Robert Austin (RA):

In those days, the Yankee trading ships were like floating department stores. They traveled from city to city and all the people went down there to buy all the things they had been wanting all year: clothing and furniture and food and wine and cigars and so forth. They were really essential to the economy of California because the Californians had to have some market for their hides and tallow which were really all that they had to sell at that time. So the trading ships took back loads of hides and tallow to New England and brought back all the things that Californians wanted.

Peter Hamlin (PH): And the captain of one such trading ship was Henri Delano Fitch. He was the first American to settle in San Diego, and become a Mexican citizen at the time when this region was a part of Mexico. His life is the subject of this third program in the series "Twelve Who Shaped San Diego."

I'm Peter Hamlin, and joining me is San Diego historian and chief consultant for these programs, Dr. Clare Crane.

Clare, I think that Henry Fitch is probably one of the least known or least familiar of the names of the people we'll be dealing with in our series, and I'd like to ask you, what are some of the things he's important for, and why is he indeed one of the least known names. Why don't we have a Fitch plaza or a Fitch hospital?

Clare Crane (CC): Well, I suppose that he is not well known because he didn't leave that kind of permanent mark in San Diego that's visible with something with his name on it. But he left something which in a way is much more important in the long run, and that is that he drew the first map of San Diego and he set
the original boundaries of the pueblo lands of San Diego. And he drew the map in such a way that it included eleven leagues which is somewhere between forty or fifty thousand acres. This was not customary for Spanish and Mexican pueblos. The customary size was only four leagues, and so Henry's map, giving us the generous boundaries, I think, is the major contribution that he made. He's also important as a representative of the Americans who came into San Diego and settled here. He was the first permanent American to settle in San Diego and become a Mexican citizen, become a Roman Catholic, and of course, one of the other things about Henry Fitch that's particularly interesting is the exciting courtship of Josepha Carrillo and their exciting elopement which we'll hear more about later.

PH: Now, Clare, there are several important events going on during the life of Henry Fitch that we've seen briefly in Old Town, and I'd like to recap now. What are some of the important historical dates, important historical events that are ongoing during this period?

CC: We really have a very short period of time during which San Diego was Mexican. It's only from 1821 to 1846. 1821 marks the day of the independence of Mexico from Spain, and 1846, of course, the end of the Mexican period is the American conquest of California, making it part of the United States. During that twenty-five year period in between, I think probably one of the most important things that happened in San Diego was the secularization of the Mission. This took place in 1833 and it meant that land that had belonged to the Mission was then available for distribution to the Mexican citizens, to the friends and supporters of the Mexican governor of California.

PH: Now, when the missions were secularized, the land was distributed, and that process is explained by Dr. Iris Engstrand, professor of history at the
Iris Engstrand (IE): Well, these lands were granted to private individuals. There was a certain amount of graft and corruption as you might imagine with the administrators controlling this land, but former soldiers, citizens, could petition the governor for these private lands. In San Diego we end up with Rancho Los Penasquitos, Rancho Jamul, Rancho El Cajon, San Bernardo, Encinitas ... all of the place names really. These ranchos were sort of derived out of ex-Mission lands around the ex-Mission San Luis Rey, ex-Mission San Diego. And during the Mexican period in California some 700-800 ranchos were granted, whereas in the Spanish period only twenty were granted because most of the land was occupied by the missions and their surrounding territories. In fact, at its height, the mission system encompassed land ... for example, contiguous San Gabriel Mission lands ran all the way, on some maps, to San Fernando mission lands. And then southward to San Juan Capistrano mission lands, and so the padres felt that their mission land ran all the way up the coast of California. And then you can also see why the civilians felt the padres were in control of just too much land and this, after all, should not all be set aside for the mission system, that the civilians deserve their areas, and this is, say, what leads into the Rancho system of the Mexican period.

CC: So most of the ranchos then, the cattle ranches of the Mexican era really developed out of former mission lands, and the names associated with these ranchos are very familiar to many of us. For example, El Cajon, Rancho Bernardo - these are former mission lands that have become townsites or subdivision areas or the names of communities within cities. One of the largest rancho grants, of course, was the Rancho Santa Margarita y los Flores, of 130 thousand acres which Governor Pío Pico generously gave to himself and his brother Andrés Pico,
and that, of course, is the area that later became Camp Pendleton.

IE: Yes, you can see that Governor Pico being in a position of power, did select a very nice area for himself and his brother. The lands extended all the way from what we sort of think of as the boundary of Orange County or San Onofre to the Santa Margarita River at Oceanside. It was about 133 thousand acres - it extends all the way inland almost to Fallbrook. It was one of the most fertile agricultural areas and then, as most of us here in San Diego know, the rancho was finally purchased by the United States government for its marine base Camp Pendleton. And it's probably fortunate in a way that this area has been maintained as a marine base because it's still open space, very sparsely populated, and some people here say it buffers San Diego against the encroaching Orange County/Los Angeles area. And I think, I don't know what the plans are, but I assume it will remain in the hands of the United States government for quite a while.

PH: Dr. Iris Engstrand, professor of history at the University of San Diego.

CC: The lands, of course, were held by the missionaries supposedly in trust for the Indians. The initial concept had been that the missionaries had control over the lands so that when the Indians had been trained to become agricultural workers and craftsmen and to learn the Spanish language and customs, that they were then to become Spanish citizens and the land was to be turned over to the Indians. But of course, as we know, that did not happen.

PH: Dr. Lucy Killea, Executive Vice President of Fronteras de los Californias has made a study of the effects of secularization of mission lands. There were many changes that resulted, primarily as you mention Clare, on the lives of the Indians who had been living on the missions up to that time.

Lucy Killea (LK): They had been living, for several generations now, in a
compound kind of existence; dependant upon the communal type of growing of food, having food issued to them, having clothing issued to them, of having a bell ringing requiring their attendance at church at a certain time every day. They had been leading this kind of existence, and suddenly they were told that this was no longer the case, that they were now free to leave. And some of them did return to the back country - many of them, their own villages were long since destroyed or disappeared. But some of them did return back into the back country and join villagers there, taking with them much more of the Spanish civilization and ways of doing things than the people in the back country had had. So it was a case really of the Indians from the Mission taking some of what they had learned from the Spanish back into their own native culture. The effect on the land was very briefly a dividing up of the mission lands among the ranchers and the exploitation of that land primarily by cattle grazing. The periods of drought, of floods that this area is subject to took its toll - native grasses were almost completely decimated. Many of the grasses that the Indians knew no longer exist. The landscape was changed by importation of weeds from Europe or from other parts, and from Mexico, changing considerably the growth on the land in the San Diego area so that today, a very large percentage of the plants that we think of as native are not - they're actually imported. The cattle moved in and almost stripped the grassland areas near the coast, in the valleys, and then the scrub brush and weeds were able to move in where grasses had once been. It changed the landscape.

CC: Probably, this had a good deal to do with necessity of having large land grants for big grazing areas because many of these grants were five, ten, even twenty, thirty and forty thousand acres. And would this have been part of the reason for it then?
LK: Yes, that was part of it. The other part of it, of course, was that there weren't that many Spaniards so that there was a vacuum and they simply moved into it. The Indian's presence on the land was simply considered advantage; it was not considered a conflict of ownership at all. So as the missions' role was reduced to the spiritual functions, the ranchers were able then to move in completely and there were really no limitations although there were supposedly legal ones over the size of land grants, but this didn't really carry over into California. So the size of the ranches were not directly related to the needs of the ranchers. But, of course, if you had more cattle then you could claim you needed more grazing space. And, of course, as the land became less and less productive for grazing, you needed more and more land, but that did not always justify the enormous size of the ranches.

PH: Dr. Lucy Killea, Executive Vice President of Fronteras de las Californias.

To understand the contributions of Henry Fitch, it's necessary to know more about San Diego at this time. The Spanish settlement here began in 1769. In 1821, Mexico became independent, and San Diego continued to be a part of Mexico for about twenty-five years until the American conquest. And so, with its extensive Spanish heritage, the city of San Diego owes a great deal to Spanish law and attitudes toward the organization of the town. The basic body of Spanish law is known as the Laws of the Indies, explained here by Dr. Iris Engstrand of the University of San Diego.

IE: The Laws of the Indies as they became known, were actually not qualified until 1680, but these were the laws that were passed regularly by the Council of the Indies. In 1573, there were a number of ordinances passed for the founding of towns. And this, of course, was very important for the Spanish in transplanting their civilization. The laws were very detailed; they included
the selection of sites. You had to select a site by a river, naturally, to have a source of water, yet not too close to the sea. They always felt that sea air was not healthy and the only reason you would locate by the sea was just for a port city, and preferably inland would be better. They even were so careful that they felt the sun should rise in the east, shine on the river before the town. I've never quite figured out what the purpose of this was. The normal size of the town was set at four square leagues, which is about 17,500 acres, set in a square, but if the train didn't allow it they would make certain adjustments. Then after the town was founded, they would set up certain common areas: the plaza, which we all associate with Spanish towns was very important as a center for activities, even for walking around in the evening. The church would be facing the plaza. Then you would have the town lots rounding the plaza, and then the agricultural fields lying beyond. But there would be common pastures and an area they called the ejhidos which was a common area which sometimes was just for recreation. I feel that the people today who feel that the environmentalists finally figured out something new should go back to the old Spanish laws when this was just an open space surrounding the town. The most you could do with it was tie up a cow or a goat. It was for picnics, or whatever, and it still exists in many of the Spanish towns - this ejhido or just a common park area. Then you also sometimes had a common woods that you would be able to get lumber from, timber to build your houses. But I think probably the most important area was the river or the water supply which, again, was in common for the people living in the town.

PH: But, as Dr. Engstrand explains, San Diego did not achieve official pueblo or town status until 1835. Before that, we were a military settlement or presidio.
IE: Actually, San Diego grew up as a presidio. The presidio was located as you might expect, on Presidio Hill. And then there was the mission quite a few miles inland, about six, seven miles inland. But the Spanish idea was that around a presidio a pueblo would sort of grow up— the soldiers would marry, they'd have their families, and this is how San Diego sort of started, although late. And the first person or soldier from the presidio to really have a private dwelling was Francisco Ruiz. But this was about 1820, and this was sort of the beginnings of Old Town. So Old Town really grew out of the presidio, and this became the nucleus of what we call the pueblo of San Diego.

PH: One of the factors responsible for the delay in finally achieving pueblo status in San Diego is the extremely small population, a state of affairs not uncommon throughout Alta California.

IE: Well, it started out very slow. The first two pueblos—the first pueblo, San Jose, when it was founded in 1727, had a tough time getting nine families together to start the town; Los Angeles in 1781, had a tough time getting eleven families to settle, and then a third pueblo failed completely near Santa Cruz, Villa de Brancefort, because they never could get enough settlers. That was the main problem. They advertised free transportation, free food, plots of land... just come to California, we'll take care of you. But still people didn't seem to feel that was going to be the answer to their problems. It was just so far from the centers of civilization that people were familiar with, and although we know California today as being a lovely spot, I think, as I tell my students, if you were in rather dire circumstances here and someone offered you a beautiful spot of land in Tasmania, would you just quickly pack your bags and go? I think the people had the same feelings. It's just the unknown and a long trip overland for an uncertain goal.
PH: I'm curious to know if there was a relationship between secularization, which occurred in 1833 - secularization of the missions - and the achievement of pueblo status which came a year or two after that. Was there any relationship between those two other than they occurred at about the same time?

CC: Yes, I think there is a relationship in that when the missions were secularized, and I say missions because it was not only Mission San Diego but Mission San Luis Rey and Mission San Juan Capistrano which were all included within the southern area that was related to the Presidio and later the Pueblo of San Diego. When the lands were secularized, it meant that people could live outside of the Presidio garrison. They had already begun to build a few houses down below the Presidio in what we now call Old Town. Captain Ruiz was probably the first one to build a house around 1820. The soldiers were getting married, they were having families, there wasn't enough room in the Presidio for them; they wanted to have their own homes and their own ranchos. And so then it became necessary, really, to have a civil government for the people who were no longer living in the Presidio, but rather were building their houses around the plaza and living in what was essentially a pueblo. They wanted to have civilian government, to be able to elect their own alcalde and ayuntamiento which were essentially like a mayor and a town council and have decisions made by themselves rather than by the military authorities as had been true when San Diego was just a presidio.

PH: If I understand it right, the boundaries of the Pueblo of San Diego were determined by the map drawn by Captain Henry Fitch, and I'd like to ask you how the boundaries were determined. For example, were Fitch's boundaries regulated in any way by the Spanish law, the Laws of the Indies?

CC: Well, the general approach to setting up a pueblo according to the Laws
of the Indies or more specifically the recommendations in the Plan of Petique, prescribed that a pueblo would be four quare leagues, going outward from a town center, from a plaza, but if the configuration of the land was against that then they could draw the boundaries in some other fashion. And the Pueblo of San Diego was established in 1835, but the map was not drawn until later. The map was not drawn until 1845, and this is perhaps because there had been no particular need to do so earlier, but with the coming of more Americans very clearly there was going to be some sort of a manifest destiny sweeping into California, and there was every reason to believe, on the part of many, that it would be taken over by the United States. I think that gave an impetus to drawing up not only the boundaries of the pueblo, but also to giving out the large land grants, because it's in the middle 1840's, just before the American conquest that most of the big land grants were made. So in order to determine the boundaries of the pueblo, then, Henry Fitch, because of his background as a navigator and chartmaker, was familiar with surveying procedures, and this was rather complicated to survey. He and Santiago Arguello who was the prefect of San Diego at that time, and another man, went out and they staked out the boundaries and, in looking over what they did in relationship to the other existing recognized ranchos, it looks as if what they did was to take as their southern boundary the recognized ranch of Rancho de la Nacion and as the estern boundary the mission lands, the lands that were recognized as belonging to the Mission San Diego de Alcala. And as the northern boundary, the apparently took the Penasquitos Rancho which had been granted to Francisco Ruiz in 1823. And so then they drew a triangular boundary, running roughly along what is now highway 805; it goes on the north from approximately Del Mar down to National City on the south, and it follows approximately along the route of what is now
highway 805. The Fitch map made San Diego very lucky in that it includes eleven leagues, instead of the four leagues that was customary. Los Angeles Pueblo, for instance, only had four leagues, four square leagues, although it attempted to claim four leagues square which would of course have been sixteen leagues altogether. And it made this claim before the United States Land Commission later on, trying to get more land. But this claim was denied, and it just has as its original pueblo land, only the four square leagues. The same thing is true of San Francisco. So San Diego was really very fortunate in having Henry Fitch draw up this very generous boundary for us.

IE: Yes, the interpretation of the four square leagues was a little bit loose. Although the leagues, as I did some research on it, was not ever really pinned down too well in the Laws of the Indies, and in only one law out of some 600 did it even mention this amount of territory, and it was really for a pueblo founded by a contractor. And so some of the later pueblos said, well we weren't founded by a contractor and there is nothing that really says that it has to be four square leagues, and they used this because ranchos were generally four square leagues. But under the Mexican law, during the Mexican period after 1821, ranchos could be as large as eleven square leagues. So San Diego took advantage of the best of both worlds, and was able to get the eleven square leagues.

PH: Dr. Iris Engstrand, professor of history at the University of San Diego. Clare, as I understand it, the pueblo lands were lands set aside for the development of the town. I'm curious if their function changed through the years. For example, the region changed to United States rule after the Mexican War. What happened to all these pueblo lands over the long period in San Diego history?

CC: The pueblo lands were, you might say like a dowrey. They were lands that
could be sold off by the City Council or later by the Board of Trustees because San Diego lost its charter. It had one in 1850 and lost it in 1852, and then from 1852 until 1889, it was governed by a three-man Board of Trustees. And one of the few things that the Board of Trustees could do was to sell land. And they did so, and they sold it very very cheap - $25, $50, $1.00, $2.00 an acre. When Alonzo Horton came, for example, he bought 960 acres at what is estimated to be $27 an acre; total of what is now virtually all of downtown San Diego, 960 acres, for a total of $265.00. They gave 4,000 acres to the Texas and Pacific Railroad hoping to lure it to build into San Diego. By 1889, of the original nearly fifty thousand acres, the City Trustees had sold or given away all but about 8,000 acres, and so when San Diego received a new charter, it was decided that it should be amended almost immediately in 1890, amended to prevent further sale of pueblo lands without a vote of the people. And so we still have that restriction on pueblo lands - that is lands which lie within that original pueblo boundary. In 1929, the man who was then Deputy City Attorney of San Diego, Harry Hopkins, was very very critical of that early Board of Trustees. He said in his book on the history of San Diego and its pueblo lands, that never in all history did city officials start with so much with which to build the city for the benefits of its inhabitants - 50,000 acres of the world's choicest lands were placed in their trust. Then he goes on to say "To these city officials was delivered America's finest site for a city on a beautiful land-locked harbor. In no other place can man live more pleasantly. Fast outside, wealth had been added to these natural wonders. And with what results have these officials administered the sacred trust? No city officials ever received more with which to work and no trustees ever accomplished so little." In other words, Hopkins considered that they sold it off much too cheap, and that they didn't hang
onto more of it as a sort of investment for the future. Nowadays, when we're trying to buy open space land, our city officials now have to go out and buy up canyons, some of which had originally been pueblo land, and pay a million dollars or more for the land.

PH: When the Americans came, their use of the pueblo lands reflected an outlook toward land use different from that of the Spanish. San Diego City Attorney John Witt explains just what these differences were. His comments are followed by those of Assistant City Attorney Robert Teaze.

John Witt (JW): Our thought was that all land would either be held by the government or by the individual, and that there would be no joint use of property as was permitted in the pueblo lands. So when we came into the picture, and California became part of the United States, they immediately started selling off the pueblo lands rather quickly. I think you have to look at it in the context of the time. The pueblo land theory of the Mexicans was just not understood by the Anglo Saxon settlers. Land was held in the rest of the United States by individuals and not in some sort of community ownership. So it was quite natural for the town trustees, or whatever they were called, to do this, and to sell it off rather cheaply with the hopes that it would be developed and therefore contribute to the economy of the community.

Robert Teaze (RT): Yes, I must agree with John that the principal reason, at least in my looking at the subject, is that San Diego wanted to entice developers and one way to entice them was to sell the land off at fairly inexpensive prices. And as you pointed out, one of the early developers, Alonzo Horton, did establish this downtown area, and through his efforts, San Diego is what it is today. So I don't think it's all bad.

PH: Assistant Attorney Robert Teaze, preceded by San Diego City Attorney John Witt.
SIDE TWO

PH: Clare, what are the benefits to us today of this inheritance of the system of pueblo lands?

CC: I think the benefits of having some pueblo lands left that were remaining after the charter was amended in 1890— it has meant that in the twentieth century, the city fathers have had at their disposal some 8,000 acres of pueblo lands that they could then sell or give to lure different institutions here which have been a great benefit to us. This like the Salk Institute, General Atomic, the Scripps Research Foundation, and, of course, the University of California at San Diego. The distribution of pueblo lands in the twentieth century, which had to be done each time there was some pueblo land involved which had to be put to a vote of the people, had to be a ballot measure. Some of the distributions that have been made in the twentieth century include over 800 acres to Torrey Pines State Park, and of course, 77 acres to the Naval Hospital in Balboa Park— various areas totalling some 300 acres have gone to different freeways: Interstate 5, Interstate 8. And for the research institutions, Salk and Scripps Foundation, over 500 acres. And UCSD has received nearly 1,200 acres of pueblo lands. And all of these, of course, as a result of ballot measures, voted on by the people.

PH: And so we see that we owe a tremendous debt first to Spanish law and the Spanish attitude toward land use, and to Captain Fitch and his map which gave the Pueblo of San Diego eleven leagues of property, or over forty thousand acres.

Henry Fitch was the first Yankee to settle in Hispanic San Diego. And what attracted him was not merely the prospect of trade with the settlers here, nor even the great tracts of rancho land that could be had for the price of
Mexican citizenship. It was Josepha Carrillo, said to be one of the most beautiful girls in town who caught his fancy, and whom he eventually married. The story of Henry Fitch and Josepha Carrillo was one that intrigued Robert Austin. Austin had a degree in music, an extensive background on the Broadway stage, and a San Diego upbringing. He instantly saw that this San Diego romance would make an excellent show, and he wrote the book, lyrics and music for "My Cousin Josepha," a star-like musical produced by USIU for San Diego's bicentennial in 1969. And it is Robert Austin who now relates to us the story of "My Cousin Josepha," with excerpts from the show.

Robert Austin (RA): It begins in 1826. Josepha Carrillo is the eldest daughter of Don Juaquín Carrillo, one of the first families in San Diego, and she's sixteen, the eldest of ten children, and they're very anxious for her to get married. In those days, most girls did get married by that time. She was almost an old maid. It's well known that she is the favorite of the Governor of California, a man by the name of Echeandía, a rather pompous man, of course, considerably older than Josepha, and he has expressed a great interest in her. She, of course, is not at all interested in him, and her parents are very concerned about this because they really would like her to be the Governor's wife. She has a very active cousin, a fellow by the name of Pío Pico, who later, of course, became a governor of California, but at the time of the story, he's a young caballero who loves his horses, and his cards, and he's very fond of his cousin, Josepha. He tells the story, and that's the reason for the title. Pío Pico takes her down to visit one of the Yankee trading ships that comes to town. Now, in those days, the Yankee trading ships were like big floating department stores. They traveled from city to city, and all the people went down there to buy all the things that they had been wanting all year: clothing
and furniture and food and wine and cigars and so forth. They were really very essential to the economy of California because the Californians had to have some market for their hides and tallow which were really all that they had to sell at that time. So the trading ships took back loads of hides and tallow to New England and brought back all the things that Californians wanted. So on one of these trips, Pío Pico takes his cousin Josepha down to the ship and she meets a very very interesting man, that's Captain Henry Delano Fitch who is not at all as she has been told, that the Yankees were quite barbaric, really not the sort of people you would want to associate with. He really is quite a charming gentleman and, of course, tall and good looking, and she's captivated. So in front of all the town's people, creating quite a scandal, she stands there on the deck of the ship and talks to him.

[Excerpt from the play "My Cousin Josepha"]

Well, of course he had to leave but he kept making many trips back to San Diego. In those days, it was impossible for a Yankee to marry a Mexican unless he were a Catholic and a Mexican citizen, and a third condition was that he receive permission from the government. Well, the Governor, being very fond of Josepha was not about to give his permission for her to marry somebody else. But Fitch met all the other conditions. Over a period of three or four years, he made many trips, he brought presents for the family, he became a Catholic, he became a Mexican citizen, and so the marriage was planned. At the last minute, the Governor's agitant rushed in and stopped the marriage. Josepha was sent to her room and Fitch, of course, was furious. However, with the help of Pío Pico, Josepha managed to escape. According to the story, Pío Pico managed to gain entrance to the house, and got her out of there some way, and put her on a horse and took her down to the harbor where Fitch was waiting.
It was all very carefully planned, and it worked. And they left the harbor on another ship. They did it very cleverly because they didn't use his ship. They eloped to South America.

[Excerpt from the play "My Cousin Josepha"]

The authorities, of course, were terribly upset over this; the Governor swore his revenge, the church was upset because they had really eloped, presumably without the benefit of being married in the first place, and the family, of course, was devastated. The father Don Juaquín Carrillo was a very proud man, and he felt that the family name had been sullied and dishonored. He therefore took an oath that he would carry his silver pistol by his side at all times, and if they, Fitch and Josepha, ever crossed his sight, he would shoot them. This was a sacred oath. So, they were really in trouble. They were gone a full year and they came back on another ship rather furitively, and she decides to go ashore, and then goes to see the father. When she comes in, the father is sitting with his back to her. Now, this is all described in Josepha's own words on material that's available up at the Bancroft Museum. And as she tells it, she entered the room, and his back was to her, and she started to plead. As she was pleading with him, she dropped to her knees, and it was apparently the custom in those days, she went up to him on her knees to his back. And finally he turned around with his silver pistol in his hand. But, of course, his love for her was stronger even than his oath. And he could not shoot her, he dropped the gun. Of course, he was a broken man. This meant that his shame was twice as great. Fitch comes looking for Josepha and he's arrested and put into custody up at the Mission San Gabriel, but at that time, there was a great fight going on between the Governor and the ecclesiastical head of the Church and the State - all claiming authority. So the Governor wants to really give them
the book on this, and the Church does not want the Governor to usurp their authority. So in the end, the Church wins, and Fitch and Josepha receive sort of a minimal sentence, in other words they must go to Church and receive the sacrament that should have preceded the elopement and be really married in the eyes of the Church - although they claimed they then had a certificate to prove marriage in Va Parezo, Chili. They must also recite a portion of the rosary for thirty days and make all their penitences that way. But one very important part of the sentence was that Fitch provide a bell for the Mission at the Pueblo at Los Angeles. A bell of at least fifty pounds, because the Pueblo of Los Angeles, being very small and new, was very poor and couldn't afford their own bell. So that's what Fitch did.

PH: In a book called "The California I Love," Leo Carrillo, himself a descendant of the Carrillo family in Old Town, claimed to reveal for the first time an addition to the story that had before that time been known only to the family. RA: In order to relieve the shame and the terrible guilt that the father felt, Pio's good friend, Padre Menendez, who had been responsible for planning the wedding in the first place, told the family that Fitch and Josepha were actually married by him before they eloped and got on that ship. Now, this had to be kept a secret because it was going against the orders of the Church and the Governor. And Menendez would have been excommunicated and probably thrown out of his church and everything. Therefore, it was supposed to be kept a secret for two hundred years. It didn't last quite two hundred years, but it was kept secret a long time. Now there's no proof of this, of course, one way or the other. But, even if it were not true, it was a marvelous way for the father to have his guilt removed, and to live in peace for the rest of his days.

[Excerpt from "My Cousin Josepha"]
PH: "My Cousin Josepha," featuring Jack Richell and Carla Albergetti. The story was narrated by the show's author, Robert Austin. This musical is based on historical fact. But inevitably for the sake of the fact of dramatization, a few details of the story have been changed. Some historians dispute, for example, whether there really was a secret marriage, and whether Fitch actually did give a bell to Los Angeles after being ordered to do so. Of course, there are many cases where the details of the story, as it gets passed down over the years, parts ways with the historical facts. And yet, the story becomes so dear to us, that we continue them generation through generation. We have, in a sense, two concurrent traditions— one of factual history demanding objectivity and documentary substantiation. The other, the stories, as handed down, embellished, enhanced, edited. Charles Carrillo is a descendant of the San Diego Carrillo family. And many of the Old Town stories are a part of his family history, but he also works at Old Town San Diego State Historic Park as a student of anthropology and local history, and so he is a participant in both of these historical traditions and must face the questions of how to reconcile romanticized family history with the cold data of historical fact.

Charles Carrillo (ChC): You know, it's kind of hard to say, taking the historian's viewpoint or even the anthropologist's viewpoint— culture is what it is and truth is truth, and you can't do anything about that. It's nice to have this colorful set of tales to tell to my son, but I would expect him eventually, on his own that is, to be able to weed out fact from fiction. I would be disappointed if he wasn't able to do that on his own, just as I have. Coping with it— the fact that it is, in a lot of respects, blown up out of proportion and made more colorful than it may have been, just more or less really puts you in touch with the lifestyle that was lead here— pretentious, pompous,
aristocratic people considering themselves of an ilk, a step above the less privileged people.

PH: So in a sense, the fact that the stories are inaccurate still gives you insight into yet another part of the history that may not indeed be discussed by history books, and that is the psychology of the people.

ChC: Exactly, that's an education in itself right there. I think if you spoke with my grandfather you would see a good bit of that mental attitude coming out. I don't want to discredit anything that he might say, but the verbage, the romanticism in the family stories - it's all part of that culture that's lasted, that survived the centuries since the Americans took over, since the more or less death of the active culture.

PH: Charles Carrillo, a descendant of the old San Diego Carrillo family. The Fitch's continued to live in Old Town, raised a family, and Captain Fitch became a prominent citizen of Mexican San Diego. But there were other men to follow, some who like Fitch, came by sea to seek the hide and tallow trade, and a slow and less welcome stream of newcomers who came from the expanding United States from the land route. Later, the Mexican War and the gold rush were to completely transform this area. Fitch represented only the quiet beginnings of the impending Yankee invasion. Dr. Iris Engstrand of the University of San Diego.

IE: The early period, say prior to 1830 or certainly 35 or 40 really took up the Spanish way of life - they learned to speak Spanish and they became totally integrated into the culture. The American movement west, what you think of the pioneers and the wagon train, they began about 1840, 1841, and this is where you start to see the new generations of Americans who come who want California American rather than Hispanic. And this is the beginning of the end for Mexican
California. I'd say about 1841.

PH: Now we bring back to the stage a character who appeared briefly in the story of Captain Henry's marriage to Josepha, the unsuccessful suitor, California's Governor, José María Echeandía.

IE: Governor Echeandía had a number of problems to face. I think he's probably been a little bit unfairly maligned because of his romance with Josepha Carrillo that he lost to Captain Fitch. But I think that he was a hard working, serious governor. He is the one who moved the capital of California to San Diego from Monterey, I think for a very legitimate reason, that it was centrally located between lower California and upper California which were both under his jurisdiction. In 1826, Jedediah Smith, who was a fur trader from Missouri - the Americans were really active by this time in the area of the fur trade. They had heard stories about California, and Jedediah Smith lead a party of a group of less than twenty men into California to Mission San Gabriel, and the priest at the mission said that he felt that Jedediah Smith should get official permission to stay. And so he contacted Governor Echeandía. Well, Echeandía had been used to the Boston traders and they were rather few in number and well respected, and had something to add, but for some reason, the mountain men, with their rough clothing and their beards ... they just looked like maybe they shouldn't be in California because it would just be opening the gates to many more. So Jedediah Smith was politely asked to leave. But he didn't. He took his men up to the San Juaquin Valley and left them there to hunt beaver during the winter. Smith himself returned to Utah and then made plans to return in 1827 to pick up his men. When he got back, he wasn't of course going to check back with Echeandía, he was just going to pick up his men - but he was involved in a massacre of the Mohave Indians, and so he lost several of his men, had to go back to the mission -
here's poor Father Sanchez saying I thought I told you to leave. Of course, Father Sanchez helped his wounded men. But now, Echeandía was forced to take strict action, and he said that they would have to be put in jail. They were sent up to San Jose, although it worked out that a Boston trader put up a bond, I think it was $30,000 to assure the departure of Jedediah Smith and his men, and they did leave through the north into Oregon. But still no official permission was given for any Americans. Well, just as he was breathing a sigh of relief, I suppose, another group of Americans arrived a couple of years later by the southern route, and this was James Ohio Pattie.

CC: Another thing that might be said too is that the reports from the people who came both by ship and those who came by land such as James Ohio Pattie - reports of these people coming back to the United States, all praised California as a land of rich agricultural production and cattle, and they mentioned almost uniformly that the population was very sparse and that none of the towns in California were very strongly held, and that it would be a pushover for the Americans to come in and take over.

PH: One of the important events still to come is the American conquest of Mexico and it was then that the southwest became the United States. Now, we saw that Captain Fitch became a Mexican citizen and tried to fit in with Mexican culture here in San Diego, but I'm curious, when the Mexican War came in the late 1840's, where did Fitch's allegiance lie? Did he participate in the war, and what side was he on?

CC: He did not participate in the war, but he certainly sided with the Americans. But this was true, of course, of a great many of the Mexican residents of California. General Valejo, who was one of the most respected citizens in Northern California, had advocated this. And many of the residents of San Diego
itself ... certainly allegiance was divided and Andrés Pico and some of the others opposed the American takeover, and José Estudillo chose to remain neutral and simply got out of town to avoid being put into the position where perhaps he had to take sides. Fitch, we know, was glad that the Americans were coming, and provided them with some supplies.

PH: Henry Fitch died in 1849, and until recently the location of his grave was unknown. It was discovered in 1968 and created quite a bit of excitement in San Diego. It was a surprise for the community, and even to some Fitch descendants who had no idea that Fitch had been buried in San Diego. And it was also a surprise to the researchers who made the discovery. In fact, they weren't even expecting to be working in a burial site at all, but rather the old barracks at Presidio Hill. Dr. Paul Ezell was in charge of the project. He's professor emeritus of anthropology at San Diego State University who has worked on a number of sites locally including prehistoric sites, and excavations of Old Town and Presidio Hill where the grave was found.

Paul Ezell (PE): The young lady, I believe her name was Anita Manning, was one of the student volunteers who was working on that particular excavation, and she uncovered first the initial H made by copper headed tacks in the lid of the coffin. And then just to the right of it she uncovered what we eventually could determine was the initial D. And about that time, Mr. Pourade, who had taken a great deal of interest in the excavation and helped us a lot with the original information, was going by and he said "it'd be funny if we found an F just to the right of that D." We never dreamed that anything like that would happen. Well, by-Joe, she did. You could hear her scream the news all the way up to the parking lot. That combination HDF we determined signified Henry Delano Fitch by going to Bancroft's register of pioneers, in which he listed everybody that he could find
in California in 1849 or 50 or something of this sort. And the only combination of HDF initials in there is Henry Delano Fitch. Therefore, the law of probability says it is most probably Henry Delano Fitch. But in addition, the remains of the skeleton were still sufficiently complete that we could determine that the individuals, one, was a male, an adult male but not old yet, and two, that he had been over six feet tall. Now, considering that time period, a stature of that kind would have been extraordinary for someone of Spanish or Mexican descent. And Henry Delano Fitch was recorded as being six feet four. So for his time he was a whopper.

PH: And all the clues fit right in there?

PE: Excellently.

PH: Dr. Paul Ezell. This discovery has lead to the uncovering of other grave sites that had been referred to only as being on Presidio Hill. Now, the exact location is known. Finally, Clare, I would like to ask you how you would summarize Henry Fitch's importance to San Diego history.

CC: Well, I think Fitch is certainly important to us primarily because of the map that he drew - the fact that he surveyed the area, and laid it out and drew a map with the boundaries containing eleven leagues is extremely important to San Diego in the long run. Fitch, of course, is also important to us as the first American to come and settle permanently in San Diego and is important as a representative, as a symbol of the intermingling of the cultures, the coming together of the Americans and their marrying into so many of the Mexican families here. And, I suppose we could summarize by saying that Fitch is important to us because he literally put San Diego on the map.

PH: Dr. Clare Crane, San Diego historian and chief consultant for this series of programs on San Diego history. San Diego's Mexican period, though short in
years, was extremely important to the shaping of the city. Our lives in San Diego are greatly influenced by this Mexican heritage. José Antonio Estudillo was in many ways representative of this era, and his life is the subject of next week's program.