

ABSTRACT

Elizabeth H. Whitfield. PUSHING THE PARADIGM: THE DEVOTIONAL MEDALS OF *EL BUEN CONSEJO* IN A HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT. (Under the direction of Dr. Bradley A. Rodgers) Department of History, May 2005.

Devotional medals have a long, but quiet history. With little written about the production, purpose, and distribution of these religiously themed objects, scholars studying them must piece together bits of information from historical and archaeological sources. Kathleen Deagan (2002) has produced the only work that analyzed and documented medals found on a variety of Spanish colonial sites and shipwrecks, and her study provides a framework for the analysis of similar collections of devotional medals. This thesis conducts an iconographical analysis of a portion of possibly the largest intact collection of devotional medals in existence. It inserts the data generated into Deagan's paradigm, acting as the first significant test of her work. In doing so, it extends the archaeological database, establishes additional patterns, and provides a basis for future research. Additionally, this examination demonstrates that religious medals are valuable diagnostic tools that can aid scholars studying the Spanish colonization of the New World.

This research analyzes devotional medals from the 1772 Spanish shipwreck of *El Buen Consejo*. The medals were the property of Franciscan missionaries traveling to New Spain, thus, this thesis examines the Franciscan missionization of Spanish America. It also provides a short history of devotional medals, concentrating on their evolution and on the genesis of their iconography, and it describes how medals may have assisted in the evangelization of Spanish America. This examination analyzes a portion of the medals of *El Buen Consejo*, paying particular attention to iconography, and lastly, it compares the objects

to patterns present in medal collections from Florida and the Caribbean. The appendix amasses data on collections of medals from Spanish American occupied sites and from shipwrecks.

PUSHING THE PARADIGM:
THE DEVOTIONAL MEDALS OF *EL BUEN CONSEJO*
IN A HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

A Thesis

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INTRODUCTION

In 1986 a resident of the small Caribbean island of Anguilla discovered the submerged wreckage of the eighteenth-century Spanish ship *El Buen Consejo*. Amongst the remains were hundreds of small cupreous disk-shaped medals imprinted with images of religious figures and events. These devotional medals make up one of the largest medal caches ever discovered. Although archaeologists have recovered medals on Spanish American colonial sites and on other Spanish shipwrecks, scholars have largely overlooked the significance of devotional medals and have rarely viewed the objects as educational tools. The goal of this thesis is to examine a sample of the large collection of religious medals found in the wreckage of *El Buen Consejo* in order to ask whether scholars can use devotional medals as archaeological and historical diagnostic tools. This thesis also tests the Anguillian collection against the archaeological model of religious medals presented by archaeologist Kathleen Deagan in volume two of *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies of Florida and the Caribbean, 1500-1800* (2002); in doing so, it expands Deagan's reference for medals found in New World Spanish contexts with its analysis geared according to religious iconography.

The value of this research is to set an archaeological cornerstone that will allow future archaeological analyses to include devotional medals as valuable diagnostic devices. By conducting the first significant test of Deagan's model, it also examines whether her work is applicable to other New World Spanish colonial medal collections. Since devotional medals have received little scholarly analysis and since medals of *El*

Buen Consejo are one of only four such collections in existence, this thesis is especially valuable for the analysis it offers.

In the early morning of 8 July 1772, the Spanish ship *El Buen Consejo*, en route to Veracruz, New Spain, ran aground on the eastern shore of the island of Anguilla. Fifty-two Franciscan missionaries were onboard, some heading to missions in the Philippines and some to the Apostolic College of San Francisco de Pachuca in Mexico. The shipwreck meant the loss of their shipment of devotional medals. Religious medals are usually coin-shaped decorative items produced to commemorate sacred persons, saints, historical events, places, sacred ideas, and personal graces significant to the Catholic Church. Either struck or cast, devotional medals are decorated with figures, motifs, and/or inscriptions and are typically worn around the neck or attached to clothing or to rosaries. Although historians have written very little on how Catholic missionaries used medals, the items apparently played a role in the evangelization of Spanish America. To explore the role of devotional medals in the evangelization process, this examination will look closely at the history of missions and Catholicism between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The first large group of Catholic missionaries arrived in New Spain in 1524. In doing so, these Franciscan friars initiated a process that eventually led to the establishment of mission outposts across Mexico and the borderland regions of the United States and that culminated in the conversion of millions of people. Throughout the evangelization, friars followed a several-step process of missionization in which they used proselytizing tools such as icons and images to educate Native Americans about the

Christian faith. Undoubtedly, devotional medals functioned as such a tool, but they may have served additional roles. Friars possibly distributed medals to especially devoted or important Indian neophyte Christians, Indian laborers, mass attendees, and Spanish members of missions. Presumably, the medals of *El Buen Consejo* would have served similarly.

Historians have not indicated if the first Franciscans in New Spain carried or wore medals, but within a few decades of their arrival, friars possessed and distributed them at the late sixteenth-century Mission Santa Catalina de Guale on St. Catherines Island, Georgia. After this point, medal distribution spread, for in the following centuries, they appeared on a number of mission and presidio sites in the borderlands of Spanish America. Medals found during terrestrial archaeological excavations are inconsistently distributed and of small number. Archaeologists and salvage companies, however, have found large collections of medals on Caribbean shipwrecks, especially on the *Matanceros* wreck and the Quicksilver galleons of the eighteenth century. These large collections illustrate the diversity of medal production and the variety of religious subject matter revered by Catholics.

Medals found in the wreckage of *El Buen Consejo* have presumably washed ashore for centuries.¹ After the vessel's discovery, however, a business venture excavated and conserved the majority of the remaining pieces; they now lie in possession of the Anguillian police force. Authorities permitted a short examination of the items in December 2004. Unfortunately, those who excavated the medals did not photograph the

¹A number of island residents have possessed and may still possess medals.

entire collection, and a complete examination of the Anguillian collection was not possible; thus, this thesis conducts its iconographic analysis from data on only a portion of *El Buen Consejo's* over five hundred religious medals. The work examines approximately 33 percent of the entire collection using photographs and detailed notes from six disparate sources: East Carolina University's Maritime Studies Program, Vermont conservator Michèle Dubé Johnson, conservator Hawk Tolsen, Anguilla Maritime Research's David Stevens, and the internet and the author. This thesis' data are based on the iconographical analysis of nearly four hundred images.

Since this examination chiefly focuses on iconography and does not include the vessel's entire collection, it is not a full material culture archaeological analysis. To conduct an exhaustive investigation, the analysis would need information such as size, shape, composition, weight, iconography, and complete measurements for each of the over five hundred medals. Given the limited and discrete data from which to work, this analysis will focus on the information available in hopes that it will assist future researchers of devotional medals. The limited sample size, therefore, makes this work only a partial and, in terms of archaeological analyses, incomplete look at this large, comparatively intact collection of eighteenth-century religious medals.

Historians and archaeologists have written little on the recovery, use, and distribution of devotional medals. As mentioned, Deagan has produced the only work comparing medals found on Spanish colonial sites. Her analysis was informative and thorough, and it established patterns found in religious medals that are applicable to other Spanish American collections. Some of the patterns focused on iconography, size,

location of manufacture, and medal aesthetics such as American images and ornate designs. Deagan also presented a chart that provides a timeline for the appearance of certain imagery in the archaeological record. In general, the present analysis verifies that Deagan's model is a reliable source for the study of religious medals. It also reveals, however, several patterns ignored by Deagan and lengthens the archaeological horizon for a number of images, thus adding to her contribution and to the general body of devotional medal literature.

Because medals from *El Buen Consejo* were both shipped and accompanied by Franciscan missionaries, this work describes the Franciscan historical presence in New Spain and the Order's missionization process. It includes a brief history of devotional medals and examines and postulates the use and distribution of the objects. Based on existing literature, the appendix includes a discussion of devotional medals found on early Spanish colonial sites in the southeastern and borderland regions of the United States, as well as those excavated from shipwrecks.

References to medals occasionally appeared in primary sources written by missionaries and in secondary publications documenting archaeological research. Often when authors mentioned the presence of medals on archaeological sites, they included a very limited amount of information, generally providing only photographs and descriptions of the objects' locations. In an effort to place *El Buen Consejo's* devotional medals in proper historical context, this thesis pieces together information from a wide variety of sources.

Data evaluated in the iconographical analysis derive solely from the examination of *El Buen Consejo's* devotional medals. Photographs and detailed notes provide information on more than four hundred images from the Anguillian collection identified according to religious and iconographic sources such as Alban Butler (1985), Paul Burns (2003), Donald Attwater (1958), Arthur de Bles (1925), Rosa Giorgi (2002), George Ferguson (1959), and the *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

Data from the Archive of the Indies in Sevilla, Spain, explain the history of *El Buen Consejo*, its passengers, and cargo. The translated documents derive from the reports of Spanish archivist Victoria Staples Johnson who researched the wreck for the company that excavated the vessel's remains.

Sources for the Franciscan missionization of Spanish America and for the order's possible use of medals include primary accounts of missionaries Toribio de Motolinía (1951), Junípero Serra (1955), Diego Miguel Bringas (1977), Francisco Garcés (1900), and Alonso de Benavides (1996) and secondary works by historians Herbert Bolton (1917), Serge Gruzinski (1993), Robert Ricard (1966), Kieran McCarty (1983), Charles Polzer (1976), and Hubert H. Bancroft (1886).

Information on the history of devotional medals comes from Mark Salton (1969) and Andrea S. Norris and Ingrid Weber (1976), from articles published in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* and the *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, and from Deagan (2002).

Comparative sources for medals found on other Spanish colonial sites include works by authors such as Rebecca Allen (1998), Deagan (2002), J. Franklin Ewing (1949), Pedro J. Santiago (1980), and David H. Thomas (1988).

This research project collects the existing data on medals found in Spanish America, accumulating information from archaeological sites from Florida to California and from the remains of Caribbean shipwrecks. The appendix includes this information to provide a basis for future study of religious medals and for further in-depth research.

The collection of medals from *El Buen Consejo* kept at the Anguillian Royal Police Force is one of the largest undocumented assemblages of devotional medals in existence. The importance of the analysis of this assemblage is that it adds to the body of knowledge regarding medals and provides future researchers with valuable data that, perhaps, would never otherwise come to light.

CHAPTER ONE

EL BUEN CONSEJO AND ANGUILLIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

During the colonization of New Spain, Spanish ships loaded with goods and passengers bound for the New World typically traveled in *flotas*. In these *flotas*, armed warships accompanied unarmed merchant vessels, thus ensuring the safe arrival of the cargo ships and their valuable merchandise. Regularly scheduled departures of the fleets also helped minimize pirate attacks and increased the ships' chance of safely reaching Mexico. In the early to mid-eighteenth century, the *flota* system was still in effect; however, as the century progressed, the Spanish crown was unable to protect its Atlantic trade adequately between Spain and the Americas and thus granted limited free trade between several ports in Spain and a number of ports in the New World. The new trading channels helped precipitate the collapse of the *flota* system; the practice ended in 1776.¹ The loss of two ships four years earlier may have contributed to its demise.

On 29 May 1772, one of Spain's last *flotas* set sail from Cádiz, Spain (Figure 1).² Traveling to Veracruz, New Spain, under the command of Don Luis de Cordoba, the sixteen ship *flota* consisted of two warships, thirteen merchant vessels, and one warship owned by the crown—*El Buen Consejo*. *El Buen Consejo* had not originally been requisitioned for the journey to Veracruz, but when an excess of cargo necessitated the

¹Geoffrey Walker, *Spanish Politics and Imperial Trade, 1700-1789* (London: Macmillan Press, 1979), 223. See Walker for an analysis of the *flota* system and for other reasons for its collapse.

²Records housed in the Archivo General de Indias (AGI) in Sevilla, Spain documented the voyage of *El Buen Consejo*. Between 1994 and 1995, Anguilla Maritime Research hired Victoria Staples Johnson to find all records pertaining to the vessel. Johnson found a significant portion of them and translated the majority of them into English. These documents explain the history of *El Buen Consejo*.

addition of another vessel, it was chosen. The merchant guild of Cádiz prepared and outfitted it.³ It was not the ship's first trans-Atlantic voyage since in March 1765 and in January 1768 it sailed to the Philippines with artillery for the Philippine fortress. On its return voyages, the vessel carried Asian commodities such as spices, textiles, wood, coins, and porcelain. In both instances, the roundtrip journey from Cádiz to Manila took between two and two and three-quarters years.⁴

For the voyage to Veracruz, the merchant guild primarily loaded the 990-ton *El Buen Consejo* with cargo, yet the ship also carried fifty-two Franciscan missionaries and nine other passengers. The friars, from the Discalced or barefoot division of the order, hailed from towns all across Spain and were destined for two locations. Thirty-five were traveling to the Apostolic College of San Francisco de Pachuca in New Spain, while seventeen were journeying to the Philippines. Those going to Asia did so under a 1769 royal decree that assigned sixty-four missionaries to the Franciscanos Descalzos mission in the province of San Gregorio.⁵

Friars traveling to apostolic colleges in New Spain, such as the one located in Pachuca, had been doing so since 1682. These colleges were dedicated to educating Franciscans as missionaries. Unless the thirty-five onboard *El Buen Consejo* had already undergone training, they were to spend at least one year at the college before

³Victoria Staples Johnson, "February 1995," (report submitted to Anguilla Maritime Research Ltd.), 25.

⁴Victoria Staples Johnson, "16 March 1995," (report submitted to Anguilla Maritime Research Ltd.), 27.

⁵*Ibid.*, 30, 35.

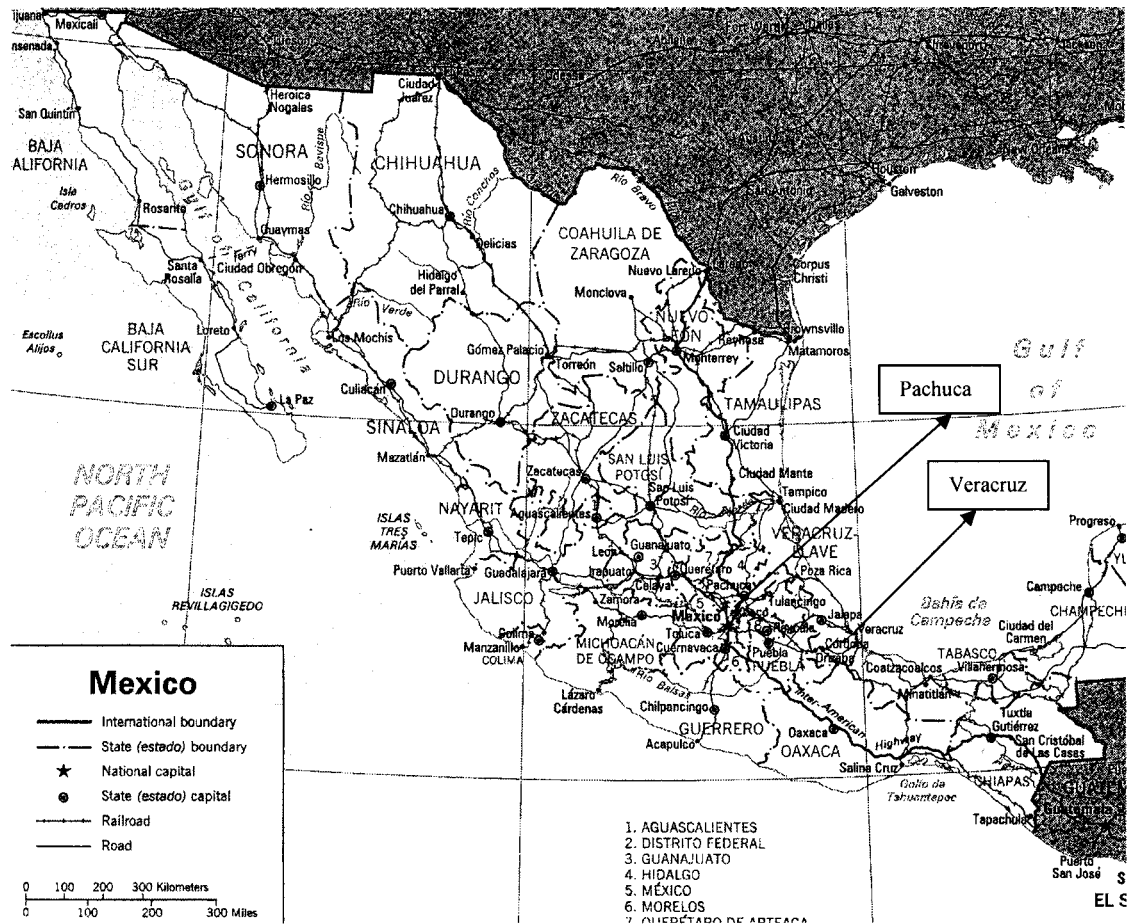


Figure 2. Map of Mexico⁷

⁷CIA Basemap 802539 (R01257) 3-97.

receiving assignments to evangelize to Native Americans.⁸ Founded in 1732, the college at Pachuca was dependent upon Mexico's Province of San Diego. Initially, its members preached to natives within Pachuca's vicinity. By 1771, however, the institution expanded its work and operated missions in the regions of Hidalgo, México, Puebla, Veracruz, and San Luis Potosí (Figure 2).⁹

After 1771 Pachuca expanded its mission outposts, establishing missions farther north and northeast in Coahuila, Nuevo León, Tamaulipas, and Texas.¹⁰ The friars onboard *El Buen Consejo*, therefore, were destined to work in a number of locations stretching across central Mexico north to the borderland region of Texas.

Only a few days after leaving Cádiz and while sailing near Tenerife in the Canary Islands, the captain of *El Buen Consejo* lost sight of the fleet. For several days, Captain Julián Antonio de Urcullu navigated the vessel along what he thought was the correct route. Around the ninth of June, one of the *flotas'* merchant vessels, *El Prusiano* (also known as *Jesus Maria y José* and *La Concordia*), joined *El Buen Consejo*. Urcullu and *Prusiano's* captain, Manuel Iturralde, discussed the route and agreed to sail together. In a letter addressed to the court of the merchant guild, three crewmembers jointly described what followed:¹¹

... the 7th of July was a sad image of possible death for those aboard the two ships. During the afternoon, the two captains discussed the distance to St. Martín. Whereas Iturralde (*Prusiano*) said they were 6 leagues from the island, Urcullo (*Buen Consejo*) insisted they were some 60 leagues away. Then Urcullo said to

⁸Kieran McCarty, "Apostolic Colleges of the Propagation of the Faith--Old and New World Background," *The Americas* 19 (1962): 57-58.

⁹José Vergara Vergara, *El Convento y Colegio de San Francisco de Pachuca* (Pachuca: Consejo Estatal, 1995), 15.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 16.

¹¹Johnson translated the account and, at times, interjected her interpretation.

Iturralde; "Let us continue the same way (they appeared to sail 5 or 6 miles) and at midnight we can bring to." Iturralde responded; "Let us hope we are lucky." And so they sailed until 11.45 that night when Urcullo brought to.¹²

Around one o'clock in the morning, deckhands spotted land, and chaos broke out as Urcullo shouted orders to turn the ship from the bay. A careless or lazy boatswain slowly threw out the anchor, but by then "the ship was increasingly pushed shorewards with each wave and at 1.30 (a.m.) her stern hit bottom for the first time.... As of this moment, all the witness could think of was how to expiate his sins and pray for salvation." By ten o'clock that morning, a number of passengers and the missionaries were on the shore of the English-held Caribbean island of Anguilla (Figure 3).¹³

An account from *El Prusiano* would sound similar, since it also ran aground on Anguilla's eastern coast, wrecking nearby at a tiny island separated from Anguilla by a narrow strait. Anguilla "guards the southeastern approaches to the Anegada Passage," the passageway that Urcullo and Iturralde planned to use to sail safely east to west through the Caribbean Sea to the mainland of New Spain. Although Anguilla's windward side and eastern coastline are rugged, both ships' passengers struggled to shore unharmed.¹⁴

The sudden presence of several hundred people taxed the small population and limited resources of Anguilla, and soon, a tempestuous relationship developed between the local inhabitants and the passengers. An anonymous letter written on 21 July from the nearby island of St. Eustatius described the Spaniards' predicament:

¹²Johnson, "16 March 1995," 21-26.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Bradley Rodgers, "The 1996 Anguilla Shipwreck Survey, Anguilla, British West Indies, September 1996" (project report, Maritime Studies Program, ECU, Greenville, NC, 1996), 5.

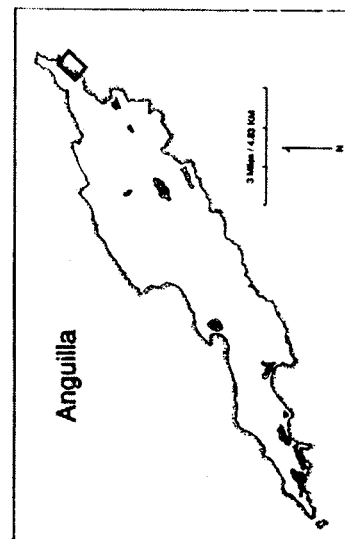
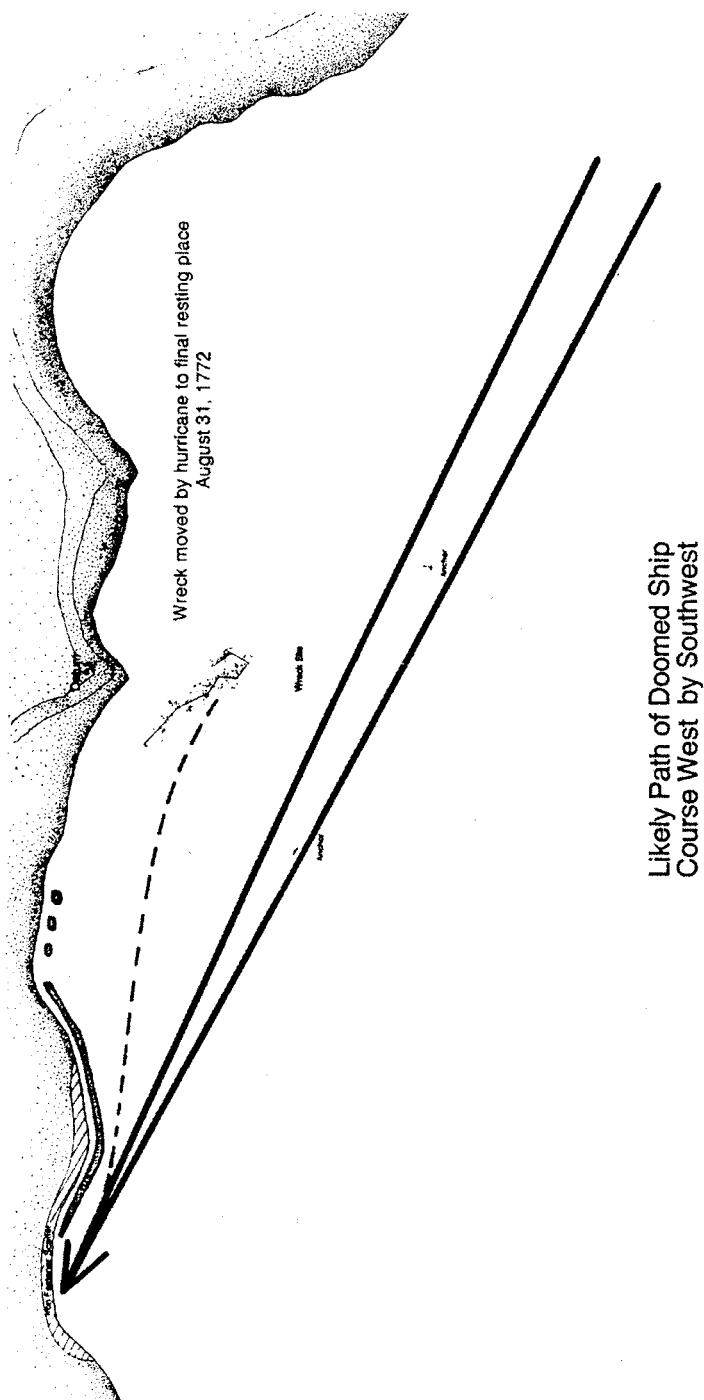
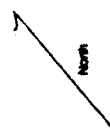
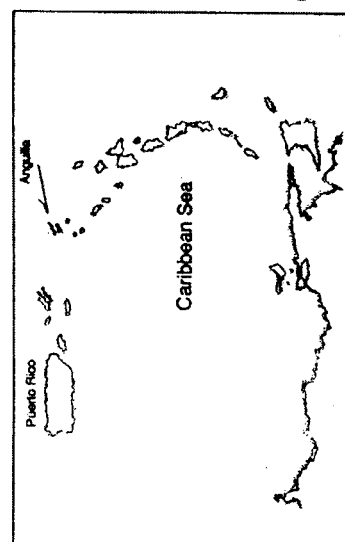


Figure 2



600 Feet / 183 Meters



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Figure 3. Map of Anguilla and Path of *El Buen Consejo*¹⁵

¹⁵Ibid., 11.

[Y]ou will have received my letters with the sad news of the losses of the *Prusiano* and *Buen Consejo*. . . . The coast there is so wild that we were hardly able to save ourselves. Since then, we have experienced many discomforts due to the scarcities of the island and the brutal and bad treatment which we have received from her inhabitants. . . . The Governor of Antigua sent a frigate which helped to control the looting and enabled us to work freely in unloading the cargo although not to our satisfaction given the bad state/location of the ships. We can only reach them with the small boats when the weather is calm. On the 17th, we were able to save 30 bales (*tercios*) and 10 chests from the *Prusiano* and three bales from the *Buen Consejo*. The first (ship) has only perhaps very little damage to her 'entrepunte' (steerage/between decks) but the second (ship) is lying on her side and nearly completely under water. If we are hit by a strong storm, the ships will be broken up at once and we will only be able to save what the sea casts to the reefs which will immediately be torn apart and ruined. . . .¹⁶

The Spaniards had little time to salvage items from the ships. On 2 August, a strong storm struck Anguilla, and the two vessels broke apart completely. Salvage attempts continued, however, until the end of the month when storms battered the island on the 28th and 31st. These final blows effectively ended all salvage operations.¹⁷

Passengers retrieved some goods from *El Buen Consejo*, yet much of its cargo remains a mystery. Cargo documents recorded steel, wire, cloth, cinnamon, oil, wine, and *aquardiente* (spirits), but many barrels and chests were unidentified.¹⁸ Records of the ship, however, detailed the items brought aboard for the missions of the Philippines and Pachuca:

Mision del Colegio Apostolico de Pachuca, Nueva España

- 5 chests of books
- 1 box holding an image/sculpture of *Nuestra Señora de la Regla*
- 8 flasks

¹⁶Victoria Staples Johnson, "December 1994," (report submitted to Anguilla Maritime Research Ltd.), 10-11 (my italics).

¹⁷Victoria Staples Johnson, "26 March 1995," (report submitted to Anguilla Maritime Research Ltd.), 5-6.

¹⁸Johnson, "16 March 1995," 8-10.

- 2 barrels of raisins and almonds
- 3 barrels of biscuit
- 1 biscuit tin
- 3 hampers with papers and clothing for the Padre Comisario
- 18 boxes of personal belongings of the priests
- 4 boxes with items (unspecified) for the mission
- 1 box with 125 pounds of chocolate
- Beds for the 35 missionaries

Mision de Filipinas

- 13 chests of personal belongings of the missionaries
- 4 flasks
- 2 quintals of biscuit
- 1 biscuit tin
- 20 pounds tobacco/snuff
- 1 chest of chocolate
- 18 earthenware jars for water
- 18 tin chamberpots
- Beds for the missionaries¹⁹

Although religious medals were not included in the cargo manifest, a number of them were onboard as cargo. Since personal belongings were the only unidentified items listed under goods bound for the Philippines, this thesis argues that the four unidentified boxes bound for Pachuca probably contained medals.

Without knowing specific quantities of the medals onboard, it is impossible to determine their total number. Archaeological finds, however, indicate the presence of at least five hundred, with the possibility of hundreds more.²⁰ From the number recovered from the site it appears, and historical evidence supports the assumption, that the

¹⁹Johnson, "February 1995," 33-34.

²⁰In a telephone conversation on 13 January 2005, David Stevens of AMR noted that his company excavated approximately 30 percent of the shipwreck site. The artifacts retrieved are representative of the site. Stevens believes AMR recovered the majority of the devotional medals, but noted that many more may remain on site, encased in concretion. Additionally, medals from the wreck have washed ashore for years; thus, local residents may possess an untold number. For example, the Anguillian native Colville Petty admitted on 22 December 2004 that he holds at least several dozen medals in his possession.

Spaniards did not salvage many, if any, of the medals. Of the cargo retrieved prior to *El Buen Consejo*'s destruction, records indicated numerous chests and sacks, 903 pieces of textiles, and 131 iron bars. If the missionaries salvaged some of their medal cargo, they had little time to do so, for on 14 July, Dutch ships transported some of the passengers and all of the friars "to Puerto Rico and then to Havana where [the missionaries] stayed in the Convento de los Belemitas while awaiting transport to Mexico."²¹ Some of *El Buen Consejo* and *El Prusiano*'s passengers remained on Anguilla until at least October.²²

El Buen Consejo, therefore, probably sank with her entire cargo of devotional medals. Undoubtedly, residents of the small Caribbean island of Anguilla have been discovering and collecting medals off the island's beaches for years. Originally, few islanders probably understood from whence the items came, and most likely, the artifacts puzzled residents and authorities alike. In 1986, however, resident scuba diver Leander "Bull" Bryan solved the mystery by uncovering their origin. Bryan is a well-known island inhabitant and commercial fisherman. While spear fishing in Stoney Bay on Anguilla's eastern and Atlantic side, Bryan noticed an unusual contour or "lump" on the exposed limestone seabed. Upon further examination, he realized the feature was a group of bronze or cupreous medals stacked together and concreted in coral. He pried out several medals for evaluation. Intrigued by the find, Bryan further explored the site and discovered a large number of cannon and smaller items such as spoons, belt buckles, pottery shards, and glass and metal buttons.²³

²¹Johnson, "December 1994," 19-21.

²²Johnson, "16 March 1995," 6.

²³Anguilla Maritime Research, Ltd., "A Preliminary Proposal Addressing the Archaeological and Historical Investigation of the Mid-18th Century Shipwreck *El Buen Consejo* Located at Anguilla, B.W.I."

For six years, Bryan kept the site a secret until he forged a relationship with two Vermont veterinarians who were vacationing in Anguilla. In 1992 Bryan showed the site to Dr. Raymond Knutsen and his wife and asked their advice. The site intrigued Knutsen, and he and Bryan quickly became partners. Both men agreed they should determine how best to proceed with a project to evaluate, document, excavate, and develop the site. They both hoped to follow archaeological procedures rather than to follow the more destructive methods often utilized by treasure hunting companies. To legitimize the project, the two men formed a corporation with Vermont businessmen David Stevens and Theodore Parisi, Jr., an accountant and lawyer, respectively. The Anguillian business venture, Anguilla Maritime Research, Ltd. (AMR), was chartered on 26 October 1994.²⁴

After its formation, AMR quickly secured the services of historical/archival researchers and conservators, and it forged relationships with individuals familiar with salvaging wreck sites using archaeological protocols. Eventually, AMR also collaborated with the Center for Maritime and Underwater Resource Management (CMURM) at Michigan State University (MSU).²⁵

In January 1995 AMR submitted a proposal to the government that suggested the company survey and excavate the remains of *El Buen Consejo*. One of its recommendations was to recover the ship's smaller artifacts, those subject to theft, and to conserve the items for eventual display in Anguilla's national museum. To restrict

(report submitted to the Government of Anguilla, 5 January 1995); Anguilla Maritime Research, Ltd., "*El Buen Consejo y El Prusiano*, Late 18th Century Spanish Shipwrecks: Circumstances and Research and Recovery Plan" (report submitted to the Government of Anguilla, n.d.).

²⁴Anguilla Maritime Research, Ltd., "A Preliminary Proposal," Anguilla Maritime Research, Ltd., "Research and Recovery Plan."

²⁵CMURM is an independent organization no longer affiliated with MSU.

potential salvors, the company also suggested transforming the site into an underwater archaeological preserve with restricted scuba diving access.²⁶ The government agreed the site and its artifacts needed protection, and after considering the proposal, it sought the advice of professional underwater archaeologists.

The Anguillian government, particularly its Wrecks Committee, contacted the Maritime Studies Program at East Carolina University (ECU) and requested the organization perform a survey of the site. In 1996 several members from ECU and from the Maritime Archaeological and Historical Society (MAHS) of Washington, DC, traveled to the island and conducted a Phase I and II survey of the site of *El Buen Consejo*. Using remote sensing devices and underwater archaeological field methods, members of the 1996 Anguilla Shipwreck Survey mapped and measured the site, analyzed artifacts *in situ*, and noted the presence of a number of devotional medals scattered on the seabed and encrusted in coral (Figures 4-5).²⁷

While examining the site, archaeologists discovered two mounds of devotional medals in the proximity of what appeared to be the remains of packing boxes. Project Director and ECU Professor Bradley Rodgers noted, "[T]hough the wood of these boxes has disintegrated, it has been replaced with coral which retains the outlines of the original packing boxes. Indeed some of these goods are packed inside the coral boxes just as they would have been in the hold of the ship."²⁸ The find gives credence to the interpretation

²⁶Anguilla Maritime Research, Ltd., "A Preliminary Proposal."

²⁷Rodgers, "1996 Anguilla Shipwreck Survey," 8-9, 14-16. ECU's survey corroborated and verified the historical account of the wreck event.

²⁸*Ibid.*, 13.

that at least some of the four unidentified cargo boxes bound for Pachuca contained devotional medals.

In Anguilla, ECU examined religious medals stored at the headquarters of the Royal Anguillian Police Force (RAPF). The police had acquired scores of medals (see below), and ECU photographed several of the better-preserved objects (Figures 6-7). The roughly month-long survey concluded in October 1996, and shortly thereafter, ECU submitted its conclusions and recommendations to the Wrecks Committee. ECU determined that the site of *El Buen Consejo* was a valuable submerged cultural resource but one that did not lend itself to public access. The site is in a high-energy environment, and its artifacts laid exposed to theft. Archaeologists with the school, however, knew the government was considering AMR's proposal to create an underwater archaeological preserve, so they suggested that prior to opening the site to visitors, the government should order the professional excavation of all loose artifacts. Additionally, they recommended the conservation and curation of every object retrieved.²⁹

The government of Anguilla undoubtedly appreciated the efforts of ECU and MAHS, and in May 1997 it established a relationship with AMR. Over the next few years, AMR retrieved items from the wreck site.³⁰ Devotional medals were some of the most numerous objects excavated. Medals lying loose on the seabed and medals embedded in concretions were brought to the surface. These medals joined those already in police custody.

²⁹Ibid., 9, 33-35.

³⁰David Stevens, e-mail message to author, 15 March 2005.



Figure 4. *El Buen Consejo* Wreck Site³¹

³¹Rodgers, "1996 Anguilla Shipwreck Survey," 12.



Figure 5. Medal on Seabed³²



Figure 6. Artifacts in Police Custody³³

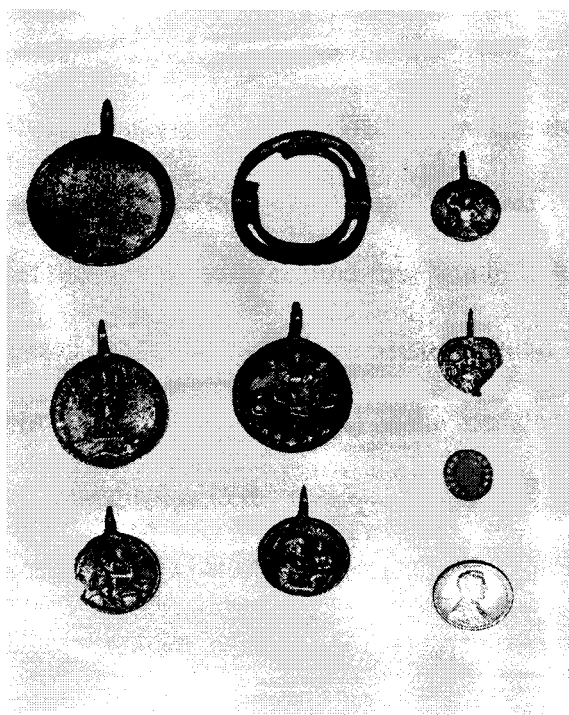


Figure 7. Detail of Police Station Medals³⁴

³²Photograph courtesy of Raymond Hayes, Jr.

³³Maritime Studies Program, East Carolina University, Greenville, NC.

³⁴Ibid.

At unspecified periods in 1994, individuals looted the site of *El Buen Consejo*. In 1995 the government of Anguilla issued a recall for all illegally collected objects; at least four individuals turned over artifacts. Items submitted included 275 artifacts and concretions that contained an untold number of objects. At least 175 medals were included in the items. The government, however, did not recover all artifacts taken illegally from the site. A number of Anguillian residents still hold medals and "an unknown number of medallions and possibly other artifacts remain in the hands of at least two private collectors off-island."³⁵

Items recovered by the police were housed in both wet and dry storage. In 1998 James Reedy, an archaeologist hired by AMR, cataloged the objects. In August 1999 the government granted AMR permission to remove the artifacts from the island for conservation. Hawk Tolsen, conservator for CMURM, concentrated his efforts on ninety-three medals.³⁶ Tolsen conserved this initial set of medals. AMR, however, submitted a much larger collection of medals, possibly around four hundred, to an additional conservator, Vermont-based conservation chemist Michèle Dubé Johnson.³⁷ After a lengthy conservation process, AMR returned most of the medals to the Anguillian government for their eventual display in the national museum.³⁸ Today, the wreck site of *El Buen Consejo* is a preserve, and visitors may access it by conducting business with a dive shop on the island.

³⁵Hawk Tolsen, "Conservation of Cupreous Religious Medallions From a Wreck Believed to be *El Buen Consejo*" (CMURM Technical Report No. 2000-01, 16 December 2000), 4-6.

³⁶*Ibid.*

³⁷Michèle Dubé Johnson's conservation report does not indicate the number of medals conserved. See "Conservation and Restoration Report: *El Buen Consejo* Medallions" (Anguilla Maritime Research, Ltd., 1 March 2001).

³⁸Anguilla has not started construction on its much-anticipated museum.

This examination began its analysis of *El Buen Consejo*'s devotional medals from photographs taken by ECU. A thorough documentation of all the medals, however, was necessary to give the analysis credence. In December 2004 Griffin Webster, president of the Anguilla Archaeological and Historical Society, and society associate Karim Hodge authorized an analysis of the medal collection. The medals are safely housed in the RAPF's vault, and AMR has stored the collection in four binders, with medals individually placed and taped down in numbered plastic sleeves. Reports describing the conservation processes accompany two of the binders.

On 23 December, Webster and Hodge, providing constant supervision, allowed the viewing, measuring, documenting, and photographing of the collection for approximately one and one-half hours. Under Hodge's supervision, the collection was viewed again on 24 December. After less than three hours, Hodge concluded the examination. Imposed time restraints, in conjunction with the large quantity of devotional medals and a limited period for research, prevented the full analysis of the collection.

There is not one complete set of photographs of *El Buen Consejo*'s medals. Several disparate sources have documented some of them, and it is from their data that this analysis conducts its research. Hawk Tolsen, the initial CMURM conservator hired by AMR, provided conservation photographs of nearly one hundred medals. David Stevens of AMR submitted personal photographs of some of the medals and provided access to Johnson's conservation report. Most photographs analyzed by this thesis derive from information obtained in Anguilla and from these three sources.

Additionally, on 22 December Colville Petty allowed the analysis of his representative collection of twelve devotional medals. The collection is on display at his house-based Anguilla Heritage Museum, and information from his medals appears in this analysis. Also included are the medals originally photographed during ECU's work on the island in 1996 and eight medals exhibited on the internet.³⁹

Evidence examined for this thesis, therefore, originates from a variety of sources. The presence of multiple sets of photographs from multiple, unrelated sources is a potential problem. This thesis, however, conducts a thorough iconographic analysis of the evidence by eliminating duplications through the detailed scrutiny of medal iconography, size, shape, and condition. The problems encountered when using partial sets of data illustrate the difficulties in working with artifacts recovered from sites excavated by groups not fully dedicated to archaeological fieldwork. AMR coordinated its operations with individuals educated as archaeologists, and, probably, the evaluation, documentation, and excavation of the site followed professional standards. Although the present condition of other excavated artifacts is unknown, AMR succeeded in having the medals conserved and keeping most of the collection intact. Where it failed, however, was in the documentation of the objects. Perhaps, the company lacked the funds or the incentive to photograph the entire collection. Nevertheless, its decision has severely limited this analysis, thus prohibiting the full analytical investigation that devotional medals deserve.

³⁹AMR had reproductions made of eight medals, and the gold and silver items are for sale through GemOptions Jewelry. See http://www.gemoptions.com/rel_consejoI.htm.

Information generated from this examination of *El Buen Consejo*'s devotional medals adds to the historical and archaeological record and identifies medals as valuable educational and diagnostic tools. Although today they are chiefly museum pieces, medals enable scholars to understand more about the systematic evangelization and missionization of Spanish America. From historical documents and archaeological evidence, it appears religious medals assisted in the conversion process. An examination of how the Franciscan Order spread Christianity to the Native Americans of the New World places medals in their proper historical context.

CHAPTER TWO

FRANCISCANS AND THEIR FOUR STEPS

In 1519, Hernando Cortés arrived in Mexico to conquer the land for Spain and its people for God. Seeing the mass of potential Christians and hoping to incite the methodical evangelization of New Spain, Cortés wrote to Spain requesting the Crown send "religious persons of saintly life" to commence the conversion process.¹ Within five years, the first large group of Franciscan missionaries arrived.² They were not the first friars in the Americas, however, for smaller numbers of Franciscans had accompanied Christopher Columbus on his voyages to the New World; the first few appeared in 1493. In the following years, additional friars arrived, and although the initial number was small, by the early 1500s, missionaries traveled throughout the Antilles. The first documented Franciscan reached the mainland of America during Columbus' fourth voyage in 1502-1503.³ Twenty-one years later, with the conquest of Mexico, the planned missionization of America began.

In 1524, twelve Franciscan friars, the "Twelve Apostles," landed in Veracruz to begin a conversion process that spanned over three centuries. By the mid-1850s, when the newly independent Mexican government began to assert control over missions in its

¹Fourth Letter, 15 October 1524. Hernando Cortés, *Five Letters, 1519-1526*, trans. J. Bayard Morris (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1962), 280.

²Robert Ricard, *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 21.

³Gomez Canedo, "Franciscans in the Americas: A Comprehensive View," in *Franciscan Presence in the Americas: Essays on the Activities of the Franciscan Friars in the Americas, 1492-1900*, ed. Francisco Morales, O.F.M., 5-45 (Washington, DC: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1983), 8-9; John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 579.

territories, Franciscan fathers had established hundreds of missions throughout Mexico, Central America, and the borderland regions of the western United States—California, Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico.⁴ While battling hostile native populations and their resistance to change and while confronting the threat of secularization, missionaries converted millions of Indians, thus spreading Christianity throughout the Americas.⁵ During the process, friars followed a pattern of missionization whereby missionaries used items like icons and devotional medals as tools of proselytization.

In the years immediately following the arrival of the twelve Franciscans of the Order of the Friars Minor (OFM) branch of the organization, Catholic religious orders, like the Dominicans, Augustinians, and Jesuits, arrived in New Spain. Franciscan missionaries, however, had the greatest influence over Native American populations. Between 1492 and 1820, 8,441 Franciscan friars arrived in the New World; it was more than any other order.⁶

Initially, the first twelve friars and their successors felt obliged to establish the Mexican church very quickly. As Native Americans became aware of the new religion, they, often without full understanding, desired inclusion in the faith and approached the missionaries *en masse*. Although some first-hand historical accounts of mass baptisms by authors like the sixteenth-century Franciscan Toribio de Motolinía are certain exaggerations, within a few years missionaries had converted a significant number of

⁴Franciscan missionaries also operated in La Florida (the southeastern United States) and in South America and the Caribbean. Although this thesis refers to the missions of La Florida, it focuses more heavily on Mexico and the Western borderlands.

⁵Secularization is the process of transferring control of missions from regular to secular clergy. Secular priests include those not affiliated with religious orders.

⁶Canedo, "Franciscans in the Americas," 6.

natives.⁷ Faced with so many candidates, missionaries first baptized the children, then addressed the adults assembled and informed them of “what they were to believe, what they were to abandon, and how they were to conduct themselves in matrimony.” Afterward, friars baptized each adult individually.⁸ This procedure was followed for most of the sixteenth century. During this period, catechismal instruction occurred infrequently.⁹

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, missionaries altered their evangelization techniques and focused their energies on religious education. Perhaps knowing that many natives baptized early in the mission process quickly reverted to former beliefs, fathers now required catechismal instruction for the converted and baptized. With many Native Americans still clinging to traditional beliefs, friars were forced to accept that full indoctrination was an extended process requiring missionaries provide neophytes with spiritual guidance and attention for generations.¹⁰

One problem faced by missionaries was the wide dispersal of Native American villages in inhospitable and almost inaccessible areas and mountainous regions. To facilitate their work, missionaries attempted to gather natives into centralized districts. The assemblage of natives into segregated areas eventually led to the establishment of the mission. First instituted in the mid-sixteenth century, missions evolved from the slowly

⁷Motolinía and others documented the conversion of millions of natives. See Ricard, *Spiritual Conquest*, 89.

⁸Toribio de Motolinía, *Motolinía's History of the Indians of New Spain*, trans. Francis B. Steck, O.F.M. (Washington, DC: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1951), 186.

⁹Ricard, *Spiritual Conquest*, 83.

¹⁰Canedo, “Franciscans in the Americas,” 21. Many scholars have debated the Indian adherence to Christianity. See Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, first American ed. (New York: Orion Press, 1965); Octavio Paz, *The Labyrinth of Solitude: Life and Thought in Mexico* (New York: Grove Press, 1962).

abandoned *encomienda* system.¹¹ Historian Herbert E. Bolton has written, "In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, on the expanding frontiers of Spanish America, missions became well-nigh universal." Although the success of missions varied, some eventually evolved into self-sustaining villages.¹²

Generally, missions consisted of at least a church and monastery (also known as a convent or friary), with neophytes living in a village nearby.¹³ To organize the mission, mission leaders divided the lands surrounding the establishment and allocated parcels for cultivation. As regards land cultivation, friars hoped to establish "an independent state of existence for themselves so far as food supplies were concerned." In anticipation of a food crisis, missionaries placed a high priority on amassing enough food stores to sustain those living under mission authority during periods of famine. Missionaries also assisted non-Christian natives during destitute years.¹⁴ Agricultural jobs were plentiful, but neophytes not working the land took other "civilizing" jobs in mission workshops.

Some missions became self-run economic centers of production. For example, in early nineteenth-century California missions, neophytes produced soap and saddles and made blankets and clothing from wool shorn from mission flocks. They also acted as carpenters, cabinetmakers, and blacksmiths. The mission retained a portion of the items to sustain its residents, but natives sold the remaining goods at presidios, fortified

¹¹Kieran McCarty, "Franciscans North from Mexico," in *Franciscan Presence in the Americas: Essays on the Activities of the Franciscan Friars in the Americas, 1492-1900*, ed. Francisco Morales, O.F.M., 237-260 (Washington, DC: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1983), 247.

¹²Herbert E. Bolton, "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish-American Colonies," *American Historical Review* 23 (1917): 43-45.

¹³*Ibid.*, 59. Some missions, especially in California, had neophyte housing within mission confines.

¹⁴Ross Gordon Montgomery, Watson Smith, and John Otis Brew, *Franciscan Awatovi: The Excavation and Conjectural Reconstruction of a 17th-Century Spanish Mission Establishment at a Hopi Indian Town in Northeastern Arizona* (Cambridge, MA: Peabody Museum, 1949), 213.

settlements with military contingents situated throughout the Spanish mission frontier.¹⁵ Missions and presidios were the most important frontier institutions, and their importance increased as other European empires began to encroach upon Spain's American territories. Additionally, missionaries often traded goods produced at the mission for supplies sold by merchant seamen and other traders.

After missionaries settled the interior of Mexico, the Franciscans and other Catholic orders worked their way up to the borderland regions of the present western United States.¹⁶ Franciscan friars established missions in Texas in 1690, in New Mexico in 1598, in Arizona in the seventeenth century, and finally in California in 1769.¹⁷ Early Franciscan missionaries answered to institutions in Europe, but by the time friars had reached the edges of Mexico and the borderland regions of the United States, they served as emissaries of Apostolic Colleges of the Propagation of the Faith. Located throughout Mexico, these colleges received, trained, and dispatched missionaries and acted as intermediaries between Spain and its colonies. Until the last years of the eighteenth century, apostolic colleges were subject to a crown-appointed commissary general of the Indies who directly controlled these institutions and, thus, the missionaries assigned to

¹⁵Herbert Howe Bancroft, *History of California*, vol. 2, 1801-1824 (San Francisco: History Company, 1886), 175.

¹⁶During this spread north, missionaries operated missions throughout the Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina areas of La Florida. Although friars established the missions of La Florida in the mid-sixteenth century, by 1704, British forces and their Native American allies had destroyed the majority of them. Four years later, only St. Augustine remained (Moises Sandoval, "The Church among the Hispanics in the United States," in *The Church in Latin America: 1492-1992*, ed. Enrique Dussel, 230-242 (Kent, England: Burns and Oates, 1992), 234).

¹⁷Sandoval, "Church among Hispanics," 232.

them. The commissary general was a member of the Madrid based Council of the Indies that controlled Spain's affairs in its colonies.¹⁸

Missionaries principally desired to secure the hearts and minds of Native Americans for God and the Catholic Church; the Spanish government, on the other hand, viewed its messengers as agents of pacification and civilization. Missionaries acted as arms of the government with missions serving as agents of the church and state. The Spanish government designed mission outposts not only as Christian educational centers, but also as centers of control. Gathering natives into villages, friars monitored their activity and helped squelch rebellious behavior. Soldiers often assisted missionaries with the task, as each mission maintained a few for protection.

Missions also served as schools for the advancement of a civilized frontier.¹⁹ Faced with an inadequate number of Spanish colonists and an incredibly large frontier, Spain hoped its priests could colonize its territory through the civilization of the natives. According to Spanish authorities, missionaries would serve as spiritual guides, teachers, and disciplinarians.²⁰ Although the Spanish crown and colonial administrators viewed missionaries as "part of a master plan to conquer not only the natural resources of the territory but also the hearts, minds, and muscles of its native inhabitants," priests "seem to have been genuinely inspired to gather souls for Christ."²¹

¹⁸Diego Miguel Bringas, O.F.M., *Friar Bringas Reports to the King*, trans. and eds. Daniel S. Matson and Bernard L. Fontana (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977), 11; Kieran McCarty, "Apostolic Colleges of the Propagation of the Faith--Old and New World Background," *The Americas* 19 (1962): 54.

¹⁹Bolton, "Frontier Institution," *AHR* 23 (1917): 47.

²⁰*Ibid.*, 52.

²¹Brent R. Weisman, *Excavations on the Franciscan Frontier: Archaeology at the Fig Springs Mission* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1992), 163.

After the establishment of missions in the mid-sixteenth century and until Mexico asserted authority over Spanish American missions around the mid-1800s, the Franciscans and other Catholic religious orders followed a four-step process of missionization. The steps correspond with the level of education, spirituality, and civilization held or exhibited by Native Americans. The four phases were *entrada* or pre-mission, conversion, doctrinal education, and secularization.

The initial stage of missionization was the pre-mission or *entrada* phase. At this time, missionaries scouted out the proposed mission area, attempted to establish relationships with local inhabitants, and determined if the area suited the development of a mission outpost. If the location was too unstable or inhospitable, the fathers considered moving the natives to areas that were more favorable.²² Historian Charles Polzer has noted that missionaries operating during the *entrada* phase attempted to cajole natives into inviting the establishment of a mission. It was a "means to attract the Indians to cooperative activities ultimately controlled by the Spaniards." Missionaries practiced a form of "social seduction" by establishing political relationships and distributing material goods.²³

During this phase, missionaries hoped to interest Native Americans with gifts of Spanish goods and with religious images. Anthropologist David H. Thomas has described the practices of missionaries participating in the *entrada* phase: "The priests deliberately emphasized the symbolic trappings of Catholicism during these initial encounters [with

²²Charles W. Polzer, *Rules and Precepts of Jesuit Missions of Northwestern New Spain* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1976), 47.

²³*Ibid.*, 49.

indigenous populations], ever conscious of the lasting impression they were making: their distinctive garb, the sacred images, the ubiquitous crosses, the paintings, the statuary.”²⁴

Priests illustrated the benefits of conversion by connecting Christianity and Catholicism to material goods. Building on the Native American tradition of gift expectation and exchange, missionaries presented natives with gifts to pacify them, to introduce them to the Christian faith, and to entice conversions. European items such as beads and trinkets and pieces of clothing, hardtack, and other foods comprised the majority of cherished goods.²⁵ When California’s legendary Franciscan missionary, Junípero Serra, investigated Alta California for possible mission locations, he principally relied upon gifts of food and clothing.²⁶ These gifts comprised the majority of items distributed throughout California during the *entrada* phase. For example, several California missionaries wrote that they could not win over native populations without an adequate supply of food and clothing. When fed and clothed, natives “gradually acquire a knowledge of what is spiritually good and evil.”²⁷ During this phase, priests may have also distributed inexpensively made crosses.

The second or conversion phase began once a Native American group acquiesced to mission establishment. During this stage, fathers collaborated with natives in the allocation of common lands and the division of labor. Missionaries relied upon natives to construct the mission’s church and other buildings, and undoubtedly, this construction

²⁴David Hurst Thomas, “Saints and Soldiers at Santa Catalina,” in *The Recovery of Meaning*, ed. Mark Leone and Parker Potter, Jr., 73-140 (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988), 117.

²⁵Polzer, *Rules and Precepts*, 47; Weisman, *Fig Springs*, 7.

²⁶Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M, trans., *Palóu’s Life of Fray Junípero Serra* (Washington, DC: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955). See especially Serra’s exploratory journeys in the Californias.

²⁷Geiger, *Junípero Serra*, 232.

probably occurred in the early stages of the conversion phase. Additionally, during this second period, missionaries organized the mission complex and instituted a schedule of activities, including religious services and spirituality lessons.²⁸

To entice pagan natives to the newly established mission, friars accelerated their gift giving. When Franciscans Fray Diego Ximénez and Fray Joaquín Baños sought to attract Native Americans to their new mission, they distributed clothing, hats, tobacco, raw sugar, maize, axes, shafts, and plowshares.²⁹ Tools acted not only as enticements to Christianity, but also as technical marvels that friars hoped would encourage natives to till the lands recently allotted. Although Native Americans valued tools, tobacco was the most sought-after gift.³⁰ Unsure of the depth of natives' spirituality, missionaries probably withheld expensive items of personal religious expression, like religious medals, until the third stage of missionization when they believed Native Americans were more fully dedicated to Christianity.

Often, gifts failed to secure the adult Native Americans' trust; therefore, missionaries frequently first missionized children. In Mexico, friars reached out to the *gente baja* (lower class) and to the sons of the native aristocracy. Youths acted as the "surest and most active helpers in the work of evangelization."³¹ By educating children about the Catholic faith, friars hoped the youths would spread the Christian message to

²⁸Polzer, *Rules and Precepts*, 50.

²⁹George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, trans., *Apostolic Chronicle of Juan Domingo Arricivita: The Franciscan Mission Frontier in the Eighteenth Century in Arizona, Texas, and the Californias* (Berkeley: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1996), 2:76.

³⁰Kieran McCarty, O.F.M., *A Spanish Frontier in the Enlightened Age: Franciscan Beginnings in Sonora and Arizona, 1767-1770* (Washington, DC: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1981), 71.

³¹Ricard, *Spiritual Conquest*, 98-99.

their parents and to other local inhabitants hesitant to join the mission. The practice worked, for as missions evolved, the number of converts increased.

The third or doctrinal phase of missionization centered on the evangelization and education of the Native Americans. Missionaries worked to "instill doctrinal integrity" into their flocks of new converts.³² Friars referred to mission natives by several different names: converts, neophytes, and catechumens. Historical references defined these terms differently; therefore, it is difficult to reach a consensus on the exact stage of conversion to which authors refer. For clarity, this examination concludes that converted natives were those willing to accept the establishment of a mission. Catechumens received instruction in the mysteries necessary for salvation and baptism, and neophyte Native Americans underwent further catechismal instruction on the "essence and worth of the sacraments and the necessary preparation to receive them."³³

The conversion process was slow and painstaking, and those who advanced to the neophyte level generally remained there indefinitely. Technically, neophytes could advance to a final level of conversion where church leaders considered them fully formed Christians, ready to be participating members of the church.³⁴ Their elevation in the church stopped there, however, for Native Americans could not train for the priesthood.³⁵ Missionaries were wary of secularization, when mission management changed from regular to secular clergy, and they feared the reversion of natives to traditional

³²Polzer, *Rules and Precepts*, 51.

³³Hammond and Rey, *Arricivita*, 1:314.

³⁴David H. Thomas, *St. Catherines: An Island in Time* (Atlanta: Georgia Humanities Council, 1988), 53.

³⁵David Sweet, "The Ibero-American Frontier Mission in Native American History," in *The New Latin American Mission History*, eds. Erick Langer and Robert H. Jackson, 1-48 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 28.

practices.³⁶ Also, friars were not willing to release their students to be equals among Spaniards and creoles living in the mainly non-Christianized lands outside the mission; therefore, missionaries held their students at the neophyte level for as long as possible. To accommodate different Christian education levels, friars probably gave natives the opportunity to advance to progressively higher stages of neophyte status.

The church did not initially require catechismal training for baptismal candidates, but some early missions made the training a necessity. For instance, religious historian Michael Gannon has noted that in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, natives converted by Franciscan friars in La Florida did not receive "baptism until they had undergone a long and thorough preparation as *catecumenos*, or initiates."³⁷ In La Florida, therefore, missionaries did not rush or coerce Native Americans into the church. Such was not the case at all Catholic missions.

A number of mission records documented punishments meted out to natives. Historian David Sweet has noted, "Indians were frequently persuaded or even required, at least as a survival strategy, to accept the Catholic rite of baptism."³⁸ In California, the Franciscans of Mission Santa Barbara employed shackles, the lash, and stocks. Natives incurred these punishments when they ran away and missed Mass and work and when they were caught having intercourse.³⁹ Although records have not indicated if

³⁶As opposed to secular clergy, regular clergy consisted of friars associated with the Catholic orders.

³⁷Michael V. Gannon, *The Cross in the Sand: The Early Catholic Church in Florida, 1573-1870* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1965), 55.

³⁸Sweet, "The Ibero-American Frontier Mission," 44.

³⁹Edith Buckland Webb, *Indian Life at the Old Missions* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1952), 49.

missionaries forced neophytes into converting or if friars or Spanish soldiers administered the punishments, both practices may have taken place.

When historical documents referred to the conversion process, they varied considerably. Research has uncovered only one Franciscan reference to specific periods required for pre-baptismal instruction. According to Friar Pedro Font, Native Americans of Mission San Gabriel in California had two or three months of instruction before receiving baptism.⁴⁰ The period seems unusually long; thus, it probably represents a mistake or an anomaly. Polzer has referred to Jesuit instruction lasting a minimum of eight days, but the majority of Franciscan chroniclers have not indicated that missionaries of their order required such a lengthy period.⁴¹ Once baptized, Native Americans underwent a second, longer phase of instruction that focused on the "basic theology behind Penance and the Eucharist before [they] could receive these sacraments."⁴²

Generally, throughout the missions of Spanish America, especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, missionaries waited to baptize converts until natives requested the ceremony. Often, as friars reconnoitered possible mission sites and as they introduced local inhabitants to the general rudiments of Christianity, natives requested baptism. Unless those encountered were dying and in need of immediate absolution, friars refused the rite until the natives received a modicum of instruction. Even though baptisms in the seventeenth century should have accompanied a period of religious instruction, missionaries, at times, acted in the best interest of the faith, often in

⁴⁰Francisco Garcés, *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer: The Diary and Itinerary of Francisco Garcés*, trans. and ed. Elliott Coues (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1900), 1:262.

⁴¹Polzer, *Rules and Precepts*, 42-43.

⁴²Gannon, *Cross in the Sand*, 55.

opposition to religious tenets. For example, in the early seventeenth century, Franciscan Fray Alonso de Benavides, missionizing beyond mission confines and among the Navajo of New Mexico, conducted a mass baptism of ten thousand people. Benavides did offer the natives several days of instruction, but it occurred after their baptism.⁴³

The church deemed post-baptismal education necessary because, as noted above, depending on the friar, many received the rite with little instruction. Given only the fundamentals of Christianity and then subsequently baptized, the majority of Native Americans lacked the deep spirituality needed to sustain their faith indefinitely. To build and enhance these peoples' beliefs, missionaries taught the catechism to children and adults. Catechismal education ensured that natives "knew the rudiments of Christian belief and devotional practice."⁴⁴ Candidates responded *en masse* to Catholic prayers such as Our Father, the Salve Regina, and Hail Mary, studied the founding principles of the Christian faith, and learned advanced aspects of the faith, like the Beatitudes and the lives of the saints.⁴⁵ Beyond the doctrinal phase and catechismal instruction lay the fourth and final step of missionization: secularization.

Episcopal authorities viewed the frontier mission as a temporary establishment, and the general strategy was to convert native populations as quickly as possible. Ideally and according to the episcopate, missions would remain in regular hands until priests could fully indoctrinate neophytes and until natives were civilized enough for secular control and for living amongst and competing against Spanish colonists. Once a mission

⁴³Alonso de Benavides, *A Harvest of Reluctant Souls: The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides, 1630*, trans. and ed. Baker H. Morrow (Niwot, CO: University Press of Colorado, 1996), 82-83.

⁴⁴Polzer, *Rules and Precepts*, 51.

⁴⁵*Ibid*, 51-52.

reached this fourth stage, the local bishop assumed control over the mission and replaced regular friars with secular clergy. Secular clergy consisted of priests not affiliated with religious orders but subject to episcopal authorities such as bishops and archbishops.⁴⁶ Historian Hubert H. Bancroft has written, "In theory it was the duty of the missionaries to convert and instruct the natives, fit them for citizenship, and finally turn them over to the care of the [secular] clergy."⁴⁷ With secular priests established at the missions, the regular clergy were to continue spreading Christianity and civility to new pagan frontiers.⁴⁸

Although the episcopate viewed secularization as a natural step in the conversion process, missionaries thought their establishments could not and should not reach this stage. Priests believed that no matter how closely neophytes followed Catholicism and the routine of mission life and how perfectly they mimicked civilized behavior, Native Americans only tenuously clung to Christianity. Additionally, friars believed natives did not possess a high enough state of ingrained spirituality and doctrinal knowledge to live under secular control, beyond the strict routine and rigorous requirements of the mission. When forced to turn missions over to seculars, missionaries never gave them up without a struggle.⁴⁹ Generally, missionaries only did so when episcopal authorities forced their supporting apostolic colleges into submission.

The issue of secularization was a divisive subject, and one that bishops and governing officials and missionaries continually contested; the controversy began in the decades shortly following entry of the religious orders into New Spain, and it continued

⁴⁶Geiger, *Junípero Serra*, 351.

⁴⁷Bancroft, *California*, 399.

⁴⁸Bolton, "Frontier Institution," *AHR* 23 (1917): 46.

⁴⁹Bancroft, *California*, 399.

throughout the entire period of Spanish colonization.⁵⁰ Secularization not only involved the transfer of control from regular to secular priests, but also it involved the Spanish government's reduction of mission lands to private ownership and placement of neophytes under civil authority. Additionally, when the original mission village dissolved, the government required its new citizens, Native American neophytes, to pay tithes. Not consistently implemented throughout Spanish America, secularization influenced the missions of Mexico more significantly than it did those in the borderlands.

Because government officials had a financial stake in secularization and because mission leaders paternalized their relationships with native populations, members on each side of the secularization debate fervently voiced their concerns. Secular supporters justified the process on a number of grounds. For instance, bishops complained about the increasing power of missionaries who, they thought, often sought to establish themselves independently from episcopal control. Seculars answered directly to the episcopate; therefore, bishops hoped secularization would bring the episcopate greater control over missions. In addition, the episcopate argued that inadequate numbers of regular clergy could not properly tend to the millions of potential Christians.⁵¹

On the opposite side of the argument were missionaries who worried secularization would subject their neophytes to negative influences. According to mission leaders, the archbishops and bishops of New Spain saw secularization chiefly as an opportunity to draw income from thousands of Christianized Native Americans living

⁵⁰The controversy possibly reached its height after 1767 when Spain expelled the Jesuit Order from its territories. After the Jesuit expulsion, Franciscan friars were the chief group to replace Jesuit missionaries, and it was at the height of this transition that the missionaries aboard *El Buen Consejo* were traveling to Mexico. It is likely that they were to replace Jesuit friars.

⁵¹Ricard, *Spiritual Conquest*, chapter 15.

under mission control. Unlike many regular clerics, secular priests accepted income and received payment through tithes. Missionaries associated with mendicant orders, like the Franciscans, rejected wealth and felt that a tithe to seculars could deter natives' adherence to Catholicism. Friars also worried that seculars were deficient priests who lacked knowledge of Latin and native languages, failed to teach the Catholic doctrine as rigorously as regulars did, and let personal needs and desires sway them more than the advancement of the Catholic faith.⁵² Missionaries also feared that with secular clergy in control of missions, natives would be more susceptible to the immoral lifestyle of the Spanish colonists who resided in the lands just beyond mission settlements.

Regulars fiercely resisted secularization, yet the 1686 apostolic bull of Pope Innocent XI forced many missions run by apostolic colleges to turn missions over to secular priests.⁵³ The bull, only sporadically followed, affected the missions of central Mexico more than those operating in the borderlands. Although the bull stipulated transfer of power into secular hands, apostolic colleges like San Fernando resisted the change for an indefinite period.

For example, in the late 1760s, Archbishop Don Francisco Antonio Lorenzana asked the College of San Fernando to turn over five Franciscan missions in the Sierra Gorda region of Querétaro. The missions appeared ready for secularization because they were in an advanced state of missionization, illustrated by well-controlled Native Americans. According to historian Maynard Geiger's interpretation of Palóu, the college

6. ⁵²Bringas, *Friar Bringas*, 10; Ricard, *Spiritual Conquest*, chapter 15; Polzer, *Rules and Precepts*,

⁵³Geiger, *Junípero Serra*, 35, 351.

resisted turning the missions over until it believed the need for missionaries to replace the Jesuit missions of California outweighed the need to keep its missions in regular hands. When Spain, affected not only by fiscal restraints but also by the French Enlightenment, expelled the Jesuits from its territories in Europe, Asia, and America in 1767, apostolic colleges struggled to fill the missions with Franciscan friars.⁵⁴

With a shortage of available missionaries in Spanish America and with small numbers of friars arriving from Europe, San Fernando and other colleges felt the vacant Jesuit missions required immediate attention. Consequently, San Fernando withdrew its friars from the five missions, surrendering the establishments to secular control. At the point of turnover in 1770, the five missions, founded in 1744, had excelled, according to the episcopate, to a point thought suitable for the change. Undoubtedly, had the college not needed its missionaries for Californian endeavors, it would have continued its resistance to secularization. Under secular control, the missions of Sierra Gorda fell to ruin.⁵⁵

Though less affected by the threat of secularization, missionaries in the borderland regions of Spanish America vigorously fought the process. Like the friars in Mexico, borderland missionaries closely bonded with their neophytes, often associating their relationship to that of parent and child; thus, borderland missionaries had valid fears of secularization. Learning the fate of many secularized Mexican missions, borderland priests knew the process often ruined well-established institutions. Writing between 1796

⁵⁴Bringas, *Friar Bringas*, 17; McCarty, *Spanish Frontier*, 1.

⁵⁵Geiger, *Junipero Serra*, 35-36, 352-353. Geiger has failed to mention how quickly the missions fell to ruin except to say that ruin befell them upon Franciscan relinquishment.

and 1797, the Franciscan friar Diego Miguel Bringas voiced his fear of secularization. Aware secularization threatened its Pimería Alta missions located on the border of Arizona and Mexico, stretching east to Tucson and west to the Colorado River, the College of Santa Cruz de Querétaro sent Bringas to its mission outposts to act as both father visitor, to report on mission activity, and as friar.⁵⁶

Writing to the king about the secularized state of several missions in the region, Bringas said, "The Indians, Señor, are incapable of governing themselves for many years after their conversion. They are always children.... These missions, Señor, are not now the same ones which the regulars who have been expelled founded except for the material sites on which they are located." Bringas added that although the missions had existed for many years, the native population was still in the second, conversion stage of missionization. He concluded, "Of what importance is it, then, that these missions have been here for more than a hundred years while their population has the characteristics of one that is barely ten years old?"⁵⁷ Bringas hoped his report would protect the remaining non-secularized Pimería Alta missions from secular control.

Even though some missionaries probably exaggerated the nascent state of their missions, their fear of secularization was valid. Historical references have described the effects of the process. Generally, the mission system collapsed, with Native American communities reverting to "earlier forms of social organization" or being "exterminated by exploitation."⁵⁸ Numerous historical accounts refer to the disasters that befell secularized

⁵⁶Bringas, *Friar Bringas*, 3.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, 57.

⁵⁸Polzer, *Rules and Precepts*, 53-54.

missions. Sweet has written, "There appears to be no single instance in which an ex-mission Indian frontier population succeeded in retaining its local economic and administrative autonomy for more than a few years after the secularization of missions and the departure of their missionary managers."⁵⁹ Generally, seculars did not maintain the rigorous schedule of religious services and mission activities implemented by regulars. Additionally, seculars did not share the parent/child bond that regulars had with natives. With little encouragement to remain under mission control, many natives severed ties with missions, and missions dissolved. Secularization, therefore, had detrimental effects on the mission community and on Native American indoctrination, advancement, and livelihood.

Although regulars fiercely resisted the final stage of missionization, missionaries, especially in Mexico, could not oppose it. Historian Serge Gruzinski has noted that in 1813, out of 715 parishes of the dioceses of Mexico, Puebla, Valladolid, and Oaxaca, only 23 remained under regulars' control.⁶⁰ In central Mexico, the area located closest to Spanish episcopal authority, the episcopate accomplished secularization; yet, in the borderlands the process never took hold, as most missions stayed in regular hands.⁶¹ Most frequently, historians have attributed secularization's limited success in northwestern Spanish America to the Spanish government's inability to pay seculars' salaries.⁶² Already poverty-stricken, many secular priests rejected mission placement. For example, secular priests did not appear in New Mexico until 1798, and only two ever operated in

⁵⁹Sweet, "The Ibero-American Frontier Mission," 21.

⁶⁰Serge Gruzinski, *The Conquest of Mexico*, trans. Eileen Corrigan (Cambridge, England: Polity Press, 1993), 265.

⁶¹Polzer, *Rules and Precepts*, 14.

⁶²Bringas, *Friar Bringas*, 14.

Texas. Additionally, the twenty-one missions of California saw their first secular priests after 1840.⁶³

Throughout Spain's efforts to Christianize the Native Americans of Spanish America, missionaries played a primary role. The first to establish contact with native populations, Catholic friars attracted individuals to the faith and to mission living through material goods, food, and iconographic images. After early missionaries conducted mass baptisms in the sixteenth century, most changed their evangelizing techniques to require a period of religious instruction prior to administering the rite of baptism. Utilizing a four-step process of missionization, friars happily led their students through the first three stages, *entrada*, conversion, and doctrinal education, while they fiercely resisted stage four. Often paternalizing their relationship to mission members, friars feared and resisted secularization. Between the early sixteenth- and mid-nineteenth centuries, after battling to retain their missions, Spanish missionaries, especially those of the Franciscan Order, effected the conversion of millions of people, thus establishing Christianity as the dominant faith of Mexico and North America.

Throughout the missionization of Spanish America, friars depended upon proselytizing tools. Religious images like paintings, icons, and devotional medals helped missionaries educate natives about the rudiments of Christianity and assisted friars in the spread of Catholicism. Presumably, the medals of *El Buen Consejo* were to function similarly. Decorated with a variety of religious images important to the church, devotional medals evolved from several diverse sources, both religious and secular.

⁶³Sandoval, "Church among Hispanics," 235.

Iconography featured on medals generally derives from church sanctioned themes and religious art. Early items depicted simple designs, but by the period of *El Buen Consejo*, medals evolved into pieces of art. Devotional medals, therefore, have a long and varied history.

CHAPTER THREE

EVOLUTION AND ICONOGRAPHY OF DEVOTIONAL MEDALS

Devotional medals are usually coin-shaped metal items produced to commemorate people, historical events, places, sacred ideas, and personal graces significant to the Catholic Church. Decorated with figures, motifs, and/or inscriptions, devotional medals are either struck or cast.¹ Historians have described members of early Middle Age societies wearing items similar to modern religious medals like those analyzed in this thesis. Yet devotional medals as presently recognized were unavailable to the general public until around the mid-sixteenth century.² Renowned medalists of the late medieval and early Renaissance periods, such as Pisanello, produced medal masterpieces for statesmen, artists, scholars, and prosperous merchants. These medals, although aesthetically similar to devotional medals, were predominantly imprinted with secular images.³ Modern religious medals, therefore, evolved from a variety of religious and secular sources.

The concept of owning and carrying metal disk-like objects with special spiritual meaning gained popularity by at least the twelfth century. In Europe, many well-known pilgrimage sites such as Assisi, Italy, cast lead tokens and hat badges to provide pilgrims

¹Herbert Thurston, "Devotional Medals," in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 10 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1911), 111. Medals have two faces, obverse and reverse. There is no particular method to determine which side deserves which determination, but typically, the obverse features the more prominent image.

²Kathleen Deagan, *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies of Florida and the Caribbean, 1500-1800*, vol. 2, *Portable Personal Possessions* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2002), 41; P. F. Mulhern, "Medals, Religious," in *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 9 (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), 547.

³Mark Salton, *The Salton Collection: Renaissance and Baroque Medals and Plaquettes* (Brunswick, ME: Bowdoin College Museum of Art, 1969).

with souvenirs and rewards for their spiritual achievement. Stamped with crude religious images and worn prominently on the hat, chest, or around the neck, *pilgrims' signs* also served as devotional stimuli.⁴ Deagan has stated, "They were extremely popular and widely used during the later Middle Ages."⁵ In addition to *pilgrim signs*, *plaquettes* were small badges cast or struck with mythological, historical or biblical scenes, legends of saints, and allegories. Developed in Italy in the fifteenth century, *plaquettes* remained popular through the mid-seventeenth century.⁶

Building on the popularity of these religiously themed items, Italian artisans of the early Renaissance produced medals for commemorative purposes. Although dedicated more toward secular rather than spiritual themes, the medals possessed marked religious overtones. Initially, medalists preferred to cast their works; even though it was a costlier form of production, casting imposed fewer artistic restrictions on medalists than striking imposed.⁷ Medalists typically worked in bronze or its related alloys, but around the mid-sixteenth century, artisans also produced items in gold and silver.⁸ Too expensive for the average citizen to possess, medals remained items for the wealthy and thus had a limited distribution.⁹

In the last years of the fifteenth century, "there was a change in medallic style." Several Italian medalists experimented with striking medals from engraved dies. The

⁴Thurston, "Medals," 112.

⁵Deagan, *Artifacts*, 42.

⁶Ibid.; Andrea S. Norris and Ingrid Weber, *Medals and Plaquettes from the Molinari Collection at Bowdoin College* (Brunswick, ME: College Press, 1976), 97.

⁷Of striking, author Mark Salton has written, "Medallic art, formerly so intimately associated with sculpture and even painting, did not benefit from this more mechanical process." *The Salton Collection*.

⁸Salton, *The Salton Collection*.

⁹Thurston, "Medals," 113.

process was similar to that used in striking coins, and in contrast to casting, it was a much more affordable method of production. Soon thereafter, medalists began producing items more often in brass, lead, and pewter.¹⁰ Eventually, medal manufacturing facilities mass produced the items, and the majority of medals found on New World Spanish colonial sites appear mass produced and of cupreous material. Sixteenth-century manufacturing techniques, therefore, brought about a transformation in the availability and popularity of medals.

The modern devotional medal first appeared during the 1566 Gueux revolt of Flanders when the Gueux faction used medals as badges. Countering, the Spanish struck a medal that granted an indulgence from Pope Pius V to all who wore it in their hats. The medal bore the head of Christ and an image of Our Lady of Hal. Pius V's precedent of blessing and often embellishing medals with indulgences became accepted practice with succeeding papal rulers.¹¹ With papal backing and with affordable production, the popularity of devotional medals quickly spread, and citizens throughout Europe supported their use.¹²

After Gueux, medalists designed devotional medals with religious themes, often commemorative in nature. Medals produced today share some of the same iconography. Medals often bear images of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and saints; they also feature religious events, places like shrines, and doctrinal realities such as the mystery of the Blessed Eucharist. Medals fall under the category of sacramentals, or religious objects

¹⁰Salton, *The Salton Collection*.

¹¹An indulgence is "a remission of the temporal punishment due to sin, the guilt of which has been forgiven." *Catholic Encyclopedia*, "Indulgences," <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/07783a.htm> (accessed March 2005).

¹²Thurston, "Medals," 114.

under the church's control. To ensure that medals maintain a high quality and that they accurately represent Catholic doctrine, the church certifies the iconography and orders medals be made of a hard, nonperishable material.¹³

Certain iconography is associated with favors; for example, believers may wear a St. Christopher medal while traveling because many Catholics believe the saint intercedes on behalf of those on journeys. A priest or, as in the past, the pope, blesses medals "with a prayer intended to obtain a favor from God through the intercession of the person represented on the medal."¹⁴ As noted above, some medals do not bear images of individuals; undoubtedly, priests bless these in a similar manner. Although all medals are blessed, some carry "indulgences that apply throughout the Church." Some of these include the Miraculous Medal and the medals of the Christ Child, Our Lady of Guadalupe, St. Benedict, and St. Bernard.¹⁵ Medals, therefore, are sacred objects that "depend fundamentally on the dispositions of the user and the consecrating prayers of the Church." They "contribute to the fullness of Catholic life ... by continually encouraging prayer and habits of piety which need continual stimulation."¹⁶

The images featured on devotional medals are full of symbolic meaning.¹⁷ Some symbols depicted in saints' medals are straightforward. For example, the mitre (liturgical headdress) and crozier (pastoral staff) usually represent someone who held or rejected the

¹³P.F. Mulhern, "Medals, Religious," in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 9 (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), 547.

¹⁴Deagan, *Artifacts*, 43.

¹⁵Mulhern, "Medals, Religious," 549.

¹⁶J. Franklin Ewing, "The Religious Medals," in *Franciscan Awatovi: The Excavation and Conjectural Reconstruction of a 17th-Century Spanish Mission Establishment at a Hopi Indian Town in Northeastern Arizona*, Ross Gordon Montgomery, Watson Smith, and John Otis Brew (Cambridge, MA: Peabody Museum, 1949), 101-103.

¹⁷Inscriptions and symbols may refer to ideas and beliefs beyond those described in extant sources. This thesis, however, is unaware of any hidden meanings and has uncovered no references to them.

position of bishop, archbishop, deacon, or abbot (Figure 8).¹⁸ Conversely, some symbols have multiple meanings, with many iconographic images corresponding to one or more individual or idea. The iconography of one medal from *El Buen Consejo* has at least fifteen different symbols, all with multiple meanings (Figure 9). In this case, Christ's Passion is the one theme that ties all the symbols together.

Medals often feature inscriptions that identify their overall themes and that assist with the interpretation process. When medals lack inscriptions or when their words are vague, however, scholars must rely upon books identifying religious imagery and upon conjecture.¹⁹ Today, as in the past, inscriptions appear fairly often and run along a medal's inside edge. Inscriptions usually relate to the image depicted, yet some are ambiguous. For example, the inscription *Nuestra Señora del Risco* (Our Lady of the Crag) generally accompanies an image of Mary and the Christ Child. One medal from *El Buen Consejo*, however, pairs the inscription with an image of the Pietà, Mary's lamentation over the dead body of Christ (Figure 10). As regards saints, typically religious medals featuring them not only bear attributes associated with the saint, such as a palm frond indicating martyrdom, but also bear a corresponding inscription. Thus, with the inscription S HIERONM, a scholar can more easily identify St. Jerome, for Jerome's name is the Latin derivative of Hieronymos.

Before the eighteenth century, medalists usually crafted inscriptions in Latin; during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, however, devotional medals also appeared

¹⁸George Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), 96, 100.

¹⁹See Arthur de Bles, *How to Distinguish the Saints in Art* (New York: Art Culture, 1925); Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols*; Rosa Giorgi, *Saints in Art* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2002).

with inscriptions in at least Spanish, Italian, and French. Medals with scenes of events sometimes lack inscriptions, thus complicating their interpretation. At times, however, medalists featured an image on the obverse and its corresponding inscription on the reverse (Figure 11). These long inscriptions usually assist in the identification of the medal's iconography, but some highly abbreviated inscriptions only hinder the interpretation process.

Between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, Catholics had the option of wearing devotional medals several different ways. Loops, generally set perpendicular to the medal, allowed the items to hang around the neck on a chain or necklace either by themselves or with multiple medals. Wearers could also attach them to clothing or make them part of rosaries. Expensive necklace medals, those of gold and silver and usually worn by wealthier individuals, "were sometimes set into frames."²⁰

With the initial spread of modern religious medals, medal production facilities stood in large Catholic cities like Rome. By the seventeenth century, however, the increased demand for medals allowed their manufacture in Catholic capitals throughout Europe.²¹ Their popularity reached such heights that during this period "every city in Europe had its craftsmen in this work."²² Deagan has supported this statement but has added, "[M]edals found on Spanish colonial sites dating between 1575 and 1800 ... were apparently produced most often in Spain or in Rome."²³

²⁰Deagan, *Artifacts*, 43-46.

²¹Ibid., 42; Thurston, "Medals," 114.

²²Ewing, "Religious Medals," 105.

²³Deagan, *Artifacts*, 46.



Figure 8. St. Placidus with Mitre and Croiser²⁴



Figure 9. Passion of Christ Medal²⁵

²⁴Elizabeth Whitfield, photo courtesy Anguilla Archaeological and Historical Society.

²⁵Anguilla Maritime Research, Ltd., Anguilla, B.W.I.



Figure 10. Pietà with Spanish Inscription²⁶



Figure 11. Unidentified Inscription²⁷

²⁶CMURM photo by Hawk Tolsen.

²⁷Elizabeth Whitfield, courtesy of Anguilla Archaeological and Historical Society.

Although Italy had far more medal manufacturing facilities than other European countries, Spain produced a number of the objects, and some of the medals found on *El Buen Consejo* were likely fashioned there.²⁸ Throughout the colonization of Spanish America, medal production mainly remained in Europe. Medals probably were never regularly produced in the American colonies. Yet Mexican craftsmen may have produced them as early as the late eighteenth century because some scholars believe the first die cutter arrived in Mexico City around 1767.²⁹ Evidence for European production appears in the historical and archaeological record. According to Deagan, after 1592, medals, priced by the gross, appeared in Spanish shipping records of vessels sailing between Cádiz and the New World.³⁰ Additionally, the archaeological discovery of shipments of medals found on eighteenth-century ships bound for New Spain, such as *El Buen Consejo*, supports the lack of colonial production. Archaeologists have not discovered medal shipments on the remains of Europe-bound Spanish vessels.³¹

Historical documents verify the popularity of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century devotional medals. Often, to announce and popularize the canonization of a new saint, the church ordered the striking of medals adorned with the saint's image. For example, in 1767, when the church canonized the Franciscan St. Joseph of Cupertino, Clement XIII

²⁸Ewing, "Religious Medals," 105; No one has successfully traced medals to their respective medal production facility. The Vatican has complicated the search, for the city is not forthcoming with information. Richard Ahlborn, (numismatics collection, Smithsonian Institution), in discussion with the author, 28 February 2005.

²⁹Mardith K. Schuetz, "The History and Archaeology of Mission San Juan de Capistrano, San Antonio, Texas, vol. 4, Excavation of the Convento" (manuscript on file, Office of the State Archaeologist, Texas Historical Commission, Austin, 1980), 150. By 1831, medalists in Birmingham, England had struck over two-hundred thousand *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe* medals. Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, ed. Max L. Moorhead (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954), 175n.

³⁰This examination cannot verify her statement.

³¹Deagan, *Artifacts*, 43, 53.

ordered the blessing and distribution of Cupertino's medals. His medal appears in the Anguillian collection. In addition, historian Henry C. Lea has noted that at the 1625 Catholic jubilee authorities distributed over five hundred thousand medals bearing the image of five recently canonized saints.³²

The progression of the medallic arts in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries caused an advancement in the aesthetic quality of medals.³³ No longer bearing the crude images of saints and religious symbols prevalent in the first half of the millennium, medals now portrayed elaborate religious scenes, many based on works of art. Religious art was not a novel concept, and throughout the Middle Ages, European artists produced numerous pieces with Christian themes. In 1563, however, reacting to the Protestant war against images, the Council of Trent issued several edicts governing the portrayal of religious art.³⁴ In its twenty-fifth and last session, the Council made a strong statement regarding religious imagery:

[L]et the bishops diligently teach that by means of the stories of the mysteries of our redemption portrayed in paintings and other representations the people are instructed and confirmed in the articles of faith, which ought to be borne in mind and constantly reflected upon; also that great profit is derived from all holy images.... But if anyone should teach or maintain anything contrary to these decrees, let him be anathema. If any abuses shall have found their way into these holy and salutary observances, the holy council desires earnestly that they be completely removed, so that no representation of false doctrines and such as might be the occasion of grave error to the uneducated be exhibited.... Furthermore, in the invocation of the saints, the veneration of relics, and the sacred use of images, all superstition shall be removed ... and all lasciviousness

³²Henry Charles Lea, *A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church*, vol. 3, *Indulgences* (Philadelphia: Lea Brothers, 1896), 518-519.

³³Thurston, "Medals," 113.

³⁴Religious leaders held the nineteenth ecumenical council at Trent between 1545 and 1563 partially in response to Protestant criticisms. One of its primary goals was to determine the doctrines of the church. *Catholic Encyclopedia*, "Council of Trent," <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/15030c.htm> (accessed March 2005).

avoided, so that images shall not be painted and adorned with a seductive charm.... The holy council decrees that no one is permitted to erect ... in any place or church ... any unusual image unless it has been approved by the bishop.³⁵

By governing the production of religious art, the Council hoped to prove that the Catholic Church adhered strongly to sacred beliefs and that it maintained steadfast Christian morals.³⁶

The edicts of the Council of Trent controlled religious art through the seventeenth century. Some artists, in fear of violating the edicts, solicited the church for artistic direction. The church's eager involvement led to an increase in ecclesiastically based images, and the production of religious art quickly spread across Europe. Eventually, artists focused on certain church-accepted iconographic designs, with many artists commissioned to decorate church interiors.³⁷ The similarity of works such as the Immaculate Conception and the Annunciation produced by Counter-Reformation artists like Murillo, Guido Reni, and El Greco illustrates the homogeneity of some of the most popular Catholic themes.

The religious edicts of the Council of Trent especially affected Spanish artists because painters' guilds scrupulously tested its artists on the correct interpretation of religious subject matter.³⁸ Although earlier religious works influenced some medal production, the themes seen in late sixteenth- and in seventeenth-century art often mirror

³⁵*The Council of Trent*, "Session 25," <http://www.ewtn.com/library/councils/trent25.htm> (accessed 17 February 2005).

³⁶Emile Male, *Religious Art in France: The Late Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), 443.

³⁷David Hurst Thomas, "Saints and Soldiers at Santa Catalina," in *The Recovery of Meaning*, ed. Mark Leone and Parker Potter, Jr., 73-140 (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988), 49.

³⁸*Ibid.*

the images on modern devotional medals.³⁹ For example, medalists depicted St. Teresa of Avila, founder of the Discalced Carmelites, in a supine position being confronted by an angel. The image almost identically resembles a marble group executed by Bernini in the mid to late seventeenth century for the Cornaro Chapel in the Roman church Santa Maria della Vittoria (Figures 12-13).⁴⁰

Additionally, artists often depicted St. Francis of Assisi, founder of the Franciscan Order (Order of Friars Minor), receiving the stigmata, the five wounds Christ suffered on the cross. According to Catholic legend, in 1224 on Mount Verna, St. Francis received the stigmata for his faithfulness.⁴¹ Author Emma Salter has related the legend:

While [Francis] was praying on the side of the mountain, he beheld a Seraph having six wings, flaming and resplendent, coming down from the heights of heaven ... there appeared betwixt the wings the Figure of a Man crucified, having his hands and feet stretched forth in the shape of a Cross, and fastened unto a Cross. Two wings were raised above his head, twain were spread forth to fly, while twain hid his whole body.⁴²

Various artists including Giotto, Cigoli, and Rubens depicted this miracle in their works, with many paintings illustrating the legend of the crucified Christ administering the wounds.⁴³ Giotto's painting, *St. Francis Receives the Stigmata* (c. 1300), particularly bears a striking resemblance to a medal from *El Buen Consejo* (Figures 14-15). Although Giotto's painting did not emerge from the Spanish Counter-Reformation, his work

³⁹Deagan, *Artifacts*, 48.

⁴⁰E. Boyd, "Seventeenth Century Spanish Medal Found in Estancia Valley," *El Palacio* 76 (1970): 16.

⁴¹Giorgi, *Saints in Art*, 130.

⁴²Emma Gurney Salter, *Franciscan Legends in Italian Art* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1905), 88.

⁴³Clara Eskine Clement, *Saints in Art* (New York: Snova, 2004), 117.



Figure 12. St. Teresa of Avila⁴⁴



Figure 13. Bernini Marble of Teresa (c. 1644-1652)⁴⁵

⁴⁴Maritime Studies Program, East Carolina University, Greenville, NC.

⁴⁵Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *The Ecstasy of Saint Teresa*, in Rosa Giorgi, *Saints in Art* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2002), 343.



Figure 14. St. Francis on Mt. Verna (c. 1300)⁴⁶



Figure 15. St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata⁴⁷

⁴⁶Giotto, *Saint Francis Receives the Stigmata*, in Rosa Giorgi, *Saints in Art* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2002), 132.

⁴⁷Anguilla Maritime Research, Ltd., Anguilla, B.W.I.

probably influenced sixteenth- and seventeenth-century artists to create very similar pieces. Undoubtedly, European medalists used the images to pattern St. Francis medals.

On devotional medals artisans depicted divine or sacred personages like Jesus, saints, and angels with nimbuses, halo-like objects that symbolize "divine energy, sanctity, or power."⁴⁸ Although nimbuses identify persons of great dignity, some medals depict holy figures without them. Often, the absence symbolizes that the individual represented was not yet canonized. On inscriptions of some of these medals, a B instead of an S often appears just prior to the figure's name. The designation indicates the individual was a blessed or beatified member of the church, not a saint.⁴⁹ Although the church probably permitted these medals, Deagan has noted that some orders, eager to promote their patron saints, struck unauthorized pieces.⁵⁰ The presence of a B or the lack of a nimbus may denote unauthorized objects. Additionally, the presence of a medal struck with an S and found on a site with a *terminus ante quem* before the figure's date of canonization would denote an illegal object.

Images of the Virgin Mary represent a large proportion of the iconography featured on devotional medals. Leo Kuncze is one of the few who have attempted to classify and organize medals, and he identified over seven hundred different depictions of the Virgin Mary.⁵¹ In *El Buen Consejo's* medal collection, Mary appears in various ways: Mary holds the baby Jesus, she comforts Jesus as he carries the cross, she is at the

⁴⁸ Jack Tresidder, *Dictionary of Symbols* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1998), 145.

⁴⁹ Candidates for canonization, "blessed" or beatified individuals are entitled to veneration, but the papacy does not enforce his or her veneration. Paul Burns, *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, new concise ed. (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2003), 623.

⁵⁰ Deagan, *Artifacts*, 46.

⁵¹ Ibid; See Kuncze, *Systematik der weihmünzen* (Raab, 1885).

crucifixion, and she is featured with seven swords as the *Mater Dolorosa* (Mother of Sorrows). Mary also appears as the Virgin or Our Lady of the Rosary, Pilar of Saragossa, Carmel, Montserrat, Loreto, Crag, Snows, and Rock of France.⁵²

Perhaps one of the most well-known and controversial representations of Mary was the Immaculate Conception. The concept of the Immaculate Conception stated that the Virgin Mary, from the initial instance of her conception, was, by divine decree, free from original sin. Although the Bible makes no direct reference to Mary's conception, several ambiguous biblical passages caused fifth-century theologians to initiate debates about her purity. By the eighth century, the concept of her flawlessness had penetrated Byzantine society, and arguments about the legitimacy of the belief slowly spread west. In Western Europe and especially in England, public discussion of the Immaculate Conception emerged in the eleventh century. Around 1050, the western church celebrated a feast in honor of Mary's conception. The action prompted arguments over the legitimacy of the feast, and by the thirteenth century, scholastic theologians launched debates aimed at defining when the soul infuses into the body.⁵³

For centuries, theologians and scholars battled over the concept until Pope Sixtus IV, in 1483, threatened excommunication to any who charged those holding the opposite belief with heresy. When asked about the dogma in 1546, the Council of Trent circumvented the issue, refusing to support proponents or opponents of the doctrine. Finally, in 1854 Pius IX promulgated the doctrine.

⁵²These images generally relate to Marian devotions associated with certain locations or miracles.

⁵³E. D. O'Connor, "Immaculate Conception," in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 7 (New York: McGraw Hill, 1967), 378-380.

Although controversial, the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception spread to the majority of European religious orders. Except the Dominicans who vehemently denied the dogma, most orders accepted the belief long before Pius IX's declaration. By 1263, the Franciscans endorsed the Feast of the Conception of Mary, and in 1621, the Friars Minor elected the Blessed Mother as their patron and swore to teach the doctrine privately and publicly.⁵⁴ This Franciscan assertion in conjunction with other similar statements from Catholic orders led to a flourishing of artistic expression, especially of works representing the tenet.⁵⁵

In Immaculate Conception works, artists depicted the Virgin in a number of ways. Yet the first representation became the most recognizable and prevalent, especially in seventeenth-century art. To portray Mary, artists used a description of her from the apocalyptic passage in Revelation 12:1, which reads, "A great portent appeared in heaven: a woman clothed with the sun, with the moon under her feet, and on her head a crown of twelve stars."⁵⁶ Using the biblical description, artists represented Mary with a crown of stars and a moon beneath her feet. The sun also envelops her. Art historian Emile Male has written, "Such an image would express all that was awe-inspiring in the concept of a Virgin created before humanity and free of the laws governing it."⁵⁷ Often beneath the scene are the words *Concepto Sine Peccato* or *Concebida Sin Pecado* meaning "conceived without sin" or *Sin Pecado*, "without sin."⁵⁸ Another distinguishing

⁵⁴Frederick Holweck, "Immaculate Conception," in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 7 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1910), 679-680.

⁵⁵O'Connor, "Immaculate," 381.

⁵⁶de Bles, *Distinguish*, 41; Male, *France*, 199; Revelation 12:1 (New Revised Standard Version).

⁵⁷Male, *France*, 199.

⁵⁸Deagan, *Artifacts*, 50; Male, *France*, 199.

feature of many Immaculate Conception works is the upturned crescent moon on which she stands (Figure 16).

During the seventeenth century, Catholic iconography of the Immaculate Conception was widespread. The church often commissioned artists such as Murillo and Velázquez, and they created paintings and church frescos that became the basis for imagery depicted on devotional medals.⁵⁹ Archaeologists have discovered medals bearing images of the Immaculate Conception from the wrecks of the Spanish Armada in 1588 to the sixteenth- to mid-seventeenth century New World Franciscan missions of La Florida (Figure 17). Deagan has stated, however, that archaeologists have recovered no medals bearing the Immaculate Conception on sites occupied after 1650: “Although devotion to the Immaculate Conception was considerably less fervent after 1650, medals of the eighteenth century do sometimes commemorate that Mystery.”⁶⁰ *El Buen Consejo*’s medal collection contains several Immaculate Conception medals (Figure 18); these items represent a rare instance of the Mystery’s post-1650 use.

Although very few devotional medals bear dates of production, scholars can generally date the items by size, shape, and motif. Apart from iconography, which became more varied in time, and apart from craftsmanship, which improved over the centuries, the size and shape of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century medals differ from items produced in the following two centuries. According to Deagan, pre eighteenth-century medals generally are oval with a maximum diameter of less than 3 cm, and they range from 2.8 to 4.4 cm in height. Beyond the top loop, 43 percent of the medals have

⁵⁹Deagan, *Artifacts*, 50.

⁶⁰Ibid.

one or more flanges that functioned as “points of attachment to a frame or other linking element (Figure 19).”⁶¹

By the eighteenth century, devotional medals’ size, shape, and motif became more diverse. The small flanges of earlier medals disappeared, and medalists expanded medal shapes to include round and octagonal pieces.⁶² Deagan has observed that oval medals of the eighteenth century have a mean diameter and height of 3 cm and 4.9 cm, respectively. Octagonal pieces feature a mean height of 3.3 cm, with the diameter of round medals ranging from 3.0 to 5.0 cm.⁶³

By the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, medalists began crafting larger, more ornate pieces. According to Deagan, after about 1770, medals are mostly round; they bear “more regular and precise inscriptions, and they sometimes have images on one side only.” Additionally, medalists decorated their creations with filigree, scrollwork, and other elements reminiscent of popular trends (Figure 20).⁶⁴

Of nineteenth-century medals found on Spanish colonial sites in the United States, perhaps the most famous is the Miraculous Medal.⁶⁵ In 1830, the Virgin Mary appeared to Catherine Labouré, a member of the Sisters of Charity, and ordered the striking of a medal with, on its obverse, the sacred hearts of Jesus and Mary and the letter M and, on

⁶¹Ibid., 47.

⁶²A few medals from *El Buen Consejo* appear in a semi-heart shape. There are no comparative heart-shaped medals from eighteenth-century Spanish colonial sites or shipwrecks; therefore, the medals may represent unique pieces or mistakes made during striking.

⁶³Deagan, *Artifacts*, 51-52.

⁶⁴Ibid., 53.

⁶⁵Undoubtedly, in areas, especially Mexico, the most famous medal is that of *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*. Writing in the first half of the nineteenth century, Josiah Gregg has stated that these medals “are worn by nearly nine-tenths of the population of New Mexico.” Gregg, *Commerce*, 175n.



Figure 16. Murillo's *Immaculate Conception* (c. 1676-1680)⁶⁶



Figure 17. Immaculate Conception Pre-1650⁶⁷

Figure 18. Immaculate Conception from *El Buen Consejo*⁶⁸

⁶⁶Bartolomé Murillo, *Immaculate Conception* in de Bles, *Distinguish*, 40.

⁶⁷Elizabeth Whitfield, courtesy of Florida Museum of Natural History.

⁶⁸Anguilla Maritime Research, Ltd., Anguilla, B.W.I.

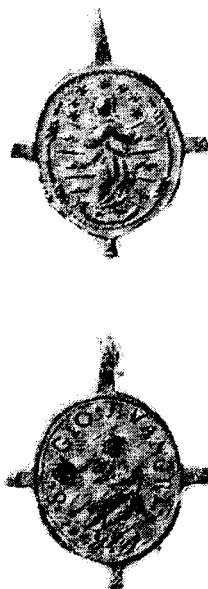


Figure 19. Pre-1650 Medal with Additional Flanges⁶⁹



Figure 20. Guadalupe Medal, Mid-1800s⁷⁰

⁶⁹Deagan, *Artifacts*, 50.

⁷⁰Gregg, *Commerce*, 175.

its reverse, the inscription "O Mary, immaculately conceived, pray for us whose refuge is in thee." Scholars believed medalists struck thirty million of the items, and archaeological finds have determined medal production facilities produced them in a number of languages.⁷¹

Even today, members of Catholic religious orders and practicing Catholics throughout the world wear devotional medals. Although contemporary artisans produce medals with more diversity and ornamentation than prior medalists did, artists often design the objects with iconography similar to that found on Spanish colonial religious medals.⁷² After centuries of use, devotional medals still symbolize the Catholic faith and continue to remind the wearer to worship and praise God through the person or event depicted.⁷³

Since their first appearance in the sixteenth century, devotional medals have had different meanings for different users. During the missionization of Spanish America, medals acted as items of personal religious devotion for Native Americans and as objects of proselytization for missionaries. Unfortunately, there is little historical evidence describing their true use during this period. For Catholic religious orders operating in Spanish America, however, medals undoubtedly aided the evangelization process, supported religious education, and functioned several additional ways. An examination of how missionaries may have distributed and used medals assists in the interpretation of those found on Spanish colonial sites and shipwrecks.

⁷¹Zsolt Aradi, *Shrines to Our Lady Around the World* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Young, 1954), 92-95; Lea, *Auricular Confession*, 521-522.

⁷²Deagan, *Artifacts*, 54.

⁷³Pamela Edwards, "Something to Hang your Faith on," *U.S. Catholic* 4 (1997): 42.

CHAPTER FOUR

DEVOTIONAL MEDALS: USE AND DISTRIBUTION

Throughout the evangelization of Spanish America, Franciscan friars struggled to transcend cultural barriers as they delivered the message of Christ and imparted key dogmas of Catholicism. Missionaries of the Franciscan Order were known for their rapid adoption of native languages. Foreign languages and other cultural differences, however, limited the effectiveness of many friars. To overcome the obstacles, missionaries conveyed their messages through images. When traveling to non-Christian areas of New Spain, friars taught Native Americans elements of Christianity through images and representations of biblical stories and sacred persons like Jesus, the saints, and the Virgin Mary. Regular clergy used these iconographic objects to introduce, educate, and spread the Catholic faith. References to crosses, icons, and paintings occur most frequently, and these generally appear during the first three stages of missionization; during secularization, there was a decrease in the use of iconographic images. Though historical sources rarely mentioned devotional medals, the archaeological recovery of medals from shipwrecks and from terrestrial mission sites indicates missionaries probably used them as tools of education and/or proselytization.

Missionaries knew that some Native Americans revered their gods through images; therefore, when using pictures to educate natives, friars strived to separate the image from what it represented. Missionaries accomplished this by continually reminding converts that images were only wood and stone, not objects of veneration. Historian

Robert Ricard has written, "Thus, the Franciscans, fearing the appearance of a new form of idolatry which would replace pagan idolatry pure and simple, insisted very strongly that the worship of images was not directed to the material substance, but to what it represented." Images of Jesus, the Virgin Mary, and the saints were to remind Catholics of God's great mercy, and according to Ricard, natives "acquired a more intelligent and more profound knowledge of the faith" when educated with pictures and icons.¹ Therefore, to teach catechumens and neophytes, friars exhibited religious paintings or other sacred images, and when describing a particular subject, such as the Ten Commandments, they pointed to its corresponding illustration (Figure 21). Scholars have questioned, however, whether Native Americans could separate the image from what it represented. Gruzinski has argued that they could not: "The image was the saint, or rather, the saint was the saint."²

For many natives, especially those in Mexico and Latin America, "devotion to the saints became very deeply rooted." Images of saints represented expressions of a physical presence, material for reflection, and, often, intermediaries who listened to a devotee's supplications and who granted favors "in exchange for the cult rendered by their devotees."³ Therefore, many Native Americans confused Christian and traditional beliefs

¹Robert Ricard, *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 103-104, 191.

²Serge Gruzinski, *The Conquest of Mexico*, trans. Eileen Corrigan (Cambridge, England: Polity Press, 1993), 249.

³*Ibid.*, 244; Manuel María Marzal, SJ, "Daily Life in the Indies," in *The Church in Latin America: 1492-1992*, ed. Enrique Dussel, 69-80 (Kent, England: Burns and Oates, 1992), 78.

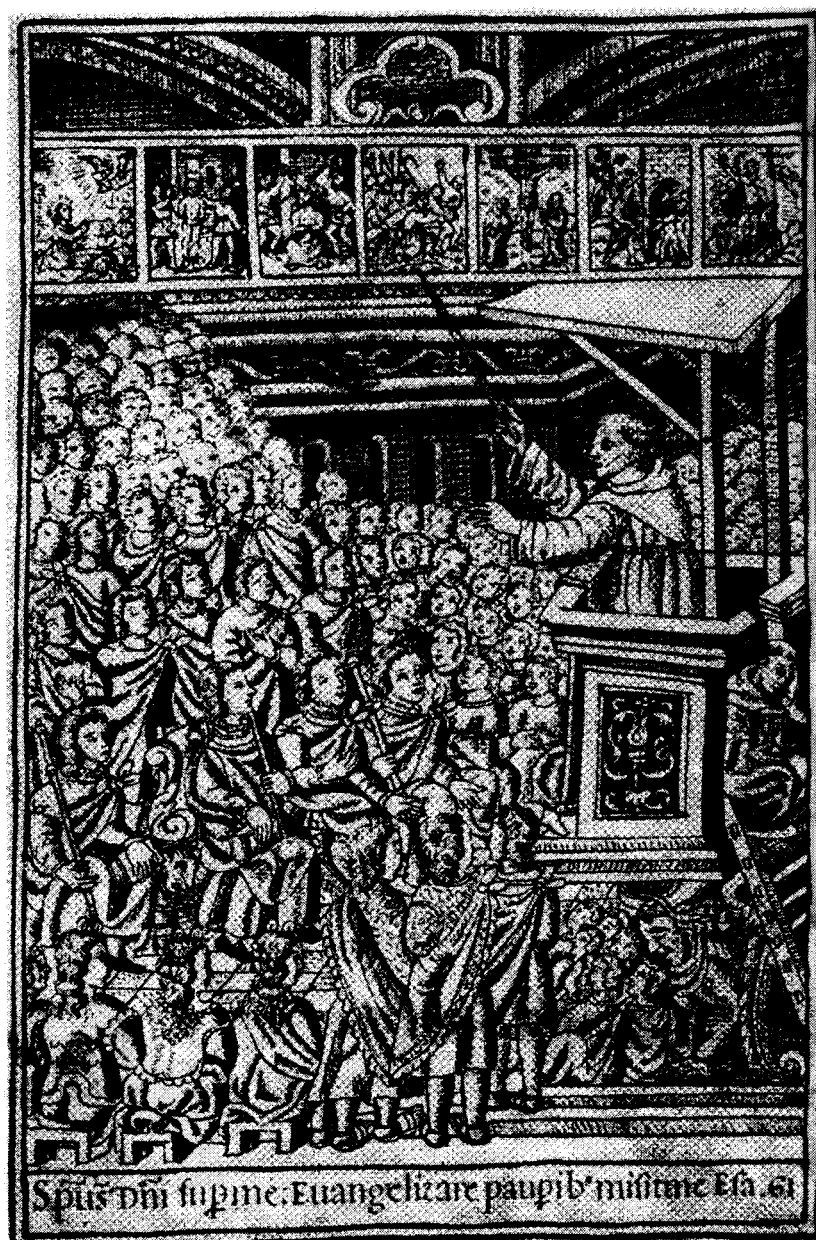


Figure 21. Franciscans Teaching with Images⁴

⁴Toribio de Motolinía, *Motolinía's History of the Indians of New Spain*, trans. Francis B. Steck, O.F.M. (Washington, DC: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1951).

and failed to accept that saints represented models for living and intercessors for God, not beings who could satisfy personal requests.⁵ As time passed, natives had "recourse to the saints in the same way as they did to their ancestral intermediaries and, eventually, they felt that the saints too listened to their supplications, and began to discover true 'hierophanies' in them."⁶ Whether or not missionaries succeeded in transmitting the intended ideas behind iconographic items, friars thought they were useful and relied upon them throughout the evangelization of Spanish America.

Since friars taught Native Americans through images, it was probably during the period of doctrinal education, the third stage of missionization, that missionaries relied upon iconographic items like devotional medals. Easier to transport than paintings and icons, medals probably functioned as supplements to spirituality training or as tools of instruction. Benefiting from the objects' small size, missionaries may have used them "to amplify the good effects of other art forms with a minimum of outlay and a maximum of distribution."⁷ Missionaries who distributed medals featuring iconography recently taught, probably hoped the items would strengthen catechist lessons. If other images were unavailable, as they often were, friars may have taught with medals. Although historical documents did not link teaching with medals, the practice may have taken place.

⁵Scholars have argued that many Native Americans had reasons for committing this "idolatry," one of which was to perpetuate their old religion through Christian imagery.

⁶Marzal, "Daily Life," 78. Natives living throughout New Spain, beyond Mexico and Latin America, may have shared these beliefs.

⁷J. Franklin Ewing, "The Religious Medals," in *Franciscan Awatovi: The Excavation and Conjectural Reconstruction of a 17th-Century Spanish Mission Establishment at a Hopi Indian Town in Northeastern Arizona*, Ross Gordon Montgomery, Watson Smith, and John Otis Brew (Cambridge, MA: Peabody Museum, 1949), 105.

Some might expect missionaries of the Franciscan Order to have concentrated their teachings especially on works performed by and miracles attributed to Franciscan saints and on dogmas extolled by the order. Yet there is no indication friars specifically, or even primarily, focused on these topics because Franciscans followed the Catholic practice of teaching students and preaching sermons about “the exemplary acts” performed by a great variety of individuals.⁸ Missionaries training catechismal candidates extolled the virtues and miracles ascribed to saints and even to non-canonized blessed members of the church.⁹ Missionaries of Spanish America, therefore, celebrated the lives of hundreds of saints, with devotional medals exemplifying the process of utilizing a wide range of Catholic images. For instance, the medals of *El Buen Consejo* feature religious individuals from within and without the Franciscan Order. Medals include saints and beatified members from orders such as the Carthusians, Discalced Carmelites, Poor Clares, Augustinians, Dominicans, and Capuchins. Some of the most frequently occurring figures are the non-Franciscan Saints Dominic, Jerome, and Teresa of Avila.

From the diversity of devotional medals found on Spanish colonial sites and shipwrecks, it appears the objects played a role in the missionization process. Although archaeologists and private individuals have discovered far fewer and smaller medal caches on terrestrial sites than on shipwrecks, both terrestrial and underwater finds highlight medal variability. Excluding *El Buen Consejo*, the remains of three eighteenth-century Spanish vessels with shipments of devotional medals have been found in the

⁸Geronimo de Mendieta, *Historia Ecclesiastica Indiana: A Franciscan's View of the Spanish Conquest of Mexico*, trans. Felix Jay (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1997), 99.

⁹Brother Sir Timothy Arthur, O.F.M., e-mail message to author, 22 September 2004.

Caribbean. Medals found on *El Matanceros*, sunk off the Yucatán in 1741, and on the Quicksilver ships, *Conde de Tolosá* and *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*, sunk in 1724 off the Dominican Republic, closely resemble both the diversity and, generally, the quantity of those on the Anguillan wreck.¹⁰ Additionally, as with *El Buen Consejo*, *Guadalupe* and, probably, *Tolosá* sailed with a number of Franciscan friars.¹¹

Although medals functioned in some aspect of the spiritual education and indoctrination of Native Americans, historical evidence has not clearly defined their exact use. While medals became popular with and widely available to European Catholics in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there is no church generated text referring to their intended use in New Spain.¹² The lack of evidence, therefore, has forced scholars to rely upon historical missionary chronicles that mentioned the objects and on modern works that attempted to interpret their use.

This examination reveals only a few historical references to the use of devotional medals: two Franciscan accounts, both occurring in similar circumstances, and several French Jesuit accounts. For the most part, activities of Jesuits missionizing in what is now the central and northern United States fall outside the purview of this analysis. Yet the Jesuit documents are the only firsthand missionary accounts describing medal

¹⁰ Caribe Salvage excavated the Quicksilver wrecks and did not clearly distinguish between the medals recovered from both ships. Authors describing the salvage effort, however, have indicated both vessels carried medal cargoes. See Susan Dudnick Boer, *Treasures of the Quicksilver Galleons* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1982); Pedro J. Borrell, *The Quicksilver Galleons* (Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic: Museo de las Casas Reales, 1983).

¹¹ Pedro J. Santiago, *Estudios Sobre Comercio Marítimo, Naufragios y Rescates Submarinos en la Republica Dominicana* (Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic: Museo de las Casas Reales, 1980), 109.

¹² Scholars have yet to uncover such a document.

distribution; thus, they are relevant since Franciscans may have disseminated medals similarly.

During the seventeenth century, several Jesuit missionaries who operated along the Mississippi River and around the Great Lakes referred to medals. In January 1699, Father Julian Binneteau wrote, "The young children always give us great hopes for the future. They are wonderfully eager to be instructed; and their desire to obtain a needle, a red bead, or a small cross or medal, makes them try to give correct answers, and they learn a great deal in a short time."¹³ Father Gravier also supported the practice of rewarding children with medals; on 15 February 1694, he wrote, "It is true that the hope of getting a red bead ... or a needle, a medal, a cross or a rosary ... given as a reward, incites the children to answer well..."¹⁴ For these French Jesuits, medals acted as rewards for educational proficiency.

For some French Jesuits, religious medals also functioned to differentiate Christianized and non-Christianized natives. In 1727 at an Arkansas mission, Father Paul du Poisson noted that a local chief bore no mark of his Christian status except for his name, medal, and rosary. Children, therefore, were not the sole recipients of medals. Author Charles Rinehart has noted that those who wore objects of personal religious devotion revered the items, treating medals and crosses as cherished jewels.¹⁵ Medals distributed by French Jesuits may have functioned dissimilarly from those issued by

¹³Edna Kenton, ed., *The Indians of North America* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1927), 2:327.

¹⁴Reuben Gold Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, vol. 64, *Ottawas, Lower Canada, Iroquois, Illinois: 1689-1695* (Cleveland: Burrows, 1900), 231.

¹⁵Charles J. Rinehart, *Crucifixes and Medallions: Their Role at Fort Michilimackinac* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991), 8-9.

Franciscan missionaries in Spanish America, yet it is probable that the Franciscan Order distributed the items in the same manner.

Unlike French Jesuits, Franciscan missionaries said very little about items of personal religious expression. Franciscans seemingly did not provide firsthand accounts describing their method of medal distribution. Fray Francisco Palóu authored a chronicle on the revered Californian missionary, Junípero Serra, and in it, he briefly alluded to how he thought Serra distributed medals. It comprises one of his two brief references to the items. Palóu's two citations occur during his discussion of Serra's death. After the friar died at Mission San Carlos in 1784, neophytes and possibly other Spanish members of the mission, such as soldiers, sailors, and officers, visited his body and touched rosaries and medals to his hands and face.¹⁶ The quotation is helpful, but brief and limited. It proves that at Mission San Carlos missionaries had distributed medals to neophytes and possibly to secular men who dealt with the mission.¹⁷ It fails, however, to explain why the people of Mission San Carlos had medals and how they came to possess them. Palóu's second reference provides some clarity.

After Serra's death, those present at his burial sought to obtain trinkets or some personal possession of the beloved father. Many received a piece of his tunic, but those who had not, requested Palóu give them a memento. The majority of requests came from mission soldiers. Palóu wrote, "And since there was nothing else to give them other than books, I had nothing with which to satisfy them. But I remembered that the Venerable

¹⁶Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M, trans., *Palóu's Life of Fray Junípero Serra* (Washington, DC: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955), 249, 252.

¹⁷It is impossible to trace the origin of medals belonging to Spanish members of or visitors to the mission, as the men may have obtained the items prior to arriving in California.

Father had had some medals which he used to give out to the devout. These I took out and distributed, so that all were satisfied and consoled.”¹⁸ This is the sole reference linking Junípero Serra and his use of devotional medals, and it acts as an important piece of evidence illustrating to whom Palóu believed Serra distributed the objects.

The eighteenth-century Franciscan missionary Juan Domingo Arricivita provided the second Franciscan reference to medals. Arricivita described the death of Fray Antonio Margil de Jesus who died in 1726 after missionizing in Central America and Mexico. Describing the scene at Fray Antonio’s viewing, Arricivita wrote, “If the people were unable to get a little piece of the shroud, they consoled themselves by touching the rosaries, medals, and other articles on the body.”¹⁹ The remark is peculiar since, later, the author described the possessions Antonio generally carried on his person, and he mentioned neither a rosary nor a medal.²⁰ Once again, the reference provides little useful information regarding the use and distribution of devotional medals; it is too vague to determine anything but that at the viewing of Antonio’s body there were several medals present.

Devotional medals found on terrestrial Spanish mission sites have encouraged several modern archaeologists to hypothesize briefly about their function. There is little consensus among their theories. Archaeologist Charles Di Peso, who analyzed medals deposited during the eighteenth-century occupation of Quiburi in southeastern Arizona, has claimed medals “were the stock in trade of the priests who established their missions

¹⁸Geiger, *Junípero Serra*, 256.

¹⁹George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, trans., *Apostolic Chronicle of Juan Domingo Arricivita: The Franciscan Mission Frontier in the Eighteenth Century in Arizona, Texas, and the Californias* (Berkeley: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1996), 1:160.

²⁰*Ibid.*, 1:185.

in the outlying provinces. Such items were distributed among the Indian converts and to the Spanish members of congregations as well." He has also argued that *personas de razón* (people of reason), Spanish and Mexican peoples, not Native Americans, received the items.²¹

Author J. Franklin Ewing, writing of medals found at the Franciscan Mission Awatovi in Arizona, has argued that friars gave medals to natives, thus "unit[ing] the benefits of a gift with the inculcation of religion." Wearing medals, Native Americans had a continual reminder of their new faith and "of their entry into a new way of life." Publicly declaring his or her acceptance of Christianity, neophytes exhibiting medals differentiated themselves from irreligious natives.²²

Thomas excavated and analyzed ten bronze devotional medals recovered from the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Franciscan Spanish Mission Santa Catalina de Guale, and he has provided an in-depth discussion on medal use. Located on the present St. Catherines Island, Georgia, Mission Santa Catalina was one of many Franciscan outposts established in La Florida.²³ Basing his theories partly on Polzer's four-step missionization model, Thomas has argued that missionaries distributed religious medals during the second, conversion stage of missionization. He has claimed that during this period, the native population encountered a hands-on experience with religion: "Catholicism was symbolized by processions of believers fingering rosaries and wearing medallions, bearing canopies, crosses, and statues." Mission leaders distributed rosaries, medals,

²¹Charles Di Peso, *The Sobaipuri Indians of the Upper San Pedro River Valley, Southeastern Arizona* (Dragoon, AZ: Amerind Foundation, 1953), 204, 210.

²²Ewing, "Religious Medals," 105-106.

²³David H. Thomas, *St. Catherines: An Island in Time* (Atlanta: Georgia Humanities Council, 1988), 35.

crosses, and other religious paraphernalia that were to function "as concrete reminders of religious truths or teachings, as incitements to prayer and acts of virtue."²⁴

Thomas has also argued that priests gave important neophytes devotional medals at baptisms, confirmations, and christenings: "These objects comprised concrete demonstrations of basic Christian ideas and provided a visual means for reinforcing repetitious acts of prayer, singing, and church-centered ritual."²⁵ He has asserted, therefore, that during the conversion period, medals and other religious iconography played a large role in indoctrinating natives to Catholicism.

In light of Palou's reference associating Serra's medals to devoted neophytes, Thomas's theory has merit; yet it has limitations because he has restricted medal distribution to the early stages of missionization. As previously described, after the initial mass baptisms performed in Mexico during the mid-sixteenth century, most missionaries briefly instructed Native Americans on the *general beliefs and practices of Catholicism* before baptizing them as Christians. Authors writing of Franciscan mission activity in Spanish America have described the conversion process differently. Generally, they have not mentioned the length of instruction, but have implied that it typically was a very short period.

Thomas has argued that friars distributed medals at baptisms, thus early in the missionization process when natives were new mission members. Why, however, would missionaries present medals to converts who may quickly revert to traditional practices?

²⁴David Hurst Thomas, "Saints and Soldiers at Santa Catalina," in *The Recovery of Meaning*, ed. Mark Leone and Parker Potter, Jr., 73-140 (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988), 118.

²⁵*Ibid.*, 119. Although mission chronicles referred to Native American baptisms, none mentioned confirmations or christenings.

Baptism was the first step in a neophyte's Christian life, and it was an important aspect of missionary work. Once natives submitted to the ceremony, however, missionaries then began building on this basic Christian foundation by introducing deeper, more specific aspects of Catholicism. Since baptism was the first, most basic ritual performed at the mission, this analysis supports Polzer's assessment and argues that missionaries withheld gifts such as medals, until natives had proven themselves as sincere, devoted Christians.

In her description of the Franciscan mission of Santa Cruz, anthropologist Rebecca Allen has introduced a different use for devotional medals. Located in Alta California and established in 1791, the mission gathered and controlled the native Ohlone population. During an excavation of the site, archaeologists discovered a religious medal stamped with saints. Allen has asserted that either the medal dates to the neophyte occupation of the mission, or it represents an heirloom from the Mexican-American occupants who dwelled in the Mission Adobe (neophyte housing located on mission premises) after neophytes vacated the site in the early nineteenth century. Interpreting the use of the medal, she has said Franciscans distributed the items as rewards for Native American labor or for attendance at mass.²⁶

Allen's assessment is more credible than Thomas' assessment and conforms more to Polzer's theory that missionaries probably withheld items of personal religious expression until the third, doctrinal stage of missionization when natives had convinced priests they had accepted "Christianity, vassalage to the king, and some signs of social

²⁶Rebecca Allen, *Native Americans at Mission Santa Cruz, 1791-1834* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), 3, 9, 76.

stability.”²⁷ Allen’s theory is sound, but she has failed to denote if all natives who attended mass received a medal, if only the especially devout neophytes who attended services received them, or if all Native Americans laborers deserved them.

The above authors present very different theories. Few, except Ewing who generally has based his presumptions on present practices, have revealed the source of their hypotheses. The mystery surrounding the source illustrates the difficulty in positively identifying the objects’ function. Archaeologists familiar with devotional medals and the Franciscan priest Brother Sir Timothy Arthur, O.F.M. have also presented information similar to that provided by Di Peso, Ewing, Thomas, and Allen.

Of those queried on religious medals, each had a different, but similar view on their purpose. For example, Fray Arthur has suggested that friars wore medals, gave them as gifts to new Christians, and/or used them to teach “those receiving the medals about the Catholic faith.”²⁸ Archaeologist Robert Hoover of California Polytechnic University has said that at Mission San Antonio de Padua in California, missionaries distributed medals to neophytes “as signs of conversion or for good behavior.”²⁹ Although the information is helpful, neither could pinpoint his knowledge to a specific historical reference. Fray Arthur has added that modern Franciscan friars still award devotional medals as gifts. Perhaps theories presented by Di Peso, Thomas, Allen, and Hoover derived from current practices, not from primary historical documents.

²⁷Charles W. Polzer, *Rules and Precepts of Jesuit Missions of Northwestern New Spain* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1976), 47.

²⁸Brother Sir Timothy Arthur, O.F.M., e-mail message to author, 11 August 2004.

²⁹Robert Hoover, e-mail message to author, 4 August 2004.

When posing their theories, the above authors have all failed to consider that missionaries may have distributed medals in relatively small quantities. Although it is impossible to know the number of medals distributed at missions, limited archaeological finds make it reasonable to assume the items were semi-precious and that missionaries probably had few to award. Historical descriptions and archaeological evidence of items such as clothing, beads, cupreous crosses, and medals, support that missionaries distributed religious medals relatively infrequently. For example, mission archaeologists have recovered other gifts, such as glass beads, in abundance. Cupreous crosses also appear more often than medals.³⁰ In addition, Thomas has supported the theory when he has described the discovery of between 400 and 450 Christianized Guale natives buried in Santa Catalina's cemetery. The presence of only ten bronze medals interred with the bodies probably indicates missionaries distributed the items judiciously. Therefore, medals probably arrived in limited numbers, and missionaries chose medal recipients carefully.

The authors have also failed to acknowledge that devotional medals probably represented dear items.³¹ While a search of historical documents has yet to uncover who was economically responsible for the production and distribution of medals and what was their estimated value in the latter stages of the evangelization of Spanish America,

³⁰Salvors found between 3000 and 5000 crosses on the *Matanceros* wreck. In comparison, they found only around 140 medals. See Clay Blair, *Diving for Pleasure and Treasure* (Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1960); Keith Pope, *Decade of Adventure* (Tallahassee, FL: Rose Printing, 1979).

³¹Some authors disagree, however, asserting that devotional medals were relatively inexpensive items distributed in mass quantities throughout Spanish America. See Ewing, 105; Albert E. Ward, "Documenting an Eighteenth-Century Italian Medal from Central New Mexico," *Kiva* 65 (1999): 172.

medals, undoubtedly, were not cheap.³² Certainly, medals were more affordable than paintings and statues, yet when compared to other gifts awarded at missions, they probably were some of the more expensive items distributed.

Scholars do not know the quantity of medals brought to Spanish America. The limited historical and archaeological data on medals, however, illustrate that the number was significantly less than the millions of Christianized natives there. This examination, therefore, rejects the theory that missionaries presented medals to newly baptized natives. Additionally, it is implausible to believe the number of medals shipped from Europe equaled enough objects for missionaries to distribute them to the average neophyte, laborer, or typical mass attendee. Some of the larger California missions managed over two thousand native inhabitants at once, and at one point, the twenty-one Franciscan missions of Alta California instructed over thirty thousand natives.³³ Thus, it would have been close to impossible for the fiscally strapped Spanish government, the church, or the missionaries to provide all Christian converts with medals. Missionaries, however, may have deemed certain native laborers fit for the gift.

Building on Allen's reference to medals presented as awards for labor, this research reveals that a number of neophytes who filled church-related jobs may have earned medals through diligent work. If Native Americans reacted quickly to the faith,

³²Deagan has noted that *Contaduría* shipping documents recorded the price of *medallas* as five to six reales a gross. Medals appeared in these records as early as 1592, but Deagan has not indicated from what period she found the above price. She has noted that medals were less expensive than glass and jet images and *veneras*, but since friars did not distribute these items at missions, the price is without context. (*Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies of Florida and the Caribbean, 1500-1800*, vol. 2, *Portable Personal Possessions* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2002), 43).

³³Herbert E. Bolton, "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish-American Colonies," *American Historical Review* 23 (1917): 45, 57.

missionaries often awarded some of them responsibilities like the supervision of the church or its goods. Those who showed a deep understanding and acceptance of the doctrine received appointments as *temastianes* (catechists), who conducted doctrinal lessons and some prayer services when priests were away from the mission.³⁴ Neophytes also worked as interpreters and acolytes and held the position of sexton, whose responsibility was to take care of the church.³⁵

Later in the evangelization process, missionaries assigned jobs to the *hijos de pueblo* (children of the pueblo), Native Americans who mostly lived in the villages of the mission and who submitted themselves to missionary authority. To the *hijos* "fell the brunt of communal tasks required to carry out the agrarian cycle and maintain the mission compound." Missionaries rewarded them with "semiannual distributions of food and gifts."³⁶ Additionally, native boys acted as pages, bell-ringers, choristers, and musicians, and they may have held positions as cross-bearers.³⁷ Undoubtedly, missionaries held these groups of neophytes in high regard. It seems likely, then, that missionaries could have considered these individuals devout followers of Christianity and could have given them medals for performing their duties.

As regards the distribution of medals, this examination has uncovered no primary documents describing precisely how devotional medals traveled from Mexico, generally the port of Veracruz, to outlying Mexican and borderland missions. Historical sources,

³⁴Polzer, *Rules and Precepts*, 42, 49.

³⁵Hammond and Rey, *Arricivita*, 1:51, 2:127.

³⁶Cynthia Radding, "Crosses, Caves, and *Matachinis*: Divergent Appropriations of Catholic Discourse in Northwestern New Spain," *The Americas* 55 (1998): 197.

³⁷Edith Buckland Webb, *Indian Life at the Old Missions* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1952), 247.

including borderland missionary chronicles, however, recorded several methods of goods transfer. At times, goods transported from central Mexico to outlying missions reached friars because "once a year, each missionary would send his shopping list, *memoria*, to the college" where a lay brother would secure the items and arrange for their transportation to the missions.³⁸ Often these supplies arrived via vessels and pack-trains. Pack-trains also brought goods from quartermaster stores located closer to isolated missions in the interior lands. Additionally, missionaries received items via independent traders and supply vessels (see below).³⁹

One brief reference from Friar José Señán of Mission San Buenaventura in California connected the transportation of medals to missions, yet it gave few details. In 1817, Señán wrote to his college, San Fernando in Mexico City, for supplies. He requested "4 gross medallions, medium size; 4 gross Crucifixes."⁴⁰ It is possible Señán needed some of the items to make rosaries because two years later he sent two hundred "of our own make" to his friend Captain José de la Guerra in Santa Barbara. It appears the rosaries were a gift because Señán told the captain he could distribute the blessed items to pious people.⁴¹ Although the first reference does not highlight from whence the medals originally came, it shows that some documents did record their requisition and distribution and that an exhaustive examination of such documents may shed light on

³⁸Kieran McCarty, O.F.M., *A Spanish Frontier in the Enlightened Age: Franciscan Beginnings in Sonora and Arizona, 1767-1770* (Washington, DC: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1981), 70.

³⁹*Ibid.*, 82, 101; Francisco Garcés, *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer: The Diary and Itinerary of Francisco Garcés*, trans. and ed. Elliott Coues (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1900), 2:495-496.

⁴⁰José Señán, O.F.M., *The Letters of José Señán, O.F. M.: Mission of San Buenaventura, 1796-1823*, ed. Lesley Byrd Simpson, trans. Paul D. Nathan (Ventura County, CA: John Howell Books, 1962), 95.

⁴¹Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., *San Buenaventura: The Mission by the Sea* (Santa Barbara: Mission Santa Barbara, 1930), 52.

medal transportation. The second reference illustrates that missionaries had discretion in distributing medals and that, eventually, the items may have fallen into Spanish, not Native American hands.

Later in the missionization process, medals may have arrived via secular sources. Around the late eighteenth century, California Franciscans often received goods from trading vessels of English, Spanish, French, South American, and American origin. Documents recording how California friars traded mission products, such as hides, tallow, and soap, for mission necessities like spoons, barrels, and liturgical essentials, failed to list medals as items imported to missions. Sales books describing goods traded to missions, however, included dozens of crosses, rosaries, and icons of saints.⁴² It is possible, therefore, that private individuals traded medals in bulk. Additionally, New World Native Americans or Spanish colonists may have traded religious medals amongst themselves, yet historical documents do not support the practice.⁴³

A lack of historical evidence has forced scholars to theorize about medal use and distribution. Authors have built hypotheses on brief primary and secondary references, archaeological finds, and present practices. The presence of medals and the knowledge that Franciscan missionaries evangelized through images has led to the conclusion that

⁴²Webb, *Indian Life*, 196-198.

⁴³Rinehart analyzed medals discovered at the French Jesuit occupied Fort Michilimackinac, Michigan. Using historical documents, he determined that even though author George Quimby has categorized Jesuit medals found along the Mississippi and around the Great Lakes as trade goods (see *Indian Culture and European Trade Goods* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966), 76), medals found at Michilimackinac did not function as trade goods. Additionally, Franciscan mission chronicles did not refer to this practice. Missionaries may have withheld medals until later in the missionization process to prevent natives from trading the items. Thus, when Franciscan missionaries first interacted with individuals living in an area of a proposed mission, they gave them gifts of food, clothing, necklaces of colored glass, shells, tobacco, and beads, not medals. See Garcés, *Spanish Pioneer*, 2 vols; Geiger, *Junípero Serra*, 111, 116, 188.

medals functioned as tools of education and/or proselytization, probably not as trade goods. Additionally, missionaries probably had few devotional medals for allocation; thus, they distributed the items with discretion, avoiding giving them at baptisms. Friars probably withheld the objects until natives exhibited a good, thorough, and sincere acceptance of Christianity, generally in the third stage of missionization. Missionaries may have also awarded religious medals to those on whom friars relied to sustain the mission establishment.

The medals of *El Buen Consejo* were the cargo of Franciscans, and, presumably, the missionaries of Pachuca planned to use them as tools in the evangelization of native persons. Decorated with a wide variety of religious figures and images, devotional medals represent iconographies important to Catholics and they highlight the diversity of images used in the spread of Christianity. The iconographical analysis of the Anguillian collection reveals the imagery most frequently represented and provides data for the comparative analysis of other medals from Spanish colonial contexts. The examination reveals information applicable to scholars of history, archaeology, and religion.

CHAPTER FIVE

ICONOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF MEDALS FROM *EL BUEN CONSEJO*

The most obvious and informative aspect of devotional medals is iconography. The religious iconography represented on *El Buen Consejo*'s medals is extremely diverse. Items feature illustrations of saints, archangels, Jesus and his earthly parents, and other religious scenes. Depictions of saints and the Virgin Mary dominate the imagery, yet representations of religious scenes provide some of the most variable and complicated iconographies. Information regarding the representations derives from several sources that include complete, obverse and reverse, and incomplete, obverse only, medals. This analysis examines four hundred sixty-eight images from six different sources.¹

Multiple sources provide illustrative data on *El Buen Consejo*'s religious medals. These include photographs of both the obverse and reverse of medals, photographs of only the obverse of medals, and detailed notes.² Some data derive from work performed in Anguilla. Information from medals held at the Royal Anguillian Police Force (RAPF) includes photographs of the obverse and reverse of twelve medals, descriptive notes on both sides of seventeen medals, and descriptive notes on twenty-six obverse only medals. Photographs of the obverse and reverse of twelve medals are of items on display at Colville Petty's Anguilla Heritage Museum. Additionally, the work examines the obverse and reverse of ninety-three medals documented photographically by conservator Hawk

¹At times, the terms images and iconographies appear interchangeably. Generally and in the tables, however, iconography refers to a certain image, each only appearing once, while image refers to the number of appearances of an iconography.

²When only one side of a medal appears in a photograph or in notes, it is calculated as the object's obverse image.

Tolsen, and it analyzes photographs of both sides of twelve medals and of the obverse images of twelve objects included in Michèle Dubé Johnson's conservation report. Photographs taken by ECU's Maritime Studies Program reveal imagery of the obverse and reverse of ten medals and of the obverse of two medals. This analysis also examines eight medals from the GemOptions website. The site reveals both sides of the medals and provides each image an identity. Finally, iconographic data are included from one hundred obverse only photographs provided by AMR's David Stevens.

Since a number of images originate from only the obverse of medals, the thesis evaluates medal imagery two ways. First, it tallies the different iconography represented; second, it calculates how often each iconographic image appears. For instance, medalists depicted St. Francis of Assisi in two iconographies. One shows him in a reverent pose with his hands crossed at his chest, and the other illustrates him receiving the stigmata. The first image appears on three medals, while the second occurs on two medals. Thus, for Francis, the iconographic total is two, and the image total is five. The separate calculation of iconography treats all images as if from only one-half of a medal. It allows the analysis of every image, not only those from complete medals. Therefore, each medal does not need two images, obverse and reverse, for its inclusion in the analysis.

At times, the photographic data provided by the six disparate sources overlap; this examination, therefore, meticulously analyzes photographs for the presence of duplicate images. It counts each image as its own entity, making certain not to replicate one

medal's imagery multiple times. Of *El Buen Consejo*'s medals, medalists did not ascribe the same image to any one medal's obverse and reverse.³

Although the collection is extremely diverse, identical iconography often appears on multiple medals, thereby complicating the identification process. For example, one image of Our Lady of the Rosary appears eight times; therefore, for repetitive imagery, this work differentiates illustrations by analyzing variations in medal artwork, shape, size, and inscription. For instance, an identical image of St. Bruno on photographs provided by Tolsen and Stevens looks markedly different. Tolsen's medal is worn and hardly recognizable, while Stevens' medal is clear and very well preserved (Figures 22-23). Knowing a medal's reverse expedites the identification process because an obverse image may appear twice but with different reverse imagery; without both images subtle differences are often the only indication that an identical image originates from two medals.

In addition to calculating iconography and images, this analysis calculates the individual medals it evaluates. The data include objects in which either notes or photographs indicate the presence of obverse and reverse images or that data reveal, as described below, are independent medals. The total, after eliminating duplications, is one hundred sixty-three medals. The number includes six medals from written information and eight medals from photographs of the RAPF collection, seven from images on the

³Since some data in this work derive from obverse only images and notes, the work cannot conclusively state that these obverse medals do not feature identical imagery on their reverse; however, there is no evidence in *El Buen Consejo*'s collection or in any other Spanish colonial collection of medals suggesting medalists depicted identical imagery on both the obverse and reverse of medals. The collection does feature several identical medals, but these appear infrequently.



Figure 22. St. Bruno⁴



Figure 23. St. Bruno⁵

⁴CMURM photo by Hawk Tolsen.

⁵Anguilla Maritime Research, Ltd., Anguilla, B.W.I.

internet, nine from photographs taken by ECU, thirteen from Johnson's conservation report, ninety-three from photographs by Tolsen, eleven, described below, from notes on the obverse only of the RAPF collection, twelve from Colville Petty's collection, and four from photographs provided by Stevens.⁶

Of the hundreds of iconographies and images represented in the Anguillian collection, a number of images appear only once. A large percentage of these derive from Stevens' and Johnson's photographs and from notes on the RAPF medals. Since the singular images are unique and are not replications of the iconography from photographic data of complete medals, the images should count as the obverse of distinct objects. To be conservative, however, this thesis counts only eleven of these images as separate medals. The eleven derive from notations on the Anguillian collection. Therefore, even though the reverse images of all of Stevens' and twelve of Johnson's medals are unknown, these two groups' iconography are not counted as individual medals, for some of the images may represent the reverse of the eleven from Anguilla.

Several medals from *El Buen Consejo* feature the inscription ROMA, indicating the city of manufacture. The data allow the calculation of medals produced there. This analysis follows the same method described above except it excludes images documented by obverse only photographs or by obverse only notes. The sole exception is the eleven medals tallied from notations on the obverse of medals in the RAPF collection.

⁶Two obverse only photographs from Stevens match two of his other photos to equal the obverse and reverse of two medals. Additionally, the size, shape, and iconography of two other medals in his photograph collection reveal their uniqueness.

This research does not identify the images in all photographs, especially those from Tolsen. The wear and condition of some medals and the complicated iconography of other items prevent the certain identification of all pieces. Of medals in Tolsen's photographs, twenty-three images and thirteen of ninety-three complete medals are unidentifiable. Additionally, several photographs from Stevens depict obscure iconography. Unless noted, data from these images are omitted.

There is a natural division in the imagery of medals from *El Buen Consejo*; thus, this analysis divides illustrations into three categories of iconography: 1) images of saints and archangels, 2) images of the Holy Family, Joseph, Jesus, and Mary, and 3) images of religious scenes (Table 1).⁷ One hundred sixty-seven different iconographies appear; the images occur three hundred twenty-six times (Table 2). For each section, this thesis discusses some of the imagery represented.⁸

The first category, saints and archangels, is the largest and represents 45.5 and 40.5 percent, respectively, of all iconographies and images (Table 3).⁹ Saints are the

⁷The work divides images into these categories based on the central figure or scene represented. Some iconography could apply to more than one division. The saint category includes beatified individuals.

⁸The analysis uses a variety of religious and iconographic sources to identify the imagery depicted. See Donald Attwater, *A Dictionary of Saints: Based on Alban Butler's 'Lives of the Saints,' Complete Edition* (New York: P.J. Kenedy & Sons, 1958); Paul Burns, *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, new concise ed. (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2003); Alban Butler and Michael J. Walsh, *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, concise ed. (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1985); Clara Erskine Clement, *A Handbook of Christian Symbols and Stories of the Saints*, ed. Katherine E. Conway, fifth ed. (Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1895); Arthur de Bles, *How to Distinguish the Saints in Art* (New York: Art Culture, 1925); George Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959); Rosa Giorgi, *Saints in Art* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2002); Juan Ferrando Roig, *Iconografía de los Santos* (Barcelona: Ediciones Omega, 1950); Manuel Trens, *María Iconografía de la Virgen en el Arte Español* (Madrid: Editorial Plus-Ultra, 1946); Catholic Forum, "Patron Saints Index," <http://www.catholic-forum.com>; *Catholic Encyclopedia*, <http://www.newadvent.org>.

⁹This thesis does not include a chart describing the iconography of saints or blessed members of the Church because most images are simply a profile of the individual featured with one or more of their attributes. For attributes, see the religious and iconographic sources noted above.

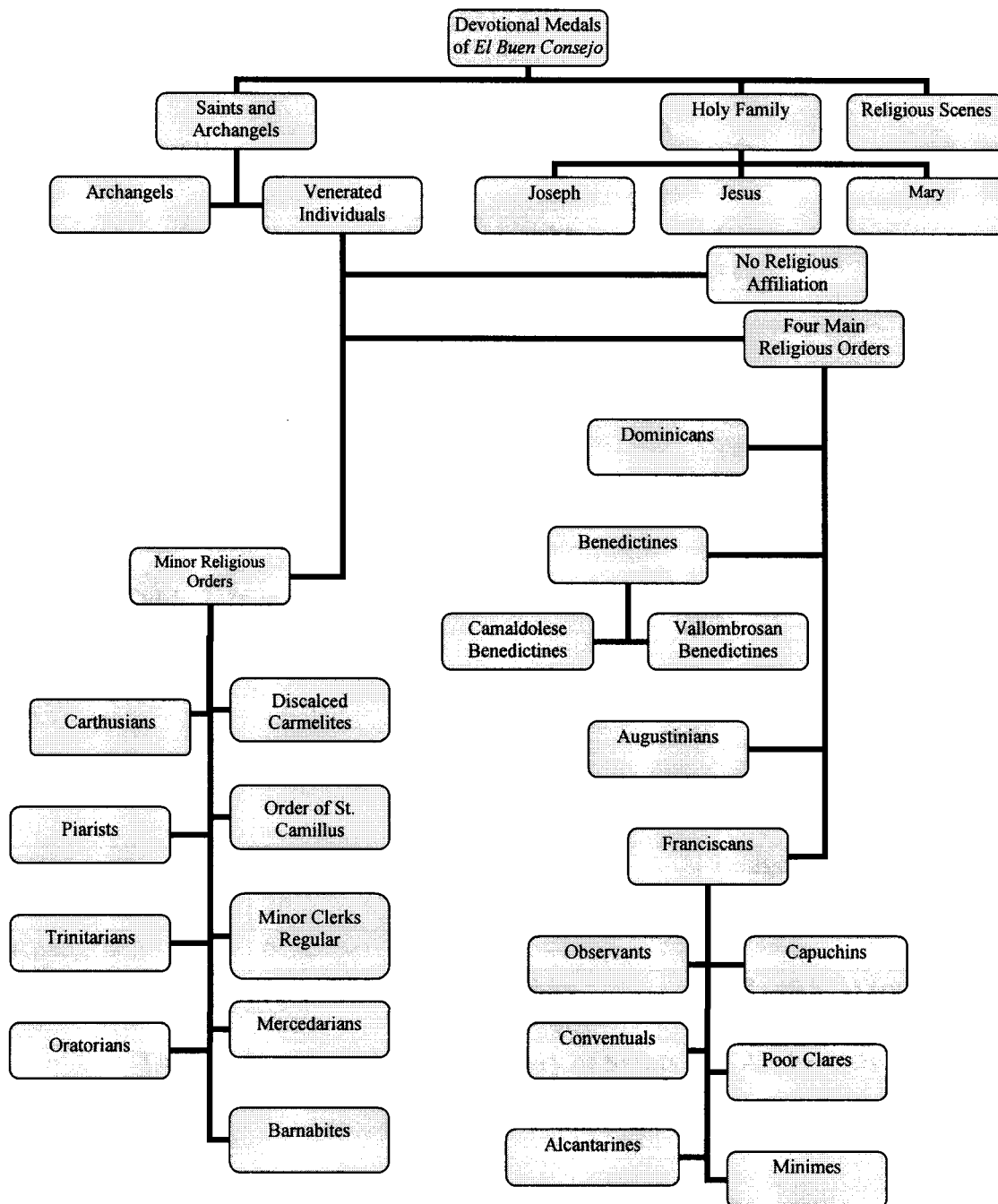


Table 1. Flowchart of *El Buen Consejo's* Devotional Medals

Category	Represented Iconography	Images
Saints	70	118
Archangels	6	14
Joseph	2	2
Jesus	10	18
Mary	46	95
Holy Family	4	15
Religious Scenes	29	64
Totals	167 Iconographies	326 Images

Table 2. Iconography and Imagery Totals for Entire Collection

Category	Represented Iconography	Images
Saints	70	118
Archangels	6	14
Totals	76 (45.5%) Iconographies	132 (40.5%) Images

Table 3. Iconography and Imagery of Saints and Archangels

Category	Represented Iconography	Images
Saints	70	118
Archangels	6	14
Joseph	2	2
Jesus	10	18
Mary	46	95
Holy Family	4	15
Religious Scenes	29	64
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Table 3. Iconography and Imagery of Saints and Archangels

Canonized or Beatified Individuals	Represented Iconography	Images
<i>Carthusians</i>		
Bruno*	3	6
Blessed Nicholas Albergati°	1	1
<i>Discalced Carmelites</i>		
John of the Cross°	2	3
Teresa of Avila*^	3	9
<i>Order of St. Camillus (Ministers of the Sick)</i>		
Camillus de Lellis*°	1	2
<i>Piarists</i>		
Joseph Calasanz*°	3	6
<i>Minor Clerks Regular</i>		
Blessed Francis Caracciolo*°	1	3
<i>Trinitarians</i>		
Felix of Valois*^	1	2
John of Matha*^	1	3
<i>Mercedarians</i>		
Raymond Nonnatus^	1	3
<i>Oratorians</i>		
Philip Neri*^	1	1
<i>Barnabites</i>		
Blessed Alexander Sauli°	1	1
10 Saints 2 Blessed	19 Iconographies	40 Images

Table 4. Iconography and Imagery of the Minor Orders¹⁰

¹⁰* Indicates founder or co-founder, ^ indicates individual canonized in seventeenth century, ° indicates individual canonized or beatified in eighteenth century. Symbols apply to charts 4-8 and 10.

most frequently depicted iconography with forty-nine saints and five beatified members of the church. Medalists represented these religious figures with seventy different iconographies and in one hundred-eighteen images. The individuals range from the first century apostle St. Peter to the first saint of the New World, Rose of Lima, and they represent a variety of backgrounds, beliefs, and religious orders. The collection features individuals from twenty different Catholic orders but also depicts figures with no affiliation to religious congregations. The orders include Camaldolese Benedictines, Minor Clerks Regular, Dominicans, Carthusians, Discalced Carmelites, Capuchins, Minimes, Order of St. Camillus (Ministers of the Sick), Friars Minor (Observant Franciscans), Discalced Franciscans, Piarists, Poor Clares, Trinitarians, Benedictines, Mercedarians, Oratorians, Conventual Franciscans, Barnabites, Vallombrosan Benedictines, and Augustinians. Thirty-seven saints and four beatified individuals represent these orders. The group accounts for 75.9 percent of all saint or beatified imagery.¹¹

Several of the orders represented are independent organizations, while some have ties to more established congregations. The independent and, typically, smaller, less well-known orders are the Carthusians, Discalced Carmelites, Piarists, Order of St. Camillus (Ministers of the Sick), Trinitarians, Barnabites, Mercedarians, Minor Clerks Regular, and Oratorians. Medals from the Anguillian wreck feature the founders of these

¹¹Unless specified, the thesis excludes archangels in percentages or other totals provided in the discussion of saints and beatified members of the Church. The same process, in reverse, applies when the thesis describes archangels.

congregations for seven of the nine orders; only four iconographies depict additional members (Table 4).¹²

Images of individuals from larger orders appear more frequently than do images of those from the aforementioned, smaller orders. The larger congregations include the Dominicans, Benedictines, Augustinians, and Franciscans (Tables 5-8). Medalists depicted four saints from the Dominican Order: founder, St. Dominic, and members Saints Rose of Lima, Thomas Aquinas, and Vincent Ferrer. The Benedictines have several individuals linked to the main order and additional persons associated with several smaller branches of the organization. Members of the Benedictine Order include Saints Benedict, Gertrude, Maurus, and Placidus. St. John Gualbert, founder of the Vallombrosan Benedictines, appears, as does St. Romuald, founder of the Order's Camaldolese branch. Iconography depicts five saints associated with the Augustinians: Augustine, John Nepomuck, John of St. Facundas, Nicholas of Tolentino, and Thomas of Villanova. The Blessed Rita Cascia also appears. The congregation has no additional religious branches represented.

Medals of individuals associated with the Franciscan Order appear most often. The order is comprised of three separate orders or divisions: the first, second, and third. The first, Friars Minor (OFM), and second, Poor Clares, are the two represented on *El Buen Consejo's* medals, and the OFM has several additional branches denoted.

¹²Symbols located in tables 4-8 and 10 indicate founder or co-founder (*) and individuals canonized or beatified in the seventeenth (^) or eighteenth (°) centuries.

Canonized or Beatified Individuals	Represented Iconography	Images
Dominic*	2	8
Rose of Lima^	3	4
Thomas Aquinas	1	1
Vincent Ferrer	1	2
4 Total Saints	7 Iconographies	15 Images

Table 5. Iconography and Imagery of Dominican Order

Canonized or Beatified Individuals	Represented Iconography	Images
<i>Benedictines</i>		
Benedict*	1	1
Gertrude	1	1
Maurus	1	2
Placidus	1	1
<i>Camaldolese Benedictines</i>		
Romuald*	1	1
<i>Vallombrosan Benedictines</i>		
John Gualbert*	1	2
6 Saints	6 Iconographies	8 Images

Table 6. Iconography and Imagery of Benedictine Orders

Canonized or Beatified Individuals	Represented Iconography	Images
Augustine*	2	2
John Nepomuck°	1	3
John of St. Facundas^	1	1
Nicholas of Tolentino	1	1
Blessed Rita Cascia	2	2
Thomas of Villanova^	1	1
5 Saints 1 Blessed	8 Iconographies	10 Images

Table 7. Iconography and Imagery of Augustinian Order

Canonized or Beatified Individuals	Represented Iconography	Images
<i>Order of Friars Minor (Observants)</i>		
Anthony of Padua	1	5
Bernardino of Siena	1	1
Francis of Assisi*	2	5
Francis Solano°	1	1
John Capistrano°	1	1
Peter Regalado°	1	2
<i>Capuchins</i>		
Joseph of Leonessa°	1	1
<i>Conventuals</i>		
Joseph of Cupertino°	1	1
<i>Poor Clares</i>		
Catherine of Bologna°	1	1
Clare of Assisi*	1	2
<i>Discalced Franciscans (Alcantarines)</i>		
Pascual Baylon^	1	1
Peter of Alcántara*^	1	1
<i>Minimes</i>		
Francis of Paola*	1	2
13 Saints	14 Iconographies	24 Images

Table 8. Iconography and Imagery of First and Second Franciscan Orders

Religious Order	Represented Iconography	Images
Franciscans	14 (40.0%)	24 (42.1%)
Benedictines	6 (17.1%)	8 (14.0%)
Augustinians	8 (22.9%)	10 (17.6%)
Dominicans	7 (20.0%)	15 (26.3%)
4 Orders	35 Iconographies	57 Images

Table 9. Iconography and Imagery of Four Main Orders

Generally, when scholars refer to Franciscans they allude to members of the First Order of St. Francis. Three separate bodies comprise it: the OFM or Observants, the Conventuals, and the Capuchins. During the fifteenth century, Franciscan friars pushed to reform the order, and in 1517, the church officially recognized a separation of the original branch, the Observants, from the less strict Conventual branch. The Capuchins broke away from the Observants and gained official recognition in 1619. The three divisions profess the rule of the Friars Minor as originally set forth by St. Francis, yet each has its particular statutes. The Second Order, or Poor Clares, includes all the different monasteries of cloistered nuns that recognize the rule of St. Clare; Innocent IV approved the congregation in 1253.¹³

Medals from *El Buen Consejo* depict six saints affiliated with the Observant branch of the order: Saints Anthony Padua, Bernardino of Siena, Francis of Assisi, Francis Solano, John Capistrano, and Peter Regalado. St. Joseph of Leonessa is the only representative from the Capuchin Order. Likewise, the iconography of St. Joseph of Cupertino is the sole representation of the Conventual Franciscans. The iconographic depictions of St. Clare of Assisi, founder of the Poor Clares, and of St. Catherine of Bologna symbolize the female congregation.

Two members of the Discalced (barefoot) Franciscans or Alcantarines, appear in the medal collection. The order is a branch of the Observants, and images feature founder, Peter Alcántara, and member Pascual Baylon. This analysis groups the iconography of St. Francis of Paola, founder of a reformed order of the Franciscans—the

¹³*Catholic Encyclopedia*, "Franciscan Order," <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/06217a.htm> (accessed March 2005).

Minimes, with the Franciscans because even though the order is not officially associated with or under the control of the Franciscan Order, it developed from the rule of St. Francis.

An analysis of images of religious figures associated with the four main orders reveals that Franciscan imagery surpasses that of the Benedictines, Augustinians, and Dominicans (Table 9). Out of fifty-seven images from the four orders, twenty-four or 42.1 percent relate to the Franciscans. Benedictine images occur in 14.0 percent of the illustrations, while Augustinian and Dominican figures appear in 17.6 and 26.3 percent, respectively.

Apart from saints affiliated with religious orders, the collection features twelve saints and one beatified member of the church not associated with any particular organization (Table 10). The individuals represent early saints who were canonized by local bishops or patriarchs before the "institution of the modern investigations performed by the Congregation for the causes of Saints," individuals who were never officially canonized, or persons who achieved notoriety as cardinals.¹⁴ The group accounts for 24.1 percent of religious figures in the saint category; thus, the majority of individuals are associated with a Catholic order.

The saints and beatified members with no religious affiliation range from first-century apostles of Jesus, such as St. Bartholomew, to St. Charles Borromeo who distinguished himself as bishop and cardinal of Milan. Although several members of this

¹⁴*Catholic Encyclopedia*, "Beatification and Canonization," <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/02364b.htm> (accessed March 2005). Around the close of the eleventh century, popes began to require general councils examine candidates of canonization. Unauthorized canonizations continued, however, until 1634 when Pope Urban VII instituted strict proceedings for the process.

category lived in the period following the eleventh century, the majority lived between the first and seventh centuries. The individuals, therefore, represent some of the religious figures Catholics have venerated for over a millennium.

Generally, saints and beatified members appear as single iconographic elements, but on two occasions artisans equally depicted two saints; John of Matha and Felix of Valois, founders of the Trinitarians, appear together, while Charles Borromeo appears with his friend the Jesuit Francis Borgia.¹⁵ The latter image is the only representation of a Jesuit saint or of any Jesuit iconography in the medal collection.

Frequently, medalists attributed multiple iconographies to several individuals. Represented in varying illustrations are Saints Bruno, John of the Cross, Dominic, Francis Assisi, Jerome, Rose of Lima, Joseph Calasanz, Teresa of Avila, and Augustine. The two female saints and Saints Bruno and Calasanz have three different iconographies. Blessed Rita Cascia, with two distinctive illustrations, is the only beatified member depicted in more than one representation. Additionally, saints and blessed persons repeatedly appear in identical images. Of the fifty-four religious figures in the category, twenty-three appear in one iconography more than once. The combination of iconographies and images, therefore, reveals the saints most often depicted. They include Teresa of Avila with nine total images, Dominic with eight, and Bruno and Calasanz with six. Not all individuals appear multiple times, however; half the religious individuals or twenty-seven persons appear in one image, one time.

¹⁵The thesis separates these double images from the iconographic tally of particular canonized or beatified individuals; thus, Borgia does not appear with other religious figures. These two representations appear in the totals for iconographies and images.

Recently canonized or beatified individuals appear frequently, but they do not significantly dominate the iconography (Tables 5-10). Imagery depicts eleven saints canonized in the seventeenth century between 1610 and 1694. The images account for 20.4 percent of the total saint or beatified medal iconography. Medalists depicted no beatified individuals from the century. Ten saints and four blessed members from the eighteenth century, venerated between 1712 and 1769, appear. The amount accounts for 25.9 percent of the category's imagery. With just less than half of saint or beatified medals coming from individuals recognized in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the medal collection does not overwhelmingly consist of recently celebrated persons.

Although close to half the medals in the canonized and beatified division feature seventeenth- and eighteenth-century religious individuals, the majority of images represent members whom the church has venerated for centuries. Of the twenty-nine saints not associated with the aforementioned centuries, eleven feature canonization dates from 1193 to 1582. Additionally, eighteen have no certain date of veneration. As noted above, this often occurs because the figures lived prior to the church's institution of formal proceedings regarding canonization.¹⁶ For example, Saints Jerome, Christopher, Augustine, Barbara, Lucy, Nicholas of Myra, and Agnes lived between the late third and the fourth centuries and probably achieved veneration in the years following their deaths.

Archangels comprise the last group in category one. Medals from *El Buen Consejo* feature each of the three named archangels, and the figures appear fourteen times

¹⁶St. Rita Cascia was a blessed member of the church during the period of *El Buen Consejo*; her beatification date is unknown, and the church did not proclaim her sainthood until 1900. Thus, she appears with those with uncertain dates of veneration. The church never officially canonized the thirteenth-century Saint Gertrude; therefore, she appears as a person of unknown veneration.

(Table 11).¹⁷ Gabriel appears less prominently than Michael and Raphael do, for medalists portrayed him only in the Annunciation of Mary when he informed her of the Incarnation of Jesus.¹⁸ Michael appears most frequently and dominates the archangel iconography. Artists depicted him in 85.7 percent of the images. Raphael is in three different images: with Michael, with the youth Tobias of whom he is the guardian, and with Tobias and another individual.

The saint and archangel category represents the largest division of the Anguillian medals. Seventy distinctive iconographies depict fifty-four canonized and beatified members of the church. Medals represent persons from twenty Catholic orders, with Franciscans dominating iconography of the four largest organizations, but not that of the whole category. Religious figures from early centuries appear almost equally with those recently venerated, and imagery featuring the Archangel Michael overwhelms that of his two companions. The diversity of individuals confirms the church's emphasis on the works and miracles of a great variety of saints and blessed persons. The evidence also reveals that the collection features no overwhelming emphasis on medals representing the Franciscan Order.

The second category of medals features the Holy Family: Joseph, Jesus, and Mary. The analysis separates the iconography of each family member and of the family depicted together (Table 12). In images featuring Jesus as the central figure, he appears as an adult.

¹⁷Canonical scriptures refer to seven archangels, yet only Gabriel, Michael, and Raphael are named.

¹⁸Although the work includes Gabriel in the saint category, it tallies the image of the Annunciation with the iconography of Mary. Thus, it does not calculate the image in the archangel category.

Canonized or Beatified Individuals	Represented Iconography	Images
Agnes	1	1
Barbara	1	2
Bartholomew	1	1
Charles Borromeo [^]	1	1
Christopher	1	1
Blessed Gregory Barbarigo ^o	1	3
Gregory the Great	1	1
Jerome	2	3
Lucy	1	1
Nicholas of Myra (Bari)	1	1
Peter	1	1
Quiteria	1	2
Roch	1	1
12 Saints 1 Blessed	14 Iconographies	19 Images

Table 10. Iconography and Imagery of Individuals with no Affiliation

Iconography	Images
Michael, sword and scales	7
Michael, slays dragon	3
Michael in military clothing	1
Michael and Raphael	1
Raphael with Tobias	1
Raphael with Tobias and one other	1
6 Iconographies	14 Images

Table 11. Iconography and Imagery of Archangels

Category	Represented Iconography	Images
Joseph	2	2
Jesus	10	18
Mary	46	95
Holy Family	4	15
Totals	62 (37.1%) Iconographies	130 (39.9%) Images

Table 12. Iconography and Imagery Totals of Holy Family

Of Jesus' earthly parents, Joseph occurs substantially less than Mary does.¹⁹ Apart from images with the Holy Family, Joseph appears once in two different illustrations: medalists depicted him holding the Christ Child, and they featured a portrait of him with his head surrounded by rays.

Of represented iconographies, Jesus appears as the central figure ten different times, in eighteen images (Table 13). Five representations occur once, three occur twice, one occurs thrice, and only one occurs four times. Artisans illustrated Jesus carrying the cross in three different ways, and they depicted him alone in four variations.²⁰ European artwork presumably was the model for the baptism and flagellation scenes since the iconography closely resembles artistic renderings of the events. The final image features an angel comforting Jesus.

After saintly iconography, Marian imagery dominates *El Buen Consejo's* medal collection. There are more images of Mary than of any other individual.²¹ Apart from representations of the Holy Family, there are forty-six different images of Mary or images related to Mary. The representations appear ninety-five times (Table 14). Frequently, Marian medals feature iconography that depicts one event or devotion multiple times. For example, when Mary and the Christ Child appear with one or more rosaries, the image represents Our Lady of the Rosary. Medals from the shipwreck depict

¹⁹The find is not surprising. The Catholic Church places an emphasis on Marian devotion, and Renaissance and Counter-Reformation artists often depicted her. See de Bles, *Distinguish*, 34-48.

²⁰This analysis separates the iconographies of Jesus carrying the cross. Some scholars, however, may group all images together as "Christ Corcovado," where artists depicted Jesus with his back bent and carrying the cross. See Kathleen Deagan, *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies of Florida and the Caribbean, 1500-1800*, vol. 2, *Portable Personal Possessions* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2002), 44.

²¹The only possible exception is Jesus since the Christ Child typically appears in images of Mary.

Iconography	Images
Baptism of Jesus by John the Baptist	1
Head profile, surrounded by rays	1
Head profile, with nimbus	2
Head profile, "Creator of Heaven and Earth"	2
Half body image, arms folded	1
Carries cross, stumbles	2
Carries cross, standing	4
Carries cross, assisted by Mary	3
Flagellation	1
Angel comforts Jesus	1
10 Iconographies	18 Images

Table 13. Iconography and Imagery of Jesus

Iconography	Images
Our Lady of the Rock of France	2
Our Lady of Pilar of Saragossa, "Sarag"	4
Our Lady of Pilar of Saragossa, "Zax"	1
Our Lady of Pilar, no inscription readable	4
Our Lady of Loreto	4
Our Lady of Aranzazu	2
Our Lady of the Snows	1
Our Lady of Mercy	1
Our Lady of Mercy of Quito	2
Our Lady of Guadalupe of Mexico	1
Our Lady of Samparados	1
Our Lady of Montserrat	2
Beauty of Carmel, Mary cradles Jesus	5
Beauty of Carmel, Jesus points up	7
Our Lady of the Rosary, "reg. sacr"	8
Our Lady of the Rosary, "r.s.r"	1
Our Lady of the Rosary, rosary with cross	1
Our Lady of the Rosary, both wear crowns	1
Our Lady of the Rosary, no inscription	1
Immaculate Conception, figure	6
Immaculate Conception, inscription only	1
Portrait of Mary and Child placed in a tree	1
Head profile, surrounded by rays	3

Head profile, "Mother of the Savior"	1
Mater Dolorosa, Mother of Sorrows	5
Mary with mother Anne	1
Mary's parents, Anne and Joachim	3
Pietà, "Our Lady of the Crag"	1
Pietà, Mary stands, no inscription readable	1
Pietà, Mary holds Jesus	1
Pietà, Mary stands "Our Lady of Sorrows"	1
Crown with Greek- "Mother of God"	1
Mary and Child, "s.m.de.patrio"	2
Mary and Child in clouds	1
Mary and Child with eight saints	1
Mary and Child, close image	1
Mary cradles Child	1
Mary stands with Child, both wear crowns	1
Mary and Child, she wears triangle cloak	1
Mary and Child wear big crowns, she wears elaborate cloak	4
Mary and Child in picture frame, held by others	2
Mary and Child in large picture frame	1
Mary and Child, "Mother of God, of Lera"	1
Adoration of the Christ Child	2
The Divine Shepherdess	1
Annunciation of Mary by Gabriel	1
46 Iconographies	95 Images

Table 14. Iconography and Imagery of Mary

Devotion	Represented Iconography	Images
Aranzazu, Spain	1	2
Carmel, Israel	2	12
Guadalupe of Mexico	1	1
Loreto, Italy	1	4
Mercy of Quito, Ecuador	1	1
Montserrat, Spain	1	2
Pilar of Saragossa, Spain	3	9
Samparados, Philippines	1	1
Snows, Italy	1	1
9 Devotions	12 Iconographies	33 Images

Table 15. Iconography and Imagery Totals for Marian Devotions

this iconography five different ways, in twelve images. Rosary iconography is one of the most frequently depicted pictorial representations.

As in rosary images, Mary frequently appears with her son. Medalists featured her with the Christ Child or adult Jesus in 72.6 percent of the Marian iconography. Of the ninety-five images, sixty-nine depict mother and son together. Some illustrations of the two show Mary as a loving mother, cradling Jesus or lamenting over his dead body. In others, however, she stands or sits with the Child. The latter image generally relates to the Marian devotion of a specific town or geographical region or to a miracle attributed to her. Certain areas of the world have particular attachments to Mary, and they generally relate to a location where Mary supposedly performed a miracle. For example, some Catholics believe the event attributed to Our Lady of the Crag occurred around 1408 near the present Knaresborough, England. A local stonemason's son narrowly escaped death as he was playing on a rocky cliff. The father attributed the miracle to the Virgin and built a shrine dedicated to her.²² There are probably hundreds of these sorts of Marian devotions; the medals of *El Buen Consejo* represent some of the most popular ones.²³

Iconography of these Marian devotional medals is diverse, some unique, some repetitive, but most feature Mary with the Christ Child. Images of Our Lady of the Pilar of Saragossa, Spain, portray Mary holding the baby Jesus while she stands atop a pillar or column. The depiction is common and recognizable, yet others are more obscure and difficult to interpret. For instance, medals featuring Our Lady of the Snows and of Loreto

²²"Shrine of Our Lady of the Crag," <http://www.knaresborough.co.uk/stmaryrcchurch/shrine.html> (accessed 25 February 2005).

²³See Zsolt Aradi, *Shrines to Our Lady Around the World* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Young, 1954).

appear similar; Mary wears a triangle-shaped cloak, but she does so in a variety of images; thus, these depictions are difficult to decipher especially when medals lack inscriptions and are in poor condition (Figures 24-25).

Of Marian iconography associated with a particular location or miracle, Our Lady of Carmel and of Pilar appear with much greater frequency, up to twelve times more often, than do Our Lady of Samparados, Mercy of Quito, Guadalupe of Mexico, Montserrat, Loreto, Aranzazu, and the Snows (Table 15). Twelve images of Carmel appear, the highest number of Marian representations, while nine depictions of Pilar occur. The large number of images and the diversity in iconographies reveal the Catholic affinity for the Virgin Queen. Of all representations in the three iconographic categories, Marian imagery appears most frequently with the highest variability and the most numerous illustrations.

Medals from *El Buen Consejo* depict the Holy Family in four different images.²⁴ Two feature the family with a banner overhead. Although similar, the iconography is unique; one has a simple image, while the other has a more complex design. The images occur one and four times, respectively. Mary and an adult Jesus surround an aged Joseph in the third, singularly depicted image. The fourth illustration appears most frequently, 60 percent or nine times, with medalists depicting the parents and their infant with an inscription translated as "Jesus, Mary, Joseph."

Overall, Marian imagery dominates the Holy Family category, indicating the church's reverence for the Blessed Mother. Although the Christ Child generally

²⁴The small number of iconographies and the descriptions provided make a table of iconography and images for the Holy Family unnecessary.



Figure 24. Our Lady of the Snows²⁵



Figure 25. Our Lady of Loreto²⁶

²⁵CMURM photo by Hawk Tolsen.

²⁶Elizabeth Whitfield, courtesy of Anguilla Archaeological and Historical Society.

Iconography	Images
Crucifixion with Mary, Mary Magdalene (head lowered), John Evangelist	3
Crucifixion with Mary, Mary Magdalene (head raised), John Evangelist	2
Crucifixion with Mary and John Evangelist	1
Crucifixion with Mary Magdalene	1
Holy Eucharist, IHS and two angels	1
Holy Eucharist, people kneel	6
Holy Eucharist, people reach from flames	4
Holy Eucharist, only monstrance	3
Holy Eucharist, box with wafers	4
Sacred heart of Jesus	3
Sacred hearts of Jesus and Mary	2
Confraternity of the Sacred heart of Jesus	1
Guardian Angel, "Custos"	2
Door/gate, people kneel	2
Door/gate, people kneel "1700"	1
Inscription with date 1771	1
Holy House of Loreto	2
Two saints reach down from heaven	4
Dominican image with unidentified saint	1
Stone tablet commemorates St. Nepomuck	3
Eight virgin martyrs	2
Passion of Christ, symbols-no veil, ladder	2
Passion of Christ, symbols-veil and ladder	3
Stairs to heaven	1
St. Benedict cross	2
Adoration of the Magi	1
People in flames reach to angel, "Have Mercy"	1
Holy Family with Saints Anne and Joachim	4
Bell	1
29 Iconographies	64 Images

Table 16. Iconography and Imagery of Religious Scenes

accompanies her depictions, Mary is the predominant figure represented. Not surprisingly, exclusive images of Joseph appear infrequently. The limited iconography of the adult Jesus, however, is unexpected, but since he occurs in numerous other images, especially as an infant, the result may not indicate a lack of Jesus devotion and may typify other medal collections. Of Holy Family imagery, medalists emphasized depicting the family together while Jesus was an infant.

The third category of iconography includes images of religious scenes and events and of other illustrations not applicable to sections one and two. There are twenty-nine different iconographies appearing sixty-four times (Table 16). Images vary from the sacred heart of Jesus to the St. Benedict cross. Iconography also depicts religious events such as the Adoration of the Magi when the three kings brought gifts to the baby Jesus, images significant to certain religious orders such as a Dominican image of an unidentified saint, and images that represent Christian truths like the Holy Eucharist. Several images are duplications; for example, medalists crafted the crucifixion scene in four variations. As with other illustrations, this thesis analyzes similar images as separate entities.

The religious scenes category is very diverse. About 38 percent of the iconography occurs only once, yet an almost equal percentage of the images, around 35 percent, occur three or more times. By far, Eucharist scenes of a monstrance and/or wafers appear most frequently. Five different images occur, and, in combination, they

appear eighteen times. The second most popular iconography is the crucifixion scene.²⁷ Depicted four ways, the image occurs seven times. Several religious images are not deciphered, yet they appear in the category to assist future researchers. One such image is a long inscription with the date 1771. The image may relate to the Virgin Mary and to a city in Spain.²⁸ Additionally, two almost identical images feature people kneeling outside a gate or door. One bears the date 1700, while the other bears the inscription ANNO IVB. Finally, the Dominican image mentioned above probably relates to a specific saint of the order, perhaps Dominic.²⁹ Overall, the category features Eucharist and crucifixion images most often; among the remaining depictions, no one theme dominates the iconography.

As regards medals produced in Rome, this thesis analyzes one hundred sixty-three medals and concludes that thirty-five, 21.5 percent, derive from Roman manufacturers. No other cities of manufacture appear.

In conclusion, this analysis examines four hundred sixty-eight images from photographs and notes from six different sources. After eliminating duplications, it analyzes iconographic data from three hundred twenty-six illustrations. Medalists depicted saints, archangels, Joseph, Jesus, Mary, and religious scenes in almost two hundred iconographies. Besides Marian imagery, no other depiction of a religious individual or scene appears with the same frequency or diversity. Data from the iconographic analysis reveal several patterns. Using Deagan's study of religious medals

²⁷Some religious scholars have categorized scenes of the crucifixion as representing the Pietà, Mary's lamentation over the dead body of Christ. This work, however, separates the two, placing illustrations of the Pietà with Mary in the Holy Family category.

²⁸Charles Fantazzi, in discussion with the author, January 2005. Fantazzi believes the inscription S·M·GRATIAR·CASTRI PLANI STATUS SE NEN COR·ARMO CAP S·PETRIDE URBE may represent "Saint Mary of Graces" and possibly a city in northern Spain--Castellon de la Plana.

²⁹The image is of a saint with a placard around his neck. The placard has a saintly figure on it.

where she has put forth patterns found in devotional medals from Spanish colonial sites and from shipwrecks, this examination inserts its analytical data into her model to determine if Deagan's finds correlate to those of the Anguillian collection. It is the first significant test of her model.

CHAPTER SIX

PATTERNS AND CONCLUSIONS

Kathleen Deagan's study of devotional medals from Spanish colonial sites and shipwrecks is the first serious attempt to interpret and document these pieces of material culture; thus, her work establishes a model for analyses of medals found in Spanish American contexts. This examination applies information from its iconographical analysis and from its general observations of the Anguillian collection to Deagan's work to determine if her finds apply to other Spanish colonial medal collections. Although the analysis of Anguilla's collection represents only one-third of the assemblage, the data are of sufficient size to challenge or verify Deagan's work. This thesis, therefore, conducts the first significant test of her model.¹

Data comprising Deagan's model originate from examinations of an indeterminate number of medals in collections from Spanish colonial sites in Florida and from eighteenth-century Caribbean shipwrecks.² Of her analysis of eighteenth-century medals, Deagan has noted that the "great majority" of her sample originated from wrecked Spanish vessels, especially upon the medal cargo shipments of the Quicksilver ships, *Tolosá* and *Guadalupe* (1724), and of *El Matanceros* (1741). Medals from at least one site (1750-1800) in St. Augustine, Florida, contributed to her eighteenth-century

¹Deagan's analysis included medals found in sixteenth- to nineteenth-century contexts. This thesis focuses on patterns applicable to medals of any age but especially on patterns found in eighteenth- and late eighteenth-century medals. Deagan has calculated the late eighteenth century from 1770 to 1800.

²Deagan did not correlate medals to their sites of origin.

sample.³ Deagan based her work on the observation that scholars can roughly date medals by size, shape, and motif. Through the analysis of these elements, several patterns emerge. Some patterns proffered by Deagan correlate to those evident from the iconographical analysis of *El Buen Consejo*'s devotional medals. Some patterns found in the analysis of the Anguillian collection, however, conflict with her finds.

Deagan has declared that researchers can date devotional medals through the presence of medal flanges. As previously described, medals from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries feature additional flanges; in addition to the top loop, three typically occur. Flanges cease to appear around 1650, except for gold pieces worn as jewelry.⁴ Medals from *El Buen Consejo* only have the single top loop and are of cupreous material; thus, the evidence supports that by the eighteenth century additional flanges were obsolete.

Deagan has noted several patterns concerning medal iconography and design. The first relates to the Immaculate Conception. After a lengthy discussion on the illustrations of the Virgin, Deagan has argued that the dogma's iconography was popular during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but that after 1650, "devotion to the Immaculate Conception was considerably less fervent." Her analysis included medals from sites dated between 1580 and 1650; she has added, however, that eighteenth-century medals "do sometimes commemorate that Mystery."⁵ Six images of the Immaculate Conception appear on medals recovered from *El Buen Consejo*, thus conclusively placing the

³Kathleen Deagan, *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies of Florida and the Caribbean, 1500-1800*, vol. 2, *Portable Personal Possessions* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2002), 51-53.

⁴*Ibid.*, 47.

⁵*Ibid.*, 50.

iconography in the late eighteenth-century. The find is significant and may indicate that near the turn of the eighteenth century the Franciscan Order continued to support the doctrine.

As regards the second pattern concerning aesthetics, Deagan has argued that medals from the eighteenth century have a larger variety of motifs than earlier items.⁶ Pre-eighteenth-century pieces often feature repetitive designs. Some frequent themes are the Holy Eucharist and the Immaculate Conception. Eighteenth-century religious medals, however, rarely depict identical imagery. For example, illustrations from the Anguillian collection represent the Pietà in four different depictions, and Saints Teresa of Avila, Jerome, and Michael the Archangel appear in multiple variations. Additionally, a number of complex religious scenes, like the scourging of Jesus and the Adoration of the Magi, multiply from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century medals. Data from *El Buen Consejo*'s medals, therefore, uphold Deagan's statement.

Deagan has proffered a third pattern concerning aesthetics: late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century medals feature highly ornate designs.⁷ Information from *El Buen Consejo*'s medals, however, suggests ornate designs probably did not appear until after 1772, for almost all medals in the Anguillian collection lack elaborate decorations like the scrolls or wreaths often depicted on the nineteenth-century Virgin of Guadalupe medals (Figure 20). Only one medal from *El Buen Consejo* has filigree; it depicts St. Charles Borromeo. Generally, eighteenth-century medalists used dots to separate the

⁶Ibid., 51.

⁷Ibid., 54.



Figure 26. Holy House of Loreto⁸



Figure 27. St. Charles Borromeo⁹

⁸Elizabeth Whitfield, photo courtesy Anguilla Archaeological and Historical Society.

⁹Anguilla Maritime Research, Ltd., Anguilla, B.W.I.

words or abbreviations of inscriptions. For instance, in the image of the Holy House of Loreto, which features angels moving the house in which the Holy Family lived in Nazareth, the inscription reads SAN·CASA. Instead of using the dot between letters in Borromeo's inscription, the medalist indicated the breaks with a more ornate symbol (Figures 26-27). Perhaps a production facility on the cusp of broadening its designs produced the medal. Since it is unlike any other item in the collection, medalists probably struck it late in the century, just before its shipment to New Spain. According to this interpretation, *El Buen Consejo*'s medals support Deagan's pattern for medals dated beyond 1772 contexts.

Deagan has revealed two final patterns regarding aesthetics of late eighteenth-century religious medals: medals feature "more regular and precise inscriptions" and sometimes have images only on one side.¹⁰ Information from *El Buen Consejo*'s medals partly contradicts the patterns. First, widely varying inscriptions appear on the collection's medals. Some abbreviations, such as OPNOB for *ora pro nobis*, "pray for us," or VEM for virgin martyr, appear with some regularity, yet a number of indistinguishable iconographies feature distinct inscriptions. For example, in an identical illustration of Jesus carrying the cross, two inscriptions reference it: IESUS NAZA and IESUS·NAZZARENUS. No one inscription dominates a particular iconography from the Anguillian collection.

Second, medalists produced *El Buen Consejo*'s medals with iconography on both sides. Images do not necessarily appear on the obverse and reverse since some medals

¹⁰Ibid., 53.

feature an inscription on the reverse relating to its opposite image, but no medals appear blank or only with the inscription ROMA.

When comparing seventeenth- and eighteenth-century medals, Deagan has observed a decrease in Roman production. Fourteen percent of seventeenth-century objects depict the inscription ROMA, while only 7 percent of eighteenth-century items feature the city's name. She has argued the reduction occurred because medal-manufacturing facilities outside Rome increased in number and maturity. She has warned, however, that the majority of her analysis of eighteenth-century medals focused on artifacts from Caribbean shipwrecks, thus the data may only apply to these collections.¹¹ The analysis of *El Buen Consejo*'s medals does not support her evaluation. Of the 163 medals examined, only 21.5 percent feature Rome as the city of production.

Deagan has offered another pattern: by the eighteenth century, medalists included American images in their designs.¹² Data from *El Buen Consejo* support her conclusion; the collection features American iconography of Our Lady of Guadalupe of Mexico, Our Lady of Mercy of Quito, and St. Rose of Lima.

As noted above, the church introduced and popularized new saints by striking and distributing medals commemorating a saint's canonization. Presumably, the church intended Catholics in the Spanish colonies as well as in Europe receive these medals. Thus, medals found on Spanish shipwrecks should depict recently canonized saints. Deagan has corroborated the theory through an analysis of the medal shipments of the Quicksilver ships and *El Matanceros* in which she found medals of saints canonized in

¹¹Ibid., 51.

¹²Ibid., 43.

the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹³ Iconographical information from *El Buen Consejo*'s cargo substantiates her evidence because in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the church venerated almost half the canonized or beatified individuals depicted in the collection. Fourteen achieved acknowledgment in the latter century, some in the years just prior to the vessel's departure; in 1767 the church proclaimed Joseph Calasanz and Joseph of Cupertino saints, and in 1769 it announced Francis Caracciolo a blessed member.

According to Deagan, medal size aids in medal identification; therefore, her examination of eighteenth- and late eighteenth-century medals included measurements, especially diameter. She has determined that the maximum diameter of the century's oval medals is 3.5 cm, while the maximum for round items is 5.0 cm.¹⁴ Although this thesis does not analyze the size and shape of all *El Buen Consejo*'s medals, it calculates the height and diameter for a small, but representative portion of the objects.¹⁵ The maximum measurements of oval artifacts are 5.6 and 4.2 cm, respectively. Round medals feature a maximum height of 4.8 cm and a maximum diameter of 3.9 cm. Deagan has argued that round medals increased in size as the century progressed. Data from this analysis, however, do not support the claim. Perhaps her find applies to round medals produced after the 1770s. On the other hand, the size increase of oval medals suggests her pattern may apply to oval pieces.

¹³Ibid., 53.

¹⁴Ibid., 52-54.

¹⁵The data set is twelve medals. All measurements include the top loop.

One of the last patterns in Deagan's model correlates religious imagery to Catholic orders. As noted above, Deagan's analysis featured data from a number of medal collections from Florida where, for the most part, Franciscan missionaries managed the evangelization efforts. On a majority of Florida's seventeenth-century medals, Franciscan saints dominate the imagery. Does the evidence suggest a correlation between a Catholic order and its use of medals struck with iconography of its order? Deagan's answer is unclear. Initially, she has noted, "[M]edals generally represent the saints, cults, and events that figured most prominently in either the place of origin or the religious order distributing them."¹⁶ Thus, the imagery on medals shipped from a certain area of Spain or by a certain order, for instance, should correlate to the region of production or to the order. Later, however, she has referred to medals discovered at St. Augustine and has stated that Franciscan imagery was not more prevalent than other Catholic iconography and that sites established by similar orders should also reveal medals depicting "a different array of saints and symbols." Artifacts found on eighteenth-century Caribbean shipwrecks support the variety in iconography.¹⁷

Her statements are contradictory, yet it appears Deagan believed Catholic orders did not rely on iconography particular to their congregations. If so, this research supports the contention, for, as previously noted, a large variety of Catholic saints and religious figures played a primary role in the evangelization of Spanish America, and medals found in Anguilla feature images of non-Franciscan saints more often than they depict illustrations of those associated with the orders of St. Francis. Medalists, however,

¹⁶Deagan, *Artifacts*, 43.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 50.

depicted more Franciscans than they featured individuals of any other order. Yet the most frequently occurring saints are Teresa of Avila, a Discalced Carmelite, and Dominic, a Dominican. If a strong connection existed between specific medals and orders, the Anguillian collection should feature more images of Discalced Franciscans, since all the missionaries aboard *El Buen Consejo* were of this branch. Only two medals feature saints of the order. Therefore, if there is a correlation between a religious order and its represented iconography, it is probably slight.

Finally, Deagan has identified a number of iconographies represented on medals she examined. Typically, she has noted the presence of saints and other religious figures like Jesus and the Virgin Mary, only rarely mentioning religious images such as the Holy Eucharist. Of the images represented from at least two archaeological sites, Deagan has placed them in a chart with some of their attributes, associations, and dates of most frequent archaeological occurrence. The chart provides a timeline for the appearance of certain imagery in the archaeological record. The data generated from the iconographical analysis of *El Buen Consejo's* medals add to her examination since the presence of particular iconographies extends their period of archaeological occurrence. For example, the St. Francis medals from the vessel lengthen this image's archaeological context by twenty-two years. This work makes such extensions for fifteen additional images: the Saints Anne (with Mary), Anthony of Padua, Bernardino of Siena, Jerome, Joseph (with Jesus), Peter, Teresa of Avila, Vincent Ferrer, and the Holy Family, Holy Eucharist, and crucifixion, and the Virgin of Carmel, Guadalupe, and Immaculate Conception. The

shortest extension is only a few decades, yet the longest is one hundred seventy-two years.¹⁸

The extensions of archaeological occurrence are significant because the presence of certain medals illustrates a possible resurgence in the popularity of those particular saints or devotions. For instance, Deagan has recorded that medals bearing St. Jerome last appeared on sites occupied in 1600; he appears on three Anguillian images. Additionally, the presence of twelve medals featuring the Virgin of Carmel is noteworthy, for Deagan has noted their last occurrence in 1650.¹⁹

By producing the only work to analyze and interpret devotional medals, Deagan has established a framework applicable to medal collections from New World Spanish occupied sites and from Spanish ships wrecked while traveling from Spain to its colonies. Patterns appear in the medals she analyzed, and medals from *El Buen Consejo* corroborate most of her finds. Inserting data from the Anguillian collection, this thesis conducts the first significant test of Deagan's model and finds that her work is a reliable reference for Spanish colonial medal collections. The iconographical analysis of the Anguillian medals, however, also reveals several patterns Deagan's examination excluded; the information should apply to other eighteenth-century medals found in Spanish colonial contexts.

First, data from the Anguillian collection reveal medalists rarely struck devotional medals with dates. Dates appear on very few medals found on sixteenth- through

¹⁸Ibid., 44-46.

¹⁹Ibid. Of course, Deagan has only calculated medals found on more than one site; thus, *El Buen Consejo*'s data would be excluded under her restrictions.

nineteenth-century Spanish occupied sites, the chief exception being nineteenth-century Miraculous Medals. Archaeological examples of these medals often bear the years 1830 and 1832 for the years of the miraculous event that prompted the medal's striking and of the production, respectively. Dates on eighteenth-century medals, however, are unusual. They appear on only two medals in the Anguillian collection. One features 1700, and the other depicts 1771. Since *El Buen Consejo* sank toward the end of the century, it seems unlikely the year on the 1700 medal refers to its date of production; it probably relates to the medal's iconography. The 1771 medal, however, may represent the date of manufacture or it may correspond to the indecipherable inscription it accompanies.

The lack of dates and the lack of information regarding medal manufacture and distribution make it impossible to determine exact dates of production or to understand the process of medal dissemination. The 1771 medal and the medals of individuals venerated in the years just prior to *El Buen Consejo*'s sailing in 1772 illustrate that some medals quickly left production facilities. Possibly, however, not all medals entered the market so rapidly. For recently venerated individuals, the date of acknowledgment acts as a *terminus post quem*.²⁰ Scholars have no means of dating medals struck with New Testament images or individuals, with illustrations of early saints, or with scenes featuring no datable event.

Second, Deagan made no mention of maker's marks, and this thesis has uncovered no evidence suggesting medalists produced items with any form of signature.

²⁰Ibid., 47.

The lack of identification supports the notion eighteenth-century medals were mass-produced items.

Third, as regards iconography on medals of *El Buen Consejo*, there is one peculiarity: only one medal bears Jesuit imagery. As previously noted, the Jesuit St. Francis Borgia appears with St. Charles Borromeo. Even though Spain expelled the Jesuit Order from its colonies in 1767, it seems more Jesuit images should exist, especially images of predominant Catholic figures such as Saints Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier. Jesuit iconography should appear because the medals of the Pachucan missionaries bear images of other large Catholic orders. The absence may indicate a decrease in the production and distribution of Jesuit related objects. Archaeological evidence from other late eighteenth-century medal caches should corroborate these data.

Fourth, inscriptive data from the Anguillian collection possibly reveals a shift in eighteenth-century medal production. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century religious medals generally feature Latin inscriptions. By the late eighteenth century, however, medalists incorporated Spanish and other languages. Medals from *El Buen Consejo* feature Latin, Italian, and Spanish inscriptions. Some of those with Spanish include Our Lady of the Snows (*Nieves*) and Our Lady of the Crag (*Risco*). At times, a mix of Latin and Italian appears. For example, a medal with the image of St. Clare of Assisi features the inscription S·CHIARAOP·NOB. The interpretation of its first half is *Santa Chiara*, which is Italian, and its last half is *ora pro nobis*, which is Latin for “pray for us.”²¹

²¹Charles Fantazzi, in discussion with the author, January 2005.

Unfortunately, there is no correlation between language and a medal's country of production. For instance, medalists struck the majority of *El Buen Consejo's* Virgin of Pilar medals in Rome. The iconography relates to the Spanish city of Saragossa, and some of the medals appear in Spanish. In addition, an inscription on the Roman-struck Divine Shepherdess medal refers to the Spanish city of Murcia. Some medals such as Our Lady of Aranzazu, referring to the Marian devotion of a Basque area of Spain, do not indicate a city of production and, thus, may originate from medal production facilities in Spain. With manufacturing identification absent on 78 percent of *El Buen Consejo's* medals, however, it is impossible to ascribe an origin to the majority of the collection.

Fifth, artisans probably intentionally struck medals with great variability, for none of the medals from Anguilla feature identical imagery on their obverse and reverse. At times, a medal appears with corresponding images on its two faces, such as St. John of Matha and St. Felix of Valois, founders of the Trinitarians. Frequently, however, images seem to exhibit no analogous characteristics. Six identical medals in the collection feature St. Michael the Archangel on the obverse and the Holy Eucharist on the reverse.

Finally, like *El Buen Consejo*, the Quicksilver wrecks, *Tolosá* and *Guadalupe*, sailed with Franciscan passengers and with partial cargoes of medals. Deagan has not attempted to connect the two; instead, she has described the medals on the ships and on *Matanceros* by noting, "[M]edals on these ships were undoubtedly intended for a wide variety of religious orders and constituencies depending upon who ordered them or chose the selection for shipping."²² As previously argued, this thesis associates the medals of *El*

²²Ibid., 51.

Buen Consejo with the Franciscans of Pachuca who were traveling onboard the ship; thus, it seems to contradict her claim. Evidence from author Pedro J. Santiago also contradicts her presumption. He has noted that *Guadalupe*'s boarding list ascribed the ship's medal shipment to the Franciscans onboard.²³ These two instances indicate that at times a link existed between the transportation of devotional medals and the Catholic order accompanying their shipment. Analyses of other Spanish vessels should corroborate the data. The information revealed from the examination of *El Buen Consejo*'s medals, therefore, illustrates several additional patterns not included in Deagan's work. The patterns add to her study and should apply to other late eighteenth-century medal collections.

In conclusion, in July 1772, the Spanish ship *El Buen Consejo* wrecked off the coast of the Caribbean island of Anguilla. The vessel carried thirty-five Discalced Franciscans of the Apostolic College of Pachuca in New Spain and their shipment of devotional medals; the friars were part of a larger group of missionaries starting out on a new phase of their religious lives. Presumably, all medals were lost in the wreck event, and the majority of them remained on the seafloor until discovered by a local scuba diver in 1986. The discovery spurred the company Anguilla Maritime Research to vie for rights to excavate and develop the ship's remains. The Anguillian government, however, desired a professional assessment of the site before determining its future; thus, in 1996 it contacted East Carolina University's Maritime Studies Program to conduct a Phase I and

²³Pedro J. Santiago, *Estudios Sobre Comercio Maritimo, Naufragios y Rescates Submarinos en la Republica Dominicana* (Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic: Museo de las Casas Reales, 1980), 113.

II survey. The following year, AMR received permission to excavate objects from the area to prepare the site for its declaration as an underwater archaeological preserve.

Devotional medals were some of the most numerous objects recovered.

Over the next few years, two conservators worked to stabilize the remains of nearly five hundred medals. Unfortunately, AMR never fully cataloged or photographed the collection. Several different sources, however, have incomplete documentation of the collection, and these data and information from the evaluation of medals housed in Anguilla make possible the analysis of *El Buen Consejo*'s religious medals. Varying data from multiple, unrelated sources prevent a full material culture analysis; yet, iconographical information, the most obvious aspect of religious medals, is available for detailed evaluation through pictorial representations and detailed notes. This thesis, therefore, analyzes four hundred sixty-eight images and collects data from three hundred twenty-six of them. One hundred sixty-seven different iconographies appear. Information from the iconographic analysis illustrates the extreme diversity of the devotional medals of *El Buen Consejo*, reveals a wealth of information valuable to a variety of scholars, and establishes a base for future research.

In category one, saints and archangels, seventy-six different depictions of venerated persons and archangels appear in one hundred thirty-two images. The iconography accounts for 45.5 percent and the images account for 40.5 percent of the entire collection, making the category the most often represented. Canonized and beatified individuals lead the division, and of the four main orders depicted, Franciscan friars dominate the imagery. Religious individuals from the lesser orders, however,

outnumber Franciscans in the number of varying iconographies and images. As regards archangels, Michael appears most often, in twelve of fourteen images. In category two, the Holy Family, Marian imagery propels the division to be the second most prevalent category, appearing with 37.1 and 39.9 percent of iconographies and images, respectively, of the collection. Joseph, the adult Jesus, and the Holy Family appear in few illustrations. Marian iconography and imagery, however, accounts for over a quarter of the entire medal collection. The final category, religious scenes, is the smallest. Its iconographies total 17.4 percent and its images represent 19.6 percent of the whole collection. The category is diverse, yet Eucharist and crucifixion scenes dominate illustrations. The iconography represented in the Anguillian collection is immense, and its analysis is the first such study documenting a medal shipment of an eighteenth-century Spanish shipwreck.

Evidence uncovered in this thesis highlights the limited extant historical and archaeological data on devotional medals. The first modern religious medals date to the sixteenth century, and shortly after their explosion of popularity in Europe, they appeared on Franciscan mission sites in Spanish America. Although Franciscans wrote very little about the use of medals as tools of proselytization, the objects appear to have played a role in the missionization process since archaeologists have discovered the items on mission and Spanish colonial sites from the southeast to the borderlands states of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California. Historians and archaeologists have hypothesized that missionaries distributed them to neophyte Native Americans at baptisms or they awarded them for the performance of duties and the attendance of mass. Their exact use

is unknown, but they probably assisted in catechismal education, for Franciscans often relied upon icons and religious images to impart important Christian truths.

Some scholars have argued medals arrived in great numbers and were readily available for distribution. Historical evidence does not yet support this assertion, and archaeological finds are far too few to indicate mass distribution. Missionaries, therefore, may have withheld the objects until natives exhibited the appearance of Christian acceptance, generally in the doctrinal stage of missionization.

So far, scholars have been unable to discover the process of medal dissemination. Did certain orders request specific medals? What did the appearance of a certain image on a particular site mean? Did religious orders always sail with medal shipments? The inability to trace medals from European manufacturing sites to the Americas impedes researchers from making any certain declarations on medal acquisition or distribution. Evidence from *El Buen Consejo's* iconographical analysis uphold historical documents that demonstrated that Catholic orders revered a great variety of saints and figures, regardless of religious affiliation; thus, the appearance of certain iconographies in certain locations may only be coincidence.

The paucity of information regarding devotional medals illustrates the relevance of this thesis, for scholars have often ignored these valuable pieces of material culture. The medals of *El Buen Consejo* comprise possibly the largest intact cache of devotional medals in existence. Data from the iconographic analysis of the collection significantly add to the historical and archaeological record. Additionally, the analysis acts as the first significant test of the only large work to analyze and interpret medals found in Spanish

colonial contexts and it finds that the Anguillian medals corroborate a significant portion of Deagan's work. It also, however, illuminates new patterns applicable to late eighteenth-century collections and extends the archaeological occurrence of several images. Medals are diagnostic tools, and the wealth of data revealed from them aid historians, archaeologists, and religious scholars alike. This thesis, therefore, fills a void, and it illuminates these often-forsaken, sacred objects.

**APPENDIX A:
MEDAL COLLECTIONS FROM COLONIAL SPANISH AMERICAN SITES
AND SHIPWRECKS**

ARIZONA

Mission Awatovi, Arizona

Between 1935 and 1939, archaeologists working with the Peabody Museum of Harvard University conducted excavations at the former location of the seventeenth-century Franciscan Mission Awatovi in Arizona. Friars established the mission amongst Hopi Indians, and its occupation lasted from 1630 until its destruction in 1680 when the Hopi resisted the Spanish in the Pueblo Rebellion. During the excavations, archaeologists found four religious medals in graves beneath the nave of the church. All are copper alloy, two stamped in an oval and one molded in a cruciform design. The fourth appears oval but only its lower half remains. Saints depicted on the medals include Christopher, Stephen, Francis of Assisi, Anthony of Padua, Teresa of Avila, Isidor, and Ignatius Loyola.¹

Quiburi, Arizona

Spaniards first occupied the site of Quiburi, located in the upper San Pedro River valley in Southeastern Arizona, sometime between 1692 and 1697. Its inhabitants abandoned the original village in 1698, but Spaniards reestablished it in 1704 and 1705. Jesuit missionaries operated at the site by at least 1731, and they evangelized the local

¹J. Franklin Ewing, "The Religious Medals," in *Franciscan Awatovi: The Excavation and Conjectural Reconstruction of a 17th-Century Spanish Mission Establishment at a Hopi Indian Town in Northeastern Arizona*, Ross Gordon Montgomery, Watson Smith, and John Otis Brew (Cambridge, MA: Peabody Museum, 1949), 100-101; Watson Smith and Bernard L. Fontana, "Religious Sacramentals from Awatovi," *Kiva* 36 (1970): 13-16.

inhabitants until Apache pressures forced Quiburi's second abandonment in 1762. Ten years later the Spanish built a presidio at the site and held it until the end of the eighteenth century.

The Amerind Foundation began excavations at Quiburi in 1950 and discovered two bronze devotional medals, one in the site's native dwellings (1704-1762) and one in a Spanish burial that probably dates to the presidio phase of occupation. The initial medal is a large oval and depicts the bust of the Jesuit Saint Ignatius Loyola on its obverse and the Polish patron Saint Casmirus on its reverse. The second medal is unidentified.²

CALIFORNIA

Mission San Antonio de Padua, California

Junípero Serra founded the Franciscan Mission San Antonio de Padua on 14 July 1771. The site has undergone several excavations, and archaeologists have recovered three to four religious medals. There is no illustrative data on the items, but excavators probably discovered them in the soldiers' barracks.³

Mission San Buenaventura, Ventura, California

Between 1974 and 1975, archaeologists working the site of the original structure of Mission San Buenaventura and its four neophyte barracks excavated nine religious medals. The medals are round, octagonal, and oval and probably date to the eighteenth century. All are copper alloy and feature Saints James of Alcala, Pascual Baylon,

²Charles Di Peso, *The Sobaipuri Indians of the Upper San Pedro River Valley, Southeastern Arizona* (Dragoon, AZ: Amerind Foundation, 1953), 28-42, 102, 210-212, 244-248.

³Robert L. Hoover and Julia G. Costello, eds., *Excavations at Mission San Antonio 1976-1978* (Los Angeles: Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles, 1985), 1; Robert Hoover, e-mail message to author, 19 August and 24 November 2004.

Anastasius, Venacius, Anthony, Vincent Ferrer, and Benedict. The Virgin Mary appears with the Christ Child and as Our Lady of Carmel. Images on at least three medals are indeterminable.⁴

Mission Santa Cruz, Alta California

Mission Santa Cruz (1791-c.1837), located north of the present Monterey, California, was one of over twenty Franciscan missions established in Alta California during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Excavations conducted at Santa Cruz in the 1970s and 1980s revealed one religious medal featuring an unidentified saint on each face. Neophytes presumably deposited the medal between 1791 and 1799 during the mission's first, active years.⁵

Royal Presidio de San Diego de Cosoy, San Diego, California

In the late 1960s excavations commenced at the Royal Presidio de San Diego de Cosoy in California. Spaniards established the site in 1769, and archaeologists discovered about ten religious medals around the chapel and cemetery (1782-1835). At one point, the Junípero Serra Museum displayed the medals, but they now lie in the material culture collection of San Diego State University.⁶ Details on the medals are unavailable.

FLORIDA

⁴Roberta S. Greenwood, "The Changing Faces of Main Street" (Ventura Mission Plaza Archaeological Project Report, City of Ventura Redevelopment Agency, Ventura, CA, 1976), 176-177; Roberta S. Greenwood, "3500 Years on one City Block" (San Buenaventura Mission Plaza Project Archaeological Report, City of Ventura Redevelopment Agency, Ventura, CA, 1975), 88, 90-91.

⁵Rebecca Allen, *Native Americans at Mission Santa Cruz, 1791-1834* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), 9, 76-78.

⁶Lynn Gamble, in discussion with the author, 11 February 2005; Ron May, in discussion with the author, 4 February 2005.

Mount Royal, Putnam County, Florida

Archaeologists with the state of Florida excavated the Mount Royal village area on the St. Johns River in 1983, 1994, and 1995. The site lay in proximity to the Franciscan Mission San Antonio Enacape. Franciscans established the mission by 1587, yet Jesuits first evangelized in the area prior to 1572. During the excavations, archaeologists discovered two stamped brass religious medals. Both are oval with four flanges. The first depicts an unidentified saint on each face and lacks inscriptions. The second, however, has abbreviated inscriptions identifying the Saints Ignatius Loyola and Monica. Craftsmen struck the medal before Loyola's canonization in 1622. The possible presence of Jesuit and Franciscan friars prevents the exact determination of deposition.⁷

Presidio Santa María de Galve, Pensacola, Florida

In 1698 in Spanish West Florida, Spaniards established the Presidio Santa María de Galve as a frontier garrison to halt French aggression from Louisiana. It remained occupied until 1719. Archaeological excavations at the presidio and its accompanying village took place in the mid to late 1990s. Archaeologists recovered two religious medals, one from the village cemetery (1698-1719) and one from unknown provenience. The cemetery medal is copper and features Our Lady of Guadalupe. Specific iconographic data of its obverse and reverse are unavailable, as is illustrative information of the second medal.⁸

⁷B. Calvin Jones and Louis D. Tesar, "1983-1995 Survey, Salvage, and Mitigation of Archaeological Resources within the Mount Royal Site (8PU35) Village Area, Putnam County, Florida," (Division of Historical Resources, Florida Department of State, 28 June 2001), 1-8, 197-199.

⁸Judith A. Bense, "Presidio Santa María de Galve (1698-1719): A Frontier Garrison in Spanish West Florida," *Historical Archaeology* 38 (2004): 47, 54, 58-59. See also Judith A. Bense, ed., *Presidio Santa María de Galve* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003).

St. Augustine, Florida

Excavations at the Spanish fort of St. Augustine, Florida, have produced several devotional medals, and they originate from a variety of sites.⁹ At De La Cruz (1785-1821) archaeologists found a medal of St. Joseph with the Christ Child and of an angel or winged man standing with the Christ Child. A French inscription accompanies the first image. At De Hita (eighteenth-nineteenth century) a Miraculous Medal with a French inscription was found. Archaeologists working the De Burgo Pellicer site found five medals. One depicts the Holy Eucharist and an enthroned Virgin Mary (1785-1821), two feature St. Benedict (disturbed provenience and 1750-1785), one is a Miraculous Medal (1825-1845), and one features two unidentified saints (disturbed provenience). A medal found at Fort Mose (1738-1763) depicts St. Christopher on its obverse and a compass rose on its reverse. At Cofra Dia archaeologists found a very small Roman made medal featuring Mary and the Christ Child on its obverse and the Holy Eucharist on its reverse. Work performed at Ribiera Gardens uncovered a four flanged oval medal depicting Mary and the Child in the company of angels. Its reverse features an unidentified saint. At the site Joaneda, an Immaculate Conception medal was discovered. Its reverse appears to feature St. Jerome. The medal has four flanges.

Santa Rosa Pensacola, Santa Rosa Island, Florida

In 1964 the Department of Anthropology at Florida State University conducted an excavation of the historic town of Santa Rosa Pensacola. The site now lies in Fort

⁹For detailed information on the sites of St. Augustine, see the website of the Florida Museum of Natural History, <http://www.flmnh.ufl.edu>. Information in this section derives from analyses of the museum's medals. Dates correspond to medal provenience and they derive from Albert Woods, the museum's historical archaeology collections manager, in discussion with the author, 1 February 2005.

Pickens State Park on Santa Rosa Island. Spaniards first occupied the town in 1719, and it primarily acted as a fortified garrison until its destruction by hurricane in 1752. The Spanish abandoned the town eleven years later. During the excavation, archaeologists discovered two brass religious medals. Their iconography includes Saints Felix of Valois, John of Matha, and Anthony of Padua and the Holy Eucharist.¹⁰

GEORGIA

Mission Santa Catalina de Guale, St. Catherines Island, Georgia

Between 1981 and 1988, archaeologists excavated the site of the late sixteenth-century Franciscan Mission Santa Catalina de Guale located on St. Catherines Island, Georgia. In the cemetery (post 1604), they found ten bronze religious medals interred as grave goods. Archaeologists also discovered one gold and one silver medal.

Iconographies on the medals depict the Holy Eucharist and the initials IHS for "Jesus Savior of Mankind," and they feature the Virgin of Carmel and other non-distinct Virgin images. St. Francis of Assisi receives the stigmata in several images, and St. Anthony Padua appears with his attributes. Three saints are unidentified. All medals are oval and feature one to four flanges.¹¹

NEW MEXICO

Central New Mexico

¹⁰Hale G. Smith, *Archaeological Excavations at Santa Rosa Pensacola* (Tallahassee: Florida State University, 1965), x-5, 68-69, 97.

¹¹David Hurst Thomas, "Saints and Soldiers at Santa Catalina," in *The Recovery of Meaning*, ed. Mark Leone and Parker Potter, Jr., 73-140 (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988), 96-102, 118-119.

In 1976 while archaeologists with the Center for Anthropological Studies excavated the eighteenth-century Spanish-Indian ruins of San Miguel de Carnué, a New Mexican resident David Rohder revealed to them that he had discovered a religious medal in the Manzano Mountains southeast of Albuquerque. He allowed the center to analyze it, and the organization determined the medal depicts Our Lady of Guadalupe of Mexico. It bears the date 1797 indicating year of manufacture or year of a miracle attributed to the Virgin. The medal is silver and features decorative elements indicative of rococo style.¹²

Cochiti Reservoir, New Mexico

In 1975, archaeologists with the University of New Mexico's Office of Contract Archaeology discovered one religious medal in the Cochiti Reservoir located in the Rio Grande Basin of north-central New Mexico. The faces of the medal depict Saints Paul and Peter. Its inscription is Italian, and archaeologists discovered it on a site of eighteenth-century provenience.¹³

Estancia Valley, New Mexico

In 1957 in the Estancia Valley near Moriarity, New Mexico, a local resident found a seventeenth-century Spanish medal featuring St. Teresa of Avila on its obverse and the hermit St. Onofrius on its reverse. It is cast brass and presumed to date to the late seventeenth century.¹⁴ The iconography depicting Teresa, however, is identical to that

¹²Albert E. Ward, "Documenting an Eighteenth-Century Italian Medal," *Kiva* 65 (1999): 167-175.

¹³Richard C. Chapman and Jan V. Biella, eds., *Archaeological Investigations in Cochiti Reservoir, New Mexico*, vol. 2, *Excavation and Analysis 1975 Season* (Albuquerque: Office of Contract Archaeology, University of New Mexico, 1977), 150-151.

¹⁴E. Boyd, "Seventeenth Century Spanish Medal," *El Palacio* 76 (1970): 16.

found on medals from the late eighteenth century; therefore, a later date of production is possible.

Galisteo Basin, New Mexico

At least forty-four religious medals from Spanish occupied pueblos in the Galisteo Basin of New Mexico are in a private collection. All medals date to between 1540 and 1680. Although some pieces are gold and silver, most were struck or cast in copper and bronze. Individuals found almost all items with metal detectors.¹⁵

Pecos, San Miguel County, New Mexico

Between 1915 and 1925 at the Indian pueblo of Pecos located in San Miguel County, New Mexico, archaeologists excavated five religious medals of cupreous material. Spaniards arrived in the town during the early seventeenth century and constructed a church sometime prior to 1620. Scholars hypothesize that the medals derive from the pueblo's colonial period, prior to 1838. One large medal from the assemblage depicts St. Mary Magdalene. Documents reveal nothing of the other four.¹⁶

Pecos National Monument, Santa Fe, New Mexico

A partial rosary was found in the graveyard of the church (c. 1700) at Pecos National Monument in Santa Fe, New Mexico. One round devotional medal accompanied its remnants. A venerated religious figure with nimbus appears on its obverse.¹⁷

San Gabriel del Yungue, New Mexico

¹⁵Forrest Fenn, e-mail message to author, 7 February 2005, 13 February 2005.

¹⁶Alfred Vincent Kidder, *The Artifacts of Pecos* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1932), 1-4, 305-306.

¹⁷John L. Kessell, "By Force of Arms," in *Santa Fe: History of an Ancient City*, ed. David Grant Noble (Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press, 1989), 55.

The town of San Gabriel del Yunque, New Mexico, was originally occupied around 1250 or 1300. Spaniards established permanent occupancy of the site in 1601, and a mission may have existed in Yunque's vicinity. In 1962 an excavation at the site conducted by the University of New Mexico revealed a gilded bronze religious medal; it is one of the earliest Spanish devotional medals discovered in the United States. Archaeologists found the medal in a storage room and dated it to the site's early Spanish occupation (1601-1609). The piece is typical of other sixteenth- and seventeenth-century medals in that it has a top loop plus three flanges. It features images of St. Jerome and the Holy Trinity.¹⁸

San Lazaro Pueblo, New Mexico

A private collector in Santa Fe, New Mexico, has eleven religious medals from the New Mexican pueblo San Lazaro, an early seventeenth-century Franciscan mission in the Galisteo Basin. The Spanish first occupied the Basin after 1540, abandoning the pueblo around 1680. San Lazaro is now on private land, and individuals found the medals with metal detectors and excavation techniques.¹⁹ Photographic data provide seven images of some of the medals. All are oval, some with one top loop and some with multiple flanges. Iconography includes St. Francis receiving the stigmata, St. Isidor, and

¹⁸E. Boyd, "A Bronze Medal of Sixteenth Century Style," *El Palacio* 68 (1961): 124-126; Kathleen Deagan, *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies of Florida and the Caribbean, 1500-1800*, vol. 2, *Portable Personal Possessions* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2002), 47; Florence Hawley Ellis, *San Gabriel del Yunque As Seen by an Archaeologist* (Santa Fe, NM: Sunstone Press, 1989), 54-55.

¹⁹Forrest Fenn, e-mail message to author, 7 February 2005.

possibly the Immaculate Conception. One medal features ROMA, and another depicts the year 1625.²⁰

TEXAS

Fort Saint Louis/Presidio La Bahia, Victoria County, Texas

Originally founded in 1685 by the French explorer René Robert Cavelier Sieur de La Salle, Fort St. Louis existed for a short four years. In 1689 when the Spanish arrived at the site on Garcitas Creek, they found the fort destroyed and the remains of three French settlers. Located near Lavaca Bay, the site was ideal for a coastal garrison, and in 1722 the Spanish established Presidio La Bahia atop the fort's remains. The Texas Historical Commission commenced excavations at the site in the late 1990s.²¹ Archaeologists discovered four devotional medals of cupreous material. Two are highly corroded and unidentifiable. The third features stairs to heaven and an indeterminate image. The fourth is a St. Benedict medal, with the obverse bearing the saint's image and the reverse bearing his cross. The latter two medals may date to the site's Spanish occupation.²²

Mission San Juan Capistrano, San Antonio, Texas

Archaeologists excavating the Franciscan Mission San Juan Capistrano in San Antonio, Texas, discovered five eighteenth-century religious medals. Four were in the early church (1731-1762), and one was in a burial. The initial four are cast brass and depict an undetermined Jesuit saint and Saints Agnes, Anastasius, Vincent Ferrer, Dominic, and probably Venacius. The medal discovered in the latter burial is stamped

²⁰Forrest Fenn, *The Secrets of San Lazaro* (Santa Fe, NM: One House Land and Cattle Co., n.d.), 160-161.

²¹University of Texas at Austin, "Fort St. Louis," <http://www.texasbeyondhistory.net/stlouis/> (accessed 4 March 2005).

²²Maureen Brown, e-mail message to author, 3 March 2005, 4 March 2005.

brass. Scholars believe one side possibly depicts the Christ Child while the other side indicates St. Philip.²³

Mission San Lorenzo de la Santa Cruz, Real County, Texas

In 1762 Franciscans of the College of Querétaro founded Mission San Lorenzo de la Santa Cruz for the Lipan Apache inhabitants of south-central Texas. Two hundred years later, archaeologists with the Texas Memorial Museum excavated the site and discovered two brass religious medals interred with burials beneath the floor of an unidentified structure. The first medal is cast and octagonal and features the images of the crucifixion and the *Mater Dolorosa* with seven swords. It lay with the remains of a rosary. The second was also a rosary appendage. The cast, round artifact depicts the Sacred Heart of Jesus on its obverse and Our Lady of the Pilar of Saragossa on its reverse. In 1771 Franciscans abandoned the mission after its destruction.²⁴

Mission Santa Cruz de San Sabá and Presidio San Luis de las Amarillas, Menard County, Texas

In 1757 Franciscans established Mission Santa Cruz de San Sabá in the vicinity of the present town of Menard, Texas. Spaniards constructed it simultaneously with Presidio San Luis de las Amarillas, but members of the Comanche tribe destroyed the mission the next year. It was not rebuilt, but Spaniards occupied the presidio as a frontier outpost until 1768. In the mid-1960s, a Menard resident found two devotional medals on the

²³Mardith K. Schuetz, "The History and Archaeology of Mission San Juan de Capistrano, San Antonio, Texas, vol. 4, Excavation of the Convento" (manuscript on file, Office of the State Archaeologist, Texas Historical Commission, Austin, 1980), 148-151; Mardith K. Schuetz, "The History and Archaeology of Mission San Juan Capistrano, San Antonio, Texas, vol. 2, Description of the Artifacts and Ethno-History of the Coahuiltecan Indians" (manuscript on file, State Building Commission, Archaeological Program, February 1969), 45-46.

²⁴Curtis D. Tunnell, *A Lipan Apache Mission: San Lorenzo de la Santa Cruz, 1762-1771*, part 1, *The Archaeological Investigation* (Austin: Texas Memorial Museum, 1969), 58-60.

surface of the presidio area. Both are cupreous and heavily corroded. One bears the Saints Aloysius Gonzaga and Christopher, and the other features Mary with the Christ Child and an unidentified bearded figure. Both probably date to the Spanish occupation of the site.²⁵

More recently, Texas archaeologists working the site of Mission Santa Cruz discovered one religious medal for which iconographical data do not exist. Presumably, this site is on private land, since after the object's recovery archaeologists returned the piece to its owners.²⁶

West Texas

Archaeologists from San Antonio, Texas, have record of the west Texas recovery of an eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century medal that bears the likeness of Saints Luis Gonzaga or Luis Bertran. The obverse features some filigree while the reverse is blank.²⁷ According to patterns presented by Deagan, the medal probably dates to the late eighteenth century, particularly after 1770.

SHIPWRECKS

1622 Spanish Fleet

In 1622 off the Florida Keys, a hurricane sank eight ships of a twenty-eight vessel Spanish fleet sailing from Cuba to Spain. Salvage operations of the wrecks took place between the 1970s and 1980s, and a number of devotional medals emerged. The items were personal possessions of the crew or passengers, and thus, ranged from simply made

²⁵Kathleen Gilmore, *A Documentary and Archaeological Investigation of Presidio San Luis de las Amarillas and Mission Santa Cruz de San Sabá, Menard County, Texas: A Preliminary Report* (Austin: State Building Commission Archaeology Program, 1967).

²⁶Grant Hall, e-mail message to author, 17 February 2005.

²⁷Richard E. Ahlborn to Anne A. Fox, 12 June 1986, in the author's possession.

cupreous pieces to elaborately designed gold medals. Iconographies depicted on the assemblage include Saints Charles Borromeo and Francis of Assisi. Marian imagery consists of the Immaculate Conception and the Pietà, and miscellaneous images include the Holy Eucharist and the letters IHS, representing Jesus.²⁸

1715 Plate Fleet

A hurricane off the east coast of Florida in 1715 sank eleven Spanish treasure ships. Excavations of the ships began in 1967, and salvors discovered several religious medals. The iconography includes the profile of Jesus with rays, the Benedictine cross, the illustrations of St. Benedict, and an unidentified Carthusian monk.²⁹

Conde de Tolosá and Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe

In 1724 while sailing from Spain to New Spain, the Spanish ships *Tolosá* and *Guadalupe* sank off the northeastern coast of the Dominican Republic. They are known as the Quicksilver ships for their cargo of mercury. Both ships carried shipments of an untold number of devotional medals. As previously noted, *Guadalupe* sailed with Franciscan missionaries, and at least a portion of her medal shipment belonged to the friars. Missionaries may also have accompanied *Tolosá*. Caribe Salvage excavated the wrecks in the mid to late 1970s. Iconography represented on the medals includes Saints Pascual Baylon, Peter Alcántara, Francis of Assisi, and Benedict. Religious scenes appear

²⁸James P. Delgado, ed., *Encyclopedia of Underwater and Maritime Archaeology* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 298-299; *Gold and Silver of the Atocha and Santa Margarita*. New York: Christies Auction Catalogue, June 1988; "Medallions from *Nuestra Señora de Atocha*," *Astrolabe* 5 (1989): 24-27; "Religious Artifacts of the 1622 Fleet," *Navigator* 21 (2005): 6-8.

²⁹Delgado, *Encyclopedia of Underwater and Maritime Archaeology*, 157-158; "Medallions from *Nuestra Señora de Atocha*," *Astrolabe* 5 (1989): 28-29.

as do images of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph. From the two ships, excavators recovered at least four hundred medals, many stuck in Rome.³⁰

El Matanceros

In 1740 the Spanish merchant vessel *El Matanceros* (*Nuestra Señora de los Milagros*) departed Cádiz, Spain, for Veracruz, New Spain. The ship sank off the Yucatán coast early the next year. Salvors excavated the shipwreck beginning in the late 1950s and discovered a cache of devotional medals. Presumably, it was a shipment assigned to one or more religious orders operating in New Spain. At least one hundred forty medals were recovered, none of which bear manufacturers' marks, dates, or cities of production. Inscriptions on the pieces appear in Italian, Spanish, and Latin, and great varieties of religious figures occur.³¹

³⁰Susan Dudnick Boer, *Treasures of the Quicksilver Galleons* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1982), 2-7, 19-30; Mendel Peterson, "Graveyard of the Quicksilver Galleons," *National Geographic* 156 (1979): 869. See also Pedro J. Borrell, *The Quicksilver Galleons* (Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic: Museo de las Casas Reales, 1983).

³¹Clay Blair, *Diving for Pleasure and Treasure* (Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1960), 238, 260, 284-307; Keith Pope, *Decade of Adventure* (Tallahassee, FL: Rose Printing, 1979), 77-82, 163.

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