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LOWER CALIFORNIAN STUDIES

II. THE RUSSIAN COLONY OF GUADALUPE VALLEY

BY

OSCAR SCHMIEDER

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS IN GEOGRAPHY

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LOWER CALIFORNIAN STUDIES

II. THE RUSSIAN COLONY OF GUADALUPE VALLEY

BY

OSCAR SCHMIEDER

Guadalupe Valley, about fifty miles south of the American-Mexican frontier, presents a minor geographic unit of distinctive cultural alteration. Guadalupe Valley is the only rural part of Lower California, the majority of whose population is, at the present time, composed of European immigrants. The Russian colonists, who form by far the most numerous element of the population of the valley, exert so marked an influence upon the cultural aspect of the landscape as to arouse even the attention of a superficial observer. Interaction between man and his habitat has produced here a unique result, a minor cultural landscape of striking individuality, which invites genetic analysis. In addition, this first attempt of collective colonization by European peasants in Lower California has the importance of a significant experiment.[1]

THE NATURAL SCENE

The valley of the Rio Guadalupe is in its central part a large, apparently structural depression of a type common to the granite highlands of southern California and northern Lower California. The basin ranges from two to eight kilometers in width, and is approximately twenty kilometers in length. The bottom of this depression lies between three and five hundred meters above sea level. The surrounding mountains are several hundred feet higher, culminating

[1] The observations on which the paper is based were made in December, 1927.

to the south in the Cerro de Guadalupe (4432 feet). It is with the widened, central part of the Guadalupe Valley, in the narrower sense, that this report is concerned (fig. 1).

The basin of Guadalupe Valley lies entirely within a zone of granite. The "woolsack" forms of weathered granite are ubiquitous on the slopes of the mountains which surround the depression. The valley bottom is entirely covered with recent alluvium, the surface of which slopes gently from the foot of the bordering mountains to the

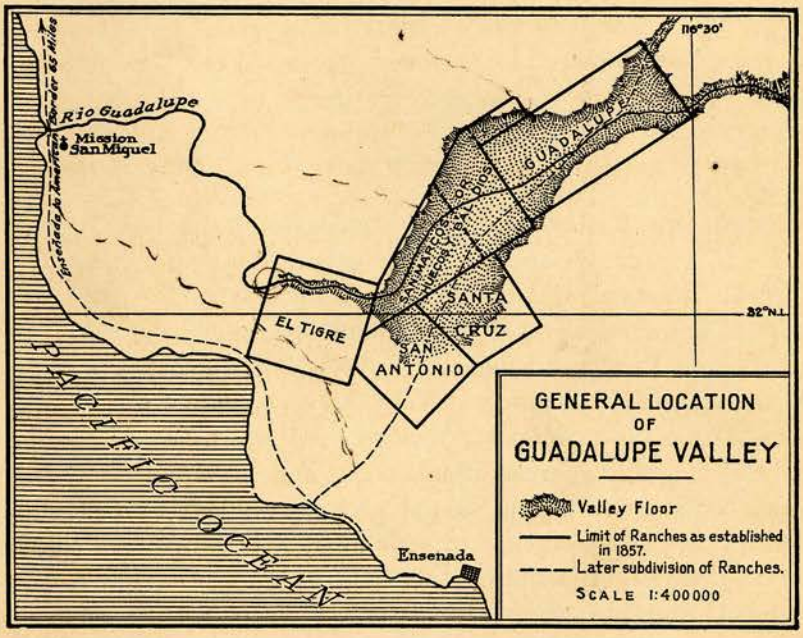

Fig. 1

central part of the depression (pl. 35). The entire valley fill is evidently derived from the surrounding granite mountains, showing, however, a marked zonal differentiation. Coarse material, stones, and boulders are inconspicuous. Surrounding the valley is an outer belt of red clayey loam, superimposed on, and partly weathered *in situ* from the granite. This red covering is being washed down by surface water toward the central part of the valley. With increasing distance from the mountains the soil becomes sandier, and changes its color. The inner valley floor on both sides of the river bed consists of a more recent dark gray, very sandy loam; the wide river bed, finally, is filled by sand. (See map.)

The Rio Guadalupe passes through the valley in its entire length, and receives a number of minor streams from the bordering mountains. The whole hydrography shows the features which are imposed by a climate with rainfall concentrated into a few months. At the end of December, 1927, after the first light rainfall, the main river bed was entirely dry for long distances. After heavy rains, however (and rainfall of three inches in twenty-four hours has been known), a flood may inundate large parts of the valley, occasioned in part by rapid drainage from the mountains to the east. Since the surface water is an occasional hazard and of little advantage, no provision is made for storage, the economic interest being concentrated on underground water.

Ground-water conditions in Guadalupe Valley are particularly favorable. Excellent and abundant water is to be found in the stream bed at a depth of three to four meters. In several places the water table appears at the surface. The permanent ponds, *ojos de agua* and *lagunas,* mostly located in abandoned stream beds on the bottom of the high water bed, are not remainders of the last high flood. They are fed directly from the water table, which forms numerous freely flowing wells all around the ponds. The abundant supply of ground water easily obtainable in all parts of the valley, is an important asset.

The meteorological observations available for Guadalupe Valley[2] are not sufficient to support a definite classification of the climate. The basin cannot, apparently, be said to be located well within the B climates.[3] For the year beginning September, 1921, and ending August, 1922, the total rainfall in the valley was 21.93 inches; from September, 1922 to August, 1923—13.37 inches, and from May, 1926 to April, 1927—19.8 inches. These annual precipitations are undoubtedly much above the average. Yet they suggest that Guadalupe lies near the border between the BS and C climate. Other observations support this assumption; e.g., the type of land cultivation: wheat-growing based on rainfall; also, the growth of well developed live oak and other trees.

Rain occurs almost exclusively during the winter. Midsummer is mostly dry. The beginning of the rainy period is subject to a

[2] Mr. Barré, an American engineer who settled, in the eighties, in Guadalupe Valley, has carried on meteorological observations since 1921. Since 1923 the observations on rainfall have been published in the Boletin Mensual, Servicio Meterológico Mexicano.

[3] Symbols are those used by Köppen, W., Die Klimate der Erde (Berlin, 1923).

periodic change. October may bring the first heavy rains, but they may also occur as late as January. The end of the rainy season comes from March to May.

The Mexican records contain no data on temperature; only the occurrence of frost is recorded. Frost occurs every winter, but only on a few nights.

The vegetation of Guadalupe Valley has been changed fundamentally by man, since almost the entire valley bottom has been put under cultivation. Some isolated live oaks indicate, perhaps, that this tree originally formed groves on the older valley bottom. Even now there still exists one live-oak grove in the *Rincón de los encinos* (see map), but in the eighties of the past century similar groves occurred as far as the western border of the Rancho Ex-Mission Guadalupe.[4] It is evident that general climatic conditions favor the growth of live oaks, and that they do not depend on local conditions, such as a high water table. That man is responsible for the present sporadic distribution of this tree seems very probable. The recent establishment by the government of a heavy fine for the cutting of live oaks is suggestive, and is evidently proving effective.

Along the river bed extends a narrow belt of poor gallery forest (pl. 35). Deciduous bushes prevail, exceeded only by a few taller trees, mostly cottonwood. The periodically repeated floods evidently deter growth.

The abandoned river beds, especially where the ground water comes to the surface, are covered with high and dense reeds (pl. 36*a*). A regular reed thicket surrounds, e.g., the Laguna Barré, forming a hiding place for numerous wild ducks and other birds.

CULTURAL SUCCESSIONS OF THE PAST

The aboriginal population of the Guadalupe Valley has been entirely replaced by later comers. The older settlers still remember their last huts at the Rincón de los encinos (see map). It almost appears as if Indian and live oak vanished together from the scene, the last Indians gathering under the last remaining live oaks. From the Rincón de los encinos (live-oak corner) they used to undertake their annual migration to the coast, where they caught fish and collected clams.

[4] Information given by Mr. Barré.

The Mission established in the thirties of the past century did not displace the Indians; on the contrary it provided them with new means of sustenance, introducing agriculture and developing their cattle-raising.

The third period in the cultural succession of Guadalupe Valley started with the secularization of the Mission. In 1858 the Mexican Government, ignoring the rights of the old aboriginal population, sold the *terrenos baldíos,* "the unoccupied" land. The valley and the surrounding mountains were thus divided into several large ranches: Ex-Mission Guadalupe (13,014 acres), San Marcos or Huecos y Baldíos (12,355 acres), Santa Cruz (6,177 acres), San Antonio (6,177 acres), and El Tigre (8,676 acres).

Whereas the Mission had been, at least theoretically, established in the interest of the Indians, the newly established private landed proprietors looked first to their own interest. The Indian became dependent on the Mexican landowner, and his only chance to make a living was by working as a cowman or farm hand. Stock-raising and casual wheat-growing were carried on. The huts of the Indians still remained in the valley; a few houses of rancheros, surrounded by gardens, appeared on the scene.

It was left to the last, in the cultural succession, to eliminate the Indian. The European peasants who arrived at the beginning of this century did what the Mexican ranchero had never thought of doing; they, themselves, worked the soil, and no room was left for the Indian who had a traditional right but no legal claim to the land. He had to leave the valley and retire into the mountains. In the small valleys, all around Guadalupe, where there are only small patches of arable land, too insignificant to attract the white man, scattered aboriginal families are still to be found. A fair wagon road leads to the Indian settlement. This road was built by these few Indians themselves, and on their own initiative. Moreover, the aspect of the neatly thatched huts (pl. 36*b*) and small fields by no means suggests that these Indians are of such a poor type as the Mexicans and Russians like to paint them. Driven from their fertile, native valley they have certainly put forth a remarkable effort to make a living in the poor and rough mountains.

A satisfactory genetic analysis of the present-day cultural landscape will have to establish as clearly as possible a distinction between old cultural features imported from the native country of the colonists, and cultural elements acquired by the colonists under the influence of the new environment.

EXTRACTION OF THE COLONISTS

In the course of the nineteenth century, Russia advanced her borderline beyond the Caucasus, penetrating even into the Armenian highlands. The latest addition to the empire was the area around Kars (1878). The native population of this country refused to be displaced, but a considerable number of Great-Russians settled among them. Among the Russians who were compelled to settle at Kars were the parents and some of the elder present colonists of Guadalupe. They were linguistically Great-Russians, yet ranked in the eyes of the government as an undesirable element, since they did not profess the true belief of the Great-Russian, the Greek-orthodox religion. They were Molokanye,[5] sectarians closely resembling the Scotch-Presbyterians. The fact alone that they had given up the utterly dogmatic Greek religion presupposes a certain critical and progressive attitude. And indeed, being "of the same race and placed in the same economic conditions as the Orthodox peasantry around, they were undoubtedly better housed, better clad, more punctual in the payments of their taxes and, in a word, more prosperous."[6] Their whole material culture, however, was essentially the typical one of the southern Russian peasant.

For a quarter of a century these compulsory Russian colonists lived near Kars in an absolutely strange cultural milieu. Yet they preserved their habits, religion, and social structure unchanged. Transformed from the southern Russian plains to the mountains, they never became well rooted in their new environment. The older men at Guadalupe still speak with horror of the cold winters of the Armenian highland.

[5] D. M. Wallace, Russia (revised ed., 1912), chap. 17, gives a good account of this sect. They condemn image worship, fasting, episcopacy, and accept the Bible as the only rule of faith. Their religious services are held in private houses, the pastor being an uneducated peasant like the others. They refuse military service. Birth, marriage, and death are considered family affairs, no interference of public authorities being tolerated. They maintain these religious prescriptions up to now, in spite of the fact that they have frequently annoying consequences; e.g., when a young "Russian" born on Mexican territory desires to enter the United States as Mexican non quota emigrant, and is not eligible for admission, since his birth has never been registered.

[6] Wallace, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

EMIGRATION AND COLONIZATION AT GUADALUPE

Because of the economic difficulties of the years preceding the Russian revolution of 1905, and the insistence of the Russian government on military service, they resolved to emigrate. In 1904 they began to leave their country. Their emigration was not favored by the Russian government; on the contrary, it was officially opposed. In small groups, "like coyotes" to use the term of one of them, they left their country.

Their emigration had no definite goal. The different families of their community spread over the western hemisphere. I found colonists who had gone first to the Argentine, to New York, and to California. Most of them, however, went first to Canada since they knew that thousands of *Dukhobors,* sectarians similar to the Molokanye and frequently called the Russian Quakers, had found a new home there.

Their stay did not last very long in any of these places. Through their ancient inherited system of mutual assistance and control the widespread groups were kept in contact. "Canada has a climate like Kars, we wanted a climate like Tiflis. That is why we all joined our people who had gone to southern California."

They had no objection to the climate of southern California but neither did this country entirely satisfy them. The "one acre and economic independence" system of southern California, which involves high land prices and most intensive soil cultivation, could have little attraction to a Russian *Muzhik.* The characteristic land hunger of a Russian peasant could not be satisfied in southern California. What they wanted were large tracts of land, which they could cultivate in the traditional way.

Thus, the logical thing for them to do was to look beyond the borderline to Mexico. They thought that Lower California would better meet their wants. Climatic conditions in the northern part of the peninsula are similar to those of southern California, yet the area is not inhabited by a population which would oblige them to adopt a more efficient type of agriculture than that to which they had been accustomed in Russia.

Establishment of the Colony

The system of primitive cooperation carried on through many generations was so ingrained that the idea of individual colonization did not occur to them. They acquired in community the ranch, Ex-Mission Guadalupe, with thirteen thousand acres, of which approximately six thousand acres are arable land. The price agreed upon was $50,000 in American money. Upon an initial payment of $5,000, the ranch was turned over to them in 1905. Since the original group of colonists consisted of one hundred families, the average contribution of each was $50. As long as any debt remained, every farmer turned over half of his crops to the community. At present the land is free from mortgage.

The mentality of the colonists, which is essentially conservative and almost fanatically traditional, was a guaranty for the preservation of a maximum of old cultural goods in the new environment. Particular juristic notions to which they had been accustomed through many generations proved strong enough to determine the type of settlement which, eventually, became established. That land does not belong to the individual but to the parish, has been, through three centuries at least, a matter of course with the larger part of the Russian peasantry. This *Mir*[7] system, also, was, for the group of Russian emigrants under consideration, a notion inseparable from peasant land tenure.

The land was divided into small lots and these were distributed among the different families. The fields which each family received were not contiguous; the leading viewpoint being that each family ought to have an equal amount of good and bad land. No colonist received an individual title to his land. His rights were based on simple mutual agreement. Even the individual usufruction of the arable land is restricted. After the gathering of the harvest all fields become common pasture. From April until December the whole extent of the colony is considered parish property and every part of it is open to the grazing stock of any colonist. When a family retired from the colony, it sold or rented its field to one or several

[7] The existence of the *Mir* dates back, at least, to 1500. Yet it was such a matter of course with the Russians that only at the middle of the nineteenth century was it scientifically announced by Freiherr August von Haxthausen through his work: Studien über die innern Zustände, das Volksleben und insbesondere die ländlichen Einrichtungen Russlands (3 vols., 1847–52). Since then abundant literature on the subject has appeared.

colonists, leaving to the community a document in which they resigned their rights as members of the colony.

Simplification of tax collection by making the village Elder (*Starosta*) responsible for the totality of the taxpayers had been, indeed, one of the main reasons why parish property has been introduced and continued in Russia.[8] In Mexico the authorities did not favor the system. Yet the stubbornness of the colonists has, up to now, not yielded to any pressure.

Type of Settlement

The old Russian notion of the land being community property, with its lack of individual land titles, precluded, of course, the isolated farmstead as the type of settlement and brought about the foundation of a closed settlement; a village. The founding of one large village in Guadalupe Valley is indeed contrary to any practical consideration and is to be explained only by the existence of an old inherited juristic notion, too deeply rooted in the minds of those peasants to yield before any environmental influence. Distances from the fields are largely such that the men are unable to return to their homes in the evening, but camp often for weeks on their lots. Inconvenient conditions, such as are typical for southern Russia, are thus repeated where they could easily be avoided.

When the Russian peasants took over Guadalupe, there were but three houses on the ranch. These houses, however, did not become nuclei around which other dwellings were built. Only one of them, the one which stood right near the ruins of the old Mission, remained in use as a schoolhouse. The other two were allowed to decay while the colonists laid out their village independently of any existing settlement, and did so in a typically Russian way. The dwellings, barns, and other buildings are lined up along a single, broad street (pl. 37). High trees shade the road and add to the Slavic aspect of the village, in spite of the fact that most of them are eucalypti and pepper trees.

Not only the general plan of the settlement is that of a Slavic *Strassendorf;* the house type, too, reveals the extraction of the settlers. Adobe and quarry stone form the prevailing building material in southern Russia. The colonists found the local granite too hard to be used; they chose the familiar adobe.

[8] Responsibility of the Starosta for the obligations of all members of the community was not abolished until 1903.

The houses are roofed with large shingles, such as are used in their native country (pl. 37). The small shingles are, as they themselves declare, an improvement which they learned in the United States. Reed and grass, which the Indians use for thatching (pl. 36*b*) are nowhere used by the Russian, who prefers to buy imported American redwood for his shingles. Not only the roof, but also the gable wall, frequently turned toward the street, is covered with wood, another Russian feature (pl. 37*b*).

The prevailing arrangement of the rooms is typically old Russian, originating in the log houses of the northern forests, and later transplanted with the southward advance of colonization into the adobe houses of the treeless steppe. Two main rooms are separated by a minor, central room through which one enters the house.

The furniture is modest and almost entirely of American manufacture. But sufficient details give to the interior of every home a decidedly Russian character. The great shining brass samovar is in daily use in every family, and forms apparently, next to a big Bible, the only valuable part of the outfits with which these peasants left their country. The mild climate of the valley has not yet overcome the Russian antipathy against open windows. Where a window glass is broken, the women will anxiously keep out the fresh air by putting into the opening a rag, a coat, or whatever is most handy. The typical smell of insufficiently cleaned feather quilts, piled up on the beds, is thus well retained and completes the impression of a true Russian peasant home.

Each house has its big brick oven, and, in a separate little building, the old Russian bathroom, where a good fire heats up a pile of big stones. By pouring water over them, the room is filled with steam, in which the whole family religiously takes its Saturday evening bath. Even the men who camp on distant fields do not fail to be back for the week-end bath.

SLIGHT MODIFICATIONS OF MATERIAL CULTURE

Twenty-seven years in a largely oriental milieu at Kars, and twenty-two years in a Latin American country, have had but scant influence upon the material culture of the colonists, whereas their short acquaintance with American culture has left visible traces. Every household is still to a large extent self-sufficient, as in a rural district of Russia. There is no economic specialization in the colony;

every colonist is his own butcher, baker, blacksmith, harness-maker, etc. The only mechanician is a Mexican who repairs their motors and automobiles. Yet the acquaintance with American manufactured articles has caused the loss of a considerable part of their former handicraft. The women do no more weaving and spinning. They have become "flojas como Indias," lazy as an Indian squaw, as an old colonist put it. American overalls, coats, hats, boots, etc., have replaced the homemade cloth (pl. 39*a*). They have also learned the advantages of using modern agricultural machinery, and every colonist has at least his American-made plough, sowing machine, and thrashing machine.

TYPE OF AGRICULTURE AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE LANDSCAPE

The use of modern agricultural machinery by no means implies, however, an improvement of their old agricultural methods. Rather they became still more extensive.

They had, also, to change their traditional means of traction: the oxen. The old colonists are still discussing the reason why the Mexican oxen cannot be used before the plough. Back in southern Russia, the oxen were so tame that nobody thought of using horses. They could not agree whether it was that they could not find the right breed in Lower California, or whether the reason lay in the fact that their Russian cattle were tame due to the long enclosure in stables during the rigorous winters, whereas the Mexican cattle were unfit for team work since they permanently roamed around in full liberty. Anyway, they all had taken to the horse as the beast of draught.

For the rest, their type of agriculture is still the same primitive and extensive one which has brought famine so frequently to the rural population of the most fertile parts of Russia. They cultivate an extensive surface and do not restrict themselves to the land they own. Their influence on the landscape therefore exceeds by far the limits of the old Rancho Guadalupe. Wherever there is arable land in the neighborhood, the Russian will rent it from the Mexicans, who use it only for stock-raising. Since natural vegetation forms no obstacle to cultivation, the rented land needs simply the plough. Contracts, therefore, are made only for one year and the tenant frequently

changes. Even many miles away from their village they will pitch their tents and camp as long as the work on the fields requires their presence (pl. 39*b*). The system pleases the Mexican landowners, who receive one-fifth of the crop without exerting any effort on their part. Since the Russians are the only inhabitants there who profess such land hunger, they have no difficulty in getting as much land as they can cultivate. The way in which they select the land seems to be absolutely unmethodical. I have heard them call, casually, to passing Mexicans, and ask them if, by the way, they had any land to rent.

It is this fact alone, that arable land for rent is easily obtainable in the neighborhood, that has made it possible for them still to carry on their agriculture in the old primitive way. Restricted to the land which they own, they would long ago have exhausted the soil. Their ploughs overturn only the barest surface of the soil, and hardly remove the weeds. No kind of fertilizer is used, save the manure of cattle and horses, which is spread over the stubble fields when used for pasturage. This gives the only advantage they have over south Russian conditions, where the manure is burned, for lack of other fuel. Rotation of crops is absolutely unknown. For over twenty years wheat has been their only market crop. Only when completely exhausted, is the soil left to fallow for a year or two.

By reckless and primitive methods the yield has been considerably decreased. I learned from a reliable source that on the best wheat land of the valley, in the Cañada del Trigo, the yield of an acre has decreased from sixty bushels about twenty years ago to some fifteen bushels at present. The system is certainly dangerous, but as long as the deficit of their own land can be made up on rented land, the Russians will hardly change their methods. The crop of a normal year brought in by some fifty or sixty families is about 125,000 bushels, but in bad years the crop is reduced to one-third of this amount.

Agriculture carried on in this way makes the life of the colonists rather agreeable. In December, with the beginning of the rainy period, ploughing and sowing begin. They like to begin with the light soils of the inner valley and leave the heavier soil until after the first rains. The crops are harvested in April. The aridity of the summer makes a second crop impossible. From May to December the activities of the colonists become restricted to the work at home preparation of the wheat for the market and cultivation of their gardens and orchards.

The orchards of the colonists prove that they have learned something, at least, since they left the rough highland of Armenia. Their stay in southern California has been responsible for this attainment. Actually, every farmhouse has its orchard irrigated from a well by means of a windmill. Oranges, peaches, vegetables, etc., are grown, but only for home consumption. They were especially proud that they had learned to cultivate grapes. Their vineyards are indeed expanding and two of the colonists have been bold enough to prepare wine. It is suggestive that one of the two came, not from Kars, but from Tiflis.

On the other hand, their beehives and their flocks of geese are peculiar to them, and are not to be found in any of the Mexican settlements.

Their livestock is relatively important, yet not a direct source of income. The number of cattle which every family owns ranges from ten to three hundred. Besides this, each farmer has the horses which he needs for his field work. Breeding is carried on quite carelessly. Natural pasturage and partly unthrashed wheat straw is the main feed. No improved pasture exists. A single attempt to plant alfalfa ended in failure and has not been repeated.

The mountains surrounding Guadalupe Valley ought to be, one should say, an excellent place to raise goats and sheep, yet no advantage is taken of them. Coyotes are numerous around Guadalupe, and are blamed for the failure to raise sheep or goats.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE COLONIA RUSA

The original group of Russians who settled at Guadalupe consisted of about one hundred families. According to inquiries the number of children ranges from eight to thirteen in each family. One might suspect, therefore, a rapid expansion of the Russian element, since they were successful in acquiring a considerable amount of land, and would find no difficulty in purchasing more. Yet the contrary is true. In spite of the prosperity of the colony, the rapid multiplication and excellent health conditions, the population decreases.

The cause of this rather astonishing fact lies essentially in the near neighborhood of the United States. If it were not for the American immigration law the decrease would probably be more drastic. Under the present conditions only those who are younger than 25

years, that is, those born in the new world, are able to cross the frontier. And, indeed, the fact is striking that middle-aged men and children are most numerous in the colony. There are still 330 inhabitants at Guadalupe, of whom 110 are schoolchildren between 6 and 12 years. There was not only one large emigration of entire families to the United States in 1912, but the young men and girls, once independent of the family, invariably go beyond the borderline. It is evident that the vicinity of the prosperous United States, and the fact that the frontier is open to people born in Mexico, checks the expansion of the Russian influence. In spite of their natural fertility, they will not be able to impose their culture on a larger area than Guadalupe Valley itself.

CULTURAL ALTERATION OF THE YOUNGER GENERATION

The Mexican government is making an effort to assimilate the Russians culturally. Besides a Federal delegate, it maintains four schoolteachers at Guadalupe, whose influence on the younger generation is evident. There is no doubt that the mental as well as the material culture of the inhabitants of Guadalupe will become quite different when the more conservative older generation has disappeared. What actually will become of them is hard to predict, since the experiment is still under way, and the situation is complicated.

At present the whole colony is still in the hands of those men who were born and raised in Russia. The children pass their first years in the exclusively Russian milieu. The father is a conservative Russian peasant with undisputed authority as head of the family. The mother has not even learned a word of Spanish. At the age of six they pass, for another six years, under the influence of the school. There the teaching is carried on in Spanish; and the Mexican schoolteachers manifestly attempt to modify their mentality and to break down the influence of the family. But at the age of twelve, the influence of the school ceases. The children go back once more under the influence of their parents, whom they help at home and in the fields. But, once grown up, they desire independence and go, at least temporarily, to the United States. Every young man talks broken English.

Three essentially different cultures are thus acting upon them. The final result of such a complex environmental influence on a rather primitive group of people is still problematic.

PLATE 35

a. View across Guadalupe Valley from the south. Granite mountains in the background. Along their foot extends a belt of yellow, clayish soil, varying in width, and sloping gently toward the inner valley; here are the most fertile fields of the Russian colonists. The village, about two kilometers in length, runs parallel to the low bluff that marks the border of the high water bed. The old Mission was located on a little isolated hill with a granitic foundation.

Cañada del trigo

Site of old mission

PLATE 36

a. Laguna Barré. An abandoned stream bed cut in below the surface of the water table. The pond is fed by ground water and is therefore permanent.

b. Ranch of an Indian family at Agua Escondida, north of Guadalupe Valley. It represents the oldest type of dwelling in the area. The technique is that of the aboriginals, the form has presumably been modified under the influence of the missionaries.

a

b

ERRATA

IN THE EXPLANATION OF PLATES

For Plate 37 *read* Plate 38.
For Plate 38 *read* Plate 39.
For Plate 39 *read* Plate 37.

PLATE 37

a and *b*. Main street of Guadalupe. The settlement has all the characteristic features of a typical Slavic *Strassendorf:* the wide street bordered with trees, the houses either with the front or the gable toward the street.

a

b

PLATE 38

a and *b*. Farmyards of Russian colonists at Guadalupe. The buildings are made in true south Russian style. The farm implements are American-made. Heavy feather beds are being sunned.

PLATE 39

a. Casa de las Palmas. Remains of adobe walls indicate the site where the first Mexican landed proprietor in Guadalupe Valley had his house. Three palm trees are all that is left of the garden and orchard which once extended down to the river.

b. Typical Russian colonists of Guadalupe. Woman's dress has suffered no modification. The men wear American clothes; the only article from the old country is the cap of the man in the center.

a

b

Juan Silva

Worked for Hayes at the Mission when about 15 yr. old. (Knows San Miguel Mission).

Old horse trail of padres to San Miguel Mission went via San Felipe Cañon. Cart trail went as today, across El Tigre (?), via San Marcos.

Machado, wife, + new-born babe were in the mission outpost when the Indians attacked the mission, + hence could escape before the Indians reached there. The account of Caballero's hiding under a squaw's skirts was corroborated by Borré. (Wife, died in Dec, 1928, knew everything about Mission + Indians.)

Borré.

Guadalupe Mission.

Juan Silva.

Wheat + everything raised by irrigation in time of mission. Peaches, apricots, in Cuenta.

There was not a regular dam for the sequias, but just a little tapón to guide the water. The level of the lagoon has fallen because the arroyo has cut down (6' or 7', there).

(Borré says the groundwater level has not fallen since he has been here. He struck water at 11' in his well. It is from 5' - 20' in rest of valley, depending on configuration of the land.)

(Borré also says there were broad steps leading down from the mission, S. side (steep bank), with two big concrete tinajas at the foot.)

Mission destroyed by Russians: Flores had carefully preserved it. Manuel lined the sequia most of the way. Drinking-water of mission came from the little spring that is still found nearby.

Gabriel was very ugly; lived at Mission Vieja; hated whites + docile Indians. Nicanor friendly; lived at San Antonio de Nicanor (up Alisal River). The two were always fighting. Gonzales, the Captain, was killed in a fight with the Yumas.

PLATE 40

a. Camp of the Russian colonists under the live oaks at Rincón de las Encinos. The fields are so far away from the village that the men have to camp for weeks during the periods of field work.

b. A Russian ploughing at Guadalupe. Draught horses are substituted for oxen. Only the uppermost part of the soil is turned, even the weeds are not ploughed under.

a

b

Vatkáms included Sto. Tomás.
Sn. Vic. was Cuajuát.
Real del Castillo was Misjuisjh.
Nijí were others (same as Alamo + Calabazas).

(jsh)

Barré

Niji had some Indians (Adams there, well posted).
La Ciénega had some Indians (Does it now?)
Serrano married an Indian (Murphy).

Juan Silva.

Já cun cún. Agua Escondida.

Já matáy. rancheria (a couple of Indians). Vallecitos.

Man, José de Oro + wife, at Santo Domingo, off Burro Cañon.

Cuajáts in la Calentura (beyond Sn. Vicente).
Are called the Colorados because of a Cerro Colorado nearby.

There is an Indian very old in Alamo between Vallecitos & Niji, called "Viejo".

Emiliano Cabezal (mestizo) of los Encinos, a very good informant.
These Indians all speak the same, which is just a little different from La Huerta.
Já(a)ám - Indians of Guadalupe.
Misjujish - Indians of La Huerta.

Borré.

Only half a dozen Indians left at San José (the Lugged [?] rancheria).

Jesus Ramon Carranza has title to property (Agua Escondida) D own house
the only Indian who has have title. Miscuiish.

Juan Cuñua (at San José): best informant! (60?) Also, ask about their oldest Indian. Father from Cajon. nJamál, Intelligent.

Antonio Vega (old) (on way to San José). not full-blooded. Married to Onofre's mother).

(Jefe) Reyna (bank letter with) Itoáj(h) Born S. José.

Felipe Diez (San Jose) Oldest? J'tam Born I. Huerta. But moved here early.

Jkuá(j)sh) cumiyái: wife of Juan Cuñua. born in S. José.

A family of Indians (Melendez) near Santa Clara (beyond los Alamos in Valle of San Rafael.

Cuijás: an aunt of Juan C.: born in San Antonio lives in Sn. José.

José de Oro (105) lives by Cañon Burro. Ki'jhwát

Go for Facing Information. Family of Pedro Silva (not Indian); Juan Silva (his uncle) at Rancho de Lecena. (not Indian: full of knowledge).
Juan, the brother of Pedro, is storekeeper.

Mission burned down accidentally about 1883.

Old mission trail went via San Felipe cañon to Mision Vieja: even the big carretas "grease" with grass.
Indians used to go to coast via San Marcos & Tigre.

Micuaz was the last "General" of the "San Antonio Indians (at Arroyo de los Encinos). Borré remembers about 150 huts 26 yr. ago. Many left for N. S. A few huts left, he thinks.

Magdalena (pure Indian) old woman on road to Ensenada.

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Guadalupe. Lucina J. de Barré, Bella Vista Ranch, Guadalupe. Nov. 16, 1928.

Las Palmas (Guadalupe Valley), adobe ruins

of house built in 1873. ~~Barré~~ She born there on Jan. 20, 1876, + palms planted there the same day. ~~B.~~ Her grandfather, José Matías Moreno, Gov. of Lower Calif. in the 60's, bought the lands of Ex-Misión Guadalupe when Mex. Govt. sold at auction all the properties held by the Church, under laws of 1857. Her father came ~~to~~ ~~B. Cfa.~~ N. with the gold excitement of Calif., + to B. Cfa. to secure sulphur property nr Algodones.

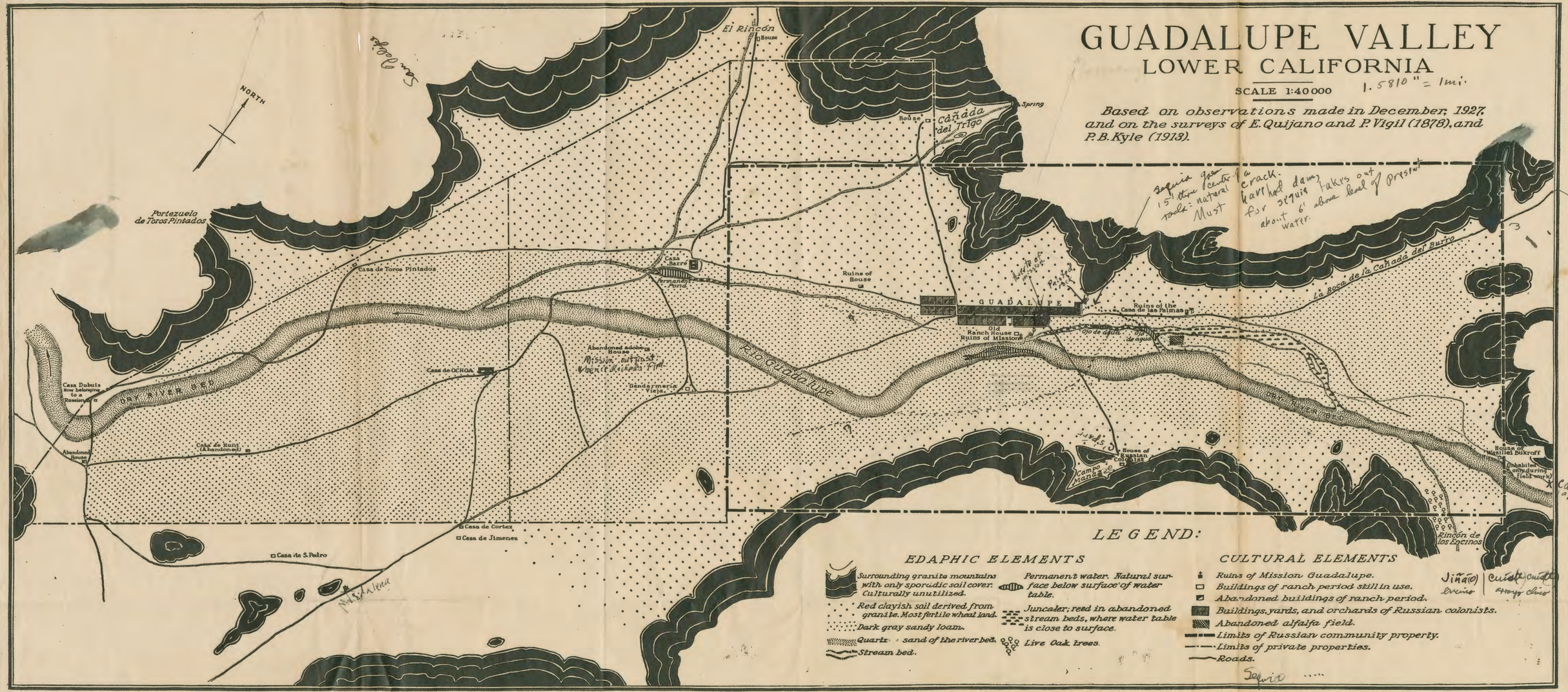
...there were more Indians in the valley when
when I was little than there are Russians
now, and they were far better people."

Later, my father sold the old home to his
brother, Theron A. Flower, & we went to reside at
the old Mission, which was then in a fine
state of Preservation. Fruit trees, vines, & flowers,
but human forms everywhere in the garden.
The place burned down while we were living there,
& treasure-seekers destroyed the walls hunting for what
they thought the priests might have left of value. Found
nothing, but ruined almost everything.

GUADALUPE VALLEY
LOWER CALIFORNIA

SCALE 1:40000

Based on observations made in December, 1927, and on the surveys of E. Quijano and P. Vigil (1878), and P. B. Kyle (1913).



LEGEND:

EDAPHIC ELEMENTS

- Surrounding granite mountains with only sporadic soil cover. Culturally unutilized.
- Red clayish soil derived from granite. Most fertile wheat land.
- Dark gray sandy loam.
- Quartz sand of the river bed.
- Stream bed.
- Permanent water. Natural surface below surface of water table.
- Juncales; reed in abandoned stream beds, where water table is close to surface.
- Live Oak trees.

CULTURAL ELEMENTS

- Ruins of Mission Guadalupe.
- Buildings of ranch period still in use.
- Abandoned buildings of ranch period.
- Buildings, yards, and orchards of Russian colonists.
- Abandoned alfalfa field.
- Limits of Russian community property.
- Limits of private properties.
- Roads.