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The Carrillos of San Diego . . .
A Historic Spanish Family of California

By Brian McGinty

(Concluded from the September QUARTERLY)

CALIFORNIA'S PAGEANT OF SPANISH and Mexican history has been remembered by historians for the romantic spirit of adventure with which it abounded. It was a time of free and open ranch life, of generous hospitality, of *rodeos* and *fiestas*, clicking castanets and plaintive Spanish guitars. But the period had yet another face—one of solid historical achievement, of exploration, trail blazing, and pioneer settlement; of the building of towns, missions, and forts; and of the conquest of savage Indians. The years of California's domination by the flags of Spain and Mexico were thus of great importance for their fundamental contributions to the great state that, in 1846, was to emerge as part of the United States of America.

The part played by *Californios* in paving the way for eventual California statehood was perhaps their greatest historical achievement; but it was also the supremely painful irony of their lives in California. By preparing the Golden State for ultimate American conquest, they sealed their own doom as a people. Vastly outnumbered from the days of the great Gold Rush, Spanish Californians progressively lost their importance as an element in the general population. Those who could be of use in the new society were quickly absorbed by it; but those who could not survive were as readily lost to the ages.

The Carrillo family was in many ways representative of *Californios* as a whole. Prosperous in the days of the great ranchos, it declined drastically in wealth and importance in the early years of American rule. Its last triumph was on the California political stage. Romualdo Pacheco, whose full name in the old Spanish

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tradition would have been *Pacheco y Carrillo*, embodied the finest traditions of the old and the new and California. For the Carrillo family, his life was the last great moment of service and glory. For the *Californios* it was the climax and finale of a historical epoch.

Part XIII

Maria Ignacia Lopez de Carrillo

EVOTED MOTHER AND GUARDIAN of all the Carrillos of San Diego was Doña María Ignacia Lopez de Carrillo. Born in San Diego, probably in the early 1780's, she was the daughter of Juan Francisco Lopez and María Feliciana Arballo de Gutierrez. During her lifetime she was known by both the names of her father and her mother—*Lopez y Arballo*. But because forty years of her life were spent as the wife, and later as the widow, of Don Joaquin Victor Carrillo, patriarch of the Carrillo family in San Diego, she has come to be known in the chronicles of California history as María Ignacia Lopez de Carrillo.

Her marriage to Joaquin Carrillo took place on September 3, 1809, in the Presidial Chapel of San Diego.[1] The Carrillos' early married life was centered around the adobe walls of the Presidio of San Diego, and was maintained only by Joaquin's slender wages as a "leather-jacket" soldier. As life in the cradle-city of Spanish California crept slowly by, Doña María Ignacia gave birth to five sons and seven daughters. The first of these, Josefa, was born in 1810; the last, Marta, first saw the light of day some twenty-five years later.

The friendship of Comandante Francisco Ruiz of the Presidio of San Diego played an important part in the life of María Ignacia and Joaquin. The adobe house that Ruiz built between 1810 and 1820 outside the walls of the Presidio was long the home of the Carrillo family. Comandante Ruiz, a determined bachelor, could be difficult and irksome at times—as when he sentenced Joaquin to the stocks in San Diego for giving what the Comandante considered an unsatisfactory violin performance. But at heart he was kindly, generous, and keenly attached to the Carrillos. For many

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years before his death in the late 1830's, Ruiz continued to live in the the *Casa de Carrillo*, and before his death he deeded his famous orchard of pear, pomegranate, and olive trees to three of the Carrillo girls.

In 1834, a large group of Mexican colonists under the joint leadership of José María Padres and José María Hijar passed through San Diego on its way to the pueblos of the North. Hospitable to friends and strangers alike, the Carrillo family took into its home and cared for as many of the colonists as possible. One member of the party was the later-prominent Agustín Janssens. Many years later, writing in his *Life and Adventures in California*, Janssens wrote that while in San Diego he and other colonists were cared for by María Ignacia Lopez de Carrillo "in such a kind manner that we could almost look on her as a mother."[2] The widowed Ramona Carrillo de Pacheco was at that time visiting her mother in San Diego. "Mother and daughter," Janssens wrote, "did everything possible for our comfort, giving us milk, green vegetables, fruit, and whatever else we wished, or which they saw we needed, without accepting a single cent. They continued to do for others what they did for us during the whole time we were in San Diego. It is impossible to find words of gratitude to describe the generous conduct of these ladies."[3]

The death of Joaquin Carrillo, in about 1836, was a source of great sorrow to the family, and it was to change the entire course of their lives. Joaquin had passed nearly all of his life in the fledgling California military corps, whose members were ineligible to receive land grants from the government. When he died, he left virtually no property. Three of the family's daughters, Josefa, Ramona, and Francisca, had by this time chosen husbands and gone to live in their new homes scattered throughout the province. But nine boys and girls still remained with Doña María Ignacia, demanding her love, protection, and financial support.

To provide for her family, Señora Carrillo looked to the rich California earth—to the fertile valleys and mountains of the Golden State—where, with luck, she might begin a new life. In particular, she hoped to acquire a rancho with which to build a future and eventual legacy for her young family. She found this almost

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six-hundred miles north of San Diego, on the rugged northern frontier of California.

María Ignacia and her children moved to the pueblo of Sonoma in 1837, and a year later to the pastoral Santa Rosa Valley. California's northern frontier was ruled almost single-handedly by Señora Carrillo's son-in-law, General Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo. On January 19, 1838, she petitioned to the government for a grant of land at Santa Rosa, and five days later permission to occupy two leagues in the center of the Valley was given her by General Vallejo.[4]

Her rancho was formerly named *Cabeza de Santa Rosa.* On September 30, 1841, the grant was completed by Acting Governor Manuel Jimeno, and on the last day of the year Señora Carrillo took juridicial possession. In the old medieval tradition, she "broke branches, pulled up grass, and threw stones to the four winds."[5]

Soon after occupying *Cabeza de Santa Rosa*, María Ignacia selected a site on the banks of the Santa Rosa Creek, where construction of an adobe house was soon begun. Her sons, Joaquin, José Ramon, Julio, Juan, and Dolores, were assisted in building the house by Indians recruited from the nearby hills and by Captain Salvador Vallejo, the husband of María de la Luz Carrillo. Soon after its completion, the Carrillo adobe at Santa Rosa became a popular rendezvous of life and gayety in the valley. Before its doors stretched the 8,000 fertile acres of the Carrillo rancho. Indian servants planted and winnowed wheat, while the Carrillo boys rode watch over the rapidly growing herds of cattle. In the rancho's first years, prosperity was abundant, with large numbers of sheep, 1200 to 1500 horses, and 3,000 cattle roaming the valley floor and surrounding hillsides.[6]

María Ignacia was a vigorous woman, who often rode the range on her rancho personally supervising the many and varied activities. She was also a woman who knew her own mind. Her daughter, Josefa Carrillo de Fitch, wrote vividly of Señora Carrillo's ideas on the meaning of the word California—a problem that for centuries has caused wrinkled brows among linguists. Josefa recalled that her mother had said that California was an Indian word, meaning *Loma Alta* in Spanish and *High Hill* in English; that

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this was the truthful interpretation; and that all other interpretations were "false and erroneous!"[7]

The year 1849 dawned bright for California. In the wake of earth-shaking gold discoveries at Sutter's Mill, thousands of immigrants were pouring into San Francisco Bay and across the snowy slopes of the Sierra Nevadas, opening a new era in the history of the Golden State. For María Ignacia Lopez de Carrillo, however, it was the end of a long and richly varied lifetime. Early in January of 1849, she fell ill and called her sons to her bedside to help in the making of a will. The document produced on that occasion, though couched in intricate and effusive legalistic phrases, breathes a pious spirit throughout, and remains today one of California's most distinctive articles of pioneer faith. It reads:

> In the name of God Almighty, Amen. I, Maria Ignacia Lopez y Arbaes,[8] native of San Diego and resident of Sonoma, legitimate daughter of the legitimate marriage of Don Francisco Lopez and Feliciana Arbaes, deceased, finding myself ill and believing and confessing as I firmly believe and confess in the mystery of the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three distinct persons and only one true God, and all the other mysteries which our Holy Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church confesses, in which faith and belief I have lived, live, and profess to live and die, as a faithful Christian Catholic, taking for my intercessor and protector, in order that they may entreat our Holy Savior, Jesus Christ, and ever Virgin and immaculate Queen of the Angels, my Holy Guardian Angel, and those of my name devotion, that they may pardon all my sins and take my soul to rejoice in His presence; fearful of death, which is as natural and certain to all human creatures as its time is uncertain, I wish to be prepared with a testamentary disposition when it may come; resolving upon mature ability, concerning the discharge of my conscience, to avoid by clearness the doubts and disputes which might be instigated, after my death, I stipulate, make, and order my will in the following manner.————
>
> I entrust my soul to God, who created it from the nothingness, and send my body to the earth from which it was formed, which, when it is a corpse, shall be prepared and buried in the place which my family shall designate. —— I declare that I was lawfully married to Don Joaquin Carrillo (now deceased), in which marriage we begot our legitimate children, Josefa, Ramona, Maria de la Luz, Francisco, Joaquin, Ramon, Juan, Dolores, Julio, Marta, Juana, and Felicidad. ———
>
> I declare as my executors my sons Jose Ramon, Joaquin, or Julio. ——— I declare as legitimate heirs of the property that I actually pos-

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sess my daughter, Maria de la Luz, Jose Ramon, Joaquin, Julio, Maria Marta, Juana de Jesus, Maria Felicidad de las Augustias. ——— (N. The exception of Josefa, Ramona, and Francisca, who have come to have no share in the property willed.)[9] I declare that the property which I actually possess and which belongs to me is derived from the personal labor of my sons and daughters mentioned in the above clause. ——— I declare the land that my daughter Luz actually possesses, and its boundaries, are the Santa Rosa Creek, above, almost as far as the limits of the swamp which belongs to me; and the width shall be the swamp, above, along the edge of the surrounding hills. ———

I command that my house in which I now live be given up, with all its appurtenances, incomes, outlets, furniture, gardens, fences, and cultivated lands to Marta, Juana, and Felicidad; I declare the limits to be the Santa Rosa Creek, below, as far as the junction of the creeks on the North; and on the South, the creek known by the name of El Potrero as far as the limits of Santa Rosa on the East. ———

I command that the rest of my property be divided in equal parts between my children already mentioned; my son Joaquin, having received some cattle on his account, shall have these deducted from his inheritance. ——— (I bequest to Julio the house and lot in Sonoma without this being counted in the remainder of my property.)

I command that the rest of my lands be divided in equal parts between Jose Ramon and Julio. I entrust my daughter Luz with my family, for her protection, as well as my own sons and daughters, that they may look on her as sent by their mother. I entrust my sons not to be unmindful of assisting their sisters in all the emergencies necessary to pass through life, as the sisters may assist their brothers to the best of their ability. ———

I command my sons, who will be executors, before dividing my property to make to Pancha a present which they may judge suitable, as also to Jose Antonio, Bernabela, Juan de Dios, and Susana. ———

In order to fulfill all that this testament contains, I leave and name as my executors Jose Ramon, Joaquin, or Julio, and I confer upon them ample power in order that as soon as I die they shall fulfill all which I leave commanded as my last deliberate will, or in the way and form that should rightfully prevail. Thus I execute and sign before witnesses———

Sonoma, January 6, 1849
Maria Ignacia Lopez

Joaquin Carrillo Julio Carrillo[10]

By the end of February, María Ignacia Lopez de Carrillo was dead.

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Señora Carrillo had occupied a unique position in the early history of California. Born in the first year of Spanish occupation, she died on the eve of California's great rebirth as part of the United States. A brief article published in the Panama City *Star* of February 24, 1849, illustrates the uniquely inclusive nature of her life. The article refers to a crucifix given to María Ignacia when she was a young girl. Throughout her life, it was one of her most treasured possessions. But one day, many years after the crucifix had been given to her, Señora Carrillo was traveling from Monterey to Sonoma in a heavy wooden *carreta*. The crucifix was dropped under one of the massive wheels. Though it was broken, María Ignacia picked up the parts and kept them until her death. The crucifix had a special significance. It had been given to her by the apostle of California, Padre Junipero Serra.[11]

As evidence of the respect in which she had been held, Señora Carrillo's body was interred within the hallowed walls of Mission San Francisco Solano de Sonoma. There, the padres laid her beneath the font, so that her remains would receive holy water that fell from the hands of devout worshippers.

* * * *

Part XIV

Romualdo Pacheco

APTAIN ROMUALDO PACHECO WAS STATIONED at the Presidio of Santa Barbara late in 1831, when his wife, the lovely Ramona Carrillo, gave birth to their second child. A boy, the baby was born on September 30, and baptized the following day as José Antonio Romualdo Pacheco. [12] History would know him as Romualdo.

The baby's future seemed a favorable one from the start. His mother was a member of one of California's most prominent pioneer families; his father a native of Guanajuato, Mexico, was an important officer in California's fledgling military corps; and his

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godparents were two of the most prominent single individuals in provincial society—José de la Guerra, founder of the distinguished de la Guerra family in California, and his wife, María Antonia Carrillo, daughter of José Raimundo Carrillo and Tomasa Lugo.

But the comfortable complacency of the baby's home tumbled down upon him just three months after he was born. His father was killed in a battle near Los Angeles in December of 1831, even before Romualdo was old enough to know him.[13] Ramona Carrillo de Pacheco then took her infant son, with his older brother, Mariano, to visit at the *Casa de Carrillo* where the baby's grandparents lived. Soon after, she returned to Santa Barbara and, in about 1836, married the Scotch sea captain, John Wilson.

Romualdo and Mariano soon grew to love their genial stepfather. Wilson took a genuine interest in the welfare and education of the Pacheco boys. The absence of schools in California made it impossible for promising young men to receive adequate training, and as early as 1838 Captain Wilson sent Mariano and Romualdo to the Sandwich Islands, where an English speaking school had recently been opened. For five years the boys studied diligently under the supervision of a Mr. and Mrs. Johnston, learning English, French, and Kanaka, the language of the Hawaiian natives.[14]

They returned to Santa Barbara in 1843. Captain Wilson was pleased with the progress the boys had made, and felt the time had come for them to receive some practical training. The clipper *Sterling* was then in port, and Wilson arranged for Romualdo to go on board with Thomas B. Park, the ship's *Supercargo*. For more than a year, young Pacheco followed the ways of a seafarer's life, gaining valuable experience in trading and navigation. In 1846, the year of California's seizure by the United States, he was still at sea. On July 7, when Commodore John Drake Sloat raised the Stars and Stripes at Monterey, Romualdo was sailing up the California coast in one of Captain Wilson's trading ships. Passing the rocky and wooded slopes of Point Pinos, just south of Monterey, the ship was stopped by the U. S. war sloop, *Cyane*. The crew was told that Mexico and the United States were at war, and that Wilson's ship would have to be searched. The Americans found the

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ship to be on peaceful business and allowed it to proceed. As the vessel went forward, Romualdo Pacheco fleetingly glanced to the starboard, and caught his first glimpse of the American flag, a tiny speck of red, white, and blue in the distance.

In the early 1840's, Romualdo's mother and step-father obtained several large land grants in the vicinity of Mission San Luis Obispo. There they built an adobe house which became their permanent home. In 1848, seventeen years old, young Romualdo left the sea and came to live at San Luis Obispo with his parents. His help was badly needed on the Wilson ranchos to manage the large and rapidly growing cattle herds.

According to provisions of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, by which peace was established between Mexico and the United States in 1848, native residents of California were given the choice of accepting citizenship in the United States or remaining subjects of the Mexican government. For Romualdo Pacheco, as for others in his family, there was only one real choice. He promptly and eagerly took the oath of allegiance to the United States, and thus became one of the first Spanish Californians to receive American citizenship.

When the great flood of gold-hungry Argonauts descended on California in 1849, the native Californians maintained an unconcerned aloofness. Bonanza millionaires might come and go, they reasoned, but the only real and enduring wealth to be derived from California would be that produced by ranching and farming, by the great land grants over which they held a firm if not impregnable monopoly. Though Romualdo Pacheco went to the placers in 1849 and took a small part in the diggings, the lure of Yankee-discovered wealth could not hold him long. Soon he was back in San Luis Obispo, leading the free and open ranch life that throughout his life he loved most.

A slender, dark-haired man, with fiery black eyes and a sinewy build, Pacheco played the part of a California *caballero* to perfection. One day in the 1850's, a visitor brought a letter to the Wilson adobe at San Luis Obispo. Inviting him to stay for the night, Romualdo showed the visitor to a large but comfortably furnished room. As he was about to leave, young Pacheco suddenly wheeled

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and kicked aside a pile of saddle bags in the corner of the room, revealing an open-necked sack filled with twenty-dollar gold pieces. "Help yourself," he said unconcernedly. "The house is yours. Burn it if you will."[15]

Pacheco's skill and courage in the popular California sport of bear hunting and fighting was remarkable. One morning early in 1852, the foot-prints of a huge grizzly bear were discovered in the earth close to his mother's home at San Luis Obispo. When Romualdo heard the news, he and two other men bounded into the saddle and headed for the nearby mountains. Half-way up a hillside, the horses suddenly halted, snorting loudly and pawing the earth. Before them, standing erect above the dry wild oats, was a huge grizzly bear. The animal's gleaming eyes and savage teeth seemed to petrify the horses, and for a moment the men, too, stared motionless. Then Pacheco's lasso shot forth, snagging the bear's massive forefoot. He spurred his horse down the hillside, while the other men threw lassos around the bear's hindfeet. A newspaper reporter, writing of this incident some years later, spared no adjectives in his idolatrous description of Pacheco:

> When he first realized the sudden presence of the terrible enemy, and stood erect in the stirrups, his face gleaming with the glory of youth, fearlessness, and excitement, his great black eyes sparkling, his white teeth pressed upon his nether lip, perfectly still for a moment, he was the most glorious object in nature.[16]

Their ropes taut, Pacheco and his men slowly dragged the bear down the hillside, where they tied it to a huge timber. When the animal died, Pacheco pointed knowingly to the sky. Circling high above was a flock of carrion crows, whose watchful eyes had spied the impending feast before it was half-way down the hillside, and had already prepared to partake.

Romualdo Pacheco took an early interest in public affairs. By birth, a distinguished native Californian, he was, by education, a capable speaker in both the Spanish and English languages. Almost inevitably, he was called upon to play a part in the young state's politics. In about 1853, he took an active part in the formation of a Vigilance Committee in San Luis Obispo. At that time, his brother, Mariano Pacheco, was serving San Luis Obispo County

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as a member of the State Assembly. In 1854, Romualdo was elected County Judge of San Luis Obispo, a position roughly comparable to the present-day Superior Judgeship. He served in this office for four years, and in 1857 was elected to the State Senate.

Pacheco was a Democrat, and his election to the Senate was generally indicative of the Democratic trend in national and state politics, by which a Democratic president, James Buchanan, had been elected just a year before. Romualdo Pacheco took his oath as State Senator on January 4, 1858, in the Senate Chamber in Sacramento.[17] He was shortly appointed to the committees on Agriculture, Contingent Expenses, Public Morals, and Internal Improvement. He took an active part in legislative business, and, in 1859, became Chairman of the Agriculture Committee.

In 1860 and the early part of 1861, Pacheco made an extensive tour of Europe, but returned to California in the middle of 1861 and ran for reelection to the State Senate. Political events in the immediately preceding years had caused him to change his party affiliation. Abraham Lincoln became President of the United States in March, 1861, and shortly after southern secession had become a painful reality to the nation. Pacheco's views on the crisis of the Union were those of the majority of Spanish Californians. The great political event of just eleven years before was still vividly emblazoned on their minds. They remembered that the Golden State had entered the Union under provisions of the Great Compromise of 1850, and that it was to be a non-slave but, most significantly, a loyal state. In the fall election of 1861, Pacheco ran for the State Senate as a member of the Union Party, a group that was later to become part of the larger Republican Party. He was elected.[18]

In 1862, as a loyal supporter of the Union, State Senator Pacheco was appointed Brigadier General of the First Brigade of the California Militia by Governor Leland Stanford.[19] Early in 1863, he was appointed State Treasurer by Stanford, and later in the same year he was nominated by the Republican Convention to run for a full term. He was elected on September 2, 1863, by a margin of more than 20,000 votes.

On October 31, 1863, Romualdo married Mary Catherine Mc-

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Intire, a beautiful and talented playwright. Born in Kentucky, Miss McIntire was the author of many succesful comedies presented in San Francisco theatres. Two children were born to the Pachecos. Maybella Ramona, later known as Mabel, was born in San Francisco in 1865. Romualdo, their only son, was born a short time later, and died at the age of seven.

Pacheco ran for reelection as State Treasurer in 1867, but was defeated at the polls by 3,000 votes. At the suggestion of his doctor, he then went south to Mexico.[20] For a year he rested in the salubrious Mexican climate, regaining lost strength. He returned to California in 1868 and immediately won reelection to the State Senate. Returned to office by the voters in 1869, he continued to serve through 1871.

At the Republican State Convention of 1871, Pacheco's abilities as an administrator were once again recognized when he received the nomination for Lieutenant Governor, as running mate of the gubernatorial candidate, Newton Booth. At the polls on September 6, 1871, the two Republican candidates were elected.

Newton Booth was a politically ambitious man, and soon after his inauguration as governor he made his plans known to seek election to the United States Senate. The Legislature, in whom power to elect senators was then vested, resisted the Governor's pressures at first, but eventually consented to name him as senator for the term beginning in 1875. This was the last year of Booth's term as governor, and in late 1874 and early 1875 rumors circulated throughout the state that he would not resign from the governorship when he assumed his seat in the Senate, but would instead hold both offices concurrently. The spectacle of the chief executive jockeying for personal political gain in violation of what many persons considered to be constitutional restraints was distasteful to Californians. On February 24, 1875, the San Francisco *Daily Alta California* angrily condemned Booth's political maneuvering and declared: "Pacheco will be Governor on and after March 4th, and he is a fit man for the place. He was nominated and elected with full consideration of the fact that he might become Governor. He had served as State Senator, and because of his excellent reputation had been elected State Treasurer, and his name is still without a

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blemish for everybody save those . . . who stop at nothing to excuse Booth's proposed violation of the Constitution."[21] Most newspapers seconded the *Alta's* opinion, and contended that holding two offices concurrently would constitute a serious breech of public responsibility. Now, Booth abandoned his plans to hold both offices, but declined to say which of the two he would prefer. The people of California anxiously awaited his decision.

On February 28, the Governor's wishes were made known. The *Daily Alta* wrote:

> HAIL GOVERNOR PACHECO!
>
> We have the pleasant news that Newton Booth yesterday resigned the office of Governor of California, that Romualdo Pacheco has succeeded to the position, and that Mr. Irwin . . . now becomes Lieutenant Governor. Mr. Pacheco is a native of California—the only one who has been Governor since the American conquest—and he does credit to the blood from which he sprang and to the people who elected him. He has served the people in responsible positions for twelve years or more, and has an excellent reputation for integrity, prudence and good sense . . . It is gratifying to know that . . . California will be as safe in the hands of the in-coming as of the out-going official.[22]

Romualdo Pacheco's oath of office was administered immediately upon receipt of the news, and a short but memorable term in California's executive chair began.

While Lieutenant Governor, Pacheco had served *ex-officio* as warden of San Quentin Prison and developed a deep interest in the problems of penal reform. As governor, he saw need for changes in the administration of criminal justice. At that time, California law did not provide for the parole of prisoners. All matters pertaining to pardon or commutation of sentence were referred to the personal attention of the governor. Throughout his term as chief executive, Pacheco steadfastly refused to grant a pardon to former State Harbor Commissioner John J. Marks.[23] For this refusal, he incurred the enmity of many political powers in the state. But behind his stubbornness was a desire to establish a broad and inclusive basis for the administration of executive clemency—a basis that would be impartial and free of political considerations. On December 6, 1875, he delivered the traditional Governor's Biennial

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Message to the Legislature. In it he outlined his broad concepts of justice and concrete suggestions for penal reform:

> The history of our State Prison, its management for twenty-five years, and its present condition, contribute to the general record of prisons, a chapter valuable only as a positive display of evils to be avoided . . .
>
> It is no part of our duty to make merchandise of crime, and the State has no interest in convict labor to foster or develop; but in dealing with criminals, labor is one element of reform, and it is certainly right that they should be made to bear the cost of their custody and support, if it can be done without violating any principle of humanity. A convict who has been made to labor during his imprisonment is apt to return to society a better man. He has gained or improved a knowledge . . . that will enable him to supply his needs without resorting to the cunning that springs from ignorance . . . A State that is content to merely punish crime and assert the principle of revenge, forgets the spirit of the age, and violates the conscience of civilization.
>
> In charging the Executive with the duty of preventing possible injustice to criminals and vesting in him the "quality of mercy" on behalf of the State, the Constitution has imposed a trust that is a source of constant pain and embarrassment.
>
> To maintain a due respect for the power of the law, to avoid weakening the force of example, to refrain from violating any principle of justice, and yet to decide impartially upon appeals for clemency, is difficult beyond the comprehension of those who lack the experience. . . . Pardons are applied for almost hourly. In deciding upon the applications it would require something more than qualities of mind and heart merely to avoid human errors; but I believe such errors have been quite as frequent in denying petitions as in granting them.
>
> If a Board were organized with authority to examine every application for pardon, and transmit it to the Governor with recommendation for his action in the premises, the final decision could be made more readily, perhaps more justly.[24]

Governor Pacheco's message touched on many other significant state problems, among them the development of the Yosemite Valley, then owned and operated by California as a State Park; the construction of new buildings for the state government; and, portentously—a problem that remains very real today—the rapid growth of the then-infant University of California. He said:

> The University of California has been in operation six years. . . . A university, whose life is for ages, needs a guidance at once conserva-

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> tive and progressive. It cannot safely sustain any shock of injudicious pruning, nor easily endure the loss of that confidence and cooperation which can be secured only by stability and a steady growth. Like all young institutions, its demands for new accommodations will be constant in its early years. The two buildings at Berkeley are already crowded; the assembly-hall for use on public occasions is too small; there is no adequate space for the library; and better accommodations are needed to display important collections illustrating the natural sciences.
>
> Much of the future welfare of California depends on the higher culture of her sons and daughters. There is nothing to prevent our establishing a University that will be peer to any in the world. It is better that students should find it at home than seek it abroad.[25]

The Governor's message was favorably received by the people of the state. On December 9, the *Daily Alta* wrote that, although Pacheco's "gubernatorial experience has been brief and quiet, we see in his message a demonstration of his character."[26]

1875 was an election year in state politics. As successful incumbent, Pacheco sought nomination and election to the governorship for the full term beginning in 1876. Soon after assuming the executive chair, he made his intentions known to the people of California and began to gather support for the Republican Convention, which was to assemble in June at Sacramento. Several opposing candidates entered the field against him—among them William Irwin, a man who had succeeded Pacheco as Lieutenant Governor. By March 26, the *Daily Alta* could write: "Pacheco is likely to go to the Republican State Convention with considerable support for the nomination for governor."[27] But Irwin began to arouse widespread popular support, giving indications of a desire to run for Governor on the Democratic ticket, opposing Pacheco on the Republican. On March 27, the Contra Costa *Gazette* expressed its belief that the people of California "and the honest constituencies of the two political parties" would do best to nominate Pacheco for governor and Irwin for Lieutenant Governor, without bothering with the formality of holding conventions.[28] But all politicians did not share the views of the *Gazette*. The Central Pacific Railroad then exercised considerable influence in state politics. Pacheco was accused of representing the interests of the Union Pacific.[29] The charge may or may not have been true, and in any

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case would seem to have been of negligible importance. But for the Republican Convention it became a seemingly crucial question.

Meeting on June 10, the convention almost immediately rallied in support of Charles Phelps, a cleverly concealed "dark horse" candidate. From the first day of the meeting, it was obvious that Pacheco's chances for success had been suddenly and completely torn asunder. Appearing before the convention on June 11, the Governor withdrew his name. Phelps was nominated for governor. Pacheco then expected to receive the nomination for Lieutenant Governor, the office to which he had been elected four years previous. But the convention again by-passed him.

On June 12, the *Daily Alta* commented: "Governor Pacheco must naturally be hurt at the way in which he was treated. Called upon from all sides to accept the nomination, supported by the leading Republican papers, he came upon the scene on the day before the Convention to find everything changed as by the wand of a magician, the Convention held in the hollow of one man's hand, and himself quietly ignored. Nothing was left for him but to quietly and magnanimously withdraw from a contest he had no reason to expect."[30]

But Pacheco was determined to run for reelection to the Lieutenant Governorship. In the absence of party endorsement, his name appeared on the ballot as an independent. In the voting, he rallied a total of 33,000 votes, more than either of the Republican candidates for governor or Lieutenant Governor received. The probability that Pacheco would have been successfully elected, had he received the Republican nod, is strong. But the split in the GOP, together with a national trend to the Democratic party that was to result in the near-election of Samuel Tilden as president in 1876, proved to be an overwhelming liability. The successful Democratic candidate for Lieutenant Governor, James Johnson, pulled more than 58,000 votes. William Irwin, running as a Democrat, was successfully elected to succeed Pacheco in the governor's chair.

Defeat in the election of 1875 was only a temporary interruption of Pacheco's career. The last months of his administration had earned him warm praise throughout the state, and at the con-

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clusion of the convention of 1875 it had been rumored that Republican leaders were planning "to give Governor Pacheco the nomination for Congress in the southern district, if he will take it."[31] Pacheco did.

California was then divided into four congressional districts, and incumbency in one of these carried with it a prestige and power nearly equal to that of the United States senators. The election of 1876 found Romualdo Pacheco running for Congress, not, as had been rumored, in the southern district, but in the large and populous central district, which included Fresno, Los Angeles, San Francisco, San Mateo, San Diego, Santa Barbara, San Luis Obispo, Inyo, Kern, Mariposa, Merced, Mono, Monterey, and San Bernardino counties.[32] Pacheco was elected over his Democratic opponent, Peter Wigginton, by the hair-splitting margin of one vote.[33] He appeared in Congress to take his oath of office on October 17, 1877, and was immediately encountered by charges that he had been elected by the fraudulent alteration of certain ballots.

James A. Garfield, then Republican leader in the House of Representatives, and later President of the United States, answered the Democratic charges. "After the election . . . ," he said, "it was found that the vote was exceedingly close and the question was carried by the contestant into the Circuit Court, where a decision was given in favor of Mr. Pacheco. An appeal was then taken to the Supreme Court of California; and I have in my hand the opinion of that court, [giving] him the legal certificate which he bears. No other man bears a certificate from that district."[34]

The dispute was referred by the House to the Committee on Elections for Study, and Pacheco was sworn in pending the committee's decision. He was soon appointed to the Committee on Public Lands, and, during the year of 1877, he introduced two bills, one for the purpose of erecting a lighthouse at San Luis Obispo Bay and another to provide means for the regulation and survey of United States timber lands.[35] On February 7, 1878, the Elections Committee reported its decision on the dispute over Pacheco's election. Dominated by Democrats, the committee refused to accept the Supreme Court certificate of election, and gave the Congressional seat to Wigginton.

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Pacheco then returned to California — first to his family ranchos at San Luis Obispo, and later to San Francisco. There, in June, 1878, he formed a partnership with W. E. Hale, a member of the San Francisco Stock Exchange.[36] With this beginning, Pacheco entered a career in the stock brokerage business with which he was to be prominently associated for many years. But the lure of politics was still with him. In the election of 1878, he once again challenged Wigginton for Congress. This time his victory was decisive.

He took his congressional oath for the second time on March 4, 1879.[37] He was returned to his seat in 1880, and continued in office until March 3, 1883. During this nearly five-year period, Pacheco was a member of the Public Expenditures Committee and Chairman of the Private Land Claims Committee. For the latter position he was particularly well-suited. A Spanish Californian himself, he could appreciate the difficulties faced by his own people in California, a major area of land claim disputes.

Pacheco also took an early stand on the need for Southern California harbor development. Speaking of the construction of facilities at Wilmington, he said: "I would state from my own personal knowledge of the great wealth and importance of Southern California, its rapidly increasing commerce, and the importance of having at that point a secure harbor for shipping," that "it is of the utmost importance that an . . . appropriation should be made for the completion of the harbor improvements."[38]

In June of 1881, the nation was stunned by the news that came from Washington. President James Garfield, inaugurated just four months before, had been shot by a disappointed federal office-seeker. For a month and a half he lingered between life and death, while an anxious nation prayed for his recovery. Then, in September, the President died. The House of Representatives, in which Garfield had served with distinction for seventeen years, felt his loss keenly. On December 9, 1881, members of the House formed a *Select Committee on the Death of President Garfield*.[39] Romualdo Pacheco, a member of the committee, recalled the day in 1877 when Garfield had successfully pleaded for his admission to Congress. With the rest of the nation, he mourned the loss of a man whom

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historians have called one of the few potentially great men of the late 19th century.

In 1883 Pacheco retired from Congress, and returned for a time to California and his stock brokerage. Then he left for Mexico. In the northern part of the state of *Coahuila*, near the Texas border, he became manager of a huge Mexican cattle ranch.[40] Here, the old life of the California *vaqueros* was being lived as it had been in California in the days of Pacheco's youth. He was now past fifty, but the strenuous and free ranch life still held a strong appeal for him. Riding the open range gave him renewed vigor.

Romualdo Pacheco embodied a unique fusion of the Spanish and American spirits. He spoke both Spanish and English with perfection; he understood and could sympathize with the problems of Latins throughout America; and yet he maintained an unswerving, devoted loyalty to his adopted country, the United States. With his unique talents, it was only a matter of time before the hand of public service would again be laid on his shoulder.

On December 1, 1890, President Benjamin Harrison appointed Pacheco to the position of *Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Central American States.*[41] The appointment was confirmed by the Senate, and a short time later Minister Pacheco took up his residence in the American Legation in Guatemala City.

The Republic of the United States of Central America had been formed in 1823, upon the completion of Central America's successful wars for independence from Spain. But local bickering and selfish differences of opinion had caused the Republic's dissolution as early as 1839, and the formation of a half-dozen independent states. Subsequent efforts to restore Central American unity met with little success. The United States favored the establishment of some sort of centralized government and hoped that the appoinment of a single Minister to the entire area would encourage moves in this direction.

Minister Pacheco, as representative of United States policy in Central America, was faced with many difficult situations involving the over-eagerness of local countries to assert their sovereignty. He handled these problems deftly, but it soon became obvious that the duties required of a United States representative

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were more than could be easily accomplished by a single man. Accordingly, in July of 1891, Pacheco was accredited to what were then the two most important countries of Central America, Guatemala and Honduras, and a second officer was appointed to officiate in the remaining area. Continuing his residence in Guatemala City, Pacheco served until June 21, 1893.[42]

He then returned to California and his stock brokerage in San Francisco. His wife, Mary, had long taken an active interest in the San Francisco theatre. In addition to her successful novel, *Montalban*, she had written many popular comic plays, among them *Incog* and *Nothing but Money*. When the Pachecos returned from Guatemala City, Romualdo attempted to open a theatre in San Francisco in which his wife's plays would receive regular presentation. Pacheco invested nearly all of his available assets in the venture, which he and his wife called *The Comedy Theatre*. Its opening in San Francisco was a gala affair, widely publicized in the newspapers and attended by the best of San Francisco society. But as time passed, attendance lagged, and the theater met failure. For Mary Pacheco it meant the frustration of theatrical ambitions; but for her husband it amounted to virtual bankruptcy.

In the mid-1890's, the Pachecos moved to Oakland, where they lived with Romualdo's brother-in-law, Henry R. Miller.[43] The ex-Governor's last years were quiet and uneventful, and his name seemed to have been forgotten by the state of California.

In January, 1899, sixty-seven years old, Romualdo Pacheco fell ill, and on the night of January 23 he died.[44] Word of his death was flashed to newspapers across the country, and the people of California paused for a moment in their busy lives to recall his name. The San Francisco *Chronicle* called him "one of the most picturesque" and "prominent figures in the state's history."[45] The Oakland *Tribune* said that Pacheco's death "leaves a gap in the ranks of the state's strong men that cannot be exactly filled."[46]

A dynamic, energetic man, Romualdo Pacheco had led a long and distinguished life of public service. He had served his state and his nation—but also his people. Born and nurtured a Spanish Californian, he was their last, and in some ways greatest, representative.

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NOTES

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1. San Diego Mission Records, Entry 948.
2. Don Agustín Janssens, *Life and Adventures in California* (San Marino, 1953), p. 20.
3. *Ibid.*
4. J. N. Bowman, "Prominent Women of Provincial California," Hist. Soc. of So. Cal. *Quarterly* (June, 1957), p. 162.
5. *Ibid.*
6. William Heath Davis, *75 Years in Calif.* (S. F., 1929), p. 32.
7. Josefa Carrillo de Fitch, *Narracion,* p. 147 of *Pioneer Sketches,* MS, Bancroft Library.
8. *Arbaes* is a variant spelling of Arballo.
9. Señora Carrillo became a widow after Josefa, Ramona, and Francisca were married; hence these daughters could not contribute to the formation of their mother's estate.
10. *Will of María Ignacia Lopez de Carrillo,* Estate 13, Office of the County Clerk, Sonoma County Courthouse, Santa Rosa. Translated from the Spanish by Mrs. Dorothy E. McGinty.
11. Panama City *Star,* February 24, 1849; in San Francisco *Directory* for 1850.
12. Peter Thomas Conmy, *Romualdo Pacheco* (S. F., 1957), pp. 3-4.
13. See "Ramona Carrillo," Part III of "Carrillos of San Diego" in *Quarterly* for June, 1957.
14. Davis, *op. cit.,* p. 25.
15. Gertrude Atherton, *California, an Intimate History* (N. Y., 1927), p. 73.
16. San Francisco *Daily Alta California* (March 7, 1875).
17. *Journals of the State Senate, 9th Session* (Sacramento, 1858), p. 5.
18. Peter Thomas Conmy, "The Political Career of Romualdo Pacheco," *Grizzly Bear,* p. 3.
19. Alonzo Phelps, "Romualdo Pacheco," in *Contemporary Biography* (S. F., 1882), I, p. 143.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Daily Alta* (February 24, 1875).
22. *Ibid.* (Feb. 28).
23. Conmy, *Romualdo Pacheco, ibid.,* p. 8.
24. *Appendix to Journals of Senate and Assembly* (Sacramento, 1876). pp. 17-22.
25. *Ibid.,* pp. 13-14.
26. *Daily Alta* (December 9, 1875).
27. *Ibid.* (March 26).
28. Contra Costa *Gazette* quoted in *Daily Alta, ibid.,* (March 27).
29. *Daily Alta, ibid.,* (June, 1875).
30. *Ibid.* (June 12).
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Congressional Directory of Forty-Seventh Congress* (Washington, 1882), p. 9.
33. Conmy, *op. cit.*
34. *Congressional Record, 45th Congress,* Oct. 17, 1877.
35. *Ibid.*
36. Phelps, *op. cit.*
37. Conmy, *op. cit.*
38. *Congressional Record, 47th Congress,* February 15th, 1881.
39. *Ibid.,* December 9, 1881.
40. David P. Barrows, "Romualdo Pacheco," in *Dictionary of American Biography* (N. Y., 1934), XIV, pp. 124-5.
41. Conmy, *op. cit.*
42. *Ibid.*
43. *Ibid.*
44. San Francisco *Chronicle* (Jan. 24, 1899).
45. *Ibid.*
46. Oakland *Tribune* (Jan. 24, 1899).

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