Primera vero Lamentacio a duo" on sheet R-1, and "Segona vero Lamentacio a duo," on sheet R-3. Folder 73 is also probably of Catalan or Mallorcan origin, given its peculiar spelling of soprano as "tiple."

\(^{52}\) William Summers suggests that this work is by Pou based on the title page, but I think this conclusion is a bit premature. The phrasing actually states that it is for Pou's use (but that does not equate with being composed by him necessarily). See Summers, "Recently Recovered Mission Manuscript Sources," handout for IMS, Madrid, 1992, p. 13.

\(^{53}\) The burial record reads "Dia 21ibre de 1797 muri es torn del Morcar Jaume Ignaci Pou fill de Sebastia y de Marg6 Farregut, de 6 mesos." The column by this entry has the identifying label "Pou / Jaume / Pigota / empeltado." The entry is found in the Arxiu del Regne de Mallorca (ARM), "Llibre de enteros de Albats compost per el dia 14, Janer de lo año 1783, Finit als 13 Juliol 1808," Book C-1019, fol. 67.

\(^{54}\) The author of the setting is uncertain; however, the text and musical notation suggest a connection to the Arxiu del Regne de Mallorca (ARM). The manuscript very well might be the "Jayme Ignaci Pou" of the Convent de Sant Francesc.

\(^{55}\) Actually, the title of this mass does not appear in this folder, but since the vocal lines here in folder 64 match the continuo lines supplied in folder 70, we can determine the title from the latter. Folder 70 has the titled page that states: "Misa de 5to tono a 4 voces del R. P. Fr. Juan Bautista Sancho (Mass in mode 5 for 4 voices by Father Friar Juan Bautista Sancho)."

\(^{56}\) Juan Ramon Vich (fol. 7), Antoni Vich (fol. 7), and Bartomeu [sic] Vich (any of whom could possibly be our Fray Vic Torres). And yet another possibility arises.
"Vic." could be an abbreviation for "Vicario" or "vicar." There was a religious cleric, Bonaventura Torres, who was an active Franciscan during Sancho's years at the Convent de Sant Francesc: if he were musician and a vicar, this individual could be yet another candidate for the mysterious gentleman mentioned in Sancho's manuscript.57

All told then, these manuscripts in the WPA (and those at Mission San Fernando for that matter) have all the indications of being from the same time era and location—i.e., from Mallorca in the late 1790s. The use of Catalan terminology, the mention of Mallorcan friars, the signing of scores in 1796 and 1797, and the preponderance of folders in Juan Sancho's hand, all serve as clues to suggest these folders comprise the musical practice from the Convent de Sant Francesc and other Mallorcan convents, and furthermore, they accurately encapsulate a core musical repertoire brought to the California coast by one of the most musically accomplished mission padres—Juan Bautista Sancho.

Sancho's Departure for the New World
As we have seen, the first two years of the nineteenth century show Sancho to have been in his hometown Artà; his diary entries tell us of his priestly duties, and the "Altre Nota" at the bottom of folio 4v, captures the moment when he said his goodbyes to his family and friends: "I departed from Artà for the Colegio de San Fernando on the 23rd of February of 1803, the first day of Lent." Continuing with his diary, we find Sancho writing another short citation, "And having left the Port of Cádiz, on the 20th of June, 1803, I arrived at the Colegio de San Fernando [near Mexico City] on the 9th of September of the same year." Sancho's traveling companion and life-long friend, Pedro Cabot, provides further details of their journey. He recounts that the two of them left Cadiz on the 20th of June "on the San Miguel alias Sagrada Familia and arrived in Vera Cruz, Mexico, in August and finally arrived at San Fernando College, September 9."58 The voyage to the port city of Vera Cruz and then the overland trek to Mexico City took Sancho a little over seven

57Bonaventura Torres appears on fol. 79 of the burial registry, ARM, "Llibre de enteros de Albats," Book C-1019.

58Geiger, Franciscan Missionaries, 34-35.
weeks. Just as modern-day passports require a photo, so did passports from that era supply a verbal description of the traveler's features. Sancho's photograph depicts him as being "tall, swarthy, with dark hair, gray eyes, a large, thick nose, thick beard, and bushy eyebrows." He must have been an imposing figure. The two young men, Sancho and Cabot, enrolled in the Colegio de San Fernando—a Franciscan training institution for the flocks of missionaries who were destined to journey out to the most far-flung regions of the Spanish realm. And the most remote and isolated territory for young missionaries at that time was the newly founded chain of missions in California.

These diary entries aid enormously in cutting through the forest of misinformation that has plagued Sancho biographies. There has been considerable confusion regarding Sancho's journey from Spain to California. Bancroft and Engelhardt both state correctly the year of Sancho's departure to be 1803. But nearly everyone else has followed Geiger's momentary misstep when he erroneously stated the year was 1802. The difference of a year is substantial, for it means our previous impression that Sancho and Cabot had an extended residency of nearly two years at the Mexican apostolic college must be revised downward to a few months; they had barely unpacked before they were off on the road again pursuing the dream of ministering in the frontier missions of the Spanish Empire.

Geiger states that Sancho had volunteered for service in Alta California by December 22, 1803, which would be in agreement with his and Bancroft's claim that Sancho left the Colegio de San Fernando for the California missions the following February, 1804, arriving in Monterey on August 4, 1804. Geiger gives another helpful tidbit concerning Sancho's and Cabot's trip, observing that the two had made it to Guadalajara, leaving the city on April 23 as they continued down into individual statements and attributions, so it is very hard to discern his source of information. See Bancroft, California, 2: 621, fn 17. Also, see Engelhardt, San Antonio, 109.

Geiger provides a departure date from Cádiz as "June 20, 1802 on the "San Miguel" or "Sagrada Familia" and an arrival in Vera Cruz, Mexico in August. See Geiger, Franciscan Missionaries, 224. Also briefly discussed in Richard E. Ahlborn, "The Mission San Antonio Prayer and Song Board," a paper delivered at the California Mission Studies Association Conference, Mission San Antonio de Padua, February 1993, publi. in Southern California Quarterly, vol. 74 (Spring, 1992), and rptx (Northridge, California: Padre Press, 1993), 13.

As Bill Summers and other prominent scholars have observed, the entire flock of Spanish friars in California received training and last-minute support from the casa matriz of the Colegio de San Fernando. Summers reminds us that the major musicians in California spent considerable time at this college: Estevan Tapias (3 years at San Fernando); Pedro Arroyo de la Cuesta (4 years); José Vázquez (1 year), Ignacio Islámez (4 years). See Summers, "Orígenes hispanos," 46-47.

Bancroft states that Sancho embarked from Cádiz on June 20, 1803, arriving at the Colegio de San Fernando in September; his lengthy footnote for Sancho's biography does not break itself down into individual statements and attributions, so it is very hard to discern his source of information. See Bancroft, California, 2: 621, fn 17. Also, see Engelhardt, San Antonio, 109.

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ued their journey northward. But once again, there is a small but irritating discrepancy between the biographers’ date for Sancho’s arrival in California (August 4) and Sancho’s diary that triumphantly proclaims “and I arrived in New California the day of August 15, 1804.” Unfortunately, neither Bancroft nor Geiger indicate in a clear way where their information for Sancho’s arrival date was obtained.

Sancho’s Life in Alta California
After their arrival at Monterey in early August 1804, Cabot and Sancho then made the inland journey into the folds of the Coastal Range all the way to the breath-taking Mission San Antonio de Padua where Fr. Junípero Serra had established in 1771—making it the third of the missions to be founded. They joined their elder Mallorcan colleague, Buenaventura Sitjar, where they helped to build a prosperous, complete community that was enormously successful by any measure. Before

66Geiger, Franciscan Missionaries, 35.
68Among the small party in attendance were Fathers Junípero Serra, Miguel Pieras, and Buenaventura Sitjar (who lived until 1808, so he was present at San Antonio while Sancho and Cabot were in their initial years there). Not all authors are in agreement as to the founding date. Most have correct details, such as Monsignor Francis Weber and Paul C. Johnson who state it was established on July 14, 1771. See Francis J. Weber, Readings in Catholic Historical Catholic History (Los Angeles: Westerners Press, 1967), 10; and Paul C. Johnson, ed., The California Missions: A Pictorial History, historical and architectural consultant, Harry Downie, photography by Philip Spencer (Menlo Park, California: Sunset Publishing, 1964), 101. Engelhardt claims it was founded a year earlier, stating that the first mass in honor of Saint Anthony was celebrated on July 14, 1770. See Engelhardt, San Antonio, 3–4, 103 ff. George Wharton James agrees with Weber, giving the founding year as 1771, but he states the day was July 17 as opposed to July 14. See George Wharton James, The Old Franciscan Missions of California, new ed. (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1924), 104–5.

The definitive studies of life at Mission San Antonio are those authored by Robert L. Hoover, whose Mission San Antonio Archeological Field School has met every summer since the mid-1970s. The handouts from those summer research findings provide copious detail of the construction projects, their nature, and when they were completed. For some of Hoover’s important work, consult: “California Mission Economic Development,” handout for the Mission San Archeological Field School” (San Luis Obispo, CA; author, 1982); “Message from the Director,” no. 23 (August 1999) for the Mission San Antonio Archeological Field School” (San Luis Obispo, CA; author, 1999); “Mission San Antonio de Padua Indian Barracks Chronology,” handout for the Mission San Antonio Archeological Field School” (San Luis Obispo, CA; author, 1976); “Mission San Antonio Research Design,” handout for the Mission San Antonio Archeological Field School” (San Luis Obispo, CA; author, 1983); Review of Robert H. Jackson & Edward Castillo, Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization: The Impact of the Mission System on California Indians, in Ethnohistory, vol. 14, no. 2 (Spring, 1996): 352–54; ”Some Models for Spanish Colonial Archaeology in California,” Historical Archeology, vol. 26, no. 1 (1992): 37–44; and “A Window on the Past: Mission San Antonio de Padua,” The Way of St. Francis (publ. in Oakland, CA), vol. 7, no. 3 (May–June, 2001), 15–22. For a comprehensive study of Mission San Antonio, consult Englehart, San Antonio, Summers provides a brief but good summary of life at Mission San Antonio in his article, “Recently Recovered Manuscript Sources,” Reviews de museologia, 284–86. Da Silva and Bancroft assign much of the credit for San Antonio’s prosperity to Sancho’s efforts and guidance. See Da Silva, Mission Music, 23 and Bancroft, California, 2: 621, fn 17, and Hubert Howe Bancroft, California Pastoral, (San Francisco: Francisco History Company Publishers, 1888), 203. Geiger offers the opinion that San Antonio was particularly lucky to have together the three Mallorcans Buenaventura Sitjar, Pedro Cabot, and Juan Bautista Sancho. See Geiger, Franciscan Missions, 224.

Among other accomplishments during Sancho’s and Cabot’s years at San Antonio, Englehardt (in San Antonio) lists the following construction projects: 1805, new houses of adobe and tile roofs for the Native American family dwellings, water ditch begun; 1806, water power mill, more adobe houses built; 1808, structure to store lumber, ditch for irrigation dug, tannery with four tanks, half of the garden enclosed; 1809, 25 new houses for the neophytes, water ditch that was begun in 1805 is now completed; 1810, 31 new houses built, horse power mill constructed for grinding wheat, foundation for new church is laid; 1811, adobe walls for new church are 8 yards high, construction of community kitchen; 1812, church almost completed, new tannery, hus for seed storage in garden is finished; 1813 new church is finished, old church destroyed to build quarters for Cabot.
late 1700s was no longer sufficient for the mission's burgeoning needs, so they began the construction of a new church. The native peoples of the area poured the foundation in 1810, built the walls in 1811, made considerable progress in 1812, and eventually finished the new church in 1813: to this day it is one of the most appealing and enchantingly beautiful buildings from the mission era in California. (See photos R., S, and T of Mission San Antonio.) Agricultural progress was impressive. In 1824, for instance, the mission could boast an inventory that included: 6,000 head of cattle, 1,070 horses, 34 mules, 2 burros, 9,600 sheep, 28 goats "de pelo," and 77 pigs. Its storerooms were overflowing with the abundance of crops: 1,355 fanegas of wheat, 90 of corn, 44 of beans, 308 of barley, and 52 of chick-peas and other vegetables. The irrigation system from the end of the eighteenth century was an engineering marvel, for as Francis Weber describes it, "installation of the intricate series of aqueducts in the next decade (1790s) increased the material fortunes of the mission considerably, so that by 1830 the entire valley was one giant vineyard stretching as far as the eye could see." Its population almost immediately rose to that of a small village, for within ten years of its inception there were already over a thousand residents living on site, "the largest number of neophytes contained at any one of the mission chain" in those early years. Its population fluctuated some but generally hovered slightly over 1,000 residents. Robert Hoover has graphed out the statistics for "California Mission Economic Development" and demonstrates convincingly that the missions were remarkably successful with respect to agricultural and economic growth, particularly between 1805–1823, the very years when Sancho and Cabot were most deeply involved in managing the daily affairs of Mission San Antonio. In short, the ingenuity, toil, and sweat of the Native Californians and the padres produced a sort of Golden Age that compares favorably with the economic expansion in the British Colonies. The image of quaint but lazy indigenous peoples and Californios living in a pastoral paradise—devoid of ambition, culture, and...

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72 In 1805 there were 1,296 neophytes at the mission. By 1817 there was a slight drop to 985 residents. In 1830 the padres record 650. After secularization, the population continued to drop. In 1834, the population sank to 567, and by 1839 there the numbers plummet to a paltry 270 registered inhabitants at the mission. See James, The Old Franciscan Missions, 106–7; Hoover, "A Window on the Past," and Summers, "Recently Recovered Manuscript Sources," Art Mission Denver, 14. The figures for 1817 are in The Bancroft Library, ms. C-C 69, Mariano Payeras, "Noticias de las misiones," A Report to the Superiors of the Colegio de San Fernando de México of the Missions of California, H. H. Bancroft Collection 35073. For a discussion of Figueroa and the confiscation of Mission San Antonio during secularization, consult Engelhardt, San Antonio, 57–60.
73 Hoover, handout "California Mission Economic Development." Hoover further delves into the engineering feats of the residents (with the construction of reservoirs and aqueducts) and the planting of orchards and crops so that San Antonio enjoyed a "constant food surplus" in his outstanding article "A Window on the Past," esp. 18–19.
any "work ethic"—is the result of fictitious mythology rather than the historical record.  

This oft-repeated view of an idyllic Eden populated by lackadaisical inhabitants began back in the nineteenth-century with writers such as Alexander Forbes and Captain Frederick William Beechey. The most influential historian with this view was Hubert Howe Bancroft. It would be hard to overstate the value of his copious and tireless scholarship, but nevertheless, his views on early California and its culture reflect the attitudes of his era, complete with its stereotypes and prejudices regarding Mexico and Native Americans. In a representative and unsympathetic statement, Bancroft summarizes that the early "californios" were not a strong community in any sense, either morally, physically, or politically; hence it was that as the savages faded before the superior Mexicans, so faded the Mexicans before the superior Americans. Bancroft, California Pastoral, 293.

Mission San Antonio, then, was not a mere chapel plopped into an idyllic setting; it was, rather, a bustling and vibrant village with all of the attendant agricultural, industrial, cultural, spiritual and social activities that one would expect of a small town. And Juan Sancho was at the center of all those activities. All recorded accounts describe Sancho as a tireless worker who was always found working physically on some project. In Sancho’s obituary, his close friend Pedro Cabot recalls Sancho with these words:

Fr. Sancho was animated by a good spirit and healthy intentions in his deliberations. He worked a lot, in the spiritual realm as well as the
earthly. His constancy was particularly noteworthy. This good Father and exemplary model to missionaries knew how to combine both occupations (of the spiritual and temporal)—for he would be seen working away in the manufacturing craft-shops and in the fields, enduring the greatest heat and most extreme cold with stoic suffering—but without forgetting to minister to the sick who needed to be cured of their pains, by administering the Holy Sacraments with complete punctuality to those who were close to death and in dire need, and without leaving those nearby in need for lack of expert religious advice. He would accomplish this without ceasing his manual labor, all the while reprimanding vices and animating all to virtue.

The supposed “rest” that he took on those days when the weather was poor and he could not go outside, consisted of him composing catechism instructions, and he was greatly aided in this task by the good knowledge he had of the local Native American languages. In this occupation (of translating catechisms), very often he would lose track of time and miss lunch or dinner altogether! If he observed that I was lending him a hand, it seemed to him that he was not doing anything at all, since he was not doing everything by himself.

As an example, I will tell of a time ten years before his death, a time when God was stretching out his life. He was still recuperating and without any strength after a grave illness. Seeing that he was returning so soon to his strenuous, hard-working lifestyle, I said to him, “Padre, it is not time yet; leave this work alone and wait until you have more strength.” He responded with his typical simplicity and inborn candor, “If I have food to eat, I should work.” This is proof that he was a declared enemy of laziness.76

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76 “Animado, el P. Sancho del espíritu bueno, y una sana intención / en sus deliberaciones; trabajo mucho tanto en lo espiritual, como en lo temporal, y lo particular la constancia, con que este buen Religioso y / ejemplo de Misioneros, sabia unir ambas ocupaciones; se le veía en / los trabajos de fábricas y campo aguantando los mayores calores, y ex-tremados fríos con todo sufrimiento, sin olvidar enfermos, como de-bían curarse subj dolencias, administrándoles con toda puntualidad los / Sín Sacramentos sin que los que estaban cerca careciesen de plas- ticas ex periciales [?] sin dejar de trabajar de manos, reprehen-
Several separate documents corroborate Cabot’s assessment of his dear friend and colleague. Fr. Sarría in 1817 lauded the friar:

In its [San Antonio’s] spiritual development he [Sancho] is justly considered as one of the best among the missionaries because of his constancy, zeal, application, activity, and industry in the development of buildings together with his knowledge of the language of the mission.\(^\text{77}\)

Three years later in 1820, he receives high praise yet again, this time from Fr. Payeras:

“His merit corresponds with his great application and efficacy in every branch of the

ministry, and his aptitude is for a complete missionary and for one or the other offices in the Order.”\(^\text{78}\)

As was the case with many Spanish missionaries, Sancho’s relations with the Native Californians with whom he lived and worked were complex. Physical beatings were one of the less attractive aspects of mission life, and Bancroft preserves a story which assigns Sancho a central role in administering corporal punishment to a neophyte:

\(^\text{77}\)Geiger, Franciscan Missionaries, 224.

\(^\text{78}\)Geiger, Franciscan Missionaries, 224.
When the mission San Antonio was in charge of fathers Juan Cabot [sic, it was Pedro Cabot] and Juan B. Sancho, the latter directed agricultural operations, and also attended to the music, the mission having a good orchestra. He always kept near his person a handsome Indian boy named Josafat, who was charged to give timely warning of the venomous ants abounding in that region. Nevertheless, the padre was often bitten, and then Josafat received a whipping at the hands of the mestizo, Antonio Rosas. These facts were obtained from Josafat himself in 1847, when he was still living in San Antonio at an advanced age.79

While Bancroft’s well-known negative evaluation of the missions may have contributed to his telling of the story, the account does confirm several aspects of Sancho’s life that have been documented elsewhere: he had developed a major music institution while at Mission San Antonio, and he was in charge of agricultural production at the mission. The environmental context of the story is not clear, but it is consistent with an outdoor setting. If so, it would place the padre physically alongside his fellow workers in the field and further confirm Cabot’s assessment that Sancho was a worker, not a loafer.

Sancho’s Last Rites Translation

Cabot’s obituary also points to a much different fashion in which Sancho related to the San Antonio neophytes. Cabot recalls that his fellow missionary never forgot “to minister to the sick who needed to be cured of their pains ... administering the Holy Sacraments (or Last Rites) with complete punctuality to those who were close to death and in dire need” and that he spent days of inclement weather translating catechisms and other texts into Native idiom. Another document has recently come to light, confirming Sancho’s interest in both of those areas (delivery of Last Rites and translation). While going through a box of “Mission Miscellany” at The Bancroft Library, I came across a translation into a Native American language of the Anointing of the Sick or Extreme Unction.80 This folder contains a single paper sheet that is folded in such a way that it makes two folios or four pages—like a folded Hallmark greeting card.81 Every page has a hand-drawn border and meticulous lettering that demonstrates this was done with great care and a sense of respect: the lettering is exquisite and laser-perfect. This is no “rush job.” Presently, it is catalogued with the rather cryptic description: “Protesta de la fe p’ el Santo Viatico, text in Indian dialect, H. H. Bancroft Collection.” The Santo Viático (or in Latin, Vaticum) means “Food for the Journey” which is the administering of Communion before death.82 The Protesta de la Fé is the Confession of Faith (or Confiteor Deo) that occurs early in this ritual. The text begins with the Father (the Sacerdote, abbreviated as “Sac.”) asking if the infirm soul believes in the Lord; and subsequently there is the abbreviation “Rx” for the response, followed by the text “A episnoúmixu” which most likely is the confirmation, “I believe.” The priest then asks if the sick person believes in Jesus Christ, and there is the appropriate response, “A episnoúmixu.” “Do you believe in the Holy Spirit?” “A episnoúmixu.” And so the expected articles of faith are presented—such as belief in the Trinity, the Resurrection, the Catholic Church, and so forth—with Latin phrases intercalated with the Indian prose at periodic intervals. At the bottom

79Bancroft, California Pastorad, 203.
80The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, C-C 73: 17.
81Each page in this document measures 15.8 x 21.5 cm.
of the first page, the priest is told to kiss the cross on the chalice and proclaim, "We adore thee, O Christ, and we bless thee, for by thy cross thou hast redeemed the world," after which he is to turn to the suffering soul and continue with communion. Near the bottom of the second page we find the expected Agnus Dei followed by the "Domine non sunt dignus (Lord, I am not worthy)" which in turn leads to the "Accipe frater (Receive brother or sister the Viaticum of Our Lord Jesus Christ)" and "Domine Sancte, omnipotens &c. (O Holy Lord, Father Almighty), both of which begin on page 3.

Although this elegant copy of the Last Rites bears no ascription, I can now identify this as the handiwork of Juan Sancho, based on similarities in handwriting with manuscripts known to have been copied by Sancho. If one examines the handwriting in Sancho's music manuscripts in the Works Project Administration Collection at Berkeley and Sancho's diary in The Bancroft Library, and compares the calligraphy with the letters in this translation of the Last Rites, one cannot help but see the similarities (see Figure 2).84 The “printed” capital M is squared off at the bottom posts and the top peaks with small horizontal lines to give the letter precise definition. The cursive capital letter M has a looped downstroke at the beginning that makes a “fish-hook,” and Sancho draws a horizontal line that makes a sort of level platform at the top of the letter’s peaks. The capital letter A has a similar downstroke to the capital letter M, before ascending on the main angled upstroke of the letter. The left upstroke is severely slanted, and the downstroke returns at such an acute angle that it does not even reach a vertical direction. There is a miniscule “foot” towards the right to close off the letter before raising the pen. The top beam of the capital F has a distinctive and fluid “swoop” that aesthetically matches the graceful curve of the letter’s downstroke. The capital S has an incisive, straight stroke that begins the letter, and another one that closes it off. The capital letter D has a prolonged anticipatory beginning that arches across the design, with a slight French curve before the crisp angle that sends the concluding pen stroke up at a 45% angle. The capital E often has a small “swoosh” that initiates the letter, followed by a pen stroke that sketches out the coils of a spring—so the protrusion of the letter’s midpoint (the small, middle “shelf” of the letter) is a small loop rather than a small line. The script for the common word de conjoins symmetrically the upward stem of the d with the left stroke of the e, creating an appealing flourish that almost resembles a clasp or a three-leaf clover. The capital letter B begins with a slanted downstroke that bends only at the last instant. Once the pen’s nib has been lifted, a second stroke begins the two bumps that protrude to the right; the top one is smaller and more elliptical, while the lower one is much more rotund—yet it fails to close with the letter’s base. Instead, before the pen is lifted from the sheet, the scribe has paused momentarily so that the ink is broader at the last curved edge of the letter. We could continue letter by letter, but the same conclusion would be reinforced. This is not merely a case where the manuscripts share general writing conventions from the same era; rather, this is the same handwriting of the same scribe—Juan Sancho.

The concluding part of this article will appear in the next issue of the Boletín.
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