

\$5.00

**NOTICIAS
del
PUERTO de MONTEREY**

**A Quarterly Bulletin of Historic Monterey Issued by
The Monterey History and Art Association**

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Vol. LII No. 1

Spring 2003



***Dance and Diplomacy at Nootka Sound
and Monterey, 1792-1793***

by Jim Mockford

Dance and Diplomacy at Nootka Sound and Monterey, 1792-1793

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"They danced some country dances [contradances], but even in this remote region they seemed most attracted to the exhilarating Spanish dance, the Fandango."

Archibald Menzies at Monterey, December 1792.¹

~Encounter on Spain's Far Frontier~

In the summer of 1792, British Captain George Vancouver's Pacific expedition met Spanish vessels off Point Roberts near the present Canadian - U.S. border. An objective of Vancouver's expedition was to meet the Spanish at Nootka Sound, a then contested settlement on Vancouver Island, and to resolve the Nootka Controversy between the European powers. Potential confrontation was avoided when the British invited the Spanish to join in a collaborative exploration of the waters that opened a sea route to the north of the San Juan Islands. Both empires would have hailed the discovery of the long-sought maritime route between the Pacific and Atlantic oceans – the fabled Northwest Passage in English, Straits of Annián in Spanish – but this particular expedition ascertained that no such route existed. Instead they found that the Straits of Juan de Fuca led to Puget Sound and that the waters north of the San Juan Islands led to the Inside Passage between Vancouver Island and the continental shore. The joint expedition through this passage to Queen Charlotte Strait established a cooperative relationship that helped set the

stage for the discussions between parties at Nootka Sound and later at Monterey.

To today's audiences, the ethnographic implications of this encounter may be much more intriguing than the geographical ones. In addition to observing the natural flora and fauna of the upper North American coast, British naturalist Archibald Menzies, attached to the Vancouver expedition, provided one of the earliest English-language records of life in Spanish California when he recorded the subsequent encounter of the two fleets at Monterey.² At the Monterey presidio, Spanish hosts led by Comandante Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra offered hospitality and entertainment to the British. Menzies' account of these events includes aspects of Anglo-Spanish exchange not noted in Vancouver's journal,³ offering an intriguing glimpse into the earliest multi-cultural dynamics of incipient colonial society at Monterey.

The British and the Spanish both regarded Monterey as a remote region. The settlement was some 2,000 miles from Mexico City, the capital of New Spain. It was not, however, the most distant outpost built by the Spanish on their northwestern frontier. Santa Cruz de Nutka, the fort built by Spain at Nootka Sound on what is now Vancouver Island in Canada, was over 1,800 miles north of Monterey and almost 4000 miles from the capital of New Spain.

British seamen had visited the area since the voyage of Sir Francis Drake in 1579. In fact, Spanish determination to protect their northwestern possessions from possible British designs accounted for both the deferral and eventual settlement of the Alta California coast. A dispute that arose between British and Spanish mariners at Nootka in 1789 was what prompted a British naval expedition to the area in 1791, eventually bringing Captain George Vancouver to Monterey.⁴

The visit of the British ships *Discovery* and *Chatham* in November 1792, accompanied by the transport *Daedalus*, was a memorable event for the settlement. Since the founding of Monterey in 1770, Monterey had received only one other European visit: the French ships *L'Astrolabe* and *La Boussole*, under the command of Jean François de la Pérouse, stopped for a week in the fall of 1786.⁵ The next explorer to visit Monterey was the Italian Alejandro Malaspina, who led a Spanish naval expedition to the Pacific, staying 12 days at Monterey in 1791.

At the time of the French visit, Spanish Governor Pedro Fages and Father Fermín Lasuen, president of the California Missions, jointly welcomed the Count and his team of scientists to the hospitality of Monterey. Father Lasuen was still at the Carmel Mission when Captain

Vancouver arrived six years later, but there was a new governor residing at the Monterey Presidio, don José Argüello.

Spanish ships were anchored in Monterey Bay on both occasions. In 1786, Spanish Commander Estévan Martínez — whose vessels *la Favorita* and *la Princesa* were anchored in Monterey Bay — had assisted the French to pilot their ships into the anchorage. A few years later, in 1789, Martínez had found himself at the center of a controversy between British and Spanish mariners at Nootka Sound on Vancouver Island.^{6,7.}

~Controversy at Nootka Sound~

Commander Martínez, determined to enforce a Spanish authority over American and British fur traders in the Pacific Northwest, had decided to impound the British ships he found at Nootka. He took British Captain James Colnett and his crew prisoners, sending them via Monterey to San Blas, the military port and center of Spanish naval operations on the Pacific coast of Mexico. This seizure developed into what was called “the Nootka Sound Controversy,” fanning the debate between Britain and Spain over who had rights to trade and settle in the Pacific Northwest.

The British government, under Prime Minister William Pitt, threatened military confrontation with Spain but ended up signing a treaty called the Nootka Convention, a vague document that left implementation to be worked out between diplomatic officials.⁸ The orders that sent Captain Vancouver to the Pacific specified that he rendezvous with his Spanish counterpart at Nootka in order to resolve the dispute. Meanwhile, Martínez had been recalled to San Blas. His replacement turned out to be the Spanish commandant Bodega y Quadra, who set sail from San Blas for Monterey and the northern frontier, arriving at Nootka in April of 1792.

While Bodega y Quadra settled into the Spanish fort and prepared for the British visitors, another Spanish naval exploration of the inland waters east of the Straits of Juan de Fuca was underway on the ships *Mexicana* and *Sutil*, under the command of Dionisio Alcalá Galiano and Cayetano Valdés. It was from these Spanish vessels that the lights of British ships were seen one night at today’s Birch Bay. Here, in the vicinity of present-day Point Roberts near the Canadian border, the historic meeting between the British and Spanish took place on the morning of June 13th, 1792.⁹



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

*Fig. 1 George Vancouver (1757-1798),
commanding officer of the
Discovery. Courtesy of the
Bancroft Library.*

*Fig. 2 Dionisio Alcalá Galiano,
commanding officer of the
Sutil. Courtesy of the Museo
Naval, Madrid.*

*Fig. 3 Cayetano Valdés, commanding
officer of the Mexicana. Courtesy
of the Museo Naval, Madrid.*



Fig. 3

~Joint English-Spanish Exploration~

Galiano had spied lights in the pre-dawn hours, but he kept his ship away from the unknown vessel until, by the light of the rising sun, he discerned a British flag flying from what turned out to be the HMS Chatham. Its commander, Lieutenant William Robert Broughton, arrived alongside by launch to greet him. Galiano, speaking in English, inquired as to the whereabouts of Captain Vancouver. Broughton explained that his commanding officer was undertaking a coastal survey by launch, having set out the previous morning. A few days later, Galiano sailed out to meet the returning Captain Vancouver. On June 22nd, the British sailors who were accompanying Vancouver on board the exploring launch off Point Grey had noted “the colours of Spanish vessels of war,” but Vancouver concluded they were most likely “employed in pursuits similar to ours.”¹⁰

Vancouver learned that the Spanish were extending their knowledge of the inland waterways that had been explored by Commander Francisco Eliza on the San Carlos the previous year.¹¹ Having been invited to view charts of their findings, Vancouver wrote, “I cannot avoid acknowledging that, on this occasion, I experienced no small degree of mortification in finding the external shores of the gulf had been visited, and already examined, a few miles beyond where my research during the excursion had extended.”¹²

So Vancouver suggested that they jointly return to the waters that the British had started to explore and sail further north from present-day Vancouver, British Columbia through what is now known as the Inside Passage. Vancouver was himself particularly interested in the continental shoreline. Although the Spanish were somewhat suspicious of the offer, they decided to accept it as an opportunity to learn more about the British as well as the geography.

Lieutenant Broughton had handled the first encounter well, establishing a friendly dialogue with the Spanish exploring party and setting a foundation for cooperation and for the joint survey urged by Vancouver in the following days. Exploration was a task of mutual interest for both the Spanish and British commanders, who each sought to put a conclusive end to the centuries-long search for the “Northwest Passage,” although for different reasons. If it existed, the waterway would afford the British a direct commercial route to Asia, a prospect that fueled Spanish fears of naval challenges to their upper Pacific frontier from Northern European powers.¹³ These fears of encroachment by

British and Russians had led to the establishment of the naval port of San Blas, Mexico in 1767, followed by naval expeditions to Alta California and the beginning of colonization based upon the establishment of a series of Catholic missions and military presidios in Alta California. Father Junipero Serra had established a settlement at San Diego in 1769 and another at Monterey in 1770.¹⁴

Tales of the fabled Straits of Annián and news of the existence of the Straits of Juan de Fuca had intrigued mapmakers and geographers across Europe. The desire to clarify geographic knowledge of the region was one of the motivations that had prompted the British Crown to send the celebrated Captain James Cook on three voyages to the Pacific, culminating in his arrival in 1778 to the Pacific Northwest and his tragic death in Hawaii in 1779. The French followed in his wake by sending the expedition under Jean François de la Pérouse in 1786. This four-year enterprise was even more ill-fated than Captain Cook's, ending in a long-unexplained disappearance of ships, passengers and crew.

The Vancouver expedition, including the cooperative survey conducted with Galiano and the diplomatic discussions with Bodega y Quadra about the "Nootka Controversy," had completed its initial objectives by the fall of 1792. The joint Anglo-Spanish explorations showed that there was no northwest passage from the Strait of Juan de Fuca across present-day Canada, but confirmed that the land on which the Nootka outpost was situated was in fact a very large island. The following year, Lieutenant Broughton was able to bring detailed maps of Vancouver-Quadra Island, the Inside Passage to Alaska, Puget Sound, and the Columbia River back to England.

~Festivities at Tahsis Lodge~

For all the success of the joint exploration that summer, Vancouver and Bodega y Quadra were unable to resolve the Nootka controversy, though not for lack of effort. Their diplomacy had included a series of elaborate dinners and cross-cultural encounters. In early September, Bodega y Quadra proposed to Vancouver that the two men attend a ceremony of Nootka Chief Maquinna to be held at his royal residence at Tahsis, a village seven leagues further up the Sound. The men left by launch from the Discovery accompanied by "as many Spanish and English officers as could be taken."

The ceremony involved the presentation of Maquinna's daughter as heiress of the great chief.¹⁵ Bodega y Quadra brought

along a sumptuous dinner, and entertainment followed, including the demonstration of battle skills by tribal warriors, the singing of war songs, and a native mask dance with participation by the chief, much to Vancouver's amusement. The British sailors reciprocated with the playing of drums and fifes, followed by a performance of English country-dances and reels.¹⁶

On their return from the Tahsis lodge, Bodega y Quadra suggested to Vancouver that he name a port or island after both commanders. Vancouver decided that the large island, the location of their meeting and of their joint exploration, should be named the island of "Quadra and Vancouver," and both men labeled their maps accordingly (The name was later shortened to Vancouver Island and adopted as such by the Hudson's Bay Company when they arrived in the area in 1825).¹⁷

Vancouver and Bodega y Quadra also agreed to refer the Nootka issue to higher authorities in their respective foreign offices, and ordered dispatches to be prepared accordingly. Vancouver accepted Bodega y Quadra's invitation to join him in Monterey, with the intention of completing the necessary letters and reports from that location. Afterwards, Bodega y Quadra planned to return south to San Blas for the winter, and the British made plans to winter in Hawaii.

This background is essential to understanding Anglo-Spanish cooperation in the Pacific Northwest and what transpired when the British arrived at Monterey. Had there been different men in command, the Nootka Controversy might well have precipitated a war instead of a joint exploration. But Vancouver and Bodega y Quadra set the example of measured respect and gentlemanly courtesy toward one another, an example that was followed by their captains and crewmen as they consequently engaged in the cooperative tasks of exploration, rather than the military duties of confrontation, for six months prior to their arrival at Monterey. While the commanders conducted diplomacy, the officers and crew were participants in sustained cross-cultural exchange that culminated in the weeks of hospitality and refreshment at Monterey in 1792-93.

~ Salute in Monterey Bay ~

Letters and journals written by captains and lesser officers provide ample sources for the history at sea, but once on shore at Monterey, the journal that holds some of the most interesting details about the British visit is that of the expedition's naturalist, Archibald

Menzies. He informs us that when the *Discovery* and the *Chatham* approached Monterey, there were already four ships at anchor. The British supply ship *Daedalus*, under the command of Joseph Whidbey, had arrived three days earlier from its exploration of Grays Harbor, in present-day Washington State. The Spanish brig *Activa*, the frigate *Aranzazu*, and a packet schooner from San Blas were also in the harbor.

After the arriving ships fired their salutes, “we had the satisfaction of seeing Mr. Whidbey come off in a large cutter to meet us.”¹⁸ Whidbey, having become familiar with the anchorage, took direction of the ship and found the muddy bottom at eleven fathoms. The *Discovery* and the *Chatham* anchored about a quarter mile off shore.

It was customary nautical etiquette to hoist the topsail when entering a foreign harbor in anticipation of the firing of a special salute to a dignitary in port. “Immediately after we loosed the top sails & hoisted them, & saluted Señor Quadra as Commander of the Spanish Squadron on this Coast with thirteen Guns, which number was returned from the *Activa* Brig.”¹⁹ A messenger was dispatched from the presidio by boat with an invitation to Captain Vancouver to join Comandante Bodega y Quadra and the Governor don Jose Argüello on shore for the mid-day meal. Governor, Comandante, and officers arrived at about 9 a.m. to visit the *Discovery*. Later, as soon the British captain went ashore, the *Discovery* fired a thirteen-gun salute to the garrison, and it was returned with an equal number of rounds from Spanish guns.



Fig. 4 View of the Presidio of Monterey, 1791, by Tomás de Suria, artist attached to the first Malaspina expedition. Museo Naval, Madrid.

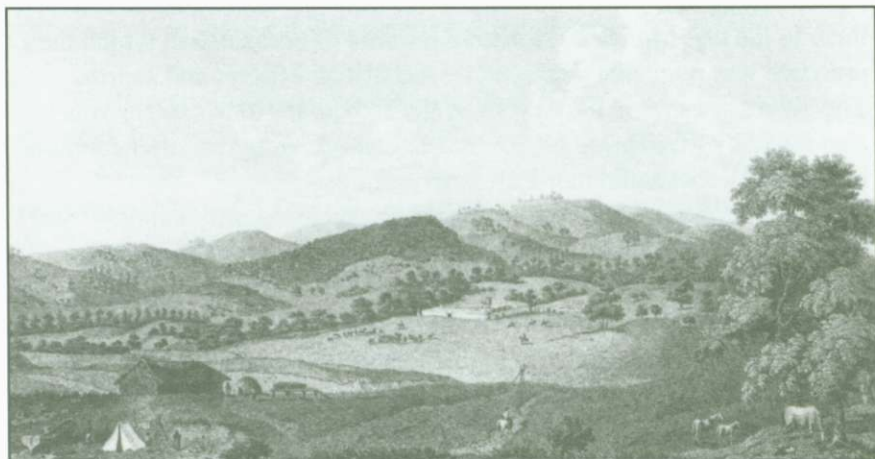


Fig. 5 Presidio of Monterey, from an engraving published in Vancouver's Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, 1798, based on a drawing done by John Sykes in 1792 or 1794.

Even as the officers were exchanging pleasantries, they determined the location for an observatory on shore. Special tents and astronomical instruments were sent by boat and a properly outfitted station was constructed for observing the skies. Though not feeling well enough to go ashore for a few days, Menzies eventually collected numerous botanical specimens and explored the pine-covered hills that extended from the Presidio west to Punta de Pinos and beyond, to Mission San Carlos Borromeo del Rio Carmelo.

By previous agreement saddled Horses were sent down to the Beach and early on the 2nd of Dec. Captain Vancouver and Mr. Broughton and a large Party of the Officers from both Vessels together with the Sandwich Island Women mounted them & joining Señor Quadra & several Spanish Officers together with the Governor & his Lady at the Proesidio, the whole formed a large Cavalcade which was escorted by a guard of Soldiers to the Mission of Carmillo [Carmel] situated in a small Bay on the Sea Coast about four miles to the South West of the Proesidio.²⁰

The "Sandwich Island Women" Menzies mentions in this passage had been transported by a fur-trading vessel from Hawaii to Nootka Sound and later transferred to the Discovery in hopes of repatriation to their island home. Although Vancouver rarely mentions

them in his log, Menzies recorded a number of occasions in which their presence was noticeably enjoyed by the British officers and sailors. The Spanish response to the visit of the Hawaiians to Monterey was also noted by Menzies in his journal as part of a long day of encounters between European and non-European cultures.

Menzies enjoyed the ride through “pleasing hilly country” and noted that “the venerable Fathers received us with a hearty welcome at the head of numerous Tribe of Indians of both sexes converted to Christianity, kept in good order, & decently clad.”²¹ He was told of some seven hundred converts living in the huts attached to the mission. A ride up the valley of the River “Carmillo” provided a view of a cross on Mount Santa Lucía overlooking the Mission.

On their return, the Fathers provided “a sumptuous dinner” under an arbor and then gave the visitors a tour of the small but neatly ornamented church. Menzies noted that construction of a larger building was underway. He described the evening’s memorable entertainment: a demonstration by the Mission Indians, now Christianized, but instructed to share their ancient heritage: “Natives dressed themselves out like Deers, & sauntered through the Garden to shew us their manner of decoying that Animal & killing it with Bow & Arrow.”²²



Fig. 6 Mission of San Carlos, c1792

~A Monterey Fandango~

In response to an invitation to the Governor's House at the Presidio, the British entourage returned to Monterey in the evening. There a dance was to begin at seven, "but the Ladies had such unusual preparations to make that they could not be got together till near ten."²³ As they entered and seated themselves on cushions placed on a carpet at one end of the room, the ladies of Monterey made quite an impression on the British officers, who seem to have appreciated their "long hair, reaching down to the waist in queues adorned with ribbons and tassels at the end."²⁴

Menzies was surprised to see that the same "country dances" (contradanzas) then in vogue in England, France, and elsewhere in Europe were also popular in this remote enclave, but he thought it even more notable that "even in this remote region they seemed most attached to the exhilarating dance, the Fandango."²⁵

He recorded the scene in which a guitarist begins the music for a man and woman to dance. The couple "traverse the room with such



*Fig.7 Fandango dancers in Monterey, oil painting by Lester Boronda c. 1925.
Courtesy of Harry Parashis.*

nimble revolutions, wheeling about, changing sides & smacking their fingers with every motion.”²⁶ The British officers’ heads move back and forth attentively as they observed the pursuit and refusal cycle of the dance: “Sometimes they dance close to each other, then retire, then approach again, with such wanton attitudes & motions, such leering looks, sparkling eyes & trembling limbs.”²⁷

A Spanish dance historian has described European classical dance training as having an essence that is “extrovert, light and outgoing, covering a wide space” and “geared to lift the weight upwards” while, in contrast, “Spanish dancing is chiefly introvert, inward-looking, requiring comparatively little space” and, with some exceptions, “geared downwards in the precise execution of steps.”²⁸ Arm movements in ballet are open and outwards while in Spanish dancing they are close to the body.

The different movements and unusual form of that evening’s fandango captivated Menzies and the other British officers. It was a performance, he wrote, that “requires no little elasticity of limbs, as well as nimbleness of capers and gestures.” Menzies concludes his description with the observation that the dance routine “would decompose the gravity of a stoic.”²⁹

It had only been a decade since King Carlos III had issued the Leniency Edict of 1782 whereby Spanish society were afforded greater freedom for artistic expression, including dance. Spanish gypsies, who had been repressed since the Inquisition, were now freer to spread their exuberant artistic expression in music and dance from beyond the gitanera (gypsy ghetto) to a wider population.

According to Donn Pohren’s *The Art of Flamenco*, however, Spanish gypsies were not the creators of popular dances such as the flamenco but rather interpreters of a much older tradition of dance.³⁰ This older tradition, which includes fandango, is thought by some experts to have West Indian or Latin American origins,³¹ but Pohren’s research indicates that the origins of fandango derive from a blending of cultural traces that range across Arabic, Punjabi Indian, and African influences, perhaps incorporating others as well. These spread to Spain via an exodus of peoples driven from India by the forces of Tamerlane. Moving west across Asia and Europe, they arrived in Barcelona by the mid-15th century, fifty years before Columbus sailed for the new world.³²

Simultaneous with his discovery, Spanish repression of non-Christians forced countless forms of artistic expression underground. Many dances were forbidden during the Counter-Reformation and the

ascendancy of its most (in)famous institution, the Inquisition. Spanish music reveals a story of suffering in the *cante jondo* style of Andalucía, a region that sent vast numbers of soldiers and settlers to the New World. The fandango approaches this style in some of its provincial forms.³³ Within the Spanish dance tradition, the fandango had evolved as a lively but serious dance known across the southern coastal region and particularly in Huelva, near the present-day border with Portugal.

In Andalucía, the term fandango designated both a style of dance and the particular musical form or song on which that dance was based. In New Spain (today's Mexico) and the Californias, in addition to a particular style of dancing, the term came to designate the event itself: a convocation where all elements of local society were welcome, as contrasted to a *baile*, to which only the upper echelons were invited.

As Alicia Morena, Artistic Director of Danza Aditi in Monterey County, points out, "The model[s] of dance brought to the New World invariably became altered." It is possible that the Montereyans felt it necessary to show the visiting British, through dance, that even in this remote settlement they were properly "European" by providing a "Spanish" interpretation of the fandango but, given the cultural differences in a settlement comprised of many born in colonial New Spain (Comandante Bodega y Quadra's birthplace was Lima, Peru), it is likely that the performance reflected a form that met "the needs and expressions of the new cultures of Spanish-speaking America."³⁴

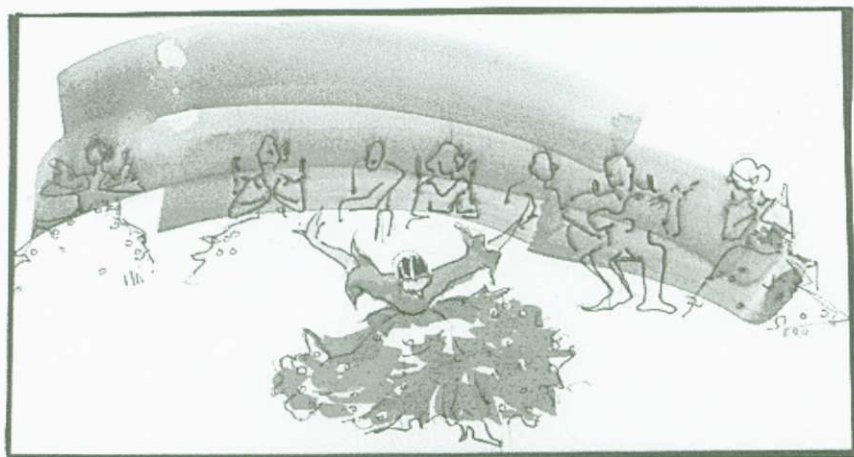


Fig.8 Sketch of Spanish flamenco performance by Elizabeth Orrett, 2002, courtesy of the artist.

~Hula Dancing at Monterey~

The evening was proving quite a success for the local hosts, but the festivities were not yet over. The British felt that something beyond applause was required to show their appreciation. Accordingly, Vancouver made a request of the two Hawaiian girls who were traveling aboard the *Discovery* in his care, asking them to demonstrate their native dance, the hula. Though much admired by the observing officers, this reciprocation, in the opinion of Menzies, "did not appear to afford much entertainment to the Spanish Ladies," who departed soon afterwards. Menzies suspected that they might have been offended, thinking that "this crude performance was introduced by way of ridiculing their favorite dance, the Fandango."³⁵

Keeping in mind the comparison between European and Spanish dancing, imagine how divergent the forms of fandango and hula must have seemed in 1792. The presentation of the fandango to the visiting British officers was an important cultural demonstration by the men and women of the Spanish colony. Rather than the expected response of applause and toasts from fellow Europeans, the Spanish received an unexpected form of cultural reciprocity, given by the Hawaiian women whose slowly waving hands and extended arm movements would have contrasted so markedly to the local rhythms and movements. A recent description stresses that "The hands of the hula dancer are ever going out in gesture, her body swaying and pivoting itself in attitudes of expression. Her whole physique is a living and moving picture of feeling, sentiment and passion."³⁶ The fandango dancers were also, by Menzies' own account, a moving picture of passion, but that evening in Monterey there seems to have been neither perceived equivalency nor rapport among the different sets of performers.

The first hula observed by Europeans had been described by British officers on Cook's famous third expedition to Hawaii thirteen years earlier. In March, 1779 Lt. James King, aboard HMS *Discovery* (a different vessel than Vancouver's *Discovery*), described the hula dancers: "Their necks and heads were decorat'd with Feathered ruffs, broad green leaves variously scollupd were thrown with a good deal of taste about the shoulders, and both men and women had a greater quantity of their (tapa) cloth wrapt round them than on ordinary occasions..."³⁷ Since Menzies did not describe the attire of the Sandwich Islands women who danced at Monterey, nor compare them to his impression of the Mission neophytes who seemed to him "decently clad," we can only conjecture

whether the women were wearing something resembling their native dress or clothing designed to keep them warm as well as “decent” in the intemperate Pacific Northwest. Whatever their attire, it could hardly have rivaled the elegant party dresses worn by the neo-Spanish women who had tarried so long in their preparations for this exciting evening. Because it was customary for the ladies to retire from the ballroom well before the gentlemen, it is impossible to determine whether there was a basis for Menzies’s assumption of offense on the part of the señoras and señoritas of Monterey.

~Fireworks and Farewell~

The following day, Vancouver not only invited Bodega y Quadra on board the *Discovery* but extended his invitation to the ladies of the garrison as well, perhaps to smooth over the unintended consequences of the dance performance. But if the swaying movements of the hula had led to a “misunderstanding” ashore the night before, the following day it was the movements of the sea that disrupted the planned entertainment: “After they came on board, the Ladies found that the motion of the ship so unpleasant they were soon obliged to return on shore again, by which we were deprived of the pleasure of their company.”³⁸



Fig. 9 Vista del Presidio de Monte Rey by José Cardero, artist-scribe attached to the Mexicana/Sutil expedition, 1702. Museo Naval, Madrid.

Artist John Sykes sketched the view of the Monterey shoreline from the *Discovery*. The journals of Vancouver, Menzies, and others describe in detail the design of the Presidio and its armaments. On December 5th, Menzies and Broughton, "strolled towards Punta de Pinos by a pleasant walk along the seaside, sometimes passing through the woods; the trees were chiefly Pines."³⁹ In addition to the flora and fauna of the coastal trail, they may have discussed how to best reciprocate the generous hospitality of their hosts. It was decided that the British would host a party to be held in tents on the seashore instead of on board their ships.

A large tent was erected to shelter the more than forty persons who dined at a long table. Guests included the Governor's wife (the notoriously high-spirited Catalana Eulalia Callis de Fages, the first "first lady" to reside—ever so reluctantly—in Monterey), other ladies of the garrison, officers and gentlemen from both vessels. The British contingent included the sons of aristocrats who had signed on for the adventure but were too young to hold rank, included by Menzies in his reference to gentlemen who attended such functions.

The meal was followed by a fireworks exhibition, to the delight of the local guests who seemed never to have seen such a display of skyrockets. The highlight for the "gazing multitude" was the series of "exceedingly good" water rockets. According to Menzies, "the evening was spent with hilarity, mirth and mutual good humour between us and the Spaniards."⁴⁰

Menzies' journal contains other stories of excursions by the British on shore, including bear hunting, the observance of "devotional excersizes" by the Catholic community to commemorate Our Lady of Loreto, and other observations of neo-Spanish life in Alta California. These plentiful passages suggest that the observance of local culture and its contrast to his own was as interesting to the scientist as the natural environment that he was employed to describe.⁴¹

When the British ships departed Monterey on January 14th for the Sandwich Islands, the final farewell between commanders and crews did not take place on shore. The *Activa*, departing for San Blas with Bodega y Quadra, accompanied the British ships as they headed south from Point Pinos. Also aboard the Spanish brig was Lieutenant Broughton, carrying Vancouver's dispatches and maps on a voyage that would take him to San Blas, across Mexico on horseback, and from Veracruz across the Atlantic to Cadiz, where he transshipped for London. The British and Spanish ships sailed south together until they reached latitude 32°30' where Vancouver's track turned west for Hawaii. At sea

on January 16th, the Discovery hosted a parting dinner for Bodega y Quadra that lasted until nearly midnight. When the boats returned the Spanish guests and Broughton to the Activa, the British crew saluted them with "three cheers, which they cordially returned; and we each pursued our respective voyage with all sail set."⁴²

There would be other visits by British officers and ships to Monterey. Vancouver returned in November of 1793, Lieutenant Pearce in 1795, and Captain Broughton on the Providence in 1796. But none of these encounters would be as sustained, or as friendly, or as intriguing to the contemporary imagination as that first visit by Captain Vancouver in 1792.

About the Author

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He is the author of "The Lady Washington at Kushimoto, Japan, in 1791" in W. Dudley and M. Crawford, eds., *The Early Republic and the Sea: Essays on the Naval and Maritime History of the Early United States*. (Washington D.C.: Brassey's, Inc., 2001.)

For Further Reading

Lowell Clucas, "Making the Charts," *Alta Vista Sunday Herald Magazine*, November 22, 1992. Article on Vancouver's "Great Survey" of the Pacific coastline to Monterey, written on the 200th anniversary of Vancouver's first visit to Monterey. — ed.

Donald C. Cutter, *California in 1792: A Spanish Naval Visit*. University of Oklahoma Press, 1990. Expert contextual history is here combined with the reconstruction, translation and comprehensive annotation of the journals of the voyages of the Sutil and the Mexicana, captained respectively by Dionisio Alcalá Galiano and Cayetano Valdés, "the first vessels to circumnavigate fully the Pacific Coast's largest island." The segment of the journals selected for this volume begins at Nootka in August of 1792 and ends with departure from Monterey in October of that same year, coinciding with the itinerary of the Discovery. — ed.

ENDNOTES

1 Menzies, Archibald. "Menzies' California Journal, 1792." *California Historical Society Quarterly*, Vol. II, 1924, p. 284

2 It was a performance of the Aditi Dance Foundation in Pacific Grove that inspired me to re-read Menzies' journals and develop this essay. This non-profit organization, located at 612 Lighthouse Avenue, Pacific Grove, provides performances and lecture-demonstrations in communities across Monterey County.

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6 American ships did not arrive until the Otter, Captain Ebenezer Dorr, sailed into Monterey in October, 1796. See Henry Wagner, "The First American Vessel in California, Monterey in 1796" Los Angeles: Dawson, 1954.

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8 Vancouver, George. op. cit.

9 Inglis, Robin. "Dionisio Alcala Galiano: The Canadian Adventure of a Spanish Naval Hero," paper presented at the VII Congreso Internacional de Estudios Canadienses, Cadiz, Spain. October, 1998.

10 Vancouver, George, op. cit, p. 595.

11 Pethick, Derek. *The Nootka Connection: Europe and the Northwest Coast, 1790-1795*. Vancouver, Douglas and McIntyre, pp. 54-55.

12 Ibid.

13 Wilcox, Del. *Voyagers to California. Elk, California*: Sea Rock Press, 1991, p 68.

14 Abrahamson, Eric. *Historic Monterey: California's Forgotten First Capital*, California Department of Parks and Recreation, 1989. Chap. 2.

- 15 Vancouver, George. op. cit., pp. 670-671.
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BOOK REVIEW

Lighthouse, Point Pinos, Pacific Grove, California. By Jerry McCaffery. Published by the author, 2001, 106 p. illustrated. ISBN 096202624-7.

Reviewed by Frank Perry

Over forty lighthouses were built in California, mostly during the late 1800s. Sadly, many of these have been demolished or replaced with newer structures. For this reason, the Point Pinos Lighthouse stands out as a real gem. Lighted in 1855, it still casts its rays upon Monterey Bay from its original lens, has its original stone walls, and sits in its original location.

Jerry McCaffery, a professor at the Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, began volunteering as a docent at the lighthouse in 1995. He probably had no idea back then that six years later he would be the author of an entire book about the lighthouse. He was bitten by the lighthouse bug – big time.

Here, for the first time in one place, is the story of Point Pinos. The Pacific Grove Museum of Natural History, which operates the lighthouse as a museum, had been gathering photographs and other documents for many years, and some of these were used by the docents and in the exhibits. The author, drawing upon that material in addition to his own research and experience as a docent, has finally put into print the lighthouse's rich and multifaceted history.

Books on individual lighthouses usually touch on so many topics – construction, shipwrecks, lights and lenses, people – that authors find it difficult to weave each history into a cohesive story. McCaffery tackled this problem by dividing the book into two parts. Part one, titled "History," provides background information on America's lighthouse system, construction at Point Pinos, and the mechanics of the light and lens. Part two, titled "Personal Glimpses," has sections about individual keepers, the World War II era, shipwrecks, and recent restoration work.

Appendices at the back of the book include a chronological list of changes in lamps and light characteristics, general facts about the lighthouse, a list of important dates, notes on sources, and the original lighthouse specifications. Sidebar quotes from the lighthouse log book on nearly every page provide a unique window into the daily lives of the keepers. These begin in 1872 and end in 1914.

It might at first seem that everything that could be written about this lighthouse has now been put onto paper. While McCaffery's treatment is thorough and well researched, no doubt many fascinating discoveries about the lighthouse's past are waiting to be made. Already an unusual fact about the lens has come to light just since the book was published. It turns out that the lens is not entirely original. Parts of it were replaced at some point, perhaps after the 1906 earthquake. Although several keepers' stories are featured in the book, the lives of some of the lighthouse's other keepers remain almost completely unknown. Perhaps there will be a second edition someday. I hope so. Local histories like this are always a labor of love. We are most fortunate that the author has shared his love of this lighthouse with all of us.

About the reviewer: Lighthouse historian Frank Perry has written four books on California lighthouses including *Lighthouse Point: Illuminating Santa Cruz*, published last year by Otter B Books. He resides in Santa Cruz.

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Monterey History & Art Association wishes to thank Harry Parashis for his support of this issue and Richard Biddleman for manuscript review and sharing his expertise on the Vancouver expeditions. Special thanks to John Castagna for the graphic layout of this issue.

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